O.S.W. Jardin Thesaurarius
M. Jennis

THE TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Containing the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and Memorable Obſeruations: Not onely Diuine, Morrall and Phyloſophicall. But alſo Poeticall, Martiall; *Politicall, Hiſtoricall, Aſtrologicall, &c.*

Tranſlated out of that Worthy Spaniſh Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIO. And *M. Franceſco Sanſouino*, that Famous Italian. As alſo, of thoſe Honourable Frenchmen, *Anthonie Du Verdier*, Lord of *Vaupriuaz*: *Leys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche*, Counſellor vnto the King: *Claudius Gruget, Pariſian, &c.*

LONDON,
Printed by *W. Iaggard*, 1613.

TO THE MAGNANIMOVS AND

Vertuous Lord, *Anne D'Urfe*, Marqueſſe of *Bauge*, Baron of *Caſtle-Morand, Lord of Urfe, Gentleman of the Kings* Chamber, and Bayliffe for his Maieſtie, in the Forreſts Countrey.

Here hath bin a great and long diſpute (woorthy Lord) among the Learned, concerning the true definition of Nobility. Some haue held opinion, that this matchleſſe Ladie, keepeth her ſeate in the Soule only; or elſe, with the Soule and Bodie together. Some other are of the minde, that her abyding is in Prudence: Others, in Iuſtice: And others, in the goodneſſe of manners. There are alſo ſome few, who ſay; that they know no other Nobility, but ſuch as proceedeth from Vertue. And if any one contemne Riches, voluptuous pleaſures, glory; yea, and life it ſelfe, hee is held to be more Noble, then all the Kings and Princes in the world. So that they are perſwaded, that al other things whatſoeuer which are in Man, are nothing els but Fortune, and meere preſumption of the wealthy and proud.

Againſt whom alſo, there are diuers and contrary opinions. For, wiſe *Plutarch* affirmeth, that the calumny is falſe, which vniuſt Sophiſters haue impoſed on Nobility. For they will admit no other kind of proofe, euen in things which are notorious and apparant to euerie eye: Albeit, to haue a good race of Houndes or Horſes, they will ſeeke after the goodlieſt and worthieſt. Likewiſe, they ſtriue to haue the beſt ſeeds for their grounds, to produce the rareſt plants and Hearbes: and yet (like Sots as they are) they dare maintaine, that Nobility by blood, is nothing auaileable to following ſucceſſion, becauſe the Originall came from the barbarous, or deſcended of the Ciuilized French; not crediting, that in the Generation of Children, the Fathers do diſtribute vnto them, ſome ſeeds and principles of Naturall vertue.

Ariſtotle repelleth their opinion, and ſtanding on much ſounder termes; ſpeaketh againſt them in this manner; *That which* Euripides *teacheth* (ſaith hee) *is not true, to wit; That the honeſt minded man is only Noble, and not he that deſcendeth of an ancient race, and is borne of generous Parents: Becauſe that in the definition of Nobility, the valour & Vertue of our Elders are comprehended, Nobility it ſelfe being nothing elſe, but a certain Vertue of that Generation, which being lawdable of it ſelfe, ought to be followed with great affection.* Wherefore, he is worthy of praiſe & commendatien, that employeth all his endeuor and diligence, to acquire the nobleneſſe of Generation; to the end, that afterward, worthy and valiant men may be deriued from him. So that at all times, and as often as the Originall of ſuch generation, finds it ſelfe to bee commendable, it ought iuſtly to be tearmed Noble. For, ſuch a beginning, beareth in it ſelfe both a naturall power and vertue, to beget and produce many other anſwereable, and like vnto it ſelfe. Therefore, when ſuch a man is met withall in any nation, as is of ſuch worth, that he can extend and ſpread his vertue to many ſucceeding Ages: his deſcendants and off-ſpring will be naturally generous, and of the beſt and manlieſt manners.

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377014

Contrary wiſe, he that is bad & wickedly bred, doth commonly beget as lewd and bad children: according to whom (beſide his euill examples) they will deriue from him the like wicked habitude. And therefore the Prouerb was not vnaduiſedly ſpoken: *Of a bad Crow, coms as bad an Eg.* By this reaſon I hold, that al thoſe whom we behold to be plunged in the gulfe of vices, and make miſchiefe their chiefeſt commendation, although they be neuer ſo great Lordes, they are but meere vſurpers of Nobility, beeing no way deſcended of Noblemen, but rather of *Cham*, and haue nothing elſe but the bare name of Nobilitie. Whereas on the contrary, they that are noted no way to degenerat from the vertue of their anceſtors, but truly haue followed them, euen from Father to Son (as we commonlie vſe to ſay) are ſaid to be of noble ſtem & ſtock, and diſcended of the poſteritie of *Sem*. Hence it enſueth, that in the world there are many men, Noble, Magnanimous, valiant, and like vnto their famous progenitors: among whom, you hold the place and ranke of a moſt worthy, honourable, and vertuous Lord, imitating ſo directly the tracts of your predeceſſors, that you may well be ſaid, to be Nobility and vertue it ſelfe. If it were needfull, to come to the Antiquity of Nobilitie, by the Fathers ſide, you are deſcended of the houſe of *Vrſe*, many whereof, haue held the very goodlieſt Eſtates and dignities in this Kingdome, and all by their moſt ſignale merits of vertue. What ſhall I ſay, concerning the pietie of your great Grandfather, *M. Peter D'Vrſe*, Great Maiſter of the Horſe. The Churches & Monaſteries builded by him, doe make ſufficient teſtimony of his deuout zeale. What ſhall I ſay of your Grandfather, *M. Claudius D'Vrſe*, Knight of the Order, Gouernor to *Meſſieurs les enfans de France*, Ambaſſador for the King to his Holyneſſe, & a curious obſeruer of Antiquities? Your houſe by him builded, the Statues of Marble, and ſo great number of Medalles, which he cauſed to be brought from *Rome*, do amply ſpeake, how great a friend and louer he was of Vertue. As for your Father *M. Iaques D'Vrſe*, Knight of the Kings Order, Captain of fifty men of Armes, Bayliffe of the Forreſts, and Gouernor of the ſaid Country. The memory of his vertuous deportments is ſo freſh and recent, as it would appeare ſuperfluous further ro remember them.

By the Mothers ſide, who knoweth not, that you are deriued of the illuſtrious houſe of *Sauoy*, allied to the bloud-royall of *France*? But as touching your perfections, I would haue the whol world to know it, that you are one of the very beſt Poets in *France*, as more then 100. choiſe Sonnets can teſtify, which you haue pleaſed to ſhew me. A matter redounding to your no mean honor, in not hauing atained to 18. years of age, when you made them: you are (beſide) inriched with ſo happy a memory, that you haue (*ad vnguẽ*) al the Poetical fictions, with an abſolut expoſition of thẽ, as wel in *Ouids Metamorphoſis*, *Homers Iliads*, as alſo diuers other authors.

Now in recompence of the gracious communication of your Poems, & for the ſeruice I iuſtly owe ye, I dedicate this Book to you, collected out of many Authors, *Greeke*, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *&c.* from whom I haue traduced moſt ſinguler things, appertaining to the ſeueral intention of each Chapter, hoping to continue them on, till they compleat the number of 30. Bookes. Receiue then this former Volume, with like loue and good wil, as I ſalute your graces with my humble recommendations, praying God to ſend your Honor a long and a happy life.

From Montbriſon this 11. *of March.*

Your humble Seruant
Anthony du Verdier.

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIP-full, Learned, and moſt Iudicious Gentleman, Sir THOMAS BRVDENELL, Baronet, all Happineſſe moſt heartily wiſhed.

SIR, this VVorke, ſo long ſince promiſed, and now (after much Paine, Coſt, and deare Expence of time) in part perfected, comes in al Humility to kiſſe your Hand: making no doubt of as kind acceptance, as it tenders it ſelfe in free and vnfaigned affection. It is not vnknowne vnto me, that thoſe ſeuerall Natiue tongues, wherein all thoſe Arguments do ſpeake themſelues, are much more familiar and readie to you, then they can receyue in English any Ornament by mee. Neuertheleſſe, I hope it shall not anie way be diſtaſtfull to you, that others may be benefited by the meanes of your Happineſſe: and that which is thus effected for your ſake, may (from a perticuler good) extend it ſelfe to a generall.

377014

To runne into multiplicity of Wordes, when one onely is ſufficient to the Wiſe, may be but the Badge of my Folly, and an abuſe vnto your Generous patience. And therefore, committing this Labour, and my ſelfe, vnto your Fauourable Conſtruction, with whatſoeuer remaines in mee, by you to bee Commanded, I ceaſe: wishing the Happineſſe of you and yours as entirely, as any good that can happen to mee and mine.

Your Nameleſſe Well-willer,

deſirous to be knowne to none

but your Selfe,

To the Reader.

I Know (Gentle Reader) that (uſtome commands an Epiſtle to thee, for Fauourable Acceptance, and honeſt Entertainment of ſuch a great Labour. But I am (at this time) forced to Write vnto thee, both on the behalfe of my ſelfe and the Printer: in regard of many Eſcapes, which vſually chanceth in Printing, by reaſon, that immediately after the Bookes beginning, ſickneſſe & other infirmities, did bereaue him of his ſight. If therefore any thing do or may appeare offenſiue, either in Method or Matter, I would not haue thee diſpleaſed in any thing whatſoeuer, or that any Argument thorough the whole Booke, ſhould be (in the leaſt degree) preiudiciall to thee. Therefore, accept it with like Loue and Kindneſſe, as it is ſent vnto thee,

in Honeſt Affection and
Friendlineſſe.

A Table of the Authors Names, mentioned in this Booke.

A.

S. Augustine.
Aristotle.
Anselme.
Adon Episc. Vienna
Auenzoar.
Aulus Gellius.
Auicenne.
Ambrose.
Auerroes.
Athanasius.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Anthonius Sabellicus.
Archytas Tarentinus.
Anthoninus.
Annales Constantinop.
Antoninus Syl.
Æneas Sylnius.
Athenæus.
Aristophanes.
Ælianus.
Æmilius Victor.
Alexander Alexandrinus.
Albertus Magnus.
Alphonsius King of Spaine.
Attalus.
Adrianus.
Æschines.
Acamathius.
Alphraganus.
Aimonius.
Accurtius.
Azzo.
Alexander Trallianus.
Atteius Capito.
Asconius Padianus.
Appianus Alexandrinus.
Archilochus.
Arnoldus Ferronus.
Arrianus
Ætius
Amatus
Aristarchus
Ælius Lampridius
Alexander Aphrodiseus
Antisthenes
Æmilius Macer.
Antonius Archb. of Florence
Anaximander
Albertus Crantzius
Alexander Guaguinus
Anaximenes
Appianus
Abbas Siculus.
Almadactus Arab.
Apuleius
Augurellus
Anthenor
Actuarius.

B

Biblia Sacra.
B. Westmerus
S. Basile
Blondus
Baptist. Ignatius
Baptist. Fulgosus
Budeus
Bellonius
Bodinus
Bosius
Baronius
S. Bernard
Bartholus
Baldus
Bachi. Anchisus
Berosus
Bucholcerus
Bonfinus
Beroaldus
Bœtius
Balthazar Castillanois.
Bœtius Severinus.
Bartholomeus Piceuus

C

Cicero
Chalcidius
Cœlius Rhodiginus
Cornelius Agrippa
Cornelius Tacitus
Claudian
Claudius Victor
Columella
Clemens
Concil. Tolletanum
S. Chrysostome
Charles de Molin.
Constantinus Cæsar
Calmatheus
Cheremon
Chronerus Pol.
Cassiodorus
Cedrenus
Cardanus
Coruinus
Crantzius
Censorinus
Clem. Alexandrinus
Chrisippus
Cratinus
Ctesippus Alexandrinus
Colophonius
Count Balthazar
Cœlius Calcaginus.

D

Damascene
Dyonisius Areopagita
Dionisius Rhellus
Diodorus Siculus
Don Pedro. Episc. Leon.
Diodorus
Dion
Demosthenes
Democritus
Demetrius Episc. Alexandrie.
Dioscorides
Du Bartas
Dio. Halicarnassæus
Diogenes Cinicus
Dictis Cretensis
Dares Phrygius
Damascenus Stigierus
Dyonisius Lycinius
Donatus
Dyonisius Castianus

E.

Eratosthenes
Eras. Roterodamus
Eusebius
Eustachius
Eginus
Elpagoras
Empolis
Episcopus Tyriensis
Ennius
P. Ereb. de Reb. Ind.
Egnatius
Eutropius
Euagrius
Euripides
Empedocles
Euclide
Epicurus
Enaus
Epiphanius
Estien Pasquier
Epictetus

F.

Franciscus Georgius
Fabianus Pretor
Francisc. Philelphus
Functius
Io. Freigius, de vit patrum
L. Florus
Frontinus
Flauius Vopiscus
Festus Pompeius
Froisarde

G.

S. Gregory
S. Gregory Nazianzene
Galiotus de Nargni.
Galen
Georgius Trabezon.
Gulielmus Budeus
Garcias d'Orta
Grego. Turonensis
Galerus
Gratianus
Gloreanus
Gyldas
Gyraldus
Guidonius
Guliel. Malmesbury
Guicciardine
Gesner
Guydo Bonatus
Genebrardus
Georgius Leontinus
Gregorius Giraldus
Geber
Gregory Rech.
Guenara

H

Hugo de S. Victor
Herodotus
S. Hierom
Hirocles
Homer
Heliconiensis
Horace
Hippocrates
Harpocration
Hiperides
Historia Dom. de Villamont.
Herodianus
Hesiodus
Hallian
Hierom Osorius
Henrie Huntingdon
Hieronimo Conestagio
Haly ben Razel
Heliodorus
Houllier
Harmes Trismegist.
Hecacleon
Hermolaus Barb.
Hermocrates
Heraclides
Herodianus
S. Hillary
Hostiensis
Hanibaldus
Hephestion Grec.
Hall
Holinshead

I.

Iustinus Mart
Iulius Solinus Polyhist.
Iosephus
Iohannes Scotus
Iohannes Lodonicus Viues.
Iohannes Alexandrinus
Isocrates Iustinus
Iulius Firmicus
Ioannes de Mons Royalis

Isiodorus Iulius Cæsar.
Ioannet Driodonus
Iseus Iulius Capitolinus
I. Capgraue
Ioannes Mathias Tiberinus
Ioannes Vasæus
Ioannes Saxonius
Ioan. Magnus. Archiep. Vspal.
Iuvenal Iohn Functius
Ioan Annius
Ioan Monachus
Ireneus
Iornandus, or Iordanus
Iacques Bosius
Ioannes Damascenus
Iohn Stow Ingulphus.
Ioannes Baptista Egnatius
Iohn de Maulmont
Iamblicus
Iaques de Maguntia
Iohn Boccace
Ioachimus Vadianus
Iocl. Med. Alexand.
Ioubert Gal.
Ioannes Camertes Ignatius
Ioannes Carion
Ioannes Cantacuzenus
Ioannes Fernelius
Isaac Iudaicus
Iouianus Pontanus
Ioannes Lasleus Iordanus
Iacob. Faber.

L

Lactantius Firmianus
Lucane Leo Hebraico
Lodonicus Cœlius
Lucretius
Leo Sophist. Lysias.
Labeo Antistius
Lateranus. Linus
Lucius Florus.
Laurentius Surius
Lopez de Castagneda
Lucas Marinus Siculus
Iampridius Leirus
Lodouicus Viues
Lazarus de Baif.
Lodouicus Valentinus
Leo Papa Lucas de Tuy
Leonardus Camillus
Lucian

M

Macrobius
Moyses Bar. Cepha
Marcus Varro
Marsilius Phicinus
Martinus
Martianus Capellus
Matheus Palmierus
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metasthenes
Mathew Paris
Messala Augurius
Melanchthon
M. Beroaldus Moses
Maneithon Maspeus.
M. Scotus Machabeus
Martial
Mathew of Westminster
Munster. Martin du Bellay
Marcus Valerius
Mercurius Trismegistus
Monsieur de Villamont
Mathiolus
Mounf. Guillaume de Paris
Marcus Damascenus
Museus
Merlin
Machiael
Mounsieur de la noue
Mesuus
Mesure Angelo Catho
Mercurius Gallo Belgicus
Marullus

N

Nauclerus
Nichol. Secundinus
Nicander
Nicephorus
Nichol. Monardus
Nicholaus Russeus
Nigidius Figulus
Nicetas Choniates
Numenius Pythago.
Nicholaus de Cusa
Nicholaus Myrepsic.

O.

Ouid.
Orosius.
Otho. Archiepisc.
Olradus
Olaus Magnus
Olaus Archiepisc. Vspalensis
Orpheus

P

Philemon
Philo Iudaicus
Pomponius Mela
Petrus Lombardus
Plinie
Petrus Olinerius
Polybius
Paulus Orosius
Plutarke
Proculeius
Petrus Comestor.
Petr. Crinitus
Plato
Paul. Ægnetes
Porphyrius
Philippides
Pythagoras
Platina
Propertius
Ptolomeus
Pausanias
Philostratus
Pius 2. Papa
Pomponius Latus
Paul. Iouius
Persius
Pontanus
Petr. Gellius
Petr. de Aliacus
Pedro Mexio
Polydor. Virgil.
Pedro de Albano
Policrates
Pegasius
Proculus, or Proclus
Paul. Æmilius
Pontin. Verunnius
Paul. Diaconus
Procopius
Phillip de Comines
Plataerius
Peverius
Probus
Palemon
Pindarus
Plinie secundus
Petrarch
Paulinus de Nola
Pomp. Lenus Libert.
Plautus
Piduxius
Philostratus
Poggius
Phlegonius Grec.
Popinierus

Q.

Quintus Curtius
Quintilian.
Quintus Septimius

R.

Rupertus
Ruffinus
Raphael Volateranus
Ritius
Roger Houeden
Regino Chron.
Rabbie Heli
Rabbie Isaack
Rodericus Toletanus
Rondeletius
Reuclin
Rabelais.

S.

Symonides
Suet. Tranquillus
Seruius
Suidas
Sabellicus
Seneca
Strabo
Spartianus
Surius
Socrates
Seruius
Salust
Solinus
Sigonius
Sethus
Serapio
Sextus Aurelius
Saxo Grammaticus
Sieur de Pybrac.
Sextus Pompeius
Stobeus
Schonerus
Serenus
Sigismond de Herbestein
Symmachus Scaliger
Symonides Melicus
Sauanarola
Spartianus
Sextus Aurelius Victor
Stoeflerus
Syluius Italicus
Sinesius
Sammonicus Serenus
Singonius

T

Thomas Aquinas
Thales Milesius
Trogus Pompeius
Theodorus Gaza
Timocrates
Tithalmanus
Tranquillus
Theuetus
Titus Livius
Tertullian
Theodoret
Theophrastus
Tuditanus
Theod. Bibliander
Thucydides
Tritemius
Io. Tilius
Theophanes
Terentius
Theodotus
Trebellius Pollio
Themistius
Thomas More
Theodoret Epis. Cyprian
Tartognita Historia Mundi.

V

Varro
Venerable Beda
Vegetius
Valerius Flaccus
Valer. Maximus
Volateran
Virgilius
Vincentius
Vlpianus
Voxistus
Victor
Vitruuius
Valentinus Barrachius

W.

Westmerus
Wernerus
William of Malmesbury

Z

Zenophon
Zenocrates
Zarmanochegas
Zonaras.

THE Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times,

CONTEINING,

The learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and *Memorable Obseruations: Not only Diuine*, Morall, and Philosophicall: but also, Politicall, Martiall, Historicall, *Astrologicall, &c. Of that worthy Spanish Gentleman*, PEDRO MEXIO: Likewise of that Honorable French-man, ANTHONY DV VERDIER, Lord *of Vauprimaz, &c.*

The First Booke.

Of God.

CHAP. I.

SAint AVGVSTINE expounding that saying of DAVID, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus; The foole hath said in his heart, There is no God:* doeth most euidently declare, that there is not a more miserable conditiō on the earth, then that of *Atheists*. For there is no Nation so barbarous, but it beleeues that there is some Diuinitie; or holds opinion, that there must needes be an Essence of a first efficient cause, the producer of all thinges else whatsoeuer; because the vertue of the God-head hath such powerful efficacie, that it very manifestly declares it selfe, to al such as haue the lest tast of Reason. *Aristotle* writes, *That all thinges, as well superiour as inferiour, were at the first well ordained, and are still much better gouerned, by the opinion and iudgement of one onely, than of many together: because it is very necessarie, that by and from that sole beginning, all things should bee continued, ordered, & disposed.* And heereupon was it, that *Cicero* and *Varro* made a meere mockery at the plurality of Gods. *Damascene*, considering with himselfe, how the whole World was so well ordered and ruled; saide: *It was impossible, that things so contrarie and dissemblable, could alwaies consort and agree together, but by the gouernment of one onely Commander.*

Neuertheless, wee behold so much contrariety & dissimilitude in this world (as of Heat to cold, Light to darkenesse, each of these contending for particular

Psalme 53. 1.

The wretched condition of Atheists

Arist. in lib. 12. Metaph.

Cicero & Varro mocked the pluralitie of Gods.

Damascene his proofe of one only Ruler.

The diuersity of contrarions in things naturally.

Regiment) as no vnitie or concordance in them can be expected, but darkneſſe wold continuallie haue the vpper hand, and neuer yeild any admittance to light: whereas we now perceiue, that the one in equality enſueth the other, by courſe or compaſſe more infallible then a clock, conſonant to the times & ſeaſons ſo well appointed by God. Heat alſo wold alwaies repulſe the Cold, and rule in an ouer violent extremity, beyond the abilitie of any ſufferance: whereby we may gather, the vrgent neceſſitie, that there ſhold be one alone, by whoſe commaund they ought to bee directed, and conſtrained to keepe that equalitie, which he hath aſſigned them.

The neceſsity of one onely commaunder ouer al things

Moreouer, it is the propertie of God, to be perfect in all thinges; All Iuſt, Almighty, al Mercifull, nothing being any way oppoſite or contrary vnto him. So that if there ſhould bee many Gods, it muſt then enſue as an eſpeciall *Maxime*, that they muſt needs be all alike, or different in their powers. If they be all alike, or equall, why then they can be but al as one: for diſsimilitude maketh the diuerſity of things onely. For this cauſe, is Ieſus Chriſt all one with God his Father, being wholly equall and like vnto him. But if there wer many Gods, diſſemblable or differing in their equality; it is apparant that they could not be iuſtly called Goddes, if there bee any imperfection in one, more then is in the other. For, he that is abſolute & moſt perfect, muſt needs be God, in regard that there is no imperfection found in him; and then, the other (being impotent, or imperfect) cannot bee tearmed Gods, but muſt needs ſubmit their vtmoſt power, to the others perfect priuiledge. It is neceſſary therefore, that there ſhould be but one God only, as (in very truth) there is no more then one; who is eaſie enough to be knowne by his Workes and effects, as the ſole beginning of all things: and yet notwithſtanding hath no beginning or ending. He created all thinges of nothing; he is inuiſible, and cannot be any way ſeene in his eſſence, according as Saint *Paul* ſaith; *Quem nullus hominum vidit, ſed nec videre poteſt: Whom neuer man ſaw, neither can ſee.*

The abſolute perfection of God in all things whatſoeuer.

Ieſus Chriſt is all one with God his Father.

A note worthy obſeruation.

God is eaſily knowne by his Workes.

God is inuiſible.

1. Tim. 6, 16.

Saint *Iohn*, in the firſt Chapter of his Goſpell ſaith; *Deum nemo vidit vnquam, vnigenitus Filius, qui eſt in ſinu Patris; ipſe enarrauit, no man hath ſeen God at any time, the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the boſome of his Father, he hath declared him.* And Ieſus Chriſt is the Image of the inuiſible God, becauſe God the Father (as *Chryſoſtome* ſaith,) *Hath no forme, quality, or any body.* And if he be all in all, and by all, why then it is moſt certaine, that hee can communicate himſelfe and appeare to the ſight of men (according to his owne pleaſure) by any thing ſubiect to him, without any imitation of himſelfe. But if wee ſpeake of the Sacred Scriptures, we ſhall finde there mention to be made of head, lips, mouth, armes, feete, eyes, eares, and other members of God; yet are not theſe things to be carnally vnderſtood, and according to the killing Letter, as ſome Iddiot ignorant people are drawn to beleeue, who do imagine, that God (in his Nature) is like vnto man, that he is ſeated on high in heauen vpon a Royall ſeate, and in a certaine place, ſomewhat anſwereable to the ſaying of Eſay; *Cœlum ſedes mea, terra autem ſcabellum pedum meorum, The Heauen is my Throne, and the Earth is my foot-ſtoole.* And as the ſame Prophet ſpeaketh in another place, *Vidi Dominum ſedentem ſuper ſolium excelſum & eleuatum, I ſaw the Lorde ſitting vpon an high throne, and lifted vp.* No, no, theſe things are otherwiſe to be vnderſtood, and his high Maieſty comprehended figuratiuely, and according to the quickning ſpirit.

Chryſoſt. in Damaſ. 1. Cap.

Origē. Periarch. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Anſelm. in Lib. de memb. Dei.

Eſay 66, 1.

Eſay 6, 1.

If any man (ſaith holy *Anſelme*) doe beleeue that God hath human members and motions, or perturbations of ſoule, as wee haue; aſſuredly, hee doth but forge meere Idols in his heart. And therefore, wee are to knowe, that ſuch phraſe and manner of Language in the ſacred Scriptures, is properly vſed, to make our rude and dull vnderſtanding, the more apprehenſiue of the vnſpeakeable Maieſty and greatneſſe of the Lord and Father of all Worlds. For, he being iuuiſible, and yet willing to manifeſt himſelfe vnto his people, doth accomodate his preſence to men, by an Analogie of ſuch things as are moſt frequent and familiar to them. For example, when it is ſaid, *That God ſpeaketh in vs*; It is to be vnderſtood, that hee is diſcouered, manifeſted and reuealed in our hearts. Or, when God ſpeaketh; that is, his inſpiring (into

Anſelm. vbi ſupra.

Pſalme 84, 5.

See the explication of *Fran. Geor.* of all the members of God, in his *Hermonie. Cant. 3. Tom. 6. Cap. 3*

(into the spirits of the iust) his wil, or reuealing vnto them succeeding things, as he did vnto the holy Prophets. The hand of the Lord (in sacred writ) plainly signifyeth his might, power, and assistance; as God answered *Moses*, saying; *The hand of the Lord, is it shortned?* And S. *Luke* speaking of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, saith; *The hand of the Lord was with him*; that is to say, his power and helpe. Sometimes the hand of God is taken for his vengeance, as in *Exodus*, *Et viderunt Egyptios mortuos super littus maris, & manum magnam quam exercuerat Dominus contra eos*; *And Israell saw the* Egyptians *dead on the Sea bank, and the great hand which the lord had shewed vpon them.*

The right hand of God, that is, the Son of God, otherwise called the glory of his Father; the euerlasting blessednesse, or, euery creature exalted vp to heauen, and on earth: euen as by Gods left hand, the Reprobate Creatures are vnderstoode; as the Deuill, the wicked and peruerse. The face of God, that is, the inuisible essence of the Godhead of his Sonne; whereof God speaking to *Moyses* by his Angel, saide; *Non poteris videre faciem meam, non enim videbit homo, & viuet*; *Thou canst not looke vpon my face, for there shal no man see me, and liue.* And a little after, *Videbis posteriora mea, faciē autem meam videre non poteris. Thou shalt see my backe parts, but my face shal not be seene.* As if he would haue said, Thou shalt see mine incarnation in the latter dayes, but my God-head or Diuinity thou canst not see.

The feete of God, doe signifie the incarnation of his sonne, being subiected to the God-head, as are the feete to the head. For as by the heade the Diuinity is vnderstood; euen so, by the feet is the humanity expressed. Sometimes by Gods feet, the holy Preachers and Doctors of the Church, are signified, of whom it is writtē in Deuteronomy. *Qui appropinquant pedibus eius, accipient de doctrina illius*, *They that come neere his feet, shall receiue his Doctrine.* By the finger of God (in the singuler number) the Holy-Ghost is figured, according to that place in *Exodus*; *Et dixerunt malefici ad Pharaonem*; *Digitus Dei est hic*; *Then saide the Enchanters vnto Pharaoh*; *This is the Finger of GOD.* And IESVS CHRIST himselfe, in Saint *Luke*, saith; *Si in digito Dei eijcio Dæmonia? &c.* *If by the Finger of God I cast out Deuils? &c.* In like manner is it of the other Corporall partes and mouings of the spirit, attributed to God, which euermore are to be interpreted spiritually; as S. *Iohn Damascene* very well declareth in these wordes: *Multa igitur quæ ad Deum spectant tenui quadam & obscura cognitione percipiuntur commode, & propriè nequeunt efferri. Itaque loquemes de ijs quæ supra nos sunt, cogimur vti verbis nobis congruentibus. Ex quo fit vt Deo & somnū & iram, & securitatem, & manus, & pedes, & alia eiusmodi tribuamus. There are many thinges which concerne God, that in signification doe carrie an obscure construction, and cannot properlie be deliuered. Wherefore, in speaking of those which are aboue vs, we striue to vse apt and congruent wordes to our capacity; whereby ensueth, that sleepe, anger, ease, hands, feete, and other such like, may seeme to be ascribed vnto God.*

The wrath or anger of GOD, is not any disquiet or perturbation of his Soule, but (according to Saint *Augustine.*) *It is a Iudgement, whereby the sin of anger is punished.* For when it is saide in Genesis; *Pœnituit eum quod hominem fecisset in terra*; *The Lord repented that he had made Man in the Earth*: It is not to be vnderstood, that God repented himselfe as a Man dooth, for any thing displeasing him: for iudgement of all thinges is to bee fully defined, as the fore-knowledge of them is sure and certaine. And the sacred Scriptures in vsing such wordes, doe not yet implie any such signification. For when the Word Diuine (Iesus Christ himselfe) spake to his Apostles, and likewise to the Pharisies; his speech was many times by Parables, and making comparison of heauenlie thinges, euen by such as were most familiarlie knowne vppon Earth. Whereupon we reade, that one while (in the Gospell) he cals himselfe a Treasure, another time a Shepheard; sometime a Lambe, then againe a Lyon; in one place a Light, in another, a Vine, a Rocke, the Way, &c. And for as much, as there is great difference betweene him and vs, therefore it is verie necessarie, that he should be vnderstood of Men by some especiall Accident; that is to say, by the meanes of reason and such knowledge, as they are best able

Damas. in Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

Numb. 11, 23.

Luke 1, 66.

Exod. 14, 31.

Ierem. 20, 10. Esa. 12, 14, 31 Prouer. 4, 12 Marke 14, 46.

S. Augus. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 12. Cap. 23.

Exo. 33, 20, 23

Anselme vpon the same place. Psal. 9, 20, 38. Hebr. 10, 14. Psal. 117, 12.

The signification of the members, attributed to God in holy scripture.

Deut. 33, 3. Ieremy 52, 7.

Exod. 8, 19.

Luke 11, 20.

Damas. in 1. & 2. Cap. de fide Orthodox.

S. Augus. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Gene. 6, 6.

God is not said to repent or be sorry, after the māner of men.

How Christ spake to his Apostles, and the Pharisies.

able to comprehend. *And these thinges* (saith *Origen*) *are figuratiuely spoken, to the end, that the Names vsuall, accustomed and conuenable to the bodie, may intellectually signifie their right Nature: Euen no otherwise, then when sins are said to be wood, Hay, and Rubbish.* In which wordes we doe not affirme, that delicts and offences haue any reall body: no more then vertues haue, although they be tearmed by better names; as Golde, Siluer, and precious stones.

Origen, contra Celsum Lib. 6.

God is not limited or confined to any prescribed place, but where himselfe best liketh to be.

The Eternall Father of Heauen then dooth neuer goe in any knowne way, neyther walkes or wanders; hee neuer sleepes, or rayseth himselfe from slumbering, but continueth alwayes in his place, or where his minde best liketh to be. He cannot be touched or seene; yet he clearely seeth and vnderstandeth all thinges: not with any Corporeall eyes or eares, but by absolute power, which cannot sufficientlie be expressed. He beholdes and knowes all actions in this World, nothing euer being, or can bee hidden from him: yet notwithstanding, hee neuer mooueth himselfe, or can be mooued by any power, neyther can bee comprized or contained in any place; no, not within the whole circumference of the wide World, because he was before the Worldes were formed, as much as to say; as from all Eternitie. He hath no neede of Name, or of any thing else, for (as *Trismegistus* saith;) *God is one, and one hath no need of any Name.*

Dionys. Areopag. in Lib. nom. Diuin.

God hath no Name.

God then hath no Name, because he is onely and alone, nor is there any vse (with vs) of any propper vocable, but onely for peculiar difference from the multitude, to the end, that each person may be distinguished by his apt appellation. But because that GOD is euermore one and alone; his true Name is GOD, which in-effable Name in Hebrew, consisteth in one Word, composed of foure Letters, יהוה IEHOVAH, of which descendeth the Verbe היה, HAIAH, *Fuit*, which is as much to say; as *He was, is,* & *shall be*, and which absolutely declareth his true propertie, for God hath beene alwayes, and shall bee eternally. *Aeternitas enim nec tempus est, nec vlla temporis pars: For Eternitie is not time, neyther any part of time.* And

The reason of Gods name.

Gregor. in Theol. Orat. de die Nat. de Christ.

almost all Nations and Languages, doe especiallie write and pronounce the Word (whereby the Name of GOD is specified) with Foure Letters, which is a number euen and perfect, because he hath no imperfection in him.

All Nations write & pronounce the Name of God with foure Letters.

Beside our proofe already made of the *Hebrewes*; The *Persians* doe write the Name of God with Foure Letters, ωρὼ; The Wizards of *Persia* ὀρὼ; The Arabes, *Alla*; The Assyrians, *Adad*; The Ægyptians, θωὺθ, or θεὺς; The Græcians, ΘΕΟΣ ἀπὸ θεῖν, *à currendo*, of running; *Quod vbique dum opus sit accurrat, adsit, opemque ferat; siue ab vrendo, quod improbos habitus comburat, quando, ex ea re & ignis consumens dicitur. That euerie where (while neede requireth) he runneth, is there present, and giueth helpe: Or else of burning, that he will burne the dwelling of the wicked, when he is saide to be a consuming fire to them.*

B. Westhmer in pirasm. diuin. Script.

The difference of Godsname in varietie of writing it.

So doth *Gregorie* the Great, (called the Diuine) interpret it in his second Prayer to the Sonne. Or whether it be of the Verbe θεωται, as much to say, as to contemplate. The *Latines* breaking the Greeke word, in stead of θεὸς, say *Deus*; The French-men, *Dieu*; The Spaniards, *Dios*; The Italians, *Idio*; The Dutch, *Gott*; The English and Scots, *Godd*; with a double Letter *d*, as hath been obserued in Antiquitie. There are some likewise, that doe yeelde another reason, and say; that the Name of God is contained in Foure Letters, to demonstrate thereby, that it is hee who hath made and formed all thinges, that they are composed of Foure Elements, and that hee made also the Foure Elements themselues, which doe rule ouer all thinges created in this World. But *Moyses* asking of God, by what Name he would be called; God gaue him this answere: *Ego sum, qui sum; I am that I am, I am he that is*: the Hebrewes say, *Ero qui ero*, expressing thereby his Nature, that hee is Eternall, without any ending; as if they would say (speaking in his person) I am truelie hee that is, and with me there is no change or alteration. Then sending *Moses* to the *Hebrewes*, to be their Guide, Prince, and Conducter, hee commaunded him to tell them: that *He which is*, or *I am, hath sent me vnto you*. Now because wee are

A reason deriued from the making of the foure Elements.

Exod. 3, 14.

With GOD there is no mutation or change, but alwaies one.

Exod. 3. 14.

are not able (of our ſelues) to comprehend him, or to attaine vnto the intire knowledge of him, in regard of the imbecillity of our frail vnderſtanding: we finde in the Scriptures many Epithets and appellations, anſwerable to the manifold effects of his power, rule, and diuinitie.

He is called α and ω, *Alpha* and *Omega*, which are the firſt and laſt Letters of the Greeke Alphabet: becauſe hee is both the beginning and the end, and yet there is neyther beginning nor ending in him. His Epithets are, *Almightie, Strong, Great, Incomprehenſible, Vncircumſcribde, Vnchangeable, Truth, Holie of Holies, King of Kings, Moſt powerfull, wonderfull*; and diuers other beſide. Some haue thus defined him. *GOD is a Spirit, holie and true, of whom onely and cheefly proceede the beginning, the action and mouing of all thinges that are: To whom, and to the Glory of whom, the end and concluſion of all thinges are referred.* *Cicero* (ſo well as hee could) defined him in manner following. *Deus mens eſt quædam ſoluta & libera, ſegregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia ſentiens & mouens, ipſaque prædita motu ſempiterno.* *God is a certaine intelligence, or Spirit, free and ready, ſeparated from all Mortall mixture or concretion, knowing and mouing all thinges, and hauing in himſelfe an eternall motion.*

Holy *Iuſtine Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the *Iew*, defines God in this order. I call *Him God, that hath Eſſence of himſelfe, and is continually permanent in one and the ſame kind, without receiuing any change, and hath giuen both beginning and forme to all thinges created.* PHILEMON (as the ſame *Martyr* declareth) deſcribes him verie breefely thus;

What thing is God? Truely, him God I call; That (being vnſeene,) is he that ſeeth all.

All which Definitions, and many more beſide, can giue vs no true knowledge of the Eſſence of GOD, becauſe it is wholly Incomprehenſible. Therefore he cannot be truly deſcribed or defined, as very learnedly the Philoſopher *Symonides* anſwered. For he being demanded by *Hierom*, What God was; and hauing a whole dayes reſpite graunted him to returne his anſwere; when that time would not ſerue him, but three dayes more were allowed him; at laſt, when he came to make his reply to the queſtion, he ſaid; *The more I ſtriue to conſider what God is, the more difficult I finde the matter to be.* The Philoſophers ſay, that definition may wholy ſpecify the proportion of a thing; or his kinde, quality, difference, or ſome peculiar Accident: all which ſeuerall thinges are not to bee found in God, which is the reaſon, that he cannot bee defined or comprehended. Wherefore I will conclude this point with Saint *Auguſtines* opinion; *Solus Deus eſt altiſſimus, quo altius nihil eſt: Onely GOD is moſt High, aboue whom there is nothing higher.* And in another place; *Quid eſt Deus? eſt id quod nulla attingit opinio. What is God? It is that which no opinion can reach vnto.*

The diuers Epithets and appellations of God in Scripture.

Definitions of God written by diuers.

Cicero in Tuſcul. 1.

Lactan. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

Iuſtin Mart. in Dial. cont. Tryph

Philemon in definit. De. &c.

God cannot truely be defined.

Symonides the Philoſopher, his anſwere concerning God.

S. Auguſt. in Lib. de mor. Eccleſ.

Aug. Lib. 1. de Queſt. Nou. & Vet. Teſtam.

CHAP. II.

Of the works which God created in ſix daies, and what day the Angels were created; with diuers other high and ſpeciall matters, worthy our knowledge.

IN the beginning GOD created Heauen & earth, and when the Earth could not appeare or bee diſcerned, (being couered with an huge profound darkeneſſe, becauſe that darkeneſſe was vppon the deepes; that is to ſay, vpon ſome confuſion, not diſtinguiſhed from the Earth and the Water, and the Spirit would walke vpon that *Chaos* aboue the Waters; to wit, vppon the Earth, which was hidden vnderneath them:) GOD commaunded Light to bee made, and when the Light was cleare, he diuided this bright ſplendour from the darknes; naming the one, Day; and the other, Night: The beginning of the Day, Morning; and the beginning of the Night, Euening. All this was done the firſt day, which *Moyſes* tearmeth to

The creation of the World. Geneſis 1.

The workes created the firſt day.

The ſecond day.

be one day. On the ſecond day, he placed the Firmament of heauen, aboue all other things of this worlde, and ſundering it from the reſt, ſeated it alone by it ſelfe, as in a particular ranke or limit: & roofing it round about with congealed yce, tempered it ſufficiently with a moiſt and watry Nature, to the end, that the earth might be duely watered.

The third day.

The third day, hauing commaunded the Waters into their meet abyding, he cauſed the dry Land to ſhew it ſelfe, enguirting (as in a Girdle) all the Earth with the Seas: and the very ſame Day, the Plants (with their Seedes) came foorth of the Earth.

The fourth day.

The fourth day, he fixed two great Lampes or Lights in the Firmament of Heauen: the one exceeding in greatneſſe, to gouerne the Day; and the other ſomewhat leſſe, to rule the Night: theſe were the Sun and Moone. Then did hee alſo ſpangle it with Starres, by whoſe influences, and hidden Vertues, he commanded that the reuolutions and ſeaſons of the yeare ſhould be obſerued.

The fift day.

The fift day, hee ſent Creatures abroad, both to flye and ſwimme: the Fowles aloft in the Aire, and the Fiſhes beneath in the Waters; vniting them ſeuerally by a deſirous inſtinct, to meete and company together, onely for the propagation of encreaſe, and multiplying in their ſeperate kinds.

The ſixt day.

The ſixt day, he created the foure-footed beaſts, Male and Female, tame and wilde. The ſame day alſo hee formed Man, which day is called, the tenth of the Calends of Aprill. For, *it was neceſſary* (ſaith *Adon* Arch-Biſhop of *Vienna*) *that the ſecond Adam, ſleeping in a viuifying death, onely for the ſaluation of Men: ſhould ſanctifie his Spouſe the Church, by thoſe Sacraments that were deriued out of his ſide, euen vpon the ſelf-ſame day, not only of the Week, but alſo of the month, wherein he had created Adam our firſt Father, & (out of one of his ſides) had brought foorth* EVA *his wife; to the end (that by her helpe) mankind might be encreaſed.*

Adon in his Chronicle.

An eſpeciall note, woorth Obſeruation.

Behold, how the Father of all Eternity created this World, and made it of viſible matter, and which (in regarde of the beautie and adornment) is ſo called by the Greekes, κόσμος that is to ſay; *Fayre, or Beautifull.* Man he made by the Workemanſhip of his owne hands, not onely to liue and enioy the goods of the earth; but for a more eſpecial and principall end, to wit; that hee might bee known and magnified of him. This creation of al things, was fully perfected in ſix dayes, for the compleate perfection of the number ſixe, not that anie ſuch length of time was needfull to GOD, or that hee could not haue created all things together, as he did (in this ſpace) by conuenable moouings, according as *Salomon* (in his *Eccleſiaſticus*) ſaith he did. *Qui viuit in æternum, creauit omnia ſimul. He that liueth for euer, created all things together.* Whereunto Saint *Baſil*, Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Dioniſius*, S. *Ambroſe*, *Bede* and *Caſsiodorus* do conſent, ſaying: *That God created, or brought forth al things together.*

How the worldis called by the Grecians.

The perfection of the number ſixe.

Eccleſi. 18, 1.

Conſent of the Fathers.

Peter Lombard, ſir-named Maiſter of the Sentences, in the ſecond diſtinction of his ſecond Booke, by Authoritie deriued from *Eccleſiaſticus*, maketh this expoſition. *The bodily Nature and matter of the foure Elementes, was created with the ſpirituall creature*, that is to ſay; *with the ſoule, and with the Angels, who were created together.* To maintain this, he brings in the iudgement of S. *Auguſtine*, vppon this place of Geneſis, ſaying; *That by Heauen and earth, ought to be vnderſtoode, the Spirituall and Corporeall Nature, which was created at the beginning, to wit, of time.* Heer you may note then, how the ſcriptures are to be cõprehended, & they to be ſought into generally ouer, without inſtance vpon any curious wreſting. In another place of the ſame Booke of Eccleſiaſticus, it is ſaide, *Prior omnium creata eſt Sapientia: Wiſedome hath bin created before all things.* Yet heereby is not to be vnderſtood, either God, or his ſon, who is the Wiſedome of the Father. For, God was not created at all; the Sonne was begotten, & therefore neither made or created: and all the holye Trinity is but one Wiſedome, which hath not beene made, created, or begotten, but proceeding.

Pet. Lombard. in Lib. 2. Diſt. 2

Auguſt. ſup. Geneſ. ad lit.

Eccles. 1, 4.

Ieſus the Sonne of *Syrach*, hee vnderſtandeth by this Wiſedome wherof we ſpeake, the Angellical Nature, often termed in the Scriptures, *Life*, *Wiſedom*, and *Light*: for the Angels are called, & ſaide to bee vnderſtanding. And albeit they were created ſo ſoone as *Heauen* and *Time*, yet are they neuertheleſſe, ſaid to be firſt created, by reaſon of their order and

Ieſus the Son of *Sirach*, concerning the Angellicall nature.

and dignitie, being (indeede) moſt worthy Creatures. Nor were theſe Angelicall powers created for any neede, or neceſſitie that God had of them: but to the end, that he might be contemplated, praiſed, and that his liberalitie ſhould be more aboundantly knowne.

But why then is it written, that God created all thinges together, ſeeing in the beginning of *Geneſis*, it is ſaide; that God produced theſe bodily ſubſtances, by pauſes and diuerſity of daies? *Dioniſius Ribellus*, a religious Monke, hath heereunto made a very profound aunſwere; whoſe very wordes therefore I was the more willing to ſet downe, that the learned and curious (in ſo high queſtions) might be ſatisfied. *Omnia hæc ſimul creata ſunt, vel materialiter, ſeu quantum ad eorum materiam, vel exemplariter, vel in genere, vel ſimilitudine. De iſto enim ſunt tres opiniones, vno dicentium; quod omnia vno inſtante à Deo producta & condita ſunt in materijs & ſubſtantialibus formis ſuis: & formatio ſequens intelligatur quantum ad formas accidentales. Omnia inquam, id eſt omnes principales partes mundi, ſcilicet corpora cæleſtia & elementa. Alia opinio eſt dicentium, quod Cælum empyreum cum Angelis, factum ſit cum informi materia corporalium rerum, & poſtea in opere ſex dierum, materia illa diſtincta ſit per formas ſubſtantiales: ſic tamen, quod fuit informis, id eſt, generali forma corporeitatis actuata. Tertia eſt, quod omnia ſimul producta ſint, cum primis individuis ſpecierum perfecta in ſubſtantialibus et accidentalibus formis, & ſex dies ſint vnus dies ſex rerum diſtinctionibus repreſentatus: quæ opinio ſubtilior & naturali rationi conſonantior reputatur. Sed aliæ duæ videntur ſcripturæ Geneſeos amplius concordare. Nam & gloſſa hic ait: Rerum ſubſtantia ſimul eſt creata, ſed non ſimul per ſpecies eſt formata: & ſimul exſtitit per ſubſtantiam materiæ, non ſimul apparuit per ſubſtantiam formæ.*

The anſwere to a very ſerious obiection

Dioniſ. Ribellus in Lib. de creat. Mund. Chap. 2.

¶ *All theſe thinges are ſaid to be created together, eyther Materially, in regard of their quantity of matter; or Exemplarily, eyther in kinde or likeneſſe. Of theſe there are three opinions; one ſaying, that al things (in one inſtant) were by God brought forth, and builded in their materiall and ſubſtantiall formes, and the formation of them is to be vnderſtood, according to accidentall ſhape or faſhion. I ſay all, that is, all the principall partes of the World; to wit, Celeſtiall, and Elementall bodies. Another opinion ſaith, that the higheſt Heauen with the Angels, were made bodily thinges of indigeſted matter, and afterward, in ſixe dayes labour or worke, that matter was diſtinctly made into ſubſtantiall formes: but yet ſo, that the indigeſted matter, beeing before in generall forme, receiued ſpeedie and bodily ſhape. The third is, that all thinges were created together, in their firſt vndiuided kindes, perfected in ſubſtantiall and accidentall formes, and ſixe dayes were but one day, diſtinctly repreſenting ſixe ſeuerall thinges. Which opinion, to more ſubtile and naturall reaſon is accounted conſonant. But the other two doe more fully and amply concord with the Scripture of Geneſis. For the Gloſſe it ſelfe ſaith; The ſubſtance of thinges were created together, but not formed together in their ſeuerall kinds: and together they were digeſted by ſubſtance of matter, but yet appeared not together in ſubſtantiall forme.*

Moreouer, after *Moyſes* (in his firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*) hath declared, what thinges were created on each of the ſixe dayes: Wherefore, then in the ſecond Chapter of the ſame Booke, doth hee ſpeake but of one day onely, by way of Epilogue (as it were) to all that he had diſtinctly deſcribed before? Saying. *Iſta ſunt generationes cæli & terræ, quando creatæ ſunt, in die quo fecit Deus cælum & terram. Theſe are the Generations of the Heauen and the Earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heauens.* Seemes he not (in theſe words) to maintaine a great contradiction? If all thinges were made in ſixe dayes, how can it be ſaide then, in one day onely? Heereunto I anſwere, that in this place, we muſt not take the dayes according as they denoate the diſtinction of Times, for God (as I ſaide before) had not any neede of time: but by reaſon of the workes of perfection, which is ſignified and compleated by the number of ſix, which firſt is accompliſhed in his partes. And therefore, the reaſon of the number is not to bee miſprized, as being of any ſlender dignitie. For *Auenzoar* the *Babylonian* ſaith; *That he which knowes to number well, knoweth directly all thinges.* And it was not ſpoken in vaine, but to the praiſes of God; *Omnia in menſura & numero, & pondere diſpoſuiſti. Thou haſt ordered all thinges in meaſure,*

Wherefore *Moſes* nameth one day onlie after the other ſixe.

Geneſis 2. 4.

The anſwere to the difficult queſtion.

The perfection of the number of ſixe.

Philo, in Lib. de oper. Dei. Auenzoar.

Wisd. 11. 17. Eccles. 1, 2.

measure, waight, and number. And it is saide in *Ecclesiasticus*, *Arena maris, & pluuiæ guttas, & dies seculi quis dinumerauit? Altitudinem cœli, & latitudinem terræ, & profundum abyssi quis dimensus est? Who can number the sands of the sea, & the drops of the raine, and the daies of the world? who can nũber the height of Heauen, the bredth of the earth, and the deapth? But onely the Workeman of them, and the all-ruling wisedome. He* (saith *Dauid*) *knowes the number of the Starres, and calleth euery one of them by his name.* And as it is said of S. *Iohn*, *He knowes the number of all the haires on the head.*

Of the seauenth day.

Wherefore God sanctified the seauenth day.

Concerning the seauenth day, which is also among the *Hebrewes* a name of perfection, and by them much celebrated: God reposed himselfe from all his workes, and sanctified it. Not as if hee were weary, or ouer-spent with trauell; but because he ceased from making any other new Creature, hauing already created whatsoeuer he would, and the nature and formes whereof, had neuer beene before. For this reason also, the *Iewes* doe take truce with their labours, on such a day as they tearme their Sabbath, calling it by an *Hebrew* Word, which signifieth rest. In stead whereof, we that are Christians, doe solemnize Sunday, which is the first of the Sabbaths, and the eight day, because that our Sauiour Iesus Christ, Sonne of the euer-liuing GOD, arose againe from the dead vpon the like day. The *Hebrewes* held in great honour the Septenarie number, because of the Sabbath, and it hath beene an especiall religious Mystery: the praise and renowne whereof, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, a Greek Author, discourseth in an Oration that he made of *Pente-cost*. *Aulus Gellius*, and *Macrobius*, haue also at large described the efficacy thereof. *Chalcidius* saith, that the *Pythagorians* commended this number, as the most naturall, absolute, and perfect.

Of the Iewes Sabbath.

Of the Christians Sabbath.

Gregor. Nazian de perfect num. sept.

How the number of seauen is framed.

The number of Three is the first imperfect number: the number of Foure is two whole paires, and of these two is the number of Seuen composed. And for this reason, it is often taken and vsed for vniuersall and infinite. Wee read, that God saith in *Leuiticus*: *Addam correptiones vestras septuplum propter peccata vestra: I will punish you seauen times more,*

Leuit. 26, 18.

according to your sinnes. And the Royall *Psalmist* saith; *Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terræ, purgatum septuplum. The words of the Lord are pure wordes, as the Siluer tryed in a Furnace of Earth, and which is fined Seuen fold.* And we haue the like in many places of Scripture.

Psalme 12, 6.

There are also great Mysteries for Christian Religion, contained in this Septenarie number, wherby the whole perfection of the Church is signified. Herevpon was it, that Saint *Iohn* wrote to the Seuen Churches of *Asia*; declaring (by this meanes) that hee writ to the flowing fulnesse of one onely. The Wise-man in the *Prouerbs* saith: *Sapientia ædificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem. Wisedome hath built her house, and set Seuen Pillars vnder to support it.* There are Seuen gifts or gracious workings of the Holy-Ghost, whereof the Prophet *Esay* in diuers places maketh mention. God also betooke himselfe to rest the Seuenth day; but yet wee must not thereby vnderstand, that God had done any actuall labour in his working: for he onely but spake, and it was done; yea, by an Eternall Word, and not a Temporall. But the rest of God, doth (indeede) signifie the rest of them that rest in God: euen as the ioy of the House, implyeth nothing else, but the ioy of them that doe, or are to reioyce in the house; neuertheless, it is not the House onely that makes them ioyfull, but some especiall matter thereby presupposed. This is then the manner of speech, when we would signifie or expresse the thing contained, by the matter which containeth, and by the efficient, that which is already done. For when *Moyses* saide, that GOD rested or reposed himselfe: very conuenably is vnderstood thereby, the repose and quiet of them that rest in him, because he onely is the cause of their rest.

Mysteries for Christian Religion in the number of Seuen.

Apoc. 1, 4.

Prouerb. 9, 1.

Col. Rodigin. de numer. sept. Lib. de aut. lect. cap. 4.

Origen. cont. Celf. Lib. 6.

What is signified by the rest of God.

Now we must and do confesse (concerning the Angels) that there is no expresse mention made, in what order the Angels were created. But Saint *Augustine* saith; *That if they had not beene omitted, they had beene signified or expressed, eyther by the Name of Heauen, or by the Name of Light.* Albeit then, that he hath not plainely declared in *Genesis*, that the Angels were created by God, nor vpon what

Of the creation of the Angels.

August. sup. Genes. ad lit.

what day: yet notwithſtanding, the holy Writings doe (elſe-where) giue ſufficient teſtimony of them. We reade in *Daniel*, how the three Children in the fierie Furnace, extolling the workes of GOD in the excellent Song they ſung, doe name the Angels to be Creatures of the Lord. For they beginne; *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino, laudate & ſuperexaltate eum in ſecula. All ye workes of the Lord, bleſſe ye the Lord, praiſe him, and exalt him aboue all thinges for euer.* Next followeth; *Ye Heauens*, and then, *ye Angels, bleſſe ye the Lord, &c.* And *Dauid* in the 148. *Pſalme*, ſaith: *Laudate eum omnes Angeli eius, &c. Praiſe him all yee his Angels.*

Dan. 3, 57, 58 59.

Pſalme 148, 1

To ſay that the Angels were created after all thoſe other thinges, which are reckoned to be made in the ſixe dayes, were an abſurdity moſt intollerable. For God ſaith in *Iob: Cum me laudarent aſtra matutina, & iubilarent omnes filij Dei:* which wordes are thus tranſlated, and very ſignificantly; *When the Starres of the morning praiſed me, all mine Angels, or the Sonnes of God, extolled mee with a loud voyce.* And the Starres were made the fourth day, but yet the ſame Saint *Auguſtine* is of this opinion: *That the Angels and incorruptible Soules, were created the firſt day, and that the Soule of Adam was created before his Bodie, like as the Angels were, and afterward diuinely infuſed.* For when God ſaid; *Let there be Light, and there was Light*: the Creation of the Angels is vnderſtood in that Light, and without all queſtion to the contrary, they were and are, made partakers of the Light Eternall, which is the ſelfe-ſame vnchangeable Wiſedome of God, and the Word Diuine, by which, all other thinges were made. So doth *Rupertus* expound that place, in his Booke of the workes of the Holie-Ghoſt, ſaying, *Videtur nonnullis Lucem tunc eſſe factam, non aliam quam aeris illuſtrationem: ſed melius magni & nominatiſſimi patres intellexerunt naturam Angelicam lucis nomine ſignificatam. Nec pro ſimilitudine, ſed prorè vera Angelica creatura dicta eſt Lux. There was then no Light at all ſeene to bee made, none other then the Ayres illuſtration: But great and many worthy Fathers haue better vnderſtood it, that the Name of Light ſignified the Angelicall Nature. Not for any ſimilitude, but for a certaine truth, that when Light was commaunded, the Angels were created.*

The Angels were not created after all other thinges.

Iob. 38, 7.

Auguſt. ſup. Geneſ. lib. 7. cap. 21

The Angels created when the light was.

Rupert. in Lib. Oper. Sanct. Sp. Cap. 2.

And when it is ſaide; *That God ſeparated the Light from the Darkneſſe*, by that diuiſion is likewiſe vnderſtood, the dreadfull and terrible Iudgment of God againſt the Deuill; Becauſe that from whence the Light came, thence alſo deſcended the Darkeneſſe; to wit, the euil Angels: who were created good in nature, but they would not continue in that excellent puritie. And therefore, of bright ſhining Angels of Light, thorough their own ſinne, they were made blacke Deuils of Darkneſſe.

Darkeneſſe vnderſtood by the Deuil and his Angels.

CHAP. III.

Of the good Angels, and of their Orders and Offices.

HAuing diſcourſed in the precedent Chapter, of the Creation of the Angels, I hold it now very meete and requiſite, to ſet down in this ſucceeding Chapter, a breeſe, but neceſſary obſeruation, concerning the diuiſion which the *Thalmudiſts* haue made of them; as alſo vvhat *Dionyſius Areopagita*, and other Chriſtian Authors, haue written of the Angels, who are the Miniſters, Meſſengers, Ambaſſadours, and Legats of God, for vvhich reaſon they are named in Greek Αγγελοι. They are vvithout bodies, or compoſition of matter, Corporeally impaſſible, but not in ſpirit: for the Scripture ſaith, that they glad or reioyce themſelues, greeue themſelues, loue, and feare. They are altogether good by Creation and Subſtance; and ſome haue beene made euill by Election; and therefore, are ſeparated from them that continue good ſtill. But my purpoſe is, to diſcourſe (in this place) of the Good Angels onely, and of the Celeſtiall Hierarchie, vvhich conſiſteth of nine ſeuerall Orders of Angels.

The diuiſion of the Angels, according to the *Thalmudiſtes*, &c.

Dionyſ. Areopag. in Lib. de Hierarch. celeſt.

Nine Orders of Angels.

Of the firſt Order, are חיות הקדש CHAIOTH HACODES: vvhom the *Thalmudiſtes* doe entitle to be thoſe Angels, by vvhom God giueth life. Of the ſecond, אופנים OPHANIM; vvhome they

The firſt Order of Angels.

The ſecond Order.

they constitute to bee those Angels, by whom God diuided or dispersed the *Chaos*. The third, אראלים Aralim; They are they, by whom the Name of GOD is conioyned or formed היהוה Haiehova, and by them God distributeth fluxible matter. The fourth חשמאלים Hacemalim: They are those Angels, by whom God formeth and shapeth bodies. The fift Order, שרפים Seraphim, by whom God appointeth and sendeth forth the Elements. Of the sixt Order, are מלכים Melachim; By these Angels, God ordereth and produceth Mettals. The seuenth, are אלהים Elohim: These are those Angels, by whom God bringeth forth Hearbes, Rootes, Plants, and all vegetables. Of the eight degree, are בני אלהים Bene Elohim: by this Order of Angels, God disposeth all kindes of Beasts and Animals. The ninth and last, are כרובים Cherubim: by these Angels, doth God shape and produce mankind, or Men.

The third Order.

The fourth Order.

The fift Order.

The sixt Order.

The seuenth Order.

The eight Order.

The ninth Order.

The Diuines and Schoole-men, doe diuide the Celestiall Hierarchie of Angels, into three Classes or Companies, and nine seuerall Orders. The first, second, and third Orders, are of the first Classe or ranke. Of the first Order, are the *Seraphims*, who are the very neerest vnto GOD; according as mention is made of them in the sixt Chapter of *Esay*. The second, are the *Cherubims*, as in the same place of *Esay*, *Ezechiel* the 6. *Psalme* 28. 79. The third, the Thrones, as Saint *Paule* in the first to the *Colossians*. The fourth, fift, and sixt Orders, are of the second Classe. Of the fourth order, are the Dominations: Of the fift, the Principalities; and of the sixt, the Powers. The seuenth, eight, and ninth Orders, doe appertaine to the third Classe. Of the seuenth, are the Vertues: Of the eight, the Arch-angels; And of the ninth, the Angels.

The diuision of the Celestiall Hierarchy by the Schoole-men, into three Classes, and nine Orders.

Esay 6, 9, 12. Ezech. 6, 14. Psalme 28, 3. and 79, 7. Colos. 1, 8.

The Orders of the first and second Classe, are for the contemplation and disposition of those thinges, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Classe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. These good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and assistance to men inuisibly; And sometimes do appeare vnto them, in such forme, as is fitting to the Mystery, and as best may be conceiued by him, to whom such a liberall grace is granted. As in elder times they appeared in the forme of a Wheele, of Beastes, of a Man hauing Wings, of young men, of Sheepheards, and such like Figures. Sometimes also, GOD makes vs to vnderstand his will, onelie by the voice of his Angels, without any visible sight of them: as appeared by *Hagar*, who onely but heard the Angel speaking from Heauen to her, shewing her the water, and fore-telling the manners and actions of the Infant *Ismael*. In the like manner, *Abraham* onely heard the Angel speake vnto him, letting him vnderstand the will of God, and yet hee sawe him not. By the like inuisible meanes, the Prophet *Habbacuk* (enstructed by the voyce of an Angel) was caried in the ayre by the haire of his head, and set vpon the Denne wherein *Daniel* was imprisoned, to bring him sustenance to eat. And so did the Lord speak by his Angell very plainely, three times vnto young *Samuel*, foretelling him the death of the High-Priest *Heli*, and his Children.

Of the first & second Classe

Of the third Classe.

The Angels doe inuisibly help men, and doe appeare vnto them in diuers formes

God makes his wil known by the voyce of his Angels, without any visible sight of them.

Gene. 21, 18, 19. Gen. 22, 1, 3, 3

Dan. 14, 34.

1 Sam. 3, 11.

Without voyce also or speaking, the Angels do deliuer the pleasure of God, as many times in Dreames, and other manner beside. For our Soules beeing Spirits, and the Angels Spirits also, they haue no neede of any Instrument or Corporal Organe, whereby to communicate together whatsoeuer GOD hath commaunded, the spirituall proportion (onely) being sufficient to performe it. God likewise doth (otherwhiles) enstruct vs in his will, by visions and apparitions: as when God (by a Vision) caused *Abraham* to come forth of his House, to the end, that he might behold the Heauens, and count the nũber of the Starres; which only was but to shew him, how hee would encrease and multiply his Seede. By the Vision of the flaming Bush, *Moyses* apprehended the admirable secrets of vnreuealed matters. By the Vision of the Wheeles and Beastes, *Ezechiel* fore-tolde many thinges to happen. Saint *Peter*, by the Vision of the vncleane Beasts, had a reuelation, not to refuse trauaile for saluation of the *Gentiles*. And Saint *Paul*, by the Man of *Macedonia*, which (during the night time) hee beheld in a Vision, had

The Angels doe declare the will of God, without voyce.

God reuealeth his wil by Visions.

Genesis 15, 5.

Exod. 3, 2.

Ezech. 10, 8, 9

Actes 10, 12.

Actes 16, 9.

had certain assurance, that God had called him to Preach the Gospell in *Macedonia*. *Iudas Machabeus* in like sort, expounding his Vision, whereby God had reuealed vnto him, the Prayers which *Onias* the deceased High-priest in his life time had made; armed all his people, with hope in God, to win the victory against *Nicanor*.

2. Macha. 15, 12.

And yet let me tell you, that Visions haue not beene reuealed to all men, as indifferently, or without especiall respect; but onely to holy persons elected of God, according as the *Psalmist* saith; *God in a Vision hath spokē to his Saints*. And all this hath been done by the Ministery of his Good Angels. And of those elect Vessels it is written; *Videbunt filium hominis venientē innubibus Cæli, cum virtute multa & maiestate. Et mittet Angelos suos cum tuba & voce magna: & congregabunt electos eius à quatuor ventis à summis cælorum vsq; ad terminos eorum. They shall see the Sonne of man come in the clouds, with power & great glory. And he shal send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect, from the foure Windes, and from the one ende of Heauen to the other.* Then, as it followeth, when he commeth in his Glorie, and all his holy Angels beeing with him: he shall sit vpon the Throne of his Maiesty, to iudge the liuing and the dead, and shall separate the good from the euill. The one shall haue life eternall, and enioy this Theory in endlesse contemplation of God: and the other shall be thereof depriued, and depart into Hels perpetuall torments.

Visions haue not beene reuealed to all men.

Math. 24, 30, 31.

CHAP. IIII.

Of this Earthlie, or Terrestriall Paradise, and of the foure Floodes thereto belonging.

MOYSES, proceeding on in his History of *Genesis*, from the originall beginning and birth of all thinges, saith; That GOD planted a Paradise in EDEN towardes the East, and there placed Man whom he had formed before. He caused also to grow out of the ground, all kind of Trees, both pleasing to the eye, and good to feed on, beside the Tree of Life. But the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, that he had appointed to grow in the midst of this Paradise. This word Paradise, is a Greeke word, descending neuertheless from the Hebrew Language, or much rather of the *Persian* or *Chaldean*, which calleth it PARDES, the Name whereof is vsed in certaine places of Scripture, and is as much to say; as *A Garden of delights, an Orchard or place of pleasure, wherein nothing is wanting, to recreate the eye.* Of this Name, *Aulus Gellius* writeth thus. *Vinaria qua nunc vulgus dicit, sunt quos Greci παράδεισος appellant; That which the vulgar tearme the haunt of wilde Beasts, is that which the* Grecians *call Paradise.*

Gene. 2, 8, 9.

παράδεισος. *Lib. 2. Cap. 20.*

Luke 23, 43. 2 Cor. 12, 4. Apoc. 2, 7.

Eden is a Region of *Syria*, known to the people of god from the time of the Prophets.

The holy Scriptures doe also denote by this Name, the Seate or habitation of the blessed; according as is expressed in Saint *Luke*. *Et dixit illi Iesus, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. And Iesus said vnto him: verily I say vnto thee, to day thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise.* The Apostle Saint *Paul* learned the very same Title, in his writing to the *Corinthians*, by these wordes. *Scio hominem in Christo (siue in corpore siue extra corpus nescio: Deus scit) raptum huiusmodi vsque ad tertium cælum. Raptus est in Paradisum, &c. I know such a man (whether in the body or out of the bodie, I cannot tell, GOD knoweth) which was taken vp into the third Heauen. How that he was taken vp into Paradise, and heard wordes which cannot bee spoken, which are not possible for man to vtter.* And in the Apocalypse. *Vincenti, dabo edere de ligno vitæ, quod est in Paradiso Dei mei: To him that ouer-commeth, will I giue to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.*

Luke 23, 43.

2 Cor. 12, 3, 5

Apoc. 2, 7.

Moreouer, that which in the Latine Interpretation, is saide to be *Paradisum voluptatis*, the selfesame holy Scripture speaks it thus in Hebrew, GANBEEDEN, which is so much to say; as *The Garden in Eden*; which the seauenty Interpreters haue translated, παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ, *Garden in Eden*. The *Chaldean* Version is the selfe-same, whereby it plainely appeareth, that *Eden* is the proper name of the place where GOD (at first) had planted the Garden of delights: *Not by taking the Grafts or Plants* (saith *Rupert*) *from*

Rupert. sup. Genes. Chap. 3°. Gene. 2, 20.

Rupert ibi supra.

from any other place: but (by the power of his Commaundement) made them there firſt of all to ſprout and bloſſome out of the Earth.

The Riuer in *Eden*, diuided into foure ſtreames or Currents.

This Garden is watered by a Spring or Riuer, which at the breaking from his maine head, doth diuide it ſelfe into foure ſeueral ſpreadings, or extenſions, and ſo do make foure great current waters or floods. One of theſe branching Armes, or wide ſwift Channels, is called פישון *Phyſon*, which is as much to ſay; as *Multitude*, or *Many*. And of the *Grecians* it is named *Ganges*, receiuing nineteene Riuers into the Lap thereof, and it enuironeth the Country of *India*, which *Moyſes* calleth *Euilath*, in regard of *Euila*, the Sonne of *Iectan*, and ſo diſchargeth it ſelfe into the Sea. Gold is ſaide there to create it ſelfe (as it were) likewiſe *Bdelion*, and the *Onix* ſtone. The Name of the ſecond Flood or Riuer, is גיחון which in Greeke is called Γεὼν, *Geon*, or *Gihon*; otherwiſe tearmed *Nilus*. This Riuer watereth all *Æthyopia*, it batheth all *Egypt*, and afterward ſhoots it ſelfe into the *Mediterranean* Sea. The third Flood, is היחל *Hidechel*, otherwiſe *Tygris*, by Interpretation; and it carries that name, onely in regard of his ſwift paſſage, ſtreame, or current: For they of *Medea*, doe giue the ſelfe-ſame Title to an Arrow. It is otherwiſe alſo called, *Diglath*; and paſſing along by a part of the *Parthians*, it enters into *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*, and afterward buries it ſelfe in the Red-Sea, which *Iaques Phillip of Bergamo*, holds to bee ſcarcely true. The fourth Flood, is הוא פרת *Hu, Euphrates* by Interpretation, which *Ioſephus* calleth *Phora*, that is to ſay; *Diſperſion*, or *fructifying*. It glides betweene *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, bedewing the Countries of the *Armenians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Chaldeans*, and ſeeking there to finiſh his race, ſhuts it ſelfe vp in the *Perſian* Sea, and not in the Red Sea; as *Quintus Curtius*, *Herodotus*, and *Dyodorus*, haue imagined.

Of the largeneſſe of *Ganges*, See *Solynus Cap.* 65.

Pomp. Mela. lib. 3. *Cap.* 7. *Lucan. Lib.* 3.

De Nil. vid. Lucan. Lib. 10.

Solynus cap. 45

De Tygris, vide Ioſephus Lib. 1. *de Antiquit. Cap.* 1.

Hugo. de S. Victor. excerpt. Lib. 3. *Cap.* 6. *Iul. Solyn. Cap.* 50. *Plin. Lib.* 6. *cap.* 27. *Iaqu. Phil. de Berg. in Chron. Euphrates, vide Lucan. Lib* 3. *Iul. Solyn. Cap.* 50. *Pet. Oliuer. in Scho. ſup. Solyn.*

There are three ſeuerall opinions concerning this Paradiſe, deliuered by Saint *Auguſtine*, in his learned labour vpon *Geneſis*. The firſt, doe vnderſtand Paradiſe to be Spirituall onely. The ſecond, hold it to be Corporall. And the third, ſuppoſe it to conſiſt of both; And yet theſe Doctours cannot agree in the ſcituation or certaine being of this Paradiſe. Saint *Auguſtine* (conſenting with *Ioſephus*) will haue it to bee in the Eaſt. Thereunto alſo, venerable *Bede* giues his allowance, adding moreouer; *That it is round engirt with the Ocean Sea, ſeperated from the other parts of the World, and ſcituated vpon a Mountaine, whereon no man is able to goe, and ſo high (withall) that it toucheth the verie circle of the moon, and whereunto the Waters of the Deluge could neuer reach or come neere. Auicen, Polybius*, and *Eratoſthenes*, are of another minde from *Beda*: for they ſuppoſe this Terreſtriall Paradiſe, to bee vnder the Equinoctiall, in a more temperate Region then any other. But this is contrary to the cenſure (almoſt) of all our elder Writers, who doe hold, that vnder the way of the Suns paſſage, there neuer was any habitation. For the Equinoctiall cuts the *Zona torrida*, euen through the middeſt, and toucheth the Zodiaque in two points; to wit, in the two Signes of *Aries* and *Libra*, where very good temperature is ſaid to be, the day being equally twelue houres all the whole year in light, and as many houres alſo of darkneſſe. Now they that take Paradiſe to be in the Eaſt, doe not farre differ from this opinion: becauſe the Equinoctiall circle hath both his Eaſt and Weſt degrees.

Tho. Aquinas. Lib. 2. *de ſint. Diſt.* 17. *Ven. Bed. Lib.* 2

Ioſeph. Antiqui. Lib. 1. *Cap.* 1.

Auicen. Polybius. Eratoſthenes.

All ancient Writers differing in this matter.

There are ſome, who by the flaming or burning Sword, doe vnderſtand the fierie Zoane of Heauen and Earth, euen there where the lightning breaks forth, & kindles the Thunder. Some Doctors ſay, that the exceeding temperature which is in this place, dooth cauſe ſuch continual welfare and health, that whoſoeuer happens to come there, can neuer dye: and therefore it is ſaide, that *Henoch* and *Helias* are yet liuing there. The certaine place of this Terreſtriall Paradiſe, cannot be truely gathered out of the holie Scriptures; albeit the *Septuagint* or ſeuen Interpreters, haue commonly traduced it to be in EDEN, and on the Eaſt-ſide. Other ſpeculatiſes, do affirme it to be in *Syria*, but *Iohannes Scotus* is none of that number, who ſaith; that in what place ſoeuer it is ſcituate, it may be ſaid to be in the Eaſt. *Quilibet enim punctus in terra, poteſt intelligi eſſe ad orientem, in comparatione ad cœlum, vel reſpectu diuerſorum ſituum terræ, praterquam reſpectu duorum polorum; qui ſunt immo-*

Of the flaming ſword.

S. Auguſt. in Dial ad Paul. Oreſ. Beda vbi ſupra.

Thom. Aquinas in loco prædict.

Strabo. Lib. 2. *Celius Rodigin. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 22.

Iohan Scotus. ſup. 2. *Lib. de ſcuten. Diſt.* 17. *Queſt* 2.

S. Auguſt. in lib ſup. Geneſ. Three opinions concerning Paradiſe

immobiles. In whatſoeuer place of the Earth it is, it may be vnderſtood to be in the Eaſt, in eſtimation or regard of the Heauens, or reſpect of the Earths diuers ſcituations, beſide the view of the two Poles, which are immoueable. Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith; *How can we deſcribe the ſcituation of Paradiſe, which we haue neuer ſeene? And if we could ſee it, yet ſhould we (neuertheleſſe) be reſtrained from reueuling it to others.*

S. Ambroſe in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epiſt. Sabin. 42.

The things then that concerne this Garden of delights and happineſſe, doe out-ſtretch the ſenſe & capacity of men. Wherefore *Franciſcus Georgius* ſaith; *That Moyſes the wiſe deſcriber thereof, hath but lightly gone ouer the report of ſuch important matters, and yet vnder Metaphors too, tending alwaies to an analogicall ſenſe: Conſidering, that this Garden, not Terreſtriall (as the vulgar doe imagine) but rather Diuine and Heauenly, was planted by the Diuine and heauenly Worke-man, not in this periſhable Earth, but in the Land of the liuing, figured by the Land of Promiſe.* And this is the reaſon, that ſuch as would willingly diſcouer ſomewhat, concerning the ſecrets hidden vnder the Veile of the holy Hiſtory, haue wholy referred (whatſoeuer can be ſaid of Paradiſe) to thinges of eaſier apprehenſion, and conuerted the fruitful trees thereof, into good manners of Life, and call it the Paradiſe of the Soule, wherein all vertues ſhould haue the ſureſt plantation:

Fran. Georg. in Hermo. Cant. 1. Tom. 7. Cap. 21.

Philo Iudaic. in Lib. de Plant. de Noa.

By the Eaſt (where they ſuppoſe it to bee ſcituated) they vnderſtand the moſt reſplendiſhing Wiſedome, perfectlie cleare, and truelie Orientall. And look how the Sunne (being riſen) diſcouers all his bright beames vpon the heauens; in like manner, haue the vertues ſuch ſhining beames, as they doe thereby penetrate into the Soule, and make it of a moſt glorious luſter. This Paradiſe may likewiſe repreſent, or deſigne, the life of the bleſſed; or elſe the Church: And the foure Riuers flowing thence, bee compared to thoſe foure royall vertues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Iuſtice: Or elſe the four Goſpels; or the foure Elements. The Trees may ſignifie all profitable diſciplines, or the liues of the Saints, their ſuper-excelling fruites, with the holy Manners and religious Workes of the good and vertuous. The Tree of Life planted in the middeſt; the Saint of all Saints, our LORD IESVS CHRIST: And the Tree of knowing good from euill, the experience gotten by the firſt tranſgreſſion, or the Riches of mans free will before his Fall.

What conſtruction hath bin made of Paradiſe.

S. Ambroſe in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epiſt. ad Sabin. 42.

Philo Iudaic. 1. Lib. de Allegor. Leg.

In breefe, there is no one that can deny, but this Paradiſe may (Allegorically) be transferred vnto ſpirituall occaſions; as the two Teſtaments was figured in two Children, which *Abraham* had: by his Hand-maid *Hagar* the one, and by *Sara* his Wife the other. As Ieſus Chriſt was ſignified and deſcribed, by the Stone and Rocke which *Moyſes* ſmote, from whence the truth of holie Scripture (like the Water) iſſued forth. *Philo* the *Iew*, and many more beſide him, haue conuerted the whole Narration of this Paradiſe, into a ſpirituall vnderſtanding, reſerving (neuertheleſſe) the verity of the Hiſtoricall diſcourſe in his bodily Carracter. For the holie Doctours, doe hold by a common conſent, that this Paradiſe hath been made in ſome certaine place of the World, and was planted with all kinde of flouriſhing and fruitfull Trees. And it appeareth, that *Homer* tooke the ſhape of the Garden of *Alcinous*, by ſome former deſcription made of Paradiſe, and it may bee truely gathered; that his excellent repreſentation thereof, hee borrowed from *Moyſes*, in his ſetting downe the order of the Garden of Paradiſe. Euen as *Ouid* hath done the like, when he deſcribeth the Golden time or age of *Saturne*, when the Earth did then bring forth all her rich encreaſe, without any labour beſtowed thereon. Why then this Terreſtriall Paradiſe may truly be ſaid to be vpon earth, and it behoueth vs to credit the truth of that holy Hiſtory, which is ſo much and often recommended vnto vs, by ſo faithfull a rehearſall, of all things that were done in elder times.

Paradiſe ſpiritually vnderſtood, and interpreted.

1 Cor. 10, 19.

Exod. 17, 6.

Philo Iudaic Lib. de Allegor. Leg. 1. Lib. or. Origen. Ambroſ. Ieron. ſup Dan. Damaſc. l. b. 2. Cap. 21.

Homer Odyſſ. 7.

Ouid. Metamor. Lib. 2.

CHAP. V.

Of the difference betweene the Celeſtiall Kingdome, and that of Paradiſe: Taken out of the iudgement of Moyſes Bar-Cepha.

THere is a great difference and contrariety, betweene the Kingdome

celestial,& the forenamed pleasant place of Paradise. For the Kingdom Celestiall is much aboue the Firmament of Heauen,& Paradise is vnder the Firmament, vpon Earth. Therefore the Realme or Kingdome Celestiall must needes bee Spirituall, and Paradise appertaineth to the Body and the minde. Moreouer, the pleasures of the Celestiall Kingdome, doe consist in the visible beholding of God, and eternall beatitude receiued with the glorious Angels: But the delightes of Paradise onely doe concerne, the sight of pleasant desireable Trees, their entising fruits, as also the great & admired floods, which continually water and bedew it.

Read *Moyses Bar-Cepha* the *Syrian*, in his Commentary written of Paradise.

Furthermore, the Celestiall Kingdome hath neuer beene seene by any Mortall eye, nor heard by any eare, or euer entred into the heart of Man, according as the Apostle Saint *Paul* plainly telleth vs: But Paradise hath beene visible to ADAM, and EVE his Wife, euen to their very bodily eies; it was vnderstood by their eares, and comprehended in their euident knowledge. Beyond all this, they are both seuerally distinguished, not onely in the Law, but likewise in the Gospell. In the Law, the holy Father *Moyses*, in the Booke which we vse to call *Genesis*, as much to say; as the Birth of all thinges, maketh mention of Paradise; and there hath described it by notes and markes: but hee hath not spoken so much as one word, concerning the Realme Celestiall of the Kingdome of Heauen. In the Gospell, our Lord and Maister Iesus Christ, as also his Disciples, and Saint *Iohn Baptist*, in their Sermons and Preachings, haue exhorted all Mortals to repentance; because the Kingdome of Heauen was at hand: but they neuer saide, that Paradise was at hand.

The Celestial Kingdome no Mortall eye hath at any time seene. 1 Cor. 2.7.

Finally, there is this difference more betweene them; that after the Resurrection, the Iust shall ascend vp into the Celestiall Kingdome, and there enioy vnspeakeable felicities, according to the true and faithfull promise of God himselfe. But no man (after the Resurrection) shall enter into this Paradise, which must remaine voyd of all Inhabitants.

Of the Law & the Gospell, distinguishing both Paradise and the Celestiall Kingdome.

The main and principall difference betweene them.

To conclude this point, all learned Doctours doe assure vs, that the Kingdome Celestiall (or of Heauen) and this Terrestriall Paradise, are two seuerall distinct things. And among those learned Fathers, there is one named *Iohn*, whom *Moyses Bar-Cepha* (for his honor) dooth name in his Oration, because of his worthy writing, concerning the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill: And likewise vpon those words, which Christ spake to the good Theefe, saying; *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* And another also, called *Seuerus*, in his two and twentith Oration of *Epithronius*.

The learned Fathers distinguishing this Argument.

CHAP. VI.

Of Hell, and of the Fire that is said to burne there continually.

THE word *Hell*, is taken in holy Scripture by diuers significations. In Hebrew it is called שְׁאוֹל SCEOL, which is as much to say, as a Graue or Sepulcher. Sometimes likewise it is taken for the dead, by a figure tearmed *Metonymia*: Also for death it selfe, as the Prophet *Dauid* saith in his 18. Psalm; *Dolores inferni circundederunt me: præoccupauerunt me laquei mortis; The sorrowes of the Graue haue compassed me about, the snares of death ouertooke me.* In the New-Testament, by the Gates of Hell, the power of death is vnderstood, which (by the meanes of sinne) are bent continually against vs. Moreouer, *Hell* is signified (in those blessed Bookes) to be the estate or condition of them, that haue incurred iudgement of the Diuine displeasure, which bringeth with it the true death; according as it is spoken by Iesus Christ himself, speaking to the citty of *Capernaum*: *Vsque ad infernũ demergeris: Thou shalt be thrust downe, euen to Hell.* Also of the wicked Rich man, who lifting vp his eyes (when hee was in the torments of Hell) saw *Abraham* a farre off, and *Lazarus* in his bosome. To speak yet more of the New Testament, which containeth the Mysteries of the Olde; *Hell* is there likewise vnderstood, to be the reward and receptacle of the wicked: and Paradise, and the bosome of *Abraham*, for the happy habitation of the

Of the Word *Hell*, taken in many significations in holy Scripture.

Psalme 18, 5.

Math. 16, 18.

Luke 10, 15.

Luke 16, 23.

Of Paradise, and *Abrahams* bosome.

the Saints and iuſt perſons, after they haue put off their corruptible bodyes, and are cloathed with their eternal condition.

The graue compared to the eſtate of the damned.

And not without great reaſon, is the Graue compared to the deplorable eſtate of the miſerable and damned. For what thinges elſe are to bee found in Graues, but Death, darkneſſe, and noyſome ſauours, anſwerable to that which *Iob* ſaith. *Antequam vadam, & non reuertar, ad terram tenebroſam, & opertam mortis caligine. Terram miſeriæ et tenebrarum, vbi vmbra mortis, & nullus ordo, ſed ſempiternus horror inhabitans. Before I goe, and ſhall not returne, euen to the Land of darkneſſe it ſelfe, and into the ſhaddow of Death. Into a Land (I ſay) darke as darkeneſſe it ſelfe, and into the ſhaddow of death, where is no order, but the Light is there as darkeneſſe, and there eternall horror dwelleth.* Such (in like manner) is the quality of the Reprobate, when God hath denounced the iudgement of condemnation againſt them: for then they are ſeazed on by Death and endleſſe darkneſſe.

Iob 10, 21, 22

The eſtate of the reprobate.

Some are of the minde, that Hell is in the middle part of the Earth, and 3245. Miles vnder the vpper part thereof. And the learned ſay, that it is vnder the Earth, by interpretation of the Name, which is plurally ſpoken *Inferi*, as beeing in the inferiour partes of the Earth. It is called *Gehenna*, which is as much to ſay; as, *Fire of the Earth, or the Land of Fire*: For γῆ in Greeke, is Earth, or Land of Fire, whereof our Fire is ſaid to be but a meere ſhaddow. God himſelfe is ſometimes tearmed in Scripture to be Fire; as in *Zacharie*, and *Deuteronomy*: *GOD is a Fire, deuouring or conſuming*; Yet he neither conſumeth or deſtroyeth his Friends: but he is ſaide to eate them; as much to ſay, that hee receiueth, and turneth them into himſelfe. And it is *Plutarchs* opinion, *That God is a Spirit fiery, or of fire, not hauing any forme, but transforming into himſelfe whatſoeuer he pleaſeth, equalling himſelfe to all things, and all thinges to him*. Which he doth, not by the Elementary fire, but by himſelfe, or by the Seraphicall enflaming, which is ſomething neere to this diuine Fire. But he puniſheth the wicked with a very ſtrict Fire, full of torments, but neuer ſhining or conſuming: And hence is it, that ſuch as are afflicted and tormented with this fire, are ſaid to bee in vtter darkneſſe.

Hierom. ſup. Ionas Cap. 2.

Hierom. ſup. Ezech. Cap. 14.

Aug. ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 12.

Plutarch in Moral. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

That God is ſaid to be a Spirit of Fire.

We muſt needes confeſſe then, that the wicked are tormented by Fire, by teſtimony of the truth it ſelfe, euen Ieſus Chriſt, ſaying; *Omnis arbor quæ non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, & ignem mittetur. Euery Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe, and caſt into the Fire*. Nay, it is further added, that it ſhall bee burned, with the Fire which God hath prepared for the Deuill and his Angels. This Fire did God neuer ordaine for our damage or deſtruction, neyther ſhall any one bee therewith tormented, except his own ſinnes doe kindle and light the Fire. As wee may learne by the Oracle of *Eſay*, ſaying: *Walke in the light of your Fire, and in the flame that your ſelues haue lighted*. Now albeit, that this Fire hath beene prouided by God, yet notwithſtanding, no man ſhall ſuffer or feele the torment thereof, if the ſparkes of his enormous ſinnes do not ſet it a blazing. For looke how we kindle a fiery Feauer in our body, by offenſiue meates, exceſſe in drinking, or immoderate labours in this life time: euen ſo do we kindle both in ſoule and body, (when after death they ſhall bee reunited) the torments of this quenchleſſe Fire, by the ſuperfluity of our wicked workes, and depraued affections. The ſuper-abounding torment whereof thus flowing in Men, dooth boyle, fry, and fiercely encreaſe their paine, that by their own lewdneſſe firſt lighted this fire.

The wicked are tormented with Fire.

Math. 7, 19.

The ſinnes of Men doe kindle the Fire of their torments.

Eſay.

An excellent comparſon of a burning Feuer, and the vnquenchable Fire.

Why then (to follow the opinion of the *Pythagorians*) the Fire which is large in extendure, and brightly burning, makes him a happy man that hath a wide and ſpacious heart, by walking in the Commaundements of God. As contrariwiſe, a ſmall and narrow Fire, ſo made by their owne bad and vile diſpoſition, that haue their hearts hardened, & cleſely ſhut vp againſt all goodnes (like to the forging Anuile) is made obſcure, darke, and torturing, euen according as the Sunne or Fire ſoftens or hardneth the diuerſity of thoſe ſubiects, that from eyther of thē do receiue their warmth or cooleneſſe. The Doctrine of the ſame Fire of bliſſe and torment, is not much varrying from the holy Scripture: becauſe in *Deuteronomy* it is

The opinion of the *Pythagorians*, concerning a great and ſmall Fire

The Fire of bleſſednes and torment, are anſwerable to the Scriptures.

called, a Fire deuouring; & in the ſame place alſo, a Fire, bleſſing, beautifying, and transforming. And in *Exodus* we reade, that the Law was giuen in a viſible flame of Fire. *Quia ecce* (ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*) *Dominus in igne veniet, & quaſi turbo quadrigæ eius, reddere in indignationem ſuum, & increpationem ſuam in flamma ignis. For behold, the Lorde will come with Fire, and his Chariots like a whirlewind, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of Fire.* For the iuſt and godly, he ordained the Fire from the Worlds firſt conſtitution, but to be to them, in ioy, ſplendour, and reioycing: which Fire alſo hee appointed for the wicked and rebellious, to bee to them a ſeuere affliction, torture, and puniſhment. But this tormenting Fire is ordained euerlaſting; as not onely appeareth by the ſentence of the higheſt Iudge, ſaying; *Goe ye wicked into euerlaſting Fire*, But likewiſe by the Prophet *Eſay*, who ſpeaking of the Carkaſſes of them that had greatly ſinned againſt God, ſaith; *Their Worme ſhall neuer dye, or their Fire euer be extinguiſhed.* By which words, the Prophet plainly declareth both the one and the other torment; to wit, the Interiour, and Exteriour, and that they are both to be Eternall.

Eſay 66, 15.

The Fire ordained for the good and wicked.

Math. 25, 41.

The inward and outward torment is Eternall.

Now preſuppoſing this Fire to bee Eternall (according to the common receiued opinion) and our Soules and wicked apprehenſions, or intelligences, being wholly ſeparated from our Bodies, Saint *Gregory* makes a quicke riddance of it, in this Nature; *Imagine* (ſaith he) *this Fire to torment the wicked, as an Inſtrument of the ſupreame Iuſtice.* But yet he leaueth to bee preſuppoſed, how this Fire ſhould be an Inſtrument, and (in mine opinion) whether it tormenteth by his owne proper forme, or whether it bee agitated by ſome other means: as by a Sythe, or Hammer, cutting or ſmiting continually vpon the wicked? Aſſuredly, it is ſome-thing ſtrange, that Saint *Gregory* hath beene doubtfull in this caſe; conſidering, that (elſe-where) he ſaith, *The Angels and Dæmons haue bodies, but yet ſo thinne and ſlender, as (in compariſon of ours) they are ſaid to be without bodies*; whereof (in this caſe) there need no difficulty to be made. Our latter Diuines, ſome of them are of opinion, that the wicked Spirits and Soules are tormented with a Corporeall Fire, as by an obiect moſt diſproportionable, and greatly moleſtuous. And the *Academickes* hold, that all the euill *Dæmons* haue one body; whereunto conſenteth Saint *Baſile*, *Nazianzene*, and the ancient Doctours mutually, from whom Saint *Auguſtine* diſſenteth not, neither is different. For he, in his Booke vpon *Geneſis*, rendreth a reaſon, how the euill Spirits do become in that manner: *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *they haue moſt ſubtile Bodies.* And a little after, he ſaith; *The Dæmons are Ayrie and Fiery Creatures, who being actiue, are not ſo thin or ſlender, as the Terreſtriall and Watry Creatures.* Some others ſay, that not onely the Angels, but Soules alſo, being ſeparated from their Bodies, haue ætheriall Bodies. But if wee had ſtudied in Saint *Paules* Schoole, who had his enſtruction in the third Heauen, we could eaſily vntye theſe knots. For he teacheth vs, that the warre between the Spirit and the Fleſh, is denounced by ſuch a Law, as whoſoeuer conquereth, ſhall giue his properties and qualities to the vanquiſhed, and the conquered ſhall be cloathed with the Nature of the Conqueror. Becauſe of ſuch as in the Spirit ſhall become victorious, he ſaith; *Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, &c. When this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this Mortall hath put on Immortalitie, &c.* And a little before; *It is ſowen a ſenſuall or naturall Body, and is raiſed a ſpirituall Bodie.* So then, the Soule being cloathed with the Nature of the Body, ſhall be tormented by the Corporeall Fire; like as the Body, cloathed with the Nature of the Spirit, ſhall receiue Beatitude together with the Soule.

S. *Gregory* his opinion of this Fire.

Saint *Gregory* his doubt.

Compariſon of the Bodies of Angels and *Dæmons* with ours.

The consent of Saint *Baſile*, *Greg. Nazianzene*, &c.

S. Auguſt. lib. ſup. Gen.

Saint *Paules* enſtruction in the third heauen, concerning the war betweene the Spirit and the Fleſh.

1 Cor. 15, 44, 54.

Origen, and the ancient *Academicks*, do aſſigne another puniſhment to the damned, and ſay: *It enſueth by a deordination or confuſion of thoſe partes, which ought to bee well ordained, diſpoſed and aſſembled.* For like as when the Members of ones Bodie are diſioynted or broken in their Nerues and Bones, we feele a generall torment and greeuous anguiſh: Euen ſo, when the Soule ſhall bee out of this order of Hermony, wherein it was Created by GOD himſelfe to doe well, and liue profitably; ſhe ſhall ſuffer

The iudegmēt of *Origen* and the *Academicks*

A very apt compariſon.

suffer paine and punishment by that same deordination and confusion. Answerable to that which Saint *Augustine* saith: *Thou (ô Lord) hast appointed it, and it must be so, that euery disordered Spirit shall be a punishment to it selfe.* Of this torment that ariseth from the disorder of the Soule, which ought euermore to be concordant to God; many other things are said, not onely by S. *Hierome*, Saint *Augustine*, S. *Ambrose*, and diuers other Doctours; but likewise by *Proculeius*, *Hierocles*, and others, among whom, *Cicero* writing against *Cateline*, saith; *Thine owne iniquities, shall not they appeare like so many furies before thee?* The Prophets also say the very same: *Vnderstand* (saith *Ieremy*) *and know, that this is a most bitter and wretched thing vnto thee, because thou hast forsaken the Lord God.* And the same *Esay* affirmeth; *The Heart of the wicked Man* (saith he) *is like vnto the boyling Sea, which neuer can take rest, but as the billows, so do they redound and regorge, to his griefe and dolour; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord.*

August. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Cicero cont. Catilinam. Orat. 2.

The before-named Authors, doe describe another reason of this torment, which they gather to be engendred of a wicked Idoll or representation. For our soule or Spirit, calling to remembrance those thinges, whereof the imprinted some shape in her selfe, euen at the time when the sin was committed, shall see and discerne before her own eyes, some History (as it were) of her transgressiõs. And then must the conscience be hurried with her owne piercings, *The verie thoughts accusing one another* (saith the Apostle) whereof are begotten some torments, euen by those bad affectiõs. And they shall be punished by the hot fierie flame of wicked embracings, oblique loue, and selfe-wounding indignation: or by the pale-freezing fire of Enuy, or else consumed by frenticall sadnesse. It is no maruell then, if the supreme Iudge of all, doe thus torment the wicked in Hell, giuing them much greater paine, then the most cleare light, or brightest beames of the Sunne can do to bleared eies, scarrified or any way else offended: And with-holding also from them his benigne influence, whereby all thinges are filled with goodnesse, leauing them in their own vile deordination. For euen he himselfe, that will be seene (of the good and vertuous) to their ioy & comfort in the resurrection; will be likewise to those euill doers, their dismall paine and endlesse consumation.

Another reason of this tormenting Fire.

The Soule seeth an Historie of her owne offences.

The highest Iudge tormenteth the wicked in Hell.

This is that whereof the Prophet *Ezechiel* speaketh, saying that hee saw the Lord; *A lumbis eius & desuper, & à lumbis eius vsq; deorsum, vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu: Euen from his loynes vpward, euen from his loynes downeward, I saw as a likenesse of fire, and brightnesse round about.* The Lord then is one while a bright and beautifying fire, making the iust to glitter and shine, like to the Stars, or as sparkles of fire: another while, he is a boystrous storming Fire, to the Children of *Leuy*. One while he is a consuming fire of Wood & Straw, to wast, destroy, and ruinate (as *Ioell* saith) *Speciosa deserti, The Pastures of the Wilderneesse*; that is to say, the wicked Actions committed by them that are forsaken by the Grace of GOD, and the heauenly influxion which would haue made them appeare bright and glorious: Another while also, he is a blacke burning and tormenting Fire, and as *Ioell* else-where saith; *Ante faciem eius ignis vorans, & post eum exurens flamma; A Fire deuoureth before him, and behind him a Flame burneth.*

God is (to the good) ioy, and comfort, but to the wicked, endlesse sorrow.

Ezechi. 1, 27.

God is one while a bright gladsom Fire, and another while a darke deuouring Fire.

Ioel. 1, 19.

Ioel. 2, 3.

Now whether this Fire be incorporeall or no, that only is best knowne to God, and yet *Origen* prooues it to bee inuisible, by the iudgement of the Apostle: *This Fire* (saith hee) *is of such substance, that being constituted inuisible, it yet burneth visible thinges, according as the Apostle saith.* For the things which Men see, are Temporall; and those which bee not seene, are Eternall. If then this Fire be Eternall where with they are punished that separate themselues from GOD: it falleth then vpon necessitie, that it must be also inuisible, because by the opinion of the Apostle, the onely thinges Inuisible, are Eternall. And it is not to bee *Wondred at*, (saith the same *Origen*) *that this Fire is both Inuisible and tormenting, because no Man can see the heate or warmth which is accedentall to the Body, and yet it measurably tormenteth them sometimes, that are but indifferently molested with that Fire, which is of a quite contrary sort or kind, to the Fire which we haue in common vse here on Earth.*

Whether this Fire be incorporeall or no. *Orig. in Hom. 9.*

The fire eternall is Inuisible.

Orig. vbi supra.

Nothing is of greater torment in this World, then our visible fire

Neuertheleſſe, it is compared to ours, in regard, that there is nothing in this world, which giueth a greater torment then the viſible Fire: and if we doe deſire to ſhun the other, which torméteth eternally, let vs take good heede, that there be no eternall euill diſpoſition in vs; but rather ſuch, as we may receiue the ſupreame Fire in ioy, or (at leaſt) in conſuming away our wood and ſtraw, the inordinate deſires and appetites of this life. And ſo by expurgation of the Scum, or Dregges and Droſſe of the Mettall; we may ſhine like bright Veſſels of pure Golde, fit to be placed in the Celeſtiall Clouds, and in the dwelling of the eternally bleſſed.

CHAP. VII.

Of Man (the Image of God) to what end he was created: with the ſignification of thoſe two words, Image of God, *and* Similitude or Likeneſſe of God.

The World is as the Shop of God, declaring his heauenly workes.

WHen our good and gracious GOD, by admirable prouidence had Created the whole World, and all that therein is compriſed (which is nothing elſe, but euen a Shop (as it were) wherein the bright Beames of the Diuine Wiſedome doe ſhine and are made manifeſt.) Preſently, for a full accompliſhment of his worke, hee formed Man in his owne Image or reſemblance, to conſtitute him, as Emperour and Maiſter of all thinges that he had ſo excellently created on Earth. To the ende, that Man knowing the Dignity of his Creation, and how much hee was obliged to his Maker, might bee the more incited, to loue and ſerue him in al his powers, and ſhould imploy himſelfe in acknowledging ſo great a benefit, as to be made according to the ſemblance or Image of God. Not proudly to preſume or ouerweene, that the ſhape of God is anſwerable in forme to his owne; for this Word *Image* is not ſo vnderſtood, concerning the exteriour forme or ſimilitude: but rather, according to the ſpirituall intelligence, of the more precious part, which is the Soule.

How Man is ſaid to be made after the Image of God.

For looke how God (by his increated power) is wholly God, and in all places viuifieth and gouerneth all thinges, and (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *Wee moone, liue, and haue our being in him*: Euen ſo, the Soule giueth life in the Body, to euery part thereof. And now behold how ſhe is ſaid to bee the *Image of God*, like as in a Trinity. For albeit, that (by Nature) ſhe can bee but one, yet it is moſt certaine, that ſhe hath in her ſelfe three ſeuerall Dignities; to wit, *Vnderſtanding*, *Will*, and *Memory*. And looke how the Sonne is begotten of the Father, and the Holy-Ghoſt proceedeth both of the one and other: In like manner, is the *Will* engendred of the *Vnderſtanding*, and *Memory* hath her procreation from them both. And euen as the three perſons of the Trinitie are but one God; ſo the three powers of the Soule, are but one only Soule. Seeing then that wee are Created in the ſemblance or likeneſſe of God, and that this is an vndoubted *Maxime*; *That euery like delighteth in his like*: Wee ſhould euermore wiſh, to bee vnited with our ſimilitude, which is God. And looke how much theſe earthly thinges are far off from GOD; euen as farre doe wee eſtrange our ſelues from him, when we ſet our affections on thoſe matters which are not giuen vs to vſe, as our cheefeſt good, or *Summum Bonum*: but to this end, that knowing the goodnes of the Creator, who hath ſo willinglie prouided vs of all things neceſſary, we ſhould be free from all occaſions of excuſe, and make the larger confeſſion of his benefits, powred in ſuch abundance vpon vs.

The three dignities that the Soule hath in her ſelfe.

Euery like taketh delight in his like.

Earthly matters are not giuen vs for our chiefeſt happineſſe.

Man then was Created, to the end that he might acknowledge his God, and in knowing him, to honour him; and in honouring, to loue him; and in louing, to ſerue and obey him: and all this to no other end, but that finally he might attaine to that end, for which he was created; to wit, the fruition of his God and Maker. For this cauſe, he made him with an erected and vpright Body; not ſo much for his diſſimilitude frō the bruti ſh Beaſts, who are crooked, bended and looking downe vpon Earth: as to mount vp his vnderſtanding, and eleuate his eyes vnto the Heauens, his originall,

The end and intent of mans Creation.

The reaſon why GOD made Man of an erected ſtature.

ginall, to contemplate there Diuine occasions and permanent, leauing the Terrestriall as vaine.

But if we shall better and more largely declare, the difference, betweene the Image and similitude of God, to make some vnity and concordance betweene them; let vs then set downe the Exposition which *Hugo de Saint Victor* hath made thereon. *As in the Elements* (saith he) *two thinges are diuers in themselues, and the one far off differing from the other; as in the fire wee behold two dissenting things; to wit, brightnesse, and heate; the brightnesse not beeing heat, nor the heate brightnesse; because the brightnesse is seene and glittereth, and the heate is onely felt, yet burneth; the brightnesse not burning, or otherwise felt, but by sight, nor the heat shining, or to bee seene: Euen so, two diuers thinges are likewise to bee discerned in the spirituall Creature; namely, the Image of God, and the semblance or similitude of him, which two doe somewhat differ and are vnlike. For, according as the spirituall Creature is made in the Image of God, so she shineth by knowledge; that is to say, according to intelligence and vnderstanding, the spirituall Creature is the Image of God; And according as she is made in the likenesse of God, so she heateth her selfe by loue and dilection; that is, answerable to will and behauiour, she is semblable to God. Now, the Author and Maker of this spirituall Creature, ordered, that one part thereof should alwaies remaine simple and wholly spirituall, as the Angels: and that the other should be commixed, as the Soule of Man which dwelleth in the Body.*

Origen is of opinion, that the Image of Iesus is Man, and that for this cause it is said, that he is made in the Image of God: *For the Sonne is the Image of GOD.* Others are of the minde, that the Holy Ghost is vnderstood by the Word *Similitude*: but truely, in the Image, and in the likenesse of GOD, is nothing else meant, but that Man is also the similitude of God. Man is the Image of God, saith Saint *Paul*. This may likewise referre it selfe vnto nature; but Similitude or Likenesse must then order it selfe, by those thinges wherewith Nature is endewed; to wit, Immortality, Vertue, and Wisedome, which doe make a man like vnto God. *Thomas Aquinas*, that great and learned Diuine, expoundeth the present case in this manner. *Man is made in the Image and likenesse of God, according to his Soule, whereby he excelleth all vnreasonable Creatures. In the Image, that is to say; in* Memory, Intelligence, *&* Dilection. *In Likenesse, that is, in Innocency and Iustice, naturally disposed in the Soule.* Saint *Augustine* in his Book of the quantitie of the Soule, saith; *The Soule is made like vnto God, he hauing Created it immortall and indissoluable.* *Thomas Aquinas* proceeding on in his last Narration, hath these wordes. *The Image then, is as concerning the forme; and the Likenesse, is as concerning Nature. Whereby it appeareth, that Man is made (in regard of his Soule) according to the Image and Likenesse, not onely of the Father, or the Sonne, or the Holy-Ghost, but of the whole vndiuided Trinity together.*

But God bestowed vpon Man when hee Created him, three especiall good gifts, and principally to be made reckoning of. The first is, that he gaue him his owne Image. The second, that he made him after his own Likenesse. The third, that he gaue him Immortalitie of Soule, if Man had continued in the obedience of his Creator. *Which three great blessings* (saith *Hugo de S. Victor*) *were giuen by God vnto man, and both* (*Naturally, & by Originall Iustice*) *vnderstood then to be in him. Two other guifts also he enriched man withall, as exteriour benefits; the one, vnder him; the other, aboue him: Vnder him, the World; aboue him, God; the world, as a visible good, yet transitory; God, an inuisible good, and eternall.* In this neather guift (to wit the World) Man was created in the higher; that is, in God, Man is to be blessed. God hath beene and is aboue Man, by condition; and aboue the World in Dignity: diuiding himselfe from the inferiour world, to draw him vp to the Soueraigne and Superiour.

There are also three principall hurts or euils, which doe abuse and corrupt the three fore-named blessings; to wit, Ignorance of Goodnesse, Couetousnes of Wickednesse, and Infirmity or sicklines of the Body. Thorow Ignorance, the Image of God hath beene, and is defaced in vs; and so by Couetousnes, is the likenesse of God: By Infirmity & sickenesse, the Immortality of the Body. For these three diseases, there are likewise

Hug. de S. Vict. in Lib. de interpret. de Imag. & simil. Dei.

All this whole discourse is taken out of *Hugo de S. Victor. Excerpt. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

Colos. 1, 15. Heb. 1, 3. 1 Cor. 11, 7.

1 Cor. 11, 7.

Tho. Aquin. sup. 2. de gest. Dist. 16.

Three things concerning the word Image, and three for likenesse.

August. in Lib. de quant. anim. Cap. 2.

Thom. Aquin. in loco prædict.

Three good guifts bestowed by God vpon Man in his Creation.

Hug. de S. Vict. Excerpt. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Three euils that corrupt the three former goods.

Three remedies against the three euils

wise three principall Remedies; to wit, *Wisedome*, *Vertue*, and *Necessity*; to the end, that by three Soueraigne helpes, three dangerous harmes may be auoyded. To ouercome Ignorance, we are to make vse of Wisedome; to Mayster the Vice of Auarice or Couetousnesse, we must imploy the contrary, bounteous Vertue; and with Necessity, to tread downe Infirmity. Wisedome, is to vnderstand things as they are, without idle curiosity: Vertue, is an Habitude of the Soule after Nature, conformable to Reason. I call Habitude a quality, which (without great difficulty) cannot be remoued from her place and Subiect. Euen as we tearme disposition to be another quality, which easilie is to be elbowed out of his abiding. By the Word Subiect, we vnderstand the vertue of the Soule, wherein the same Vertue (which is a Quality) maketh her residence. Necessity, which is tearmed Absolute, is, as when without it, nothing can be done: As, without feete a Man cannot goe; without food, he cannot liue; and without naturall sustenance, he must needes dye. There is another kinde of Necessity, which is called Conditionall: As, for a Mans easier trauailing, a Horse is expedient; and for a more delicate degree of Life, Partridges, Quailes, and other Dainties, may be accounted requisite.

The vse of the three Remedies, in their seuerall degrees.

Of absolute Necessity.

Of Conditionall Necessity

For these three forenamed Remedies, all Arts and Disciplines haue beene inuented: To attaine Wisedome, the *Theorique* (which is Contemplatiue) hath beene found out: For Vertue, the *Practique* (which is Actiue) came into vse: And for Necessity, the *Mechanicke* onely was inuented. For after that ADAM had sinned, He, his Children, and Kindred, were necessarily constrained to the search of thinges: to know Plants and Hearbs; to plucke vp roots and eate them, to labour the Earth, by the sweate of their Browes to get graine for food, and this Necessity they naturally learned, as afterward to grind the Graine, to make it in Paast to bee baked: to kill wilde Beastes, and feede on their Flesh, and then to cloth themselues with their Skinnes. To builde little Habitations, thereby to auoyde the iniury of Weather. To plant Vines, daily adding inuention vpon inuention, either in finding out diuersity of viands, and then as variable orders of dressing them. To erect big Houses, to beate with Hammers, to File, to Sowe, to make Garments of Linnen, Woollen, Silkes of sundry collours, and other admired kindes of Habit. To buy, sell, and Traffique one with another. And *Iohannes Ludouicus Viues* saith, in his Booke called *The Introduction to Wisedome: Vtile indumentum excogitauit necessitas, preciosum, luxus, elegans, vanitas. Necessity found out Garments, profitable, precious, light, neate, and vaine.*

Theorique hath three partes; *Diuinity, Philosophy*, and *Mathematical* skil. *Practique* is diuided into solitarines, priuate and publique: Or else into *Ethicall*, *Oeconomicall*, and *Politicall*. There be also seauen kindes of *Mechanicall* order: whereof *Hugo de S. Victor* amply discourseth, and therefore to him I refer the Reader.

Io. Ludo. Viues, in Introduct. Sap. Cap. 1. 4.

God then so dearely loued Man, that he assigned him the whole Worlde for his Country and dwelling. And euen to this day, in what part soeuer therof a Wise man trauaileth, he is said to bee (euery where) a free Cittizen: so that in all places, all thinges are his, and no where should he account himselfe eyther a Stranger, or to be Hosted. How much more then, was the first Man a Lord of all the World, and as the *Grecians* say κόσμοπολίτης, Being the new workmanship of God, endued with all Vertues, Maister of all the Beasts of the Earth, of the Waters, and of the Ayre, with all Creatures to them belonging, he had the whole World (as his Inheritance) in Possession. And did not God declare a great signe of loue to him, when he diuided parts with him? Hee gaue him the Earth to walke vpon, as if he were Sole-Maister thereof, according as the Etimology of the word signifieth. For his Name in *Hebrew*, is אדם ERES, & is so said *à calcando*, of treading or going, *Veluti & Latini terram; quasi teram, à terendo nominant; Like as in Latine, Earth, smooth as it were, so named of often vsing.* Heauen he reserued to himselfe, as his more pure and perfect Habitation: *Cœli enim* שמים *dicuntur* SCAMAIM, *ab igni & aqua, quorum vtrumq; vim purgandi extergendiq; habet. For the Heauens are saide of* Scamaim, *of Fire and Water, in that they haue the vertue of both powers, in purging and clearing away all imperfections.*

Man is a free Cittizen of the whole world.

God diuided parts with Man.

Mans part.

The signification of Mans Name, in Hebrew and Latine.

Gods part.

S. Ambrose in lep. ad Sabin.

The Riches and blessings of which heauenly place; to wit, Celestiall Glory, and euerlasting Felicity; hee then made Man (neuertheless) partaker of, and all that are descended of him (I meane the Friends and Louers of God) where-

Man and his off-spring made partakers of the riches of heauē.

whereof they were absolutely assured, after that the first offence and transgression was repaired, by the second person in Trinity; who came into this World, and tooke on him the true forme and semblance of Man: and al the elect shal vndoubtedly inioy them, after that their Soules are deliuered from the Prison of their Bodies.

Psalm. 113.4.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Age of Man, and why in the first age of the World, Men liued longer, then now they doe in these later times.

In the first Age Men liued longer then now, by many yeares.

IT is well knowne, to all them that haue beene studious in the holy writings, that in the worlds first Age, and before the generall Deluge (for Sinne) had ouer-whelmed the whole Earth; the life time of Man was much differing in length, from the breuitie wherein wee now behold it. For it is most certaine, that ADAM liued nine hundred and thirty yeares; SETH, nine hundred and twelue; CAINE, or CAINAM (as some call him) nine hundred and ten. So descending afterward frō one to another, we find, that he that liued least time of account, attained to the reach of seauen hundred yeares. But now in these our daies, we see very few arriue at eighty, or ninety years of age: which date if any one happen to exceed, it is esteemed rare and maruailous; so that, we liue not the tenth part of the former life time. Wherefore the learned, both Diuines and naturall Philosophers, that haue seriously discoursed on this Argument, finding Nature (our productresse) to bee the very same teeming Mother with them then, and that those first Men liued naturally heere so long time, and not miraculously: they grew heereat into no little amazement, and therefore began to make curious Inquisition into the causes and reasons.

The shortest life time was seauen hundred yeares.

The iudgement of Diuines & Philosophers in this case.

Marcus Varro and others grew doubtful of the yeares in length.

To *Marcus Varro*, and an infinite number of other like Questionists, this worke of Nature appeared to bee so strange, that they grew into an imagination by themselues, supposing the yeares of that ancient time, to be none such as are in these moderne daies. But that coniecture was meere idle follie, and an error ouer great, as also inexcusable, vaine, & absurd, as shall be shewn in the following Chapter, after we haue first discoursed in this present, some causes, with the aduise of Graue, Wise, and Learned Authors.

When I looke into the Obseruations of others, and then make a discent from them into mine owne priuate opinion, I take the principall reason, why Men liue not now so long as ours Elders then did, to be this: That they had no such causes or accidents, as now (in vs) doe beget many infirmities, whereby both Age and Death doe soone steale vpon vs. Heere-withall it behooues vs to consider, that ADAM and EVE being the first Parents of all mankinde, were created by the hand of God, without any other meanes or helpe: wherefore it is to be presumed, that he made them of a most excellent complexion, perfect simpathy, and such proportionable humours, as must needes yeelde a reason for their healths continuance, so many years together. By means whereof, the Children that came from Parents of such rich perfection, and likewise their Off-spring succeeding to them againe, that naturally had the benefit of so long life, must needs resemble their first Deriuers, in selfe-same good and sound constitution, as being descended of most excellent matter; vntill such time, as by the alteration of Ages (whose propertie is to change & impaire all thinges) the condition of Man began feebly to decline, yeelding vp his daies to be few in number.

Our fore-fathers had no such infirmities as now we haue.

Adam and *Eue* made by the hand of God onely.

The alteration of Ages impaireth all things.

In those times also, they had one thing which greatly auailed for the lengthening of life, and which now to vs is very contrary & hurtfull. That was, great temperance in drinking, as well in quantity as in quality: Likewise their small variety of meates; for they neuer had so many sorts or diuersity of dishes, as now we haue; neyther knew they any such plenty of idle inuentions. Nor doe we any where finde, that the eating of Flesh was knowne (before the flood) to Men. Moreouer, it is held by common opinion (but yet most certaine) that

Temperance in drinking, and little change of meates.

Flesh not eaten before the Flood.

that Fruits and Hearbs (in those times) were of farre greater vertue and substance (beyonde all comparison) then now they are or can be; by reason they grew out of a new & vnwearied earth, and not any such as now it is; weake, worne, and vtterly fainting. For that vniuersall ouerflow and invndation, bereft it of his former purity and fatnesse, making it more brackish, barren and vnfertile, by the Waters generall passage ouer it, which continued for many weekes together.

The Deluge made the Earth more barren then before.

These reasons are so weighty and iudicious, as each of them may be sufficient to conclude (though many more be ranked with them) that it was no matter of maruaile, but rather meerely naturall, for Men to liue longer then, then now they doe or can. It is further to be obserued, and we may boldly credit it for a truth, that ADAM was acquainted with the vertues, in all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones, and his Children so well profited therein by his instruction, as neuer could any (since then) attaine to the like perfection. All these then thus concurring; partly for the health and support of life, and partly for continuance in soundest temperature, expelled all danger of diseases to happen, onely by meere vse of common growing simples, detesting the venomous compounds of this Age, which in stead of purging and purifying Mens bodies, do weaken; yea, and oftentimes kil such as take them.

Adam knew the vertue of all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones.

Beyond all this, in those first yeares of the Worlds infancy, the health and life of Men, was much strengthned and supported by course of the Heauens, as also the influence of the Starres and Planets; they being farre more beneficiall and auspicious then, then now they are. For then there had not past half a quarter so many Aspectes, Coniunctions, Eclipses, with infinite other Cælestiall Impressions, whence haue come the causes of changes, variations, & strange alterations vpon Earth, and among the Elements themselues, that were the principall Motiues to life and health in those daies; as contrariwise they are the occasions of infirmities and death now. But to go somwhat further, then whatsoeuer yet hath beene said, as grounded only vpon naturall reason; I dare maintaine, that the very cause of so long life in our fore-fathers, proceeded from the vnspeakable prouidence of God; whose will it was, to haue their life time stretched out to such length, and that the fore-mentioned occasions, should mutually be aiding one to another; this being the onely intent, that of two Sole-Persons, many more might bee borne, the Earth inhabited, and mankind multiplyed.

The life of Man much holpen by the course of heauen.

The prouidence of God was the onely cause of our fore-fathers long life.

We see beside, that Men liued not so long after the Flood as they did before, as being (perhaps) in Gods secret counsell so determined: yet NOAH was permitted to enter the Ark, and there God saued more Men and Women, then at the first he had created, that the World might yet againe be the sooner inhabited. Saint *Augustine* discoursing on these matters, saith; ***That our fore-fathers had not onely a benefit beyond vs, in health and length of life; but in the stature of their bodies, as manifestly is remembred of them in diuers Bookes.*** And their Bones haue beene found vnder great Mountaines, as also in sundry Graues & Sepulchers, which haue beene beleeued for a certainety, that those Bones belonged to Men liuing before the Flood. The same Saint *Augustine* also affirmeth, that hee being at *Vtica*, a Citty of *Affrica*, sawe there the Bones of a dead Mans Body, and the very Iaw-Bones were so big and weighty, that they would haue counterpoysed them of an hundred Men, now liuing in this Age of ours.

GOD saued more in the Arke, then he created at the beginning.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 15.

The differēce of stature in out fore-fathers.

Aug. vbi supra.

Neuertheless, although our life time be so shortned, yet we neede not make any complaint thereof, for in applying that breuity to euil manners, or offence of God, the Lord hath shewne himselfe most mercifull to vs, in cutting off so large a limit, then which, we can acknowledge no greater a benefit. And yet, if we would deuoutly apply our selues to his seruice, he hath allowed vs (in this little) time enough for it. For so great is Gods goodnesse and fauour towards vs, that he accepts our good desires and humble wils, for full, sufficient, and absolute payment.

We haue no cause to complaine of our liues shortnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *That the opinion of such, as supposed the yeares in elder time, to bee shorter then now they are at this instant, is vtterlie false. Of the first Citty that euer was in this World. Finally, that our Auncient fore-fathers had more Children, then those which are remembred vnto vs in the holy Scripture.*

The doubt of some, concerning the years of our fore-fathers, to be shorter then now they are.

BEcause it hath seemed to some, that the life time of nine hundred years, in our first Parents, should bee a matter impossible, in regard that they could not comprehend, and reach to the causes and naturall reasons, which haue beene alleadged in the precedent Chapter, as the onely occasions of their so long continuance. And (in not daring to deny the iust number of so many yeares, euidently specified & maintained in sacred writ) they wold yet insinuate a supposition, that those elder yeares, were shorter, then in these Moderne times they are; whereby the aduantage of their long life (out-reaching ours so farre) comes much short of the opinion by vs receiued: we must therefore settle our selues, to a full resolution of these imaginary conceptions. And yet we will examine part of their follies, in that some others among them, would perswade and assure vs, that one of our yeares now, carries equall quantity with ten of those in old time. Nay, there be others, who haue maintained, that each monthly course of the Moone now, stood with them then for a full and compleate yeare, which they pleased to call by the name of *Annus Lunaris*.

One of our yeares now, supposed as long as ten of the first world

A yeare of a monthes length.

Other Dreamers bring in as dry an assertion, that three of our moneths, made them vp one whole yeare; by means wherof, one of our years should iump iust with foure of theirs: for in such manner did the *Chaldeans*, and likewise the *Arcadians* deuide their yeares, according as *Lactantius* recordeth. *Marcus Varro*, a *Romaine*, most learned in many matters, only (heerein) is somewhat blame-worthy, because he held, that these *Anni Lunares*, deriued their number from one Moones coniunction vntill the comming of another new Moone, which may consist of twentie nine daies, and some odde houres beside. *Pliny* likewise esteemes it but as a fable, that Men (in the Worldes none-age) should liue so long; and saith, that the *Arcadians* (according as wee haue already declared) numbred their yeares by three of our months. There is also among vs Christians, a certaine Booke of the Ages of the World; the Authour nameth himselfe *Heliconiensis*, wherein he witnesseth himselfe to be of the same opinion.

Lactan. in 2. Lib de Diuinarum Institutionum.

Pliny held the long life of our fore-fathers for a fable.

Heliconiensis of the same mind

Notwithstanding all this, it is a case most plaine and apparant, that those yeares deliuered vs in holy Scripture, were none other, then these are in our time, and if there might be imagined any difference, yet it was not sensibly to be perceiued: and therefore, all opinions held to the contrary, are vaine, ridiculous, and meerely fooliſh. For it is so directly prooued by *Iosephus*, as also *Lactantius Firmianus*, but especially S. *Augustine*, in a more distinct and better manner, whose reasons and authorities, are sufficient to confound all former grosse and false opinions.

Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 2. August. Lib 2. & 15. de Ciuit. Dei.

That euery Moone made a yeare.

Concerning the first allegation; to wit, that each seuerall Moone (in that Age) made them vp a full compleat yeare, accounting alwaies from the one coniunction to the other: how can this be but an impudent error? Because we know very certainly, that so much time doth not containe fully thirty daies: Which being graunted as they argue, then it must needes follow, that Men in this present Age doe liue longer, then they did vpon the worlds Creation, for neuer any Man liued then, twelue hundred yeares, which (by such account) nothing surmounteth this Age of ours. And yet it is to bee iustified, that some (among vs) haue liued an hundred years; some also (though fildome) an hundred & twelue yeares: which would amount to more then thirty hundred yeares, if wee should account them so by the course of the Moone.

No Man liued one thousand two hundred yeates.

We may well ioyne this to their errour, whose opinion was, that ten of those elder yeares, did make vp fully but one

Ten old years supposed to be but one of ours.

one of ours now. But might their conieƈture paſſe for currant, then Men ſhould bee capable of Generation, at ſeauen, eyght, and ten yeares of age, which is quite contrary to all naturall Philoſophy. To approoue this, wee read in *Geneſis*, that SETH the Sonne of ADAM begat ENOCH, he being then an hundred and fiue yeares old. If ten of thoſe yeares, had anſwered (by equall proportion) but to one of ours now; it muſt needs then follow, that Men in the Worldes firſt Age, did beget Children, at ten yeares old and a halfe of our inſtant account. CAINE alſo begetting MELALEELL at ſeauenty yeares of his age; by our reckoning, muſt needes be a Father at ſeuen yeares old of our time: Nay, we muſt fall to a farre lower account, if one of our yeares ſhould hold leuell with twelue of the firſt Age, according to ſome others idle imagination.

Gen. 5, 6.

Gene. 5, 12.

But more cleerly will we yet reueale their groſſe abſurditie, & by that which enſueth, ſquaſh in peeces their vnexcuſable errour. For if their ancient yeare were but the tenth or twelfth part of ours now; it muſt then conſequently enſue, that their yeare then conſiſted not of twelue months, or (at moſt) that their month had but three daies in it. Which is apparantly falſe, becauſe the manifeſt Text of the Scripture ſaith: That the generall Flood began the ſeauenteenth day of the ſecond month; whereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Months then, were none other then now ours are. As for the opinion of them, who hold, that the old year made but the fourth part of our Moderne account, and that their yeare conſiſted but of three months onely: the ſelfe-ſame Scripture doth approoue it likewiſe to be falſe, becauſe in the fore-named place it is ſaid, concerning *Noahs* Arke; *That in the ſeuenth month, in the ſeuenteenth day of the month, the Arke reſted it ſelfe on the Mountaines of* Ararat, *or* Armenia. Afterward followeth, that the Waters ſtill decreaſed vntill the tenth Month, and the very firſt day of that Month, the heads and tops of the Mountaines, each where diſcouered themſelues. This very plainly demonſtrates their abuſiue opinion, that would haue the Ancient year to be but three months long; becauſe becauſe mention is heere made, both of the ſeauenth and tenth Moneths. We may well ſee then, that the yeare in that Age had twelue Months, according as in theſe times our yeare now hath; for when hee there nameth the tenth Moneth, he doth not tearm it to be the laſt Month.

An anſwer to a moſt groſſe abſurdity, concerning the old yeare.

Gene. 7, 12.

An anſwer to the ſecond friuolous obiection.

Gene. 8, 4.

That the auncient yeare ſhould be but three Months long.

With as little diſcretion it is ſaide, that the Moneth then contained but three daies only; conſidering, the Text it ſelfe expreſly nameth the twenty ſeauen day of the Month: Much leſſe then could it be ſaide, that the day conſiſted then but of two or three houres, becauſe it is likewiſe ſet down in the ſame Text; *That the Windowes of Heauen were opened, and the raine was vpon the Earth, the full ſpace of forty daies and forty nights.* Whereby it remaines very euident, that thoſe daies were naturall daies, of xxiiij. houres in length, and the Monthes and yeares ſo long as now they are; or the difference ſo ſmall, that it was not ſenſible. I ſpeake this the rather, becauſe they then accounted the courſe of Heauen, as now we do, and this order hath euermore beene obſerued among the learned, as well *Hebrues* as *Ægiptians:* among whom *Moyſes* was borne and bred, who was the Author & Hiſtoriographer of thoſe holy Bookes, wherein the long liues of our fore-fathers are written.

That the Moneth ſhould be but three daies onely.

Gen. 7. 11, 12.

The *Hebrues* and *Egyptians* obſerued the ſame order we doe.

Now, albeit we ſhould conſent to the cenſure of many, who did holde, that the *Hebrues* meaſured their months by the ordinary courſe of the Moone, and that the full year contained then twelue *Lunary* Months, and each Month had in it twenty nine daies, and foureteene houres; little more, or little leſſe, by which reaſon, the yeare ſhould be ſhorter by twelue daies, then that which we now meaſure by the courſe of the Sun; to wit, three hundred, threeſcore, fiue daies and ſixe houres: yet cannot this difference (any way) make doubtfull or vncertaine, the Liues and Ages of our elder Fathers. For it is a matter of no moment, that in nine hundred or a thouſand years, twenty or thirty ſhould be exempted, becauſe the *Lunary* month was not compleated in thirty daies. By this authority then, we may be aſſured, that the nine hundred and thirty yeares which ADAM liued, and the nine hundred

The obſeruation among the *Hebrues*.

The true meaſuring of the yeare.

dred likewise of others, were such as the hundred seauenty and fiue of *Abraham*, and as the seuenty or eighty which men liue now-adaies; for whosoeuer beleeueth otherwise, is in a mighty error.

August. de Ciuit de lib. 15. ca. 9.

There is also another consideration to be noted, alleaged by S. *Augustine* to this purpose. *Put the case* (saith he) *that the Scripture makes no mention, that Adam and his Sonnes had any other Children, before them which are expresly named: yet is it most certainely to be affirmed, that both (before and after) they had diuers and sundry beside, for they had Children in their yonger daies, whereof no mention is made in Scripture.* And to make more ample proofe thereof, it is saide; *That Caine built a Citty*, the first that euer was in the World, according as *Iosephus* reporteth, saying; *That it was beautified with diuers Towers, engirt with wals, and he called it after the Name of his Son Enoch, which was then but newly borne vnto him.* This may appeare to haue small shew of truth, there being then in the world but three or foure Men onely; for the Scripture makes mention to vs of no more. But well we know, that to the building of a Citty, the help of a great nũber of men is necessarily required: yet notwithstanding, the Text names but the principall heades of the builders; as appeareth, in saying; That their Sons & Daughters begat diuers others, which in no place of Scripture are named at al. We see, that the holy Euangelists haue done the very like, in setting down their Euangelicall History. For S. *Mathew*, treating of the Genealogy of Christ, according to the flesh, beginneth at *Abraham*, and numbring on to *Dauid*, saith; *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, neuer speaking of *Ismaell*. Then afterward, *Isaac* begat *Iacob*, yet sayes nothing of *Esau*; albeit they were their first borne Children. Because, he hauing no other intention, but to descend from one degree to another (euen to *Dauid*) who was not of the Linage of *Ismael*, therefore he made no reckoning of *Ismaell*. Then againe, *Iacob* begat *Iuda*, and his Bretheren, yet was not *Iuda* the first borne Childe. So that discourfing thus of the Generation, he accounted none but them onely, by whom he descended iust to *Dauid*. A proofe sufficient, to encite all Aduersaries to beleeue, that *Moyses* did the like in his History, and that our fore-fathers had diuers other Children, beside those which are spoken of, and named in the holy Scriptures.

Adam had more Childrē then those that are recorded in Scripture.

Gen. 4, 17.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

One is not able to builde a Citty of himselfe.

The obseruation of the Euangelists in the Genealogy of Christ.

Moyses and the Euangelists obserued one Method in their Histories.

CHAP. X.

Wherefore the Deuil made choise of the Serpents shape when he tempted the first woman, and came not to her in any other forme.

THe proud Angell, first Author of all euill, beeing cast downe from Heauen, cunningly coueting to traine himselfe into Mans society, because hee was falne from Heauen, thorow his insolent offence, therefore his hatred not a litle against him. & to the end that his subtilty might be the more couert, he made choise of a Serpent in the Terrestriall Paradise, where, with *Adam* and his Wife, all other earthly Creatures orderly conuersed, not hauing any discord together, or being any way harmfull, but all (as well the sauage as domesticke) acknowledged man for their Lord & Maister, to serue his turn withall. For this Serpent, being a glyding Creature, that could turne and writh it selfe euery way; This false Angell (as S. *Chrysostome* saith) *Found to be best fitting for his hellish enterprise and deuillish intended worke, to bee his Organe to speake by.* And hauing (in spirituall mallice) subiected this Serpent to himselfe, by meanes of his Angelicall presence, & more excellent Nature, abusing it as an Instrument of falshood and treachery, he would thereby speak to the woman, addressing himselfe first of all to her, she being the weaker body, and least able to resist him.

The Deuils inueterate hatred against Man.

Chrysost sup. Gen. Hom. 15.

For hee knew his strength was ouerfeeble, and his craft as yet scarse currant to deceiue the Man, but he must needes faile; except he could seduce him by the error of another. For as *Salomon* took it to be no errour, when he fell to the seruice of Idols, and became an Idolatour, through the perswasions of Women his Concubins; So *Adam* cõmitted the offence of transgressing Gods commandemẽt, not as she did that spake the truth beeing seduced; but as hee yeelded for com-

The Deuill durst not presume to meddle first with *Adam*.

company; wherein he was no leſſe faulty, hauing ſinned with conſent and perfect knowledge.

This wicked Angell (perhaps) had a better will to haue come to the woman in the ſhape of a Doue, if God would ſo haue permitted it. But venerable *Bede* ſaith: *It was not lawfull for the euill Spirit, to make that forme odious to Man, wherein the Holy-Ghoſt onely ought to appeare. It is not to be thought* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *that the Deuill did (of himſelfe) chuſe the Serpent, to tempt thereby: but (as his deſire was to tempt) hee could not, but by ſuch a Creature, as was permitted him ſo to doe.* For will to hurt may be in any one, but the power commeth from God: he was therefore permitted to tempt by the Serpent, to the end, that therin the woman might take heed of his ſubtilty that tempted. And for this cauſe it is written; *Sed et Serpens erat callidior cũctis animantibus terræ; The Serpent was more ſubtile, then any Beaſt of the Field.*

The Serpent vnderſtandeth no words, neither was partaker of reaſon, like as Man was: yet is hee (notwithſtanding) called, moſt crafty, in regard of the ſubtilty of the Deuill. He hath ſpoken, like as *Balaams* Aſſe did; but it was by the Deuill, and the Aſſe by the good Angel. For good Angels & euill Angels work like operations, but then they are to diuers effects; *Before the Serpent was made the Deuils Organe* (ſaith *Rupertus*) *for the perdition of man, he might haue beene tearmed moſt wiſe and prudent.* For in another edition of the Bible, it is thus ſet down; *And the Serpent was wiſe aboue all the Beaſts, &c.* But after that the Serpents wiſdom was combined with the malice of the Deuill, and that it ſerued as an apt Inſtrument for death; he might (by better right) be tearmed cautelous and crafty. And before that his prudence lent any ayde and ſeruice to the Father of lying, he was ſuch as the Diſciples of *Ieſus Chriſt* ought to imitate, as he himſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying; *Eſtote ergo prudentes, ſicut Serpentes*; *Be ye therfore wiſe, as Serpents.*

Petrus Comeſtor, in his Scholaſticall Hiſtory ſaith; *That at the time when the Serpent tempted the Woman, he was ſtraite, and went vpright like a Man; but afterward (by the curſſe) he was caſt down to the earth, to glide along thereon.* Venerable *Bede* ſaith; *The Deuill choſe a Serpent, that had a face like to a Womans, Quod ſimilia ſimilibus applaudunt; That like might be pleaſing to like.* Nor is the Serpent crafty or venomous, becauſe God ſaid; *Maledictus es, Thou art curſſed:* But God (euen in iudiciary equity) denounced him that ſentence for his wicked deſert, and declared, that he was made odious to all the other Beaſts and creatures of the earth. And why? Becauſe he had bin the Deuils Miniſter, to the perdition of him, who had bin Created to Signorize and beare Maiſtry ouer all Beaſtes in the World. *Pythagoras* tels vs, that the Serpent is engendred of the Marow which is in the Back-bone of a dead Man. And I remember, that (not long ſince) I read a good Authour, from whom I collected theſe two verſes:

(ſepulchro,
Sunt qui cum clauſo putrefacta eſt ſpina
Mutare credant humanas angue medullas.
Of putred Marrow in the backs
of men, long lying dead
In Graues, ſome hold that Serpents,
for a certainty are bred.

If this be credible (as ſome haue very conſtantly auouched) a very great reaſon may be thence deriued; to wit, that as the death of Man enſued by the Serpent, ſo the Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man. Moreouer, it is neceſſary to bee knowne, and well worth the obſeruation: that thoſe paines and puniſhments, pronounced by God vpon the Serpent, he did in like manner ordaine for the Deuill, according as *Rupertus* expoundeth them in this manner. *Sub nomine Serpentis, quem inuaſit Diabolus, ipſe percutitur, & qui per ſuperbiam ſuam ſimilem ſe altiſſimo fore putauit, propter malitiam ſuam infimæ Creaturæ quam ipſe vitiauit, iudicatur fieri pœnaliter ſimilis. Super pectus tuum gradieris inquit, tanquam diceret. Sicut hoc reptile cuius calliditate abuſus es, ſuper pectus ſuum graditur; ſic tu Diabole cum ſis rationalis ſpiritus, rationale tuum ſemper graui fatuitate onerabis, & quocunque te verteris, ſemper intentionem tuã deorſum conteres, & factis premes contraryis. Terram inquam cõmedes, & non Cœlum, id eſt, non quorum conuerſatio in cœlis eſt, ſed qui terrena ſapiunt, tibi cibus tuus erunt. Vnder the Name of the Serpent, whereby the*

Deuill

Ven. Beda. in Allegor. ſup. Bib.

The Serpent is not ſubtile or venomous, in regard of the curſſe.

How the Serpent is engendred.

The Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man.

Rupert ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 3. ca. 5.

Ven. Beda. in Allegor. ſup. Bib.

Aug. ſup. Geneſ. ad lit. lib. 11. Cap. 4.

Gen. 3, 1.

The Serpent vnderſtandeth no words.

Numb. 22, 28.

Rupert. ſup. Geneſ. Lib. 3. Ca. 2.

The Serpents wiſedome ioyned with the Deuils malice

Math. 10, 16.

Pet. Comeſtor. in Hiſt. Schol. ca. 2

The Deuill is smitten by the selfe-same meanes of his temptation.

Deuill made his inuasion, himselfe is smitten. And because (in his own pride) he imagined to bee afterward like vnto the most high: for his malicious dealing, by the meanest Creature which he abused, to the same punishments is he adiudged. Vpon thy breast, said God, shalt thou go. As if he would haue said: Like as this creeping Creature, whose wilinesse is abused, is to goe vpon his breast or belley; So (thou Deuill) because thou art a rationall Spirit, shalt alwaies beare the weighty burthen of thine owne reasonable folly. And which way soeuer thou turnest thee, thine intentions shall euermore be spent in vaine downward, and be still trodden vpon by contraries. Earth (I say) shalt thou eat, and not Heauen; That is, not such as haue their conuersation in Heauen, but such as trust to their earthly knowledge; they shall be as meat vnto thee. And then it followeth in the Text; *Inimicitias ponam inter te & mulierem, & semen tuum, & semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, & tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius. I will put enimity betweene thee and the Woman, and betweene thy Seed and her Seed: He shalt break thine head, and thou shalt bruise his heele.*

Gene. 3, 15.

Great enmity betweene the Womans seed and the Serpent.

Great enmities (in very deed) haue the Woman and her seed with this kind of creature; to wit, the Serpent. The seed of the Woman, that is *Iesus Christ*, who hath broken the head of that auncient Serpent the Deuill, As much to say; as the very print of his steps, hath abased al his vtmost practises. If the Woman do not daily actually break the head of the Serpent; yet is it neuertheless in her power continually to do it. For, if the naked sole of the foote of the Woman, can preuent the teeth of a Serpent; or, treading vpon his head neuer so lightly, forthwith he instantly dyeth: what shal we then say, when the like is not to bee done (so soone and readily) by great leuers, Mallets, and Hammers, nor yet by Swordes, how sharpe soeuer they be? If on the contrary againe, the Serpent (who is so hainous to Man, that all his ayme is at his heele) do but fix his teeth on the neather part of the sole of the foor, he presently kils the man; because so soone as the venome of his bit dooth but touch the blood of a Man, it disperseth it selfe immediatly ouer all the body, and so the Serpent kils the enemy to his Nature, which is Man:

The naked sole of a Womans foote, is present death to a Serpent.

A Serpent byting a man by the sole of the foote, forthwith kils him.

Wherevpon the Poet *Lucan* said;

Noxia Serpentum est admixto sanguine pestis,
Morsu virus habent, et fatũ in dente minantur.

Lucan Lib. 9.

So hurtfull are the Serpents teeth,
they pestilent the blood
Of Man in byting, and his death
can haraly be withstood.

Why then, looke how many kindes of Serpents there be, so many seuerall venoms there be, so many colours, so many torterings; and as many diuersities, so many dangers; yea, so many deaths. It shall not be any great sweruing from the matter, if now wee declare (in this place) what is signified by the flaming Sword, and the Cherubins set for the safety of Paradise. We vnderstand by the flaming Sword, the sentence of the Iudgement of God, which is said to be flaming: *In flamma ignis dabitis vindictam; In flaming Fire rendring vengeance*, saith the Apostle. Vndoubtedly, the Iudgement of GOD, is the Iudgement of the flame of Fire, for auengement of them that haue liued wickedly. *Cherubin*, is the Name of the Angelicall forces, that were placed without the Garden of Paradise, to guard the entrance to the Tree of Life; plainely to demonstrate, that wee cannot haue accesse to the Kingdome of Heauen, except we first passe through the fierie tryals of infinite afflictions, and be examined by the Ministry of the holy Angels. Saint *Paule* saith; *Si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum argentum, lapides pretiosus, ligna, fœnum, stipulam: Vniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit, dies enim Domini declarabit, qui in igne reuelabitur, & vniuscuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit. And if any Man build on this Foundation, Gold, Siluer, precious Stones, Timber, Hay, Stubble: Euery Mans worke shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall bee reuealed by the Fire, and the Fire shall try euery mans worke, of what sort it is.* How can wee otherwise gather from these wordes, but that they may bee applied to the Flaming Sword, placed at the entrance of earthly Paradise? As signifing, that we must passe through the fires of many sharp afflictions, which try our actions to the vttermost; how, and in what maner they haue bin done; and being thus examined in those fierie tryals,

So many kinds of Serpents, so many perils to mans life.

Of the flaming Sword.

2 Thes. 1, 8.

Of the Cherubins.

1 Cor. 3, 12, 13.

His application of the flaming Sword, to our passage through many fiery afflictions.

the words of the *Pſalmiſt* may be ſpoken to vs. *Quoniam probaſti nos Deus, igne nos examinaſti, ſicut examinatur argentum.* *For thou (ô God) haſt prooued vs, thou haſt tried vs, as Siluer is tryed.*

Pſal. 66, 10.

And by good reaſon are the Angels there placed, called *Cherubins*; that is to ſay, *Fulneſſe of Knowledge:* becauſe they are filled with Knowledge to Iudge, knowing whatſoeuer is written of vs in the Books; that is to ſay, they haue ſtored vp in memory whatſoeuer we haue done, either good or euill. They read them ouer daily, & at length, wil be rehearſed that which is written in thoſe Bookes, according as it is ſaid in *Daniel*; *And the Bookes were opened.* The Fire of this brandiſhed flaming Sword, is vnacceſſible of vs Mortals. For they that haue gone vpward the Riuer of *Nylus*, to finde the Spring thereof, haue beene hindred from the effect of their deſire, in regard of a ſmouldring fiery vapour, which they haue not beene able to endure: as *Lucan* ſaith, diſcourſing on the fiue *Zones* of Heauen; *Nilum videre calentem*; *It is hot to ſee Nylus.*

Why the Angels are called Cherubins.

Dan. 7, 10.

Lucan Lib. 10.

And becauſe we are entred into this diſcourſe, which appertaineth ſo eſpecially to the third Chapter of *Geneſis*; let mee not forget, what I haue not long ſince read, in an *Italian* Authour, called *Leo Hebraico*, a great Philoſopher, who in his Philoſophy of *Loue*, doth make an Allegoricall and Morrall ſenſe of moſt of that Chapter, which out of *Italian* I haue thus tranſlated. The Serpent (ſaith he) is the carnall Appetite, which inciteth and firſt deceiueth the Corporall Feminine part. It is called Corporall, when it is found any way deuided from the intellect, which is tearmed the Huſband, reſiſting againſt his ſtrict & ſeuere Lawes, to acquaint her ſelfe with carnal Delectations, and darken her Natiue ſplendour, with acquiſition of ſuperfluous and abounding riches or treaſures. Then by ſenſuality (which is the Tree of knowing good and euill) ſhe ſhewes him thereby, that their eyes are to bee opened; that is to ſay, that they would know many thinges of that Nature, as thoſe are, which is ſhewne them in the Tree of good and Euill, and (which before) they knew not at all; to wit, many ſubtilties, cautels, and other notices, appertaining to Lubricity and Auarice.

Leo Hebraico in his Philoſophy of *Loue.*

See Saint *Ambroſe*, his 42. Epiſtle, where he declareth, wherefore *Moyſes* figured carnall delectation in the ſemblance of the Serpent.

See alſo the ſame Authour, in his Book of Paradiſe. *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 15.

Hereof they neuer dreamed before, vntill it was tolde them, that they ſhould be herein like vnto God; to wit, in an abounding Generation. For, as God is the intelligent, and the heauens are productiue cauſes of Creatures to Men heere on earth: euen ſo man, by means of continuall Carnall Meditations, attaineth to the encreaſing of a great Linage. In which point, the Feminine bodily part, not only ſuffers her ſelfe to be ruled and guided (as reaſon requireth) by her vnderſtanding Husband: but ſhee drawes him further alſo, euen into the quagmire of Corporall occaſions, to eate (with her) the Fruite of the forbidden Tree. Whereupon, immediatly their eyes are then opened, not onely their intellectuall eyes, (which they ſhould rather ſtill haue kept cloſed) but thoſe beſides of corporall fantaſie, concerning carnall and laſciuious actions. And by this meanes, they perceiue thẽſelues to be naked; that is to ſay, they know the diſobedience of carnall deeds to the Intellect: and therefore, procure to couer the Generatiue Members, as ſhamefull Rebels to reaſon & wiſdome.

God is the intelligent, and the Heauens the producing cauſes of Creatures.

Afterward it is ſaid, that hearing the voyce of God, immediatly they hid themſelues; as much to ſay, that knowing and acknowledging what Diuine thinges they had forſaken, they grew aſhamed, and ſo ſubſequently to ſin, ſucceeded the pain. Alſo the holy Hiſtory, doth ſeparately recite the appointed puniſhments; of the Serpent, of the Woman, and of the Man. The Serpent was curſſed, beyond any other beaſt or creature, to crawle along vpon his belly, and to eate duſt all his life time; enmity being put betweene the Woman and her race on the one ſide, and the Serpent & his race on the other ſide. So that Man ſhould breake the head of the ſaide Serpent, and the Serpent bruiſe the heele of the Man. Whereby may bee vnderſtood, that the carnall appetite of Man, is much more immeaſurable, then in any other Creature. And whereas the Serpent drags his belly on the earth, it implyeth, that hee thereby makes the hart of man to encline to earthly things, ſhunning ſuch as bee high and heauenly. And to eate duſt all his life time, becauſe hee nouriſheth himſelfe with thoſe thinges which are more baſe and abiect

After Sin the puniſhment neceſſarily enſued.

The Serpent curſſed, and no Creature elſe.

The reaſon why the Serpent drags his belly on the earth, and what is thereby ſignified.

and abiect then dust. As for the hate & enmity betweene them; it signifieth, that the carnall appetite soileth the corporall part, & defaceth it by ouer-flowing excesse, whereby doe ensue many bodily imperfections; as also diuers kinds of death. Likewise, by this means, the carnall appetite becommeth defeated, enfeebled, loosing it selfe by the intemperance of the complexion, and diseases of the body.

The Woman sentenced to plurality of paines.

As for the Woman, who was punished by plurality of paines in her Conceptions, & to bring forth her children with teares and lamentations, and yet to haue desire to her Husband, he hauing the only absolute power ouer her: Of this we may say, that a lasciuious life procureth the anguish of the Body all pleasures to be dolorous, & their whole race or off-spring filled with pain, trouble and afflictions. Neuertheless, she louing the Intellectuall part, as beeing her Husband: in him remaines the intellectuall power (aboue her) to rule and temper it, apteſt to the actions of the body. In the next place commeth the Man, who hauing heard and giuen consent to the wordes of his Wife, and eaten the fruite of the forbidden Tree; he must also be punished. God said vnto him, that the earth should be accursſed for his take; In trauaile and paine should he Till it all his life time; It should bring forth Thornes and Thistles to him; He should feede on the Hearbs of the field, and eate his Bread in the sweate of his Browes, vntill hee were returned into that earth, frō whence he had bin taken.

The sentence pronounced against the Man.

Hereof we may easily apprehend the Moral meaning; to wit, that Terrestriall thinges are curſsed to the Intellect. They are meats of sadneſse, greefe, and heauineſse; that is to say, they striue to make Immortality partaker of Mortall things, and (by accident of earthly actions) they do wound and pierce that supreame part, euen with Thornes, as it were. His food should be the Grasse & Hearbs of the field (which meat belongeth only to brute Beastes) because he gaue ouer his better life, soly to sensuality. Then, if he will eate any Bread, he must do it in the sweate of his Browes, labouring and trauailing: As much to say; As, if he haue a desire to eate Mans meat, & not that as the Beasts do; or, if he would differ from them in manly actions; it should be very difficult for him so to doe, because of the contrary habitude, which he had already taken in brutish sensuality. It is also saide vnto him, that all these perturbations shal happen to him for his sin, vntill such time as he returne into the earth, from whence he was at first deriued. And so much the rather, because beyond all other thinges, (created only Mortall) he was made immortall: yet coueting to be but Earth and Dust (in hunting after Corporall sinnes) this is the occasion that he must returne into dust, euen as he was at the beginning, resembling (in Mortality) the other Beasts of the earth. Whereby we gather, the pain & damnatiō of him, that giues himselfe wholy to sensuality.

Terrestriall thinges are dangerous to the vnderstanding part: as appeareth in the degrees of Mans punishments.

Sin the onely cause of Gods feuerite against Man.

The Text continuing on, saith; that *Adam* named his wife *Euah*; which name by Interpretation, is a talking, babling *Creature*: And *Wife*, because shee was the Mother of all things. To let vs vnderstand, that he named the Corporall part by a name common to brute beasts, in regard she was the cause, to produce all brutish abuse in Man. It denoteth withall, that God subiected their Intellect, and (of Contemplatiue) it became Actiue, basely to vnderstand and listen to the Bodies actions. Heerevpon they began to enstruct their vnderstanding in Arts, to make Garments of Beastes skins to couer them. Then are they expulsed out of Paradise, to goe labour in the Earth; that is to say, Contemplation was taken from them, and they must now vnderstand Terrestriall things: neuertheless, power was yet left them, to eate of the Tree of Life, and so to liue eternally. To which effect the Text saith; *That God placed on the East side of Paradise, the Cherubins and the flaming Sword, to guard the way of the Tree of Life.* Where, the *Cherubins* doe signifie the two Angelicall intelligences concerning Man; to wit, the Agent, and the passible. And the flaming Sword which shaketh without Intermission, signifieth our humaine fantasie; who returning from the Corporal, to seek the glorious light of the spirituall, gaines thereby this perswasion, that at length, leauing the corrupt way of Dust and Ashes, she may humbly attain the spirituall way to the Tree of Life, to liue in Eternity Intellectually.

The interpretation of the womans name

Man bereft of Contemplation, is left subiect to earthly occasions.

Of the *Cherubins*, and the flaming sword.

CHAP. XI.

Of Death, and that God neuer was the Maker or Authour thereof.

AFter that our first Parents were expelled out of Paradise, they were brought vnder the subiection of Sin and Death, and (in them) all their whole posterity thereunto appointed. For *Death* is common to all Men, as it is said in the Law *Licet*, in *Code, De pact is.* And all Men must dye, concerning their Bodies. The Royall Prophet *Dauid* saith; *Quis est homo qui viuet, & non videbit mortem? What Man liueth, and shall not see Death? Statutem est omnibus semel mori; It is ordained to all Men once to dye*: So saith the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule*: And a Greeke Poet saith;

Ρητὸς ἅπασι καὶ θανεῖν ὁ φείλαι.

All Mortall men to dye is necessary.

Death (saith Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke against the *Pelagians*) *Is nothing else but a priuation of life, hauing a Name, and no Essence.* As hunger is said to bee defect of food; Thirst, lacke of Drinke; Darknesse, the absence of Light: euen so, *Death* is but a Name for want of life. There may be another diffinition made of naturall Death, as to say; that it is the separation of the Soule and the Body, and *Plato* makes vs such a diffinition thereof: As in like manner doth *Aulus Gellius*, saying; σῶμα τε καὶ ψυχῆς διάστασις. Death then hauing a Name without Essence, God was not the Creator thereof, neither cause nor Authour, for all things that God made, had Esience. Which tearme of Essence, comprehendeth that which is, or that is to be born. Most true it is, that for the punishment of Sinne, God pronounced the sentence of death against Man: but there is great difference, betweene pronouncing the sentence of Death, and to bee the cause of Death. They are the wordes of *Salomon*, and not mine; *Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in perditione viuorum. God hath not made Death, neyther hath he pleasure in the destruction of the liuing. Creauit enim, vt essent omnia, & sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum; For he created all thinges, that they might haue their beeing, and the Generations of the World are preserued.* But in another place he saith; *Inuidia autem Diaboli mors intrauit in orbem terrarum. Through enuy of the Deuill came Death into the World.*

Man made subiect to Sin and Death.

Psalm. 89, 48.

Augustin. in lib. 1. de Pelag. ca. 9

Aul. Gel. in lib. 17. de Noct. Attic. Cap. 8.

God Further made Death, not is the Authour thereof. Wisd. 1, 13, 14

Wisd. 2, 24.

The Deuill then being the Authour of Sinne, is also the Authour of Death, by Sinne. The Deuill could incite Man to sin, but he could not constraine him to yeelde consent. ADAM could keepe himselfe well enough from tasting the Tree of Life; but Gods will was, that he should not sinne, and so (consequently) would not haue him to dye. But leauing Life, and taking Death, and following then the free liberty of his will, he made himselfe Mortall, and his fault and disobedience was the cause of Death to him, and all men else beside. The Apostle Saint *Paule* saith; *Propterea sicut per vnum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit, & per peccatum mors: & ita in omnes homines mors pertransit in quo omnes peccauerunt. Wherefore, as by one Man Sin entred into the World, and Death by Sinne: and so went Death ouer all men, forasmuch as all men haue sinned.*

The Deuill is the Author of Death, by being the Author of Sinne.

See *Iustin Martyr*, in his answeres to the *Orthodoxi-call* questions 32. *Quest.*

Rom. 5, 12.

We haue then nothing more certaine or assured, then Death; neuertheless, the day and the houre thereof is most vncertain to vs: when, in what place, or how a Man is to dye, that only is in the Will, Power, and Knowledge of God. It is an wholesome and profitable thing for a Christian Man, to haue Death in his remembrance by continuall Meditation, and very often to thinke thereon: in regard, that as the forgetfulnesse of Death, is the cause of a Mans falling into Sinne, so the Memory thereof, turneth him quite from Sinne. Iesus the Sonne of *Sirach* saith; *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua, et in æternum non peccabis. Whatsoeuer thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt neuer sinne.* And the Kingly Psalmist saith; *Cogitaui dies antiquos: & annos æternos in mente habui. Et meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo & exercitabar, & scopebam spiritum meum. I considered the daies of old, and the yeares of ancient time. I called to remembrance my Song in the night, I communed with mine owne heart.*

Nothing more certaine then Death, but the time vncertaine.

A Christian Mans Meditation da lie, should be of Death.

Eccles. 7, 36.

Psal. 77, 5, 6.

and I

and my Spirit searched diligently. *Plato* affirmeth, *That the life of a wise man, is meditation on Death.* Therefore watch and pray, for ye know not at what hour the Lord will come; let vs so labour, that he may finde vs ready, to drinke the same bitter draught, whereunto (in our first Parents) we are made subiect.

CHAP. XII.

The strange opinion of the Ægyptians, concerning the scope of a mans life time, iudging it by the proportion of the heart.

THat whereof I am now to speake, may seeme a noueltie to many, and fabulous to diuers others, because it is a matter very difficult to be prooued: Nor do I purpose to binde my selfe, to iustifie or maintaine the truth thereof; albeit (in my iudgement) their authority that haue written on the same Argument, may graunt it for true, or very likely. *Pliny*, and *Marcus Varro*, discoursing on the time of a Mans life, do affirme; that the learned *Ægiptians* had found out by experience, that Man (according to the course of Nature) could not liue aboue an hundred yeares. But if any one happened to out-step that limitation, it was iudged by particular influence, and power of the Starres, a thing (in Natures worke) very strange and maruailous.

Plin. in lib. 11. de H. natu. Cap. 56. Marcus Varro.

The Egiptians by experience found out, that man could not liue aboue an hundred yeares.

The Foundation of this their setled perswasion, they gathered and conceiued by the hart of a Man, which hauing made proofe of many times, by order of Anatomy; they thereby attained to the knowledge of very wonderfull secrets. For, say they; when a Man Childe is a full yeare old, his heart poyzeth the weight of two of their Drams: Foure when hee is two yeares old, and so onward (as many yeares as hee liues) his heart encreaseth in weight a couple of Drammes yearely. So that when hee commeth to the age of fifty yeares, his heart then weigheth an hundred drams. But thence forward, it is not more ponderous, but proportionably diminisheth his weight (ratably euery yeare) by two Drammes, euen according as before it encreased. So that at the age of an hundred yeares, the heart (by continuall decreasing) becomes to bee nothing in poize; and then (consequently) the man of necessity dies, if (by some other accidentall occasion) he dye not before: Because there are so many kinds of seuerall occasions, which can and do customarily hasten death, before men arriue at halfe the time of making this experiment in themselues.

A secret worthy obseruation.

The Heart of Man decreaseth in weight as it increased

If this do seeme strange to any of vs, yet let it be held for infallible, that the *Egyptians* obserued it as most certaine, according as these recited Authors doe auouch, beside others likewise liuing in our times; as *Cœlius Rodiginus* alledging *Dioscorides*, speakes thereof (among other) many notable things. The like doth *Petrus Crinitus*, in his Book of honest Discipline. *Galiot de Nargni*, in his Booke of Man; and *Cornelius Agrippa*. I thought good to acquaint you with these seuerall Testimonies, because (with many) the matter is hard to be credited; therefore let euery man lend beliefe, as to himselfe seemeth best.

Cæl. Rodig. li. 10 Lect. ant. Cap. 16. Pet. Crinit. in lib. de D isp. Galiot Narg. in lib. de Hom. Cor. Agrip. in 2 de fcient. Philo.

And in regard we are now discoursing on the Heart of Man, wherin doth consist such infinite excellencies, euen in that one litle part, because we would be loath to handle one point single or alone; let vs learne somewhat of that woorthy Philosopher *Aristotle*, who saith; *The Heart of Man is lodged on the left side in his body, but in all other creatures els, it is naturally in the midst of their brest*; and this doth he affirme in his first Book of the nature of Beasts. It is also a common receiued opinion among naturall Phylosophers, that the very first part which is formed of Man, is the Heart, as the maine roote of al his other members; the Spring or Fountaine of Natural heat; & it is also the only member, that last looseth his mouing, and dyeth in man. It is a member so Noble & Delicate, as it can endure no touching, but presently the man dies.

Arist. in lib. de nat. animal.

The first part that is formed of man, is his Hart, it liueth first, and dieth last.

Pliny reciteth another maruaile, which yet he maintaineth to happen many times; to wit, that men haue bin found with their Hearts rough or Hayrie; and he that hath it so, is a valiaunt man, and stoutly disposed. As was experimented in the dissection of *Aristo-*

Plin. lib. 11 cap. 37.

menes.

Aristomenes slew 300. men in one battell, with his owne hand.

menes, who with his owne hand slew (in one battaile) three hundred *Lacedemonians*; and escaping (afterward) manie great perils, only by meanes of his great valour, being dead, he was opened, and his heart found to be very hayry. *Suetonius Tranquillus*, in the life of *Caligula*, (and *Pliny* also saieth the same) that if a man dye by poyson, his Heart cannot bee burned, although it be throwne into the verie hotteſt fire; according as was verified by the Hart of *Germanicus*, the Father of *Caligula*; and the like hath bin tried, by such as haue died of *Cardiaca*, the Heart-ake, which some do term the falling sickneſſe.

Sueto. Tranquil. in vit. Calig. Plin. lib. 11. c. 37

If a man bee poysoned, his heart cannot be burnd with fire.

Moreouer, it is to be noted, that the strength of Laughter or laughing, abideth in the little Skinnes or Celles of the Heart In approbation whereof, ancient Historians writing of the Romain *Gladiatores*, Fencers, or Sword-players, do affirme; that they being wounded in those folds, or thinne Wrappers of the Heart, thinges haue falne out at those Wounds, like little Threds, and they haue dyed in extreamity of Laughter. Now, euen as ioy or laughter proceedeth from the Heart, so likewise is Sadneſſe and Melancholy thence derined sensibly; and good or euill immaginations in like manner. Our Words are begotten in it; And many are of Opinion, that it is the principall seate and residence of the Soule: which seemes to be confirmed by the saying of our Sauiour himselfe, *That badde and wicked theughts do come out of the Heart*. And that which enters at the Mouth, defileth not at al, because they are but thinges indifferent. Likewise, venerable *Bede*, in his Commentaries vpon Saint *Marke*, saith; *The cheefeſt seat of the soule is not in the Braine*, according as *Plato* hath maintained; but in the Heart, agreeing with the speeches of our Sauiour Christ.

The seate of Laughter is in the heart.

Sadneſſe and Melancholy also commeth from the hart.

Ven Beda in Comment. sup. Mark.

CHAP. XIII.

The Reason wherefore Man goeth vpright. Why hee is more waighty fasting, then when he hath taken som sustenance: And the cause why he is heauier when hee is dead, then being aliue: With many other speciall Obseruations.

CONtemplatiue occasions, which do concerne the cõposition of men, are welneer infinit. *Lactantius Firmianus* hath thereof Written a Booke by himselfe, only touching that argument, & so haue diuers other learned men done the like. And in truth, there is one thing (among the plentifull store of others) that deserueth perticuler consideratiõ in the knowledge therof, that is; wherefore God hath made all other creatures (Man only excepted) with their heades stooping or bending downward, with their eies (for the greater part) looking to the earth: & not only sensitiue creatures, such as are bruite beasts, but likewise the vegetatiue Bodies; as Plants, Trees, and such like, who haue their heads & foundations within the earth, and their armes or braunches highly extended. As for man, he onely was created with his eies vp toward heauen, his face aloft, and his body strait, in eleuated proportion. Now albeit, for a full and compleat reason in this case, it were sufficient to aledge the wil of God to haue it so; yet it seemeth beside, to relliſh and taſt of some hidden Misterie or secrecy, and therfore it wel deserueth to haue further speculation.

Why GOD made all creatures else, but Man, looking downeward.

A hidden secret and Mystery in the composition of Man.

To begin then with our very disposition; me thinkes it teacheth vs by manifeſt apparance, that we were not created or borne for the earth; but rather, that the purpose of our creation, was to imitate and contemplate high and celeſtial matters, which are not cõmunicable to other creatures, neither are they capable of them, or any (but man only) worthy to behold them. God made all the beasts with their heads deiected; declaring thereby, that man had the rule & command ouer them. One of these reasons is most elegantly noted by *Lactantius Firmianus*, saying; *God hauing determined to make man for Heauen, & all other creatures for the earth; he created man of a reasonable soule, straite, and with an erected body, disposed to Celeſtiall Contemplations; to the end, that hee might admire their effects, and hold in reuerence the place of his Originall, and the Countrey of his Natiuity. The other Beaſtes hee made Base, Crooked, and bending downe vnto the Earth, because they haue no participation in Heauen.* *Aristotle* who had not so much as the very glimpse

The disposition of man declareth hee was not borne for the earth.

Lactan. Firm. lib. 8. de Oper. Dei.

Arist lib. 2. de Animal.

glimpse of light, concerning faith, saith; *That only Man (among all other Creatures) goeth vpright, because that his substance & best part thereof, are Celestiall, and not Terrestriall; and that the Office of Diuine Spirits, is to vnderstand and know.* But heerein man could neuer haue knowne how to exercise himselfe, if he had had a heauy, huge, and deiected bodie, because the waight and burthen of such corporall sense, doth nothing but make the vnderstanding dull and slothful. The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, forgetting nothing in discussion & examining, leaues not this question without determination. For, in his exposition vppon Youth and Age he saith; *For two causes was man formed vpright towards Heauen. The one, to be the most perfect of all the creatures, & to be he that most partaketh and neerest approacheth to the quality of Heauen. The other, because that in the proportion of his body, he is more hot then any other Beast; & the Nature of heat, is, to lift vp it selfe. All other creatures do containe a meane, as lesse participating of the Cœlestiall quality, and lesse haue they of this heate, whereby to eleuate themselues: for this cause, they are not in disposition or shape like vnto the glorious Image of Man.*

Them. Aquin. in Sum. cap. 10. Quæst. 9.

Two especiall causes why mã was made Vpright.

The *Platonists* opinion concerning mans going vpright

Heerein it appeareth, that *Thomas Aquinas* followed the opinion of the *Platonists*, who held, *That heate and the Spirits of man (wherin he aboundeth more then any liuing thing, regard being had of the proportion of his body) are the causes why he goeth elcuated and vpright, as he doth.* For, by meanes of the strength and vigor of his Spirits and Blood, he listeth and vprighteth himselfe: wherein also hee is holpen by the composition of the Elements, whereof man is composed in such equality and measure of waight, as he can erect and mount vp himselfe. And something else there is in this case to be considered, to wit; that partly in regard of his soule, and partly of his body, man is moued to the loue and contemplation of Heauen; therefore, hee ought to thinke & consider of nothing, but high, spirituall, and good matters; and contrarywise, to contemne and despise base earthly businesses. Neuertheless, many times we are so affected to the abiect respect of worldly considerations, that when our eies and countenances are fixed on Heauen, our hearts

Man in regard of his soule & bodye goeth vpright

and spirits are too too low humbled vpon earth.

Concerning the propriety of the Spirits of man, whereof we haue now treated, *Pliny* aledgeth another thing, which though it be not of such importance as the others are, yet it cannot but giue pleasing and content to such as know it not, or haue not so much as dreamed, on that which dayly experience maketh manifest: he saith, *That a man being dead, waigheth heauier then when hee is liuing*; and the same he maintaineth in al other kinde of Creatures. Hee likewise affirmeth, *That a man that hath eatē any thing, weigheth lesse then he did when he was Fasting.* *Erasmus* in a certaine Problem of his, doth say as much, with diuers other notable things, alledging the same Reasons as *Pliny* doth; which are all grounded on the Essence of the vitall Spirits, and the Ayre, which comforts & cheers them vp, as we haue before approued. The like is said of a man fasting, that his waight is then more ponderous, then when he hath eaten; albeit it appears in common iudgement, that he should be then lightest, because refection hath more charged him.

A further Relation concerning the Spirits of man.

Plin. in Hist. Nat. lib. 7.

Eras. in Probl. 5. & 6.

That a man is heauier fasting, then when he hath fed.

And yet notwithstanding, it is so for certaine, and there is no maruell to bee made thereat, for drinking and eating do encrease those vitall Spirits which giue cherrishing to man, enlarging and multiplying naturall heate within him. And hence commeth it, that when one man essaieth to lift vp another from the ground, if he that is lifted vp be so pleased, he may make himselfe the heauier, by breathing forth abundantly the inward Ayre in his body: but if he retain and hold it in, hee makes himselfe then to be the lighter. So when a man runneth, he retaineth his breath onely, to hast him away the more speedily: for, the Ayre beeing a very light Element, coueteth to raise him the loftier in running, euen vnto his ayery place of abiding.

Eating and drinking doe cheare vp the spirit of Man.

A familiar triall of a mans weight.

Experience heerin may be a present Tutor, by any Skin or Bladder, which being throwne into the Water empty, and not blowne vp with Ayre, sinketh of it selfe forthwith to the bottom: but let it bee filled with ayre, which is the breath of man, it floateth lightly on the face of the water. *Pliny* also telleth vs, that

A Bladder not blowne with winde, sinketh of it selfe.

A man drowned, ariseth with his face vpward, but a woman hath hers downeward.

that a body dead in the water, if it be of a man, in rising, he hath his face vp towards Heauen; but if it be of a woman, she ariseth with her face downeward; wherein she may giue some honour to Nature, for so wise and discreete a prouision, so to conceale the vnsightly Secrets of the Woman. Beyond al this, there is yet another naturall reason, to wit; that a Woman weigheth heauiest in her fore-part, by reason of hir brests; and a man heauiest behinde, because of his shouldets.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the supreame Dignity of the Head aboue all other Members of the Body. That it is an euill signe to haue a little Head, or a straite breast. And whence it came, that it is accounted as a courtesie and honor, to take off the Cap or Bonnet, in saluting one another.

IF it bee such an excellent preheminence, that Man among all other creatures hath his bodye of vpright stature, and his face aduanced to beholde Heauen, as his Hart also to meditate on Heauenly Matters; why then vndoubtedly, the head, which is the most eminent, lawdable, & highest part among all the others members, by reason, ought to haue aduantage & authority aboue the rest. And in verie deed, all the other parts are but as guardes and obedient Seruants to him; because, so soone as any harme or annoyance happeneth to the Head; presently the Foot, the Hand, the Arme, and all the other Members beside, do naturally endeuour for his helpe and defence. For in him consisteth the security of them all; in regard, that if the head bee diseased, all the other parts of the bodie, do feele the smart thereof.

The Head ought to haue preheminēce ouer the other members.

Saint *Ambrose* giues vs an especiall Commendation of the Head, sayeng; *The facture and composition of the Bodie, is a meere example of the whole world. And as Heauen is the most eminent and principall part, and the ayre and the other Elements thereto inferiour: so is the Head of Man supreame to the other parts, as being their Gouernor, Lord and Maister; because they are but as a Castle or Cittadell, seated vnder a maine Rocke, in the midst of a Citty.* In him lodgeth wisedome and Industry, which gouerneth euery part of the body; from him, both power and prudence is deriued, and (as *Salomon* saith) *The eyes of the Wiseman is in his head. Lactantius Firmianus* saith, *The Lord there placed the Head of man, to the end, that in him might remaine the Empire and Gouernement ouer all the Beasts. Galen* giues the Head the principality ouer all the other members of man. And *Plato* in his *Timeus*, nameth it *The whole Body of Man.* Being then of so great importance, and the Sanctuarie of the bodies Sences, and Powers; it were necessary that his forme and greatnesse, should be proportionable & fitting for such a potent priuiledge.

Ambros. in Epist. 24.

Prouerb. 17. 9

Lactan. Firmian. in lib de oper. Dei.

Galen. in lib. 1. de usu. Feb.

Plato in Tim.

Belike it was vpon this Reason, that *Paulus Eginetus* saide in the first of his Bookes of Physicke: *The ouer-litle Head of a man, is a signe that hee hath very little Iudgement, and wanteth a good Brain.* The same Reason is alledged by *Iohannes Alexandrinus*, saying; *The little Head is as vnhealthfull, as the straite brest lockt vp and chested: Because that as the breast is the lodging of the Hart and Lunges, who cannot (without great danger) endure a strict enclosure, in regard that the hart beeing narrowly shut vp, cannot conueniently mooue it selfe, but looseth and diminisheth his Natural heate; and beside, decayeth al digestion: Euen so, in like manner, it behoueth, that the Head or dwelling place of the Organs, belonging to so many powers and vnderstandings, should be of a competent proportion. Galen* affirmeth the very same, & maintaineth, *That a little Head, is a manifest token of little intelligence, and an vnstable Brain*; So that a Head of a good and indifferent proportion, signifieth a free and liberall vnderstanding.

Paul Eginet. in 1. lib. de Med.

The litle head of a man, is, a signe of little wisedome.

Iohan. Alexan. in Comment. sup. pest. de Hippocrat.

The Naturall Phylosophers say, that a man hauing his Head trenched or bowed inward, cannot liue long. And if a man haue his Head cut off, whereby he cannot mooue or goe; yet, it is not through defect of respiration, but because all his Nerues are cut in sunder in the supream place; and they are the Instruments and wayes of all the Bodyes Motions, euen as they are in all other Creatures liuing. Neuertheless, *Auer-*

Galen. vbi supra.

Auer. in 7. lib. de Med.

roes

A man walked, after his Head was smitten off.

roes saith, That he saw a poore vnfortunate Patient, who hauing his Head taken off, walked too and fro (for a small while) in sight of all the people. It is also written of *Dionisius Areopagita*, that after his Head was smitten off, hee walked certaine paces. Some say, it was a league and more from the place of his Execution, but this was more myraculous, then Naturall. Among all other liuing Creatures (as *Pliny* auoucheth) Man only, and a Horse, do becom soonest Hoary and white-headed, especially towards their latter daies. Man, because he hath his Head rounder, higher aduanced, and cleaner from putrifaction, is therefore the more sure & strong in his Head; where contrariwise, who so sauoureth most of imperfect moysture, is commonly of weakest and slendereſt Iudgement or capacity.

Plin. lib. de Animal. 11. Man, and a Horse becom white-headed

Many famous men that could daily go bare-headed, in raine, stormes, or heate.

We read of diuers worthy and valiant men, who haue had their Heades so solid, sound, and well affected, that they could go daily bare and discouered. As among others: *Iulius Cæsar*, *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, and *Masanissa* king of *Numidia*, who wold neuer couer his Head, either in his oldest age, nor yet for rain, snow, rough stormes and winds, or parching Heat of the Sun. We read the like also of the Emperours, *Adrian* and *Seuerus*, with diuers other of the same disposition. And seeing we haue spoken so much of the Head, methinkes it were good likewise to know for what reason, and whence it ensued, that it was reputed for a courtesie, when one man tooke off his Bonnet or Hat before another, in signe of Reuerence; and that it was so conceiued, if a man discouered his head: we will therefore not forbeare to speak somwhat thereof, although it may seem but of slender consequence.

Of the Reuerence of Vailing the Bonnet.

Plutarch saith in his Problemes, that in his opinion, this is the reason. *In Ancient time* (saith he) *he which offered sacrifice vnto the Goddes, kept his Bonnet on his Head al the while. And that Princes and worthy personages, to do courtesie and Honor to the Sacrificer, in regarde of his high function, would (in humble manner) discouer their heads before him: because it should not appeare, that they would presume to paragon his supreame authority, or equalize themselues with the Goddes; but satisfied both thus, in honouring their Sacrificer.* He

Plutar. in Probl. Cap. 9.

The reuerence of Kinges & Princes to their Sacrificing Priests.

further tels vs, that it was the vse, that when a man met his enimy, or any other that he hated, if his head had beene bare before, either by heate or otherwise, he would instantly couer it, in despight (as it were) of him. And yet he thought it fitting, that before his Prince or Frend, he should be bared.

Men would couer their Heads, meeting their enimies.

Marcus Varro, agreeing with *Pliny*, saith and maintaines it; that at the first beginning heereof, it was not doone in regard of awe or reuerence, that men discouered their Heads in the presence of Magistrates: but only, that through want of wearing their Bonnets, they might make them-selues more healthfull, strong, and hardy; for which cause only, and to shew themselues such, they bared their heads; and not for any duty, as hath bin imagined. *Galiottus* of *Nargni*, is of opinion, that when a man discouereth his head to do any one honor, he giues therby also to vnderstand, that in baring the principall, best, and most worthy member of Man, he offers and puts himselfe into his power, whom he salutes; as saying and confessing to bee his Inferiour.

Plin. lib. 28.

Men did not bare their Heads to Magistrates for reuerence, but to make themselues hardie and strong.

Galiot. de Nargni. in lib. de Hom.

Lodouicus Cælius alledgeth and rendereth almost the selfe-same reason; saying; *In regard the Head is the principall of all the other Members, and whereunto they serue and obey for his defence: euen so, is it a sign of honor and reuerence, when that supreame part discouereth it selfe in humilitie.* All which notwithstanding, let the causes be as they are taken, yet it is both hurtfull and scarse commodious, to bee thus continually reuerend to men. And much better were it, that these Reuerences and salutations for duty, respect, or whatsoeuer, by courteous language might be performed only.

Lodouic. Cælius. lib. 11.

Baring of the Head, is a discommodious kinde of curtesie.

CHAP. XV.

Whether euil Dæmons and Spirits, can foretell thinges to come, they hauing no certaine knowledge.

NEither do the Good Angelles, or the euill Spirits, know or apprehend things futurely to happen, as of themselues, for that is in the power and

The good angelles haue knowledge of future accidents.

and Science of the liuing God onely. True it is, that the good Angelles haue an intelligence of future occasions, yet not in their owne Nature, but according as God giues it them by reuelatiõ. The Deuils also do sometimes foresee what is to ensue, yea a long time before it hapneth; by disposition of the celestiall and inferiour bodies; like as men do sometimes foretell by knowledge in Astrology, bad and sterile seasons, from fruitfull and plenteous. As *Thales Milesius* (by meanes of the Starres) foretolde the abundance of Oliues which should be the yeare following. Somtimes likewise, the euill Dæmons or Spirits, doe presage future matters, by coniecture only, and then their predictions do euer fall out to the contrary. For it is their habit and custome, to mingle lyes with trueth, to the end, that they may the more easily perswade the falshoode. Euen in like manner, as they vse to do, that are preparing a poyson, they mingle it with Wine, Hony, or some sweet thing, that the deadly venome may bee couered & hidden vnder the sweet shaddow: & it doth not a little delight those peruerse spirits, when they can any way abuse the credulity of men, by lying, in their Mystical prædictions of things to happen.

Arist. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

The Deuilles mingle lies & truth togither only thereby. to deceiue men.

Wee finde it written in the second Booke of Kings, that an euill spirit being desirous to deceiue *Achab* King of *Israel*, said to the Eternall; *I will go out, and be a false Spirit in the Mouthes of all his Prophets.* Wherewith the Prophets of *Achab* being instructed, they and the lying Spirit assured him, that hee should haue the victory against the Assyrians. And yet notwithstanding, *Achab* was slaine in that battell, according to the words of the true Prophet *Micheas*. *Porphirius* saith, *That the Goddes do often lye, & that the certaine foresight of future thinges, is not only oblique and vneuen to men, but likewise most vncertaine to the Goddes themselues, being full of many ambiguities.* Nor indeed were the Gods of the Gentiles (wherof *Porphirius* thus spake) any other then wicked Dæmons or Spirits, as plainly may be noted by the name of *Belzebub*, as much to say, as God or lord of Flies; the Idoll of whom, was adored by the *Accaronites*.

2. Kings 2, 22

The Gods of the Gentiles, were meerely lying Deuils.

Moreouer, the Deuils are said to bee learned, and haue knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures, as appeareth in the gospell of S. *Mathew*; where it is declared, that Sathan brought our Sauiour into the holy Citty, and hauing set him vpon the Pinacle of the Temple, he said vnto him; *Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsũ: Scriptum est enim, quia angelis suis mandauit de te, & in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidẽ pedem tuum. If thou be the Son of God, cast thy selfe downe for it is writtẽ, that he wil giue his Angels charge ouer thee, & with their hands they shal lift thee vp, lest at any time thou shouldst dash thy foot against a stone.* Which allegation of scripture, Sathan had borrowed, or rather stoln from *Dauid*, in his 91. *Psalme*, where the verie words are likewise set downe.

Math. 4, 6.

Psa. 91, 11, 12

The good Father *Athanasius* recordeth, that an holy Religious man, discouered diuers subtilties of the Deuil, and acquainted therewith sundry of his louing Brethren, saying vnto thẽ, among other of their qualities, in this manner: *It is their custome also, to sing very melodiously, and yet are not seene; With their impure mouths* (O horrible guile) *they meditate and talke of holy Scriptures. When wee are reading in them, like Ecchoes they wil often make aunswere to our last wordes, &c.* Heereby wee may perceiue, that those vnclean Spirits do vnderstand the scriptures, but they apply them (by false exposition) to their own wicked purpose.

S. *Athanasius* of the subtilties of the deuils.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the sign of the Crosse, that it was in great estimation long before our Sauiour Iesus Christ was crucified thereon. Also, how before Letters were known or inuented, the Egyptians wrote their mindes by Figures, Carracters, and Hieroglyphickes, applying them to many notable vses.

LOng before our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ suffered vpon the Crosse, the signe of the crosse was regarded and esteemed, as a Prognosticke sign, fatall and ominous to some. But the Egyptians caused it to be engrauen on the breasts of their Idol *Serapis*, which they reuerenced and honoured

Serapis was an Idoll among the Egiptians in forme of an oxe, which they worshipped.

noured as their God. But for our better manifestation, how much this Figure hath bin respected; it is expedient first to know, that the ancient *Arabians*, who were most skilfull in iudgement of the Heauens, and the powerfull influences of the Starres, did vse to make (for many causes) Images and figures Carued in Stones, Mettals, Rings, & other things, for obseruation of certain pointes, and dayes of marke or note, whereof we purpose to speake in more conuenient place. Among all which signes, they most especially affected that of the Crosse, as attributing more efficacy and Vertue thereto, then they did to any of the other; because therby they compassed the knoledge of darke secrets, which with great curiosity they concealed to themselues, and hardly woulde impart to their children or deerest friends.

The signe of the Crosse highly respected by the old *Arabes*.

I purpose not to meddle with the opinion of *Marsilius Ficinus*, describing it in diuers manners, because the price of our redemption was paid thereon; but doe meane to consider the figure of the Crosse in it selfe meerely. For in Geometricall contemplation, it is allowed to be a most excellent & perfect figure, because it containeth (in it self) an equal length and largenesse. It is composed of two straite lines, euery way equall; the ioynture whereof, as it is taken by his Center, shapeth by his points & vtmost reaches, an absolute perfect roundure. It containeth foure seuerall corners, directly each way extended, wherein is the greatest effects of the stars, because they haue the greater force and Vertue when they are extended to their extreamities, and come neerest to the corners of East, West, North, and South: and being so seated, their very splendor then shapes it selfe in signe of a Crosse, if with wary iudgement it be duely considered. Moreouer, I could shew the reason wherefore the Egyptians so esteemed it beyond all their other markes and figures, & what signification they made therof: but my meaning is to speak first of some other of their Images, as also of their Hierogliphicall Caracters, with their purport and interpretation.

Marsil. Ficin. in lib. de trib. vit.

The figure of the Crosse in Geometry, like the foure Corners of the world.

Before the Egyptians knew any letters, they wrote their intentions by Figures, Carracters, and Ciphers of diuers things; as Birds, Beasts, Trees, or by some of their owne perticular members; wherin they grew to be so prompt and ready, as they quickly apprehended the signification of any thing, onely by the frequent vse made thereof; the Father first instructing his Sonne, and so discending from one succession to another, as is witnessed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, from whō, and from many places of *Plinie*, I haue Collected some scantlings of their reasons.

What the Egyptians did describe their minds by, before they knew letters.

First of all, by the Gripe, they vnderstood Nature, because (say they) of that kind of Fowle, they neuer knew a male: the same affirmeth *Amianus Marcellinus*. By the Hawke or Falcon, they intended such things as were to be done quick & expeditiously, figuring this their meaning, by the swiftnesse and celeritie of the Foule. By the Bee, they vnderstood the Dignity of a King; because (sayde they) a King ought to haue both Hony and a sting. By the Basiliske or Serpent, that round circkled it selfe with his taile in his mouth, they figured the reuolution of the year, because it endeth where it beginneth. The Wolfes head, pointed at time being past; in regarde, that Beast hath no memory, but is all for the instant. The Lyons head, figured the time present, because of his power and imperious command. They set downe the head of a Dogge, licking his chaps with his Tongue, whereby they presented time to come, for euermore, our succeeding hopes do make vs to cherish them very carefully. The Oxe, signifyed the Earth, in regard of the great labour of the Beast. Iustice was Caractred by the Storke, for they alledged, (and many more haue affirmd as much) that this Bird dooth Iustice and Equity to his begetter, feeding and cherishing him in his age, as the other first had norished him, and brought him vppe diligently in his Nest.

Amian. Marcel. Lib. 14. Lib. 17. Lib. 4.

Hierogliphicall Caracters, and their applications.

They described Enuy by the Eele, because it neuer keepes company with other Fishes. The Liberall Man, was figured by a Right-Hand wide open: As contrariwise, the auaricious Niggard was, by a Left-Hand close gripte. The Crocodile, being a Beast of very vile qualities, by him they presuppose a deceitfull wicked man. The Eye figured wide opē, gaue demonstratiō of the

An especiall note of Iustice and Equity, and a good lesson for youth.

man, who was a dilligent obſeruer of iuſt actions. By the ear they vnderſtood memory. And a man that was of exquiſit memory, of him they gaue notice by the ſhape of a Hare, hauing both her eares wide open, and her eies bent forward. And thus could they diſcourſe on all things, by practiſe and experience in ſuch like reſemblaunces, euen aſwell as if they had beene written to them in Letters.

We returne now againe to our former ſpeeches of the Croſſe, holding it ſomewhat memorable, that among ſo many other ſeueral ſignes, it only ſhold be the moſt euident and knowne Carracter. And they placed it on the breſt of their Idoll God, to ſignifie their future hope of Happineſſe; and prognoſticating (as it were) ſo long before, what vniuerſall vſe ſhould afterwardes bee made thereof; as in adorning the wreaths and Diadems of Emperours, Kings, and other Potentates; the beautie of their ſtampes and Coines: but eſpecially, the diſtinguiſhing of Chriſtians, from barbarous Infidels. So ſpeaketh *Ruffinus* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and *Petrus Criuitus* the like, in his ſeuenth Booke of honeſt Diſcipline, as alſo *Marſilus Ficinus* before alledged. But contrariwiſe, among the *Romain* Iewes, and other ſuch like people, the death of the Croſſe was reputed moſt ignomious. And *Conſtantine* the Emperor, was the firſt that prohibited the condemned to death, from being any longer crucified; becauſe GOD had myraculouſly ſhewne him in a Croſſe in the aire, with promiſe (vnder that Standard) to conquer; whereof making triall, he fought with his enemy *Maxentius*, a great perſecutor of the Chriſtians, & vanquiſhed him in the field, acording as it is witneſſed by *Euſebius*. So much ſhal ſerue to be ſpoken concerning the ſign of the croſſe, without any ſuperſtitious opinion therof, or any friuolous worſhppe yeelded therto, as too many (miſtaking the true meaning) fondly & vainly do; but in all times it hath beene almoſt a cuſtome, to draw error out of good intentions, and to wound with abuſe, things meerly indifferent in themſelues.

The Vniuerſall vſe made of the ſigne of the Croſſe.

Ruf. in hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 9. Pet. Criuit. lib 7 de ciuil. Diſ.

Conſtantine his viſion in the ayre, the ſign of the Croſſe.

Euſeb in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

The excellency of Secrecy, & with what care it is to be kept: Diuers good examples are produced, apt to the intended purpoſe.

ONe of the principall partes, that makes a man knowne to bee wiſe indeed, is his intelligent ſtrength and ability to couer and conceale thoſe ſecrets, which (by anothers truſt) are committed to him, with ſound retention likewiſe of his owne ſerious affaires and priuacies. They that will reade the auncient Hiſtories of times long paſt, ſhal find a great number of vertuous attempts, that neuer reached their endes and aimes (were it either in peace or war) but were ſhaken in ſhiuers, bruiſed and defeated, only through defect of ſecret concealment; and yet, beſide ſuch vnhappy preuention, infinit great euils haue thereby enſued. But amongeſt all other examples, let vs conſider one more notable, and excelling all the reſt, deriued euen from God himſelfe; who ſo eſpecially preſerueth his own ſecrets to himſelfe, that he would neuer let any man know what ſhould betide or happen to morrow; neither could they that liued in the Ages paſt, imagin or diuine what ſhould befal vs in theſe our dayes; wherby we may eaſily diſcern, that God himſelf is wel pleaſed with ſecrecy. And albeit, that (for mans good) he hath reuealed ſom things, yet impoſſible is it at any time to change or alter his determination; in regard whereof, the reuerend wiſemen of elder times euermore affected to perform their intentions ſecretly. We read that *Cato Cenſorius* often ſaid to his friends, that of three things hee had good reaſon daily to repent himſelfe, if he fel into the performance of al or any one of them. The firſt, if he did diſcloſe any ſecret, to any one whatſoeuer; but principally to his wife. The ſecond, if he aduentured on the water, & might keepe himſelfe on dry land. The third, if he ſhould let any day neglectly eſcape him, with omiſſion of ſome one good action or other. The later two are well worthy obſeruation, but the firſt concerneth our inſtant argument. *Alexander* hauing receiued diuers letters of great importaunce from his Mother, after hee had read them in the preſence of none but his deare friend *Epheſtion* & him-

Secrecy is the abſolute note of a wiſe man.

God keepeth his Secrets to himſelfe.

Cato the Cenſor, his example of three things of eſpeciall reſpect.

Alexander ſealeth vp *Epheſtions* lippes with ſecrecy.

himselfe, he drew forth the signet wherwith he vsed to seale his most priuat letters, and saying nothing else, set it vpon *Ephestions* lips; intimating thereby, that he in whose bosome a man burieth his secrets, should haue his lippes fast lockt vp from reuealing any one of thē.

Phillippides his answere to K. *Lisimachus*.

When King *Lisimachus* made offer to the Poet *Phillippides*, of whatsoeuer hee would make request, the Poet replyed: *O King, the very greatest good deede thou canst do me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy Secrets.*

Anthonius Sabellicus, concerning the historie of Captaine *Cremignola*, & the *Venetians*.

Anthonius Sabellicus, concerning this purpose, declareth a notable & meruailous example. In the time of Pope *Eugenius* (saith he) the Siegnory of *Venice* had a Captaine named *Cremignola*, by whose disloialty and treason, their army had receiued the ouerthrow. Whereupon, the Senate iudiciously consulted together, what might best be done in a case so desperate. Some were of opinion, by an instant mandation to call him home; and being possessed of him, to let him know the vertue of their Iustice. But others dissented, and held it against both honor and pollicy. Finally, it was concluded, that a maske or ignoraunce (as yet) shoulde mussle all, and not so much as suspition of his delict, any way be conceited; but purpose should bee made seruant to more apt opportunity: & howsoeuer delay excused the errour, yet death in the end should close vp all.

Eight months secrecy contained among many.

This determination was deferred, and slept for the space of 8. months, but shut vp in each brest with such secrecy, as his eares (in all that time) could reach no supposition therof. This was (questionlesse) a matter of no mean maruel, considering there were so many Senators; among whom, diuers were much indered to *Cremignola*; some by propinquity in blood; others in friendship; & most of them by desertfull affection. Beside, many of them were poore, and poueries eies being commonly bent on gifts & rewards (whereof there was no want in the Captain) might haue bin an easie benefit, & his best fortune. All which notwithstanding, this honorable seal of Secrecy, was set with such assurance vpon euery soule, that the 8. moneths hauing consumed themselues, he was verie kindly recalled home to *Venice*, entertained with all embracings and affectuous Ceremonies. But on the morrow, hee was surprized, condemned before the Senat to forfeit his head, and he paide it by imediate performance. This may wel serue for a remarkeable president to all our modern States, their Senators, Iudges, and Counsellours, least it fall out with them, as it hath done to many, who forthwith haue discouered such secrets, as (in greater wisedome) they ought to haue concealed. In reproofe and iust check of whom, I will rehearse a pleasant discourse, deliuered by *Aulus Gellius* in his Attick nights, and by *Macrobius* in his *Saturnals*, according as followeth.

An especiall president to al States, for retaining secrecie.

Aul. Gel. in Attic. Noct. Macrob. in Saturn.

The Senators of *Rome*, at their vsuall sitting in the Senat house, had constituted a custome among themselues, that each man (hauing a Sonne) so soone as he was able to walke with his Father, he might bring him with him to the Senat, to abide or depart as occasion best required. Nor was this fauour generall, but extended only to Noblemens sons; and lasted til they were seuenteen years old: and the intent was, that by beholding the discreet behauiour of their Fathers, they might make the better apprehension thereof afterward, vntil they attained to riper yeares of gouernment, to be instructed in affaires of the weale-publicke. All which time, they were so well taught and tutord, as, whatsoeuer was discourssed in Counsell, it was concealed in them from publick reporting.

A worthy kind of education for the sonnes of Noblemen.

One time, beyond all other, the Senate sat in consultation of a very serious and important cause, so that their rising was much later, then before had bin accustomed: and the conclusion was referred ouer vntill the next day, with expresse charge of Secrecy in the meane while. Among other Noblemens Children, that had bin there in this waighty Businesse, was the yong son of the graue Senator *Papirius*, whose family was one of the most noble & illustrious in al *Rome*.

The child being come home, his Mother (as women are highly affected to nouelty) intreated him to tell her, what strange case had bin that day debated in the Senate, that had power to detaine them so long beyond their vsuall houre? The Vertuous Noble youth tolde her, it was a Businesse not beseeming him to speak of; & more (as al Noblemens sons else) he was commanded to silence. She

Women are euermore couetous and desirous of Nouelties.

hearing this answere, according to the immoderate heat of weomens desires, became more earnest in stricter inquisition into the case, & nothing but intelligence thereof might any way content hir. So that, first by faire speeches & entreaties, with large and liberal promises she practised to break open this poor little Casket of secrecy; that, not preuayling, to stripes & violent threats was hir next flight, because force may compel, where lenity cannot. The admired Noble spirit, finding a Mothers threats to be very harsh, but hir stripes more bitter then any thing beside, comparing his loue to hir as his Mother, with the duty he ought to his father; the one mighty, but the other more impulsiue: he layes her & her fond conceit in the one scale; his Father, the Senate, himselfe in his yong budding reputation, and the serious iniunction to secrecy in the other; and finding her currant waight, as being his Mother, but lighter then wind, being thus gone out of hir selfe: whetting his tender wit vpon the sandy stone of her edging importunity; to appease her, and preserue himselfe sound (as out of a kind of constrained vnwillingnesse) resolu d her thus. *Madam, & deare Mother, you may well blame the Senat for their so long sitting, at least for calling in question a case so impertinent; For, except as many Senators wiues may be there present, as Senators that consult thereon, there can be no hope of conclusion. I speake this but out of my young apprehension, for their grauity I know may easily confound mee. And yet, whither Nature or duty so instruct me, I cannot tell, albeit it seemeth good to them, that for encrease of people, & help to the weal-publick, the Senators only should bee allowed to haue two wiues, or else their wiues two husbands: I shall hardly vnder one roofe call two men by the name of Father, I had rather call two women by the name of Mother. This is the question Mother, & to morrow it must haue determination.*

The Mother hearing this, and by his vnwillingnesse reuealing it, beleeuing it for infallible; her blood was quickly fiered, for this was Tinder apt enough to take. And (as commonly) such suddain heats do admit no consideration, but hurry the sences & faculties to further rashnesse: So shee, requiring no other counsel, but such as hir selfe, flings forth to the other ladies & Matrons of *Rome*, and by the bellowes of hir breth, blowes them al vp into as brainsicke a passion. And, which is rare, for a Parliament of women to be gouernd by one speaker, yet, the affaire being so vrgent, the hast as pertinent, and the case (on their behalfe) meerly indulgent: the reuealing woman must prolocute for her selfe, & all the other women. And such a din is the next day at the Senat doore, for admission to sit with their Husbandes in this woonderous consultation, as if all *Rome* had bin in an vprore. Their minds must not be knowne before they haue audience, which (though against all order, yet necessity inforcing) being granted, such an Oration was made by the woman-speaker, with request that women might haue two Husbands, rather then men two wiues, that could scarsely content one: as (vpon the Riddles solution) the Noble youthes secrecie being commended, the Ladies (with folly and impudence confounded) I guesse, that with blushing cheekes they thence departed. Neuertheless, for auoiding the like inconuenience, it was determined, that thence-forward the Fathers shold bring their Sons no more into the Senate; only yong *Papirius* was freely allowed, & his discreet policy to conceale the Senats secrets, not only applauded, but himselfe with Titles of honour dignified and rewarded.

Vndoubtedly, old men of these dayes, may make good vse of this young rare wisedom, and consider with themselus, that if a priuat secret do merit such concealment, much more then deserus that, whereon the whole weale publicke dependeth, especially among men of years and mature iudgement. *Marcus Brutus, Cassius*, and all the rest that had Conspired the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, because in their eyes it seemed expedient, for benefit & liberty of their country; vppon their vowed determination, wold neuer yet disclose it to *Cicero*, one of their most intimate friends, and that desired (more then any of the other) the extirpation of tirany out of *Rome*; not for any distrust they had in him, but because he was reputed scarse a good secretary. *Fuluius* imparted an important secret to his wife, which the Emp. *Octauian* had before committed to his trust, but being dis-

An excellent example for al Noblemens sonnes.

His witty excuse to his mother, to preserue secrecy.

A womans furie quickely kindled, and then no reason can be admitted.

Shame is the waiting hand-maid to modesty.

Brutus, Cassius, and they that conspired *Cæsars* death, wer very secret.

The Wife of *Fuluius* could containe no secrecy.

disclosed by her, it came at length to the Emperors eare, which procured the Senator such a check from his Lord, for being no sounder to himselfe, that falling into dispaire vpon this disgrace, he resolued to kill himselfe. But imparting first his minde to his wife, to let her know what a shame she had done him, she made him answere; That he had no reason to be offended with her, because (during the long time they had liued together) till then, he had found no intelligence of her shallow Capacitie. But if he had made any proofe before, his beleefe could not haue bin abused, by crediting her. Neuertheless, since hee had bin the motiue of this hir first offence, she would make no further reference to him, but inflict the punishment vppon her selfe: whereupon, imediatly she slew her selfe in his presence; so did her Husband very quickly after.

A rash reward for breach of Secrecy.

We read in the life of the Emp. *Nero*, that a conspiracy of his death beeing made in *Rome*, as a matter most requisit for the *Romans*, and the whole State beside, in regard of his cruelties: The man that had vndertake to do the deed, meeting (by chaunce) with one, who was led to prison by the tirants command; and falling into a present consideration with himselfe, of the Emperors nature, that whomsoeuer he caused to be apprehended, could not escape death (as the present example of the prisoner approued, who wept bitterly because he could not auoid his hard lot) forthwith he stept to him, and (neuer remembring the important case which he was bound by Oath to conceale) said in his ear; *Pray that thy life may be spared but till to morrow, for if thou canst escape this day, I dare assure thee, Nero himselfe shall not put thee to death.* When the prisoner heard this, suspecting the case to be as it was indeed, and coueting to saue himselfe, reuealed it to *Cæsar*, willing him to haue especial care of his life. Hereupon, *Nero* caused him to be instantly attached that had spoken with the prisoner, and (by means of torments) forced him to confesse the whol coniuration; so by putting him to death the purposed plot was ouerthrowne.

A strange example vpon the breach of Secrecie, by the very sight of a prisoner.

Now *Pliny* reporteth an example to the contrary, of one *Anaxarchus*, who being taken vpon the like occasion, bit his tongue off in the midst betweene his teeth, because he would not disclose the secret complot; and afterward, he threw it in the Tyrants face. The *Athenians* caused to be erected in Brasse, the Statue of a Lyonnesse, in honor of a publique knowne Woman, named *Lyonna*; for a memory of her constancy, in keeping secret an especiall Conspiracy: and the Figure was made without a tongue, to declare Secrecy thereby. The Seruants and Slaues of *Plancus* are likewise much commended, because no Torments could preuaile, to make them confesse to their Maisters Enemies, (who searched narrowly for him, and faine would haue slaine him) in what place hee had hidden himselfe. The Slaue of *Cato* the Oratour, perceiuing some Offence by his Maister committed, by Torments was in like manner laboured, to reueale his abyding; but nothing could preuaile against his setled constancy, to be Secret.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 23 Of *Anaxarchus* that bit out his own toong to keepe Secrecy.

The *Athenians* bow downe to *Lyonna*.

The faithfulnesse of the Seruants of *Plancus*: and of the slaue to *Cato* the Orator.

Quintus Curtius telleth vs, that the *Persians* helde it is an inuiolable law, to punnish most greeuously (and much more then any other Trespasse) him that discouered any Secret. For confirmation whereof, hee saieth; That King DARIVS beeing vanquished by ALEXANDER, and not knowing (in Flight) where to hide himselfe; at length, when he had found out a place to his owne liking, no Tortures whatsoeuer, or liberall promises of recompence, could preuaile with them that knew it, or compell them to disclose it vnto any person. Hee saith moreouer, that the *Persians* were of this Opinion, that no man ought to commit any matter of Consequence, to him that could not truely containe it.

The Lawe of the Persians for breach of Secrecy.

Secrecie then is very necessarie in all things and occasions, but especiallie in Warre; and our most excellent and ancient Captaines, did euermore most iustly obserue it. *Phillip*, son to *Antigonus* the successour of *Alexander*, in the presence of diuers others, demaunded of his father, when the Army shoulde march on? whereto the K. angerly answered; *Art thou so deafe, that thou canst hear a trompet as other men shal?* whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that he had offended in such a demand, which deserued no other answere in the presence of witnesses. There was a certain Tribune,

Secrecy most requisit in all occasions.

The Tribune of *Cecilius Metellus*.

in the Army of *Cecilius Metellus*, who asked of him, what hee intended concerning the warres yſſue? To whome *Metellus* replied: *If I thought that my ſhirt knew what I haue purpoſed, I would immediatly burn it heere before thee.* *Horace* amõg his Conuiuiall Lawes, would haue euery man keepe ſecret whatſoeuer was done or ſaid. For this cauſe the *Athenians* were wont (when they met at any Feaſt) that he who was moſt auncient among them, ſhould ſhew to al the reſt the doore whereat they had entered, ſaying; *Take heed, that not ſo much as one word paſſe out from hence, of whatſoeuer ſhall heere be done or ſpoken.*

Horace in his Lawes conuiuiall, and the *Athenians* Cuſtome at Bankets.

The inſtruction of *Pythagoras* to his ſchollers for ſecrecy.

The firſt thing that *Pythagoras* taught his Schollers, was to be ſilent; therefore (for a certaine time) he kept them without ſpeaking, to the end, they might the better learne to preſerue Secrecy, and neuer to ſpeak but when time required: expreſſing thereby, that ſecrecy (among al other,) was the rareſt vertue. To approue this true, when *Ariſtotle* was demanded what thing appeared moſt difficult to him, he anſwered; *To be Secret and ſilent.* To this purpoſe, S. *Ambroſe* in his Offices, placeth among the principall foundations of Vertue, the patient guift of ſilence.

Ariſtotles anſwere of the moſt difficult thing.

The patient gift of ſilence.

Angerona, the Goddeſſe of ſilence.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 5.

The God of Silence.

The *Romaines*, among their vaine & ydle Goddes, had a Goddeſſe of ſilence, named *Angerona*, which was figured holding her Finger vppon her Mouth, in ſigne of ſilence. And *Plinie* ſayth, that they vſed to Sacrifice vnto her the xxi. day of December: whereof likewiſe *Marcus Varro*, *Solynus*, and *Macrobius*, doe make mention. The GOD of Silence was alſo honoured by the *Egyptians*, and painted with his Finger vpon his Mouth, as *Catullus* and *Ouid* in like manner haue written. Whereby we may eaſily gather, what reuerend reſpect hath beene made of Secrecie, in regard they honoured it as a God. *Salomon* ſaith in his Prouerbes, that a King ought to drink no wine; for no other reaſon, but becauſe, where drunkenneſſe is, there can be no containing of Secrecy. And (in his opinion) he is vnworthy to raign, that cannot keepe his own Secrets. He ſaith moreouer, That he which diſcouers ſecrets, is a Traitour; and he that concealeth them, a faithfull Friend.

Salomon would haue a king to Drinke no Wine, for diſcloſing his ſecrets.

CHAP. XVIII.

How commendable it is, to ſpeake but little.

TO ſpeake but little, and (in that little) to be ſuccinct & ſententious, is a thing vertuous in it ſelfe, and highly commended by all Men of Knowledge. *Salomon* ſaith, *That to ſpeake much, cannot be without vice, but hee that refraineth his tongue, is wiſe.* Beſides, *Who keepes his tongue, keeps his ſoule.* And contrariwiſe, *He that ſpeakes inconſiderately, yeelds himſelfe as a prey to many euils.* Heer might be alledged the teſtimony of diuers learned men; but the Text in the Goſpell, may bee ſufficient, where it is ſaid; *That we ſhal giue an account for euery ydle word.*

Prou. 10, 20.

Prou. 15, 4.

Math. 5, 12.

The *Lacedemonians* (beyond all other of the Greeke Nations) delighted moſt in ſpeaking briefely; ſo that when anie Man was heard to ſpeake Compendiouſly, they would preſently ſay; *He diſcourſed Laconian-like.* King *Phillip*, the Father of *Alexander*, ſent them Worde, that he wold paſſe through their countrey with his Army; and therefore, they were ſpeedily to anſwer him, if he ſhold paſſe as their Friend, or their apparant Enemy; whereto (without any plentie of wordes) they replied: *Neither as the one, nor the other.*

The delight of the *Lacedemonians*.

A witty ſhort anſwere.

Artaxerxes King of Aſia, likewiſe ſent to tell them, that hee would come to make ſpoile and booty of thẽ; to which threatning, they anſwered thus: *Come and do what thou canſt.* I am of the mind, that in greater Coppy of wordes, they could not haue made a grauer anſwere. The Ambaſſadors of the *Samians*, vſed to hold very long diſcourſe in their conſiſtory, ſo that their Auditours (greatly wearied with ſuch tedious talking) wold thus anſwer them; *We haue forgotten one part already by you propounded vnto vs; & as for the reſt, wee know not wel how to vnderſtand it.* In like maner, to other Ambaſſadors of the *Abderites* (for vſing too much affectation in deliuery of their Embaſſie, and ſcarſely knowing where to end) when they demaunded their dif-

Another of the ſame Nation.

The *Samians* prolix in their ſpeakings.

An apt answer to tedious Ambassadors.

dispatch, that they might returne home againe; *Agis* King of the *Lacedemonians* made them this answere: *You shall say to the Abderites, that wee heard yee all the huge while you were willing to speake.*

A tedious Orator talking with *Aristotle*, well aunswered.

Vpon a time, a certaine Oratour talked with *Aristotle*, and was so prolixe in his speech, as himselfe acknowledged his owne errour, and made his excuse, in concluding thus; *That he desired pardon, because he had held so long discourse with so wise a Philosopher. Aristotle* aunswered him pleasantly: *Good friend, thou hast no cause at all to aske pardon of me, because I tooke no heede of what thou saidst.* Wherein *Aristotle* returned him a iust requitall, and replyed aptly to our present purpose. Wee haue another example of too much pratling, by them that robd, and afterward kild *Ibycus* the Poet; for as thy halde him along thorow the Fieldes, farre enough from being seene, or heard of any body; he espied a Flocke of Cranes flying in the Ayre, to whom he cryed aloud, saying; *You Cranes shall beare witnesse what they doe vnto me.* After his death, no knowledge (in a long time) could be gotten, who were faulty in so foule a fact: vntill a certaine day, when a publique solemnity being made in the same Fielde, whereat two of them that had murdred *Ibycus* happened to be present. Suddenly, a great noyse of Cranes was heard aboue in the Ayre, which one of them perceiuing, scoffingly said to his fellow (not thinking any stander by had heard him;) *Hearke Fellow, these are the witnesses, that Ibycus said should disclose his death.* This being ouer-heard, by one too neer them, yet doubtful what he should imagine of such words, he began to suspect some euill; whereupon, he aduertised the Iudges and Gouernours what hee had heard. In breefe, the two Gallants were apprehended, and confessing the truth, Iustice was executed on them; This ensued through their liberall talking, without circumspection. Therefore a Man ought to regard well what he will say, while hee is maister of his owne minde; and withall, to respect both the time and persons present. *Hecates* the Greeke Orator, was on a time reprooued, because (beeing at a merrie Banquet) he spake neuer a word, which checke being heard by *Archimedes*, hee replyed thus for him: *Me thinkes thou shouldst learne to vnderstand, that they which know well how to speake, do also know at what time to be silent.*

Example of them that kild the Poet *Ibycus*.

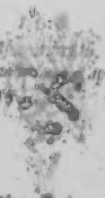
A notable example.

The iust reward of lauish talking.

Heere might be alledged infinite examples, of perrils, ignominies, and death, hapning at diuers times to Men, onely by reason of too much talking. Wherefore, a Man should be very circumspect before hee open his mouth, least that which he speakes, do redound to his owne preiudice. Great *Cato* the Censor, from his Child hood, was naturally sober in speech; whereof he being reprehended by many, who tolde him that he was too strict in Taciturnity, he thus answered them: *I am not offended to bee reprooued for my restraint of speech, seeing no man hath occasion to detect my life: for then, and not else would I breake silence, and then it should be knowne how I could hold my peace. Isocrates* in the Book which hee wrote to *Demonicus*, saith; *There are two times for speaking; the one, when occasion dooth necessarily require it; the other, when a Man knowes whereof hee speakes. Plutarch* compares them that talke (without knowing what, or whereof) to emptie vessels, which alwayes do sound louder then those that are filled.

Aristotle answeres for *Hecates* the Oratour.

Cato Censorius his wise answere in his owne defence



Plutarch. in Moral. Cap. 4. Lib. 6.

It is declared to vs, by *Zeno* the Philosopher, that Nature gaue vs two ears, and but one tongue: for no other reason, but to heare much, and speake little. *Horace* giues vs councell, to shun such as are busie in many demaunds, because themselues are but Questioners, and needlesse Pratlers. *Suetonius* reporteth (in confirmation of other mens Arguments, to the same intent) that the principall cause, which moued *Octauius* to fauor *Mecenas* so much, was; because he vsed to speake sildome, and then but little too, giuing himselfe wholly vnto silence. *Cicero* affirmeth, that *Cato* the Oratour, would neuer set downe any of his Orations in writing, saying; *I can repent my selfe of any thing that I haue said, but I would not haue my writing come to reproofe, because that it cannot be any way denied.* And because in reprehending ouer-much talking, I would be loath to fall into the same errour, I will be silent, concluding thus with that Graue Philosopher *Seneca*: *I haue many times repented my selfe for speaking, but neuer because I held my peace.*

To heare much, and to speake little.

Busie questioners are to be auoyded.

Of speaking sildome and but little.

Cicero, of *Cato* the Oratour.

An excellent saying of *Seneca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the famous Philosopher Plutarch; *his learned Letter to the great Emperour* Traiane, *and diuers of his singular comparisons.*

Plutarch was one of the most excellent Morall Philosophers that euer liued; and beside, hee was a true Historiographer. Hee was Schoole-Maister to the good *Romaine* Emperour *Traiane*, born in *Spaine*, euen at the time that the *Romain* Empire was more great in Power and Possessions, then euer it had beene before, or after. This Emperour was the best and iustest of all the rest, and one that would diligently listen to the councell of his Maister: who fearing, least *Traiane* should be forward to any errour, or doe any thing vnworthy the good Discipline which hee had taught him: one day among others, he sent a letter vnto him, wherein these following enstructions were contained.

The Emperor *Traiane*, was the best of all the Emperors

Plutarchs Letter to the Emperor *Traiane.*

I know very well, both modestly and simplicity with-helde any desire in thee to the Empire, although thou didst euermore in merit out-go it, by thy vertue and perfection in manners: which made thee so much the more worthy of it, by how much thou soughtest least meanes to enioy it. So that I attribut all to thy vertue and good Fortune, which will enlarge and heighten my contentment, when I shall see thy faire Graces shine in thy Gouernment: for if thou doe otherwise, I make no doubt of thy falling into daunger, and that thou wilt giue occasion of reproach towards me. The danger concerning thy selfe, is, that Rome *could neuer endure a bad and cruell Emperour; and mine is, that people are alwaies ready, in imputing the Schollers faultes to the Maister. Wee haue two noatble examples to confirme this; the one, of* Seneca, *against whom all* Neroes *wickednesse was daily murmured; and the other, of* Quintilian, *who bare the rebuke of his Schollers ryot and excesse. I am assured, that if thou doe not forget thy selfe, but first will take order with thine owne affections, referring all thine actions to vertue: thou canst do nothing but what is good and perfect. The rules which thou ought st to obserue, that the manners of thine Empire may be mended, they are taught thee by my Bookes, if thou list to follow them: Plutarch may so be Authour of thy life; if otherwise, I call this my Letter to witnesse, that it was not by my councell or aduise, that thou didst any thing to the preiudice, and damage of the Commen-Wealth of the Romaine Empire. So God preserue thee.*

Seneca reproued for *Nero*, and *Quintilian* for his Schollers.

This Letter had such power ouer *Traiane* (with the helpe of his owne vertuous inclination) that he becam a most excellent Prince. True it is, that before he was called to the Empire, hee was a Man of good manners and vertues: so that, although this Dignity had neuer before beene permitted to strangers, yet so it happened, that *Nero* his Predecessour (albeit hee had a great Kinred in *Rome*, and *Traiane* was a *Spaniard:*) yet hee (notwithstanding) elected *Traiane* to succeed him in the Empire, whereby *Nero* wan himselfe Grace and good opinion. For *Traiane* gouerned so iustly, and was a man so vertuous, that after his decease, when they went to elect and institute a new Emperour: the people alwaies desired of God, that he would giue him the goodnesse of *Traiane*, and the fortune of *Octauian.*

What *Traiane* was before he was Emperor.

The rare Iustice of *Traiane* in his gouernment.

Plutarch then seeing a man of rare and especiall vertues, filled his workes with Learning and singuler examples; that any man (how well read soeuer he was) might thence deriue good Rules and Instructions, for guiding him to an happy and vertuous life. He had a great Grace in his cõparisons, wherof I haue made obseruation of a few, according as they follow. He that abaseth himselfe, and forsaketh vertue, for any mishap that may betide him: is like vnto a Childe, who seeing something taken from him where with hee sported, in a rage casts away all the rest out of his hand, though it were neuer so sweete and delicate to feed on.

Plutarch his witty and learned comparisons.

As he that is amorous of a Woman, doth continually repute her to be faire, though some Wart or Scar may somewhat impaire her countenance: So a true louer of Vertue, albeit he beholde the vertuous despised and ill intreated, will neuer thinke of her waies the worsse,

Of Vertue.

worſe, or giue ouer for any diſgraces whatſoeuer.

Of Enuy. As Kites or Rauens can neither more or leſſe hurt a liuing Body, but worke their tyranny on the dead: So hee that hateth any Man, lookes onely vpon his dead Vices, and neuer lifts vp an eye to his good and vertuous Actions.

Of Temperance. As Water moderateth the heat and fury of Wine: Euen ſo in a Common-Wealth, old Men ought to temperate with good councell, the angry and fiery ſpleenes of ſuch as are young.

Of Diſcretion As a poore Slaue or Seruant, is moſt ioyfull when hee gets free from the power of a ſharpe and cruell Maiſter: So ſhould an old man reioyce, to eſcape the bad inclinations and diſordered affections, which alwaies are the daungerous companions to youth.

Of Negligence. As a Blinde man growes quickly angry, and ſticks not to call him Blinde, who (againſt his will) happens in meeting to harme him: Euen ſo wee complaine on our ill fortunes, though they come by our owne occaſions, and worthily whip vs with our owne Rod.

Of Prouidence. As through fault of quenching a ſmal ſparke, a great fire is kindled, which conſumes the whole Houſe: So thorow want of prouidence, againſt the ſedition of a few particulars, ſometimes the whole State happens to be ruined.

Of Phiſicke. *Plutarch* tels vs moreouer; That hee who is ſubiect to Phiſitions, Purgations, and Medicines; reſembleth him, that being baniſhed from the Cittie of Men wherein he was borne, is forced to ſeeke his fortune among hard-welcomming Strangers.

Of Wilfulnes He that craues councell and aduiſe for his errour, and then amends it not: is like vnto him, that needs will haue his Impoſtume opened, and yet cannot endure to haue it purged and healed.

Of Folly. He that learnes Morall & Politick Philoſophy, and knoweth not how to make vſe of it: is like him that lights a Lamp, and feedes it not with Oyle to doe him ſeruice.

Of Wickedneſſe. As the Worme is engendred at the Trees foote, and encreaſing with it, at length deſtroyes it: Euen ſo a bad man, boſtreth his lewdneſſe vnder the fauor of his Prince, and in the end becomes an ingratefull Traytour to him.

Of Talking. Newes that are reported by a Foole or Ieſter; is like Corne put into a moiſt veſſell, where it gets a competent greatneſſe, but quickely breaketh and commeth to nothing.

CHAP. XX.

The Originall and beginning of the Art Military, or Warre: Who they were that firſt intruded one vpon anothers Gouernmẽt. Of the Inuenters alſo of diuers kinds of Weapons, eſpecially of Artillery, and ſuch like.

IT is a matter ſufficientlie manifeſt, that warre, ſtrife, & diſcord among Men, took their Originall from the ſinnes of our fore-fathers; and it remaineth to perpetuall remembrance, that of ADAMS firſt Sonnes, one killed the other. So that Originall Iuſtice being thus loſt, afterward there neuer wanted debates and ſtrife among Men; whereby it appeareth, that Warre and Enmity began in our firſt Parents. But the Science of Warre, or Military Art, as alſo the manner of making Warre, practiſed by a number of many, againſt as many (albeit his beginning came from Sinne, and his beſt part; yea, oftentimes his end is cruelty, blood, and impiety) yet hath it beene held in ſuch reputation; that both the Art it ſelfe, and thoſe skilfull therein, haue beene preferred by Men, beyond all other matters of Prudence and Induſtry, and hath riſen (by degrees) to bee aboue all other degrees.

War deriued it ſelfe from the ſins of our firſt Fathers.

Of the Art of Warre.

Diodorus Siculus, and other Authours beſide, doe holde, that *Mars* was the firſt Maiſter of this Art, and that for this cauſe, the Poets fabulouſly named him the God of Battailes. *Cicero* giues the honour of this Inuention, to *Pallas* the Goddeſſe, and ſaith; that thereupon ſhe was named *Bellona*. To whoſe opinion many Poets do conſent; therefore, they contrary herein the auncient Originall, which *Ioſephus* attributes thereto, in the firſt Booke of his *Antiquities*; for there hee aſſures vs, that in the firſt Age, and before the Deluge,

Diodorus Siculus.

Cicero in lib. 3. de natura Deorum

Ioſeph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 12.

Tuball

Tuball taught the Art of Warre.

Tuball was the only Man of his time, and that by great paines and endeuour, hee firſt inſtructed the Millitary Art. Others are quite oppoſite hereto, and ſay; that it was firſt knowne after the Flood: therefore it is hard to know the particular Author, whatſoeuer he was. Neuertheleſſe, it ſeemes, that from the beginning, wars and quarrels (which aroſe among Kings and Princes) grew rather vpon ambition, & deſire of honor, then any intent to bereaue or depriue the goods of one another.

Ambition and Honour the cauſe of contention.

Iuſtine, and *Trogus Pompeius* ſay, that *Ninus* King of the *Aſſirians*, was the firſt that ſ ided an Army from his Kingdome, onely vpon greedy Auarice, and deſire to ſubdue anothers Territories. The *Pretor Fabian* certifies as much, in the beginning of that little ſcantling which wee haue of his Hiſtory; and the like doth Saint *Auguſtine*. King *Ninus* ſo well gouerned both himſelfe and his Army, that he ouercame many Cities and Countries, leauing them to his ſucceſſours, and ſo they continued to his Poſterity, according to the Computation and Record of Saint *Auguſtine*, *Euſebius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, for the ſpace of thirteene hundred yeares, ſtil deſcending downe from Father to the Sonne, and no want or defect of Heires in ſucceſſion, in the whole courſe of three and thirty Kings; or (according as ſome others do maintaine) for thirty ſix Kings, euen vntill the ful power and rule came to the lubricious Monſter *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe time the Empire was loſt, and fell then into the Poſſeſſion of the *Medes*.

Ninus was the firſt that led an Armie.

Fabianus. Pret.

Auguſt. Lib. 4. de. Ciuit. Dei.

A long diſcent of continuance from *Ninus*, gotten all by rapine.

Ninus then, according to the Teſtimony of our recited Authours, was the onely firſt victorious Conqueror; and yet we read, that (before his time) there had bin Wars; but (as we haue ſaid already) it ſeemeth that it was not attempted, for the diſpoſſeſſing Men of their Goods, Lands, and Inheritances, ſut for an affection after the Worldes honor and eſtimation: as we find recorded of *Veſſor* King of *Ægipt*, who would needs ſtart out of his owne Kingdome, againſt *Tanais* the *Scythians* King. *Tanais* (bound in honor to meete him) hapned to be the Conquerour: and yet did not he bereaue *Veſſor* of his Crown or country, or any other of his Goods, as King *Ninus* made it his vſuall cuſtome to do. Therfore it ſhould appeare, that he was the firſt, that made and inſtituted lawes to be obſerued in Armies and Battailes, allowing the victor to be Maiſter of the Lands & poſſeſſions of the vanquiſhed.

There were Warres before the time of *Ninus*.

Veſſor King of *Egypt*, warred againſt King *Tanais*, & was ouerthrowne for his labour.

Ninus made the firſt lawes for Armies.

Now concerning thoſe Weapons (as well defenſiue as offenſiue) where-with they put their attempts in execution, & purſued the ſpleen of their violent fury: it is not to bee doubted, but that at the beginning of thoſe Wars, they vſed no Weapons of inequality or aduantage. But (as the Poet *Lucretius* reporteth) they began with byting and ſcratching, teeth, and nayles; and afterward fell to Stones and Staues: euen as yet to this day, many barbarous Nations vſe to do. For (as yet) they had not reached to the height of hate and mallice in men, to force Iron out of the earths Intrals, and therewith to graſpe at their Neighbors goods. *Pliny* affirmeth, that in the firſt Wars of the *Moores* with the *Ægiptians*, they fought onely with Cudgels and Staues: but afterward they grew to further practiſe, and inuented ſuch diuerſity of Weapons, onely to hurt and offend one another, that it was accounted very ſtrange to behold, how men endeuored to kil and murder one another.

The firſt Order of weapons, Teeth and Nailes.

Plinie. in Lib. 7. Cap. 16.

Concerning the men that were Inuenters of theſe deuiſes, the opinion is very diuers. Poets in their fixions do tell vs, that *Mars* the God of Armes was the enginer of them. *Pliny* recordeth, that the *Ætolians* were the firſt that euer carryed any Launce to the Fielde; and likewiſe ſaith, that the *Lacedemonians* firſt inuented the Head-peece, and the Sword and Axe for defence thereof. But *Herodotus* attributeth the deuiſing of the Helmet and Shield, to the *Egiptians*: as alſo the Arming Coat of Maile, and the Breaſt-plate, to a man of *Miſena*, named *Mydas*; and Darts were deuiſed by one borne in *Ætolia*. It is likewiſe maintained, that *Pentheſilea* Q. of the *Amazones*, was the firſt that fought in field with the Axe & Club: and that *Scythes*, the Son of *Iupiter*, was the firſt Inuenter of Bow and Arrowes, but it is thought to be *Perſeus*; and *Diodorus* holds it to be *Apollo*.

Who were the firſt deuiſers of War.

Herod in Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

The people that inhabited the Iſlands cald *Baleares* (which at this day are tearmed *Maiorque*, and *Minorque*) according to the opinion of *Vegetius*, in his treatiſe of the

Veget. in Lib. de Arte Milit. Cap. 2.

the Art Military, were they that first inuented Slings, for conueyance of stones against their Enemies, because they had no other Weapon of defence for themselues. Thus Men (we see) according to the times, necessity, and variety of their owne mindes, haue found out and deuised diuers weapons and Instruments: which neuertheless (in my conceit) the very same Weapons haue bin likewise inuented in other places, not much differing from the instant Times, without any intelligence or knowledge the one of the other. Therefore, that I may not bee troublesome to the Reader, I leaue to wade in further search of opinions; albeit, they are much pertinent to our present purpose: as to set downe who were the deuisers of sundry sorts of Engines, and Warlike Instruments, for battering of Walles, Forts, and Bulwarkes, wherein there is likewise as great difference in opinion. For *Eusebius* affirmeth, that *Moyses* was the Deuiser of those huge and great Engins of Warre. *Plutarch* tels, that *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, and *Eudoxus* brought and reduced these Artes to full perfection, and that they found out many Instruments, for the breaking downe of Wals and greatest Buildings.

The self same weapons haue bin deuised in diuers places, and at one instant.

In Lib. 9. de præparat. Euangel.

The *Beliers* (and beside according to *Pliny*) found out the vse of the Sword at the siedge of *Troy*: but *Vitruuius* is of the mind, that it rather cam from the siedge of *Athens*. The Scorpion or great Crosse-Bow, where-with they would hurle huge Stones into Towns; in *Plinies* iudgement, was inuented by them of *Creete* and *Syria*. The people of *Phœnicia*, were the first that releeued themselues with the Engines of repulse and sharp piercing: but yet all these Inuentions were light, triuiall, and of slender importance, because they are farre surpassed in rigour and cruelty, by deuise of Powder for the Cannon, and other such like Artillerie. These are said to be first deuised by a *Germaine*, whose Name we finde no where recorded, and deseruedly (in my minde) as beeing vnworthy of any remembrance. The first that made vse of them, as *Blondus* & *Raphaell Volateranus* doe affirme, happened to bee the *Venetians*, against the *Genewaies*, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and eighty. And yet according to better Iudgement, and partly I am of the same opinion, that this inuention is of more ancient standing: because in the Chronicle of *Alphonsus*, the eleauenth King of *Castile* (euen he that conquered *Algazara*) it is found recorded, that he being at the siedge of the saide Citty, in the yeare one thousand three hundred forty three; the besiedged *Moores* did then throw forth of certaine Thundring Engines or Weapons, which were made of hollow Iron, like Morters or Troughes in them, diuers annoyances among their enemies; and this was forty yeares before the time whereof *Blondus* speaketh.

The vse of the Sword, deuised at the siedge of *Troy*.

All former inuentions were nothing, in comparison to shot and powder.

Blondus, and *Raphaell Volateranus*, concerning who first made vse of shot and Powder.

The *Moores* besiedged at *Algazara*, by the King of *Castile*.

Againe, long time before that also, in the Chronicle of the saide King *Alphonsus*, whose fortune was likewise to Conquer *Tolledo* in *Spaine*, the Lorde *Don Pedro* Bishop of *Leon*, writes that in a Battell by Sea, which was betweene the King of *Tbunis*, and the *Moore*, King of *Seuile*, whom King *Alphonsus* highly fauoured: the men of *Thunis* had certaine Tonnels or Bombards of Iron, & there-with they threw abroad strange thundrings of Fire, which needes must be Artillery; Although it was not in any such perfection, as vse and time hath made it now to be: and this was foure hundred yeares since, and more.

A Battaile at Sea betweene *Thunis* and *Seuile*.

CHAP. XXI.

The rare fortune of two Women, who by wearing the Habite and Garments of men, with Actions and Gestures sutable thereto, attained to two mightie Dignities, the one to be Pope of Rome, and the other Empresse.

I Make no doubt, but that many haue heard of a Woman, who was made Pope of *Rome*, yet because al men do not know in what manner it was, and beeing one of the most especiall matters of maruell happening in those times; I am the more willing to speake thereof, according to the extract made out of the truest Historians. Shee was borne in *England*, and in the time of her youth, she had acquaintance with

Pope *Ioane* was an English Woman borne, and left her country in the habite of a Man.

with a learned Man, of whom finding herſelfe to be beloued, with no leſſe affection then ſhe bore to him, ſhe vndertooke the habite of a Man, & calling hir ſelfe by the Name of Brother *Iohn*, left her Countrey, and went to remaine with him in the Citty of *Athens*, where the *Academies* and generall ſtudies then flouriſhed. There for a certaine ſpace ſhe ſoiourned with him, and attained ſuch a liberall flowing Spirit towardes learning, that with-drawing her ſelfe thence afterward to *Rome*: ſhe read there publiquely in the Schooles, in the habit and degree of a Doctour. By which reading, beſides diuers daily diſputations, ſhe wonne ſuch an vnaccuſtomed conceit of her Auditory, that ſhee was reputed for one of the very chiefeſt learned Men of that time; yea, and gained ſuch aduancement by the riſing of degrees, that the Seat Apoſtoliciall beeing in intermiſſion (by reaſon of the death of Pope *Leo*, the fourth of that Name, in the yeare of our Sauiour, eight hundred fifty two, and beeing taken to bee a Man by Nature) ſhee was choſen to be great Byſhop of *Rome*; and Pope vniuerſal, to gouern the Church, wherein ſhe held the Seat for the ſpace of two yeares, thirtie dayes, and (as is thought by ſome) ſome few others beſide.

She read in the publique Schooles in *Rome*, as a Doctour.

Pope *Leo* the fourth dying, *Ioane* was choſen Pope.

Being in this ſupreame Dignity, which is a ſtrange Spur to very bold attempts, (eſpecially in a Sexe ſo fraile by nature) forgetfull of her former carefull and ciuill carriage; ſhe affected the company of one of her Attendants, vpon whoſe truſt and faith relying, ſhee not onely diſcloſed her imperfection of kinde, but alſo acquainted him with ſo much familiarity, that there grew an alteration in the ſuppoſed Grand-*Pontifexe*; euen ſo much, as (in ſecret) might bee ſaide, great with child. Neuertheleſſe, ſhe couered this Crime with ſuch Art & cunning, as none but her Minion onelie could any way reueale it. But that high and ſupreame power, which continually hath an eye vpon the cloſeſt wickednesſe (in Iuſtice) permitted the meanes to bring it to immediat correction. For as ſhe was carried in the vſuall ſolemnity, to viſite the Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterana*: the time of womens denounced trouble ſuddenly came vppon her,

The frailtie of a woman *Pope*.

and vnder ſuſpition of a contrary ſickeneſſe (but indeede the fruites of her Louers diſeaſe) ſhe was there deliuered of a Male-Child (though ſome ſay Female) euen betweene the Church of Saint *Clement* and the *Theater*, improperlie called *Coliſeus*, and there the Mother & Child died both inſtantly together, and were likewiſe ſo buried, without any pompe or ſolemnity.

Pope *Ioane* was deliuered of a Childe, in her ſolemne proceſſion to *S. Iohn Laterana*.

For which vnexpected accident, the common opinion is, that a new order was determined for proceſſion of the ſucceeding Byſhoppes; which was, to ſhunne that former way, becauſe it had giuen à note of ſo great ſcandall, and therefore they muſt paſſe through another ſtreete, in deteſtation of a Fact ſo horrible.

And yet in regard of this reaſon, they haue ſet downe an obſeruation, that when any one comes to bee enſtaulled Pope, they haue a Chaire purpoſely made open, like a Cloſe-ſtoole, and by their paſſage vnderneath it, it is ſecretly and aſſuredly knowne, if *Habet teſticulos*, hee bee a Man or Woman. And many Authors diſcourſing hereon, doe make an vndoubted certainety thereof. *Platina* onely ſaith, that they haue a rich appointed Chair (but of the ſame faſhion as is vſed in common neceſſities) to the end, that hee who is to bee elected Pope, may (without further queſtion) be knowne for a Man. What is ſaide heereof beſide, as by the ſame *Platina*, *Martinus* in the liues of the Popes, *Sabellicus*, and S. *Antheninus* in his Hiſtories, they do all agree to the ſame effect. I finde alſo written, that in the ſayde Streete, there is an Image or Statue of ſtone erected, which declares the childs birth, and death of this impudent and ſhameleſſe Woman.

The order of the Chaire for enſtalmẽt of *Popes*.

But notwithſtanding all this, let the accident bee held very ſtrange, as it is indeede, yet during the time that this Woman abuſed the World, it was no reproch vnto the Church of God, neyther did it become any iot blemiſhed in Faith, becauſe ſhee can neuer want her true Head, which is Ieſus Chriſt, who ſtill beſtowes on her the Influences of his Graces, and the bleſſed effects of the Sacraments; And ſo long as ſuch a head doth protect hir, the Sacraments continue in their powerfull vertue, to ſuch

Ieſus Chriſt is the true head of his Church heere in earth

The onely dependance of the Church, is vpon Christ her Head.

Of *Theodosia*, Empresse of *Constantinople*.

such as soundly receiue them, and with firme Faith, because Christ supplies (by his Grace) all other defects. Admit this woman, nor any other, can be capable of receiuing or giuing any one Carracter of orders, or absoluing any one, but that whatsoeuer was then done by her or them, it standes to no effect or purpose, as wee haue already said: yet the Spouse of Christ, standing clear and vntainted of any corruption, hath still recourse to the onely Head Christ, who euermore hath an especiall care of her and hers. Yet this we may say concerning her, that questionlesse, her Wisedome appeared to be maruailous, onlie in this respect, that for so many yeares, and in such degrees of Estate, she could so well maintaine her credit.

But that which *Theodosia*, the Empresse of *Constantinople* did, is woorthy of as great admiration, because the minde of the one, was but to faigne her selfe a Man; and the other, to bee reputed a Man; notwithstanding, euery one knew her to be a Woman. For the Empire beeing vacant, by the death of her Brother *Zoer*, and her Husband *Constantine*, she being at that time entred into Religion: knew yet so well how to manage the State affaires, that she tooke vpon her to be Emperour, and (in his place) was feared and obeied. For without the helpe of Father, Husband, or Brother, she gouerned the Empire most nobly in peace and prosperity, for the space of two yeares, and then died, to the great greefe of her Subiectes, and in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, and the yeare of our Lord, one thousand and fifty.

CHAP. XXII.

The first beginning of the Amazons, and of many notable thinges by them not onely attempted, but likewise boldly put in execution.

ALthough I haue not bound my selfe to any direct or absolute order, concerning my first intended purpose in this worke, but doe write of thinges according as they present themselues, or els as they please me in Collection; yet notwithstanding, by this ensuing Chapter, I shall not much differ from the last declared Subiect, where I discourssed of two hardy and aduenturous Women, and the vnusuall fortunes that did befal them. For which cause, I holde it not amisse in this very next place (maintaining still the last argument) to speake of the *Amazons*, who were as woorthy as any other in the Worlde whatsoeuer. Albeit, there are many Men, that take a delight in abasing the perfection of Women, taxing them with leuity, wantonnesse, softnesse, and many other imperfections: yet I cannot but confesse, that there are men, who doe exceed thē in a thousand greater defects. For to speake no more then meerly Iustice requireth, Women haue gone beyond men in all kindes of vertues, or (at least) not giuen place to them in any thing; either in Loue, Loialty, Charity, Deuotion, Pitty, Affability, Temperance, Mercy, and all other vertues that can be alleaged. And if among them, some one bad and imperfect body hap to be met withall, a thousand worse are easily found among mē; and it is a case so plaine and apparant, as it were needlesse heere to insert any examples.

Men take a pleasure in disgracing the vertues of Women.

Women haue equalled Men in all perfections whatsoeuer.

In one thing (perchance) men will claime some superiority aboue them, that they haue the aduantage of them in martial disposition, whereunto women are not so apt and able, because that in such an exercise, ther is required fierceneesse, cruelty, and many other stormy qualities, which (by nature) they cannot vse, neither hath it pleased God (if it be lawfull to say so) to make them thereto prompt or able. Yet notwithstanding, to the end that men may know, that enen therein also (when they list to imploy themselues) they can stand equall with them; yea, and (if neede be) somewhat surmount them. For there hath bin found many women, that haue performed admirable things in Armes. And becaus rehearsall of many commendable Histories to this purpose, doth require too long a discourse; it shal suffice to speake of the *Amazons*, who were most vvarlike vvomen, and (vvithout the counsell or aduise of any Man)

Men more apt to Armes, the Women: and yet women (when they please) as able as Men.

did vanquish diuers powerfull Armies, conquered great Countries, Cities, & Prouinces, which continued long time after in their rule and possession.

Concerning the abiding of the *Amazones*, according to the opinion of Authors.

Many learned men both Ancient and Modern, haue approued their Histories to be very certaine. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, he affirmeth them to haue two seuerall Prouinces of the World; the one was in the *Asiatique Scythia*, a Prouince in the North parts of *Asia*, which was very great, and contained in it many other Prouinces. *Ptolomey* did deuide it into two partes, by the Mountaine **Imaus*, and it is at this day (in mine opinion) that which is cled *Tartaria*, in *Asiaticke Scythia*, and different from that *Scythia* which is in *Europe*. The other was in *Lybia*, a Prouince of *Affrica*, and (as one saith) that it was long before that of *Scythia*. But because most commonly, Authors (speaking of the *Amazones*) doe vnderstand and meane them of *Asia*; it is of them that I am determined to speake, and I will principally follow *Iustine* & *Diodorus*, who haue written most distinctly of them.

*A Mountain parting *India* from *Scythia*.

Of the *Scythians* a warlike Nation, who first were gouerned by two Kings.

The *Scythians* were very warlike men, of whom wee haue good testimony in many Histories, they had (in their first yeares) two Kings, to whom they yeelded al obedience, and were in order gouerned by them. Neuertheless, because it is the naturall propertie of Dominion, quickly to wax proud, and not to allow any equall or companion: there happened betweene these two Kings so great question and controuersie: as at length it grew wholly to a ciuill warre. In which difference, one side remained Conquerour in the end, and two men (of greatest note) on the contrary faction; the one beeing named *Plynus*, and the other *Scolopith*, were banished thence, with a great number of their Adherents; who with-drawing themselues to the limits of *Cappadocia*, in the lesser *Asia*, in despite of the Inhabitants of the Country, they made their abode along the Riuer * of *Thermodon* (now called *Pormon*) which entreth into the *Euxine* Sea, otherwise called * *Pontus*. There making themselues Lords of the Country, and of the neighbouring parts, they raigned there for some certaine yeares, vntill such time as the Country people and their Confederates, finding themselues to bee greatly offended, made a conspiracy against them, & assembling themselues secretly together, did so cunningly by deceipt ouer-reach them, that (in the end) they slew them all.

*Pormō was so called o. *Themiscyra*, a country or *Pontus*, bordring vpon *Cappadocia*.
* The Sea betweene *Meotis* and *Tenedos* so called of *Pontus* the son of *Neptune*.

The tidings of their death comming to the eares of their Wiues, remaining in the former Country, procured them to extreame greefe and heauinesse, and preuailed so with them, that (albeit they were Women) they tooke vpon them such a manly courage, as, concluding to reuenge the death of their Husbandes, they rose vp in Armes, and grew to bee very expert therein. Now, to the end, that in this fortune they might bee all equal, and the sorrow common, without any exception: they slew some other of their Husbands, that remained behinde when the other were banished. And then mustring themselues into a mighty Army, they left their dwelling, refusing mariage with many that earnestly therto required them. When they were arriued at the Countrey of their Enemies, (who made slender account of it, notwithstanding they had sufficient aduertisement) they tooke them vnprouided, and put them euery man to the Sword; heereof is deliuered credible testimony, by *Pomponius Mela*, *Propertius*, and *Claudian* in the rape of *Proserpina*. And they do further signifie, that this being done, they tooke vpon them the gouernment of the Country, abiding (at their beginning) along the Riuer *Thermodon*, in the place where their Husbands was slaine.

Women rise in Armes, to reuenge the death of their Husbands.

Pomponius Mela, Lib. 1. Propertius & Claudian, in rapt. Proserpin.

Now although that diuers Authours doe differ, concerning the first place of plantation or seating, where these *Amazons* made their dwelling; yet neuertheless it is a constant truth, that the beginning of their raigne, and the certaine place of their habitation, was by this Riuer: but of their surmounting afterward to many other Prouinces, diuers opinions are deliuered, which at large are discussed by *Strabo*, and others. But in these places they fortified themselues, and wan sundry other neighbouring Countries, making election of two Queenes among them; the one named *Marpesia*, and the other *Lampedon*. These two worthy Women, deuided their warlike Troop into two parts, continuing with great concord, and each assisting the other with boldnesse and hardiment,

The first beginning of the raigne of the *Amazons*.

The two first Queenes of the *Amazons*.

to defend the Countries which they had conquered. In the end, to make their name more famous and dreadfull (such was the folly and credence of weak Men in those times) they feigned themselues to be the Daughters of *Mars*, according to the affirmation of *Iustine*, and *Seruius* vpon the *Æneidos*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, in part of his fourth Booke of the *Argonauts*.

Iustine. Lib. 5. Seru. sup. Enei. Valerius Flaccus, in Lib. 4. Argonaut.

Afterward, these wonderfull women liuing in this manner, with peace and vpright Iustice among them, they began to consider on the succession of time, that through want of Daughters to succeede them, Warre and Time would at length deuour them: whereupon, they purposed to contract Marriage with certaine of their Neighbours, whom *Pliny* reporteth to be called *Gargarians*, vppon condition, that at a certaine time, their Husbands should meet them in a place conueniently appointed, and there to keepe them company for diuers daies, vntill they could guesse themselues to be conceiued with child; which done, they were to returne againe to their owne Habitations. If they hapned to be deliuered of Daughters, they would bee Nurses to them, & breed them vp in aptnesse of Armes, with all other manly exercises: as to ride Horses, runne swiftly, Hauke, and Hunt. But if they were Male Children, then they would send them to bee educated by their Fathers, except they pleased to reserue some one or two only. *Diodorus* saith, that such Male Children as they kept with them, they wold writh and bruise their Armes and Legs; so that in no wise they should bee able to carry Armes, and therefore they serued to no other vse, but to spinne, sow, weaue, and performe such other like feminine qualities.

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 7.

The order obserued among the *Amazons* for increasing their gouernment, and education of their Children.

Now because these *Amazons* did much helpe themselues in their Warres with Bowes and Arrowes, and finding that in this & other exercises of armes, their Dugs or Breastes were a very great hinderance to them: They vsed to burn off the right Pap, both of themselues and their Daughters; and thereuppon they were called Amazons, which signifieth in the Greek tongue, *No Breasts*; albeit some other doe giue another Etimology to this name. Encreasing still on by course of time, to be in number both many and mighty, they made great prouision for Armes and warlike Actions, and leauing their Country (which seemed somewhat too little for them) to the custody of such as they reposed trust in, they wandred abroad, displacing & conquering all such, whom they found to be rebellious against them. Hauing passed the riuer **Tanais*, they entred into *Europe*, where they subdued many countries, and so directed their course towards *Thrace*: from whence they returned (afterward) with great spoiles and victories, and re-entring Asia, brought diuers other Prouinces into their obedience; which were so many, that *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, they went so farre as to the *Caspian* Sea.

* A Riuer in Scythia, which parteth Asia from Europe.

Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 13.

They builded and peopled infinite goodly Cities, among which is comprised (according to the opinion of diuers Authours) that of **Ephesus*, so much renowmed, because it had bin alwaies the cheefe Citty of their Empire, and the principall of all other, on the borders of *Thermedon*. They vsed in their warres, to defend themselues with Targets, which (according as it is saide by *Virgill*) were made in resemblance like halfe Moons. *Martianus Capellus* declareth, that at their entrance into battaile, they founded strange kindes of Flutes, to harten and embolden their followers to the fight, euen according as the *Lacedemonians* were wont to doe. In large extendure did the fame of these Women spread it selfe, euen to the time that *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many other valiant men liued in *Greece*. This *Hercules* was commaunded by *Euristhenes* King of *Athens*, that he should go with a strong power of armed men against the Amazons, & that he should bring away the Armors of their two Queenes, which then were two Sisters; to wit, *Antiopa* and *Orythia*. Vpon this commaund, *Hercules* (swelling with desire of honour) accompanied with *Theseus*, and others his deare Friendes: tooke Sea, and sayling by the *Pontique* Sea, landed in the most commodious place of the Riuer *Thermedon*, which hee entred so couertly, and at a time of such aduantage, as *Orythia* (one of the two Queenes) was gone out of the Country, with the greater part of her Women, to war and conquer a new

* Ephesus an olde Citty of Lydia, dedicated to the Goddesse Diana, whose Temple of Ephesus, which was held for one of the seuen wonders of the world.

Euristhenes K. of *Athens*, his charge to *Hercules*.

Antiopa and *Orythia*, Queenes of the *Amazons*.

Hercules and *Theseus* came against the *Amazons*.

Vpon what reason they were named *Amazons*.

found Countrey: ſo that he found *Antiopa*, neither doubting or knowing the leaſt note of his comming. By meanes whereof, *Hercules* and his Followers found the *Amazones* vnprouided, and although they betooke themſelues to Armes, & immediatly ſtood vpon their owne defence, with ſuch diligence as ſo ſhort warning gaue them leaue: yet were they neuertheleſſe vanquiſhed, throwne into diſorder, and many of thē ſlaine, and the reſt ſurprized: among whom were two Siſters to the Queene, whereof the one was named *Menalippa*, priſoner to *Hercules*; and the other *Hyppolita*, in like bondage to *Theſeus*. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that they were conquered on a certaine day appointed for the battaile: And that afterward theſe two Siſters were vanquiſhed in the *Duello* or ſingle combat, one to one; but herein I follow the opinion of *Iuſtine* and *Diodorus*.

Menalippa and *Hyppolita* Siſters to *Antiopa*, Queene of the *Amazons*.

The Queene *Antiopa* perceiuing this ouerthrow, and that her Noble Siſters were in this manner taken; ſhe came to a compoſition with *Hercules*, to whom ſhe gaue her Armor to cary to King *Euriſthenes*, vpon condition, that he ſhould deliuer backe her Siſter *Menalippa*. But *Theſeus*, notwithſtanding all Royall offers made him, by no meanes would returne his Priſoner *Hyppolita*. *Hercules* hauing thus compaſſed his intention, returned home with his company. Theſe newes comming to the knowledge of *Orythia* (then abſent from her Country, (as we haue heard already declared) no tidings euer came to her of more griefe and diſgrace; ſo that (growing iealous of a greater danger) ſhe returned home ſuddenly with her *Amazones*. The greater part of them (iumpping with her in opinion) perſwaded the Queen *Antiopa*, to reuenge this their iniury vppon the *Grecians*. Whereupon, they prepared great prouiſion for war, and after they had aſſembled and marſhalled the greater number of their *Amazones*, they ſent to entreat *Sigillus* King of the *Scythians*, to lend them aſſiſtance: who then ſent them his Sonne *Peaſagoras*, with a great multitude of his ableſt Horſe-men. Being thus by them ſtrengthned, the *Amazones* entred *Europe*, and proceeded on to the Limits of *Athens*, doing much damage all the way of their paſſage. But *Peaſagoras* entred into a priuate quarrell with the Queene and her Women, by means whereof, the *Scythians* could not be drawn to fight, but withdrew themſelues apart; which ſo weakned the power of the *Amazones*, as they were not able to endure the rough encounters of the *Grecians*, but perforce muſt yeeld to their hard fortune, beeing ſubdued and vanquiſhed, and the moſt part of them cruelly maſſacred. Such as could eſcape, fled to the Camp of the *Scythians*, who tooke them into their defence, and ſo returned backe into their owne Country, where afterward they liued not ſo potent as before.

Compoſition betweene *Hercules* and Q. *Antiopa*.

Orythia and hir people perſwade *Antiopa* to reuenge on the *Grecians*.

Peaſagoras quarrelleth with *Orithya* and her *Amazones*, which cauſed their ouerthrow.

In following time it fortuned, the *Grecians* paſſed into *Aſia*, when they attained to that memorable Conqueſt of *Troy*, at which time raigned as Queene ouer the *Amazones*, a worthy Woman named *Pentheſilea*, who remembring the former wronges receiued by the *Grecians*: went with a mighty band of her *Amazones* to ſuccour the *Troyans*, where the Queen did performe very rare deeds of Armes. But the *Troyans* beeing conquered as faſt as they ſallied forth (wher they found the *Amazones* fighting in their aſſiſtance) they were almoſt all ſlaine: *Pentheſilea* perriſhed by the hand of *Achilles*; whereuppon, ſo many as remained aliue, returned home into their Countrey, with ſuch ſmall ſtrength (in regard of what they had bin before) that very hardly could they defend and keep their ancient poſſeſſions.

The *Grecians* goe to ſiedge of *Troy*

Queene *Pentheſilea* ſlaine by *Achilles*.

And ſo they continued vntill ſuch time as *Alexander* the great went into *Aſia*, to make war vpon the rebellious *Hyrcanians*: At which time, one of their Queens named *Thaleſtria*, accompanied with a great number of her *Amazones*, left her Countrey, with deſire to ſee and know that powerfull Conquerour. And comming neere the place where hee was, ſhe ſent an Ambaſſadreſſe vnto him, to attaine ſafe conduct for her ſight of him; giuing him to vnderſtand, that the renowne of ſo great a perſonage, had forwarded her deſire to beholde him. Which beeing vnderſtood by *Alexander*, he royally ſent her his ſafe conduct, by meanes whereof, after ſhe had ſelected ſome of the principall of her *Amazones*, to the number of three hundred Ladies (as ſome report) and left the reſt in

Alexanders entrance into *Aſia* againſt the *Hyrcanians* and the going of *Thaleſtria* Queen of the *Amazons* to ſee him.

Alexanders entertainment of Thalestria.

in place conuenient: in very honourable equipage she went to *Alexander*, of whom shee was most graciously entertained, with extraordinary affability, & offered her whatsoeuer remained in his power, so that very instantly he desired her, to demaund what she pleased, and it should not be denyed her.

The answere of *Thalestria* to *Alexander.*

She answered in this manner: *I come not (great* Alexander*) to desire Landes, Rule, or Dominations, because I haue sufficient of mine owne, but onely to know a King so much renowned; of whom I haue heard such matter of marvaile, that I come (if thou please) to accept thee as my Husband, and to haue Issue by thee, that I might boast of an Heire sprung from the Loynes of so excellent a Prince. And King, thou canst not mislike my Linage or discent, beeing euery way as generous as thy selfe, and of so high Parentage as deserues no disdaine. Withall, I promise thee, that if the Gods doe graunt me a Daughter by thee, I will bee Nurse to it mine owne selfe, and make her mine onely Inheritour. But if it be a Sonne, then will I send it to thee nourished as great* Alexander *shall appoint it.*

Alexanders answere to *Thalestria.*

Alexander replyed, if she would goe along to the wars with him, & he wold respect her as his honorable Companion: But she shaping an excuse, replyed; that she could not go with him, but to her shame, and in daunger to loose her owne Kingdome; wherefore, again she requested him, to grant her desire. To conclude, she kept company with *Alexander* for the space of thirteen daies, in modest (and yet secret) conuersation: which time being expired, and her leaue admitted, she returned to her Country againe.

The decaying of the *Amazons* Empire.

But, as it is the naturall property of time, to consume al things; euen so the raigne and power of the *Amazons*, grew afterward to a diminishing: so that decreasing still by little and little, it fell at length to be wholly extirpated. This hath beene generally helde for a true History, and for such doe I heere insert it. *Tregus Pompeius* affirmeth it, and so doth *Iustine*, *Diodorus*, *Orosius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Quintus Curtius*, *Herodotus*, *Iulius Solynus*, *Polihister*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Ammanus Marcellinus*, with many other auncient Authours, besides those that are Moderne. Onely *Strabo*, after he hath reported this History, he seems to distrust the credit thereof. But whosoeuer shall reade the History of *Bohemia* (which Pope *Pius* the second hath written very truely, and with such painful diligence) and ther perceiueth how these Women long time helde the Dominion of *Bohemia*, ouer-spreading the whole Countrey & making very often and necessary warres, this History of the Amazons will no way seeme incredible to him.

Pius Pap. 2. in Hist. de Bohem.

We read also in the life of the Emperour *Claudius* the second, who triumphed ouer the *Gothes*, that in the battell which he had against them, there were taken ten Souldiers that fought verie valiantly: who being disrobed of their Garments were found to be Women, and it was held for an vndoubted opinion, that they were discended of the Linage of the Amazons.

Claudius the second, his wars against the *Gothes.*

What might we also say of the Maid of *France*, whom the *French-men* called the *Pucelle de Vancouleur*: There is hardly any Man, neuer so meanely read in Histories, but is acquainted with the many battailes fought by her, wherein she had the charge of a Captaine; as also how many times she was in the Fielde, as valiant as any man in the world could be. I could yet name many other Women, but I must needs let them sleep in silence, to obserue the breuity which at first I promised.

The *Pucelle* of *France.*

CHAP. XXIII.

¶ *Of the Antiquitie of Constantinople, and how it became Conquered by the Turkes.*

AMong all the famous inhabited Cities of the World, there was neuer any (after *Rome*) that hath beene seene of so great strength & honor, as *Constantinople* very highly renowmed both by the *Grecians* and *Latines*. *Strabo* calleth it Magnificent; *Pliny* and *Iustine* tearme it most *Noble*; scituated in a most excellent and fertile soyle, ennobled with great personages,

Strab. lib. 7. Cap. 2. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 9. Iustin. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Trog. Pom. lib. 7. Iustin. Lib. 2. Diod. lib. 3 & 4 Orosius Lib. 15. Martian. Capel. Lib. 6. Quin. Curt. Lib. 6. Herod. Lib. 4. Solyn. Lib. 55. & 57.

and sumptuous Buildings. It was a long time the cheefe Citty and Seate of the Empire, wherein hath beene held many generall Councels, for destroying and exterpation of infinite Heresies. Many noble and notable occasions haue therin happened, both in the prosperity and tribulations thereof: and yet (as we too well knowe) it is fallen into captiuity, whereof wee will breefely declare the whole History.

The scituation of *Constantinople*, in the straight of the Sea.

It is a Cittie in *Europe*, seated in the Countrey of *Thrace*, being plentifull in Fertility, great in Circumference, and very mighty in power. Her plot and Plantation is on the narrow Sea, betweene *Asia* and *Europe*, at the entrance of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* Sea; called the great Sea. For which cause, *Ouid* calleth it the Port of two Seas, because it standeth in a narrow, or straight. *Constantinople* (according to *Ptolomy*) containeth three and forty degrees of Latitude; that is to say (for their better apprehension who are herein ignorant) that it is distant from the Equinoctiall, three and forty degrees, there, where the Poole is eleuated, and in the sixe and fifty degree of longitude of the *Meridian*, which passeth the Island of the *Canaries*. The first founders of this Citty (by common opinion, and of the best Authors) were the *Lacedemonians*. *Orosius* saith, the *Spartans*, with *Pausanias* their Captaine and King: Albeit, *Eustachius* (according as *Volateranus* also reporteth) that it was founded by a Captaine of the *Megarians*, named *Bizeus*, and after whose name it was called *Bizantium*. *Diodorus* and *Polybius* doe say, that it was called *Bizantium*, after the Name of a Captaine, that laid the Foundation thereof. Neuertheless, *Pliny* affirmeth, that at the first it was called *Ligos*, and not *Bizantium*.

The first founders of *Constantinople*.

Oros. Lib. 3. cap. 13. Lib. 9. Cap. 19.

Diodor. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. Polyb. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Plin. Lib. 7. cap. 12. & 17.

But that it should be true, that *Pausanius* founded it; *Iustine* iustifies it: The like doth *Paulus Orosius*, and all the Moderne Writers, deliuering the reason of the building it. For (say they) *Pausanias* beeing wandring with his beggerly followers through the Worlde, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know where he & they should make their abiding and had this answere returned him; *That hee should remaine face to face with the blind.* This he vnderstood to meane the *Megarians*, who dwelling in *Calcidonia*, in a bad barren place, hauing forsaken the side of *Constantinople*, which was good and fertile. The selfesame is deliuered by *Strabo*; albeit hee doth not name the founder. But in what time soeuer it was, *Eusebius* speaking thereof, saith; that it was builded very neere to the time of the thirtith *Olympiade*, euen then when *Tullus Hostilius* raigned in *Rome*. At the first beginning, it was but a small thing, as all other new erected Townes were wont to bee; and for a certainety, it was somewhile subiect to the *Lacedemonians*; or, as others say, to the *Athenians*, vntill such time as those two great Estates contending together, it had leysure to growe rich, encreasing both in wealth and power, and by meanes of their dissention still continuing, it enlarged it selfe to some more greatnesse.

Strabo Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Eusch. in Lib. de Temp. Cap. 12.

Strife betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, gaue encreasing to *Constantinople*.

Afterward, it flourished it such sort, with the liberty which it had, and the fruitfulnesse of the soyle, that *Phillip* K. of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the great, grew enamored of her beauty & mighty riches, and concluded to Conquer it; whereto (for his better attainement) he laid a long time of besiedging, and yet could not take it. One day, *Leo* a notable *Sophister*, had conference with king *Phillip*, and the same was afterward written by *Philostratus*, in the History of the *Gymnosophists*. For as *Phillip* continued his enterprise: with a very huge Army of choise selected men. *Leo* a learned *Sophister*, dwelling in *Bizantium*, went vnto him, and spake in this maner: *Tell me King Phillip, what iniury hast thou receiued of Bizantiū, that hath moued thee to make Warre vpon her, with such violent fury? I haue receiued* (aunswered *Phillip*) *not any iniury of the Citty, whereby to prouoke me as her Enemie: but because shee seemes more beautifull to mee, then all the other Citties of* Thrace; *as enamored of her perfections, I would faine Conquer, and make her mine. Kings that are amorous* (aunswered *Leo*) *and would be beloued where they place affection: doe labour to compasse their intent with sweet Musick, pleasing speaches, guifts, and such like kinde behauiour; and neuer striue to enforce them, by rough tearmes and rude Warre.*

Philost. in Hist. Gymnos.

The conference betweene *Phillip* of *Macedon*, & *Leo* the *Sophister*, concerning the long siedge of *Constantinople*.

And euen so it fell out with this King, for (as we haue already said) hee could not

Trouble doth oftentimes fal out for the best.

not compasse his desire, but left it in far greater strength and liberty, then it was before. Afterward, by succession of time, when the *Romains* began to make warre in *Greece*, they entred into league and amity with the *Bizantians*, and many times were supplied with their helpe and kindnesse, in sundry warres & stout foughten battails, which strēgthned stil her florishing prosperity; and also augmented her buildings and wealth. A long while after, the *Romain* rule comming to the gouernment of Emperors, (*Seuerus* then raigning) the Tyraut *Pessenius* (enemy to the Emperor) tooke possession of this Citty of *Bizantium*. By meanes whereof, *Seuerus* sent thither a great Army to besiedge it: but hauing not strength enough to surprize it by assault, they compelled him by Famine to yeeld himselfe; but first, the wals and goodly fortifications were battered, spoiled, and throwne downe vnto the ground, & so were all the goodly buildings. In briefe, the Tyrant had taken from them all their publick and priuate possessions, which he had wholy giuen away to the *Parintians*; and nowe after this besiedging of it by the *Romaines*, there remained nothing of the former estate, but a very poore desolate Citty, wherein few or none desired to dwell. The parts and fragments of the destroyed wals and Houses, which remained to be seene in lamentable ruines, were of such an excellent kind of Stone, cut and squared with such admirable Art, that hardly could their ioyntes and closures be discerned.

Pessenius the Tirant, enemy to the Emperor *Seuerus*, got possession of the Citty.

Bizantiū spoyled by the tyrant.

This Calamity beeing ouer-blowne, and the Emperor *Constantine* raigning at *Rome* (euen hee that was surnamed the Great, Sonne to S. *Helena* the Queene, that founde the Crosse of our Sauiour Christ) he determined to passe into the East, being mooued and meerely compelled thereto, by diuers Angures or Wizzards, concerniug an Eagle, which broght him (as it is said) a cord between her Tallants, wherewith this Bird had measured out a new Habitation for him in another Countrey. Whereupon he concluded, to haue old ruined *Bizantium* againe re-edified, to honour it with another Name, and to make it the chief City of the world. By this means it was restored to her former estate, with such a large surmounting of Houses & faire Buildings, as she stoode in contention with *Rome* for beauty. There he erected sumptuous Pallaces, goodly Churches, and high Towers; thither also he transported the Empire, with his Court, the Consuls, Senators, and all other Magistrates and Officers. Now, albeit he had amplified it in such forme and greatnes, that it seemed a new *Rome*, and so hee would haue had it called: yet notwithstanding, the voyce of the people so far preuailed, that the name of the Emperor must needs be giuen it, and so it was called *Constantinople*. The historians that then liued, & soone after, doe say, that the greatnes and sumptuous shew thereof was such, as it could not bee described without much prolixity.

An Angurie of an Eagle to *Constantine* the Great.

Bizantium re-builded by *Constantine*, & made as faire as *Rome*.

Bizantium called Constantinople, after *Constantines* name.

The Emperor *Constantine* liued there many yeares, in the height of prosperity; so did the other Emperours likewise that succeeded him. There they continued the Empire, some in peace, others in warre, vntil such time, that (after a large expence of yeares) by diuers fowle sinnes committed by the Cittizens, occasioned thorowe prosperity, ease, and ydleneesse, and partly by the weakeneesse and negligence of the Emperors, the greatneesse and power thereof began to decline. So that hauing endured many misfortunes of fire, Pestilence, and terrible Earth-quakes, (the History whereof were too long to recite) there hauing also passed ouer eleauen hundered yeares of the Christians holding it in possession. This famous Citty (that alone ruled ouer so manie Nations, that was rich in Gold and Siluer, honored with approued auncient excellencies, incomparable Churches, admyred Monuments, and raised out of the dust of Oblivion by Gods permission, by *Constantine*; and afterward, by another *Constantine*, Sonne also to an Empresse, named *Helena*) was besieged by *Mahomet* King of the Turkes, Lorde of the Lesser *Asia*, and of many other Regions and Prouinces, the grand-Fathers Father to *Solyman*, that liued when I wrote this History; the Predecessours of which *Mahomet*, had before that time Conquered the greater part of *Greece*.

Constantinople begins againe to decline her glory.

Constantinople besiedged by *Mahomet* the Turke.

The siedge was laid against this Cittie with such power and perseuerance, and maintained with so violent fury, that after

after many bloody Battels, & by course of as many Months while the siege continued, after the deth also of infinit worthy men, as well on the one side as the other, the Turke appointed the last day of Battaile, to be the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, fifty three (some say fifty two) the Emperor *Frederick* raigning then at *Rome*, thirde of that name, and he gaue them battaile by breake of day. In which extream fury, the inhabitants being no longer able to resist the huge multitude of their Enemies and the impetuous storme; at length, the Cittie was surprized in the assault; and some Authours Record, that it was in this manner:

The Turke assigneth his last day of battell.

The manner how Constantinople was conquered by the Turke.

The Emperor being giuen to vnderstand, that the Turke had abandoned the Cities Pillage for three dayes together, after many woorthy Orations made, he went out of the walles with a great number of his people, to defend the Barbacanes or Subburbes, which were of as high mounture and strength, as the walles of the Citty. And he went himselfe in person, to counsell and giue order what was to bee done, causing the Citties Gates to be fast shut after him, to take from his people all hope of Flight.

And euen now, did there happen the very fiercest and most cruell Battaile, that euer was seene since the inuention of Warre, with al kindes of Armes and Instruments for fight, as well for defending, as assayling. It seemed as if the very Heauens would haue split in sunder, with the noise and outcries of the Soldiers; and the earth looked like a Shambles, couered ouer with the Bloude of the slaine and Wounded. The Emperour on the one side, and the Turke on the other, added Spirite with their chearefull Wordes, to the great Encouragement of their armed Troopes, being themselues euer formost or hindmost, according as occasion and need required.

Of *Iustinian* the valiant man of *Genoway* on whom the people much relyed.

Among the Valianteſt Warriors, that boldly stood for defence of the Barbacanes, there was a *Genoweſe*, named *Iustinian*, vppon whose Vertue and Valour the people within the walles not a little depended, in regard of his skill and manly power; and because in al the precedent battailes, he had bin stil the principall occasion of the Cities safety. Neuertheleſſe, after a long resistance, beeing sore wounded, and his bloud abundantly streaming from his hurts, he forsook the place that he defended, to haue some Medicines applied to him in the Citty. Which when the people perceiued, their courage became imediately quailed; and worde thereof beeing brought to the Emperor, hee ran after him, instantly desiring him to return & make good his place, shewing what necessity stood vpon his presence. But no conditions or promises whatsoeuer, could cause him to go backe: be it, that either it so pleased God, that his corage should faile him, or else that hee could no longer beare the griefe of his woundes, but (hauing them dresst) intended to returne; the Gate was opened to him, and Chirurgions called to giue what help they could. In the meane space, his folowers that defended his quarter, not hauing him with them, began to shrink backe and giue ouer the place.

Iustinians departure disharmeth the people.

The Turkes no sooner beheld this aduantage, but they fell afresh to a much more dreadfull assault; and contrariwise the Christians were so weake and out of hart, that being able to resist no longer, they turned their backs, seeking to shelter themselues in the City. The Gate remaining open, (wherat *Iustinian* had entred) in expectation of his return; the Turkes mingled themselues among the Christians, and entering the City with them, went vp vppon the wals, and did pittiful massacres vpon the Christians. The Emperor (as some report) hauing changed his habit, to the end hee might not be knowne, was slaine by the enemies. Others say (among whom is Pope *Pius* the second) that as he desired to retire into the Citty, grieuing to see his people in such disorder, he was thrown down by the flying multitude, & being greatly trampled vpon by their passage ouer him, he died vnder the feete of his own followers, euen in the very gate of the City. But be it howsoeuer, his body was knowne by the Turkes, who cut off his head, & fixing it on a Lances point, caried it (as their victories trophe) thorow the Camp, & after, into the City.

The Turkes driue the Christians to flight, and enter with them

Pius 2. Pap. in Hist. Const. c. 3.

The Emperor trodden to death by his owne people.

As for *Iustinian* (the flight of whome was the principall occasion of so Lamentable

The death of *Iustinian* the Genowese.

mentable misfortune) he seeing the City taken, fled away by the Sea, and dyed in a little Island, either of the woundes he had then receiued, or of some other disease; albeit he had it once in his own choise, to haue died honourably in the place where he had liued with so much Fame and Credit. The Turkes beeing thus entred the Citty, left no kinde of bloody cruelty vnperformed, that malice or villany could deuise. All the houshold and Kindered of the Emperour, both Men and Women, were (without mercy) put to the sword; & in like sort they dealt with all the people, except such as escaped, or whom they tooke to their slauish seruitude.

The tirany of the Turkes in their Victory.

And heer I may not forget one notorious detestable action; for they could not content themselues, to execute their barbarous malice vpon Christian Men and women, but hauing gotten a goodly Image of the Crucifixe of Christ, they (in a shameleſse mockery) would needs performe another Crucifying thereof, vpon a Crosse made foule and filthy by their own beastly ordure, representing a new passion of our Sauiour; and ouer his head they wrote this Inscription: THIS IS THE GOD OF THE CHRISTIANS, with many other abhominable blasphemies. In this manner, that Noble Citty of *Constantinople* fell into the hands of the Disciples of *Mahomet*, the sworne Enemies to Iesus Christ, as yet they doe continue. I would it pleased God, that euen as ther hath bin in her wals many mutations to her great misfortune, that once againe it might bee regained, to serue to his Glory, and the generall good of Christendome.

The Villany of the Turkes to the Crucifix of Christ.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of what Nation and race the Impoſture Mahomet *was, and at what time his Sect had his first beginning.*

HEre is a variation among the Historians, concerning of what Stocke or Parentage, as also of what country the false Prophet Mahomet was. *Platina* saith, that he was of a Noble lignage. *Pomponius Letus*, a very diligent Author (whom I meane to follow in this Chapter, principally in his abridgement of the *Roman* History,) He writes, and so doe diuers others beside, that he was of ignoble Race, Obscure and vile, and so indeede we may safelieſt credit; because so wicked a man hauing nothing in him worthy of Memory, but a pride in Malice, Lewdneſse, and Iniquity, could neuer bee deriued from any Noble Blood. Some say, that he was an *Arabe*; Others, a *Persian*: but this is a matter of small moment, & yet both may haue some good colour of Reason, because in those times, the *Persians* had Dominion ouer *Arabia*. As for his Father, let him be either Noble or a Villaine, sure it is, that hee was a Gentile, an Idolater, and no Christian, much leſse a Iew, according to *Platina*, and all the rest. As for his Mother, most Authors are of Opinion, that shee was discended of *Abraham*, by the Linage of his Sonne *Ismael*, whom hee hadde by his Handmaid *Agar*: and therefore, she was Iewish, and obserued the Lawes of the Ieweſse, for euery Father then delighted to instruct his Children in his owne Law.

Plat. in vit. Pap. cap. 30. Pomponius Letus in Breui. Hist. Rom.

The Nation and parentage of Mahomet.

This *Mahomet*, was of a quicke and liuely spirit, very soone apprehending whatsoeuer was taught him: but being yet very young, and left as an Orphant, was by a casuall aduenture, taken as a Slaue to the *Scenites*, who were then in that Countrey, as now at this day the *Arabes* are in *Affrica*. For they hadde no certaine place of abiding, neither any setled Goods or possessions, but liued in Common, vnder Tents and Trees, doing dayly Thefts and Robberies. Hee was afterward sold to a rich Merchant, named *Adimoneple*, who for the delight he had to see him so young, well featured, and quietly disposed, would not vse him as a Slaue, but rather as his owne Sonne. *Mahomet* being thus fortunately entertained, managed his Maisters Affayres with great care and diligence, making a mighty returne of profite, by trading dayly both with Iewes and Christians. Moreouer, by reason of this frequent conuersation, he learned sufficient in either of their lawes. While matters thus continued, the Merchant his Mai-

The disposition of Mahomet.

The *Scenites* are a people that liue in Tents, who sold Mahomet to a rich Merchant.

Maister died, without any children, leauing his Widdow very rich, aged about some fifty yeares; and she (according as I finde in the Chronicles of *Constantinople*, which agreeth with the opinion of some others) was of *Mahomets* Kindred, and named *Ladigna*. She hauing made proofe of his person, & his sufficiency, (euery way) took him to bee her Husband, making him (of a poore wretch) a rich Lord.

Mahomet marrieth his Mistresse.

It fortuned at this very time, that there trauailed vppe into those parts of *Arabia*, a Christian cowled-Monke, named *Sergius*, a man of very euill nature, and who (for his Heresies) was fled out of *Constantinople*. Being come thither, he fell in acquaintance and amity with *Mahomet*, who already began (as puffed vp with Ambition) to thinke on great matters, and yet by very oblique waies. For he had an accute spirit, and was wel entred into Magicall Sciences, so that by the Counsell and helpe of *Sergius*, he resolued to perswade the Gentiles, that he was a Prophet; and to that end, hee performed diuers sleights of Magicke, whereby his Wife, and they of his own house were first abused. Heere we are to vnderstand, that he hadde a disease (somewhat straunge to such as knew it not) which indeed was the falling sickenesse, wherat his wife and the rest waxing amazed, desired to know some reason thereof; and he would answer them, That the Angel of God vsed often to come and conferre with him, and hee could not (as being a mortall man) endure his Diuine presence, but fell into this Agony and alteration of spirit; but by these frequent visitations, he had instructions what to do, according to the will and direction of God. He was likewise so subtle and cautelous, that by meanes of his wife, who did constantly credit him, and made such straunge reports to her Neighbors, as also, the chiefest of her friends and Kindred, that they grew by little and little to believe him, and (among the Gentiles) hee attained vnto an especiall reputation.

Sergius the hereticall Monk commeth acquainted with *Mahomet*.

Mahomet wold becom a Prophet, and was a great Magician.

Soone after, his wife died, so that he remained her vniuersall heire, in verie wealthy possessions, and huge sums of Money, which made him much bolder then he was before: and therefore, by assistance of *Sergius* the Monke, he published himselfe openly to be a Prophet, saying; that he was sent of GOD, to giue new Lawes to the world. And because he was very learned in al the laws, he practised so industriously, that he accorded partly with the Iewes, to possesse their affection, and partly with the Christians, not to make them his Enemies. Hee likewise held consent with many Heretickes then liuing, to compasse their fauour; with *Macedonius* hee denied the Holy-Ghost to bee God; & approued the multiplicity of Wiues, with the *Nicholaitans*. On the other side, hee confessed that our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, was Holy, and a Prophet; and allowed that the Virgin *Mary* was also holy, and woulde much extoll her. With the Iewes hee helde Circumcision, and other Ceremonies: and generally, he permitted in his false Religion, all Vices of the flesh in absolute Liberty. In all which, beeing made potent and no way contradictory, they were written altogether in a Booke, named *Mahomets Alchoran*.

Mahomet publisheth himselfe to bee a Prophet, by helpe of *Sergius* the Monke.

The variety of opinions maintained by *Mahomet*.

Now because he distrusted the sufficiency of his cause, he did forbid to all men whatsoeuer, not to dispute his ordinances on paine of death, saying; that they ought to bee obserued by force of Armes throughout the World. At the beginning of these things, he was much frequented with the vulgar multitude, and men apt to be abused by his grosse perswasions. They flocked together in huge troupes, to bee acquainted with him, for all carnal vicious men were his chiefest fauourers, and being no meane number of them in the world, they grew to a very great Sect, and by their means and assistance, he assaulted the Confines of Arabia, and made himselfe Lorde of much wealth. This was done, in the year of our Lord, about 620. *Heraclius* being then Emperor of *Rome*, and holding his seat at *Constantinople*. *Boniface* the fifte, being then Pope and great Byshop of Rome: and after him, *Honorius* his Successor.

The Disciples and cheefest followers of *Mahomet*.

This Newes comming to the Emperor *Heraclius* (as *Platina* testifieth) he prepared to redresse it; & partly did so, by entertaining in pay the *Scenites* of *Arabia*, a warlicke people, and who had fauoured *Mahomet*. The Emperour dispersed them into sundry places, and they preuailed

Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

The Emperor *Heraclius* seeketh to cut off

this new Sect, but leaues it off before it was finished.

uailed so well by their power, that this new Sect (for a time) became indifferently assuaged: but it was a great errour in him, that he did not still pursue them, or seeke such meanes, as might root vp that wicked generation, who deliuered such Diuelish Doctrines abroad. For proceeding on no further in his enterprize, it did the more harme that he had begun it; because through defect of keeping promise with the *Scenites*, and paying them their accustomed wages; they (in meere despight) ioyned with *Mahomet*, and elected him to be their Captaine, because he was of great reputation, and held to be a Prophet of God. They grew to such boldnesse and strength, that they assailed the people and Countries belonging to the Romain Empire, and entring *Syria*, conquered the Noble Citty of *Damas*, with all *Egipt*, *Iudea*, and the Lands neighboring therabout, perswaded the *Sarasins*, (a people of Arabia) that the Lande of Promise appertained vnto them, as the Legittimate Successors to Father *Abraham*.

Mahomet with his Confederates, do enter the bound of the Romaine Empire.

Mahomet beholding such prosperous successe, and ayming to Maister all the World, he proudly attempted to warre vpon the *Persians*, who were then verie mighty: but at the beginning it went not well with him, in regard hee was vanquished; and some say, that it was in the very first battaile. Afterward, hauing recomforted his troopes, & inlarged them with a greater number, he set vpon the *Persians* againe, brought them into subiection, and inforced them to embrace his Religion. Now, albeit the Emperor *Heraclius* was heereof aduertised, yet he offered no such assistance as he ought to haue done, for hee might haue stifled this Brat in the verie breeding: but nowe, it was a matter much more difficult, for hee had conquered *Cosroes* the potent King of *Persia*, taking from him the Crosse of our Sauiour, which he had broght from *Ierusalem* into *Persia*, as a safe defence for it, that it might not fall into the handes of *Mahomet*, and the *Agarians* his Complices.

Mahomet warreth vpon the *Persians*, and is foyled at the first.

The reason why he tearmeth them to be *Agarians*, because they called the Christians so in scorne.

I tearme them *Agarians*, because that they which followed *Mahomet*, and tooke part with him, wold cal the Christians *Agarians*, in derision and mockery, saying; that neither they, nor *Mahomet*, had taken their Originall from the line of *Sara*, the Wife of *Abraham*; and therfore ought not to be cald *Sarasins*, as after *Saraes* name, but rather they shold bee called *Agarians*, as deriuing their sourse from *Agar*, the Hand-maid of *Abraham*. To conclude, after Mahomet had run thorough many strange & horrible things, he was poisoned, and died in the fortith yeare of his age, (some say at the age of thirty foure yeares) in the yeare of our Lord (according to *Sabellicus*) 633.

The death of *Mahomet*, and the time whē.

And because, Mahomet had often tolde his partakers, that (after hee was dead) he should mount vp to Heauen, they kept his body for certaine dayes aboue ground, vntill such time, that it sauoured most horribly, stinking euen like his soule; & then, it was put into a chest of Iron, and they carried it to the Citty of *Mecca* in *Persia*, where it is adored of all the people of the East; yea, euen of the greater part of the world, and that for our sinnes.

Mahomets body carried to *Mecca*, where it is worshipped of the greater part of the world.

Caliphs succeeded Mahomet in the Empire, and *Haly* after *Calypha*. These two, did greatly augment the power & Sect of Mahomet, and so from time to time, by diuers orders and successions; but especially by the sinnes and Cowardise of the Christian Emperors in those times, this pestilence hath spread ouer the world, euen to our dayes. But by the care and good dilligence of that Noble Emperor *Charles* the fift, we were once very graciously deliuered, euen when the great Turke *Solyman*, came with an Army of about 600000. men, to enter the Countries of *Hungaria* and *Austria*, with intention to conquer al Christendome. Against which enterprize, the Emperor *Charles* presented himselfe in person, hauing but a small moity of men with him, in comparison of the multitude broght by the Turk, yet were they all well chosen, and able fighting men. At the report whereof, the Turke left his enterprize, with losse of many of his people, as hee did also the second time, in the yeare, 1557. when he came by Sea, and by Land, against *Italy*; and surprized some places in the kingdome of *Naples*.

The happy deliuerance by *Charles* the fift, from the Turkes intended spoile.

There are some Authors, who haue written the original of Mahomet, much different from this which I haue heere

set

set downe, and say, that he was a theefe vpon the High-waies, and by the means of great robberies, attained to his greatnesse; but indeede, they carrie slender credit, and therfore their opinion is disabled. The most part, and all the best Writers, do agree with our discourse. *Platina* is one, in his liues of the Popes. *Blondus*, in his Booke of the *Roman* Empires declining. *Baptista Ignatius*, in his abridgement of the Emperors. The Annalles of *Constantinople*. *Nauclerus*, *Antoninus*, and other.

Platin. in vit. Pap Blond. de decim. Imp. Ro. cap. 19. Baptist. Ignat. in Epc. Imp. cap. 20. Annal. Constant Nuucler ca. 50. Anton. cap. 34.

CHAP. XXV.

The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, how they came to their Gouernment, and what Princes haue ruled among them.

THE mighty Dominion of the Turkes, which at this day is so great & dreadful: likewise the Lignage and Family of the *Ottomans* & Kings; they are but nouell, and of no Antiquity, albeit the Turkish people haue bin of long continuance; so that it is a matter almost meruailous, that in such short time they should be so hugely augmented. For it is not aboue* two hundred and fifty yeares, that they were knowne to begin and get a Name. Behold therefore, how it may well be credited, that they were sent as a scourge by Gods permission, to chastise his vnthankful christian people, euen as heertofore, he sent an *Antiochus*, a *Nabuchodonosor*, a *Cyrus*, and such other, to oppresse and vex his elected children. And because the Christian Church hath receiued by them one of the most memorable persecutions and losses that euer she had, I held it not much differing from my purpose (especially, hauing made mention of the Original of this Sect) to speake somwhat more thereof, as briefly as may be. As the like hath bin done by *Æneas Syluius*, *Raphael Volateranus*, & *Nicholaus Secondinus*, far more distinctly then any of them before named. Also, *Frances Philelphus*, in a Letter which hee wrote to *Charles* 8. K. of *France*: & *Antonius Sabellicus* in his History. From all which Authors, I haue collected what I will briefely set downe. But principally, I do obserue *Paulus Iouius*, in a particuler Tract by him Written, concerning these people and Turkish Nation, not forsaking *Plinie*, and *Pomponius Mela*, in the end of his first Booke.

** Accounting to the yeare, 1477. from the precedent time.*

Eneas Syl. in Cosmograph. Raph. Volat. lib. 7 Nico. Secondin. Fran. Philel. Anton. Sabell.

Paulus Iouius. Plin. Lib. 6. Pomp. Mela. l. 1

To begin with these two last recited Authors, they say, That their Original came from the * *Sarmates*, which are on the Confines of *Scythia*, at the vttermost entrance into the *Caspian* Sea, and that they liued sauagely in vast Fieldes, hunting for victuals to maintaine their Liues: Of which *Sarmates* or *Scythians*, it is certain (all other opinions left) that the Turkes (to this very instant) haue receiued their Originall. And all such as say or thinke, that they were discended of the *Troyans*, do but abuse themselues. It would seem to them, that because the Turkes haue ruled *Troy*, and that the *Troyans* were named * *Teucres*, that the Turkes had thence their first deriuation: But indeed, they are issued of the *Sarmates*, whom all out Ancients hold to bee *Scythians*, and so did they call them. But in former times long since, their proper name was *Turaces*. *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* do title them so, but since thē, they haue bin called *Turks*; and so commonly are they vniuersally tearmed. These people (as *Otho* the Arch-byshop affirmeth in his History) about 800. yeares after the Natiuity of our Lorde (albeit some others write that it was before) would needs depart out of *Scythia* into the lesser Asia, which to this day, in regard of their name, is cald *Turky*, where by robbing and spoiling they conquerd some few Princes; and then (as people barbarous and voide of Faith) they embraced the wicked sect of *Mahomet*, as the very first that presented it selfe vnto them, and seemed most conformable to their detestable customs. Thus this people, by reason of their multitude and sauage fiercenes, became dreadfull to the world, & soone surprized many Cities.

** Sarmatia*, a Country reaching to *Hyrcania*, along the Riuer *Vistula*.

** Of Teucer*, a King that gouerned *Troy*.

Plin Lib. 6. cap. 7

Otho in Hist. c. 9

Asia Minor, now called *Turky*.

Some hold, that they intruded vpon *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Media*, but howsoeuer it was, it is most euident (among al other thinges) that they inhabited the Lesser Asia, according as we haue already declared: yet not by meanes of any King, or any other chief notable head among them, but coupled themselues in

They liued without any King or commander amōg them.

in companies together, sustaining and defending one another, for a long space in that Countrey. Some of the most aparant or best note among them, wold call such supply of men as they best fancied, and with them they would goe to seize on Townes and Countries.

Solyman first named himselfe King of the Turkes.

Among those of boldest spirit, there was one named *Solyman*, who got to himselfe the Realme of *Cilicia*, and part of the bordering limits. In those dayes, Duke *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, accompanied with diuers other christian Princes, passed the Seas (with such powers of men as they had assembled) to Conquer the Holyland. Against whom, *Solyman* (with his followers) came very forwardly, but they were all vanquished and scattered. By which means, the Turkes remained a long time without any Captaine or Commander of name among them; & therefore were little respected, vntill in the yeare, 1300. that another then named *Ottoman* (a man of base discent) began againe (by little and little) to gaine some reputation among them, for that he was a very valiaunt man, mighty of body, fortunat, and of an ingenious subtle spirit. This fellow, took occasion to aduance himselfe, for the discourse hee held with them, and strengthning himselfe with a multitude of able men, hee conquered and made himselfe Lorde of many Countreyes; aswell of his owne, as others of his neighbors. Being by this meanes become somwhat powerful, he left vnto his successors the raigne & authority, which continueth to this day by the linage masculine among the Turkes.

Duke *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, his iourny to the Holy-Land.

Ottoman the second man of name among the Turkes, and the second K.

He hauing raigned 28. yeares, died, in the yeare 1308. *Bennet* the 11. being the Pope of *Rome*. *Ottoman* thus deceased, a son of his, named *Orcan*, succeeded him; a man no lesse strong and valiaunt then his Father, but rather more industrious and better aduised in his Conquestes. Moreouer, he was a notable inuenter of many Engines & Instruments for war; magnanimious, and very bountifull to all men; in regard whereof, he so much augmented the raigne of his predecessor, and the number of his men of war, that (beside the Countreyes which his father had commanded in Asia) he vsurped vpon *Bythinia*, & the Kingdome of *Constantinople*. And in the lesser Asia, he subdued *Hyrcania*, *Phrigia*, *Caria*, and other potent Lands. When hee had raigned twenty two yeares, in assaying a Cittie, he chanced to be wounded; of which hurt he died, in the yeare, 1350. when *Clement* the sixt was Bishop of *Rome*.

Ottoman was very fortunat in all his Attempts.

Orcan the Son of *Ottoman* succeedeth him in rule, being the third King.

The great Conquests of *Orcan*, and his death.

He had to be his successor, *Amurath* the sonne of a Christian woman whom he had espoused, she was Daughter to the King of *Celicia*, now called *Caramania*. This *Amurath* was much different from his Graund-Father, and Father; for he was a mocker, a man double and false, weake of his person, and of wicked inclination; Ambitious, and very desirous to enlarge his Empire, whereof he had very faire occasion offred him, when the Emperor of *Constantinople* was in strife with diuers Princes his subiects who greatly fauoured the Lord* of *Bulgaria*, which is a portion of the ancient neather * *Mysia*. For the Emperor was then constrained, to request aide of this *Amurath* King of the Turkes, who sent him fifteene thousand woorthy men of Warre, by whose helpe the Emperour ouercame his Enemies. And leauing part of these fifteene thousand Turks in his Countreyes, when hee had sent home the rest, *Amurath* got aduertisement (from them) of the peoples disposition. By meanes whereof, hee determined to visite *Greece*, vnder colour indeede, that he would helpe the Emperor against his Aduersaries. Hereupon, he leuied three score thousand footmen & a great number of Horse, with which strong power, he made himselfe Lorde of * *Callipolis* (which I thinke should more properly be called *Gallois*, because it was builded by *Gallyans*) and of other strong Fortresses therabout, as also the Cittie of * *Adrinople*, now tearmed *Andronople*.

Amurath Son to *Orcan*, was the fourth K. of the Turkes

* A Countrey by *Hellespont* bordering on *Troas*.

* A Cittie in *Thrace* by the *Hellespont*.

On the otherside, the great Lord & Maister of *Bulgaria*, named *Marcus*, after he had prepared such an army as was possible for him to do, with the aide of *Lazarus* the *Despote* of *Seruia* (which is a Prouince on the limits of *Thrace*, anciently called the higher *Mysia*, & assisted also with the Princes of * *Albania*, hee went against the Turke, where fighting a great battell, the Christians were in the end vanquished, and almost all slain. Thus *Amurath* (in despight of the Emperour) continued Lord of a great part

* A Cittie also of *Thrace* build vpon the River *Hebrus*.

* A Countrey between the *Caspian* Sea & *Iberia*.

of *Thrace*, and alſo of *Greece*. When he had liued 23. yeares; a Slaue (that was Seruant to *Lazarus* Lord of *Seruia*) traitorouſly killed him, in the yeare, 1373. Hee left two Sonnes; the one, named *Solyman*, and the other *Baiazeth*; which *Baiazeth*, ſlew his Brother *Solyman*, and remained Prince alone: of a ſinguler Wiſedome, & high reſolued courage. He was extraordinary diligent, and of great iudgement in Warre, very ready in effecting what he had commaunded: And for this cauſe hee was called generally, *King of the Sunne*.

Amurath was traiterouſly murdered.

Baiazeth killed his elder Brother Solyman to rule alone.

Baiazeth fift King of the Turkes.

So ſoone as he began his raigne, hee determined to make war vpon the chriſtians, in iuſt reuenge of his Fathers death, and with admirable ſpeede (hauing prepared a very powerfull Army) paſſed into Greece. Firſt of all he ſet on *Marcus*, Lord of *Bulgaria*, who ioyning battell with him, was there ſlaine, with the greater part of the Nobility of *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*. Three yeares after a victory ſo famous, hee returned againe vpon the Chriſtians, and made moſt cruell warres in *Hungaria*; but firſt of al in *Albania* and *Vallachia*, which is a great Countrey, in ancient times ſtiled * *Dacia*, and it extended it ſelf in length euen to *Hungaria*: from whence he brought home into Turkey, a very great number of Chriſtians, and there made them Slaues.

Bulgaria and Seruia won by Baiazeth.

* Deuided into four parts, Valachia, Bulgaria, Seruia, and Tranſyluania.

Seeing himſelfe to bee poſſeſſed of the greater part of *Greece*; that is to ſay, of the old city and Country of * *Athens*, of *Boetia* and *Arcania*; hee then came & laid ſiege to the great City of *Conſtantinople*; which was the reaſon, that the Emperor (in perſon) went to entreate the Weſterne Princes, to fauour him with their needfull aſſiſtance. To help a caſe ſo deſperat, *Charles* the 7. gaue ayd of 2000. Lances, amongſt which faire Troope, were two French Gentlemen of worthy note, that ioyned their power with *Sigiſmond* King of *Hungaria*, who afterwards was Emperor, and had likewiſe prouided a great Army for the ſame enterprize. With them tooke part the *Deſpotes* of *Seruia*, the grand Maiſter of the *Rhodes*, & a great number of other Chriſtian Princes. Whereupon, *Baiazeth* leauing his attempt for *Conſtantinople*, marched ſuddenly with 300000 men, to meet theſe Chriſtians, who were about an 100000. whereof there were 20000. Horſe. Being met together, they had a wonderfull bloudy battaile, wherein the Chriſtians were conquered, and the greater number of them ſlain, by reaſon of the baſe Flight of the King of *Hungary*, and the Maiſter of the *Rhodes*; as for the French-men, they wer all ſlaine, or taken: and this battell was fought in the yeare 1395. being the Eeuen of S. *Michaell*.

*Betweene Macedonia, & Achaia, builded firſt by Cecrops, and called Cecropia, but called Athens of Minerua, who in Greece, was named Athene.

Baiazeth leaueth his ſiege to meete the Chriſtians power.

After which Victory, *Baiazeth* returned againe to his former beſiedging of *Conſtantinople*, which hee reduced to ſuch hard extreamity, as (without anie doubt) he had taken it, but that Newes came to him of *Tamburlaine* the Great, (of whoſe life and actions, we ſhall diſcourſe heereafter, by it ſelfe) that (with a meruailous Army) he was entred into his Countries of *Aſia* and *Turky*, and there already had ſurprized many goodly Citties, Townes, and Prouinces. Wherfore, truſſing vp bag & baggage, he returneth into *Aſia*, where preparing to the Fielde his very ableſt power, hee went to encounter this preſumptuous Enemy.

Baiazeth goeth againe to beſiege Conſtantinople.

Great Tamburlaine entreth into Aſia, and cauſeth Baiazeth to giue ouer his ſiege.

Now, did the two moſt potent Princes in the whole world, make a meeting day in Martiall armes together; where, to ſpeake of the dreadfulnes of the fight and wonderful ſlaughter on both ſides, it may much eaſier be imagined, then in any breuity reported. But fortune was aduerſe to *Baiazeth*, for his power was vanquiſhed, and himſelfe taken; Nay more, he endured the moſt vile & ſtricteſt impriſonment that euer was. For, *Tamburlaine* led him in triumph along with his army, in a great cage of wood; (or of Iron, as ſome others report) & at euery time he mounted on his horſe, he made the ſhoulders of *Baiazeth* his foot-ſtoole. Moreouer, when he ſhould eat, he made him to lie vnderneath his Table; to the end that he ſhould feede on nothing, but what he caſt down to him, euen as if he had bin a Dog. And in this manner, this Prince ended his life, who had bin the moſt aduenturous, moſt renowned, & more feared, then any other that was in his time. *Tamburlaine* Conquered *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, with many other countries in the Dominion of *Turky*: and from thence, he went and made war vpon the Soldan of *Egipt*.

The calamitie of Baiazeth, beingconquered by Tamburlaine.

The Conqueſts of *Tamburlaine* in Turky.

The

Bajazeths children taken by Gallies of Christians.

The Children of *Bajazeth*, who escaped from the battell wherein their Father was taken, in their flight towardes those parts which they commaunded in *Greece*; were surprized vpon the Sea by certaine Christian Gallies. But if such extremity had bin shewne them, as was necessarily required: those harmes had bin preuented, which after followed. For *Calapine* being one of them that was deliuered, comming to name himselfe Lord in the Empire of his father, began to strengthen himselfe, and mustering vp his people together, fortifying also his holds in *Greece* and *Thrace*: the Emperor *Sigismond* made offer to hinder him, to the end he might not come vpon him againe; and also to reuenge on him, the battel hee had lost against his Father; whereupon he leuied his forces, and made against him very valiauntly. *Calapine* prouiding to encounter him, apointed the day for fight, wherein *Sigismond* was againe vanquished, & escaped from the battell by Flight: this was 3. yeares after his first discomfiture. Afterward, *Calapine* hauing sufficiently spoyled the country of *Seruia*, he returned to his owne Prouinces, where hee raigned six yeares, and died in the time of Pope *Alexander* the fift.

Calapine sixt King of the Turkes.

The Death of *Calapine*.

Calapine left two sons, the eldest named *Orcan*, and the other *Mahomet*; but *Orcan* was slaine by his Vnckle; because he would haue had the gouerment himselfe. Neuertheless, *Mahomet* obserued so discreet a cariage, that hee slew the murderer of his Brother, & got the Empire into his owne hand. Soone after, he made strong Warre vpon the Christians in *Valachia*, and passed thence into *Turkey*, or the Lesser *Asia*, where hee reconquered the Landes and Prouinces which *Tamburlain* had gotten from his Grandfather. In which war, he spent 14 yeares of his raigne, and died in the year 1420. during the High Priest-hoode of Pope *Martine* the fift.

Mahomet seauenth King of the Turkes.

Amurath eight King of the Turkes, a fortunate Prince

After *Mahomet*, succeeded a Sonne of his called *Amurath*, a very fortunate Prince: for he being at the death of his Father in *Asia*, assembled a mighty power of Soldiers, and in despight of the Emp. of *Constantinople* (who much laboured to resist him) he entred very far into the Christians Countries. He took diuers Cities in *Seruia*, conquered the kingdom of *Epire* (at this day called *Romania*) & made diuers courses into *Hungaria*, then into *Albania*, which is a part of ancient *Macedonia*. In which enterprises, albeit he receiued many shrewd endamagements, yet such was his fortune, that hee still continued victory; beside much wealthy profit, and great store of Horsses. He besiedged also the Cittie of *Belgrade* in *Hungaria*, on the riuer of *Danubie*; but yet he could not take it, wherfore he was compeld to raise his siedge, with great slaughter of his men.

Amurath besiedged *Belgrade*.

Not long after, *Ladislaus* K. of *Polonia* and *Hungaria*, came with a great Armie against him, which when hee heard, hee sent before him, one of his chiefest Captains, conducting a potent company of men; and the two Armies ioyning in battell, *Ladislaus* (after much resistance) becam the Conqueror, with a wonderfull massacre of the Turkes. By meanes whereof, and becausse *Amurath* was aduertised, that the K. of *Caramania* made warre on him in *Asia*, he was forced to make peace with *Ladislaus*: which peace while *Amurath* was fighting in *Turkey*, was broken, by perswasion of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, Pope *Eugenius*, the *Venetians*, and *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, who altogether in one vnanimity, bound themselus by oath, so strongly to defend the straits of the Sea, at the entrance into *Europ* and *Asia*, that *Amurath* could not passe with his Troops, to succor those parts which were afflicted, and so *Ladislaus* should haue leysure to win, & make himselfe sole-Commander of them. *Amurath* hearing of this bolde enterprize, returned very powerfully, and in despight of the Christians Army, passed the straits, and after, came to present *Ladislaus* the battaile: wherein the aduenture was so doubtfull for *Amurath*, that hee saw no remedie but Flight. Neuertheless, one of his valiant Bathaes cõpelling him to stay, they got the victory, and *Ladislaus* lost his life, on S. *Martius* day, in the yeare, 1440.

The ouerthrow of the Turkes by *Ladislaus* King of *Poland*.

Amurahs powers disapointed of passage.

King *Ladislaus* slaine in the field, and the Christians vanquished.

After this great conquest made in *Hungary*, he set vpon the kingdom of *Morea*, in elder times called *Peloponnesus*, where the Famous old Cities of *Lacedemon* & *Corinth* were; and hauing broken down the wall at entrance into the Prouince, which contained sixe miles in length, he entred into the *Ionian* Sea: As also, the

the *Ægean*, where he conquered al, except ſome few coaſting places. This he did, when he had raigned 31. yeares, and died in the yeare, 1450. Hee firſt ordained the band of *Ianiſſaries*, which were reuolted Chriſtians, who are the principall ſtrength of Turky. By reaſon of his death, his Son Mahomet came to ſucceed after him in the Empire. But ſome ſay, that his Father reſigned it to him in his life time, feeling himſelfe far ſpent and aged.

This Mahomet was excellent in all things, only he was ſomwhat too cruel. At the beginning of his raigne, to the end he might attempt ſome matter, anſwerable to the greatneſſe of his mind, he determined firſt of all to conquer the Citty of *Conſtantinople*: and the better to accompliſh his purpoſe, hee leauied mighty powers of men, as well by Sea, as on the Land, wherewith he beſieged it, and wonne it alſo, according as wee haue declared in the former diſcourſe of that Citty, and all other places in Obedience to that Empire. Which done, hee came againſt the Citty of *Belgrade*, but it was defended by the ſtrength of a woorthy *Hungarian* Captaine, named *Iohn Vauoida*, who in many valiant Battels, vanquiſhed great numbers of the Turkes beſt Captaines, and now alſo, he compelled him to raiſe his ſiege, after diuers ſore wounds and loſſes, & to leaue his beſt Artillery behinde him. Theſe things not proſpering to his purpoſe, he ſent one of his Baſhaes to ſpoil *Morea*, which had entred into rebellion againſt him, by the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, and to rumate the Iſle of *Negropont*, in former times cald *Euboea*, with *Mytelene* and *Lemnos*, an Iland in the *Archipelagus*, bordering on the *Egean* ſea. Then he entred the Prouince of *Boſsina*, which is part of the vpper old *Myſia*, and into *Seruia*, where he tooke the King & commanded his head to be ſmitten off.

Hauing gottē al theſe victories againſt the chriſtians, he croſt into *Aſia* againſt *Vſanaſſanus* the puiſant K. of *Perſia*, bidding him two ſeuerall battailes; In the firſt whereof he was vanquiſhed, but after, remained conqueror. This buſineſſe ended, he determined to ſet vppon the Emp. of *Trebiſand*, which is one of the coaſts of ancient *Capadocia*, on the ſhore of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* ſea, winning the Empire, and killing the Emperour himſelfe. So ended all the gouerment which the Chriſtians had in thoſe Countries. He ſent alſo a potent army (vnder Conduct of a valiaunt Captaine) into *Italie*, which paſſed on to *Carinthia and *Iſtria, euen to the lands of the Venetians, who ſent a ſtrong power to withſtand him: but in the conflict, the Chriſtians were vanquiſhed, and there periſhed many of the Nobility of *Italy*. Moreouer, he ſent another army againſt the Iſle of *Rhodes*, but beeing able to compaſſe nothing there, he withdrew again. Then he ſent the like army to the kingdom of *Naples*, conducted by one of his Baſhawes, named *Acomath*, who won the City of *Ottanta*, which was in the Turkes poſſeſſion aboue a yeare, to the great ſcandall and damage of *Italy*.

Afterward, with an army of 300000 men by Land, and 200. Gallies, accompanied with 300. armed Shippes, he ſet forward to make war againſt the Great Soldan of Egypt, but he was preuented by death on the way; by means whereof, the enterprize went not forward, but was preſently ſtaide. And hauing raigned 32. yeares, he died of the Collicke, in the year 1481. By whoſe death, the Citty of *Ottanto* was recouered, and *Pouilla* alſo releaſed from the Turkes, which was a great comfort to *Italy*, in no meane feare and wofull Calamitie; which indeed was ſuch, that Pope *Sixtus*, in whoſe time this terrour happened, determined to withdraw himſelfe downe into *Fraunce* (the Auncient recourſe of the Romaine Church,) for that there was ſmall hope of defending Rome againſt him. And it is reported, that in the Warres of this vnhappily too fortunate *Mahomet*, there dyed (aſwell by Weapons, as other violences, which were acted and vſed in the ſaide Warres) more then three hundred thouſand men.

Two Sonnes remained as Heyres to this Mahomet; the one, being Named *Baiazeth*, and the other *Zizim*, becauſe their Elder Brother died before their Father. Each of theſe ſons ſought the apteſt meanes, to get poſſeſſion abſolutely of the Kingdome. *Zizim* had the helpe of the Soldan, & ſome ſtrong Baſhawes, likewiſe another part of the Baſhaws & *Ianiſſaries* fauored *Baiazeth*: on

* part of the *Mediterrane* ſea neere *Greece*, deuided *Europe* from *Aſia*.

Originall of the *Ianiſſaries*.

Mahomet, 9. King of the Turkes.

Iohn Vauoida defendeth *Belgrade*.

* An Iſle in the *Egean* Sea ioyning to *Boetia*.

Mahomets fortunate ſucceſſe in warre

* In the South of *Italy* ioyning to the *Alpes*.
* Ioyning to *Illiricum*, and now called *Slauonia*.

The death of Mahomet the great conqueror.

The great diſtreſſe of *Italy* by meanes of the Turkes.

The heyres of *Mahomet* contend for the Kingdome.

Baiazeth tenth King of the Turkes.

on the other side, a Son to this *Baiazeth*, called *Corcutus*, was created grand Signeur in *Constantinople*. Whereupon, *Baiazeth* made such quicke speede thither, & carried with him so strong a power, that he took such sufficient order with his son, as the Empire was his own. Vpon this good successe, he returned again into Turky against his Brother & droue him to Flight among the Christian forces; and finally, he died in *Italy*, *Baiazeth* remaining then Lord alone. Within 3. yeares after, hauing prepared a puisant Army, hee passed along on land, by the Riuer *Danubie*, & hauing performed many disma stratagems, he returned home. Then sent he a strong power against the Soldan of *Egipt*, with whom he was exceedingly offended, for giuing aid to his Brother *Zizim*. The Soldan also sent an Army to meete him, which was much lesse then that of the Turkes, & yet they had the victory, with a great slaughter of the Turkes. Which when *Baiazeth* vnderstood, he took truce with the Soldan, and made war vpon the Christians, wherein he sped so wel, that he won the Citty of * *Durace* in *Albania*, and that of *Vallona*, which bordereth on the coast, & frounteth *Pouille*. Hee sent also a great number of men into *Hungary*, against whom the Princes came with their forces, but were foiled to their great losses.

The Soldane vanquisheth *Baiazeths* Army.

* *Dyrachium* in *Macedonia*, where *Tullie* was releeued in his banishment.

In these times, he did much harme to other Countries of the Christians; and ayd being requested of him by *Lewes* D. of *Millaine* (who made warre vppon the *Venetians*, that ioyned themselues with *Lewes* king of *France*) he sent him a stout Captaine with 10000. horse, who passing along by *Frioly*, without resistance, tooke, burnt, and made hauocke of the Country, euen so far as the Mountains which front *Venice*. The year following, in person he conquered the city of * *Modon* in *Morea*, with other Sea-coasting places held by the *Venetians*, and labouring to make a deuastation of all, his intention was hindered by the Duke of * *Sessamum*, who being a Spaniard, by the helpe of a stout company of Spaniards, called him to battell, and there ouercam him, conquering also for the Venetians, the Isle of * *Cephalonia*; by means whereof, the Turke was forced to take Truce with them, which euer since hath continued, euen to our time. And in this narrow straite, ceased the fury of *Baiazeth*, for then he quite gaue ouer warre (seeing himselfe aged) to rest & betake himselfe to study. In his time, began the Empire of the Sophy in *Persia*, which hath bin, and is, a great bridle vnto the Turkes, and hindereth them from doing such endamagement to Christians, as they haue done, and wold do. For these two mighty Princes, are continual enemies one to another: Which hapned, thorow a man named *Ismael*, that called himselfe a Prophet, and published a new manner of *Alchoran*, contrary to that which was inuented by *Mahomet*; by whose meanes he leuied a very powerfull army, wherwith he vanquished certaine Bashawes, which *Baiazeth* had sent against him, and so put himselfe into ful possession of *Persia*, with diuers other wealthy Prouinces beside; since when, he hath much inlarged his Dominions. But to our former purpose.

The Original of the Persian Empire, and the hate betweene them and the *Turks*.

This *Baiazeth* had three Sons: The first named *Acomath*, the second, called *Corcutus*, who (as wee haue already declared) gaue himselfe into his Fathers hands at *Constantinople*, and resigned vp the Empire. The third, was named *Selim*, great Grand-father to the Turke now raigning. And albeit this *Selim* was yonger then the other, yet had he a more manly spirit. This fellow, seeing his Father olde and decrepite, determined to take the kingdome from him, and put himself in possession thereof: which the better to effect, hee acquaints himself with the Great *Tartarian*, and makes his Daughter his Wife. No sooner came an inckling heereof to the other Brothers, but each of them went seuerally about the like purpose. It appeared for lawfull in the eye of *Acomath*, because he was the eldest Sonne, and in reason the Succession appertained vnto him. On the other side, *Corcutus* pleaded, that hee once had possession of the gouernment, and resigned it in dutie to his father, who being now old & vnable to rule the kingdom, he ought in reason returne it to him againe. The Old man perceiuing these busy disputes, and the daungers thereby like to ensue: became greatly perplexed, specially at the disobedience of his children. During these intercourses, diuers murmurs & tumults arose, wherin many of the chiefest partakers

Baiazeth had three sonnes, *Acomath*, *Corcutus*, and *Selim*.

Selim conspireth against his Father, and so do the other Brothers by his example.

Old *Baiazeth* grieueth at his sonnes disobedience.

* By the Sea side in *Peloponesus*, in olde time called *Methon*.

* A Towne in *Paphlagonia*.

* In the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Corcyra*.

kers in either faction, died and miscarried. Neuertheleſſe, *Selimes* ſide, (albeit he was the yonger Brother) continued yet of beſt ability: becauſe (vnder colour of begging pardon, and making peace with his Father, as alſo defending himſelfe againſt his eldeſt Brother, who made war with his Father) he caried his courſes ſo currantly; and preuayled in ſhort while, to win the harts of the *Ianiſſaries*, and the other ſtouteſt Warriours, that (by their helpe) he took the Kingdome from his Father, compelling him (perforce) to renounce it; whereupon, he baniſhed him from *Conſtantinople*, and in the end (continuing in exile) procured him to be poiſoned. Thus died *Baiazeth*, in the yeare, one thouſand, fiue hundred, and twelue. And in this manner, came the Turkiſh Empire into the hand of *Selim*, a Traitour and Parricide.

Baiazeth baniſhed and poiſoned by his Sonne *Selim*.

Selim the 10. King of the Turkes, a traitor and Parricide to gaine the Kingdom.

He cauſed himſelfe to bee Crowned with great ſolemnity, euen the very ſame day, which fell out to be ſo cruell and bloody to *Rauenna* in *Italy*. So ſoon as he ſaw himſelfe ſeated to his owne contentment, he began to diſtribute the Riches and Iewels of his Father, to his *Ianiſſaries* and Valiaunt men of Warre, which made him the better eſteemed, and the more ſtrong in power. Soone after, hee went into Turky againſt his Brothers; where firſt of all, he ſlew diuers Children of ſome other Brothers of his, deceaſed in the life time of his father; and followed ſo fiercely on his Brother *Corcutus*, till hee got him into his hands, and then he murthered him. *Acomah* the eldeſt Son, acquainting him ſelfe with the Sophy and the Soldane, by their meanes prouided himſelfe of a great Army, wherwith he gaue his Brother battell, wherein hee looſing the day, was taken, and afterward ſtrangled.

Selim the murtherer of both his Brothers.

Thus this Wicked Tyrant, hauing ſlaine all of his owne bloud, liued without iealouſie of his Kingdome; and becauſe he held the Sophy and the Soldan in diſdaine, hee made peace with *Ladiſlaus* then King of *Hungary*, and confirmed his league with the Venetians. Then preparing a very great army, with no meane forces of Artillery, hee went againſt the Sophie; who truſting in his happineſſe and proſperity, made heade againſt him with a ſtrong Army, & wel prouided. Notwithſtanding, when it came to bee diſcided by battell, which was very ſharpe & violent for the time: the Sophy was foyled and Wounded, glad to ſaue himſelfe by Flight, which meruailouſly augmented the honor and reputation of the Turke by this ſucceſſe: and this diſcomfiture hapned the 24. of Auguſt, in the yeare 1514. The yeare following, he being addicted wholly to warre, would goe againſt a great Lord, whoſe Regiment was at the Mountaine *Taurus*; and albeit he was a very valiant Prince, yet was hee ſo hotly purſued, that falling at length into the Turkes hands, he put him to death, and tooke poſſeſſion of all his iuriſdiction.

The Sophy of Perſia, vanquiſhed by *Selim*.

This done, hee concluded to make the like war vpon the Soldan, and bringing his army neare the Coaſt of *Suria*, gaue it out in common report, that hee wold once more try his fortune againſt the Sophy. But the Soldan, who was not void of ſuſpition, had euermore in readineſſe a mighty power of men, able to encounter the greateſt Lorde, that would reſiſt againſt him in *Suria*. In the end, theſe two puiſſant Princes came to accoſt each other, and met neer the City of *Damas* in *Suria*; and after certaine skirmiſhes paſt on either ſide, the battell was giuen the 24. of Auguſt, in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundered and ſixty, vppon the like day as the Sophie had before by him bin vanquiſhed. This Battel was for a long while maintained very woorthily on both parties; but in the end, the victory fell to the Turkes, by reaſon of the great diſtruction which their Artillery made vpon the Soldanes people: and likewiſe, becauſe a Captain (the Gouernor of *Alleppo*) ioyned with the aduerſe ſide, and yet would not fight neither he nor his men. In this Battaile the ſoldan was found dead, without any wound, but onely by being among the great throng of horſes, hauing attained to the age of ſeuenty ſix yeares. The Turke tooke poſſeſſion of all *Suria*, and likewiſe *Paleſtine*, with *Iudea*, and going towards *Egipt*, in purſuite of his victory, he reſted for diuers daies in *Ieruſalem*, where hee viſited the Holy Sepulchre; and paſſing further on, hee made himſelfe well prouided of Goats skins, and filling them with Water, they ſerued for his iourny through the Deſerts

Selim makes warre againſt the Soldan of Egypt.

The Souldan meeteth *Selim* before the City of *Damas* in Suria.

The Soldan is ouercome by *Selim*, & found dead without any wound.

By

Tomombeus the new Soldane of *Egypt*, conquered likewise by the *Turkes*.

By this time, the *Mammeluckes* and other men of Warre, that had escaped from the battaile, and were retyred home to *Ægypt*, had elected themselues a new Soldane, a Gouernour of *Alexandria*, named *Tomombeus*, who came in person against the Turkes with a very huge Army. The battaile beeing appointed, it was (by the report of very good Authours) the most crüell and daungerous fight that euer was: notwithstanding, by the wonderfull multitude and power of the *Turkes*, *Tomombeus* was conquered, and with-drawing himselfe to the grand *Cayre*, they fought there two daies and two nights together, without any repose or intermission. So that loosing the Citty, he fled ouer *Nylus*, and labouring to re-enforce fresh meanes for encounter, he was surprized by certaine Traytours, and deliuered into the *Turkes* power, who put him to death. After *Tomombeus* was dead, the *Turk* (in short while) got possession of the most auncient and mighty Kingdome of *Ægipt*, where he left (as also in *Suria*) such order as was best to his owne liking. Then returned hee in great tryumph to *Constantinople*, where his Sonne welcommed him backe from his warres, and there he dyed of an Impostume, in the month of September, one thousand fiue hundred and twenty, hauing raigned eyght yeares, and liued forty sixe. This Tyrant was of such great and vndaunted Spirit, as hee was neuer noted to be fearefull of any thing.

The death of *Tomombeus* by *Selim*, and his seazing on *Egypt*.

He had but one Sonne named *Solyman*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and was Crowned the same day and yeare, that *Charles* the fift Emperour, was heere in Christendome. But so soone as the death of *Selim* was known in *Suria*, a great personage named *Gazellus* (who was Gouernor) rebelled, and made himselfe Commaunder of *Tripoly* and *Baruth*, with other neighbouring Townes and Cities, drawing many *Mammeluckes* and other Nations to his faction. Against whom *Solyman* sent a *Bashae*, named *Ferrat*, who vanquished *Gazellus*, and put him to death, reducing *Suria* to quietnesse, and *Ægypt* also, which began to mutiny. The yeare following, *Solyman* went in person to war

Solyman the Son to *Selim*, eleauenth King of the Turkes.

vpon the Christians, and laid siedge before the Citty of *Belgrade*, which was the Port and cheefe defence of *Hungaria*, and had beene before in vaine attempted by his Predecessours: but king *Lewes* being then ouer young, and gouerned by the Princes of his Countrey; made no such resistãce as was needfully required. Wherfore, by force of Arms, the Citty was taken by the *Turke*, although it cost much blood, and many liues of his people. When he had accomplished this enterprise, hee went againe in person (contrary to the opinion of al his *Bashaes*) and would needs besiedge the Isle of *Rhodes*, with an innumerable multitude of Men and Artillery, both by Land and Sea, and hauing conquered the Isle, hee brought his Campe before the Citty, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred twenty and two, in the end of the month of Iune. During this siedge, there was then performed such Noble and heroycall deeds of Armes, as it is impossible to make any small abridgement of them, or sufficiently to extoll the vertuous valour of the besiedged. But in conclusion, after some sixe months hardy resistance, the great Maister and Gouernor of *Rhodes*, named *Phillip de Villiers*, of the French Nation, was constrained to surrender it vp to the Turk, being vnable any way longer to defend it. Heereon, the Turke returned triumphantly to *Constantinople*, not a little glorying in so great good fortune. And three yeares after, which was, in one thousand fiue hundred twenty and sixe, hee entred *Hungaria* with a wonderfull Army: against whom King *Lewes* (badly councelled) went in person with his power, betweene *Buda* and *Belgrade*, at which place (being too confident of himselfe, and hauing ouer few Men) he gaue the Turk battaile, wherein hee was vanquished, and founde dead, drowned in a Ditch. The battaile was the same yeare, the eight and twentith day of August, when as the Turke tooke *Buda*, and diuers other neighbouring places, still returning home Victor. After which, once more hee came into *Hungary*, when *Charles* the fift, Emperor, gaue him resistance.

Solyman besiegeth *Belgrade*, and winneth it.

The Isle of *Rhodes* besiedged by *Solyman*.

Rhodes yeelded vp to *Solyman*, by the Gouernor.

Buda & other places won by *Solyman*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the death of Man or Woman, is to bee reckoned happy or vnhappy, according to the quality and estate wherein the party dieth: with sundry examples of the death of many.

The iudgement of a mans death, is according to the estate he dyes in.

THat a Man is to dye once, is a matter common to all Men, but to know when, how, or in what manner his death shall be, is not by any meanes reuealed to him, or euer hath beene in former times: for that mainely consisteth in the good or euill condition of death, and ought not eyther to bee called good or vnfortunate, but when a Man (in that estate) is not found as hee ought to be. Death therefore lyes oftentimes hidden in wayes, walkes, or houses, where men suspect or least looke for him; and sometimes (like his Wife) lies with him in Bed: for which cause, hardly should a moment of life time be spent, without due and intire consideration thereof. Examples tending to this purpose, are infinit, whereof I purpose to produce some very notable: albeit, the effectes of death are not to be wondred at, in regard they continually happen day by day.

Aulus Gellius. *Valerius Maximus.*

Aulus Gellius, and so dooth *Valerius Maximus* also, set downe, that in *Italy* there is a Town called *Crotonna*, neer to *Calabria*, where a Man was borne, named *Milo*, who was so excellent, able, dexterious, and skilfull, either in action belonging to Playes, Wrastling, Dancing, and all sprightly kinds of exercises, as he was not to be equalled by any, but in all such delights he bare away the victory: so that of him it was commonly said, that no Man, eyther in strength, agility, or otherwise, could in his time be found to deale with him. This man, walking one day on the side of a Mountaine (beeing with-drawne out of the common high-way to refresh himselfe) among other Trees he beheld an Oake, which had two great branches or armes falne off and lying by, and had beene begun to be cleft by some labouring Man;

Of *Milo*, the excellent man in all qualities

who hauing left his Wedges in the Stock, it remained wide open extended by their stretching. Hee being desirous to finish the Mans labour, sets his hands to the braunch to teare it in sunder, and opened it so much by his strength, that the Wedges fell quite out. But whether (as it might bee) that his strength fayled him, or the Branch was ouerweldy for him, pausing a little to breath himselfe, the rift clapt it selfe so suddenly close together againe (except his hands, being now betweene in stead of the Wedges) that by no meanes could he help himselfe, neyther came any passenger that way to helpe him. So that it was his hard fortune, to starue there and dye a most miserable death, worse then can easily be imagined, for he was a prey to wild Beasts, & thus ouerthrown in trying his owne strength.

When Men will try their strength wher they need not

But if this death of *Milo*, may (as it deserues no lesse) appeare to be strange: that then of the Poet *Æschylus* may bee thought little lesse; for hee walking one day out of a Towne in *Scicily* where he dwelled, to take the Ayre of the fieldes, and comfort himselfe in the warmth of the Sunne, because hee felt his ioynts somewhat chill by standing, tooke this to be his wholesomest recreation. Hee beeing aged, white headed, and balde withall, sat downe vpon on high place, where the Sunne might haue greatest power to heat him, and being bare headed, an Eagle (by accident) was houering aloft in the Ayre, holding a Tortuise in her Tallents, and espying the bald head of *Æschylus*, which shee imagined to bee a stone, forthwith let fall her burthen from an high, to breake the Tortuise vpon that supposed stone, that afterward she might deuoure the creature. The Tortuise falling iust vppon the Poets head; cleft it so farre, that instantly he dyed. A matter of no meane maruaile, because he sat so high, and openly discouered, as it might seeme impossible, that any thing whatsoeuer, should from so high light vpon his head.

The strange death of the Poet *Aeschylus*

That which is ordained, cannot be auoyded.

Baptista Fulgoso, in his learned Booke of extraordinary examples, declareth the vnfortunate death of a King of *Nauarre*, named *Charles*. This Prince was old and very sickly, feeling great anguish in all his Nerues, and (for this disease) by aduise of most excellent and skilfull Phisiti-

Baptist. Fulgo. in lib. de Exemp

The strange deathot *Charls* K. of *Nauarre*.

Phisitions, there could not any likely remedy be found but one onely, which was thus: His body was to bee round wrapped about with a Linnen Cloath, that first had beene well steept in *Aqua-vitæ*, and then it must bee sowed somewhat strait about him. The party that performed this businesse, hauing fullie ended his labour, and wanting a Knife or Sheares ready to cut the thred: took the Candle to burne it in sunder, and the thred flaming to the Cloth, caught such sudden holde on the same and the *Aqua-vitæ*, that before any meanes of help could be applyed, the King in this flame was burnt to death. Thus was he cured of that extreame paine, and all other diseases he had beside.

Philemon died with extream laughter.

The death likewise of *Philemon* was in a merry manner, for he seeing an Asse draw neer to a Table, & feed vpon Figs that were serued in a dish for himselfe & others, fell into such an extream laughter, that his life ended in his laughing. Wee see then what slender assurance there is of Life, when a man may loose it in a laughter. It is also recorded, that *Phylistion* the Commicall Poet, dyed laughing. And many man haue dyed with excesse of ioy, among which number was *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, *Sicilie*, *Diagoras*, and the *Romaine* Lady, seeing her Sonne returne from the battaile, where she heard he was slaine. The accident also happening to *Cratis* the Goat-heard, was very strange; for he sleeping vnder a Hill side among his Goates, an Hee-Goat killed him, in iealousie of his She-Goat, wherewith this *Cratis* had diuers times peruerted the course of Nature. This is faithfully affirmed by *Ludouicus Cælius*, and *Volateranus*, who do alleage for their authority, diuers good Greek Authors.

Phylistion died laughing.

Dyonisius the Tyrant, *Diagoras*, and a *Roman* Lady, dyed with excesse of ioy.

Cratis the Goat-heard kild by a He-Goat.

I forbeare to speake of diuers other kindes of Death, as that of Pope *Boniface*, who died in Prison with extreamity of hunger; that also of *Richard* the second, King of England: or that of the Arch-Byshoppe of *Magunce*, who was kild and eaten vp by an huge multitude of Rats: or that of *Decius* the Emp. of whō *Æmilius Victor* writeth, that being very victorious, yet he was found dead, drowned in a Lake. In which manner diuers haue dyed in our time; as *Lewes* King of *Hungarie*, and *Sforza* the Father of that worthy Captain *Frances Sforza*, who drowned himselfe to saue one of his Pages. *Andrew* the King of *Prouence* dyed by the hand of a Woman, who (being assisted by other Women) hung and strangled him. The Emperour *Tiberius* was likewise poysoned by his Wife *Agripina*. And therefore Emperours, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, haue beene euen as subiect to vnfortunate and vntimely deaths, as the verie poorest or most wretched person, albeit (in vaine) they sometime purposed to preuent such inconueniences.

Diuers that haue died many strange deaths.

CHAP. XXVII.

How many Popes of Rome there hath beene since Saint Peter; And wherefore the Names of the Popes are still changed: As also, by what authority they haue beene vsually elected.

ONE of the most excellent Histories, and deserueth among Men to be remembred, is the liues of the cheefe Byshops or Popes of *Rome*, who if Saint *Peter* were the first (because there hath beene much doubt and question about it) are tearmed his successors, and Vicars of Christ. I meane all them that haue beene Byshoppes of *Rome*, in successiue order from the first, who in regard of our purposed discourse, we will admit to be S. *Peter*, and so proceede by the obseruation of some Authors. And first we are to consider, that sometimes these chiefe Byshops haue beene absent from that Cities seat, yet *Rome* ceased not to bee the principall Seat, though the Byshop were absent, as belonging to the deputation of Saint *Peter*. But returning to our intent; there hath been in *Rome* two hundred and one and twenty Byshops and Popes, as I haue gathered from the beginning, to *Iulius* the third of that Name, who was then Pope, when I made this collection, among whom haue beene most excellent and learned Doctors.

Many haue doubted whether *Peter* was Byshop of *Rome*, or no.

Two hundred twenty & one who haue bin Popes to *Iulius* the third.

But me thinkes it is a matter of some maruaile, and needes must haue some Mystery

Myſtery in it, that not any one of them in ſo long a time of ſucceſſion, attained to ſuch length of time as S. *Peter* did: for it pleaſed God, that as he exceeded al other in ſanctity, ſo held he poſſeſſion of this dignity much longer then any other, for he liued twenty fiue yeares after the death of Chriſt. The firſt ſeauen he remained at *Antioche*, and the following eighteene at *Rome* (as it is ſaid) where he confirmed his Seat. And I haue read, by the opinion of ſome, that not any one of his ſucceſſors after to enſue, ſhould enioy ſuch length of time, as hee then did. There is alſo another thing, whereof I haue made obſeruation in the liues of the Popes; which is, that from the beginning, to this very day, there is not any one found, that (in the change of his name) hath bin called *Peter*, or that his name was ſo before the change: whereby (ſay ſome) that God would permit the Name of *Peter* to none other, but onely to him on whom he founded his Church.

S. *Peter* liued twenty fiue yeares after the death of Chriſt.

No *Peter* but the firſt amóg all the Popes.

But *I know not* (ſaith a very learned Writer) *from what Authours this laſt opinion may be deriued, becauſe I can produce ſeauen (at the leaſt) whoſe Names before the changing, were Peter. And theſe were they.* Innocentius *the fift*; Iohn *the two and twentith*; Celeſtine *the fift*; Gregory *the eleauenth*; Boniface *the ninth*; Clement *the ſixt*; *and* Alexander *the fift, without adding hereto one* Anti-Pope.

Claud. Vſſel. in 19. Lib. de Pont. Chap. 12.

Now, it is good to vnderſtand whence proceeded this mutation of their names, and vpon what occaſion. Let me tell you then, that Pope *Gregory* the fourth being dead, in the year eight hundred forty two; the next election of Byſhop and Pope of *Rome*, was made of a worthy *Romain*, of Noble blood, honorable diſcent, & very gratious behauior, whoſe name was *Hogs-face*, or *Swines-face*, chuſe ye whether. Now, in regard that this name ſeemed very harſh, rude, and vnfitting a place of ſuch Dignity, they remembring withall, that our Sauiour had changed S. *Peters* name: they would now alſo begin that order, and changing his name, called him *Sergius*, according to the Name of his Father. And from hence came the cuſtome, which is yet obſerued to this day, that hee who is elected Pope, may make choiſe of what name he wil, or fancieth beſt: But albeit hee altereth thus his name, yet they hold an eſpeciall order, that he muſt accept the name of ſome one of his Predeceſſors. And Authours to iuſtifie this, are *Platina*, *Matheus Palmierus*, *Euſebius*, and others.

The originall of changing the Popes names, and vpon what reaſon.

The new Pope muſt be named after ſom one of his predeceſſors.

We are moreouer to know, as we find recorded in the beſt Hiſtories, that vntil the time of *Conſtantine* the great (who gaue ſuch wealth and large priuiledges to the *Romain* Church, becauſe many of the Byſhoppes had ſuffered the death of Martyrdome) there was no ſuite made for the place, neither were any very deſirous of it; but contrariwiſe, by force or faire meanes, they were conſtrained to vndergo the charge; becauſe in thoſe times they were aduanced to that Dignity, onely by the Prieſts in the *Romaine* Church. But when the Emperors began to bee Chriſtians, and likewiſe many worthy Cittizens of *Rome*; the election then was made by them, when the Cleargy had made preſentation of the Man, and the voyce and conſent of the people concurring. Which being done, Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Conſtantinople* (where the Emperors then made their abyding) to deſire his confirmation of the election, becauſe their choiſe was not abſolute til then. And it appeareth, that this order was obſerued to pleaſe them, or elſe it was their will to haue it ſo: and ſometime it was done by a deputy or ſubſtitute of theirs, who remained for them at *Rome*, being named *Hipparchus*, exerciſing (in this caſe) the authority of the Emperour.

The election of Popes by the Clergy & common people, and not abſolute, but by confirmation of the Emperor.

This manner and cuſtome of electing *Popes* by confirmation of the Emperor, made their eſtabliſhment the more certaine (though ſome ſay they did it as in tyranny, and not by permiſſion of the Church) yet after the death of *Benet* the firſt, *Pelagius* the ſecond was next elected, and becauſe (in that time) *Rome* was beſiedged by the *Lombards* (of whom thoſe of *Lombardy* to this day are deſcended) and in regard alſo, that it rained ſo exceſſiuely, as the Floodes, Riuers, and other Waters ſwelled in ſuch ſort, that (as *Platina* ſaith) infinite people were drowned & periſhed, wherby it was expected to haue proued another deluge; therefore this *Pelagius* was the firſt that tooke on him the Popedome, without knowledge of the Emperor.

The *Lombards* beſiedged *Rome*.

A great and mighry flood in *Rome*.

Neuer-

Neuertheleſſe, fearing leaſt *Mauritius*, Emperor then at *Conſtantinople*, would be offended thereat; he ſent an Ambaſſadour to make his excuſe, and deliuer thoſe reaſons before expreſſed.

Conſtantine, the fourth Emperor of that name, renounced the election of Popes.

Afterward, diuers yeares being paſt, and this order obſerued without diſcontinuance; *Bennet* the ſecond comming to be elected Pope, the Emperor *Conſtantine*, fourth of that Name, being aduertiſed of his ſingular Holineſſe and Learning, in regard alſo of his own authority for his Election: hee ſent the Pope a Charter and Letters Pattents, whereby he renounced to himſelfe and his Succeſſours, all cauſes and reaſons before pretended, for confirmation of the Papal Election; but that thence forward, ſo ſoone as the Cleargy and people of *Rome* had made choiſe of their chiefe Byſhop, he ſhould then bee held as Gods Vicar, without any other confirmation or amplification. This endured for ſome ſmall while, till afterward the Romaine Church happening to be afflicted againe, & her Patrimony much moleſted by the *Lombards*, who ſwayed mightily in thoſe parts, being then ſuccoured by *Charles Martell*, in the time of *Gregory* the third, and by his Son *Pepin*, in the time of *Stephen* the ſecond; they were glad to let fall their former priuiledge, becauſe they had found no mean helpe (alwaies) from the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*.

The tranſlation of the Empire out of the Eaſt into the Weſt, where it hath euer ſince continued.

Finally, Pope *Leo*, the third of that Name, after much diſcourſe and deliberation about this matter, conſidering what great helpe and ſuccour he had receiued from *Charlemaigne* K. of *France*; laboured and procured him to bee named Emperour, and ſo tranſlated the Empires Seat out of the Eaſterne parts, into the Weſt, where it hath ſtill remained to this inſtant. Whereby may eaſily be gathered, whether in regard of especial priuiledge, or vſurpation of *Charlemaignes* Succeſſors in the Empire, the Popes holde on their confirmation by the Emperours or no; and confirmed & approued their election of the cheefe Byſhops, in acknowledging alwaies the Weſterne Emperours, and hauing recourſe to them in all their affaires and neceſſities. By ſucceſſion of time, and in the yeare eight hundred and ſeuenteen, *Paſcall* the firſt was elected (by death of *Stephen* the fourth) and enſtalled, without attending the confirmation of *Lewes*, Sonne to *Charles* the great. And yet he was glad to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Em. to make his excuſe, and ſay; that hee was thereto compelled by the people, and could not ſtay for his confirmation. The Emperour *Lewes* allowed of this excuſe, and yet ſent an expreſſe commaundement, that he would haue all auncient Cuſtomes to be kept and preſerued.

The Emperor would haue no ancient orders and cuſtomes broken

Long time after, and while the abuſes of Men ſtill encreaſed, there were many ſcandals and diſorders happening at theſe elections; for remedy whereof, Pope *Nicholas*, ſecond of that Name, in the yeare one thouſand ſeauenty nine, procured a publique Counſell, whereby there was made a Decretall, which beginneth in *Nomine Domini*, in the three and twentith diſtinction, and thereby it was giuen in full authority, to Biſhops, Prieſts, and Cardinals, to make this election. According to which order, the Election hath in that kinde continued, without any requeſt of the Imperiall confirmation, but in the abſolute power & priuiledge of the Church, becauſe by Emperours and Kinges, it hath not (ſince then) beene called in queſtion.

Platina. Diſt. 59

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *The cauſe of thoſe daies which are called* Dies Caniculares, *or* Dogge-daies; *And wherefore they are ſo called: With many notable examples incident to the ſame purpoſe.*

THere are few or none, but (in common conuerſation) they will talke familiarly of the Dogge-dayes, onely by reaſon of the extreamity of heate, which vſually continueth all that time: And yet notwithſtanding, all men doe not know, vppon what occaſion thoſe daies are ſo called. Or let vs admit, that there are very few of any diſcreation, but the reaſon thereof is well enough knowne vnto them; yet may we ſpeake our minde to thoſe few, and ſatisfie them as well as the reſt, accor-

The reaſon of the Dog-daies is ſcarcely knowne to all Men.

according to the iudgement of Aſtrologers, both Ancient and Moderne.

Moſt true it is, that among many other conſtellations and figures, which the auncient Aſtronomers both knew and obſerued, in company of the fixed Starres; there were two eſpecially, and they were tearmed Dogs: one of them the great Dogge; the other, the little, or leſſe; which leſſer hath two Starres, one equalling the firſt in greatneſſe, the other not ſo much by a fourth part, and they are of the Nature of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat of *Mars*. This conſtellation of the little or leſſer Dogge, was at the time of *Ptolomy*, in the ſigne of the Twinnes: and from that time to this inſtant (by reaſon of Motion in the eight Sphere) one of theſe two Starres hath attained to the fift degree; and the other to the nineteenth and a halfe, of the ſigne of *Cancer*. Of this Conſtellation theſe Authours doe ſpeake; as *Pliny*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Manilius*, *Eginus*, and *Ptolomy*. But becauſe that this is no occaſion at all of our Caniculare or Dog-daies, let vs come to the other, which is called the great Dogge, which is a Celeſtiall Image or Figure, hauing eighteene Starres, and they were placed alſo by *Ptolomy* (in his time) in the ſigne of the Twinnes; except one onely, by reaſon of the Motion it made by the eight Sphere, from the Weſt to the Eaſt. But at this day, they are all to bee found at the ſigne *Cancer*, except one or two, that are not (as yet) departed from the ſigne of the Twinnes.

The great Dog and little Dog obſerued by the Aſtronomers.

Plin Lib. 16. Iul. Firm lib. 6. Manil. Lib. 5. Egin. Lib. 2. Ptole. in Almageſt.

Among which Starres, there is one that is ſaide to bee in the throat of the fore-named Dogge, which by the *Arabies* is called *Alſabor*, and by the *Greekes*, *Seirios*. It is of the cheefeſt greatneſſe, and more cleare and ſplendant then any other of the fixed Starres; which in the time of *Ptolomy* (as appeareth by his tables) was eighteene degrees and tenne minuts from the Twinnes. Afterward, King *Alphonſus*, iuſtifying the ſaide Tables, found yet the ſaide Starre to be in the fourth degree, and forty eight minuts of *Cancer*: and now at this day, we finde it in the eight degree of the ſame ſigne *Cancer*. Her Latitude is Meridionall (according to ancient obſeruation) ſixteene degrees and ten minuts, and is vnvariable; notwithſtanding, the opinion of Moderne Writers, touching the mooning of trepidation or terror: For although ſhe were not certaine, yet moſt ſure is it, that the mutation of the ſaid Starre is no way notable. Her declination is Meridionall, by fifteene degrees, and fifty minuts. And albeit that the whole Conſtellation of this Celeſtiall Image, hath very great power and influence, yet are we to ſpeake eſpecially but of the very greateſt Star; becauſe all ancient and Moderne Authors, haue made great reckoning thereof, and by her occaſion are the daies called Caniculare.

Of the Starre called the great Dogge, and the obſeruations thereof by our Elders.

She is of ſuch power and efficacy, as during the time that the Sunne and ſhe doth go together from the Eaſt, the vapours and beames of the Sun, do in ſuch ſort heat and chafe themſelues, by the vigor of her property; that ſhee procureth a maruailous alteration & warmth, both on the Earth, Sea, and in all other things, as *Pliny* and *Auicen* hath intirely noted. *Hippocrates* in his Aphoriſmes, did expreſly forbid, that (while the Sun walked in this Conſtellation) no Man ſhould take any Phiſicke, becauſe the time was full of daungerous effectes; which are ſo euident and certaine, as all the World is well acquainted therewith, and ancient Authors haue ſpoken thereof very plentifully. Eſpeciallie *Pliny* in diuers places, ſaying; *That during this time, the Wine is troubled, and becommeth ſtarke naught. In ſome Countries, you ſhall ſee the Sea to caſt vp her Fiſhes, & they to ſwim dead aloft on the Water, the Dogs alſo to run mad about the ſtreetes*. In like manner, *Columella* giueth aduiſe to Shepheards, that while the Dog-dayes doe continue, they ſhould ſuffer their Flockes to feede from morning to mid-day, driuing them continually from the Eaſt towards the Weſt, to the end they ſhould not haue the Sunne vpon their ſhoulders: But after mid-day is paſt, & onward to the Euening, to guide them from the weſt to the Eaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer haue the Sun on their eies. For he further ſaith, that thoſe daies are very daungerous, and doe cauſe many great inconueniences to happen vnto Men.

The power of the Star, called the great Dogge-Star, while it goeth with the Sun.

Plin. Lib. 2. Auicen. Lib. 4. Hyppocrat. lib. 5

Pli. lib. 5. ca. 18

Columella lib. 7 de Agricult.

Moreouer, *Iulius Firmicus* ſaith, that ſuch as are borne during the ſeaſon of theſe Caniculare dayes, will prooue to be

How daungerous it is to be borne in the Dogge-dayes *Iul. Firm. lib. 3.*

bee men of very badde inclination, forward and apt to commit great Euilles; Proud, Cruell, Furious, Daungerous, full of Vaunting, Seditious, and to be suspected; which MANCVS MANLIVS in like maner affirmeth.

Manil. Lib. 5.

Cicero saith also, *The Inhabitants of the Isle of* Cea *or* Ceos, * *Neighbour to* Negropont, *doe make Obseruation of this Starre, and iudge thereby the whole course of the yeare, whether the seasons will be healthfull, or subiect to sickenesse. For, if it appeare obscure or Clowdie, they gather thereby, that the Ayre is moyst, thicke, and naught, and the whole yeare to holde the like qualitie. But if it be seene to rise cleare, bright and shining, it then signifieth a pure ayre, Healthfull, and Sweete, and accordingly they do prognosticate wel fare vnto men.*

* An Island in the *Egeū* Sea, wher the Silk wormes were first found.

Cicero in Lib. 2. de diuinat.

These things, are in this manner set downe by *Cicero*; and yet we know, that such kinde of Iudgements are not sufficient, because one Starre onely sufficeth not, to prognosticate the whole yeares course. True it is, that sometimes these Dogge-Dayes do fal out to be Colde, and the times verie Rainie, which is occasioned by the Suns Coniunction with Saturne, or else by some other Colde Starre, whereof *Thomas Aquinas* sufficiently speaketh. Besides, *Saturne* may bee the cause of this times ill disposition, beeing opposite to the Sunne, or in a Quartile Aspect with the Sunne.

Tho. Aquin. in Metaph. Lib. 6.

The Dogge-dayes doe begin, when the Sunne riseth with the Dog-Starre.

Behold the Effects of this Star, and of her Constellation, which doe continue diuers Dayes, and beginneth when as the Sunne mounteth or ariseth with her in the Horizon: These are they, which deserue most especially to be noted and knowne at what time of the yeare they are. Then for our better direction heerein, it is to be vnderstood, that euery Starre is saide to be rising or springing; and likewise, that they doe bestow and order themselues in diuers kinds; some hauing respect to the Horizon, and others to the Sun, who one while keeps aloose farre off from them, and another while approacheth neere vnto them. But we will speake of them onely, that aunswere to our purpose, which (at one time in the yeare) do rise with the Sunne vppon the Horizon, as hath beene well knowne, vnderstoode, & Written by them that haue discoursed thereon, and then is the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

The beginning of the Dog-Dayes.

Now this moment of birth or Originall, is not common to all places, nor at all times alike, because the mouing or motion (as we haue already said) being according to the succession of the signes, this Starre came forth (heeretofore) in one certaine time of the yeare, and now it happens in another. For the Star being in lesse degree of longitude, euen so as the Sun, it goeth according to the order of the signes, and passeth rather to the point of the Zodiacke, that holdeth euen way with him toward the East. in what place soeuer wee shall consider him: Therefore, in one and the same place, and one selfe-same Horizon, the apparition of this Starre was more forward, and sooner in times past, then now adayes it is: And likewise, by the finitures or limits of sight, shee beginneth to yssue foorth rather in some peculiar places, then in others. Wherefore, the Dogge-Dayes do beginne rather with them that are neerest vnto the Equinoctiall, then with those that are more Northerly, according to the seat of the most oblique Horizons.

The rising of the Dog-Star is not alike in all places, or at all times.

The Dogge-daies doe begin with them neareſt to the Equinoctiall.

Necessarily then it is to bee noted; that although this Starre were in the eight Degree of Cancer, yet would she spring or rise from one Parallell onely, in the same Degree; but (in all the rest) diuersly, more or lesse, according as shee raungeth or keepeth her selfe off from the Equinoctiall, so shall shee be the more slacke and tardie in her appearing; whereof an example may bee hadde, by the Inhabitants of Ciuill, which is at the end of the fourth Climate, in thirty seauen Degrees of Latitude.

The order & obseruance of the Starres.

In those Dayes when as AVICEN Liued, (according as himselfe hath Written and Recorded) beeing about foure hundered yeares agone; the Dogge-Dayes beganne then the fifte day of the Month of Iune: and yet notwithstanding, in those verie times, when the Sunne had made two Degrees, and fiue and twentie Minutes in the Signe of Leo, this Starre yssued from foorth the Horizon, so soone as the Sunne. This haue I equalled, by the Direction of *Iohn de Mont-royall*,

Diuersity of the dog-daies beginning, by diuersitie of places.

a great Aſtrologer and Mathematician, and it is to be ſeene and knowne by the *Aſtrolobe*. But, if wee ſpeake of the ordinary time, which is the ſeauenteenth day of Iuly, then truly doe the Dogge-dayes begin in our City of *Ciuill*: ſo that it is an error to ſay, that they commonly begin the fift or tenth day of Iuly, although it might be true in ſome precedent times; and in like maner it may be beleeued, that for certaine dayes, ſome of the effects declared themſelus to the world, before the Sunne was perfectly eleuated in the Horizon, with the Starre.

To ſuch as are far from the Equinoctiall, the Dog Star is long before it riſeth

To ſuch as dwel in places far off from the Equinoctiall line, and are neere neighbors to the North; the Dog-Dayes do begin much later, becauſe the Sunne muſt bee riſen in more degrees of the ſigne *Leo*, and therefore more dayes of Iuly muſt be paſt. Alſo in the Paralell of 41. degrees, whether it bee *Rome*, *Tolledo*, and other places; this Starre, riſeth with the Sunne, when he commeth to the ſixt degree of *Leo*, which will bee the 21. day of Iuly, and then beginneth the Dog-daies with them. And to them that are vnder the 47, 48. or 49. Degree; as are *Paris*, *Strasbourg*, and *Vienna*, with other Cities; this Star ariſeth in the Horizon with the Sun, euen then when he enters into the 12, 11, and 10. Degree of *Leo*, which ſhall be the 24. or 25. day of Iuly. Hence may it bee concluded, that the Dogge-dayes doe not begin alike in all places; or euery yeare, at one certeine or ſelfe-ſame time of the yeare.

An eſpeciall direction for the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

It is an errour then to ſay, that they haue their beginning vniuerſally, or in all places, the tenth day of Iuly. For, ſuch as are vnder the ſeauenteenth Degree declining, haue thence that verie day to beginne with them. And they which are vnder the twentie nine and thirtith degrees, haue them the ſeauenteenth day of the ſaide Month; becauſe (as we haue ſaid before) this Diuerſitie proceedeth from the different eleuation, in diuers Horizons or Limits of the eye. For which cauſe, thoſe men that read Poets and Hiſtorians, are to be aduertiſed, that when they finde in diuers Authors, diuers Births or Originalles of this Starre, and as diuers beginnings of theſe Canicular dayes, they muſt duely conſider, at what time, and in what Climat the Authors liued that Wrote thoſe thinges, to the end, they may bee confronted with truth; for otherwiſe, he may aſſure himſelfe, that they do expreſly contradict themſelues.

How long the Dogge-dayes haue their continuance.

The length of time or continuance of theſe Dog-dayes, which is all the while the Sun tarrieth his paſſage in this conſtellation (according to the opinion of Phyſitians) is forty dayes, wherof ſome are much more dangerons then the reſt, according to the Aſpects that be in this Starre, and the Sunne, with the other Planets; becauſe that if thoſe Aſpectes be good, the good Plannets doe partly temperate and correct his Malice, but the badde doe worke the quite contrarie.

And now it appeares to mee, that in this matter, concerning the Canicular Starre, or Dogge-Dayes, we haue ſaide ſufficient, and giuen taſt enough thereof. Now, albeit there might be much more ſaide and knowne; yet in regarde that it is not fitting to euery mans Apprehenſion, I will reſt ſilent, and paſſe on in this Argument no further. Many others, haue Learnedly and ſufficiently Written, of the Power and Effectes of this Starre: as *Plinie*, *Ptolomy*, and almoſt the whole Schoole of Poets. *Perſeus* calleth it the Madde Dogge, and ſayth; That it burneth vp all Seedes. *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Macrobius*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Marcus Manlius*, with diuers other excellent Authours beſide (aſwell Auncient as Moderne) whom heere I will not ſpend time to name, they haue at large ſet downe their Opinions of this Starre; & ſuch as are further inquiſitiue in this caſe, may there be fully and amply ſatiſfied by them.

Plin. lib. 2. Ptolom. in Alm. Perſeus Lib. 1. Ouid. 4. de Faſt. Virgil. Geor. 1. Macrob. in ſom. Scipionis. Iul. Firm. lib. 8. Mar. Man. li. 5.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Admyrable Art (in Man) of Swimming: The Originall of the Fable of the Fiſh Colas, *with ſome incident Hiſtories beſide.*

MAny men of good and ſounde iudgement do ſay, that matters of meruaile or rarity ought not

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Matters of nouelty, doe carry ſuſpition of certainty.

to be Written, becauſe doubt of their truth or credit, dooth moſt commonly attend on them. Neuertheleſſe, when for ſuch things as are alledged, the Teſtimony of vnreproueable Authority is auouched; a man may remain the more aſſured of them. I can well remember, that in the dayes of my Child-hoode, I heard old people oftentimes talke of a Fiſh named *Colas*, that had the true Figure and proportion of a man, and vſed to ſwim dayly in the Sea. Of this Fiſh, many fabulous deuiſes haue bin reported, and my ſelfe neuer caried any other opinion of them: vntill by the reading of many Books, I found as many things written in them, and as full of admiration; ſo that, if I had receiued them frō men of ſlender worth or reſpect, I ſhold haue reputed them for vaine and ydle lyes.

The Fiſh *Colas* carried the true ſhape & proportion of a man in all parts.

Concerning thoſe aged peoples Reports, which the cōmon vulgar held to be fabulous, I made ſome pauſe of raſh Cenſure, after I had read two excellent men, of no leſſe Authority then Learning: The one of them, being *Pontanus*, a great Humaniſt, Oratour, and Poet; the other, is *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, a man of Deepe Experience and Learning, ſpeaking of them in his Booke named *Genial Dayes*.

Pontanus lib. 2. Alex. de Alexand. in lib. Diet. Genial.

Both theſe Worthy men do write, that in their time, there liued in *Catania* a Towne of *Sicilie*, a man, whom euery one tearmed to bee the Fiſh *Colas*, that from his Infancie was wholly enclined to Bath himſelfe in the Sea, and it was his onely chiefeſt Delight or pleaſure, either in the Night time, or in the Day. This grew in him (by litle and litle) to ſuch a Cuſtome; and afterward to ſuch an extreamity; that if a day had paſt him without ſpending the moſt part thereof in the Water, he would ſay; that he endured ſuch a paſſion and ſickneſſe of ſtomacke, as made him doubtfull of immediate death.

Vſe & cuſtom begets an habit of courage and boldneſſe

Continuing in this exerciſe, and hee attaining to the yeares of manly diſpoſition, his ſtrength and dexteritie was ſuch in the Water; that although the Seas were very violent and Tempeſtuous, yet hee would Croſſe-ſwim them, without any feare or perill. And theſe two Authours ſay, that (at a certaine time) he was forcibly compeld to Swim aboue fiue hundred Stades, without finding Land, or any where to reſt himſelf, which Stades do amount to aboue ſixeteene or ſeauenteene Leagues. And ſometimes hee would Swim in the Sea (as a Fiſh) two or three dayes togither, wandering into diuers Coaſtes of the Neighbouring Countreyes, & was met by many paſſengers, to whom he wold cry and call in their Shippes. Diuers times they would take him vp vnto thē, and after they had queſtioned him concerning his voyage, they woulde giue him both meat and drinke.

A matter almoſt incredible, but that good Authors do auouch it for truth.

Thus would he (for ſome ſmal time) abide with them in ſportful recreation, but when he ſaw his opportunity, then would he ſuddenly leape into the Sea againe, to returne whence he came; and by this meanes, oftentimes hee carried tydings to ſundry neere Townes & Villages, of them that he had met at Sea.

Thus liued this man for a long time in good and healthfull Diſpoſition; vntill at length, at a great Feaſt and Solemnitie, which King *Alphonſus* of *Naples* made at * *Meſſana* (a moſt Famous Port in the *Sicilian* Sea) onely to approue the Swimming of this Man, and others, that made vaunt of their skill & dexterity in this Art. There he commaunded a Cup of Golde (of very great woorth and value) to bee caſt into the Sea, and it was giuen as a reward to him that could ſooneſt finde it, purpoſing to throw in other things of worth beſide, after the triall of the Cup ſhould firſt be made.

*A City in *Sicilie*, neere to the Promontory *Pelorus*.

In this Aſſembly, there were manie excellent Swimmers, that made no doubt of their cunning and ſufficiencie, and amongeſt them alſo was this *Colas*, who (with the reſt) lept into the depth of the Sea, at the place where the Cup was caſt in; but afterward hee was neuer ſeene againe, nor any tydings what was become of him. Some thoght, that hee fell into ſome Gulphe or deepe pit, which might bee in the bottome of the Sea, and his diſaſter was ſuch, that not being able to aſcend out of it, there hee died. This Hiſtory being deliuered by two ſuch approued men, gaue me occaſion to conceiue, that this might be the ſame thing which aged people had ſpoken of, concerning the Fiſh *Colas*.

A triall of ſwimming, before *Alphonſus* King of *Naples*.

Another History alledged by the same Author.

The same *Alexander*, in the very same Chapter saith; That hee knew another Man, who was a poore Mariner, and had (almost) no other kinde of liuing, but onely by Fishing. This man (as he saith) was so expert a Swimmer, that in one day hee went and returned from an Iland, which is face to face with *Naples*, named *Ænaria*, so farre as *Prochyta*, which is vp in the firme Land neere to * *Putcoli*; and there is betweene the one and the other Citty, the distance of fifty Stades. One day also it hapned, that as he threw himselfe into the Sea, to make the like Voyage, there were other men in a Boate to passe the same place also; but it was no way possible for them (albeit they had men that vowed very speedily) to ouertake the man in his Swimming.

Puteoli is a City by the Sea-side, in *Campania*, distant from *Naples*, eight mile

Such things are truely marualous, and our Astrologians say; that it proceedeth from the influence of the Stars, that gouerne in the birth of these men. And that such as haue then the signe of *Pisces* in the ascendent, shall be wonderous strong and excellent Swimmers. Our Naturall Philosophers doe maintaine, that a man hauing his Armes very small, shall be apt and agile to Swimming. The ability of diuing vnder water, is verie admirable in some Men of the West-Indies, whence our choyfest Pearles do come; for it is said, that they sinke downe into the bottome of the Sea and do tarry there so long a time, as it seemeth to bee a thing altogether impossible. Our Elders tearmed these people *Vrinators*, but now they are called *Guzans*.

Astrologers opinion concerning such as swim.

Naturall Philosophers their iudgement for swimming.

Swimmers, called *Vrinators* in olde time, but now Guzans.

All the Historians do report meruailous matters, of a man named *Delio*, so that it grew to be a common Prouerb, to say, the Swimmer *Delio*. And albeit (in very truth) it is no Vertue to Swim, neither is a man bound to Learne it, yet the knowledge thereof is noway hurtfull. For the ancient Romaines, according as *Vegetius* declareth, admonished their yong youths, not as yet invred to the Warres, that they should endeuour to Swim, and them they vsed to call *Tirones*. They had also a certaine Custome in *Rome*, that the yong Children should practise Swimming, in a place beside the Riuer of *Tyber*, neere to the fielde called *Campo Martio*, and there they made it a daily exercise, as iudging Swimming to be a lawfull pastime, and necessarie for such occurrences as might happen in war, as well for the passage of Lakes & Riuers, as also to withstand harde fortunes on the Sea.

Veget. Lib. 2. de Re Milit.

In Rome they vsed to instruct their Children in Swimming.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Men liuing in the Sea, called Mare-men or Seamen, and women of like Nature, tearmed Mare-maids or Sea-women, and of some other notable things.

IT is a matter of no meane maruell, and it draweth a man into hie contemplation of Gods hanoyworks, to behold the great diuersity of fishes in the Sea; as also, the Beastes and Creatures liuing on the earth; whereof *Pliny*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Aristotle*, and many other natural Phylosophers, haue liberally discourst. Full well I know, that man composed of reason & vnderstanding, is no wher to be found but on earth, and that men were not ordained to liue in the water. Neuertheles, I haue diuers times read, that there are fishes in the Sea, which beareth the liuely shape of a man; among which, there is both male and female: The Female hath the perfect resemblance of a woman; and as they are called *Nereides*, so are the males named *Tritons*. Of whom, I will not recite diuers thinges, which a number of light-headed men, and of slender authority haue reported, in whose Books may be read very strange & variable matters. And yet notwithstanding I may lawfully set downe those things which I haue obserued and collected from writers of sound iudgement; men of grauitie, and deseruing credit. Among whom, *Plinie* saith, that in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Inhabitants of *Lisbone*, a Citty of *Portugall*, (famous then, and yet continuing so to this day) sent Ambassadours to the Emperour, to certifie him, that they had seene one of these Tritons, or Marine men, oftentimes to withdraw and hide himselfe in a Caue neer to the Sea, and that there he vsed

Plin. Lib. 9. Alb. Mag. lib. 1 Aristot. Lib. 3

Nereides and *Tritons* are as women and men liuing in the Sea.

Plin. lib 6.

Tydings of a Tryton sent to the Emperor *Tyberius*, by the inhabitants of *Lisbon*

vſed to ſing in a great ſhell of the Sea. And *Pliny* ſaith moreouer, that *Octauianus Auguſtus* was certified, that on the Coaſt of *France*, many *Nereides* or Sea-women hath bin ſeene, who afterward were found dead vppon the Sea-ſhore. The like tydings alſo was ſent to *Nero*, that among many Fiſhes of the ſea (caſt vpon the ſandes) diuers *Nereides* were found, and other kindes of Creatures Marine, like vnto Beaſtes liuing on the Earth; The ſame, and much more is confirmed by *Elianus*, in his Booke of Beaſts.

Elian. in lib. 1. de Animal.

Other and beſide, thoſe of Antiquitie who haue written of theſe things, & diuers others in like nature. Our Modern Authors alſo haue ſpokē as meruailouſly; as (among others) *Theodorus Gaza*, a man very learned in ſundry Sciences, & who was liuing in our Fathers Dayes. His writings are iuſtified by many, and eſpecially by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, who ſaith, that the ſaid *Theodorus* being in *Greece* on the Sea-ſhore, after a huge ſtormy tempeſt that then happened, he beheld abundance of Fiſhes caſt vppon the ſands, among which was a *Neriade*, or Fiſh, hauing a face perfectly human, and like vnto a very beautifull Woman down to the Girdle, but all the reſt was formed of Fiſh, writhing vp the tail like vnto an Eele, euen after the ſame manner, as wee haue ſeene a figure painted, called a *Syrene* of the Sea; ſo this *Neriad* being vpon the ſands, by her outwarde geſture and behauiour, appeared to bee in great paine and anguiſh. *Alexander* further ſaith, that this *Theodorus Gaza*, tooke the ſaid *Neriade*, and (by the beſt meanes he could deuiſe) put it into the water, wherein ſhee was no ſooner entred, but ſhe beganne to ſwim very delicately, and vaniſhed on a ſudden out of his ſight.

Theodorus Gaza, a Famous Writer, ſaw a Neriade caſt vpon the Sea-ſhore in *Greece*

A Neriade taken, and being put into the water preſently it vaniſhed away.

Georgius Trabezonzius, a man of no leſſe learning and authority, affirmeth alſo, that paſſing along the Sea ſide, he ſaw a Fiſh riſe vp in the water, & al that could be diſcerned vnto the middle, ſeemed to bee a very beautifull Woman, whereat hee was no leſſe amazed then terrified, becauſe ſhe would hide and diſcouer her ſelfe, according as ſhe perceiued her ſelfe not to be noted; but beholding too many eies to gaze on her, ſhee ſunk into the water, & was neuer ſeen after. All theſe things are maruailous, & yet notwithſtanding, who will not giue credit to ſuch worthy men, being fortified with that which I can yet further ſay?

Georgius Trabezonzius concerning another Neriade.

Alexander of *Alexandria* declareth, that in his time he was aduertiſed by credible aſſurance, that in *Epirus*, (now named *Romania*) there was a Riuer neere vnto the Sea, where children often vſed to fetch Water thence. In ſhort while after, a *Triton* reſorted thither, and would hide himſelfe in a Caue neer adioyning, watching till he could ſee ſome maiden come alone: whereof ſpeeding at laſt, he would ſeize and carry her along with him into the Sea, and thus he did to diuers young Maidens. The Inhabitants being heereof aduertiſed, beleagred the place in ſuch ſort with ſpies, that he was taken and broght before a Iuſtice there dwelling, where he was found in all his Members like vnto a man. For which cauſe, they put him vnder ſafe cuſtodie, giuing him ſuſtenance to preſerue life withall; but he would feede on nothing that was giuen vnto him, and therefore pined away with hunger to death, by beeing too many dayes in an Element ſtrange vnto him, and wholly contrarie to his Nature. This Hiſtory, is in the ſame manner deliuered by *Petrus Gellius* a Moderne Authour, in his Bookes of Beaſts: where moreouer he ſaith, That being at *Marſeilles*, he heard reported by an aged Fiſher (a man of good repute) that his Father had affirmed for truth to him, that he had ſeen a Sea-man or *Tryton*, like vnto ſuch as we haue ſpoken of, who was preſented to King *Rene*. We may well then ſay, that a matter ſo approued, and by ſuch Learned Authors knowne to the world for men of ſound truth, ought not to be held as a Fable, but for an infallible certaintie.

Alexand. de Alex in l. 6. Dier. Genial. c. 8

A ſtrange Hiſtory of a Tryton, that carried young Maidens into the Sea.

Petrus Gellius in Lib. animal.

The End of the firſt Booke.

The Second Booke.

CHAP. I.

What manner of Speech was vſed at the beginning of the world: And how the Diuiſion of Languages began at the firſt.

WHen the firſt age of the world began (both before the Floud, & for ſome long while after) men generally vſed one kind of language: for there was (as then) no diuerſitie of ſpeech, neither was there any man, but hee eaſily vnderſtoode when another ſpake to him. The firſt diuerſity & confuſion of Tongues, which hath done ſo much dammage, cauſed ſo many miſchiefes, and yet is the continuall Nurſe of them to this day (through the ſinnes of men) was ſent them by God. *Moyſes* recordeth in the Holy Hiſtory of *Geneſis*, that the Malice and Preſumption of men encreaſing, *Nemrod* (Nephew to *Noah* by the diſcent of *Caine*) was ſoone after borne, and manie others beſide, of as audacious a Nature. Theſe Men concluded among themſelues, to make a Tower, the top whereof might reach vp to Heauen; and this they did, in remembrance of the deluge, becauſe they had heard it reported, that GOD had ſent ſuch a Flood vpon the earth, and therefore they would thus reſiſt againſt God, if the like invndation ſhould happen againe. *Ioſephus* ſpeaketh thereof, in the firſt Booke of his Antiquities, and ſaith; That ſo many men aſsiſted *Nemrod* in the erection of this mighty building, that the work grew incredible for height & ſtate. *Ioſephus* moreouer writeth, that they made the foundation thereof ſo large and deep, that althogh it was of wonderfull height (according as Holy Writ maketh mention) yet it appeared to be more broad then high.

But God being willing to Correct this audacious enterprize (albeit not with punniſhment anſwereable to the pride) gaue inſtantly ſo many manner of ſpeaches amongeſt them, and ſuch a myraculous Confuſion of Languages, that they who at firſt vnderſtoode one onely tongue, were diuided now into ſeauenty two: by means whereof, ſuch variance grew among them, that thorough defect of vnderſtanding one another, not only the worke remained vnperfect, but euery man departed with them he beſt vnderſtood, and ſo inhabited diuers Countries: and for this cauſe the Tower was named BABELL, that is to ſay, *Confuſion*. *Iſidore* ſaieth, that it was in height, fiue thouſand, one hundred, ſixty foure paces, all made with ſtone of Bricke, bound and knit faſt with Clay, inſted of Morter; of which clay, there was very great ſtore found in diuers parts of the Country.

In the ſame place where that Tower was built, according to the ſaid *Iſidore*, *Ioſephus*, S. *Auguſtine*, and *Oroſius*, was likewiſe builded that moſt famous Citty, whereof ſo many great matters are

Men ſpake all one language at the beginning of the world.

Geneſis 11.4.

Ioſeph. in lib. 1 de Antiquit. c.9

The confuſion of 72. languages.

Iſidor. in lib. 15. de Etimol.

Iſidor. vbi ſup. Ioſ lib 1. de An. Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei. Oroſius.

are remembred, called *Babylon*, vppon the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof the round Neighbouring Lands and Countries tooke their Names; as *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*. The Sacred Scripture also maketh mention, & is of the same consent with them, that the beginning of *Nemrods* raigning was in *Babylon*: wherfore, by opinion of the same Authors, it must needs be graunted, that *Nemrod* builded that renowned Citty of *Babylon*, which afterwardes was walled and more ennobled by *Semiramis* and *Ninus*.

Gen. 10, 10.

Nemrod built the Citty of Babylon.

Now to returne to our former intent, concerning tongues and Languages, the question is well worthy disputation, to wit; what Language it was that men did then speake, before the Confusion and Diuision of Toongues. Saint *Augustine* moueth the argument, and plainly determineth; that the first Language or Speech was Hebrue, and the same that the Iewes do yet speak to this day. Which, according as may be gathered from the Bible, and likewise as Saint *Augustine* iudgeth, was preserued in *Heber*; of whom, both *Abraham* and the Hebrewes discended, because neither he, or any one of his Lignage, are found to haue giuen any helpe in the building of that Tower. In regard wherof, both hee and his discent, that neuer consorted to such a sinne, had no feeling of the punnishment. And therefore, it may be very well presumed, that in *Heber*, and in his family, it remained still sound and entire, euen the auncient and first Tongue, not any way corrupted or confused, but only in that house it continued firme, being vtterly lost in al the other; and hence it commeth, that of *Heber*, the Language hath euer since bin called *Hebrue*.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Not any of Abrahams race, were at the building of Babell.

The Originall of the Hebrue Tongue.

Many *Hebrues* (his Successours) haue affirmed, that this Language is the very same that *Adam* spake, and al those men of the first Age, conserued in *Heber*: and his Successors *Abraham* and *Iacob*, & the very same also wherein *Moyses* Wrote. Such is the opinion of S. *Augustine* and *Isidore*, that it may be rather credited in this kinde, then their coniecture, that hold the *Chaldean* to be the first tongue. And yet in some measure they may bee excused, because those two Tongues haue a very neere Neighbouring vnity, as also a great conformity in their Letters and Charracters, and in great store of other matters. Besides, in this case it hath bin questioned, and partly concluded, that if two Children or more in number, being borne and nourished in some obscure place, where company may bee no hinderance, or any other voice heard; some are of the mind, that their first Language would bee *Hebrue*; and others think, the *Chaldean* Toong.

Adam spake Hebrue.

Of the Chaldean Tongue, somewhat agreeing with the Hebrue.

But if we may beleeue *Herodotus*, a very famous and worthy Historian, he tels vs, that experience was made in this case, by reason of a contention happening betweene the *Ægiptians* and the *Phrygians*, each man pretending a primacie of Antiquity, and a soueraigntie in Language aboue al others; as also for the first inhabiting of Citties. To stay the head-strong course of this diffrence, it was thus concluded betweene them; that two Children (of either Nation) should be nursed in such manner, as we haue before declared: & in such a place, where not any kind of speech might be heard, but that which they naturally began to speake, and it should bee confirmed, to be the first and chiefest: as also, the people (speaking the same) to be of oldest Antiquity. He addeth moreouer, that a King of Egypt, caused too infants to be nourished in a Desert, where no man could be heard to speak in any maner whatsoeuer: And when the Children had attained to foure years of age, he commanded them to be brought before him, & they vttered in his presence many times, the word *Ber*, which signifieth Bread in the *Phrygian* Language, & therefore the *Phrygians* (of all men) wer said to be most Ancient. Thus writeth *Herodotus*, and many other Authours, both Wise and Iudicious, do giue him their approbation, and (in such Differences) do chiefly alledge him.

Herodot. Lib. 7 cap. 1.

The naturall Language of Children.

The Egyptians and Phrygians, their strife for Antiquity, by the Naturall first Speech of Children.

The Phrygians held to be most ancient.

Neuertheless, were it, that we shold allow this his opinion for trueth, yet it may (by some others) be answered, that perhaps these Children heard and vnderstood the voyce of some Beast, Bird, or other Creature liuing in the Fields, that did bellow, bray, or shape the same word in his voyce, and so in that kind it might be learned. But for my selfe, I am of the minde, that were there two children now brought vp in this manner, I thinke

The Authours opinion concerning the first Speech of Children.

thinke they would speake the first Language of the Worlde, and that is the *Hebrue*. And I dare as boldly maintain, that they woulde shape to themselues, some nouell strange speech, deliuering new and vnheard of Names, Accents, & Attributes, as Children (of themselues Naturally) are enclined to do, and will bestow names least knowne, on thinges that by them are most desired. Whereby we may gather, that Nature woulde instruct them in some new kind of Language, before they could attaine to that of their Fore-fathers. Experience (in this case) may cleare vs from all doubt, and serue (as a true Schoole-maister) to them that are most curious in questioning, if their Wisedome would striue to reach beyonde the best receiued apprehensions. And yet (in meane while) I will not be so preiudicat, but leaue euery man to be gouerned by his own censure; Prouided, that it stretch not to wrong the Learned, who haue labored heerein for their best information; and will further satisfie them, if they be capable of their writings.

CHAP. II.

Of the Deuision of the Worlds Ages, & what notable matters haue happened in them. Also of the beginning of Kingdomes and Common-weales.

ALbeit that many men haue taken no meane delight in talking of the ages of the world, and what occasions haue hapned in one, with as straunge occurances following in another: yet are there a great number, that know not how the Diuision of these Ages came at the first, nor what yeares is required to each Ages accomplishment. Let me then tell ye, that the Age or lifetime of the world, from the first Originall vntill this instant, is diuided (by the greater part of Authors) into sixe parts or Ages. Neuertheless, there are diuers that number them into seauen, which diuision is made according to the *Hebrues*. But for my direction in this enterprize, I purpose to bee guided by *Eusebius*, with the common receiued iudgement of all Historians, that haue set downe their rest on the number of six. Concerning the Diuision of these Ages, there is great difference and confusion found among thē, so that very hardly can a certainty bee resolued on. For it principally apeareth, that those authors are diuided into two seuerall factions: One side following the computation of the Septuagint, or seauenty two Interpreters, that traduced the Old Testament out of the Hebrew Tongue into the Greeke; the others do imitate the Hebrues, and the common Text of the Bible, all which opinions, I will seuerally declare.

The world diuided into six Ages by som, and into seauen by others

Variety and difference found among the Authors.

The first Age of the world

The first Age of the World, is reckoned (by the common account) from the first Creation therof, to the vniuersal Deluge and drowning of it. And this was tearmed the Worlds Child-hood or Infancy, which Age lasted for a long continuance. Wherefore, it may well be credited, that during this time, there hapned many notable accidents among men, although there be no History, nor any recorded memory made of them: Only the Holy Scripture saith; That after God had created *Adam* and *Eue*, and (before them) all other creatures, which he gaue in subiection to man, with absolute rule and soueraignty, both ouer the Beastes on Land, and Fishes in the Sea.

Adam did then beget two Sons, who were *Caine* and *Abell*, that likewise begat diuers others Children, from whom ensued a mighty people. *Moyses* afterward Writeth, that *Caine* builded in the East, a Citty, which he called *Henoch*, after a Sonne of his that was so named. In that time, *Lamech* was the first twice-married man, and that durst aduenture vpon two Wiues: By one of them, he had a Son named *Tuball*, or *Tubal-Kaine*, that inuented the Art of Musick, as also the sound of Vialles and Organes. *Caine* deuised the skill to worke in Iron, & to engraue thereon.

The build ng of the first City in the world, and the name thereof

The first *Bigamus*, was *Lameth*.

While this Age continued, there wer many Gyants, of whom many Authors haue written, and say; that they were of wonderful stature and strength sterne, rude, and robust, far exceeding humaine ability. Finally, for the sinnes

Of Gyants in the first Age.

of

of men, came the generall flood vppon the earth, whereby all mankinde was drowned, except *Noah*, and such as wer preserued with him in the Arke. This Age endured, according to the opinion of the *Hebrues*, one thousand, six hundered, fifty six yeares; whereunto agreeth *Philo* the Iew, *Beda*, S. *Ierom*, & the common Text of the Bible. But according to the seauenty two Interpreters, *Eusebius*, and other Historians, it lasted two thousand, two hundred, forty and two yeares. Saint *Augustine* saith, two thousand, two hundred, seauenty two years: and *Alphonsus* King of *Spaine* saieth, two thousand, eight hundered, eightie two yeares.

Contrariety in opinion, about the length of time in the first age

The second Age beganne in *Noah*, after that hee was come foorth of the Arke, and continued vnto the byrth of *Abraham*, consisting in length of time, according to the Interpreters, *Eusebius*, *Isidore*, and the greater part of Chroniclers, 942. yeares. But the *Hebrewes* make lesse account, and grant no more then 292. yeares; and of the same opinion is *Philo* and *Iosephus*. S. *Augustine* affirmeth one thousand, seauentie two yeares. There remaineth very litle certainty, concerning such occasions as chanced in this Age, for no perticuler History is found thereof. Only there are some things saide in generall, touching the beginning of Kingdomes & States, and those that were the first inhabiters of Prouinces.

The second Age of the worlde.

The *Hebrewes* account of the second Age.

Of the beginning of Kingdomes & Regiments.

Noah being come forth of the Arke, planted the Vine, and what therby hapned to him, is sufficiently knowne. Hee begat children, the like did his Sonnes, so that the world began againe to bee greatly peopled. *Cham* the second Son of *Noah*, begate *Cush* and *Mizraim*, of whom are the *Æthiopians* and *Egiptians* descended; the *Æthiopians* of *Cush*, and the *Egiptians* of *Mizraim*: then had hee *Canaan*, from whom the *Canaanites* are deriued. His other Sonne *Iaphet*, begate *Gomer* and *Magog*, of whom so many nations descended, as were ouer-tedious heere to recite. In this time was the Tower of *Babell* builded, and the confusion of Languages then hapned by meanes whereof (as hath in the former Chapter bin declared, and as *Iosephus* truely hath recorded) men were thence sundered into diuers Isles & Prouinces, wher afterward they made their abiding.

Genesis 10, 6.

The race deriued from the Sonnes of *Noah*.

Genesis 10, 2.

Ioseph. in 2. lib. de Antiq. ca. 10

During this Age, *Tuball*, or *Tubalkaine*, the Sonne of *Iaphet*, went to dwel in *Spaine*, where he erected a kingdom, and began there his raigne. Some also say, that he was indifferently called *Suball*, or *Tuball*, the Sonne of *Falech*, and Nephew of *Heber*. The raign of the *Scithians* began in this Age, in the northern or Septentrionall parts; and therefore, they haue alwayes pretended, that their Dominion preceedeth all other in Antiquity, as *Trogus Pompeius*, and *Iustine* haue recorded: whereupon, great enmity still grew betweene them and the *Ægyptians*; and heereabout they hadde continuall controuersie. Then was the Art Magick, & Incantations first found out by *Cham*, who likewise was called *Zoroastres*. About the ending of this Age, and a little before the birth of *Abraham* (according to the iudgement of *Eusebius* & *Beda*) the most potent raign of the *Assyrians* began to exalt it selfe, hauing *Belus* for their first King, whom some others tearmed to bee *Iupiter*. It is also Written, that the second *Ninus*, in whose time *Abraham* was born, did then conquer many Cities and Prouinces. Moreouer, there was then another kind of gouernment in Egypt, tearmed *Dinastia*, where the first supreame Ruler was named *Vexor*, or *Vezor* (as *Eusebius* saith) who about the ending of this Age instituted the Kingdome or sway of the *Sicyonians in *Peloponesus*, now caled *Morea*, whereof *Agesilaus* is said to bee the first King. In this time likewise beganne Idolatry and Gentilisme. Behold, what a confused knowledge we haue attained vnto, of this second Age; in the end whereof, the most famous Citty of *Niniuy* was builded, consisting of admyred greatnesse: for, according to the Scripture, it was three dayes iourney in Circuit about.

The beginning of the Scythians raigne.

Trog. Pomp. Iustin.

Cham surnamed *Zoroastres* was the first inuenter of the Magicke Art.

The beginning of the Assyrians raigne.

* An Iland in the *Egeum* sea against *Epidaurus*.

The building of *Ninuy*.

Immediately after, the third Age began, euen in the birth of *Abraham*; and thence it held on to the Prophet *Dauid*, when, without all contrarietie of Authors, it continued 942. yeares, whereunto *Isidore* onely addeth two more: & this we may well tearme the *Adolescency* or youthfull yeares of the worlde, because in this time all things increased, & were greatly augmented. In the which time, *Semiramis* the wife of *Ninus*, performed

The third Age of the world.

Of Q. Semiramis her valiant deeds.

formed her memorable actions. For, faigning her selfe to bee yong *Ninus* her Sonne, and hauing chaunged hir Womans habit, she raigned so a long time, and conquered many great Landes and Prouinces. She also re-edified, & round engirt the famous Citty of *Babylon* with wals. In this time did *Abraham* (by Gods Commandement) make his peregrination, and won the victory which he obtained ouer foure Kinges, in the reseue of *Lot*, whom they led away as prisoner.

Of Abrahams trauell & victory.

In this time also, the *Amazons* had their first beginning. And likewise, the Kings that were called *Pharaohs*, did then flourish in Egypt; and *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* were also then destroyed. In *Isaacs* time began the raigne of the *Argiues* in *Thessaly*; and in the dayes of his Sonnes, *Iacob* and *Esau*, the Kinges of *Ceста* began their rule; the first whereof was named *Acris*. Then in short while after, *Ioseph* was sold by his Brethren to the Egyptians, in manner as the holy History discourseth; and likewise, how his Father and Brethren (with their children) went into *Egypt*, where the people of *Israell* that discended of them, liued foure hundred and thirty yeares, according as *Beda* writeth, and S. *Augustine* in his book of the *Citty of God*.

The beginning of the Amazons,

Pharaohin the Egyptian tongue signifieth a King.

The selling of Ioseph into Egypt.

Augnst. in lib. 3. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 2. Beda in Hist. Cap. 9.

During this Age, *Hercules* of *Lybia* trauelled into *Spaine*, where he beganne his Gouernment. And after him, were *Hyuer*, *Brigus*, *Taga*, *Beto*, *Gerion*, & diuers others. Of their seuerall raignes & Iurisdictions there, *Berosus*, with sundry other well approued Authours, do make like mention. In this time was the Citty of *Siuile* first founded; and it is acknowledged in the world, to be one of the most ancient, as likewise is set down by *Berosus* and others. It was first of all called *Hispalis*, according to the name of *Hispalus*, the Sonne, or (as others will haue it) the Nephew of *Hercules*, who raigned worthily there; and it was hee that caused the first foundation thereof to be laide, and after built it in comely manner. Yet *Isidore* contrarieth this indgement of *Berosus*, and saith; That it was entitled *Hispalis*, because it was erected in a very Marish ground; and that for their safe security in building, they were compelled to driue great beames of Woode, Trees, and Stakes into the ground. But howsoeuer it was, the Citty of *Hispalis* was afterward called *Spain*, as wee are credibly certified by *Trogus Pompeius*, *Iustine*, & diuers others. True it is, that *Iulius Cæsar* did terme it *Siuile*, ennobling it with great enlargement, making it his chiefe Colony and abode for his *Romaines*, because it was (before that time) very famous and noble.

Of Siuile in Spain, and how at first called Hispalis.

The contradiction of *Isidorus*, concerning the place

Berosus. Lib. 9.

The first rule of Spaine.

Iulius Cæsar, made *Siuile* his Colony for the Romains.

But returning again to our first purpose, by succession of this time, *Moyses* was borne; vnder whose guidance, the *Hebrues* departed out of Egipt: in which dayes also liued *Iob* the iust. And not long after, the mighty Deluge or ouerflow of Waters happened in *Thessaly*; whereupon insued the encreasing of diuers Kingdomes in many Landes and Territories: For *Æthiops* the Sonne of *Vulcan*, first raigned in *Æthiopia*, which had bin first called *Æsheria*, next *Atlantia*, and lastly, a Kingdom, after *Æthiops* name. *Siculus* gouerned in *Sicilia*, & *Foetius* in *Boetia*. So that Kingdomes and Countries receiued their Names by them that were the first commaunding Princes: as *Sardinia* likewise was so called of *Sardus*, another Sonne of *Hercules*. In those dayes the famous Citty of *Troy* flourished, and *Iason* made his conquest of the Golden Fleece; & thence ensued the known history of *Medea*, that famous Witch, Daughter to K. *Oeta*, by his Wife *Hypsea*. And now were the *Amazons* more powerfull in strength, then at any other time before or after; and then began the Kingdom of the *Latines* in *Italy*.

The birth of Moses, & life time of Iob.

The drowning of Thessaly.

How Kingdomes at first receiued their names.

The Cittie of Troy, and *Iasons* Fleece.

In this Age also, *Paris* made his rape of the faire *Helena*, which caused that long warre, and lastly, the destruction of *Troy*, with the comming of *Æneas* into *Italy*, beside many other thinges which our intended breuity admits no speech of.

The rape of *Helena*, & destruction of Troy.

Now the third Age fayling, it gaue place to the fourth, entering at the beginning of *Dauids* raigne, who was second King of the *Hebrues*. This fourth Age continued, till the transmigration and peregrination of the Iewes into *Babylon*, containing 484. yeares, (but *Beda* counteth no more then 474. yeares.) This Age may wel terme it selfe the lusty and sprightly Age of the world; for in this time, infinite occasions hapned, wherewith all Histories are plentifully enriched. The famous victories of that holy

The fourth Age of the world.

A note for well vnderstanding this word, *Mundi Iuuentus*.

The victories of Ki. *Dauid.*

The raigne of *Salomon.*

The Assirians Empire ouerthrowne and translated to the *Medes.*

The Greekes Olimpiads.

The building of *Carthage*, & of *Rome.*

Bizantium, afterward caled *Constantinople.*

Ierusalem destroyed by *Nabuchodonosor.*

The fift Age of the world.

Strange alterations of States.

holy King *Dauid* had now their Originall: he conquered the *Philistims*, reuenged himselfe on the *Ammonites* for the disgrace done to his Ambassadors, and put to death the Captaine of the *Assyrians*. Next him, succeeded the raigne of the Wise King *Salomon*, who builded the rich Temple of *Ierusalem*; but he dying, his Kingdome was diuided, *Ieroboam* succeeding in ten Families, and *Roboam* his Sonne in two. After this, the empire of the *Assyrians*, which hadde lasted more then 1200. yeares, became vtterly ruinated, by the death of *Sardanapalus*, who was Lord thereof, & the most potent King in the world; but he being slaine by *Arbactus*, the Empire then fell vnto the *Medes*.

In the same Age, the powerful kings of *Macedonia* began their raigne, and the *Grecians* counted their yeares by Olimpiades, which were Feasts and sports of actiue variety; and continued (by them) from fiue years to fiue yeares, with prizes and rewards for the best deseruers. Then also was the magnificent City of *Carthage* builded by Queene *Dido*; and very soone after *Rome*, by *Romulus* and his Brother *Remus*, where the Romaine Kinges (from this their beginning) alwayes after held on their raigne. The great City of *Bizantium*, was now builded in like manner, and afterward, was named *Constantinople*. At this time beganne great Warres and alterations of Kingdomes in many parts of the world, but especially towardes the ending of this Age, according as Historics doe at large discourse. *Nabuchodonosor*, King of the *Medes* and *Babylon*, went against *Ierusalem*, destroying both it & the Temple likewise; then led he the people of *Iudea* thence as Prisoners with him, and thereof was it named the transmigration of *Babylon*.

Whereuppon, began the fift Age of the world, which continued to the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, God and Man, our Sauiour and Redeemer. This fift Age, lasted 589. yeares, by computation and consent of all Writers. During this time, there were many powerful Kings and polliticke Common-weales in the world; whereof to speake, as touching their rare and vnheard of subuersions, their alterations and change of States; the wonderfull leuying and mustering of mighty Armies, would appeare so farre from common beleefe, that silence is more fitting, then an abusiue abridgement; especially, in matters of such weight and importance. Almost at the beginning of this Age, the famous Monarchy of the Persians had hir Original, the raigne whereof was then most powerfull beyond all other, by the means of great *Cyrus* his victories, who raigned thirty yeares. In which time he vanquished and ouerthrewe the rich King *Cræsus* of *Lydia*, but was foiled himself, and put to death by *Tomyris*, Queene of the *Massegetæ* or *Scythians*, who sowsed his head in a barrell of blood.

The Monarchy of the *Persians*, and victories of *Cyrus*, who was afterward slaine by *Tomyris*.

Seauenty yeares of this Age beeing compleated, the Hebrues were deliuered out of their captiuity, and then was the Temple new built againe at *Ierusalem*, which formerly had bin destroyed. In *Europe* also, the Romaines expelled their Kings, and gouerned themselues by Consuls; The first whereof, was *L. T. Brutus*; and next vnto him succeeded *Colatinus*. In *Greece* also flourished learning and Chiualry, which caused no lesse famous Phylosophers, then valiant and excellent Captaines. *Xerxes* came thither with an innumerable Armie, as hoping to conquer it, but hee was constrained to retire with mighty losse, and greater shame. After this, King *Phillip* began his raigne in *Macedon*, and he subdued *Greece*, the Mother of good Artes and armes, who had fostered (with her Milke of Knowledge) in those Dayes, *Demosthenes*, *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Agesilaus*, *Zeno*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and many such like beside. No sooner was king *Phillip* dead, but *Alexander* his Sonne would no longer abide in *Greece*: He entred into *Asia*, which he quickly conquered, destroying the Empire of the *Persians*, and by means of his victory against *Darius*, hee continued the rest of his life time, sole Monarch, and Emperour of the whole world. But after his death, his Captaines diuided his Dominions among them; which dishonorable deed, raised no meane dissention, with warres and battailes thorow Asia, as also in the greater part of *Europe*. Now likewise, (beyond measurable limits) began the strength of the *Romaines* and *Carthegenians*, each Nation contending, & proudly pretending a right vnto the whole worlds

Rome gouernd by Consulles.

Learning and Chiualry began in *Greece.*

Phillip of Macedon.

The most excellent men of Greece.

Alexander, sole Monarch of the Would.

Warre and dissention in Asia.

The *Romaines* and the *Carthagenians* begin their strife

worlds Soueraignty, with perticuler attribution of the Empire to their Iurisdiction.

These two mighty people, not knowing whose number or stomacke was greatest; fought many worthy battailes together, for each of the Cities yeilded Captaines very excellent in armes. *Carthage* had for hir Defenders, *Hasdruball*, *Hanno*, *Hannibal*, and others; *Rome* also afforded the *Fabij*, the *Scipios*, the *Marcelli*, the *Æmilij*, and such like. But in conclusion, after great expence of bloud on both parts, *Rome* had the victory, & *Carthage* was sackt and vtterly subuerted, all *Affrica* becomming Tributary to *Rome*. This victory thus obtained, made the *Romaines*, grow proud and enuious also of the *Grecians* prosperity, seeking al occasions to war with them, as afterward they did, and taking *Greece*; made it tributary to them likewise. Yet not so satisfied, their greedy Auarice stil increasing; they stroue to gaine a further footing, and passing into *Asia*, they vanquished *Antiochus*, and after him, King *Mithridates*, making themselues Lordes of all the Lesser *Asia*: as also of *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egipt*. And then on this side neerer hand, of *Frante*, *Spaine*, *England*, and of the greater part of *Germanie*. In which Conquests, the chiefe Commanders, were, *Metellus*, *Silla*, *Marius*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, with many more of as great spirit.

The Captains that either Nation bred.

Carthage quite subdued.

The *Romaines* ouercame the *Grecians*.

The wonderfull successe of the *Romains* in their wars.

The *Romains* worthy Captaines.

It came to passe, that these Gallants could not be pleased with their seuerall good fortunes; but enuious Ambition swelling in their breasts, they woulde needs moue ciuill warres, and each of them striue to command the other, but at length the Empire remained to *Cæsar* onely. Next whom (after many great Fortunes) his Nephew or adopted Son *Octauianus* succeeded; and hee hauing vanquished all his enemies, enioyed the Empire quietly. So that seating himselfe in peace and amity with all Kinges and Common-weales, he shut vppe the Temple Gates of *Ianus* his God, which neuer were closed in the time of warres. And now the full accomplishment of al thinegs beeing come, the fift Age of the Worlde finished, with the Birth of our Saiuour & Redeemer Iesus Christ, true God, and true Man, in the yeare of the Worlds Creation, according to the *Hebrewes*, three thousand, nine hundered, fiftie two yeares. And according to the seauenty Interpreters, *Eusebius*, with the greater part of Historiographers, fiue thousand, one hundred, ninety nine yeares. According to *Orosius* fiue thousand, and twenty yeares. According to *Isidore*, one yeare lesse. But according to *Alphonsus*, sixe thousande, nine hundred, eighty four years, which are many more then others make account of.

The Captains that either Nation bred.

Octauian enioyeth the Empire quietly.

The birth of our Saiuour Iesus Christ.

The variety of Authors.

At this birth of our Lorde, the sixt Age began, which hath endured to this day, and shall continue to the Worlds end. In this time, the greater part of Christendome hath beene gouerned by one man only, Emperor of the *Romans*: and Emperours haue prosperously succeeded one another euersince that time. But by the comming of the *Gothes*, with other Nations, and *Mahomet* also; many ouerthwarts hath happened in the Empire, to the great diminishing thereof, and iniuries to manifold rightes in Kingdomes, and perticular Seigniories. Thorough which Discords, and Faith waxing very colde: The Enemies to the Church of Christ, haue compassed the meanes to molleste faithfull Christians, depriuing them of many goodly Countries and Prouinces.

The sixt Age of the World

How the diminishing of the Empire first ensued.

The Computations of these seuerall Ages by mee recited, are collected out of these alledged Authors, S. *Augustine*, *Isidore*, *Beda*, *Eusebius*, *Philo Iudaicus*, and *Orosius*, all singuler Historians beside, *Vincentius*, a man of excellent Learning. Our Moderne and Later writers are, *Petrus de Aliacus*, and more especially, *Ioannes Driodonus*, in his Ecclesiasticall Writings. The Poets do graunt to the worlde but foure Ages, and no more. The first, the Golden Age; the second, the Siluer Age; the third, the Brazen or Steele Age; and the fourth, the Iron Age: As signifying thereby, that the Mallice and Wickednesse of men encreasing, the excellencie of Mettalles should also decay, whereto the seuerall Worlds were compared; and so sayth *Ouid* in the first Booke of his *Metamorphesis*.

August. in Lib. 15, 16. & 17. de Ciuit. Dei. Isid. 3. de Etim. Beda, Eusebius, Philo Iudaicus. Vincent. Histor. Petr. de Aliacus Ioan. Driodon.

Ouid. in 1. Lib. Metamor.

CHAP. III.

Of the State and Gouernement of the Spartanes, the Common-wealth obſerued among them, their Lawes, & other memorable occaſions.

THE Citty of *Sparta*, which alſo was named *Lacedemon*, and now is called *Metriza*, was deſtroyed in the time when the *Grecians* flouriſhed; but it was very famous, by manie honourable actions of her moſt excellent Captaines; and yet much more illuſtrious, in hauing *Licurgus* to be her ruler with his Lawes, which gaue hir long life, and might haue continued for many hundreds of yeares: but after ſhe fell to contemne his Lawes, too ſoone ſhe ſaw hir owne ending. Now, becauſe hir ancient glory appeareth to me, to be a notable State, and worthy much Commendation, I cannot let hir paſſe, withſpeaking ſomwhat of hir.

Licurgus the Law-maker of *Sparta*.

Conſidering then, that the Citty of *Sparta*, (aboue all other Citties) was ſufficiently inhabited with men of great ſtrength, and of Name alſo, which only made it Famous in *Greece*; it appeareth to me a very Myraculous matter, how, and by what meanes it could be ſo compaſſed. But then againe, when I remember the ſtudy of the *Spartanes*, all meruaile eaſily is reſolued. And yet, I muſt needs admire *Licurgus*, and repute him to be an eſpeciall Wiſeman, in giuing them ſuch Lawes; and they being obedient to them, did thereby become ſo happy and bleſſed. For they, without taking example therein by any other Citty, but rather being farre contrary in opinion to many of them, did yet ſo carry themſelus, that their country went beyond all the reſt in their felicity.

The happines of the *Spartans* in obeying *Licurgus* Lawes.

For the procreation of Children, (becauſe I take this the principall thing firſt to be ſpoken of) and becauſe there are ſome, who with moſt curious food doe foſter thoſe Children, which they deeme fitting for ſuch kind of delicacy: Wine they vtterly forbid them, or cauſe them to vſe it with great allay of water; now what do they elſe heerin, but euen ſet ſo many Artificers (as it were) in a place of quietneſſe, where no kinde of ſtirring is to be heard; and the women likewiſe to bee in their repoſe, ſetting onely the Virgins (in meane while) to ſpin their wooll for wearing. But who can any way hope, that this is the way to be borne great, and of women educated in this manner. Therefore *Licurgus* was of another iudgement, in that a better building was in this caſe required, and that it was the work of ſeruants and not Children, to ſit and make Garments. And therefore perceiuing, that the generating of Children was an important matter, and with free-women, that were of as free diſpoſition; he eſpecially ordained, that the woman ſhould exerciſe hir Body no otherwiſe then the man. According to this rule, the ſport of running, and actiue vſe of ſtrength, was allowed (among them) to be as free for women as men. Becauſe he held it a principall maxime in his iudgment, that Children being bred and born of chearfull diſpoſed Parents, would themſelues containe the like ſprightly nature, and their iſſue alſo be of the ſame true temper. Whereupon, when conuenient time came, for women to take knowledge of men, it was duly conſidered, that they who were of ſuch temperate capacity in conuerſing with their wiues; in this caſe would haue a quite contrary opinion to the other. Therefore, he ordained, that when the Husband went to viſit his wife, & when he likewiſe departed from hir, it ſhould be done with ſuch diſcretion, as it might not be diſcerned of any other; in which reſpect, it was ſo thought fit, both for the procuring of moſt ſweet delight, and greater deſire of pleaſure in the ſtate of Matrimony. It was withall conſidered, that they of the ſtrongeſt Complexion, might ſomtime fall into infirmity, and therfore it required the leſſe continuance togither, till both the one and the other were in better condition.

women alowed as free exerciſes as men

Children born of chear full Parents, wil be of the ſame Nature.

In what manner men and their Wiues, ſhould meete together.

Of the procreation of Children.

Moreouer, he made a Law, that no man at his owne wil ſhould marry with a woman, neither that any marriages ſhould be made, til the parties had attained to ful ripenes of yeares, becauſe hee conceiued, that it wold be the beſt help, both

At what time men and women ſhould marry, either aged or yong.

both to fecundity and ſtrength. Now, if it hapned, that any old man ſhould haue a yong wife; *Licurgus* did fore-ſee, that men of thoſe yeares would bee hard to their wiues, and ſuſpitious of them alſo: wherefore he ordained the contrary in this caſe, and inſtituted, that any woman of aged yeares being diſpoſed to mary, ſhold make choiſe of ſuch a man, whoſe minde and body might beſt bee pleaſed with hirs, and take him home to her houſe, although no hope of Children were to be expected. Beſides, he made another Law, that if a man had no will to a wife, and yet was deſirous to haue free children: in this caſe he prouided, that if ſuch a man had ſeene a generous & fruitful woman, if he could win the liking of hir husband, cõtenting him and ſhe not diſpleaſed; hee might beget children of hir. Many like thinges were in the Lawes of *Licurgus*, permitting, that a man might haue two wiues in his houſe, if he would; and that maried folk might purchaſe Brethren to their owne borne Children, who equally ſhoulde participate of their family, and of their power, but neuer of their faculties. By this inſtitution of begetting diuerſity of children among the other *Grecians*, it may bee eaſily imagined, how farre the *Spartans* went beyond others; both in excellency of people, and of power.

That men might haue two Wiues if they would.

Concerning their diſcipline (becauſe the reſt of the *Grecians*, & eſpecialy they who deſired to haue their children nobly inſtructed, ſo ſoone as they ſhould vnderſtande what they ſpake; they would preſently giue them in gouernement to *pedante* Seruants, and ſuddenly alſo prouide them of other Maiſters, to learne good Letters, Muſicke, and ſuch actiue feats as appertained to wraſtling. Beſides this, with ſhooes they then wold ſoften their Childrens feet, and adorne their bodies with diuerſity of garments and moderate their Diet, according to the ſtature of their bodies. But *Licurgus* in exchange of pedanticall ſeruants, to whom priuately they gaue their Childrens gouernment: ordained, to haue them tutord by one of thoſe men, that ſhould be elected by the chiefeſt Magiſtrate, who, becauſe he was an inſtructer of children, they vſed to call him *Pedonomo*. To him they gaue authority to congregate Children together, as in a Schoole, and he might ſeuerely chaſtiſe them, that (by him) were founde inclined to bad, crafty, and lewde diſpoſitions. According to their increaſing in yeares, ſo was one ſet to walke vp and downe among them, that carried a rod in his hand, wherewith (as they offended) they were beaten: the puniſhment wherof, & the publick diſgrace, in ſhort time made the children ſo aſhamed, that they would readily obey, and performe whatſoeuer they were inioyned to do.

The diſcipline vſed among the Spartans, concerning their children

And then at this growth, in ſtead of Hoſe & ſhooes, they were appointed to go bare foot, and bare legd, becauſe *Licurgus* foreſaw, that by this hardning exerciſe, they would eaſily run vp the hils and rockes, as alſo with moſt ſafety diſcend down again, mount, or diſmount, running ſwifter vnſhod, after they had well exerciſed their feet, then if they were ſuffered to weare ſhooes. And for variety of Garments, he commaunded, that they ſhould vſe themſelues to one kind or faſhion of habit onely, iudging, that (in this maner) they ſhould the better indure both cold and heat. Next, he appointed, that the Male-child ſhould haue ſo much meat, as neuer afterward his ſtomack might be offended with ouerfeeding. Aduiſing alſo, that he ſhold be invred to taſt want or ſcarſity: as wel vnderſtanding, that ſuch apted bodies as ſhould be trained vp in ſuch manner, would much better (when occaſion ſerued) be enabled to endure labour without food, then others, becauſe this kind of education, gaue them the meanes of longeſt abſtinence; and beſide, taught them to make vſe of any other viands, then their accuſtomed meat and drink, ſo to content themſelues with any nouriſhment whatſoeuer.

The Spartans hardning of their children

Their Childrens Garments & food for the preſent, and for time of abſtinence.

Alſo, he very well knew, that whoſoeuer was deſirous to preſerue health, and to encreaſe the bodies ſtature, ſuch kind of ſuſtenance was more conuenient; then to feed the body with ſubtile & ſuperfluous meats, which only made them groſſe. And to the end likewiſe, that they might not be oppreſſed with famine, he would not permit, that ſuch as ſuffered want through ydlenes, ſhold haue any thing giuen them · but tollerated them to ſteal ſuch food as might ſuffiſe againſt famine. And this he did, as knowing no readier way, whereby to

Preſeruation of health, and encreaſing of ſtature.

Againſt Sloth and Idleneſſe.

make them industrious or forward, for their owne wants and necessities. And it is very euident, that hee that is desirous to steale any thing, it is necessarie for him, to spend the night in Watching, and the day time in subtle Deuises, laying his Traines equally in order, if hee will compasse those occasions which hee most aymes at. It is not to be doubted then, that they who would haue their Children quicke and apteſt, for such necessaries as are to maintaine life, they should haue them in this manner educated and enstructed.

A pretty question well answered.

But some man may heere infer, that if to robbe and steale may be counted a good quality, when a man grewe expert and cunning in Theft, wherefore did they punish him with many stripes? Thus I answer, according to mine own opinion and coniecture, that as in other matters taught by men, the learners are punished for dooing them well; euen so in like manner, they that held on in these Pilferies, as pretending sufferance to be a License vnto their immoderate Libertie, were as seuerely chastised, as they that stole foolishly and without discretion, and both duly reprehended, for knowing no end of their owne leudnesse.

The Children loose no instruction in the absence of their Maister.

If the *Pedonomo* chaunced to bee absent, yet that the Children might neuer be without a Maister, it was ordained, that the Cittizen, who was present at his departing, should haue Authoritie and command ouer the saide Children, to instruct them according to his owne liking, and as they offended, accordingly to correct them. But this prooued most vnto the Childrens shame and disgrace, in regard, that neither Children nor men will feare any one more, then him that is their chiefe Maister. Yet som man must needs be present, for the childrens better gouernment, and such an one as was imagined best able to command, he euermore had the Male Children in charge, as the like care was had ouer the Female; so neither of them were destitute of Maisters. But now, I hold it conuenient, to speak somewhat concerning the Childrens Loue, because it also appertaineth vnto Discipline.

Some of the *Grecians*, as they of *Boetia*, permitted yong men and Maides to be together; the *Ephesians*, in the interchange of affable courtesies, made especiall delight in eithers beauty, yet some others there were, who by no meanes would suffer yong Louers to talke together. *Licurgus* was of contrary opinion to all these, because if there were any, who (as Nature requireth) considering the inward beauty of a Maidens minde, became affectionat towards hir, & so to grow to irreprehensible loue, & without taint or blemish: he graunted them license, that they might be together, and reputed it to be honest discipline. If any were thought to desire the Maidens body, it (beeing iudged a most shamefull matter among the *Lacedemonians*) he ordained that Louers should no otherwise abstain from cõpanying with maidens, then as fathers did with their Children, or Brethren with Brethren, in the pleasures of *Venus*, which thing I maruel not a litle, if som there be that scarse believe it; because in many Citties, that Lawes do not hinder their owne practise. But so soon as children leauing their schooling, attained to more forwardnesse in youth-hood, some ceased immediately from all control of Schoole-maisters or other Gouernors, & freely were at their owne disposition. This course also, did *Licurgus* much dislike, & as one that wel knew, that youth do naturally incline to great surlinesse of minde, by vnbrideled license, and vncircumscribed Libertie of pleasures, therefore he enioyned them to very hard labors, and deuised such apt occasions for them, that alwayes they should be full of busines. Whereunto, he also added, that if any one contemnd or fled from such imployment, he shold neuer rise to any degree of honour: ordaining withall, that not only publicke persons should bee deputed to this Gouernment, but that parents also should haue especiall care of their Children, to the end, that this kind of fear remaining as a Bridle in the city, few or none shold become insolent or vngracious.

Of Loue betweene the children.

Licurgus his opinion concerning yong louers.

Licurgus disliked the liberty of youth.

Orders for walking abroad in the streets.

Next to this, being desirous to plant in them a graue and naturall kind of honesty, he commanded, that passing thorough the streets, they should hide their handes vnderneath their Cloakes, and neither talke together, nor gaze about them, but still to keepe their eyes fixed vpon

vpon the ground. By which meanes, it was obſerued, that the Maſculine ſexe excelled in modeſty and bathfulneſſe, the very choiſeſt perfections in the Feminine. Their voyces were no more heard, then as if they had bin Statues of ſtone; and as eaſily were their eyes enduced to gazing, as if they had bin Pillers of Braſſe; nor were the young Damoſels more chaſt in their Chambers, then young men were as they walked in the ſtreets. In like manner, if they were inuited to Feaſts or Bankets, they vſed neuer to anſwer or ſpeake, except ſome queſtion were firſt mooued or demanded. Concerning Orders and Inſtitutions among them, the one was no ſooner commanded, but the other was as duly and diligently obſerued, eſpecially among the young men, of whome, no meane and prouident care was had, becauſe the courſe of their education, did greatly auaile to inable them for the Commonwealths benefit. And for this cauſe, the Manners, Diſpoſition, & behauior of euery one was diligently noted, and ſuch as naturally were addicted to make proofe of all Exerciſes; their Minds and affections were moſt liſtned vnto, the game of Wraſtling being in frequent vſe among them, becauſe they reputed it an eſpecial exerciſe, to imbolden young men to buckle with Vertue; and thereby attaine to the chiefeſt perfection of all other good qualities.

Orders and inſtitutions for youth.

The *Ephori* were as the Tribunes among the Romaines.

The *Ephori* would Elect three of the gallanteſt Spirits among the reſt, who in the Aſſembly of the Cauallery or Horſemen, were called *Hippagriti*. Each one of theſe made election of an 100. men, declaring by their ſeueral reſpects, which ſort were to be honoured, and which to be reiected. They that ſtood out of this honourable Election, were commaunded to incounter with the other in battell, to win the reputation which (as yet) they wanted, if their skill and indeuour would ſtretch ſo far, and ſo, by this meanes, iuſt trial was made of eithers Vertue. This proued to be a very pious and profitable contention for the Common-wealth, wherein ſuch actions were beſt declared, as beſeemed a man of vertuous inclination: and ſo ſeperately (on either ſide) ſuch Study and diligence was daily put in practiſe, as no one could be foũd an idle & vnfit member, but altogither (one way or other) auaileable to publick benifit. They were alſo conſtrained to haue an eſpeciall reſpect of health, in euery place where they met to encounter, either in ambitious fighting, or manly wraſtling. And while in this maner they contended together, euery man that was there preſent, and had authority, might part thẽ; but if any one would not bee obedient, the *Pedonomo* cauſed him to be called in iudgement before the *Ephori*, and they would very ſeuerely puniſh him, as men that hadde diſcreetly ordained, that no man ſhould be ouercome with rage or fury, but euery way be obedient to the Lawes.

Orders againſt diſobedience in their contending.

So ſoone as theſe yong men came to years of Maturity, and ſome of them elected to be Magiſtrates: diuers of the *Græcians*, without any regard of their bodies ſtrength, would put them to the affairs of war. But *Licurgus* made a law, wherein he declared, that it was an excellent exerciſe for a man of thoſe years firſt to be trained vp in Hunting, except it might be hinderous to ſome publick Office, and thereby both yong men, as wel as others of riper yeares, were the better enabled to indure the trauaile of Military Diſcipline.

The young Spartans wer exerciſed in Hunting.

Now concerning their maner of feeding, for ſuſtentation of life, *Licurgus* vnderſtanding, that the *Spartans*, as alſo diuers of the *Grecians*, vſed much priuat banquetting in their Houſes, he thereby gathered, that much riot & exceſſe was daily committed: whereupon he commanded, that all ſuch meetinges of the people ſhold be in publick; conceiuing that (by this means) they durſt not tranſgreſſe their impoſed iniunction, but obſerue ſuch a comly order in feeding, as they would not exceed, either in too litle, or too much. Moreouer, idle perſons were eaſily alured to commit many diſorders; & rich men (oft times) held ſom reſemblance with the ſlothful or negligent; whereby inſued, that (while they ſat at the table (they wer ſuffred neither to be too ſumptuous, nor too ſparing. Therfore prohibiting them of vnneceſſary drinking, which offendeth both the mind and Body, it kept them from drinking til they wer thirſty, for that it was both wholſom & profitable: & the people being thus orderly gouerned, what

Orders for diet and banketing.

The profitalle exercites of the Spartane youths.

is he that can wrong either himselfe or his dwelling, with vnseemely gurmandizing or drunkennesse?

Licurgus his orders both for young and olde.

In other Cities, men of equal condition would drinke extraordinarily together, and made such a custome thereof, that no shame or respect was hadde among them: but in the City of *Sparta*, *Licurgus*, to them of younger years, administred Discipline, and to the Elder, graue Customs and Obseruations. And it is a matter much concerning anie Countrey, that at Feastes or such like meetings, honorable occasions of the Citty should be the chiefest talke, to auoid all other lewde and vnbeseeming Discourse; as also, ouermuch quaffing, whereto vaine speech is the onely Spur and Prouoker; nor should any but honest actions passe thorough the Table, or any word that may make the speaker ashamed. And by this publicke feeding together, it proued to be another benefit, that men woulde haue care of their home-returning, and not ouer-weaken their Bodies with Wine, lest they shold passe disorderly thorow the Streetes. For they knew very wel, that they were not to rest where they had supt, & night must be no other Mantle or Cloake for them, then the day had bin: wherefore, as they were vnder an honest subiection, so should they gouerne themselues honestly both for day and night.

Idle talke, the Spur to drunkennesse.

The benefit of publicke meetings.

Licurgus likewise considered, that such as went to labour after their meat, were of a well coloured Complexion, healthfull and lusty; but others, that consumed time in Idlenesse, became Corpulent, swolne vp, and verie sickely; therefore, he prouided against such inconueniences, and knowing that idle immaginations were but to pamper the body, as bringing fresh Fuell to the fire; he appointed, that the Elder persons in this case, should haue care of the younger, and keepe them stil from excesse of feeding, and set them to one lusty exercise or other, by which commendable meanes, hardly could any men elswhere be found, that either in health or strēgth of body, could compare with the *Spartanes*, for they made equal exercise, both of their Legges, Armes, and the whole bodie.

Labour is the best nourisher of health.

Licurgus made Lawes also contrary to them of other Cities; for, in other Cities, each man was Lord of his Sons, Seruants and Money; but *Licurgus* ordained, that Cittizens (without any offence among them) might haue the benefit of Commerce or Exchange, and no man to commaunde his Children or Seruants, but in such things as were iust and behouefull. So that heereby, both Honesty of the Father, and Duty of the Sonne, were equally discerned; that, as no shame ensued by the Iniustice of the Fathers command, so no punnishment followed by the Sonnes disobedience. And if Children quarrelled, or fell out together, so that blowes (perhappes on either side) ensued; if the Parents had no vniust hande therein, the reconcilement was the sooner, and no partie offended. Such order also was for the seruants, both in Domesticke and Open Businesses, and the Iustice of the Mayster, was no meane honour to the Seruant.

Licurgus Lawe for Fathers & Maisters to their Childrē and seruants.

Hee appointed also, that Houndes for Hunting should be to common vse; and such as had no delight in the game, should yet keepe Hounds, & lend them to others benefit. The like seruice was commaunded of Horsses, and hee that was not able to trauell on foot, and had neither Horsse or Waggon, yet must needs bee at some place in hast, where his earnest ocasions vrged his presence: whersoeuer he saw an Horse, he might safely take him; and when his businesse was ended, restore him backe vnto the Owner, who might be as bold with him or any other, and all accepted in friendly manner, as doing no worse then hee would be done vnto. And when anie were returned from Hunting, and wanted food to supply their Hunger, it was ordained, that such as had supt, and left prouision fit for the vse of other, they should make it presently knowne, & deliuer it where such vrgent occasion required. By which meanes, the pouertie of many was oftentimes well releeued, and those Victuals honestly eaten, that else (by couetous keeping) had bin spild and spoild.

For the exercise of Hunting.

In other matters likewise, *Licurgus* would haue the *Spartanes* to differ from other *Grecians*; for wheras in other Cities, euery man endeuoured (to his vttermost) for his owne enriching, some by Husbandry, others by Nauigation; others

Licurgus wold not haue free men to meddle with money.

others by Merchandize, and others by Handy-crafts: *Licurgus* did then prohibit the *Spartans*, that Free-men should not meddle with any thing, whereby any Money was to bee gotten; but all such matters, as brought liberty to Citizens, & no way made thē seruile; them he appointed, and them they might iustly terme to be their studies. For to what end should men toyle themselues for riches, where all thinges necessary are equally brought vnto them? By this institution for honest maintenance, it came to passe, that no occasions whatsoener, could make men desirous or couetous of Money. And that which is much more, no gaine could enforce them to variety of Garments, because they cared not for any exterior or magnificent pompe in cloathing, but onely for well ordering and gouerniug their bodies. In which respect, they made the lesse esteeme of Mony, to haue vse or expence thereof in any company, because they were of the minde, that much more nobly one man might helpe another, being his friend or familiar, with the labor of his body; then with such needelesse trash, which declared them to be as industrious in minde, as others were in gathering Riches. And yet notwithstanding, no man (in any case whatsoeuer) might enrich himselfe by anothers wrong or preiudice. Wherefore first of all, was ordained such a piece of mony, as was of the value of ten Drachmaes, to the end, that so soon as it was broght into any house, it might not bee hidden either by the Master or seruant, because it required a great place and carriage: Whereupon, diligent search was made for Gold and Siluer; and whersoeuer it was found, the possessor thereof was seuerely punished. What needed anie man then to hide or hoord vp money in any place, where the keeping brought him greater daunger, then the getting could yeild him pleasure? By this it may be gathered, that among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one obeyed both the Magistrate and the Lawes. And I am of the minde, that *Licurgus* neuer attempted this excellent order of a Common-wealth, before hee had thereto first reconciled the Noblemen that were in the Citty. The rather am I induced to this perswasion, because in other Cities, the men that were in greatest power, stood in little or no feare at all of the Magistrate, but held it dishonourable for them to be obedient. But in *Sparta*, the very Princes themselues woulde yeeld reuerence, especially to the Magistrate, and they reputed it their greatest glory to be humble, and would rather run then go, when they were called, so tractable wer they to obedience, because they were perswaded, that others would be the easier drawn by their example, when they themselus first shewed Humility, and so indeed it came to passe with them. But very like it is, that the power of the *Ephori* had thus ordained it, well vnderstanding, that obedience is the greatest benefit that can bee in any Common-wealth, both in War abroad, and in peace at home: therfore the greater persons of esteeme, that are about the Magistrat, the sooner (in mine opinion) are Citizens drawn to declare their obedience.

The *Epheri* were such potent men, as they might punish whom they pleased, reconcile all differences, and depriue other Magistrates of their Authority, or preuent them before they came to it: they might commit any man to prison, and call him in question for his life. But these that had such supream priuiledge, would not permit (as in other Cities they did) that such as were elected to be Magistrates, should alwaies beare sway according to their owne wils: for so they might haue prooued to be Tyrants, or as ouer-awing Schoole-Maisters, without feare or discretion, punishing what they pleased to term breach of Law. No, *Licurgus* in this case declared great prouidence; and as in many things hee became admired for conforming the people vnto the lawes, yet this (aboue all the rest) I hold to merit no meane applause, in that he wold not publish any Law to the people, vntill himselfe and the Princes had first gone to *Delphos*, to demaund of their God *Apollo*, whether it might be profitable, & for the wel-fare of the Citty of *Sparta*, if the people did yeild their Obedience thereunto. If he had answere from the Oracle, that it was for the best, then he would divulge it; iudging it to bee not only very vniust, but also meer wickednesse, if any man should be obedient to

Example of obedience in great men, is the best lesson that can be to the meaner sort.

The Spartans hated Couetousnesse of money, or pompe in Apparell.

The power of the Spartan *Ephori*.

The Spartans Drachmaes, valued 33. s. 4. d. and was very bigge of stampe.

Licurgus wold first question Apollos Oracle, before he published any Law.

a Law, that had not bin confirmed by *Apolloes* Oracle.

An honorable death, preferred before a shamefull life

In one thing also, *Licurgus* is said to deserue immortall memory, because he inioyned the *Lacedemonians* to prefer an honourable death, before an infamous life. And surely, if men doe consider it well, they shall finde the one much more glorious then the other: And let them speake but truely out of their owne hearts, they do (in honesty) beleeue, that they liue longer by the meanes of Vertue, then by the idle allurements of Vice; because Vertues Documents, though they appeare to be vntastable at the first receiuing; yet (in proofe) they are found to bee more easie, more delightfull, more expeditious and lasting, then any other offered to the contrary. For, it is manifestly seene, that (aboue and beyond all other things) Glory is the onely Companion of Vertue, because all men (in a certain manner) do desire to be helpfull to the good and honest. Vpon which solid ground, methinkes it is expedient that wee should heere discourse, after what manner those people applyed their endeuour, that they might attain to such true fame and credit. They dealt therefore in such sort, that good men liued in honor, and bad men miserably. For, in the Neighboring Cities, when anie one offended lewdly, he was rewarded only with the name of a bad man; and yet notwithstanding, in one & the same Market, both good men and bad might Trafficke together, sit, sport, and feede in one company. But among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one took it as no mean reproach, if hee were but seene talking with a badde man, or offered to try his strength with him in Wrastling. And many times, a man of ill repute, intruding himselfe among them that plaid at Tennis; caused them instantly to giue ouer play, and could not be accepted as a Companion, on either side. And while the young people were at Dauncing, the very worst place of al was this vnwelcome Guestes allowance, and at parting thence, euery one would shun him on the way, and very rarely coulde he be admitted into any assembly, either among the young or olde: but that he must giue place vppon their present appearance.

Glory is the sole companion of Vertue.

Bad men, might not cõuerse or sport with them that wer good and vertuous.

It was ordained also, that the Parents of Virgins should traine them vp in their owne Houses, till their abilitie of body made thẽ fit to be seen abroad. And it was not lawfull for any Man, to leaue his Wife alone in his own house, least thereby he did incur great punishment: for solitude (oftentimes) admitted way to vnmeet insinuations, with others dangers thereon depending, easily listned vnto, & learned of the lewd, which Offences wer euermore seuerely chastised of the better sort. And therefore, when euill doers were exposed to publicke shame; it was no great matter of meruaile, if Men and Women did much rather couet death, then to liue in apparant disgrace and obliquy. Worthily then did the Lawes of *Licurgus* deserue commendation, which made such excellent prouision, that (to the verie extreamity of Age) euery one (in duty) might apply himselfe to vertue. For, such was his opinion, that the Crown or honour of a mans life, consisted on age, and therefore the younger sort (attaining to that renowne) by example of their Elders, were bound to the greater care of goodnesse and honesty. In which respect, wee may not omit another singuler Law by him prouided, for such aged persons as were good and Vertuous. For he considering, that the best triall of true life indeed, was in the aged mans hand: expressely commaunded, that Age should be more highly honored, then the best strength of youth. And to speake vprightly, this time of triall or conflict, doeth make the best proofe (beyond all other) of a man. For as the exercise of Wrastling, giues Testimony of the young mans able bodie. so do the Combats and Conflictes of Age, yeild absolute euidence of the old mans mind, and looke how much more excellent the soule is aboue the Bodie, euen as much, or rather more, doo the exercises of the soule conquer them of the body. Wherefore then should we not (euen to this day) admire & honor this good Institutiõ of *Licurgus*? For after he perceiued, that such men as were negligent in the actions of vertue, could no way exalt the dignity of their country: he tooke diligent care, that in *Sparta*, all Vertuous endeuours should bee publickely exercised. So that, as men adorned

No mã might leaue his wife in his house alone without company.

Age is the honor & crowne of life.

The combats of Age, exceedeth the wraslings of youth

adorned with vertues, doe easily vanquish abiect or priuate Spirits, and the studious, the negligent: euen so *Sparta*, that (onely) made publique exercise of goodnesse and honesty, ouercame (by many degrees) all other Citties in vertue. For they would punish such Men onely, as did iniury to others; but *Licurgus* would haue any man in like manner chastised, for not expressing a manifest care, both how to auoyd such offences, and how to equall his reputation with the best. For *Licurgus* was perswaded, that hee which did cast his Neighbour into Prison, or forcibly did steale any thing, or priuately vsed purloyning; all these were no more but priuate iniuries to the persons offended: but the Common-wealth was more haynously wronged, yea (in a manner) betrayed to the Enemy, when idle and vitious Varlets escaped vnpunished; and therefore, for such Cankers and Caterpillers to common good, hee ordained very strict and seuere punishments.

Sparta onely allowed publike exercise of vertues.

No greater enemies to any Common-wealth, then idle and vitiouts liuers.

Beyond all these fore-recited ordinances, as in an intollerable case of necessity, his care was extraordinary, for all ornament due to Ciuill life. And therefore, such as were of ability, and had least feeling of others wants, were enioyned to haue equall respect of the Common-weale, both in infirmities belonging to the body, and other occasions as they happened. Beside, if any Man were found negligent, in any office committed to his trust; he was not afterward numbred among the Cittizens. Which appeared to be a very ancient Law, because *Licurgus* is found to be in the time of the *Heraclidi*; who albeit they were of great Antiquity, yet (in these times) they seemed new to others: and that which most of all is to be admired, was the promptitude of all men, to like and allow of their studies, yet not any Citty or State willing to folow their example, then which could be no greater benefit, both in Peace and Warre. Therefore, if any one be a curious Inquisitour in this case, he shall plainely perceiue, that *Licurgus* (better then any other) prouided for the affairs of Warre. First of all, the *Ephori* tooke graue aduise together, in what yeare they should send forth their Armies, vnder what Commaunders, and with what prouision; electing first the ordinary Footmen, and next to them Artificers, appointing Armour for each; according to their seuerall condition, and as the necessity of the case required: whereby ensued, that as the *Lacedemonians* had great plenty of Warres, so could they as plentifully serue themselues, with able men of their owne Cittie. They likewise ordained, that those Engines or Instruments, whereof they had most neede in their Armies; should all be readily brought thither in Carts, or on Beasts backes: so that, euery Man might foorth-with perceiue, which of them needed most imployment.

Negligent officers lost the name of Cittizens.

Orders for wars among the *Spartanes*.

And first of all, each Souldier was appointed to weare a Crimson Stoale or Tippet about his necke, and a Shield of Brasse; because they knew that this kind of Stoale (being most apt for war) was not meete for Women to weare, in regard it kept longest cleane, and free from soyle. It was permitted also, that such as had past the years of Childhood, might weare a little Bush or tuft of hair before on their heads, appearing thereby, to be free-borne, of greater Spirit, liberall endowments, and much more fortunate then others were. The Armies being in this manner ordered, the Horsse and Foot-men were distributed into sixe Tribes or parts. Each Tribe of the Citty had a Tribune ouer the Souldiers, foure Marshals for the seuerall ranckes of Pikes, eight *Quinquagenari* or Gouernours, of fifty yeares old each Man, and sixteene Captaines of the Squadrons. Out of these Tribes the seuerall Bandes were appointed, sometimes in three Squadrons, other whiles in six. But because there are many, who haue imagined this order of the *Lacedemonians*, to be very vnfit and impeachable for Warre. I will let them see, that they doe diuersly varry in their coniecture, and farre from the truth of the matter indeede. For in the ordination among the *Lacedemonians*, there were appointed diuers heads and commanders, who had power (in euery degree) ouer all things to the vttermost. And so easie was it to learne this institution, that no one (could hee but obserue the knowledge of men) was able any way to erre therein. For as some had commission to be

The Souldiers Stoale and Shielde.

The fiue and thirtith part of the people, after the *Romane* manner.

The order obſerued in the *Spartane* Squadrons.

be guides, ſo others were commaunded to be followers. And the manner of mooving the Squadron, was deliuered from the Head or commander thereof, by a word, after the order of a Tromper. One while the Squadron appeared to be very thin and narrow; otherwhiles, more large & thickned with company, which (in their March) was no difficult thing to learne. And albeit ſometimes (by encounters) they fell into diſorder; yet was their obſeruation ſuch, as euery one could retire againe to his rancke, and be as ready to meet with the enemy againe, onely by the enſtructions receiued from the lawes of *Licurgus*.

Many thinges were eaſie to the *Lacedemonians*, that wer obſcure to other.

To the *Lacedemonians* many thinges were apt & eaſie, which to the Armies of other parts were very harſh and hard. For when they marched in forme of a Cornet, the Squadron came to his vtmoſt imployment behinde, and if the Enemies Battalion were noted (at the encountring) to proceed in the ſame order; the chiefe of the Squadrons were inſtantly commanded, to confront them with their Targettiers, and alwaies to be in that forme, although the Enemies battaile ſhould ſtand firme. And if the Enemy (in this manner) aſſailed them behinde, they turned all immediatly in order: to the ende, that euermore the ſtrongeſt might oppugne the Enemy. But when the Prince happened to be in the left Wing, they did not therefore iudge their condition the worſe, but many times the better; becauſe, if any attempted to engirt him, the ſtrongeſt Army did preſently relieue him. And for diuers reſpects it ſeemed profitable, that the Generall of the Army ſhould lead the right Cornet, making the battaile of his Cornet, and ordring his followers in ſuch ſort; that, as at the firſt the General guided the right band, ſo at the laſt he ſhould be ſeen in the left. And if the battaile were ſecurely fenced from the enemies right Cornet; they had no other care, but preſently to change all their Enſignes, oppoſing thē all againſt the enemy, as if they were aduanced on the prow of a Galley, and ſo ſhould the rere-ward ſuddenly bring their power on the right ſide. But when the Enemy offered to make his aſſault on the left ſide, they were ſtill ready for him, and either valiantly repulſed him, or reuerſed their Squandrons in ſuch contrarie manner to the enemy, that ſtil the rereguard ſtood like a Shielde of defence againſt them. In ordring alſo, how their ſeuerall quarters ſhould be lodged, *Licurgus* did iudge it very vnrequiſite, that the Cantons ſhould fall into a quadrant or four-ſquare; but rather to plant their lodging round, except they were ſecured by ſome hill, or had behind them a wall or Riuer. He appointed a Guard for the day time, who ſhould alwaies haue care within the Army, not in regard of the Enemy, but on the friends behalfe; becauſe they might diſcerne thence the Enemies Caualiery, and how beſt to defend themſelues againſt them. And if any one did willingly iſſue foorth of the place appointed for lodging, order was giuen, that the *Scirithi* ſhould obſerue him; for they had authority, to ſuffer no man to ſtep out of the lodging, and to be careful alſo, that ſtrangers ſhould not walke to ſuruay them. Sometimes they vſed to diſlodge themſelues, as beſt they might offend their enemies, & be helpfull to their friends. And to the end they might be forward to this Martiall exerciſe, the lawes had ordained certain honorable rewardes for all *Lacedemonians*, according to their ſeueral quality in merit: whereby enſued, that among themſelues they were moſt magnificent, and appeared to others very valiant. Each man muſt take no more paces, then the Tribune himſelfe did appoint him, becauſe none ſhould ſtray far off from the Army. But after the Warlike exerciſe was performed, the chiefeſt among the Souldiers, would commaund all the reſt to ſit down in a ring; and after they had dined, the Scouts were ſuddenly ſent abroad, in which time they went to councel againe, graunting time of reſt, to ſuch as were to be vſed in the night-ſeruice. Which things being ended, ſupper is publiſhed by the ſound of a trumpet, that afterward they may ſing prayſes to their Gods, and pleaſe them with ſacrifices, while the Army repoſeth.

The lodging of the Armies quarters.

Sentinels for the Corps du Guard.

Rewardes for wel deſeruers according to their merit.

The Generals order in the Army.

Concerning the perſon of the King, when he is in the Camp, it is conuenient to know, that the Citty findeth his prouiſion, and all that are with him. His Guarde are the familiar Seruaunts of his Houſe, and with them the Tribunes of the Souldiers, for they beeing

When the K. is in the field.

euer

euer preſent with him; Councell is the readier, if occaſion require it. The chiefe of theſe familiar attendants, are three eſpeciall men of reſpected degree, who with the other together, haue the ſole care of all neceſſary matters, and ſildom are abſent from buſineſſe for the Wars.

The order of leading forth their Armies.

At the Armies leading forth, they doe firſt offer ſacrifice in the Houſe to *Ioue* their Patrone and Guide, and to the other Gods, that if any thing haue formerly beene amiſſe ſacrificed, the *Fecial* Prieſt (who, of the Fire he carieth, is called *Pirphorus*) taking the fire from the Altar, may go before them to the Confines of the Countrey, where againe he ſacrificeth, both to *Ioue* and to *Minerua*. So ſoone as this Sacrifice to the Gods is performed, he goes on ſtill with them forth of the Countries bounds; the fire continually flaming with that Sacrifice, and Beaſts of all ſorts led ready by him, to offer as occaſion ſerueth. About the dawne or breake of the day, he returneth from this ſeruice, perceiuing firſt, that he hath obtained the beneuolence and fauour of the Gods. About the Sacrifice ſtand the Tribunes of the Souldiers, the Gouernours of the rankes, the chiefe of the fifty ſtrange Souldiers, the Commaunders of them that beare the Armies luggage, and the Pretors of the Citty. There are alſo preſent two of the *Ephori*, who do nothing, except they be thereto called by the King; but ſtand ready to guard what euery one dooth, and to puniſh as they perceiue conueniency. The Sacrifices being ended, the King calleth his Councell, and commandeth them what is to be done. And ſo, he that duely obſerueth this kind of diſcipline, may eaſily iudge the weakeneſſe and want in others in Military affaires, and that the *Lacedemonians* might iuſtly be tearmed, true and expert Maiſters in the managing of Armes.

The manner of the Sacrifices performance.

The *Lacedemonians* moſt expert in war

When the King leadeth forth his Army, if hee ſee no oppoſition to come againſt him, none goes before him but the *Scirithi*, and the Horſemen appointed for diſcouery. And if he ſee neceſſity of comming to the battaile, the King taking the Squadron of the chiefeſt Tribe, leades it on with quicke expedition, vntill he come into the middeſt of the other two Tribes, and there ioineth himſelfe with the Tribunes of the Souldiers: And he that is of eldeſt ſtanding in the Common-wealths affaires, giues order of Gouernment to all the reſt, which are all thoſe, that (in one and the ſame obſeruation) doe feede together, as the Soothſayers, Phiſitions, Trumpeters, Heades of the Army, and all other Officers, that voluntarily happen to be among them. Whereby neceſſarily enſueth, that there can bee no doubt of any thing needfull, but there it is in order readily prouided. And vndoubtedly, in very excellent manner did *Licurgus* prouide for all affaires in the Army, for if any were to ſuffer torture in the ſight of the Enemy, the Law commanded, that al the Trumpeters ſhould (by ſounding) giue publike admonition thereof, and all the *Lacedemonians* to ſtand there preſent, with their Crownes of atchieued Honour on their Heads: that when the Army was rid of ſo foule an Obloquy, the young ſprighly Gallants, and thoſe of choiſer election, might enter the next battaile with greater courage, and ſhew themſelues more vndauntedly valiant. The care of all which, conſiſted in the chiefe of the Squadron, becauſe it concerned none of the company to meddle in the matter, but only the Head and Commaunder of the Squadron; which directly he did, except he pleaſed to refer it to the Tribune of the Souldiers.

Licurgus his ſtrict Law for torture in the Army

But when was fitteſt time for the Armies lodging or diſlodging; *Licurgus* referred that to the will of the King, that hee ſhould appoint the manner, time, and place. The order alſo for miſſion of Ambaſſages, treaty of Leagues, and motions of Warre; was likewiſe an Article of the Kings priuiledge, and euery one went to attend the King, when any ſuch occaſions were in hand. If any ſtriſes or differences happened, the king commited them to the Iudges appointed for contentions: if about ſummes of Money, to the Treaſurer; if about ſpoyles or robberies, to thoſe that had to deale therein. Now when the King had ordered all theſe buſineſſes, there remained no other negotiation for him about the Gouernment; but to carry himſelfe as a Prieſt in Diuine caſes, and as a Captaine in Armes towardes his people: Becauſe *Licurgus* had ordained, that the King (in all publique matters,

The Kinges prerogatiue reſpected by *Laurgus*.

as

as proceeding from God) might sacrifice in the Citty, and was Captaine of the Army in euery place, whether soeuer the Citty sent it; withall, that hee might take the guift of all such thinges as were to be sacrificed. Moreouer, so many Territories were allowed him in the neighbouring Citties, as he should not grow scanty of honest prouision, not super-abound in excesse and ryot.

The Kinges feeding openly, and prouision for sacrifice.

And because the King might feede in publique, he was appointed a publique Table, and at Supper he was honoured with a double seruice; not because hee did eate twice as much as any other, but in regard they would grace (with his leauings) whom they pleased. They allowed him likewise two companions, such as himselfe liked to make choise of, and them they tearmed *Pitij*. They presented him also daily, a farrowing Sow, that whensoeuer he needed to consult with the Gods, hee should not be destitute of an offering. Neere to his Court they made a great Pond or Pool of Water, which abounded in all prouision thereto belonging, and due care was still had for the maintenance thereof. All the Magistrates (sitting on their Seates) did reuerence to the King, except the *Ephori*, and euery month they gaue the Oath one to another; the *Ephori* in name of the Citty, and the King in his own. The Oath of the King was to commaund, according to the Lawes made for the Citty, which were, to maintaine in the Citty the Kings authority stable, and binde the whole Kingdome inuiolably to obserue the same. Those honours affoorded by the Country to their King in his life time, did very much exceed their priuate obseruations; because *Licurgus* would not attribute tyrannicall pride to a King, neyther prouoke the Cittizens to bee enuious against the Maiesty of Kinges. But those Honours done to their dead Kings, are declared in the Lawes of *Licurgus* at large who would haue the *Lacedemonian* Kings to be honored, not as men, but rather as if they were halfe Gods.

Licurgus his care for the oath due to Kings.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Gouernment and Lawes most vsed among the auncient Athenians; *What kind of Common-wealth they obserued, &c.*

Athens, the most famous and illustrous City among the *Grecians*, was (in precedent times) held only by wise men, and, for orderly Gouernment in their Common-wealth, exceedingly renowned. The first Originall theteof, was attributed to *Minerua*, euen as if it should be saide, that the men liuing in this Cittie in those daies, did manifestly declare, that Wisedome and Prouidence were the onely Builders of *Athens*. *Theseus* was her restorer or deliuerer, but *Solon* was he that did her the chiefe good; because he gaue such Lawes to her people, that diuers other Prouinces disdained not to liue by the selfe-same rule as the *Athenians* duely obserued. And the *Romaines* (at the foundation of their State) sent Oratours to learne the Lawes of *Solon*; approouing them for the most excellent, that the whole World at that time affoorded. Now, in regard that from this Citty, many other receiued their best forme & shape: I am the easier induced, to make known the order of her Common-wealth, which wil appeare to bee as profitable, as pleasing.

The first beginning of *Athens*.

Solon the best Benefactor to *Athens*.

Rome learned *Solons* Lawes.

1. The *Athenians*, who highly delighted to be called *Indigeni*, as much to say, as naturally home-bred, not descending of other people, nor sprung from any other place, whereby to make their originall more high or diuine; were distinguished by three seuerall names, as many good Writers haue well obserued. The first were styled *Epatride*; that is, Noble-men, holding the like Dignitie in *Athens*, as the *Patricij* did in *Rome*. *Geomori* were the second sort called, who were *Rustici*, or Country-people, and so tearmed, because they had graunted them one part of the *Atticke* fieldes, for their

The *Athenians* were cald *Indigeni*.

Epatride, *Geomori*, and *Artifex*, three kinds of men among the *Athenians*.

their Husbandry. The third kind were named *Artificers*, who exercised in the Citty both Mechanicall Arts, and Merchandise also: According to the word *Dimiurgi*, which signifieth *Artifex*, and may likewise impart the very same, as the name *Publicanus* among the *Romans*; to wit, a Customer, or receiuer of toles and Customes. As for such as held the supreamest place among the rest, both in honour and yeares; they were called *Demogeronti*, or Senatours, who had a very high authority ouer the vulgar sort. The first name of *Indigena*, was not giuen at the foundation of *Athens*, nor to the place of people, or to the City it selfe; but only to these, who were the greatest persons, and the very cheefest whereof, had onely liued in *Athens*, and could boldly affirme, that their beginning was from no other place. So, by pride, pompe, and ouer-awing, they grew to be tearmed *Sons of the Foundation*; and this or the like names serued, with the memory of Letters, vntill such time as the names of factions arose, which hapning among the popularitie, and the Common-wealth; the diuision continued so long, till *Draco* the Law-maker ordained Magistrates, and the State to be gouerned by *Oligarchia*; to wit, a few persons managing the whole authority: And these were then their names; *Pediei*, *Diacrij*, *Parali*, and *Ettimorij*. The first soly fauoured (as beeing made firme by riches) *Oligarchia*, or the power of a few. The *Diacrij* were appointed to popular administration; enduring (though much against their friends) that the most potent shold hold chiefest place in the Common-wealth. Those who were tearmed *Parali*, fauouring one while the one side, and another while the other, would leane to which part best liked them, taking to themselues, and from others, the meanes of liberty. In this combustion, all iniury fell on the backs of the miserable *Ettimorij*, because all men of least faculty were so tearmed, and euery yeare were they enforced, to giue the sixt part of their goods, to the tyrannous oppression of the stronger power. Whereby ensued (as in like cases it commonly fals out) that extreame right, proued to be extreame wrong, and as euill humours in a body not well purged, do beget and nourish infinite diseases: Euen so fared it with the Cittizens in their miseries, for they beeing forsaken of all fauours, were glad to beare off all blowes with their owne bare heads. And because the people of *Athens* may bee the better knowne, what care and discretion the Magistrates obserued, to contain themselues in their degrees and offices: I thought good to make some description thereof, according as I finde it in the sixt Booke of *Polybius* set downe.

Demogeronti, or Senators.

How the name of *Indigena* was first giuen them.

Magistrates ordained by *Draco*, by *Oligarchia*.

Pediei, *Diacrij*, *Parali*, and *Ettimorij*, their seuerall conditions in the State.

The danger ensuing by potent oppression.

Polib. in Lib. 6. His wordes concerning the people of *Athens* in their diuersity of opinion for gouernment.

The people of Athens were (saith he) *like vnto a Pylot, cast out of his Ship, and quite forsaken. For, as the Pilot giueth command in the Ship (when all the Mariners are accorded with him) that neyther by the Tempest of weather, or dread of Enemies, they should be driuen into disorder, but by their obedience, the greater diligence on all sides vsed: As also when security is thus obtained, they being (in some strange manner) to despise their head and guide, falling to mutiny and sedition, because euery man is of an humor by himselfe; some, desirous to saile on; others, labouring their Gouernour to put into harbour: As likewise, I say, by such distraction in behauiour (most abrupt to behold) the strife and diuersity of opinion among the Saylers, makes some strike the Saylers; others cast Oares into the Water, one part drawing this way; the other to another kind of course, whereon immediat daunger ensueth, and in hoping to gaine Land, ruines vpon a Rocke, and so is split: Euen such, and no other, appeared the wofull estate of the* Athenians. *For when the Common-wealth had out gone great and dangerous perrils, as well by the peoples vertue, as by the care and indulgence of many Magistrates and Captaines: it ruined it selfe rashly in the end, for matters of small importance, and among Rockes that were of no account to be feared. No better can be said of any estate, where the multitude haue the Helme of gouernment in their hands*: Thus far are the words of *Polybius*.

Now, where the people were so disagreeing both in will and reason, they could do no lesse, but shape themselues into a Monarchy, and to make choyse of one head, who should take on him to gouerne such vnruly mindes. Therefore, by the consent of all, but most especially the popularity: *Solon*, for his

The *Athenians* make choise of a Monarchy vnder one Ruler, & elect *Solon* to be their Ruler.

integrity of life, and becauſe he had neuer yeelded to any thing againſt the people, was called to this gouernment. But, it appearing to be a buſineſſe full of perrill, the iſſue very doubtfull, hee being likewiſe a Man of great integrity, and admirable Wiſedome; made refuſall of their offer, with theſe wordes: *If I haue ſpared mine owne Countrey, and receiued therein no tyranny, nor implacable violence, that could deface the glory thereof, or bring ſhame to my ſelfe: I feare the leſſe, in that by theſe meanes I haue exceeded other men, eſpeially in conquering my ſelfe*: Thus auoucheth *Plutarch* of him. But he beeing condemned by many others, who ſought for that Dignity by fauours, guifts, and earneſt entreaties, yet wholly by him ſo lightly neglected; had diuers Verſes of ſcandall and diſgrace framed againſt him, which more at large you may read in *Plutarch*.

Solons words in refuſing the *Athenians* offer.

Plutarch in vit. Solon.

Now, albeit he thus refuſed to bee a Sole-Monarch, yet was he not backeward, in lending help to this diſparing Common-wealth, by ſuch medicinable Art as might be beſt auailing thereto; namely, Wiſedome and Counſell. Firſt of all hee bethought himſelfe, how to ſuccour ſuch as were oppreſſed by the might of great men; wherupon he made a law, whereby any debt was fruſtrated, that any poor man ought to a rich man: but he ſhould ſubmit his body to his ſeruice and command, and yet (not in way of vſury) to abridge him any iot of his liberty. Many imagined, that ſuch kind of proceeding would ouerthrow all manner of debts; and therfore, they who began to execute this Lawe before open publication thereof, were called *Crecopidi*; that is, Cutters off of other Mens debts, which was done in a kind of gratification to them, in whom the deſire of ſuch a law was moſt affected. Others were of opinion, that men of baſe condition, might free themſelues from their Debters after this manner, thereby to increaſe the price and value of Money: becauſe that which formerly was worth ſeauenty Drammaes, was afterward eſteemed at an hundred Drammaes, and according to the auncient valuation ſo paſſed. But both the one and the other were thought ſcarſe tollerable, or the one without the other, becauſe ſuch cutting off of Debters, grew as diſpleaſing to Creditors, as it was pleaſing & coueted by the poorer ſort: wherupon it was ſuppoſed, that this would not proue the way to quench the flame already begun, but rather much more to encreaſe it. For the enhaunſing of the Drachmaes added to the former ſum, was exempted from the poore mans power in paiment; wherby was imagined, that at one and the ſame time, it would commaund both the one and other; to wit, that it would increaſe to the Rich mans aduantage, that which by Law he could neuer haue recouered from the poore man. But becauſe euery Law-maker, in giuing other men example, ought to begin with himſelfe, deriuing the originall from his own poſſeſſions: *Solon* ſent in ſix talents of Gold to the people, which valued as much to them, as forty fiue thouſand Ducates do among vs.

Solon proueth the beſt frend to *Athens*, and ſetteth downe Lawes for them.

Crecopidi, ſuch as did cut off other mens debts.

The debts cut off were offen ſiue to both parties.

Solon began his law by his own example

In time, while things ſtood vpon alteration, the Law made, did yet hardlie pleaſe: becauſe Rich men ſuppoſed themſelues to be euill intreated, & poor men expected, according to the vſage of the *Laconians*, the benefite of the *Atticke* fields. Neuertheleſſe, in proceſſe of time, the peace being well conſidered, that ſuch a Law might produce; it was ſo generally approued and ratified, that they gaue it the name of *Siſachthia* among the ſacred occaſions. Things proceeding thus on by little and little, this proued ſound Phiſick to the former vnhealthfull body, and becauſe it might fall no more into the like calamity, euery member was duely made vſe of according to his Dignity. Then he ordained, that the peoples cenſure ſhould be allowed of, to the end that each man, according to his faculty, might haue Honour and Dignity in the Common-wealth, making no difference betweene *Plebeians* or Commoners, and Gentlemen. Neuertheleſſe, eſpeciall regard was had, that ſuch Noblemen, as at that time were ſeated in Magiſtracy; ſhould not any way bee compelled to leaue their places, without their owne free conſent. Whereupon, by this temperate kind of courſe, great men were the more eaſily enclined, to conſort with them of meaner quality, & ſo much the rather; becauſe, before it was held vnlawfull, for any Commoner to vndergo any office, or to be a Magiſtrate.

The Law named *Siſacthia*.

Allowance of the Peoples cenſure.

Great men ioyne familiarity with the meaner ſort.

The

Foure deuisions of the people. *Pentacosiomedimni, Ippi, Zephtita, Thita.*

The people were then ordered into foure deuisions, with inuention also of such tributes as were to be paid; to wit, *Pentacosiomedimni*, *Ippi*, *Zephtitæ*, and *Thita*. The valuation of the first degree, was allotted to bee fiue hundred measures of Corne. This was the first rate, and these were the first degree of Men in the Countrey, next vnto the degree of Senators. Gentlemen were wont to be elect: dim the *Eseto Oligahchia*, a place so named, before *Solon* ordained the *Areopagiticall* Senate. The charge of the *Pentacosiomedimni*, was, when any necessity happened, or neede required to conferre matters for vse of the Common-weale. After this ordination, quickly ensued in the same, the second, of three hundred measures of Corne valuation, who were called *Ippi*, because to them belonged the breeding of Horses, which by their faculty they maintained; and in time of Warre, they were bound to pay so much as should sustain a Man and a Horse for a whole yeare. Next to them were the *Zephtita*, who were rated at an hundred and fifty measures of Corne, called halfe a *Mina*. *Aristotle* makes no mention of these men in his institutions of *Solon*, yet writes of them in the Books of his *Politicks*. Goldsmiths, Dyers, and other such like Artizanes, were comprehended vnder the *Thita*, who paied no more but a Crown to the Common-wealth, which (after their name) was tearmed *Thitico*: These men could neuer rise to any Magistracy, while they stood at so low a rate, and in so base a degree. In this manner did *Solon* appoint his Lawes, making a sound and setled estate, of that which before was extreame weake and sickly. And because the approbation of Lawes implyed the greatest power, being imposed both on the Noble-men and Comminalty, for sounder stability, they were engrauen in Tables, with the deuision of the *Atticke* fields; which being publikely knowne, and vniuersally allowed; they sacred his Lawes to immortality, without any sinister rumour or contradiction.

Gentlemen.

Pentacosiomedimni.

Ippi.

Zephtita.

Thita.

Solon brought *Athens* to full perfection.

2 The people being thus reduced to peace. I think it requisite to begin from the first Originall, discoursing (by the way) of the Tribes. *All people, all Nations & Cities* (as *Liuy* saith) *vsed to derive their original from rare and excellent men, or else from such, whom rude Antiquity in the Worlds first infancy, placed among the number of the Gods, imposing names on them after their manner.* Hereupon, many ascribed their beginning and protection to *Ioue*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Pallas*, *Vulcane*, & such like Patrones, for the greater supposition of vertue, yet grounded but on their owne bare opinion. By which example, the *Athenians* not contented with one Sole Nobility; to wit, that of *Pallas*, gaue diuers names to variant partitions of their people, whom they tearmed Tribes, after the name of the *Eponoms*, who were worthy Heroes, and whose Memory could not dye, because their statues were preserued, not so much for their vertue, but for others to imitate them, helping themselues (in that manner) to become the more worthy. There were foure Tribes of the first kind; one was named *Cecropida*, of old *Cecrops*, because, if we may credit *Pausanias*, there were two seuerall Men of that Name. The second Tribe of that Nature, was called *Aſiochton*, that is; *Indigena*, the peculiar vocable to those people: The third were stiled *Atteari*; And the fourth *Paralia*, taking name of their neer neighbouring to the Sea, which more auncientlie was tearmed *Cranao*, and deuided into foure sundry parts. One *Cranao* was so called of it selfe; the second *Attida*; the third *Diacrita*; and the fourth *Nezogena*. *Attida*, so called of the people; The *Diatri*; of a high place in the Citty, because the *Athenians* lined in little hils, and the *Mesogenij*, of the middle Region, were so named. Now, the Mother of *Erictheus*, to hide her Adulterie, told him, that he was the son of *Ioue*, which dissembling, for addition of greater grace to the father; taking away the old Titles, four other names (deriued from the Gods) were imposed vpon *Athens*. It was cald *Diada*, after the name of *Ioue*; *Atineada*, after the name of *Minerua*; *Feſtiada*, of *Vulcane*; and lastly *Foſidonia*, of *Neptune*: each of them being deuided into three partitions, and therefore tearmed by the Tribes of three, not so named of freedome by guift; compleated their full number to twelue. These 12. parts in threes thus deuided, continued vntill the time of *Alcmeon*, sixe hundred and sixty yeares, or little lesse.

The *Athenians* gaue diuersity of names to their people.

Cecropida, of *Cecrops*.

Aſtochton, or *Indigena*.

Atteon and *Paralia*.

Cranao, *Attida*, *Diacrita*, *Nezogena*.

Mesogenij.

Foure other names giuen to *Athens*. *Diada*, *Atineada*, *Feſtiada*, *Poſſidonia*.

The continuance of these twelue partitions.

Of Tribes & other diuisions of the people.

The ten tribes of the Princes, and how they tooke their names.

Afterward, by answer from the Oracle of *Apollo*, the tenne Tribes of the Princes were named, that before him should raigne in greatest fame. It was called *Cecropia*, of *Cecrops*; *Ericthea*, of *Erictheus*; *Ægea*, of *Ægeus*, *Pandionia*, *Acamanta*, *Leonta*, *Ænea*, *Hippotoonta*, *Antioca*, *Eanta*; whereunto were added *Antigonia*, and *Demetria*, to make vppe the iust number of twelue: all which (euery one by it selfe) like vnto the first foure, were deuided likewise into three partitions, and so made vp the number of thirty sixe Tribes, which the *Romaines* followed in imitation, wanting but one: whereby may be obserued, that not onely they vsed the example of their Lawes, but likewise the deuisions of the *Athenian* people. These thinges, as they were matters of very great and maine importance in in the *Athenian* Common-weale: so shall wee haue the more liberty to discourse of them, in our further progression.

The *Romaines* did imitate the *Athenians*, both in lawes and diuision of their people.

Of these Princes then, of whom the Tribes receiued their Originall Names, were likewise the twelue *Eponimi* first named, whom I knowe not, whether *Herodotus* (in his *Erato*) doe call the Gods of the *Athenians*, or no, because the selfe-same Authour, hauing there described some of their Names, saith afterward in his *Euterpe*, that in *Ægypt* was the first honoring of twelue Gods, and that from thence they were brought into *Greece*, and that in *Pisa* they had an Altar, common to all of them, which was called the Altar of the twelue Gods.

How the *Eponimi* first receiued name.

Obseruations collected out of *Herodotus* in his *Erato* and *Euterpe*.

Moreouer, he saith afterward, that these Kinges were also called Gods, so many of them as had gouerned iustly: beyond which report, the Historie yeildeth no further credence, neyther doth *Aristotle* record any such matter in his *Politiques*. Whereby may partlie be gathered, that those Kinges might also bee tearmed Gods, and that they were foure and twenty in number; to wit, twelue brought out of *Ægypt*, and the other twelue ruling in *Athens*. *Pausanias*, in the place which hee speaketh of the *Eponimi*; saith, that *Herodotus* might well speake it. Yet notwithstanding, there is diuersitie betweene them of their Names, and he reckoneth neyther more or lesse then twelue, whereto consenteth *Attalus*, *Ptolomeus*, & *Adrianus*, in whose time he wrote. But else-where shall wee speake of the Magistrate, named *Eponimo*. The people being made knowne, and their partitions declared; it is high time that we should say some-what of their Magistrates.

Pausanias his opinion of *Herodotus* speeches.

3 In three seuerall kindes did they vse to elect their Magistrates; to wit, by lot; by publique voyce of the people; and by election of Dignity. By Lot, they elected all the Magistrates that were intended for Iudgement. The Senate, who were elected in the like manner, were called, *The Councell of fiue hundred Men*. By publique voyce of the people, they created Captaines, Tribunes of the Souldiers, and the Generals for Warre, both by Sea and Land.

After what manner the *Athenians* elected their Magistrates.

By Lot.

By voyce of the people.

Such as were afterward made choise of by Dignity, by Riches, and by Nobility; were called *Choragi*, and serued in the publique Pastimes, as also for Sacrifices: in which weighty charge much liberality was vsed, and great expences of their owne Wealth. Of this order there were no more but tenne. Among, & by al which elections, as *Demosthenes* declareth in one of his Orations, the Common-weale was sweetly embraced by this three folde Ligature. Because the Iudges (by sound reasons) defended the Citty from the iniuries of Domestickes, Neighbours, and Strangers: The Souldiers preserued and enlarged the Confines; And Religion kept the Soules of Men pure and vnpolluted. Now giue me leaue orderly to relate, how, during the offering of this Dignity, the order began of the *Ariopagita*.

By Dignity & Nobility.

Demosthenes his verdit of this triple bond.

4 In memory of Learning, the Senate *Ariopagiticall* had beginning, and both for equity and seuerity was accounted most honourable and famous. Now, as it was in great estimation, so was the number of them not a few; albeit, vncertaine how many, which incertainty of number ensued by the *Tesmoteti* (of whom we shall speake in their apt place) because, as they had ended their Magistracy, which lasted for a yeare: in rendring vp their account to the *Logists* for their passed Office, some of

The Senate of the *Ariopagita*.

The *Tesmoteti* and *Logists*.

some of them were entertained and accepted among the *Ariopagitæ*. Such as were to go to the *Logists*, who were Magistrates for publique and generall accounts, should deliuer their Names to a Commaunder, and require open Proclamation in this manner; *Whosoeuer can accuse such men of any vniust Act committed, let him come foorth, for they haue ended their Office of Magistracy.* Vpon this Proclamation, euery Accuser that could make iust proofe of offence, had his free admission; and this made much for the *Logists* credit. Now, by this kinde of iudgement so seuerely followed, it fell out, that few men, but of worth and reckoning, and supported by their owne honest innocency, holpe to encrease the number of this Order. And whosoeuer was noted to be auaritious, or guilty of some other such infamous crime; could neuer gaine acceptance into this inviolable company. And because no man should vse any deceipt or fraud, each man examined one anothers cõscience, in open sight of the people, and of the Senate. Thus by the yearely addition of many of the *Tesmoteti*, the number grew to be vncertaine, and manifested apparantly, that the latter choise in this kinde of life, did much excell the former.

A note worth the obseruation.

Couetous persons not accepted among the *Ariopagitæ*.

The like institution was inuented by *Solon*, because (in former times) *Solon* had appointed fifty *Epheti*; that is, Prefects or Gouernours, who gaue sentence in Capitall causes, and on Robbers, which (before that time) appartained only to the Kings office. In their name then did *Solon* constitute the Senate of great authority in this Common wealth, who not onely answered in capitall occasions, but likewise in the very graueſt businesses of State. The chiefe Magistrate of the *Ariopagitæ*, was by the *Grecians* named *Adiadoxon*; that is, perpetuall and diligent. Now, albeit, he was opposed to all scelerous matters, and publikely did punish them: yet notwithstanding, his peculiar businesse, was concerning impoysonings, burning of Houses, Murders, wounds, Cozonages, Treacheries intended against the Countrey, and many other. The manner of Iudgement then vsed, (according as by memory of good Letters is to be seene) was thus. The guilty person, or he that was accused to be guilty; after the first questioning, beeing confronted by coniecturall testimony, and of probation; immediatly sentence should bee giuen, without deferring it to any longer time, for compassion (in the *Ariopagitæ*) was reputed to be vtterly vnlawfull, and so neerely did the *Ephets* ioyne in this seuerity, as they would punish the offendour, with punishment equall to his transgression. *Aristotle* very highly commendeth this seuerity, in the beginning of his Rhetoricke, which praise *Quintillian* briefely Collecting together, saith. *In* Athens (meaning the *Ariopagitæ*) *the Oratours were prohibited, from mouing their Auditours to any passion.* For the Senators did apparantly perceiue, that there was no matter whatsoeuer, but Oratours (by their Rhetoricke) would reduce the Hearers to their owne opinion therein. Let vs now proceede to the execution of their iudgement.

Solons Institution of Prefects or Rulers.

Adiadoxon, cheete Magistrate of the *Ariopagitæ*.

Their manner of iudgement then vsed.

Aristotle Rhete.

Quintillian his words concerning seuerity.

The Offendour being in Prison (let vs suppose the case to be Homicide, or Murder) by commaund: the Parents, Seruants, Friends, and neerest acquaintance of the dead person, are summoned together, and as (in their Iudgement) the penalty is imposed, so dooth the punishment proceed, according to the iniury receiued: which Custome, because it is vsed and obserued to this day among the Turkes, wee therefore may make more ample demonstration thereof.

Their maner of executing iudgement.

The *Cadi* (for so signifieth the name of a Iudge in the *Arabian* Tongue) so soone as an offendour in Murder is taken, presently aduertiseth the dead parties Parents thereof. If he haue none, then others are sought for, to whom the deceased was most beholding in his life time. If that none at all be found, yet will hee proceede as Atturney to the King, and punnish according to the written Law. He then entreateth, that such men as are there present, will declare, whether they will haue the Offendour punnished by the Law, or payment of Money, and according to their desire, so shall be his sentence. If the man dead were thought to be worth threescore thousand Aspers, which (after our account) are a thousand

The order obserued at this day among the Turkes.

and two hundred ducates of Gold: with that price ſhall the dead mans loſſe of life be paid. If he pay halfe, then he payes but for halfe a Man; and halfe a Man, is hee that lackes a hand, an eye, or ſome ſuch member of his body, and ſo the payment is obſerued, according to the dammage done to the body. If the party offended be dumbe, a fatherleſſe Child, or imperfect in ſpeech; the *Podeſta* or Iuſtice hath power, to iudge the penaltie according to the condition, and aunſwerably to puniſh the offender with Death, or pecuniary payment. Thus, as the *Ariopagitæ* vſed great diligence and ſeuerity in their Iudgements; ſo were they rarely or ſildome troubled with ſuch inflictions, and they gaue Iudgement onely but three dayes in a Month, and aſſembled not together, except they were thereto required, or vpon neceſſity of ſome important buſineſſe. Which is very like vnto the Conncell of *Venice*, who, for election of Magiſtrates, do meete once together euery eight daies.

Payment for halfe a man.

Iudgment giuen but three dayes in a month.

Of this Senate, and of many other, *Gulielmus Budeus* hath very amply written, in his Annotations and firſt *Pandect*, and therefore I referre theſe matters to thoſe Authours, from whom hee hath collected them. And yet, (vppon *Lucians* Word) he ſaith; *That the* Ariopagitæ *were wont to deliuer their Iudgement in the Night time, and in greateſt ſilence, becauſe they would not be ſurprized by the cunning of them, who (in the preſence of Man) had moſt delight to talke:* For ſo might their Iudgements bee interrupted, while others liſtened to the curioſity of Oratours eloquence. And hence grew that which is vſed as a common Prouerbe; *The ſilent Ariopagitæ*; ſignifying thereby, that a Wiſe Man ſhould likewiſe be ſilent. Nor was their ſilence without great reaſon, becauſe thereby they did the more attentiuelie liſten to Offendours cauſes: And neuer would they diſcloſe the ſecrets of iudgement, but write downe the ſentence, becauſe they would not ſwarue from their opinion, who had beene of greateſt wiſedome and years, but euery way to correſpond with the ſame. The *Venetians* are (in this caſe) like to the *Athenians*; to wit, that their ſentence muſt neuer ſee light, or the ſecrets of their Iudgements, which doubtleſſe is done with great diſcretion. For by this means neuer can their authority be impaired, while their opinion ſtands cleare from calumny, and not to bee wreſted by other Magiſtrates, or rude capacity of the vulgar.

Guliel Budeus, in Annot. Pand. 1.

Lucian.

They gaue their ſentence in the night time.

The ſilent *Ariopagitæ.*

The *Venetians* like to the *Athenians.*

Next vnto the *Græcians*, it would be ſeene what the *Latines* haue written of the *Ariopogitæ*. *Valerius Maximus* writing of them, ſaith thus. *In the ſelfe-ſame Citty was the moſt ſacred* Ariopago *Councell, who vſed to haue care of that which euery* Athenian *did, and vvith what recompences they ought to bee rewarded: That Men ſhould liue honeſtly, and be duely remembred, that they were to yeelde an account of their behauiour. The ſame Senate ordained, that euery good Cittizens head ſhould be adorned with a Crowne, and kept it as a continuall cuſtome, becauſe honour was the onely nutriment of vertue.* Theſe thinges beeing found in autenticall Writings, it may be credited, that ſuch as could not iudge well of thoſe times; did ſuffer their Wittes to wander elſe-where at randome. But as it appeared then, ſo ſtandes it cleare ſtill from all contradiction; that they were extraordinarily iuditious, and meerely Diuine. For *Cicero*, a Man of ſingular iudgement, would needes compare this Senate rather to GOD, Gouernour of the whole World, then to the *Romaine* Senate. For (ſaith he) *To deny that this World is gouerned without prouidence, is as if a Man ſhould ſay, that the Athenians were to be gouerned without the Councell of the Ariopagitæ.*

Valerius Maximus of the *Ariopagitæ, in Lib. 9.*

The honor of euery good Cittizen.

The words of *Cicero*, of the *Ariopagitæ.*

Concerning that which *Pliny* ſaith, in the ſeauenth Booke of his Naturall Hiſtory; to wit, *That the firſt caſes of Capitall Iudgements, came from Ariopago*; (eyther a Man ſo named, or the reaſon whereof the Sect tooke Name) therein I can perceiue very ſmall likelihood: becauſe it appeareth by al the Greek Authours, that *Solon* was the Man that ordained ſuch a Magiſtracy, and vſed ſome moderation (as is ſaid) which the *Epheti* formerly obſerued not.

Plin. in 2. Lib. Hiſt. Nat.

But it is very manifeſt, that *Draco* was before *Solon*, and ordayned ſuch ſeuere Lawes againſt Captiues & Bondſlaues, that, for the ſmalleſt matter of Theft,

Draco was before *Solon*, and wrote his lawes not in Inke, but in blood.

Theft, each man was punished Capitally, whereon grew a vulgar and common saying; *That Draco wrote not his Lawes with Inke, but with blood of men.* But, if any one shall alledge, that by this *Ariopago*, *Pliny* would seem to mean *Athens*, or that people, it cannot be graced with the least glimpse of trueth; because before the *Grecian* Empire, the state of the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, yea, & the *Sorians*, were ruinated, who, without imposing penalties vppon Captiues, could not haue stoode so long time, whereby it may appeare, that *Plinie* (in this point) speaketh not truely; which needs no wonderment, in regarde that himselfe being a Senatour, and much busied in the Negotiations of the Cõmon-weale, very hardly could hee win time, to set downe the realty of his own Collections. Concerning the authority of this Senate, euery thing is perfected by very sufficient Authors: yet one Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Aristocratia*, doeth speake thereof in amplest manner, and thereto I referre the more curious Reader.

An obiection against *Pliny*.

5 The Name of *Nomoteto*, or *Nomotheta*, comprehended many generations or kinds of Dignity, wherof I purpose to make some little Narration, before I proceed any further. I find (according to *Suidas*) that there were three *Nomoteti* among the *Athenians*, namely, *Draco*, *Solon*, and *Æschylus*; not the Famous Poet, but another born in *Athens*, and not made famous by any Authour. Moreouer, *Nomoteto*, or *Nemotheta*, signifieth a Law-Maker in any kinde whatsoeuer. And because the vocable or word, is answereable to the effect, the *Athenians* vnderstoode by *Nomoteto*, a thousand Cittizens congregated in a knot (as it were) together, who had absolute power, to cause the Lawes to be obserued, to ouer-see, change, and reforme them. These *Nomoteti* had authority to relate & discourse with the people, whether the lawes appointed, were pleasing to them, or no; and all questions were of no validity, if they were not first vnder-scribed by al the Magistrates of the *Nomoteti*. They vsed also to bee continually present, when Iudgement was giuen in graueſt occasions: and if the actour or guilty person were not obedient to their sentence; hee had a pecuniary punishment imposed presently on him. This is all the opinion of *Pollucius*. But *Budeus*, seconded by *Demosthenes*, sheweth another matter, speaking much more largely in this case, and in what manner those Lawes were woont to be propounded; and therefore, wee will deliuer his owne words. *Demosthenes* makes mention, that *Solon* (among other things) thus ordained; *That when any Law was to be proposed to the people, it should first bee rehearsed by the Law-maker himselfe. Afterward, it should be written in some notable place of the Citty, where greatest conourse and frequentation was daily. Then, a publicke Notary must read it in open Parliament, to the end, that if any thing were then distasted, it might by them bee amended: but if it were liked, it was then deliuered to the* Nomoteti, *who lastly should approue it; which beeing done, then it was appointed to be obserued.* Thus saith *Budeus*, whose opinion, albeit it is most aparant, yet is it confirmed by the wordes of *Macrobius*, with this addition. *Rutilius* (saith he) *writeth, That the Romans erected a Market place, wherein the Countrey people, for eight dayes together, might dispatch their affairs. But the ninth day, forsaking al other businesse, they should come to Rome, and there, in the Market place likewise, they must listen to the Lawes, because there they should be declared in the presence of all the people.*

Budeus ex Demost. Orat. 3.

Macrobius cõcerning the words of *Rutilius*.

The Dignitie of the *Nomoteti*, and signification of the name.

What the *Athenians* vnderstoode by the word *Nomoteto*.

6 The *Nomoteti*, were much different from the *Nomophilaci*, who had that name of keeping the Books of the laws, because, in vaine hadde the *Nomoteti* approued the Lawes; if they should not be put in practise, obserued, and iudged accordingly; which was the especiall charge of these *Nomophilaci*. *Cicero* doth elegantly expresse their Office, in the 3. Booke of Lawes. *The Grecians* (saith he) *verie diligently, so soone as they had created the* Nomophilaci, *not only obserued learning, but the actions of men likewise, and registred them among their Lawes.* In a second degree of Dignity, were these *Nomophilaci*, who vsed to wear on their heads a Linnen white Coise, after such manner, as the Dukes of *Venice* nowe a dayes do. Such honour did Antiquitie giue to the Commonweale, & so much did men then studie to preserue Good Lawes, because it is all one to haue no Lawes; as (hauing many) not to liue there-

Of the *Nomophilaci*, who had the written Bookes of lawes in their custody.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Leg.

The *Ariopagite* were carefull for the making & keeping of Lawes.

thereafter. The *Ariopagitæ* (at all times) were carefull for the making of Lawes, and likewise to haue them kept, which was a charge of great sanctity. Not any matter whatsoeuer, would admit one Office to intermeddle with another, except extreame vrgency so required. Because, one side heard the causes capitall in Offenders of the meaner sort; others afterward approued the sentence; others dealt in fiscall or penall occasions, and such like businesses. Neuertheless, all these partitions consisted of one & the same Senate, and were al members but of one body.

No Officers medled with one anothers businesse.

Our ancient predecessors, neither by long vse could grow so expert, or attain to such perfection, as to vnderstand (in what manner) one Magistrate must bee proposed to diuersity of occurrences; but chose seuerall degrees of Officers, which now adaies, one Senat is sufficiēt for alone. The criminall* *Quarantia*, or *Quarantana*, gouerning in *Venice*, is not much vnlike to that before rehersed, because they iudge of capitall delicts. But heere is the difference, that if any thing bee committed against the Commonwealth, against the Duke, against Religion or Nature (such as is the most abhominable sinne of *Sodomy*) immediately that order of Magistracy, called, * *Il Capode dieci*, do giue a decree for due punishment.

*The Magistracy of forty in Venice.

*The Magistracy in Venice, of ten.

Among the Turks, two men are elected by the Iudges, and sent for the gouernment of diuers Prouinces. These two are chosen from many other Learned, Discreet, and wise men, and are named *Cadi-lescher*; to whom the Iudges are inforced to yeild a reason of their cariage in Iustice; and hauing misbehaued themselues, they are compelled to stand to their iudgement and sentence. If they Appeale, the Apealants are referred to the great Court, which they cal *Diuano*. But when reason in the case so requires, both the one and other Senat shal iudge therof, one of four Bashaes being there as President, and the chiefest men in authority also there present. This order of office, is answereable to that which (among the *French*) is onely done by the Chancellor, who may truly be tearmed the Laws auenger. Because he compelleth all other Iudges to obserue the lawes, & iudge accordingly: but if they do the contrary, he either makes thē feel the Lawes penalty, or speakes with the great Counsell of *Fraunce*, who giueth them such reward, as is fitting for sceleroús offenders, against the Magistrate.

The Order amongst the Turkes.

The Chancellor among the French.

7. After the *Ariopagitæ*, in dignitie, name and fame, a Counsel was elected of 500. men? of whome, such memorie liueth among the *Grecians*, that there was no Oration, or any cause whatsoeuer; but it caried a full tast of their commendation. This Counsell had power, to giue iudgement in Ciuill causes, and all actions that daily hapned betweene man and man. They were many times Lieutenants to the *Ariopagitæ*, and their number was the cause, that hardly any vices could be suffered. Now, in regard that so great a multitude of men, being assembled together all in one place, could yeild but slender execution of the charge committed to them: they deuided themselues into ten partitions, according to the number of the Tribes. Each seuerall number of fifty, had their dayes appointed for Iudgement and sitting, and had three and thirty daies assigned them; in which time, they were to dispatch their Office. This number of dayes ten times repeated, makes (according to the *Athenians* account) the Lunary yeare of three hundred and fifty dayes: But, by the reckoning of our Sunnes course, it exceedeth theirs more then fifteene dayes, and one Quadrant. Moreouer, by the ouer-abounding multitude of these fifties, election was made of ten, who were called Presidents, out of the which tenne, they chose seauen Weekly, and euery day, each man was a President, for expedition of needfull occasions; and euery Night he carried the Keyes of the Cittadell, to him that had been the day before President: but heereof we shal discourse more at large heereafter.

The Counsell of 500. men, & wherein consisted their Authority.

The 500 men altred into ten diuisions.

The Athenians year compared with our account.

When this number of fiue hundred hadde finished their Offices, the Name changed, and then they were called *Pritanij*, who, as many do oth affirme, had care of all kind of Corne; to receiue the Monies brought into the Exchequer; and to receiue pawnes or pledges of such as voluntarily offered them, beside other affaires of the like Nature. These *Pritanij*, with the Monies gathred in *deposito* from the litigious; paid the Iudges and

Pritanij were Presidents of the Athenian Senate.

and the best deseruers in the Commonwealth. If they were called so by place, then were they to render a reason therfore; and such, of whome the State deserued well, they were both honoured and maintained beside. *Cicero* is witnes heereof, in the first of his Oratour, and that this was great honor to the Commonweale; where speaking of *Socrates*, these are his wordes; *He was in* Athens *condemned for guilty, whose deceit or fraud appeared not to be capitall. The sentence cõming to be giuen, the Iudge would demaund of the offender, what punishment he immagined that his bad behauiour had deserued, as hoping to haue the crime confessed from his owne mouth. Heereupon,* Socrates *being asked what hee thought him to deserue, answered; That he deserued to be honoured and rewarded with ample guifts; moreouer, to haue a publicke liuing giuen him among the Pritanij, which honor (among the Grecians) was verie great*: Thus speaketh *Cicero*.

Cicero in Prim. Orat. leg. de Socrat.

The Authority of the *Pritanij* in their Office.

These Officers vsed to examin Edicts, Decrees, and Lawes, and giue sentence in cases vnderstoode to the contrarie. Otherwise, without this care and prouidence, the people would easily haue bin drawne into suddaine reuolts, in regard that they oftentimes desired, yea, and approued such thinges as rerurned to their owne ruine, if the foresight of others, and especially of this Counsell, had not preuented them. First of all, by frequency of their office, they propounded all Edicts, which (as readily) were deliuered to the fifty men, in asmuch as a man should say; That whatsoeuer had bin by them approued, was in order to passe from them to the *Nomophilaci*, & they should cause them not onely to be published, but also to bee obserued. Moreouer, that man was very precisely noted; who (for peculiar pleasing of the people) had procured anie Lawe to stand in force, and not first brought it to the place where it ought to be amended.

Against such as made lawes to please common people.

This order of this Ciuill Magistracie, was subiect to yearely change, and their especiall charge, was, to curb the proud minded, and to haue care of the times of Warre, Peace, Truce, Entertainment of Ambassadors, and publication of Edicts. Their forme of writing was in this maner, according as the *Romaine* Consulles obserued: *Policles the Prince, sitting Iudge of the Commonwealth; of the Pandion Tribe, Demosthenes Peaeneus made the Decree*; and the man thus named, was an *Archonta*, of whose Authority we shall speak in his meet place, as also of the Tribe heere named of these fifty men, who were deriued out of the fiue hundred Gouernours of the Common-weale. The *Grecians* made their account, according to the *Olimpiades*; the *Musulmans*, after *Mahomet*; we, from Christ; the Iewes, from the beginning of the World; and euery Nation beginneth with his originall.

Their forme and manner of writing.

The seuerall yearely accounts.

8 Because euery day the number of Ciuill causes encreased, and the fifty men were not able to vndergo so great a burthen, therefore they elected (for their owne best helpe) foure and sortie Arbitrators, some by lot, and others by free election. These men, must haue past sixty yeares of age, and no way to be noted of any ignoble action, but reckoned of good and honest behauiour. They were constituted in a place, where the greater number of them might bee alway present, or readily called together, when contentions so required. And this was the manner of their Gouernment. The Plaintiffe and Offender shold make choise of these men, so many as him pleased: conditionally, that vpon their debating of the quarrel they were to finish it, or they to be punished, that wer disobedient to their sentence. Thus the party had double redresse, because, heere each cause was iudicially heard; wheras otherwise, the Apealant, going to the Ciuill Iudge, might haue had some delaying helpe in this cause. Such as were elected by Lot, were not so highly accounted of; not in regarde of their examinations, as because they might referre al matters to the Senates iudgements. The terme giuen to these men among the Ciuillians, was not so much Arbitratours, as Compromisers or Vmpiers in businesses. Only by such Monies as were to be laid down by the party, and adiudged to be paid, if he lost his cause. The *Grecians* in stead of Lots of Gold and Siluer, made vse of Beanes White and Blacke.

Of the Arbitrators.

What age the Arbitratours were to be of.

The manner of their Authority in hearing their causes.

Arbitratours called Compromisers.

The *Zitteti*, who were as Inquisitors, did not much differ from the *Dieteti*, whose Office (according to *Iulius Pollucius*)

Of the *Zitteti*, and *Dieteti*.

cius) was, to search into the cause of matters, when they did not appeare to be plaine and manifest, and then they referred the truth of them to the Senate. In which kind of Office, amongest the *French*, they do daily make Election of Commissaries: And (in scelerous causes) they are appointed by the Iudges, be the matters Ciuill, or other Criminal. These Arbitrators wer made choise of as fit men for the place, if they hadde not committed any act of indignity, or had bin greeuously punished, or suffred shame in the company of others. Al religious or holy matters, wer handled among them with great reuerence and sanctity. *Pollucius* writeth, that they could not heare any cause, whose worth exceeded the value of ten Drammaes. When any case was transferred from them to some other Iudge; they wrote their mind in a little Table, with what Constitution had first by them bin Decreed, as well for the Plaintiffe as the Offender: and at the beginning of his suite, they receiued a Dramma of the Plaintiffe, which serued towardes payment of other inferiour causes in that Court.

How they were elected.

9 Let vs now speake of the Captaines of the Gallies, who were known by the name of *Trierarchi*, not that I attribute any great Fame to their dignity; but because the *Athenians* (in their Nauall affaires) did oftentimes repose especiall trust in them. Their iust number is not agreed on by any Authors, because according as necessity required, so their number increased or diminished. Only thus much is certainly known, that commonly twelue men had the main charge imposed on them; who, in the time of peace, had the gouernment of the *Arsenale*, where the Ships and Gallies were kept in store and reparation. In time of warre, they were obedient to these Captaines, with other Prefects or Commaunders: as the *Venetians* doe yet obserue to this day; for they create one Generall of absolute power, in Nature of a *Tribunes* Authority, which holdeth only in those places where hee conducteth the Army, but in the Citty he hath no rule at all. These Tribunes likewise were put in trust, to make new Shippes and Gallies, when the old were past vse, as also to gouerne them in their proper

Captaines of the Gallies, who were called *Trierarchi*.

Order obserued among the Venetians

faculties and expences, by account yeilded vp to the State; whereof the cheefest Senatours had the care, who euermore did foresee, whither the Common-wealth did suffer losse or no, by charge of the Army, when other prouision could not elswhere be made. Now to speake vprightly, this little belonged to the publicke Magistrate, and therefore was referred to a certaine number of Citizens; which custom (to this day) is obserued among the *Venetians*, necessity so requiring, because they pay by the Artezans. Not that themselues doo pay any thing, but that one or two trades, do pay the charges of one Gally, by which meanes they gather good store of Gold.

The care of the Chiefest Senators.

This kind of Office, waxing by little and little to decay, by the means of *Demosthenes*, grew to strength againe, hauing imposed a Law vpon such, as were to be elected to this charge, as is to bee seene in diuers places; & among others, in an Oration of his, against *Æschines*. *Behold you men of* Athens (saith he) *what benefit I haue brought to the administration of your Common-wealth, when I perceiued your Nauall affayres to grow weake, & your Cittizens (exempted from paying Tribute) hauing paid but little mony, and such as had the meaneſt faculties to be (in a manner) oppressed with the burthen; and thereby your State pittifully to decline. Then made I a Law, that Cittizens should pay according to a due taxation, such as (in reason) was iudged conuenient, and so deliuered poore men from those iniuries, which they had indured by former oppression.* And a little after, he speaketh more plainly. *By the first Constitution of the 16. Law, they vsed to pay together the charges of one Gally, burdning therby, very litle (or nothing at all) such as were rich and able, but much oppressing poore Cittizens. But it is ordained by my Lawe, that the quality of euery person is to be reckoned: Whereby it appeared, that such as paide the tenth part for the expences of one Gally, might wholly satisfie the full charges of two. Whereupon ensued, that they woulde no longer be tearmed Trierarchi, but Contributors.* The Oration of this our Author, is euen all one with that in the *Androtione*, where all this action is at large declared. Nor is there any diuersity at al in that which formerly hath bin related, except that the *Pritanij* were woont to receiue

Demosthenes restored this decaying Office.

Demost. in Orat. cont. Aeschin.

Demosthenes his further addition.

The *Pritanij* receyued a Crowne of Gold, for their nauall seruice

to receiue a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vpright behauiour in the nauall busines, which else by beeing ouermuch neglected, albeit euery such person were very diligent in all other Offices, yet this might haue bin despised, and quite ouerthrowne. The Latines called them *Trierarchi*, according to the Greeke word, as *Cicero* in his third action against *Verres*, deliuereth Testimony thereof, in this manner; *Of which matter thou heardst in the first action*, Charidemus Chio *witnesse, hee being then* Trierarchus, *and* Verres *departing from* Asia, *&c.*

Cic. 3. act. cont. Verres.

Of eleuen mē called *Nomophylaci*, and *Hipparchi*, as also of their office.

10. We read in *Pollucius*, that there were eleauen men called *Nomophylaci*, and *Hipparchi*, to wit; Presidents. *Tenne men* (saith he) *were seuerally elected by one at a time, out of each Tribe, which number was encreased by the Chancellour, who made the eleauenth man.* Their Office was, to conuince such Theeues as remained in prisons, and other malefactors beside. If they could not winne the truth out of them, they sent them to other Tribunalles, where they were gladde to confesse their offences, and had their punishments accordingly appointed. Whereon they were tearmed Iudges of punnishment, as at this day in *France* the Prouost Marshalles are called, who somewhat do resemble those men, that amongest the Turkes are named *Vainoda*. They can apprehend all manner of bad persons, and deliuer them into the hands of their neareſt Iudges; but may impose no punnishment vppon them. Such were the Wardens or Captaines of the Night, thoroughout all *Gallia*, and in the *Venetian* Prouinces, and (as I haue heard) among al their people. The place where the eleuen sat in iudgment, was called *Nomophylacion*, which place had a Doore behind it, tearmed *Xironion*, out of which Doore, offenders were led vnto their punnishment: euen as in the Field the *Decumana* Gate was vsed, whereby they sent forth seditious Soldiours and captiues to be corrected and chastised.

The Prouoſt Marthalles in France.

The Night Captaines in *Gallia*, and the *Venetian* Prouinces.

The Gate called *Decimana*.

Demosthenes, maketh mention of them, saying; *A man beeing fledde after a breach of prison, hee would goe vnto a certaine Woman, called* Lobia, *where formerly hee hadde beene allowed Entertainment, who hyding him, would tarry the first day, when the neereſt person should come to serch for him, and make it openly knowne by Proclamation, that hee sought for a guiltie Offendour.* By this may be discerned, that the Delict being sodainely committed, they vsed to make as sodaine enquirie after the Malefactor to apprehend and take him.

The words of *Demosthenes*.

Heereuppon, *Suidas* doth take good note of these *Nomophylaci*, to bee verie much different from the first of that name; because they compelled the Iudges to liue according to the Written Lawes; and these did but binde, as it were, the common people thereunto. We will alledge one place more of *Demosthenes* in *Timocrates*. *If any man* (saith hee) *were conuicted of iniuring his Father, Mother, or for not hauing ended his charge in warre; or for abyding in any place, prohibited by the Lawes: the eleuen men hauing caused him to be apprehended, bound him, and committed him to* Elicia (*beeing the name of a place whereof we are to speake no more*) *where he was to be accused by whomesoeuer would, according to the Law.*

Difference by Suidas in the *Nomophylaci*.

Demosthen. in Timocrat.

11. Albeit these Presidents might well be ranked among the fiue hundred men; out of which number, they were vsually chosen: yet notwithstanding, because I haue followed the more part of their Magistrates, and they being all very honourable, I am the willinger to make perticular mention of them. Out of fiue hundred men, who were diuided into ten Tribes, fifty men were elected, and out of those fifty, ten men also chosen, among whom perticulerly cōsisted the absolute summity of the Commonweal. But haply some man may demand of me, after what maner he was to be elected, whose Vertues made him most cleare and commendable. I answer, that it was very easily done, as may bee discerned by the Venetians, who do first of all Constitute the Electours, as by lot they are called; and afterward, they put the names of them called, into an *Vrne*, and then take them foorth by publicke suffrages. When the Election is thus made, ten men are then chosen forth of the residue, by Lot, with silent sufferage, and with Beanes. These matters beeing carried in publique apparaunce, no man receyueth the reward of Vertue, till Iudgement dooth passe of him accordingly. Now, out of these tenne men

Often men, called Presidents, chosen out of the 500 men.

Example of the *Venetians*.

Seauen men, choſen out of ten, to be Preſidents.

men thus made choiſe of, ſeauen only may attaine to the Office of Preſidents: and ſo is the lot caſt among theſe tenne men, with ſuch vpright and due obſeruation, that the three remainants, can finde themſelues no way offended. And becauſe hee that ſitteth in the cheefeſt place of Magiſtracy, was vſually called *Prefect* and *Preſident*; al the reſt did participate in honor of the ſame title. They were carefully and eſpecially aduertiſed, that it was not lawfull for any man, to be twice in this Office, in one & the ſame yeare. When he ſat in his ſeate of Magiſtracy, hee had by him the Keyes of the Caſtle, of the Exchequer, and Counſell of the Common-weale. At what time ſoeuer the *Pritanij* called the Senate, they elected out of nine Tribes nine Preſidents: but out of that Tribe called *Pritanenſa*, whereof hee beeing then the chiefe, they vſed not to cal any other.

Nine Preſidents choſen out of nine Tribes, when the *Pritanij* cald the Senat

Among theſe nine, they had power to chooſe the next chiefe ſucceſſour, to whom the truſt of publick benefit ſhold bee committed. In his hearing cauſes, there was diligent care hadde, that nothing ſhould be left behinde, that either might inſtruct the cauſe it ſelfe, or make it more cleare to the Iudge.

Of the *Epiſtati* by *Iſeus* againſt *Elpagoras*.

Harpocration ſpeaketh the verie ſame of the *Epiſtati*, producing the ſaying of *Iſeus* againſt *Elpagoras*. *There were* (ſaith he) *in Athens, two Epiſtati: One in Lottery, elected by the body of the Pritanij, & the other by the Poedri*; of whoſe Office, *Ariſtotle* maketh declaration in his Politiks of the *Athenians*. Now to ſpeak vulgarly, that man was called *Epiſtato*, who was authorized & admitted to any Negotiations, as *Hiperides* hath very wel noted. Conuert wee now our ſpeeches from the *Epiſtati*, to the *Poedri*. The man called *Poedro*, was as head or Duke of the Weale-politicke. His Dignity was verie ſufficient, and the full order thereof being comprehended by *Demoſthenes*, in an Oration of his againſt *Timocrates*, I thought good to ſet downe the wordes of the Law by him induceth, which beginneth in this manner. *The eleuenth day of the firſt Moneth, after that the Crier or Proclaimer had made it openly knowne, the people went with ſuffrages to approoue the Law. The formoſt part of them that ſhoulde deliuer their liking, were they who had bin preſent, when the ſaide Law had formerly bin allowed by the Counſell, and by the Senate. The ſecond, were ſuch as thoght meet to ſpeake againſt it. Theſe men, according as the Law was balloted, gaue it aſſignment. And if it hapned, that any tooke exceptions againſt this Law, which formerly had paſt approbation; the Pritanij, who then were in Office, were the laſt day of ballottation with the Senate about the matter, and the Poedri alſo might iudge in the ſame caſe. Afterward, they ſat downe according to their dignity; firſt, they that deſerud priority for Religion; ſecondly, they of the* Nomoteti. *Then they conſulted, from whence the Monies ſhould be collected, that was to bee deliuered to the* Nomoteti, *for their better attendance on the Common-weales affayres. Theſe* Nomoteti *were of their Order, that wore ſworne in* Elicia. *Then from* Elicia, *if the* Pritanij *held not the Senat according to the Lawe preſcribed, and if the* Poedrj *gouerned not according to reaſon and equitie: eath one of the* Pritanij *ſhould be punniſhed in a thouſand* Drammaes, *which they conſecrated to the Exchequer of* Pallas; *& the* Poedrj *ſhould giue foure hundered alſo to the ſame Goddeſſe, and the accuſer of thē preferred to the Office of the* Teſmoti. *Then he lookes, if any of the Magiſtracy are indebted to the publick eſtate; and the* Teſmoteti *conuincing them thereof, do forthwith commit them to priſon. If they refuſe to doe it, they are ſubiect to open note of infamie, and excluded out of the company of the* Ariopagiti, *as contemners of the Lawes Gouernement. Before the Senate aſſemble together, to render their ſuffrages, hee that will propound any Law, writes it at the place of the* Eponimj, *to the end, that according to their number, the people may haue time from the* Nomoteti, *to make firſt due examination thereof. And he that deſireth to introduce a new Law; not once onely, but euery day hee brings it to the* Eponimi, *vntill ſuch time as the Senate ſhall be aſſembled. The* Eponimi, *from the whole number of the* Athenians, *doe make election of fiue men, who haue the charge only to defend and maintain the Lawes.* Hitherto wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently of the Lawes. Then followeth the forme of their Oath, diſcourſed by the ſame Author after this manner:

Epiſtato was an Ouer-ſeer or Steward in any buſineſſe.

Of the Poedro.

Demoſt. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.

Punishment inflicted on the *Pritanij* & *Poedri*.

The peoples priuiledge for examining the Lawes.

The forme & order of their Oath.

I will deliuer mine opinion, according to the Lawes of the Athenian *people, and the fiue hundred men of the Senate. By any fauour,*

nour, or helpe in me, Tyraunts, or the Gouernement of a few, shall neuer be admitted in the Common-wealth. Neuer will I take part with him, that hath corrupted the people of Athens, *or that shall intend it, or practise to compasse it. Neuer will I permit, that any New Tables shall be made, or any diuision of them already in credit; or diuision of the* Atticke *Fieldes, or of the houses. I will neuer reclaime any banished man, or him that is confined. I will graunt, that hee shall bee expulsed the Cittie, who shall denie to vse these Lawes, decreed in the Senat, and confirmed by the people of* Athens. *I will neuer permit nor suffer, that iniurie shall bee doone vnto any man. I will neuer constitute any Magistrate, to the end, that such a one, who hath not rendred an account of his passed Magistracie, may enter vppon some other Magisteriall office, eyther ouer men, or of such as by the Beanes of the* Poedri (*all which were great dignities*) *are not lawfully elected. Neither will I permit, that any man (in one and the same yeare) shall be twice chosen Magistrate, or hold two Magisteriall offices in one year. I will not receiue any Bribes or rewardes, nor suffer that anie other shall do the same. I am thirtie yeares aged. I will heare the accuser and the accused, without affection, and (without difference of person) will pronounce condemnation, knowing (without excuse) that the partie hath so deserued. I will sweare by* Ioue, *by* Neptune, *and by* Ceres, *who shall ruinate both me, my Family, and my Children, if I do not iustly obserue all the fore-recited clauses.* All this *Demosthenes* recordeth. Hauing now spoken sufficiently of the ten men, and their Office, let vs say somwhat of the Sufferages of the *Comitij Subdiali*.

Against Plurality of Offices in one yeare.

The Goddes they swore by and seueritie of the Oath.

Of the *Comitij Subdiali*, an assembly as in Parliament.

12. *Iliaia* and *Iliasi*, were in *Athens* the greatest Tribunals, as *Harpocration* saieth, and there the publicke Iudges handled the causes both of the one side and other. They consisted of a thousand, or a thousand fiue hundred Cittizens, the very best men in all the Citty. Fiue hundred vsed to be in one place, a thousand in two iudgement places, and 1500. in three. *Iliasēste* was the name of the place, & *Iliasi* was the whole congregation in iudgment. *Lysias* vsed both these vocables to one signification. The interpretation (in the Oration against *Timocrates*) is in this manner: *Iliaia is the place of the great Senate, and so are the multitude of Iudges called, that there do yeeld a reason of their Office.* Others would haue the place to bee called *Dio*, that is; beneath the aire, because the *Grecians* tearmeth the heauens *Dion*. *Pollucius* is of the same opinion, and saith, *Iliaia was an assembly of fiue hundered Iudges; two, if a thousand; three, if a thousand fiue hundred.* They vsed two kinds of Ballots in their voices or suffrages, one whol & sound, the other bored and empty. By these they absolued and condemned, affirmed and gainsayed. They had a vessel like vnto a Tunnel, whereby their suffrage passed thorow two pipes; one of Wood, & the other of Brasse, with which they approued and reproued, according as we shall declare more amply, as time & place requireth. The interpretatiō heerof, in the Oration against *Timocrates*, is very diuers, because it is there saide, that insted of stone vessels, they vsed Beanes both white and blacke, for a kind of difference, as if one of the stone-vesselles were empty, and the other full; whereupon, this kind of electing Magistrates was tearmed, *By the Beane*. It is also sayd afterward, that *Pythagoras* commanded abstinence from Pease and Beanes, not in regard that they were Windie, and all things of like Nature; but rather, to signifye thereby, that hee which will liue quietly, without Ambition, and not bee opposed to the Baffulinges of Fortune, thoulde not trouble himselfe with Magistracy, nor seeke after Dignities, which are as slippery, as Beans are Windy.

Lysias an excellent Orator of Athens. *Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.*

The order of their suffrages.

Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.

The opinion of Pythagoras.

13 One of the Tribes, were called *Apodecta*, that is; *Quæstores*, or treasurers, so many as made vp the number of tenne. These *Quæstores* were such, as now adayes wee tearme Collectors, or Gatherers of Rents and Customes. The Grecians and the Latines did commonly call them *Eranistes*, as wee vulgarly entitle our Collectours of Subsidies, or such like. The charge of these *Apodecta* streatched thus farre. Hauing receyued Letters from the State, (as like Election is made amongst the French, when they will Collect anie sums of Money of the Prouinces, for some important businesse of the kings) they bound such as wer indebted to the Common-weal, that they should make paiment according to like part of their

Of *Quæstores*, called *Apodectæ*, Collectors or Gatherers of Rents, &c.

Comparison by the French

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faculties. All the while as these monies were receiuing, the *Antigrapher* was stil present, to wit; the Comptroller, who (naming the summes) did set all downe in a Iournall or Day-booke, and at the receipt, wrote downe each mans payment, whereof heereafter we shal speak more at large. The taxations which others (in reason) were to pay, were gathered by the *Logists*, and what remayned behind to the *Questores*, came afterward to the *Logists*. The account being cast ouer, and som remnants remaining as vnpaide by any man; sodaine order was taken, that so soone as hee was able, the remainder should be paid. But, if it so chanced (as oftentimes in like cases it fals out) that any brabling or strife ensued on these Collections: the quarreller was forthwith broght before the Magistrates, called the nine men, & promising there to pay their iudgement, he shold be sworn faithfully to do it. Heerin stood the difference of the *Apodectæ*, from other Officers, they onely had power to receiue, but not to compell any man thereto. This name or Title was much commended, as appeareth in the Booke of *Aristotles* World. According to these, the *Questores* of the Exchequer were ordained; the Captaines for the Wars; the Comptrollers for hunting. Then followed, the Receyuers of guists, and such as were like *Lombardes*, for supply of others necessities. The *Latines* tearmed them *Susceptores*, that is; *Receiuers*. The like *Budeus* affirmeth, taking it from the Law-makers. But I imagine, that by *Receiuers*, they meant and vnderstood, such as entertained Theeues, and bad persons, who oftentimes were bound to pay (in the Kings name) to the Exchequer, matters of greater moment or sum, then any other beside; and yet no way to helpe or relieue the King, nor the publick benefit, but to moue and increase terrour in the people, vnder the Kings name.

14. *The Logists* (saith *Harpocration*) *were ten men, elected out of the Tribes, to whom, all such as had ended their Office of Magistracy (within thirty dayes of their authorities expiration) were to render an account of all such occasions, as they had then administration of in their charge. The Grecians named them* Logisti, *and* Logizistæ. *Aristotle*, in his *Politicks of the Athenians*, agreeth with the same Author, adding: *That they were different from the Eutini, who were to heare other kinds of accountes.* The *Eutini* did sit with the *Nine men*, or *Nine Princes*, making seizure of al such benefits, as the Common-Wealth had bin defrauded of, after the finishing of their Magistracy. *There were in* Athens (saith *Pollucius*) *two Logists; one, that delt in the affayres of the Senate; the other, that was out of the Senate: And yet they both were elected by the Senate, to the end, that they should ouer-see the whole administration of the Weale-publicke.* I am perswaded, that insted of two, *Pollucius* vnderstood two sortes of *Logists*; in regard that other Anthors haue Written, that there were many of them. And it is not possible, that they should be but two onely, because they were not able to heare so many causes: we may conceiue then, that he, speaking only of two, inferred thereby the two Presidents of that power.

This Office is in Fraunce in great respect, and belongeth to the businesse of the Exchequer; and that whereof wee speake in this place, is in *Paris* called the Chamber of accounts. Whereuppon, they who hold the chiefest dignitie, are tearmed Presidents; they of the second degree, are called Auditours; and they of the thirde, are stiled Clearkes of the Accounts.

These *Logists* receiued the Bookes deliuerd them by the *Apodectæ*, or *Questores*, which they read in presence of the Auditours, and of the Arithmeticians. They not only kept account of the Monies, but likewise of all other matters, that appertained vnto the Kinges Reuennue, setting all downe (according to the yeares multiplication) in ordinary Bookes, where they might bee soonest found, and Faith made of the payment, to auoyd all strife or dissention, when the Monies publicke came to the receipt, or any other ocasion whatsoeuer. In *Venice*, there are three men appointed to these accounts: and the Turkes likewise haue such a Magistrate. They haue a *Baratemin*, Prefect or Gouernour of the expences, who (with foure other men) doth heare all the businesse belonging to the Treasury. It shall not varry much from our present purpose, to relate a little more of the

Logists

Antigraphæus the Controller or keeper of Accounts.

The Collections of the *Logists*.

Against brablers, and contentious persons in payments.

List mund. Ari.

The subsequent Order of Officers following these.

Brokers or receiuers of ill gotten goods.

Of the Logists, to wit, Matters of the accounts and reckonings.

Arist. in Polit. Athen.

Nine men termed Princes.

Two kinds of Logists in Athens.

An obiection against *Pollucius*.

How this Office is respected in France.

The Office of Logists in Athens.

The order among the Venetians and Turkes.

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Eschin in Orat. cont. Demost. & Stesiphon.

Logistes Office, as it is set downe in the Oration of *Æschines* against *Demosthenes* and *Stesiphon*.

First of all (saith hee) *the Law commanded, that the most sacred Senate of the* Ariopagitæ, *should be written by the* Logists, *and that they should not be exempted from yeelding vppe their accountes vnto them. And there you desire* (O Athenians) *according to that written by your command, that the Logists should bee Patrones of the venerable Senate.*

The sacred Senate of the *Ariopagitæ.*

Next, your will and pleasure is, that the fiue hundered men shall render them an account of their Magistracie: and so distrustfull was the State of them, that hadde not rendered an account of their businesse, that suddainely it must bee done. Nor might any such Offender, depart the Land, vntill the Goodes to him belonging, were subiected to their power. Nay more, none might consecrate any thing whatsoeuer vnto the Goddes, or bee manumised. In briefe, they might not haue any right or power of their owne faculties, for want of rendering their accountes, but still should stand in further Obligation to the Commonwealth.

But some one may obiect; He that hath spent nothing for publique good, nor redeemed any man, was hee likewise to render a reason for his defailiance? I answere, no man could bee exempted, from yeilding vppe an account vnto the Citty, for matters of omission, as well as of commission. A little after he addeth, *Thou oughtest* (O Demosthenes) *to haue suffered the Common Proclaimer or Crier of the Logistes, according to the custome of the Countrey, to call for any that could accuse the partie:* Such are the Words of *Eschines*: vndoubtedly, if this Law were in force among vs, it would reueale the Thefts of Collectors, the fraud of Magistrates, the Deceipts of Rent-Gatherers, the corruption among Iudges, their priuate Fauours, and publicke Oppresions; if admittance might bee graunted of all Testimonies, punnishing first false witnesses with the losse of their heades. How many (thinke you) are by such indirect meanes, euen torne in peeces, spoyled, and meerely robbed of their Goodes, that dare not make anie publique speech thereof, but bite in their Oppression with sorrowfull and greeued harts, that no such place of Iustice is permitted nor allowed, where they might freely accuse so many mischieses and iniuries?

A further inferēce against *Demosthenes.*

A good wish, but neuer to be expected.

15 Those men, whom the *Grecians* tearmed *Antigraphi*, the Latines called *Custodiæ*. These were next in degree to them, of whom wee haue formerly discoursed, and Wrote downe the reckonings and Diuisions in a Iournall; as Men amongest vs in publicke mannagements vse to doo, especially in matters of money.

Custodiæ called by the Grecians *Antigraphi*

Æschines saith; *At the first* (O Athenians) *the* Antigrapharians *were elected by suffrages, or voyces, and hee, at euerie meeting of the* Pritanij, *shoulde declare to the people what accounts were entred.*

Eschin in Orat. cont. Demost.

Suidas saith; *That one* Antigrapher *was in the Senate, another in the publick administration*; which apeareth to be credible, by such vse of the like, as (now adaies) is made amongst vs. Because, in euery Court was a Notarie or Register, that Wrote downe all those thinges which the Iudges had pronounced. There was also another, who was *Custos* of the Common Expences and Receipts. *But I cannot* (saith Suidas) *affirm, that there were three Notaries, as among the* Romaines, *who tearmed them Secretaries, that wrote the actions of the Senat, and preserued them.*

The words of *Suidas.*

Notaries among the *Romaines* called Secretaries.

The *Grecians*, would haue euerie Tribe to haue one, which should be very likely, for else, howe was it possible, that such a burthen of the Common-Wealth, arising from the peoples often seditions, shold be comported by three Secretaries onely, considering, that the Iudges were so many, and so many seuerall Orders or degrees of them? *Æschines* addeth; *That the Notaries vvrote downe their Names in a Iournall, that had not formerly rendered an account* (*vnto the State*) *of the trust reposed in them*, which likewise is Concordant to our instant Obseruation, in such as holde high and eminent places.

A further addition of *Eschines.*

16 Many write, that there were ten men, appointed as Tribunes of the common people, or heads of the tribes, who (as *Pollucius* affirmeth) succeeded in the place of the *Nacraroni*, and were in euery tribe twelue parts, and were each man called *Nacrarius*, to whome likewise these *Demarchi* were appointed. The *Nacrarij* were obliged, to yeelde an Account to the Common-weale,

Of the Questors, called *Demarchi*, Rulers of the cōmon people.

The Office of the *Nacrary*.

of their expences in the time of warre, for two Horſſes, and one Shippe. Of theſe *Nacrarij* there were an hundered and twenty, as many *Demarchi*, as many Shippes, and of horſes two hundred and forty, when the warre ſo required, beſide ſuch as wer maintained from the publick Treaſury. They had care for all ſuch things as appertained to the nauy, whereby they were much moleſtuous to poore people, in regard, that they payed ratably for buſineſſe of the Field, for Houſes, for Marchandizes, and for the Arts they profeſſed: and if they denied or refuſed to pay, they might amerce them to the very vttermoſt of the Debt. Now, becauſe the *Demarchi* (with leſſe offence to the people) might make Collection of them, they would Write of the Prouinces, and of the Atticke Fieldes, how many of them were barren, and how many fruitfull; how much each one poſſeſſed, and then gathered, according to the benefit and vſe of his Trade. After they had thus commanded their Monies, the ſecond office of the *Demarchi*, was, to ſet downe in a Iournall, all ſuch yong people, to whom (in regard of their yeares) it was lawful to allow ſucceſſion and Inheritaunce, which did redound to great commodity. If at any time there grew any queſtion about the age of any one (which only fell into the Magiſtrates guift, and to his allowance) preſently they ranne to the Iournall, wherein the birth of euery one was Written, and ſo cleared all doubting. Another benefit likewiſe thereby inſued, to wit; the continuall fit Election of yong men for the wars.

The Collections of the *Demarchi*.

The ſecond Office of the *Demarchi*.

17 There were ten *Ephtini* or *Creoſti*, redeemers of debts, iudiciall Hearers of ſuch cauſes, & Maiſters of compoſitions, to whom, becauſe others wer conſtrained to yeild a reaſon of all ſuch Occurrences, & the parties to ſet down euery thing vnder their owne hands, we cannot more aptly tearme them, then *Quæſtores* of Accounts vnder Hand-writing. Theſe being elected by nine principall men, euen in the greateſt calamity and buſineſſe of the Countrey; they increaſed diuers Cuſtomes, Toll-Gatherings, and Fines to the people, & redeemed many debts; by means wherof, they were called *Creoſti*, not becauſe they ſhould redeeme, but in regard that they had redeemed many. The ſums of Mony numbred by theſe Men, were deliuered in account to the *Logiſts*. They dealt in the affayres of the inferior Magiſtrates, and diſpoſed of all their Receipts, beſide the conſtituted penſions of the publique Chamber. They had the charge of all Ambaſſages, euen to their concluſion. A Notary vſed to attend on them, who ſhould acquaint them with the peoples names, and heauy their Tributes according to their power. And when any diſturbaunce happened among them, for any penalties impoſed; they would lead the Offenders to the Tribunall of the ſuperiour Iudges; and likewiſe ſuch as had not wherwithall to pay, according as *Iſocrates* maketh mention in his *Trapezitition*, towardes the end. The Scriuener or Notary thus attending them, kept account of the Corne, which was contributed by euery one, becauſe it was beſtowed in the publick Granary. They that had the diſtribution of this Corne, were called, *Sitometre*; they that kept it in ſtore, *Sitophilaci*, and the place where it was kept, *Sarophilachio*. They that had care to ſee it conuayed thoroughout all the Citty, *Sitoni*, or, *Maiſters of the Suſtenance*.

Quæſtores or Gouernours called *Ephtini*.

Their electiō was by nine principal men

The charge of the *Ephtini* or *Creoſti*.

Iſocrat. in Trapezit.

The name of the Officers for Graine.

The Venetians, doo make eſpeciall vſe of ſuch Magiſtrates; for there are ſome, that take the charge of bringing Corne from all partes; and thoſe men, are called moſt commonly by the people, Puruayers, or Prouiders of Graine. They haue power and Authority to ſee it ſafely kept, and to diſtribute it to two Magiſtrates appointed for Meale, who doth cauſe it to be ſold in two places; Namely, at Saint *Markes*, and at the *Rialto*, called the Store-Houſes, at much better rate then the Marchants will affoord. This is thus done, leaſt the Couetouſneſſe of many ſhould prey vppon the poore, and the Common-Wealth, and ſo to murder men by Famiſhment. Which thing, is ſo familiar and frequent in theſe our Dayes, that many times, for the thirſt of Gold, and coueting after a greater price for Corne: we may ſee it rotten and ſpoyld, and ſo much caſt away, or powred downe the Riuer, as might haue fed an hundred thouſand Men. Thus by the endeuor of theſe two men, they

Order obſerued among the Venetians for ſale of their Corne.

Much Corne oftentimes ſpoild by greedineſſe.

they haue ſtill abundance of graine, nor are the *Venetians* careleſſe of theſe Officers, albeit they are hemd in with the Sea: when the *Turkes* are as prouident euery way, although it be falſely giuen vs to vnderſtand, that they are vnskilful in ſuch matters of Magiſtracy. They haue their *Edili*, and Gouernors of Cities, whom they tearme *Sar Farin*, that is; the Cities Ruler: his eſpeciall charge is, that the people haue alwaies aboundance of Barley, and of other Corne, at reaſonable rate. In the Army alſo, the *Arpac Enim* takes care, that there bee good prouiſion of Barley for the Horſes:

Order for graine among the Turkes.

The *Romains* were ſo careful of their Corne affayres, and Husbandrie for Graine, that they brought it from the Riuer *Nilus* at publicke charge, and by that meanes conueyed ſuch abundance of Graine into *Alexandria*, that at length they brought it in like plentie to *Rome*, maintaining ſtill the Riuer at incredible expences. Moreouer, they made a Law, that if any one brake the bankes of *Nilus*, or any other bankes of ſuch riuers as they vſed, he was puniſhed very capitally. The Fields of *Bizantium* in *Affrica*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, and all other places whatſoeuer, that yeilded any plenty of Corne, was ſo highly by them reſpected, that they honoured all ſuch parts with the name of Prouinces. Returne we now to the *Sitori*, who little differed from thoſe notaries or Scriueners, that I mentioned with the *Sitoni*, who were tearmed *Logographi*, or Writers of the accounts, becauſe they ſerued in place of the *Epigraphei*.

The care of the *Romanes* for corn, conuaying it from farre to *Rome*.

Writers of Pleas, & ſuites in law.

1⁸. Hauing ſaide ſome-what of young men in the Office of the *Demarchi*, whoſe names were regiſtred in the Iournall, we will heere proceed therein a little further. Before they could haue any power in Hereditarie occaſions, for the ſpace of two yeares together, they muſt viſite all the neere Neighbouring Regions, as ſeeking to learne the exerciſe of Armes. And then, from the eighteenth yeare of their age (at which time they departed from the *Ephebie*) to the twentith; they were tearmed *Peripoli*, that is, Circuiters, or Wanderers; and *Ephebie* by their age, to wit; youthhood, and *Ephodi*, by the voyages they had gone.

Of the *Liſiarchici*, *Peripoli*, and *Ephebie*, in their ſeuerall degrees.

They were likewiſe called, *Chorias Epiſcopi*, that is; Inquiſitours of the Regions, not becauſe they were in any ſuch Magiſteriall Office, but in regarde that they (ſeeking after ſtrange occurrences) were skilfull in all places and wayes of the Regions.

Chorias Epiſcopi Inquiſitors of the Regions.

Two yeares being paſt, as in reward of their trauaile, they had the Title beſtowed on them of *Liſiarchi*, becauſe the *Grecians* ſaid, *Liſin ech tu ligin*, left to the inheritance. The power of inheritance being graunted them, they tooke then this forme of Oath: *I will neuer become a ſhame to Armes. I will neuer forſake that Captaine, to vvhome I ſhall bee appointed in Service. For the honour of my Countrey, I vvill fight ſingle, or againſt manie. I vvill neuer doe any dammage vnto my Countrey. I vvill ſayle to any Countrey or Region, whereto I ſhall bee appointed. I vvill condiſcend vnto the Equitie of the eternall Iudges. I will bee obedient to the Sacraments alreadie receyued. If any man ſhall diſobey the Lawes, or ſeeke to Deface them, I will hinder him ſo much as lieth in me to do. Alone, or againſt many, I will be a reuenger of wrongs. I will alwaies honour the wiſe Gouernours of my Country.*

The oath taken by the young men.

Six men were thus named, and to them, power was giuen (at all times, when the Great Counſell Aſſembled) to Elect thirty othermen, as Co-adiutours, all which; with a Thred, dipt in Vermillion Colour, marked all ſuch as were negligent in hearing the Lawes, or in comming vnto the Senate, and they were then ſeuerely punniſhed. Whereuppon, there grew a Prouerbe on ſuch as were in Office, more for fear of punniſhment, then loue to vertue, to wit; *Beware the halter dipt in red.* A generation of ſuch men, is almoſt in euery Citty, who will neuer vndergo any Office, except the lawes do compell them.

Six men, had power to elect thirtie other helpers.

A Prouerbe vſed by the Athenians.

19 There were nine principall Men, renowned in Athens, who could not be elected into that Office, if they had not firſt taken an Oath, that (both by father and Mother) they were Athenians begotten and borne, and well knowne to be ſo, by his Father, Grand-father, and great great Graund-father. They were likewiſe demaunded, if they were *Indigeni*, or had deriued their originall from any other people: as the Venetians do obſerue the like Courſe, to knowe

Nine men, who were called *Archonti*.

In matter of Religion, how they wer questioned and sworne.

the Natiue Children of Noblemen. In matter of Religion, they were questioned, if God *Ioue* were to them penetrale and tutelary, and *Apollo* their first Founder. In the course of their life spent already, they were demanded, if they had bin beneficiall to their Parents; if they had vndertaken Armes for their Countrey, and for the Altar; if they had atchieued honour in their Countrey deseruedly: All which being approoued, they were then admitted, but otherwise they might not. All these Questions were asked them by the *Ariopagiti*; and in the Porch of the Kings Pallace. This Oath being first taken, then this other followed. *That perpetually they should bee obedient to the Lawes: That a man shoulde neuer request any Statue of Golde, for the most beneficiall seruice hee could perfourme to his Countrey or Common-weale. That hee should not pursue the extreamity of Iustice, for any extraordinary benefit to himselfe.*

A second oath taken by the *Archonti*.

Hauing promised by Oath all these things, hee was brought from the Senate, into the *Acropolio*, a strong Tower belonging to the *Athenians*, where hee made fresh replication of all the former promises. There is no great dissimilitude heerein, from him that is elected Captaine for the Nauie, belonging to the Senate of *Venice*, who vulgarly is called a Prouider or Purueyer. Heere onely is the difference, that this man is thus appointed, and hath care of all the Nauall Affayres, as also of Corne: And the other, vseth to administer the power of the Lawe. When they are thus brought vnto the strong Forte or Tower, although they be all elected *Archonti*; yet sixe of them are termed *Tesmoteti*: One, *Archon Eponimo*; a second, King; and the thirde, Captaine of the Souldiours *Polimarcho*, of whome, we shall heereafter speake more particularly.

Captaine of the Naual armie of Venice

Six *Tesmoteti*, onely named *Archonti*.

Of the *Eponimo*, and his office.

20 The Feasts of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*, were Celebrated by the *Eponimo*. Hee heard the Differences betweene Wife and Husband, Kindered and Kindered, and appointed punnishment for such, as did iniurie each other by oddes, or excesse of aduantage. He had care of Orphanes, for whom hee made choyse of good and honest persons, to be as their Tutors, and to yeild a reason of the Legittimate, from such as were made heyres by institution. The *Grecians* vsed to tearme such men, *Chiron Epitopi*, that is; Defenders of widdows: but in saying *Traorphanon Epitropus*, it signifieth Tutors of Orphans, after they had regarded such Widdowes, as were left great with Childe at the Death of their Husbands. Their charge was, to bee respectiue of the *Posthumi*, Children borne after their Fathers decease, and that the Widdowes which were so deliuered, should bee cancelled out of the Iournall, and their Child-birth excused.

Chiron Epitopi, and *Traorphanon Epitropus*.

21 *Plinie* interprets him to bee a King, and chiefe Sacrifieer; Whereby we may affirme, that the *Romaines* not only imitated the *Grecians* in their laws; but also deriued their forme of gouernment (in Common-weale affairs) from them. And as this King vsed, as it were, to administer all sacred thinges; so was this name of King the chiefest and most eminent in Authority. The first dignity of his office, was, to haue especiall care, that the Sacrifices should be offered to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, according to accustomed vse, with the *Curatori* of the pastimes. In all their sports and delightes, the Athenians vsed to haue their Auditors, who not only (as I haue formerly noted) were Presidents of those sportes and feasts: but likewise out of their own properties, of meere liberality, and according to their faculties, would shape their expences, onely in regard of that name, to be chiefe in such occasions, & proposed the rewardes, partly of their own bounty, and partly of the publick. Concerning the charge of these Auditors, or *Coragi*, as the *Grecians* stiled thē, and the priuiledges belonging to them. *Demosthenes* discourseth at large in one of his Orations, where, if any bee desirous of more ample satisfaction, he may be fully resolued. For those men apointed the Feasts, in what maner they shold be doone, and on what charges they should consist.

Of the King, who was called *Sacrificulus*

The dignities of the Kinges Office.

Presidents of the Pastimes.

Demost. in Orat Athen. 4.

Three Feasts were obserued among the Athenians, wherein vse was made of Lampes and Fires, (viz:) to *Minerua*, to *Vulcane*, and to *Prometheus*. *Suidas* sayeth, that *Istrus* left in his Writings; *That the* Athenians *at making the Feast of* Vulcan, *did then imagine Lampes*

The *Athenians* three Feasts.

The Feast of *Vulcan*.

to

to be very conuenient. In memory of which nouell inuention, they would neuer after sacrifice their pastimes to *Vulcan*, without the vse of many Lamps. Moreouer, becaus̃e it added a great grace to the most prudent inuentresse of Arts, *Pallas*, and to *Prometheus*, first Fautor and Deuiser of driuers Artes among Men: Lampes were especiallie commaunded to be vsed in their Feasts, and that their Successours should follow their ordination. The Sacrifices being ended, they iudged such differences as happened among the Wrastlers and others Sporters. Afterwards, they brought in their criminall causes before the Ariopagiticall Senate, and the Offendour before the Tribunal, laying by his Crowne atchieued in the games, he sate down with the *Ariopagitæ*, and was the first to bee sentenced, according to the fault committed. Then, they heard the causes of Animaters and Imboldners, according as harms had happened on the common wayes; iniuries done to Houses, and such like transgressions, and sentence was deliuered as occasion required.

The Feasts of *Pallas* and *Prometheus*.

An offender, though honored, yet first sentenced.

22 The third of these Princes, was the *Polimarcho*, which Title was declared by his Office, and whereto hee was by duty obliged. He was President at all thinges sacred to *Diana*, and *Mars* the God of Warre. Next to this, the *Polimarcho*, had charge of all the Combates fought in Lists, and for the Countrey. There was then a most excellent custome obserued in *Athens*, that all such as dyed in Warre for their Countries cause, their Names being enrouled in a Day-Book or *Iournall*; they were oftentimes celebrated with publique Feasts, and then their names were openly recited, as also their actions performed with glory and perpetuall honour. When young Men fought combats, that manner of fight was tearmed *Epitaphicon*; that is, belonging to a Graue or Sepulcher: whereto those young spirits went with enflamed affections, preferring the Weale-publique, before their priuate Welfare.

Of the *Polimarcho*, *Tribune* of the Souldiers, and his Offices.

An excellent custome in *Athens*.

Young mens combats were called *Sepulchralis*.

Moreouer, the *Polimarcho* tooke account of such verses and Canzones, as were made in commendation of the dead, and the assured truth of them: Then did he giue them to young Men, and they should sing them at their publique pastimes. They alwaies presented to the Ariopagiticall Senate, such as in War had gon out of order, or (for feare of perrill) fled away, and there required condemnation against them. In breefe, his Office was, to mannage all Military matters, and rurall businesse. Many haue written, that he also kept the Keyes of the Citty Gates in the night time, and had especiall care of all the Ports. Now, because he had the full charge of Military occasions, we will heere giue a little touch of the other Captaines of War.

Honor done to the dead.

Keyes of the Citty Gates kept in the night.

23 Next to the *Polimarcho*, followed two *Hipparchi*, Maisters of the Horse, to whom not onely all the Horse-men were obedient, but the Army vniuersally: otherwise, they would seuerely chastise the vnruly, and such as made scorne of their commaund. They were heedefull also, that men should keepe their rancke, and no one depart from the Captaine (of whom hee had once made election) without lawfull cause, or his especiall licence, on paine of his Head: That order might be obserued in food and rayment, and not immeasurably any way exceeded: That no iniuries should be done by them to the people; and other like matters, meete to be prohibited in Souldiers. These men kept in order the *Centurions*, the *Capi-di-dieci*, & the vnder Souldiers. There were beside in *Athens*, ten *Philarchi*; to wit, *Tribunes*, and Captaines of the Tribes.

Of Militarie officers, called *Hipparchi*, Maisters of the Horse.

An order for food and garments among Souldiers.

24 The *Tesmoteti* vsed to elect the Magistrates of the Horse; beside, their charge was, to see that the Iudges shold obserue the conditions set downe in writing, and iudge according to the Lawes: As wee, instead of these men, haue our Atturnies and Aduocates. Out of accustomed times, they might cause the Senate to assemble, and at their pleasure. How great the authority of these men was, & of what charge; the *Romaines* made sufficient demonstration, in that (among them) these Offices were allowed to the *Dictator*, *Consull*, *Prætor*; yea, and the most important occasions of the *Tribunes*, as well Military, as concerning the Common people. They were also to declare to the people, those matters whereon the Senate had concluded. They were troublesome to such Magistrates, as had

Of the *Tesmoteti*, and their authority in seuerall affaires.

The Office of such men among the *Romanes*.

had promulgated Lawes, which had not formerly been consented to by all; and vniuersally, they were Fathers and defenders of all the Lawes. Moreouer, it was their charge, to appoint punishment for false Witnesses, and to condemne the vniust Accuser; and yet to giue place to the Iudges, according to their honour.

Fathers and defenders of the Lawes.

25 Because our perfect intention may be the better vnderstood, I will recite the very words of *Demosthenes*, set downe in this manner. *Diuers are the benefits among you* (ô Athenians) *which no where else are to bee found: among which, verily the most sublime and cleerest, is, the Ariopagiticall Tribunall. Of whose praise, whosoeuer would vndertake to expresse the smallest part, he shall abound and exceede in such Copy of discourse, as nothing can bee more eudent: In regard, that both by ancient and Moderne Testimony, it hath beene very plentifully handled; yet notwithstanding, I will not forbeare (for all that) to declare one thing recorded by Antiquity. It was the pleasure of the Gods, that in this place should be established iudgment of murder, and heere it is iudged, as it is framed.* Neptune *made Faith in this case, for his Sonne* Alirrhothius *against* Mars. *Twelue Gods did heere giue sentence, betweene Orestes and the Furies: but these are matters of Antiquity, let vs come to Moderne occasions. Such hath beene the reuerence helde and obserued to this Senate, and such the religious Faith; that no Tyrant in Oligarchy (which is the rule of a few potent persons) nor in* Democracy (*which exceedeth all other kindes of Gouernment*) *euer durst be so bold, as to take iudgement for Murderers from this place, & appoint it any where else. Againe (which is a matter most marualous) that neuer was there found any guilty person conuicted, or accuser that preuailed not, that deseruedly appealed from their sentence.* These are the wordes of *Demosthenes*; and *Pausanias* confirmeth the very same in his *Atticks*. First of all, on the right hand, was the Kinges Porch, wherein the King yearely vsed to sit in his greatest pompe. *Harpocration* saith, in his first Oration of *Demosthenes*, thus; *There were three Kinges Porches. The first, of Ioue their deliuerer; The second, for the King, and continually vsed; The third, was adorned with variety of Figures.*

Of the Tribunals where causes were sentenced.

Iudgement against Murders, exampled by Antiquity and moderne occasions.

Demosthenes & *Pausanias* of one mind.

Harpocrat. in 1. *Orat. de Demost.*

Pausanias saith. *The Field of Mars, was so named, because Mars was there condemned, for hauing slaine* Alirrhothius; *and where Orestes was adiudged, for murdering his Mother. But he to escape the punnishment, instituted an Altar to Pallas, which he called the Altar of* Pallas Martia. Afterward he saith; *There are other Tribunals in* Athens, *but not so famous: As the Trigon, so called of the triangular Figure; And the Paranista, so named, because it was in an obscure place of the Citty, and frequented but by few.* But the cheefest of all, and where most plenty of persons might be assembled, was the *Ilieta*. The place where they sentenced Homicides, Poysoners, Parracides, and such like wickednesse, was called *Palladium*. In the *Pritanio*, the discoursed on ciuil causes; so saith *Pausanias*. But returning to *Demosthenes*, he saith; *There was another* Palladium, *where all such were sentenced, as had committed Homicide against their will, or in defence of themselues, being intured.* In this place, albeit the Parents and Kindred of the dead pursued the cause; yet notwithstanding, they should haue no censure in the affliction: but the matter being made knowne to the Senate, they sent the party to a place of security, vntill the Parents and Friendes ceased further molestation. *Pollucius* saith; *That Troy being destroyed, the* Palladium *was transferred to* Athens *by the* Greekes. *But the Inhabitants of* Phalera, (*which Port ioyned neere to the* Pirea *of* Athens) *taking them to bee Enemies, threw them into the Sea. Acamath* saith; *That they were* Grecians, *who brought the simulacre of the Palladium, and called it* THE VNKNOVVNE ORACLE; *because they being alike in yeares, familiars and friends, were thus dead, and not knowne.* In which place, in memory of the accident, the Tribunall was made, and the sacred *Palladium*, where sentence was giuen for voluntary Murders, because the *Falerians* killed them, not willingly, but in defence of their Countrey. *Demosthenes* addeth a third Tribunal, which was called *Delphinus*; where Iudgement was giuen on them that denied not the Homicide, but proued that they had done it vpon good occasion. *Pollucius* sheweth, that it was made by *Ægeus*, and thereon named *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Bellona Delphina*. The first Iudgement pro-

The saying of *Pausanias*.

Other Tribunals in *Athens*.

Trigon.

Paranista.

Ilicia.

The *Palladium*

Demost. in 1. *Orat. ad Athen.*

A second *Palladium.*

The words of *Pollucius* concerning the *Palladium.*

The saying of *Acomath.*

The vnknown Oracle.

A third Tribunall, called *Delphinus.*

Apollo Delphinus.

Bellona Delphina.

pronounced in this place, was on *Theseus*, when he dedicated the spoyles of the Theeues to the Goddes, not denying that he had slaine *Pallantius*; but approouing, that he did it to good intent, becausse he should not be hurtfull to the State of his Countrey, nor him.

A fourth Tribunall, called *Pritanio*.

The fourth Tribunall, according to *Demosthenes*, was in the *Pritanio*, where these kind of cases were handled (viz.) If a Man (passing along the way) were smitten eyther by a stone, a ball of Iron throwne at him, or any other senceleſſe thing, & the hurt done without knowledge of him that was the caster: they did then argue coniecturally, by what Art or meanes they might best attaine to know the Offendour that acted the harme, or whether the party were the cause of his own iniury; either of which beeing made apparant by proofe, condemnation passed aunswerable to the importance of the case. In the proceedings of this Tribunall, whereof the K. was the Head, the Councellours and Friends also of the King sate with him there together, who, after inquisition made of all coniectures, if the Author of the harme could not bee agreed on: they vsed presently to rent and teare the Processe in peeces, and cast it into the Fire, or into the Sea, as a signe of punishment due to it. The fift Tribunall, was in a place, which they called, *The Well pit*, or Grauell pit; where, if a Man (after a Murder against his will done, & should commit another willingly) came to his aunswere; he was constrained to yeild a reason for the Fact. Then standing on a Ship (as a Man vnworthy, depriued and exiled from his Countrey) not held by any Anker, Cable, Mast, or Saile, hee was left to the mercy of his Fortune.

The King and his Councell.

A fifth Tribunall, called *The well pit*.

Of *Assessores*, called *Paredri*.

26 In their most sollemne Iudgements, sixe *Paredri* vsually were present, binarily chosen by each one of the three *Archonti*; whom *Suidas* affirmeth, that they were sometime foure, according to *Aristotle* in his *Politickes*. It was very expedient, that these men should be altogether of blameleſſe life, and thereof (before they might come among the other Iudges) they rendred a very seuere and strict account, before fiue hundred men *Pritanij*, for the first time.

Arist. in Polit.

Men yeilde a strict and seuere account of their liues.

The second, was to the *Ariopagita*, euery man obiecting against them, what soeuer they could alleadge, and deliuering it in accusation, to the *Comandadore*. The cause of so seuere inquisition, was, becausse they were to manage matters of importance, and full of perrill, wherein was great need of extaordinary fidelity: As, in deliuering the Iudges sentence, whereof, one word left out, changed, transported otherwise, or added vnto by the Notaries (who wrote very swiftly) might ouer-turne, or draw the sentence into a quite contrary sense, or (at least) make it very farre off from the Iudges meaning. They were therefore set as Ouer-seers of the Notaries, to obserue all pointes and virgulers, in transcripts deliuered to the Iudges.

The reason of so strict seuerity.

27 The Clearkes vsed to note downe, and send for them that were elected by the Colonies, and Inhabitants of the Citty, or of ancient possessions among the *Athenians*, or newly purchased, but not made habitable, and then to deuide the Bounds, Territories of the Countrey, and iurisdiction of each Citty, according to the lot of euery man, after they were vnable for further seruice. And heereon was the word *Clearke* formed; to wit, to distribute to them the lot of their allowance. It was obserued as a custome among them, that such as were destitute of Goods and Houses, (which very quickly was knowne by diligence of the *Ariopagita*) and had sustained such losse by imployment in the Warres: the Common Purse allowed so much Mony as the iourney required, and then they were sent to the remotest Citties, naked or needing store of Inhabitants, or else to some other conuenient parts adioyning, where the Country maintained them all the rest of their life time.

Of Clearkes, cald Captains ouer the Colonies.

A meere allowance for maimed Souldiers in these dates.

28 There were ten Dispensers, or Stewardes of the publique Treasurie, who (in presence of the Senators) from that Treasury that was vsually kept in the *Palladium*; tooke so much as was necessary for publique vse: especially, for preseruing the Nauy in good order, and all prouision for the Sea; for heereon, (as had beene many times obserued) depended the safety, not onely of *Athens*, but of all *Greece* beside. Of two Ships, of wonderfull greatnesse by publique Name, they had most especiall and prouident

Guardians of the publique Exchequer or Treasury, called *Tamiæ*.

uident care: The one of them was called * *Faralos*; and the other *Ammon*. Beside, the fore-named dispensations, they were wont (in returning to the Senate, with publique Supplications) to beare the Golden Image of *Pallas*, the Signals of victory, formerly giuen to their Captaines, and other ornaments of sacred thinges: which I read, was onely done by them, whom the *Grecians* vsed to tearme *Calachierta*, *Ephori Calachierta*, *Ephori Philacas*, and such like. But *Harpocration* affirmeth, that the words are all of equall Dignity, and that the Men were so called, because they placed, preserued, carried abroad, and husbanded all such businesse.

The Interpreter of *Demosthenes* Oration against *Timocrates*, saith; that there was a place in the hinder part of the *Cittadell*, which they called *Acropolis*: and of that place they were named *Opistodomo*, and *Tamicon*, because all the Money of the Churches was there kept. Yet afterward it happened, that all the vsury Money was found wanting there, by meanes of the said *Guardians*: because they that were then *Tamij*, burned the Treasury, to the ende that their Theft might not appeare, nor their slender care bee discerned. *Demosthenes* in his third *Philippicke*, calleth them publique Preseruers, whom we vulgarly vse to tearme Treasurers of spare, or Treasurers onely; hee calleth them beside, *Moristi Tamia*.

29 In speaking of these *Tamij*, it puts me in mind of the *Hellinomij*, whose office was, to preserue and administer such Monies, as were collected from those partes of *Greece*, that were vnder the *Athenian* Empire. The like also might they doe of sacred thinges, and of all taxations and Tributes; they vsed also to gather and summe vp the profits of the Islands. The *Greeke* Authours, in rendring a reason for this Name, doe say; that after the King of *Persia* was vanquished by the *Athenians*, in a Warre vppon the Sea; they, to preserue their Empire the more diligently (because suddainely, well neere all the *Grecians* exalted their courages, after such calamity and miserable slaughter as they had long suffered) commaunded; that all in generall should pay Tribute, toward the great charges of that Nauall Warre, whereby the Countries common Enemye was happily foyled. Heereupon, the greater part of the expences was quickly collected, and therfore they were called *Hellinotamij*, as much to say, as Chamberlains of *Grecia*.

33 There were others, tearmed *Hellanodici*, who gathered such Monies, as were giuen in the name of sacred vse, and afterward consigned to the *Choragi*, for the charge of Sacrifices, as also the sports of the Citty. This was collected of the citizens & inhabitants of *Athens*.

31 The *Gineconomi*, were Men that deliberated on the Ornaments for Gentle-women, and afterward for all other women; to the end, that no one might weare any thing vnbeseeming her degree, but ech one be adorned according to her quality: imposing also a pecuniary penalty, on such as durst doe otherwise, and the infliction was as speedy, as they were ready to offend the Law by them appointed. There was also a Law for Women, prouided by a Son of the Emperor *Phillips*, by which Law, if any walked dishonestly, they were quicklie fined at a thousand Drammaes: *Pollucius* affirmeth, that afterward they fell to twenty. The Signeury of *Venice*, in some passed yeares, perceiuing the intollerable expences laide out in Ornaments for women, and that thence arose and increased (beyond measure) the danger of their condition: ordained, that no Woman, were she of Noble blood, or a Cittizen, Maide, or Wife, should dare to be seene in publike, with a Garment of Silke; except on the day of mariage, and such as shold go to mariages, or solemne inuitations. For, before this restraint, many, of very meane quality, would equall themselues with a Queen in pomp. They appointed, ouer and beside this good Lawe, that they should weare no Chaines of Golde, adorned with Gems; no Carcanets, or Girdles: and the Magistrates then in office, compelled thē to obseruation hereof, according to the Law in that case prouided. I doe not tell yee, how meete and necessary this Law was, because I know, that there are many, who ouer-abounding in a vaine custome, will lay on their backs, and on the Garments of their Wiues & Children; almost their own wealth; yea, of others beside, houses, dignities, or whatsoeuer (in this vaine humour)

a

* The Shippe that yearely went to *Delos*, to sacrifice to *Apollo*.

Calachierta, Ephori Calachierta, Ephori Philacas.

Demost. Orat. 3. in Timocrat.

Opistodomo and *Tamicon*.

Demost in Phil. 3.

Hellinotamij, or Chamberlaines.

The King of *Persia* foyled by the *Athenians*.

Hellanodici.

Choragi.

Gineconomi, who were to order the apparell for Women.

A Law for wo mens walking

The *Venetians* order for womens ornaments.

Meane persons equalled Queenes in pompe.

A common folly in these dayes.

a Man can procure from any place, or otherwise vsurpe.

Of Feasts and meetings.

It was the custome of these *Gineconomi*, to haue a care of Feasts & meetings, if they were aunsiverable to the Lawes therefore appointed, and to note the number of the Guests: *Timocles* in his *Philodeaste*, leaues it so written, adding withall. *Open* (saith he) *your doores, to the end we may be the better noted of you, & you of vs: then the Gineconomi passing along, do obserue who are the inuited, and how many are in old or newell fashions.* Moreouer, he addeth, that *Philocherus*, in the seauenth of his *Atticks*, saith; *The Gineconomi, with the Ariopagita, tooke obseruation of Mens company in euery house, likewise at Weddings, and at the Sacrifices; because there they vsed to excede in apparrell, diet and drinking. Athenæus* saith; *I cannot consent with Plato, concerning the number of inuited Guests; because he will haue no more to be at a Wedding, but ten persons; fiue men, and as many Women.* But the one wrote of things that happened, and the other but imagined, as in like manner is all his Common-wealth.

Timocles in Philodeaste.

Philoch. in Attic. sept.

Athenæus cont. Plat.

32 Those men, who by some Authors are called *Inotti*; to wit, obseruers of Wine; *Plato* in his feigned Common-wealth, tearmeth them *Mnamonas*, I thinke, because they recorded the Lawes. For, as the *Gineconomi* (as wee haue already said) compelled the determination for Womens Ornamens, the number of guests; and the order of their Viands: so these other in like manner, imposed Lawes for Wine, that if any one dranke more then needed, beeing thereof conuicted, he should learne the better at another time to drinke lesse. But, how many times their Elders vsed to drinke, is not declared, neither doth it much import to speake it: because regard is more to be had of nature, then number. But in this case, if any one be desirous to know the vse of diuers people; let him read the tenne and eleauen Bookes of *Athenæus* his *Dinosophists*, where almost nothing else is discoursed. These *Inotti* among the *Athenians* (as *Eupolis* the Poet faithfully deliuereth in his *Polixena*) were neuer seene in company of the Souldiers, nor they with them. *O Citty, Citty, how delicate wouldst thou appeare, and how much better for thee, if thou wert still so prouident?* So spake

Inotti, ouer-seers of wine.

Conuiction of such as drinke more Wine then was necessary.

Athenæus in Dinos. phil. Lib. 10, 11.

Eupolis in Poliæn.

Athenæus. Out of which words *Eupolis* comprehended, that our elders vsed to elect their Souldiers of such sobriety, and so slender drinkers, as they needed no Ouer-seers for their Wine, how greatly soeuer their number encreased. The *Grecians* were such sollemne Drinkers, that there grew a Prouerbe of them, to wit; * *Pergracari*. Good proofe was hereof among the *Macedons*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, *Misians*, and *Dalmatians*; yea, among the *Dutch* and *French*, for their Warres fell out vnluckily, when Wine and Women were ouer-much frequented, but neuer ensued any harme by mediocrity and abstinence; but returne we again to *Athenæus*. *These Inotti* (saith he) *obserued whatsoeuer was done at banquets, and if they dranke alwaies equally.* He was an inferior Magistrate, saith *Pliny* the Rhetoritian, of the *Crocanitai* discipline. There were three in number, who were cald *Optalmi*; because when they gaue admonition, they did thereby awake the eyes of the minde, which (by too much Wine) were lost and vterly dazeled before.

What election should be made of Souldiers.

*Riotous in drinking, eating &c.

Athenæus vbi sup.

Plin. Rhetor.

Optalmi, and their office.

33 In *Athens* there were ten *Curatores*, or Prouiders, belonging to the Pallace, who appointed the prices of all thinges, that they might be brought, not according to the will of the Seller; but aunswerable to iust and honest valuation: regarding withall, that in stead of good thinges, bad might not bee past away. Moreouer, they had charge, that no Cittizen should engrosse more Wine or Corne, then was conuenient for his vse. And all such Graine, as exceeded the Cities daily vse, should be conuayed to meet places, in the name publike, and there sold for iust price, although there were neuer so great dearth or scarsity.

Curatores or Purueyers of the Pallace, for the sale of victuals.

34 They had Byshops also, to whom the care of the Prouinces affairs appertained, and beeing appointed as Arbitratours thorough all the Prouinces; they inquired after contentions, publike wrongs, and iniuries to iurisdictions. If any one went against their ordination; they gaue sentence against him, whereto he must be as obedient, as if it had beene giuen by the cheefest Magistrate. They were likewise called, *Actatores*, *Guardians*, and *Prefects*, and of the *Greeks*, *Ephori*: which word *Cicero* vseth in the first

Of their Byshops, who were arbitratours in strifes & contentions.

of

Cicero, in Tuſc. Queſt. 1.

of his *Tuſculane Queſtions. A certaine Lacedemonian* (ſaith he) *whoſe name was not knowne, contemned Death in ſuch manner, that (being condemned by the Ephori) as he was led to death, hee ſhewed a cheerefull and merry countenance. Whereupon, one of his Enemies ſaid vnto him: Doeſt thou deſpiſe the Law, &c.* The word was alſo vſed among the *Ciuilians*. *Cicero* in another place, ſaith; *I am preſident in a buſineſſe of no great diſturbance, becauſe Pompey wils, that I ſhall be Byſhop of all Campania, &c.* For their diligence in more high ſpeculations, Chriſtians haue made the Name Eccleſiaſticall, and giuen it to the chiefeſt members of the Church.

Cicero, in Epiſt. ad Attic.

CHAP. V.

In which of all the Heauens, God is ſaid to haue his abiding.

The Authors alteration to a contrary argument.

FOr bearing awhile, to wade any further in deſcription of thoſe ancient Commonweales, and that variety of reading may yeild the more delectation; we will alter our preſent ſubiect to a higher ſtraine, and ſpeake of matter much more remarkable. Already haue wee (in the beginning of the firſt Booke) diſcourſed of God, his Creation of the World, and other occaſions of like Argument: In this place we intend to ſpeake of the ſeueral Heauens, and in which of them it is ſaid that God hath his abiding. Before the Incarnation of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and till he had taught, by that incomparable prayer, which we call the Lords Prayer, that his Father, and ours likewiſe, by his ineffable mercy, dwelt in the Heauens, and aboue them all: the Philoſophers, as *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Ariſtotle*, *Democritus*, and others ſince then, learned Chriſtian Diuines; as *Dioniſius Ariopagita*, learned *Thomas Aquinas*, ingenious *Scotus*, & the lateſt in our time with *Tithelmanus*, haue all giuen vs aſſurance by their writings, that there are many Heauens, amounting to the number of eleauen. Now, in regard that diuers men, being ſlenderly acquainted with holy Hiſtories, doe not know in which of thoſe Heauens God hath conſtituted his Throne (albeit he is euery where by his preſence, Eſſence, and power) I will briefely ſpeake thereof, to the end, that in their Prayers and Contemplations, they may ſeek after him with more loue and reſpect.

God is to be ſought in Heauen.

The diuiſion of the Philoſophers, concerning the Heauens according to the Planets.

Philoſophers and Diuines haue numbred nine Heauens.

The Philoſophers deuided the Celeſtiall Region, as they did the Elementary, alleadging, that there are eleauen: of which, the firſt Heauen (beginning at the moſt inferiour) containeth but one Starre or Planet, which is the Moone, and ſeemeth very great to vs, becauſe it is the neereſt vnto vs. The ſecond, is that called of *Mercury*; The third, of *Venus*; The fourth, of *Soll*, or the *Sunne*, which the experteſt Mathematitians write, to exceede the whole Earth in greatneſſe an hundred ſixty ſixe times. The fift, of *Mars*; The ſixt, of *Iupiter*; The ſeauenth, of *Saturne*. All theſe ſeauen Heauens haue each of them but one Starre or Planet (as wee haue ſaide) bearing the Name of each, and they are called errant or wandering Starres, becauſe they keepe not alwaies one ſcituation, neyther are equally diſtant one from another; but one while they draw neere; another while, are farre aſunder; ſometimes that goes before, which at another time comes after. At his eleuation, it will be neere to another, according as the Spheares turne themſelues, violently or ſlowly.

Errant and wandring Stars or Planets.

The ſeauen Heauens cannot be ſeene aboue each other.

That it cannot bee any way likely, that theſe ſeauen Heauens (with their Planets) ſhould be ſeene the one aboue the other, is manifeſtly to be prooued; becauſe that ſometimes the inferiour doe ſo hinder, that no ſight can be had of the Superiour. As may be diſcerned almoſt euery yeare, in the Eclipſe of the Sunne: for the Sunne Eclipſed by the Moone, looſeth a great part of his light, the Moone being then directly oppoſite. Next to the Heauen of *Saturne*, and much aboue him, there is another, called the Firmament, all filled with Starres, not numberable to Men, and they are tearmed fixed, becauſe they are ſeene euermore to keepe one order, and are conſtant in their ſcituation. That it is ſo, wee are aſſured by the Prophet *Dauid*, who ſaith; *What is he that can number the Starres of Heauen, or can call them by their names?*

The Firmament heauen.

Pſalme 147.

Aboue

The Christaline Heauen.

Aboue the Firmament, is the Heauen Christaline, or watry, which learned men are of the minde, that it was created by God aboue the other Heauens; to the end that it might mitigate the great heat, which the other Heauens acquired by their motion, and by the Stars being in them. Of this opinion was *Ptolomy*, *Alphraganus*, and others; yea, holy writ maketh mention thereof, where it is affirmed, that the Creatour said; *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the Waters.* Then afterward followeth. *And the Firmament was in the midst of the Waters which was beneath.* And the Psalmist singeth in another place: *Praise God all ye Heauens, and ye waters that be aboue the Heauens.*

Gene. 1.

Againe, more high then the Christaline or watry Heauen, is another Heauen, called the mouing Heauen, which hath no Stars, no more then the Christaline; but his office is, to turne it selfe (Spherically) from the East to the west, by the South, which he dooth in foure and twenty houres; and by his strength and great velocity, he maketh all the other subiacent Heauens for to turne about.

The mouing Heauen, and the office thereof.

Moreouer, aboue all these fore-named ten Heauens, the recited Philosophers and Diuines, do tell vs, that there is yet another Heauen, exempt from all locall motion, & is before all that which can be called the World: filled with infinite intelligences, and most happy spirits, that were created all in one place, and thereto deputed for the glory of God. This Heauen, incomprehensible in greatnesse, and much more then all the other (as including them all within his center and concauity) is abounding in lights: wherefore the *Grecians* called it *Empyrium*; that is, fiery, or shining in great brightnesse. Not that it burneth like the Fire; but by similitude, because the fire yeildeth a splendour, and so is this Heauen illumined with a most glorious light. This is the Seat of God, as his Pallace, where he is said particularly to dwell; because that there his will is fulfilled, and the obedience of the Angels and blessed Spirits is perfect. Or else, in regard that there more particularly, he worketh, as S. *Augustine* saith in his fifty seauen Epistle to *Dardanum*: where al the blessed Spirits are present,

The eleuenth Heauen, cald *Cælum Empyrium.*

Why called *Cælum Empyrium.*

August. in Epist 57 ad Dardanum.

contemplating the face of God, the brightnesse whereof, our eies are not able to endure, no more then the Owle can the glorious Sunne, and there is no true or perfect light indeede, but that which proceedeth from him onely.

There are some that doubt, what the action of this *Cælum Empyrium* is, saying; it hath no power ouer the inferior Spheres, or bodies infinite, and that it was not created for the gouernment or disposition of natural things; but only for the Throne of God, and habitation of the Elect: holding it very vnfitting, that so precious a dwelling for GOD, should serue for corruptible Creatures, and for this bodily World. Others maintaine the contrary, that it is eternall, and that, by this Heauen, inferior matters haue the longer continuance, and are the better entertained in their due order.

Diuers opinions of the action of this *Cælum Empyrium.*

Moreouer, although it should exceede all the other Heauens in height; yet are our Prayers carried thither. For Saint *Paule* saith, *That the briefest Prayer piereeth Heauen.* And the most faithfull Euangelists haue written, that the Apostles and Disciples beholde Iesus Christ visibly ascend vp into Heauen. As much to say, as that hee passed thorow those ten Heauens, and attained vnto the eleauenth, where his Father abideth. Saint *Paule* also saith; *That hee was rapt vp into the third Heauen.* S. *Luke* the Euangelist, and a Phisition, writeth, that blessed *Stephen* saw (a little before his death) al the Heauens opened to his bodily eyes, euen vnto *Cælum Empyrium*, and it also, where the Diuine Maiesty raigned in Trinity.

1 Cor. 12.

Marke 11.

2 Cor. 9.

Actes 7.

CHAP. VI.

Of the error committed by the ancient Mathematicians and Astrologers, yea, and such as haue continued to this day: in calling the Planets by diabolicall names, and attributing a Diuinity to them.

IN our precedent Chapter, discoursing of the Heauens, with their Starres and Planets; I call to minde, that auncient Mathematicians, and

The Heauens called by the Planets.

other of much latter continuance, imposed deuillish names on them; to wit, the Heauen and Planet of *Saturne*, of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and so of the rest. Euery one knoweth, that Deuils (in elder times) made themselues to bee adored vnder these Names. They committed yet a much greater errour, in giuing the people to vnderstand, that those Stars, Planets, or Celestiall Figures, had such power ouer inferiour Bodies: as that they were the onely cause, of all good or euill happening to vs in this World. For example. To the Planet named *Saturne*, they attributed sterility and mortality. To *Iupiter*, happy times, and the beginning of life. To *Mars*, the cause of all debates, garboiles and Warre. To *Sol*, Riches and Treasures. To *Venus*, loues and marriages. To *Mercury*, eloquence and knowledge. To *Luna*, the Empire and commaund ouer humide matters. And God (in all these thinges) was counted as nothing, but euen as the figure (o) filling vp an empty place.

The Planets said to be Deities by the power each of them had.

An obiection concerning the Moone.

Some Man (perhaps) will say vnto me, that apparantly by the Moone, according to the estate and quadrature of her Body; the Sea hath his fluxe and refluxe. That the braine and Marrowe in the Bones of Creatures (she beeing in her full) is much more repleniſhed, then in her Quadrature or Waine. I aunswere, that the Moone is a Starre or Planet; yea, a body insensible, that is no way animate, neyther hath any power of her selfe, but onely what God hath imposed and permitted.

The Answer.

The Moone hath no more Deitie then the water.

Moreouer, that in her there is no Deity, no more then in the Water, which being very moyst of it selfe, washeth foule Cloathes, nourisheth Fishes, and yeildeth many other great commodities, and yet (for all this) is no Goddesse. But like as if a man should make a good fire in some publike place, in a very cold and frosty time, and many comming thither to warme themselues, feeling their chilnesse well asswaged; should they (for this kindnesse) giue thankes to the fire, or rather to him that made it, or caused it to be made?

All power only dependeth in God.

Euen so it is of the Planets, for they haue no power at all, eyther to make vs Wise, Rich, Poore, Warriours, Vertuous, Vicious, or what else: but all these depend on God onely, who hath made Man in his owne Image, and limitted his good or euill, neyther to star or Planet. Now, by reason of this fond error in Mathematicians, I haue seene many Maidens, of good and honourable descent, who hauing been ouer curiously educated fell the sooner to folly, making ship-wracke of modesty, honesty, and all. I haue noted men likewise of as loose conuersation: yet both these Sexes, to couer their turpitude, haue not shamed to stand in defence of their lewdnesse, protesting it to be vnauoydable, in regard that Mathematicians had giuen them to vnderstand; that they were conceiued, and borne vnder such Planets, as had incited them to such euils, and therefore they could not (albeit they had neuer so much good will thereto) retire from committing such sin, but needs must still persist therein. Are not these faire Fruits of your Iudiciary Astrology? Let me boldly tell ye, that God, being wholly iust, hath (to your shame) prepared a Hell, to chastise such wickednesse in Men, as will haue good and euil to depend on the Planets power.

A most wicked opinion of Mathematicians, which hath been the ruine of many men and Women.

But true Mathematicall Prædictions indeed, are to be deriued from the word of God, according as wee are enstructed in the sacred Scriptures, saying; *Then doth he loue his people, when they haue obserued his Commaundements; yea, then shall they haue aboundance of Fruites, and the seasons shall beare themselues well in their qualities; whereon the health of men consisteth, and they shall liue in peace*, with many other blessings besides. But when men shall go away from his commaundements, all euils shall befall them; and this a most assured prædiction.

From whence we must fetch our truest predictions.

Deut. 28.

The Christian Church, not onely (at all times) held Iudicary Astrology in detestation; but euen the *Ethniques* also: For vnder the Empires of *Augustus*, and of *Tyberius*, Mathematicians and Astrologers were banisht out of *Rome*. S. *Clement*, who redigested the constitutions of the Primitiue Church, writes: That they then prohibited and with-stood, that no Enchanter or Astrologer should bee receiued into the Church. In the Councell of *Tolledo*, it is said;

Correct. Tacitus. Tranquillus. Lib. 8. Cap. 38.

Concil. Tolletum Cap. 4.

said; *That if any Man thinke, that he ought to beleeue Astrology, or Mathematique iudiciarie, let him be accursed*; that is, excommunicated, and deliuered ouer to the Deuils power. Wherein they had great reason, because there is nothing in the World, that sooner inuiteth people to Idolatry, then Iudiciall Astrology. For it subiecteth both Body and Soule to Nature, which power likewise is giuen to the Planets, and this hath bene the reason of their adoration. And there hath bin found some people, euen in our time, that did, and doe the like.

Astrology the cause of Idolatry.

A Mathematician excommunicated by S. *Augustine*.

Saint *Augustine*, Byshop of *Hippo* in *Affricka*, who liued in the yeare of Iesus Christ 427. the Emperour *Theodosius* then raigning, excommunicated a Mathematitian, and caused him to be expulsed out of his Diocesse, because he maintained, that a Mans owne proper will made him not a Murderer, but the Planet *Mars*. Also, that GOD made not any Man iust; but *Iupiter* did it: with many other such like opinions. Afterward, this cunning Mathematician (a Christian of a grosse Graine) within some few yeares after, acknowledged his errour that he stood in, saying; that Sathan had thereto seduced him. And beeing better inspired by God, forsaking all his idle opinions: he penitently submitted himselfe, and was receiued againe into the Church. The day of his reception, and in his presence, the said Saint *Augustine* preached a most learned and excellent Sermon, whereto I referre the Reader; it is contained in his Workes on the sixty one Psalme.

The Mathematician recanteth his error, & was receiued againe into the Church.

What Mathematickes are to be allowed, and not the other.

I doe not heereby condemne those Mathematiques, that containe in them Arithmatique, Geometry, Cosmography, & Astronomy; these latter meanes containe their true integrity still, euen as it was in the time of ABRAHAM, before these Diabolicall names were admitted; which one would very little thinke, should win power, not onely ouer Mens bodies, but likewise ouer their Immortall Soules. This latter Astrology, is very profitable for such as sayle on the Seas, and (oftentimes) for them that trauaile by Land thorow desart places: heereby may be knowne the Nature and course of the Windes, for our better aduenturing in full carriere, or calme on the Sea. Also, when is best season to Sow, Plant, Graft, fell Woodes, gather Fruites, discerne the times, and for many other good effects. But that which they tearme Iudiciall Astrology, for the wicked precepts thereto appertaining, hath at all times beene hated by honest people; yea, euen to this day. In so many Counsels as haue beene holden, it hath euermore beene condemned, as the sourse of too many heresies. The like was done in the last at *Trent*, & among the estates at *Blois*; as also not long since vnder the raigne of *Charles* the ninth.

Good vse made of this Astrology.

The councels condemned Iudiciall Astrologie.

That this iudiciary Astrology is altogether a lyer, I will take a little paines to demonstrate; for it affirmeth, that if any one be conceiued or borne, while such a Starre, or such a Planet raigneth: he shall containe the Nature of that Starre or Planet to him attributed. *Esau* and *Iacob* were first conceiued, and then borne vnder one and the same Planet, for they were Twinnes: yet when they were borne, the last held the other by the heele; notwithstanding, they were both of very different Natures. For *Esau* was Martiall minded, hairy, a great Hunter, disobedient both to Father and Mother, cruell, and (in breefe) of very bad disposition. Contrariwise, *Iacob* (no way sterne or hairy) was a louer of peace; continuing in the House, neuer studying how to range thorough Forrests, to seaze on sauage Beasts. He exercised labour, led a pastorall life, was obedient to his Parents, and vertuous: which (in the end) begot him the blessing, and the inheritance of his Father, and the other had the curse. If I were so disposed, I could alleadge plenty of Histories. As of a Lady that was a *Bordelois*, that, after fiue and twenty yeares past in marriage, had two Daughters at a Birth. The one, at meer years for a Husband (with much dislike of her Parents) became a religious Sister of the order of S. *Clare*. The other kept a shop of sin in the open Brothelry. These two Histories may suffice. If it shall be obiected to me, that Mathematicians and Astrologers foretell of things, that are seene oftentimes to take effect, by their Diaries or Almanackes: I answer, that they in speaking

Probation of the vanity of Iudiciall Astrology, by examples.

Of *Iacob* and *Esau*. Gen. 25.

Of a Lady, a *Bordelois*, that had two daughters.

The sleights & subtilties of Almanacke-makers.

so much, & in so many seuerall natures, quite contrary one vnto another (as of Heat, Cold, Drought, Raine, Winds, calme times, Dearth, aboundance of all thinges, Mortality, Health, that a great person shall be borne, or else one dye) it were vnpossible, but that some one of these must needes happen; albeit, their Prædictions fall out more by hazzard, then by Art. In like manner, if you will but conferre together the Almanackes of diuers Authours, you shall find no one of them to agree with another: Whereby may be easily conceined, the vncertainty of this Iudiciall Astrology, which ought not henceforth to bee tollerated in any Christian Common-wealth.

The contrariety in Almanacke makers

Moreouer, in imitation of Pope *Syluester*, first of that Name, who gouerned in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 318. the names of Idolles should be changed, and those of false Gods, attributed to Starres or Planets: as he did the dayes of the weeke. For the Sunday, which they called the day of *Soll*, or the Sunne; he would haue it to bee named the Lords day, & a day of rest to Christians. Munday, second day of the weeke, and so called in regard of the Moone, hee caused it to be called the second Holy-day. And so consequently by numbers following, vnto Saturday, whereto he left the name, not for Indaising, but because the day was so cald by the mouth of God, and he willed that it should be strictly obserued in the auncient Iewish Law. We may well name the Heauens where the Planets are, without imposing any name of Idols on them: As the first Planet, second, third, and so to the number of seauen, or giue them some other conuenable names; which heereafter, would prooue a defence from falling into the ancient Paganisme, as our Moderne Astrologers would faine induce vs thereto.

The Stars or Planets ought not to be called by the names of Deuils.

How the Heauens may be named not offensiuely.

The Histories of the *Indiaes* newly discouered, & those of the North parts, conquered by the *Moscouite*, do plainely shew vnto vs, that many people doe there (yet to this day) adore the Sunne, the Moone, and other of the Stars; yea, they are so addicted in deuotion to thē, that it is a very difficult thing, to make them leaue this horrible Idolatry. How happy then are they, that haue true knowledge of him, who created al those Heauens, Planets, and Stars, and place their whole hope of saluation in him? As for the Almanacks or Diaries of our Iudiciall Astrologers now adaies, they are not receiueable, But onely in this kinde, to tell vs the mooueable Feastes, and others; as also the Ecclipses and Months.

Idolatry yet committed in the *Indies*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the cause why the great Christian Philosopher, and learned Doctor Origen, did dismember himselfe.

THere are many, not onely of these times, but of those wherein ORIGEN liued, (which was in the yeare of Grace, two hundred twenty fiue, vnder the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, and *Phillip*) that were hardly conceited, that *Origen*, in the floure of his age, being then about twenty fiue yeares old, should deprue himselfe of *Virga virilis*; not that he had in those parts any disease, which might require such extirpation. This Act was diuersly thought of, by the ancients and Pastours in the Primitiue Church, especially one *Demetrius*, who was then Byshoppe of *Alexandria* (esteemed a most learned and vertuous Man) he blamed him very highly. *For* (quoth he) *there is no expresse commaundement in holy Scripture, to mutelate or make any member imperfect. Albeit, in S.* Matthew *there is a passage, where Iesus Christ himselfe said: That some are chast of themselues, for the Kingdome of Heauen.* All our Orthodoxall Diuines do hold, that this ought to be vnderstood, how we should rent away and separate those euill affections and vices that are bred and borne with vs. So likewise it is to be vnderstood, concerning coueting after earthly goods: for ther is nothing more contrary to the saluation of the Soule, then to busie it selfe in gaining worldly riches and treasures.

The time whē as *Origen* liued *An.* 225.

Demetrius Byshop of *Alexandria*, reproued *Origen* for this deed.

As concerning carnall sinne, I am of the minde, that the young man had not the leysure to thinke thereon. For day and

The great & earnest zeale of the first Christians.

and night hee scarse had time to teach youth, were they Infants, Sons, daughters, Men and Women: not onely in the liberall Arts, wherein he was well skilled, but likewise in holy writ. And in the Primitiue Church, people of al sexes and ages, made no difficulty at all, to be taught in the Schooles of Christian Doctors. Likewise, as I haue read in *Eusebius*, the Ecclesiasticall Historian; he himselfe liued at that time, when *Origen* was so busied night and day, to enstruct euery one that made offer of himselfe; which appeared to bee so labourious a paine, as euery man was much amazed thereat. He liued very austerely, for hee neuer dranke any Wine, neither fed on Flesh; but contented himselfe with a little Bread and few Fruits, as the onely meanes (in his owne opinion) to spoile his stomack. In like maner, he went bare foote, and bare leg'd, and had very hard lodging: during then the course of so strict a life, it can be no way likely, that hee guelded himselfe, as fearing to bee tempted by the flesh. But I hold this coiecture (with others) that he did it to auoid suspition, and to take away all calumny, that might be iudged of young Schollers loose liuing: For the *Paganes* in those times, perceiuing that the *Christians* (in regard of the rigorous Edicts made against them) met together in the night time, rather then in the day, and in close Caues, to heare such Prayers & Sermons, as their Christian Pastours made vnto them, dreading to bee discouered and grieuously punnished; falsely imposed on them, that they made no such assemblies, but onely that they might licentiously exercise all kindes of whoredome, and that their Pastors and Doctours, not onely abused the fairest Women, but euen Boyes also:

Then it is to be presumed, that *Origen* acted not this violence on himselfe, but onely to the end, that the more freely Maids, Women, and Boyes (that came to his Schoole to be enstructed) might be cleare from blame, and himselfe also. Nor could he haue doone this, but by a magnanimity of courage, and great zeale in him, to aduance the Glory of God. In whose imitation, many, touched with the like zeale, did the like. As *Melitus*, a Man of heauenly minde and life; whose Bones remaine in the Citty of *Sardis*, as the fore-named *Eusebius* sets downe in his History, the fifteenth Chapter. From this height of his youth, he aspired to Martidome, and had attained thereto, had it not beene for his desolate Mother (who was before widdowed of his Father, that was a wealthy Cittizen of *Alexandria*) and some of her Children, lately become Christians. For they being faithfully informed of the day, when *Origen* ment in the morning to yeild himselfe to the *Romaine Proconsull*, he that was Deputy, to proscribe and put to death, all such as made profession of Christian Religion: She entering into his Chamber in the night time, when her Son slept very soundly, tooke away all his Garments, which shee hid and lockt vp very carefully, and by no meanes would deliuer them to him the next day, nor diuers daies following. Which hindred him of his Martyrdome, being ashamed to be seene naked. In which time, the *Proconsull* hauing executed his commissions, and the liues of no more Christians remaining in his hands. he went to another Citty, named *Heliopolis*, there to continue the rest of his charge. So it may appeare, that these occasions passed by Gods great prouidence, and *Origen* was then not to suffer death, in regard of the wonderfull benefit, which afterward redounded to all Christendome. For by his knowledge and dexterity in teaching, hee conuerted a great number of people to become Christians. He was likewise Schoole-Maister to many worthy and famous persons, who daily laboured to be worthy of Martyrdome. Namely, a young Lady, called *Potamia*, issued of a very illustrious Family, who endured so much in her Martyrdome; that *Basilides* (beeing her Hang-man or Executioner) inflicted all torment and extreamity of cruelty on her, before hee could cause her to dye: yet after her death, bethinking himselfe of the holy words vttered by her, during her torments, became a Christian and within few daies after, was himselfe likewise crowned with Martyrdome.

Origen, at the age of forty yeares, learned the Hebrew tongue, to the end, that (by his Commentaries) he might the better interpret the holy scriptures. And such was his ingenuity, that one

Eusebius the Ecclesiasticall Historiographer liued in the daies of *Origen*.

The reason of *Origens* mutilation.

The old Christians fearfull of calumnies.

A second reason for his mutilation.

Euseb in Hist. Eccles. Cap. 15.

A notable stratagem of a louing Mother.

Origen conuerted many to Christianity, by his doctrine and example of good life.

Origen had an extraordinary memory and guift in dictating.

named *Ambroſe*, a Byſhoppe, gaue him ſeauen Secretaries to write vnder him; all which hee wearied, beſide Men and Women, that wrote from his mouth as he gaue inſtructions. It is found in writing, that he compoſed fiue thouſand Bookes: neuertheleſſe, by laps of time, the greater part of them were vtterly loſt, and among them remaining, ſome haue bin approued by Diuines, and the reſt not. He quenched many Heriſies by his great experience; namely, that of *Berillus*, who maintained, that the Son of God was not before the Virgine *Mary*, from which errour hee conuerted him. He reduced to the Chriſtian Faith, the King of *Arabia*, and the *Proconſull* of *Ægypt*. His Learning and admired knowledge, was publiſhed in ſo many places, that *Porphyrius* keeping then a Schoole of Philoſophy in *Scicily*, and eſteemed to be the moſt learned Philoſopher ſince *Ariſtotle*; admiring *Origens* workes, became a Chriſtian. The Mother of the Emperor *Seuerus*, of whom wee ſpake in our precedent Chapter, hauing read ſome of his Workes, was conuerted. She ſent for him to come ſee her at *Rome*, which he did, & remained there for ſome time: where hee was found to bee much more learned, then Fame had ſpoken of him. There is nothing found written of his death; albeit I haue made diligent ſearch in *Euſebius*, from whom I collected this inſtant relation; and that he was liuing at the age of threeſcore years, wherefore it is preſumed that he dyed very old.

Many Hereſies ouerthrowne by the learning of *Origen*.

The King of *Arabia* and *Proconſull* of *Egypt*, conuerted by *Origen*.

The Mother to the Emperor *Seuerus* conuerted.

Now, hauing waded thus far in diſcourſe, concerning the mutilation that *Origen* made of himſelfe: I am the more willing to recite ſome Hiſtories (happening in our time) of other perſons, who on their own priuate motion, and for other endes, haue depriued themſelues of thoſe parts, contrary to the order of nature. About the yeare 1573. there was an aged Countrey-man, of a Village neere *Segur*, a Citty in the higher parts of *Lymoſine*, whoſe name I ſpare to ſpeake of, This man being a Widdower, it was noyſed of him (but falſely) that he had vnlawfull familiarity with his owne Sons Wife. Whereupon, ſome that were his Enemies, or rather more malicious then wiſe, laboured the matter to a Iuſtice: who commaunded further certainty of information, that punniſhment might be inflicted accordingly. The Country man being come to the City, to make his defence againſt this crime impoſed on him, and dyning with his Aduocates Clearke in a common Inne: found there a great company of young people, and other flouters, that in their drinking, ſpared not to deride and ieſt at the poore Countrey-man. After he had endured numberleſſe bitter girds and tauntes, ſuch as exceeded common patience to ſuffer; ariſing from the Table, and pretending to goe warme himſelfe by the Fire; hauing ſharpned his Knife on the Mantle-tree of the Chimney, which was of Free-ſtone, he inſtantly therewith did cut off his ſecret Members. The Hoſt that ſaw it, cryed out, and gaue great aſtoniſhment to all the reſt there preſent: But, the Country man eſcaping thence, fled home to his owne Houſe, which was more then halfe a league from the citty, bleeding extreamely all the way, and would haue no help of any Chirurgion, and yet he became recouered againe. In the doing of this Act, ſurely his intent was, either to auoid following ſuſpition of ſo foule a pollution; or, perhaps, in meere diſpaire, ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſcorned, as it was iuſtified.

A ſtrange boldneſſe in a poore man.

Other perſons of later time, that haue done the like to themſelues.

A memorable Hiſtory of an old man of *Lymoſine*.

A yong man of noble houſe, in the ſame Country, acted the like vpon himſelfe, in affliction of ſpirit; becauſe he could not haue carnall knowledge of a young widdowed Lady, only through his own diſability. For he had long time purſued her, and ſhe was as ready to accept (at three ſeuerall opportunities) as hee to offer. At laſt, taking his leaue of her, with ſome diſgrace, that ſhe ſhould be ſo apt, and he ſo vnable: to be reuenged on his imperfect Plant, ſuddenly he ſlic't it off, and would not admit any cure, but rather deſired to dye, by the expence & effuſion of his own blood. Yet at length he was perſwaded to entertain remedy, becauſe it was told him, that he ſtood in danger of his Soules deſtruction, and dying, he ſhould be allowed no Chriſtian buriall; becauſe it was an action of his owne wilfulneſſe. The wound in ſhort time after beeing cured, and the obloquy thereof remaining in freſh memory: he entred into a religious courſe of life, and continued afterward in good health for many yeares. *Marcus*

Another Hiſtory of a young Noble Gentleman.

Aduertiſements giuen to the Gentleman.

A miserable thing, that trafficke should be made of guelded Boies

Marcus Paulus Thenetus, and *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physitian, do deliuer for a certainty, that in *Bengala* (a Kingdome most potent at this day, seated on the Islands and mouth of the riuer *Ganges*, in the East *Indies*) the Moors inhabiting that place, do trauell vnto other firme lands, and the Neighboring Isles, to buy young Children, whose parents being poore and couetous of mony, do sell their sonnes, else these villaines will robbe and steale them thence, and then quite take away, not only *Virga*, but *Parastatæ* also. Such as escape death after this cutting, they educate them very delicately, and afterward sell them to the *Persians*, and other Mahumetistes, who buy them at a very deare rate, (to wit; three or foure hundred Ducats a piece) to serue as men of their Chambers, in a foule and vnlawfull acquaintance, and also, to haue the charge of their wiues.

A most abhominable sin.

The practise of the Turkes in *Asia* and *Europe*.

The Turkes that dwell in *Europe* and *Asia*, do vse the very same castration on such young Boyes as they can seize on in the Christians Countries, & then make sale of them in maner forenamed. As is made manifest by the Historie of the Lord of *Villamont*, vnder his owne hand in Writing, hee hauing seene the same in the Citty of *Damas* in *Syria*, in the yeare, 1589. hee saith, that a *Bascha* Lieutenant to the King, hauing married his Daughter, and being desirous for to make some honest present to hir before she departed from him, bethought him selfe of a Russian Slaue that he then had, beautifull, comely, and aged about 18. yeares: him did hee purpose to geld (in full manner before recited) and then to preferre him to his daughter, as one fit to attend her in her Chamber. This deliberation comming vnto the Slaues vnderstanding, he concluded to shunne his Maisters intent, because it was a hazard of life, either in Child or man. And therefore, rather then thus to die, he resolued to kill the *Bascha* his Maister; before hee would endure so notorious an Infamy. And indeede, hee executed his determination; for, finding his Maister (the second day after his daughters mariage) somewhat ouer wearied with Dauncing, Iusting, and Curuetting his Horse, and his belly well stuffed with Wine and Delicates, finding him fast sleeping on his bed, without speaking a word to any, he entered his Chamber; and with a most magnanimous Courage, gaue him many Woundes with a Knife in his throat. The *Bascha* awaking, cried to his people for succor: but the Slaue so expediously pursued his purpose, that the *Bascha* was dead, before any of his house could helpe him. Yet when they came, and entered the Chamber, seeing their Lord dead vpon the ground, and hee that did the deede there present, drawing forth their Cimetaries, and ouercome with extremity of fury, they hewed the slaue in more then an hundred pieces.

Hist. Dom. de. Villamont. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

A Historie of a *Russian* Slaue.

A couragious resolution in a Slaue, for safety of him selfe

My conclusion then is, that all people whatsoeuer, as do vse such a wicked kind of Trafficke, in selling yong Children thus to be abused, are most Barbarous, vnworthy to be called men, and such also as serue their turn in this monstrous sin, because I hold it meere Treason against Nature. As for *Origen*, *Melitus*, and other Religious personnes, in acting such violence vpon themselues; I am of the mind of many Learned Diuines, that howsoeuer they did it on a sanctimonious intention; yet their zeal heerein deserued rather reprehension, then any rightfull commendation.

The Authors Conclusion.

Zeale beyond discretion is no way commendable.

CHAP. VIII.

The checke and reproach, which Cublay, Emperour of the Tartars, gaue to the Iewes, Mahumetists and Pagans, mocking them to be Christians; when they had lost the battaile against him.

IFinde Written in the *Tartarian* histories, that in the yeare, 1286. there raigned a most potent and wise Emperor ouer the *Tartars*, named *Cublay*, he that sent the great Captaine *Baiam*, to Conquer the great Prouince of *Mangi*, where was the admired Country of *Cinquenule*, which was raced by him, and all the Inhabitants slaine, for he killed thirty thousand Christians, against all right of warre, whereof I purpose to speake elsewhere. This *Cublay*, was a Pagan in Religion, worshipping the

Cublay a powerfull and prudent Emperor.

The Religion of the Emperor *Cublay*.

the Sunne, Moone, and the Starres, hauing (beside) certaine false Goddes, and (amongest others) one named *Natagi*, whom he beleeued to haue power ouer the fruits of the Earth, presented to him by diuers figures and Images: and this was the Faith and Religion which his predecessors had left vnto him. He commanded from the greater *Armenia*, euen to *Calicut*, a Kingdome in the Easterne *Indiaes*; insomuch, as then he might say of himselfe, that he was one of the greatest Lords of the world. He kept a verie magnificent Court, and (the most part of his time) in the goodly Citty of *Cambalue*, where he had a Pallace so great & spacious (standing on a faire riuers side running thorow the city) that he could easily giue entertainment to a thousand men. The City contained in circuite, about eight Leagues, and there was no day in the yeare, but there came thither more then a thousand Waggons laden with costly Cloaths of Silke. He hadde ordinarily twelue thousand Knightes for his Guard, three thousand whereof, guarded him three Dayes, and three Nights together; then three thousand other (in like manner) succeeded them, and so (alternatiuely) the whole yeares space: which manner of Guard, he kept as well in the times of peace, as warre, to declare his greatnesse, pompe, and magnificence.

His great dominion.

The great Citty of *Cambalue*.

Twelue thousand Knights were his Guard.

I will not speake of the sumptuous and wonderfull furnishment made for his Table, for it would be too long to rehearse, and almost impossible to be beleeued. I will bee silent also, in his Bounty and Liberality, which he dayly gaue away, not at his Subiects expences, but out of his prouident sparinges: without molesting his Subiects by nouell Subsidies, or any that dwelt within his Lands, of what Religion soeuer they were; as the Turke hath at all times dealt with the *Iewes* and Christians, whom he suffers to liue in his Empire, and to vse their owne Religions, but there wanteth no strict or strange conditions. Such as haue seene him, and afterward set downe his behauiour, do credibly affirme, that he neuer offendeth any man, except it be vnwittingly, and his Lieutenants and Commissaries do the very same. He loueth and supporteth his Subiects, to his vttermost power, and acknowledgeth any fauors or benefits done vnto him. Both he before, and now this other his Successour, haue had, and instantly hath in diuers of his Lands and Signiories, people of sundry Religions; as Christians, *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, *Abissines*, *Græcians*, *Mahumetistes*, *Iewes*, and *Idolaters*: yet haue they liued, and still do to this day, in all freedom of Conscience, without any further molestation, then they that obserue his owne Religion, permitting them also to builde Temples, wherein to exercise such Seruice as is theirs to them most frequent.

His sumptuous Diet, Humanity, and Liberality.

He giueth allowance to all manner of Religions in his Kingdoms.

This great Monarch, is not of the minde of the *Mahumetan* Princes, who comming to their State, begin the entrance of their Gouernment, with Parricides, Fratricides, and murther of all them that may aspire to the Royalty. As appeared by *Sultan Selim*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, who after hee had slaine his two elder Brothers, *Achmath*, and *Corcutus*; caused his Father *Baiazeth* also to be poysoned. And some few yeares before his owne death, demaunding of his Sonnes, which was he that hoped to raigne after him, because hee would leaue his empire to him; hee that durst boldly shewe this willingnesse to the State, so that it might be with his consent, hee caused him presently to bee strangled. But another of his Sons, named *Sultan Solyman*, who raigned not many yeares since, beeing admonished heereof by his Mother, who was well acquainted with the Empetours cruell Nature: refused the dignity wholy, terming himselfe his slaue, and not his son; who liuing after his fathers death, hardly could bee induced to take the charge on him, fearing that his cruell Father might as yet be aliue.

The differēce between *Cublay*, and the *Mahometane* Princes.

The brutish cruelties of *Sultane Selim*.

The cunning of *Solyman*, by his mothers instruction.

Muly Mahamet, King of *Tunis*, slew seauenteene of his Bretheren, when hee came vnto the Crowne; and not long after, ten or twelue of his neareſt Kindred. After his re-seating by the Emperor, for *Barbarossa* had quite expulsed him; his owne Son pulled out both his eyes. These matters would be very prolixe in recounting, because there hath not bin any *Mahumetan* Prince created, without some bloodshed of his kinred. What a contrary disposition was in this *Cublay*? for he aduāced his brothers, nephewes,

The bloudy cruelty of *Muly Mahamet* King of *Tunis*.

Cublay aduanced his Brothers, Nephewes, and Kindred, and was no way bloudy.

phewes and alliance in consanguinitie, to the greatest Offices and dignities hee could deuise. For, to som he gaue kingdomes, made others Lieutenantes ouer his greatest and goodliest Prouinces; others chiefe Commaunders of his Armies: briefly, in all the best manner hee could bethink him, did he promote his bloud, yet liued in all equity and content among his people; yea, he was of so extraordinary humanity, as hee was neuer willing to be seene in any battell, (after hee was created Emperour) but one: yet had hee bin in more then 12. before, so highly did he detest the death of men.

The great ingratitude of *Naiam*, Nephew, to the Emperor *Cublay*.

It happened, that a Nephew of his, named *Naiam*, growing ingratefull, and abusing the bounty of his Vnckle (for he was a young man, aged about thirtie yeares, proude, and ambitious) forgetting the Lawes of Nature, being constituted Gouernour of many Prouinces, where he hadde mighty possessions to maintaine a Royall estate, without any subiection to yeild an account of his actions; mooued by boldnesse and presumption, leauied a powerfull Armie, against his Vnckle and soueraigne Lord the Emperor *Cublay*, and brought it into open field. Now, to the end, that he might the better assure himself of victory, and to contend with some equallity of strength, he found the means to draw a Cosin of his to his faction, another Nephew to the said Emperor, who had conceiued a deadly hatred against his Vnckle, in regarde of many reprehensions receiued from him, for diuers insolences committed by him, in the charge of affairs committed to his trust: which made this *Caydne* (for so was he called) the readier to ioyne with his Kinsman, with presence of himselfe in person, & the aid of sixty thousand men. Following thus their desseigns, they complotted togither, to assemble their forces on a certaine plaine, for safer entrance into the Countrey, and speedier inuasion of the Emperour their Vnckle, before hee should aprehend the least surmise thereof. *Naiam* failed not then, with 40000. men, to be ready at the place appointed: but *Caydne*, vsing all diligence hee could deuise to keepe his promise, had not as yet his whol number of men so suddenly furnished.

Preparation for hot warre against the Emperor.

This enterprize was quickly discouered to the Emperor *Cublay*, and with what courage his Nephews (in publick conspiracy) were thus in open armes against him. He being a wise Prince, and a very worthy Souldiour, was not negligent in opposing himself against their purposes: wherefore, he appointed store of men to keepe the wayes, bridges, and passages, to hinder those two Armies from ioyning together, and that his Nephewes might not bee acquainted with his intentions. Afterward, he called his men of Warre to the Field, which hee had secretly drawne from the neerest parts to *Cambalue*, where he euer kept his Court. Yet now he had much ado, so suddenly to procure these Souldiors togither, because he had sent two great Armies into Countries farre off, for the Conquest of some other new Prouinces. This Army thus made ready, as best means would permit, & so short a respit affoorded, went to meet the one Enemy, who was not (as yet) ioyned with *Cadne*, and they were charged so vnprouided, as they had not leisure to raunge their men in battell array; but the one part were slaine, & the rest put to flight. Some were taken prisoners, amongest whom was *Naiam*, who being brought before *Cublay*, they would haue slayne him in his presence; but he commaunded, that he should be wrapped vp in a great cloath of Silke, well bound about with Cords, to the end he might bee smothered therein, which was accordingly executed. But before hee would suffer this to be doone, hee caused the slaughter (then made of his Enemies) to cease, sending them free pardon; & immediatly more then forty Ensignes were brought and laid at his feete; in which Ensignes, were the figures of Crosses, such as we see at this day among vs.

The Emperor vnderstood this conspiracy of his Nephewes and prepareth to withstand them.

Cublay ouercommeth the Army of *Naiam*, who was taken Prisoner.

Naiam smothered to death in Silke, and his followers pardoned.

Heere is to be vnderstood, that the people thus offending with *Naiam*, wer almost all Christians, according to the *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, or *Abessines*, and he himselfe would haue seemed to bee such; but in very deed, he rather appeared to be of no Religion at al. Heereupon, the Iews, Mahumetists, and Pagans being Conquerours vnder the pay of *Cublay*, began to shout, scoffe, & make a mockery, at some fifteene thousande Christians, disarmed and brought as prisoners

What *Naiams* followers wer.

Christians mocked and scorned.

soners before him, expecting when hee wold command them to be massacred. But quite contrary, beeing then mounted on a braue and gallant young Elephant, on whose backe his seate royall was most sumptuously carried, silence being made, and their mockeries appeased: he commanded them all to troope about him, to hear what further he had to say vnto them, and then, in the open Field, he made this Oration.

The Oration of the Emperour Cublay, to his Prisoners, and all other there present.

Cub'ay attributeth his victory, to his great God the Sun.

THis day I cannot deny, but that the victorie which I haue obtained ouer mine enemies, is by especial grace from my great GOD the Sunne, Moone, and the Startes, abiding in this glorious Vault of Heauen. To whom, I purpose to render thankes to morrow, euen in this open field of battaile, in making Oblation of good and worthy Sacrifices. Wherefore, let the Maisters of the field giue order, that the places be auoided of human bodies heer slaine, as also of the dead Beasts, and decent Altars purposely erected. As for the prisoners, beeing most part of them Christians, whom I behold despoiled of their Armes, shouted at, mocked, despised, and iested at by the Iewes, Mahumetists, and others, vpbraiding them with their God Iesus Christ (who was sometime fastned to a crosse by the said Iewes) for not ayding and helping them to the victory, as wanting such power, because so many of their Ensignes are heere prostrated at my feet: From this present houre forward, I forbid all maner of persons, of what quality or Religion soeuer they be, to vse any more such derision of them, on paine to bee depriued of their armes, and well whipped with Roddes at two seuerall times, yea, on the very greatest paine beside, that can be imagined. And so much the rather, because their God Iesus Christ is esteemed of vs, to be one of the verie greatest celestiall Deities, ful of al right, Equity, and Iustice. For, hee knowing these Christians to make warre vniustly against vs, being our subiectes, that neuer gaue them occasion, but reuolted of themselues, and adhered with our enemies: therefore hath hee permitted, that I should win the day, albeit I haue heard him to be called the God of battailes. Ouer and beside this, I pardon al them, that haue followed my vnkinde Nephewes *Naiam* and *Caydue*, as being meerely deceiued by them, in making them beleeue, that they were leuied for my seruice; and therfore I receiue them againe into my protection. Giuing further to vnderstand, that all such as haue any prisoners, they are not to offer thē the least harme whatsoeuer, but immediately to set them at liberty, deliuering them their armes, and all other Equipages to them belonging, on pain to passe thorow the daunger of the Army, euen he the proudest that shall make deniall. Our charge imposed on the Christians, is, to pray vnto their God for our prosperity, and to do vs nine moneths Seruice, by taking Wages of vs, in our instant Warre against the King of *Nixamora*, who denieth to pay vs our tribute and striues to equall himselfe with our Greatnesse.

Cublay his reuerent opinion of Christ.

Cublay pardoneth the Rebels that took part with his Nephewes.

Cublay enioyned the Christians, to pray to their God for him.

Preparation for Sacrifices.

Cublay prohibiteth all mockes and scorning of the Christians.

In regard of this Edict, the Christians had gentle vsage, especially, of the Iewes, who persecuted the Christians more (where they got superiority) then any other whatsoeuer. Euery man may iudge by this worthy deede, that *Cublay* was a very generous & vertuous Prince, full of piety, in acknowledging, that his victorious battels, proceeded of God, and not of men. It was neuer heard, that *Alexander* the Great, who wonne no meane store of battailes, with an infinit number of goodly strong Cities; that euer he rendred thankes to God, or (at the least) vnto his own Gods, in whom he pretended to haue some confidence. Oftentimes he consulted with prosane Priests and Oracles, to know if he shold be Monarch of the whole vniuerse, and whether he were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, or no, with diuers other such like ydle vanities. At length, hee would needes make men to adore him; Nay, there are some do write, that he exacted it vpon compulsion, but he liued not long after these ambitious follies had so blinded his

Cublay had some acknowledgement of God.

The follies & impieties of *Alexander* the Great.

his vnderſtanding.

The vanities of *Iulius Cæſar*, Emperor of *Rome*.

Iulius Cæſar likewiſe, a famous Captaine, of admirable great ſpirit, & moſt expert in many ſinguler ſciences, yet he tooke this fond conceit of himſelfe (ſeeing he had obtained the Roman Empire by Armes) that he had more in him thē meer humanity, by his actions, perſwading himſelf, that he was iſſued (in race) from the Gods, by meere alliance to *Venus*. Which being perceiued by diuers Princes, and many of the Commonweale alſo, coueting to pleaſe him in his ambitious arrogancy; they Dedicated Temples to him; yea, ſome Sacrificed vnto him. As yet at this day is to be diſcerned at *Sydon*, a City of *Phœnicia*, wher it is inſculpt vppon the gate, *Diuo Iulio Cæſari dicatum*; *Conſecrated to Iulius Cæſar the God*. And on a Collome (which is placed on a little Mountaine, at the very mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, expoſed on all ſides to the violence of the Waues) containing eighteen foot in length, and eight and an halfe in Circumference, on the Baſes of the Piller was Engrauen this Verſe:

Temples dedicated to *Iulius Cæſar*.

A Piller at the entrance of the *Euxine* Sea.

Cæſar tantus erat, qd. nullus maior in orbe: that is, *Cæſar* was ſo great, and of ſuch power, as he might tearme himſelfe the chiefe and moſt excellent of all Men in the world. It is very well knowne, that it was himſelfe that cauſed this Inſcription there to be engrauen. Yet (for all this) it was neuer knowne, that euer he acknowledged his victories for to come from God: for he raigned not long, & leſſe then *Alexander*, becauſe hee was murdred in the Senat houſe.

Cæſar raigned not ſo long as *Alexander*.

The great modeſtie and humanitie of *Charles* the fift Emperor.

Charles, the fift Emperour of that Name, hauing won a great and memorable battaile againſt the Sectaries in *Germany*; and namely, againſt the *Saxon*, the foure and twenty day of Aprill, *Anno Dom.* 1547. would not proudly ſay, as *Iulius Cæſar* did, when hee conquered *Pompey* the Great, and wrote theſe three words to the *Romain* Senate; *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. But *Charles*, full of true pietie, and well knowing; that victories diſcended from on high, ſaid; *Veni, Vidi, & Dominus Deus meus vicit*, to wit; *I came, I ſaw, but it was God my Lord that Conquered*.

Chriſtiā Princes moued ſome way blame worthy

The Hiſtory of the Emperor *Cublay*, may make ſom Chriſtian Princes bluſh with ſhame, who hauing warre againſt others of the ſame Law, Faith, and Religion, will not yet (in their victories) pardon their enemies, but put them all to the edge of the Sword. Neither will they acknowledge God to be Authour of their victories, but attribute all vnto their own ſtrength and magnanimitie: wherein this blinded Prince (deprined of the true Knowledge of God, *Cublay* a Pagan, Emperour of the *Tartarians*) made it a great ſcruple to offend.

CHAP. IX.

From whence the name of Sarazins came at the firſt, and what people they haue continued, euen to this day.

A great error in many graue Authors.

I haue noted a verie great error, committed by *Sabellicus*, *Blondus*, the *Tyrian* Byſhop, *Volaterranus*, and many other graue authors, who (in their workes) haue tearmed the Mahumetiſts or Turkes, to bee Sarazins: for they neuer knew any ſuch name, neither were at any time ſo caled, but only *Mulſulmans*, which is as much to ſay, as a people faithfull in their Law or Religion. Others, who thought their Iudgement to be much more pregnant, dared to ſay, that this name of *Sarrazin*, came of *Sarra*, the wife of *Abraham*, of whoſe race, the great Prophet *Mahomet* (inuenter and deuiſer of their Religion and Lawes, held euen to this day by the Sarazins and Turkes) they affirme to bee diſcended. But this coniecture is not warrantable, becauſe they rather coueted to be called *Agarians*, in regarde of *Agar*, Handmaid to *Sarra*, and Mother of *Iſmael*: Or elſe *Iſmaelites*, in iudging themſelues to be yſſued of the ſayde *Iſmael*, Baſtard ſonne to the ſore-named *Abraham*.

What the word *Mulſulmā* ſignifieth.

From whence the *Sarazins* deriue their diſcent.

But let vs leaue theſe falſe Etimologies, which neither carry, or can yeelde any true likely-hood, and come to the very Original of the name *Sarrazin*. The error grew from hence, that ſome ſhort while before *Mahomet*, or *Muhamet* (as others terme him) aroſe, and began to extend himſelfe as well towardes *Suria*, as *Perſia*: there liued in the rocky *Arabia*

and

and *Idumea*, certaine *Arabes*, who made their abode and dwelling (and yet do to this day) vnder little Tentes or enclosures, and had no other trade or maintenance for their liuing, but by Thefts & Robberies, which they daily exercised vpon all passengers, were they Turkes, Christians, Pagans, or whatsoeuer. Of which Robbers and Theeues, the country could neuer be freed, neither yet can be to this day; as such doe faithfully affirm, who haue trauailed on pilgrimage to Mount *Sinai*, at *Ierusalem*. And the Turks themselues do confes, that when deuotion drew them foorth on pilgrimage, to the Citty of *Medinai al Nabi*, that is, the Citty of the Prophet, scituate in *Arabia Fœlix*, where the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* is; and when likewise they do yet passe through the very greatest solitudes and deserts (as many times the Christians doe:) They finde them to be peopled with these kinds of Theeues, as formerly hath been saide, who name themselues *Sarracenis*, not in regard of Religion or bloode; but by an auncient appellation of the sayde people; of whome, *Ptolomy* maketh mention, and saith, that their liuing is in *Idumea*.

Sarrazins were a people dwelling in the deserts of *Arabia* and *Idumea*.

The Turkes go on pilgrimage.

Sarracenis, the name they giue themselues

Amian. Marcellin. lib. Apost. 14.

Amianus Marcellinus, in the History of *Iulian* the Apostate Emperor, makes a Description of them, and saith: Those places (more then two hundred yeares before the Originall of *Mahomet*, or of his Alchoran) were fully furnished with the *Sarrazins*; yea, so was *Assyria* afterward, euen so farre as the *Cataractes* of *Nylus*, or the Kingdome of *Prester Iohn*, where they vsed the same courses, violences, and Thefts, vpon Merchants & Inhabitants of the neighboring Countries, according as the *Arabes* or *Alarbes* do at this day. Whereuppon, because that their chiefest habitation was in the Deserts and Mountaines, which are in *Arabia*, and the adiacent quarters or Countries, as *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Mesapotamia*, *Suria*, and *Egipt*, when the Arabes arose with their new Religion, and had frequented the foresaid Regions: The nearer Countries supposed, that these people were those former *Sarrazins*, by ignorance of their Language, as also by the rashnes of some writers, who liued then in *Suria*, & since that time in *Spain*, pretending to haue good knowledge of those people, and therefore continually then called them *Sarrazins*.

Antiquitie of the Sarrazin people.

The neighboring Countries to *Arabia*

Moreouer, to confirme that vain appellation, those Interpreters in *Spaine*, who (by commandement of S. *Bernard*) were appointed to interpret the Alchoran; in euery place where they founde the vocable, *Mulsulman* (which is as much to say in the *Arabian* tongue, as *Peaceable and faithfull towardes God*) they translated the same *Sarracenis*, or *Sarrazins*. This *Mulsulman* then is the word, whereby all (that beleeue in the Alchoran) will be called: whither they be *Arabes*, *Syrians*, *Persians*, *Tartares*, *Turkes*, or *Moores*. Whosoeuer then, woulde enter into any peaceable and Friendly Conference with them (albeit, none do hate their name more then the Turkes) must call them *Mulsulmans*, as we doe our selues Christians, or faithfull people. So are they all named, by the Author of the *Ismael*, or *Ismaelitish* race, & by their Bastard Prophet. After our maner, & in respect of religion, they terme a man *Mulsulman*, and a woman *Mulsulmina*, or *Mulsulminet*; albeit, some say *Mussim*, by a corrupt pronounciation, as we may conceiue by our selues, who do vse to call those disfigured Wanderers, that walke among vs with deformed faces, and long ill-fauoured lockes, vsing all subtile Thefts, Pilferies, and *Legier du maines* they can deuise; wee Nick-name to be *Sarrazins*, *Egiptians*, or *Gypsies*.

Error in translation of the *Alchoran*.

Mulsulman, a general name for them that beleiue in the Alchoran.

Sarrazins will be called *Mulsulmans*.

Our Sarazins or Gipsies.

I thus conclude then, that when Historians Write, that the *Sarrazins* inuaded and made vse of *Rhodes*; Next, of *Thrace*, then of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and other Countries: it is to be vnderstood of the Orientall people & *Affricans*, that were of the Mahometane Religion; because they vsed the selfesame Cruelties, thefts and Robberies, as the *Sarrazins* of rocky Arabia did. And to speake truly, all *Europe* would (at this instant) haue bin haunted with those people, if they had not bin formerly expelled and spoyled. It remaineth yet fresh in memory, that the Great Grand-father to *Phillip* King of *Spaine* (not long since deceased) named *Ferdinand*, expulsed them out of the Kingdome of *Granado*, with their King called *Melen*; and he bestowed six whole yeares together in stout warres, onely for foyling them. And then the Dominion, which the Sarrazins and Moores

What people are vnderstood & ment by the Sarrazins.

At what time the Sarrazins were expulsed out of *Spain*, by king *Ferdinand*.

Moores held in *Spaine*, had finall Conclusion. After which time, those faithlesse *Mahumetists*, durst neuer presume any more vpon *Spaine*, where they had held the kingdome of *Granado*, for the space of 800. yeares.

A great slaughter of the *Sarrazins* in *Spaine* by King *Alphonsus*.

Before the sayd *Ferdinand*, King *Alphonsus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1233. slew in diuers places, aboue 200000. of thē, euen when they helde strong Castles, Forts, and Cities in *Spaine*, all which he forced them to forsake, and since then, they haue bin vtterly ruined. *Henrie* the Emperor made another great massacre of them in *Italy*, in the yeare of Christ, 1010. expelling them wholy out of that Country. Among the *Sarrazins*, there were not onely generous persons, but likewise some men of great learning, as *Auicen*, *Mesuus*, *Isaac*, *Manfor*, *Auerroes*, and many others.

Another massacre of them in Italy, by the Emperor *Henry*.

Now, as al things haue their vicissitude and alteration by courses; so, after that the *Sarrazins* had raigned in *Affrica*, and partly in *Europe*, about the space of 800. yeares, there came a people from diuers parts of *Scythia* (which at this day we call *Turkes*) who in lesse then 200. yeares, ouercame in armes those people called *Sarrazins*, with many other christians beside, not onely in *Asia*, but also in *Europe* and *Affrica*. And albeit, those *Turks* were of the same religion; to wit, Mahumetists: yet did they not abstaine from vexing and troubling them vvith War, euen as they did the Christians: For in the yeare, 1012. they tooke *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea*: but the *Sarrazins* of *Egipt* recouered them againe, and held them for 300. yeares after. Neuertheless, they were yet againe expulsed thence, in the yeare, 1517. by the *Turks*; the *Sarrazins* loosing then, not only *Palestine*, and the Holy-land; but likewise *Egipt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and the very same Country of *Idumea*, whereas the *Sarrazins* had their Originall; and are there subiect to the *Turks* now at this instant: For *Campson* (their King) lost the day against *Selim*, Emperour of the Turkes, and *Tomombeus* his successour, beeing next chosen their King in his place: but he was taken, and (afterward) most ignominiously strangled in the Graund-*Cayre*, the very principall City of *Egypt*. Where we may behold the end of the *Sarrazins*, not any part of them now remayning, except a few in the place forenamed, who continue in base seruility to the Turkes.

The *Turkes* ouercame the *Sarrazins* in lesse then 200 yeares.

The *Sarrazins* lost *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea* to the *Turkes*.

Campson King of the *Sarrazins* foiled by *Selim*.

Tomombeus, last King of the *Sarrazins* strangled.

This briefe discourse, may giue vs to vnderstand, that *Sarrazins* were not at all such as are called Mahumetists: but they that hadde their beginning in the Countries of *Idumea*, and the Desert of rocky *Arabia*, with all those that (being ioyned with them) commaunded vnder them in diuers Countries, bringing other Nations likewise in subiection to them by Armes, vntil such time, as they wer exterminated by the people, whose countries they vniustly vsurped by war, & also at length, by the Turks, althogh they be of the same religion. For war is maintayned among them, onely for desire of soueraignty and ambition: which is not so commendable among vs that are Christians, or that we should be sick of such a bad disease.

Sarrazins began onely in *Idumea*, and none now remaining but only there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Title or name of Seruant, slaue, Bond-slaues, and such like. Their Original, and how they were vsed in elder times, and are at this present.

FOrasmuch as in our time, we haue so great speech of the ouer-abounding multitude of captiues or Slaues, which the Turks & Moores lead away out of Christian Countries, wherof the *French* seem to haue no feeling at all, because such a case concernes not them; in regard of their good policy & order, by their most Christian Kings care, & his counsel: yet notwithstanding such occasiō may hereafter happen, that if euer God shold suffer his Mahometan enemy to preuail so far, as he hath done elsewhere, they would then acknowledge by most wofull experience, what the condition of captiues & Bondslaues is, wherof I purpose to discourse in this Chapter. And to begin at the ancientnesse of slaues or Bondmen, it would be somewhat hard to assure, at what time they first began to be so called and vsed. because we find in the sacred scriptures; that *Abraham* had no other seruants but

France insensible of such afflictions as Bond-men feele.

Abraham had no Seruants but Slaues male and female.

Slaues, as well male as female, & (withall) had a great number of them. Wherby may bee presumed, that (long time before) there was such a seruile condition: for, acording to the supputation of *Carion*, the *Germaine* Cosmographer, *Abraham* liued in the yeare of the World, 2047. Their Originall then (vndoubtedly) proceeded of wars, wherin the victor vsurped al right of domination ouer the vanquished.

The Originall of Slaues.

The *Romans* called a Slaue or Captiue *Seruum*, as we in our Language entitle a Seruant, because he that was taken in the wars, was kept and guarded. And then, if he was not put to his ransome, (according as hee pleased, into whose power he was faln, or else, if he bought him) he remaind as his slaue or seruant, and he might smite, beate, and kill him. Moreouer, he could not possesse any thing, that was in his Maisters charge & keeping, albeit he wer extracted by race Royall, noble, or ignoble. For the word Slaue, Seruant, or Captiue, it is to bee vnderstood, not onely of such as are taken in Land-battels, or Nauall skirmishes, encounters, surprizal of Cities, Townes, or like places; but likewise, al those that can bee, and are seized on in the enemies Countrey, although they be Infants sucking at the breast, or of greater yeares; Women with Childe, and the fruit in their wombes, alwayes were, and yet are to this day, subiect to seruitude. This is thus doone by the Law of Nations, and al Nations in former times vsed the same, and so is it stil in vse, except it be in case of one and the same Religion.

The etymologie of Seruant.

The quality and condition of a Slaue.

How the word word Captiue or Slaue is to be vnderstood

Ius Gentium.

One might be made a Slaue (as yet we see in all the East, & in *Affrica*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Poland*, *Moscouia*, *Germany*, and in other Prouinces obserued, except in warring against people of one religion) foure manner of wayes. The first, was by War; the second, when he was the Son of a woman slaue; the third, when any man sold him, to participate in the price of his vendition, which oftimes is done in a desperate manner, not hauing any meanes of liuing, or when a man will foolishly expose his own freedome to bondage. There are too many at this day so hot of Nature, as, if they could, they would do the like; witnesse such, as leaue themselues neither lands, goods, nor Kindred. The fourth manner, was by crime and offence, when a man had not where-withall to satisfie the party offended; then he was sold, if the crime committed, required such a punishment.

Foure seueral waies wherby a man may becom a slaue

It is a question, but (indeede) mine owne, whether it bee better to make a prisoner (taken in Warre) a slaue, or to kil him, according to the custom of Nations? I answere, that it seemeth more humain and ciuill, to take a prisoner (in war) in condition of a slaue; then to kill him, although it be in a mans power to do it, and without any impunity. For, by the Law of God & Nature, it is forbidden to kil, but not to be made a slaue; because it appeareth that *Moises* permitted it. In like manner, it is the propertie of a Wise or discreet man, to rule and gouerne his slaue or Bondman humainly; albeit it were much better for some, to be slaine outright at the very instant, then to fall into some mens handes, and liue in their subiection. The paines and torments which they suffer, & must do, God best knoweth how long, wee purpose to speake of heereafter. For, heere I would demaund another Question, to wit; whether it be beneficiall to a commonwealth, to haue Slaues, or not?

A question demanded, and discreetly answered.

God and Nature forbiddeth to kill.

Another question.

How dangerous it is to a Commonweal or Kingdom, to haue a great number of slaues, especially, if they can compasse the meanes to league & combine themselues: may be read in the *Romaine* Histories, much more then euer they dreamt of, and to the maine hazard of their whole estate. For they could not be hindred, but that they arose thoroughout all *Italy*, to the number of threescore thousand, and vnder the conduct of one *Spartacus*, they vanquished the *Romans* in three fought battels. It is most certain, that there was then in the field: ten slaues for one free-man. *Silla* made an Edict, that euery slaue that did bring the head of his Maister, should be enfranchised, to wit; of euery such man as had followed the part of *Caius Marius*, against him; which very many did. Now, it is not to be doubted, but that how many slaues soeuer wer in the battaile; as many enemies at home had they in their families. At such time as the persecutions began to grow hot against the Christians in the Primitiue church, there

What danger it is to haue a great multitude of Slaues

Spartacus, a Sword-player in Rome.

Sil'aes Edict for Slaues against their Maisters.

So many slaues, so many enemies.

In the primitiue Church.

there was no Maister that durst become a Christian, except with the hazzard of his life, for hee must either enfranchise his slaues, or else they wold accuse him.

From whence proceeded the first power of the Sarrazins

The power of the Sarrazins in *Arabia*, tooke first Originall, when as a Captain named *Homar*, Lieutenant to *Mahomet*, had promised Liberty to such Slaues as would follow him. Heereon he drew so great a number to him, as (in few years) they made them-selues Lordes of the East. For the word [*Libertie*,] and fame of the Conquestes made by the Slaues, enflamed the mindes of all them in *Europe*, and raysed them vppe in Armes. First of all in *Spaine*, in the yeare, 781. Afterward, in the Kingdome of *France*, in the times of *Charlemaigne*, and *Lewes* the *Pittifull*, as may be gathered by the Edicts then made, against the Conspiracies of Slaues. Then *Lotharius*, the Sonne of *Lewes*, after he hadde lost two Battailes which he waged against his Bretheren, re-called the Slaues to his ayde, and they (soone after) began to pursue their Maisters; in the yeare, eight hundered fifty two: which fierce fire, suddenly kindled in *Germanie*; also, where the Slaues entering into Armes, shooke the estate both of the Cities & Princes; yea, the King of the *Allemaignes* was faine to assemble all his forces, to break the *Gordion* knot of this strange combination.

Al *Europe* wofully tormented by slaues, in many places.

A Roman Senator accused by his Slaue, before cruell *Tiberius*.

I remember the History of a *Roman* Senator, who was in very great perrill of his life, by beeing accused by one of his Slaues, before the Emperour *Tyberius*, to wit; that the Image of *Tyberius*, which was engrauen on a Ring that the Senatour wore in his finger, had touched the Vrinall as hee was making water; and this was taken for an Offence of High-treason, such was the extream Tiranny and light beleefe of the Emperor *Tyberius*.

The Historie of a slaue *Moore*, in the Isle of *Maiorica*.

In like manner, there haue bin many of later times, that murdered their Maisters, and committed other monstrous villanies, as not long since a slaue Moore did, in the Isle of *Maiorica*. This damned Villaine, hauing beene beaten by his Maister, for some notorious Offence, watching his opportunity for reuenge, first violated the honour of his Mistris, then threw two of hir children forth at the Castle window, wherein he made vse of this aduantage, locking the doors fast against his Master, who stood without, and beheld this wofull spectacle. At last, he made his Maister to cut off his owne Nose, to saue the youngest child that yet remained aliue: For, the slaue had sworn, that if he would cut off his nose, he would not hurt the Infant. No sooner had the Maister acted this cruelty on himselfe, but the perfidious slaue *Moore*, cutting the childes throat, threw it down to the other, & then cast himselfe headlong after, in a villanous bruery. I could aledge infinit other examples, if I were so minded; but in regard of breuity, I wil entreat the Reader to rest satisfied with these.

A multitude of slaues is very dangerous.

Behold then what a danger it is, to be serued with slaues, and how a multitude of them, haue falne out to be the ruine of Countries; & as it is not good to haue many, so is it very behoouefull, to see that no wher they exceed the free. Wherefore it is very conuenient to manumise them, or els to vse them gently, to beget rather loue then hatred of thē, not vrging them to desperat actions vn beseeming their duty; training them vp rather in mechanicall exercises (as was ordayned by *Licurgus* & *Numa Pompilius*) then in any sturdy or robust busines, befitting Armes. And in truth, the greater part of such Bondmen or slaues, wer then enstructed in Mechanick Arts; for some of them were Shoo makers, Taylers, Carpenters, Smiths, Cloathiers, Ship-wrights, Masons, Gold-Smiths, Ioiners, & such like honest trades. They were also imployed by straungers, because they should return the gain which they made by their labor, to their Maisters. And that it should be so, *Cato* the *Censor*, who was so conscientious, and had about him 200. slaues, hee contented him-selfe with the profites that (by them) came to him, and the Reuenues of a small Countrey Farme which he had, and that he sold to them backe againe, at an easie price, when hee beheld them to decline by age, because by their paine and endeuor he at first purchast it.

Licurgus, and *Numa Pompilius*, gaue Orders for slaues

How wise *Cato* the Censor imployed his Slaues.

Example of rich *Crassus* the Romaine Citizen.

Crassus, one of the richest *Roman* Citizens that euer was before or after him, had ordinarily fiue hundred very profitable Slaues, of diuers employments, beside such as he kept in his house. They

enriched their Maister (within very few yeares) only by their gaines: for great account (in times past) was made of such a setled estate, and it was helde the very best assurance of inheritance, that a man could then leaue to his heires. And in these dayes, such as are vnder the *Turkes* Dominion, do vse the very same kind of benifiting, for he that hath foure or fiue Slaues, strong, healthful, and lusty; attaineth to great riches by them. Beside, many are much better serued by them, then by their mercenary seruants; that leaue them at their owne pleasure, when these other dare not do so.

Vnualewable benefit made by Slaues in the Turks dominions.

The vsage of the *Parthians* to their slaues

The *Parthians* vsed not to intreat their slaues vngently, but accounted of them as their owne Children; yet notwithstanding, they were prohibited from infranchising them. They multiplied in such aboundant manner, as, in all their Army, there was found but foure hundred and fifty free men. *Florus* saith, that the *Romans* did set at liberty eight thousand Slaues, whom they caused to bear Armes, in regard of the great losse they had receiued in the battell at *Cannas*, against *Hannibal*, and they did great seruice to the Commonwealth. Comming now to our instant daies, to speak what maner of vsage they indure; I am silent, and must dumbly let slip the execrable Villanies (without all dread of punishment) inflicted on them, of whatsoeuer sex they be: only I will discourse of other matters belonging to them, and according as my instant subiect grants me leaue.

Florus in Ep. 74

The handling of slaues in diuers partes, and among the Romains.

So soone as such a one was falne into his enimies hand, be it of which side it should so happen; if he might not be rendred back vpon exchange, or put to his ransom, or be bought again as a captiue: then was the prisoners head presently shauen, and after marked with a hot iron on the arme, but more cõmonly in the forhead. If he wer of stature, he was then set to keep horses, work in the fields, Till the grounds; but very badly clothed, euen as the poor toiling slaues are in the gallies. Many times they haue bin imployed in very vnclean Offices, as to empty Priuies, & to hold the vrinall.

The Noble courage of a *Celticke* slaue.

Witnes a *Cels* (that is, one born in *Gaul*) whom his new Maister set to holde the stoole wherein he auoided his Excrements, which made him say; *I will make thee look on me whom thou hast bought, in much better maner.* So getting vp to the house top, threw himselfe downe, and there died, affecting rather any kinde of death, then to do such vilanous seruices. Maisters euermore had the life & death of their slaues in their power, albeit *Tyberius* would not permit it; but rather suffred slaues to bring their Maisters to the iudgement bar, for their hard vsage, & he that killed his slaue, was acounted as a murderer. The like ordained *Nero*, *Adrian*, & others; but it was neuer obserued, or (at least) it lasted but a while.

The life and death of a slaue in his Maisters power.

The Edict of *Tyberius*.

They were beaten (in those times) as oft as their Maisters pleased, & because they would not do it themselues, they had certain houses out of the city, wher men were purposely appointed and waged, to torment and beat thẽ with hard knotted cords, knagged staues, or certaine Bodkins, wherewith they would pierce into their bodies, euen in such places as wer most sensible; & this must be done as oft as the Maister commanded, standing by, beside good store of other torments. These men had for each slaue they thus tortured, a certain sum of mony, euen as Hangmen haue; and either they did it in their Maisters presence, or some that were (by them) appointed to see it done. Many of them had their lips and Nostrils slit vppe, if they appeared to be short winded, euen as now adayes we deale with Horsses. The Emperour *Adrian*, a very humaine Prince, who gouernd in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 120. returning one day from the fields, chanced to passe by the place where these cruelties were exercised; and buying all them that were thus to be tormented, bestowed their Liberty instantly on them.

Diuers Torments daily deuised for slaues, & cruelly executed on them.

Men had wages to tormẽt slaues.

The great humanity of the Emperor *Adrian*.

Titus Liui. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

If it hapned that a Master was slain in his house, about som quarrell, or otherwise, and by whomsoeuer, all his slaues were presently put to death. As it came to passe, by reason of a murder committed on the person of the great Prouost of *Rome*; when question was made, of putting al his slaues to death, according (saith *Tacitus*) to the ancient Custome. The vulgar people, who wer (the more part of them) enfranchised men, began to be moued, because it was wel inough knowne who was the murtherer; and yet notwithstanding, foure hundered innocents

An inhumain custom of the Romaines.

Cornel. Tacit. lib 7. cap. 10.

innocents ſhould therfore ſuffer death. The matter being debated in the Senat, it was there concluded, that the cuſtom muſt be kept; and thereuppon, all the Slaues were put to death. I ſpare to ſpeak of the murder of ſlaues, who were conſtrained to kill one another at *Areines*, and then their Bodies were expoſed to Beaſts: all being done to delight the people, and for a cuſtome in contempt of death.

The murther of ſlaues at *Areines*.

Another act of humanity in the Emperor *Adrian*.

The Emperor *Adrian*, of whom we haue already ſpoken, being in ſom choller, threwe an engrauen Iron at one of his Slaues, which Iron (vnhappily) hee had then in his hand; the ſlaue (not hearing what his Lord had commaunded him) by misfortune hadde this his eye ſmitten out. The Emperour calling the Slaue to him, ſaid; He was infinitly ſorry for the loſſe of his eye, and therefore deſired him, to ask whatſoeuer he wold in recompence, and it ſhould be granted him. The Slaue made anſwere, *I can demand nothing of ſuch worth, or thou grant it, that can equall the value of the eie I haue loſt*. Other Maiſters neuer ſhewed ſuch humanity in Nature, but rather were of much ſtearner cruelty: As *Flaminius* the Senatour, who cauſed one of his beſt ſlaues to bee ſlaine, without any other cauſe, but to pleaſe his Ingle boy (which he kept for *Sodomy*) who ſaide, that hee neuer ſaw a man ſlaine. At the ſiedge of *Ieruſalem*, in one day, there was ſlaine twenty thouſand Iewiſh ſlaues becauſe a Soldiour had eſpied Golde in the intrailes of a Iew, who had bin killed before, by the paſſage of a Sworde quite thorough his body. Hee aduertiſing his Companions heereof, the Roman Soldiers, they did forthwith cut the throats of all their Slaues that were Iewes, and ſearched into their Bowelles and Inteſtines, to ſee if there they could finde any Gold.

Plutarc. in vit. Flamin.

Ioſeph in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

Auguſtus Ceſar, banketting one day with *Aſinius Pollio*, his very great friend, a yong Slaue that waited on the Table, chaunced to breake a Glaſſe, whereof *Pollio* hauing notice, commaunded him preſently to be caſt into a Pond, where he kept certaine *Murenes* (which are Fiſhes of two or three cubits long, vvith very ſharpe Teeth) to bee deuoured by thoſe Fiſhes. The poore Slaue, threwe himſelfe at the feet of *Auguſtus*, to entreat, not to ſaue his life, for hee confeſſed that he had deſetued death, in breaking a Glaſſe that his Maiſter ſo eſteemed: but only, that he would chaunge the torment to ſome other. *Auguſtus* would not ſo much as moue *Pollio* therin: Whereupon, the Slaue was thrown into the Pond, and miſerably torne in pieces, as *Seneca* affirmeth. The *Lacedemonians* beholding their Slaues to multiply in great numbers; made a leauy among them of three thouſand men, the very ableſt that could be found, and pretending to releaſe their bondage, in one night they were all ſlaine, without any knowledge what was become of them.

Seneca. Lib. 84 Aſinius Pollio, kild his ſlaue for breaking a Glaſſe.

The inhumanity of the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, and *Allemaignes*, vſed the ſame manner of behauiour to their Slaues, as the *Romans* did. *Iulius Ceſar* declareth, that the *Gaules* would Sacrifice their ſlaues, and throw a great number of them into the Fire, when the Bodies of their deceaſed Maiſters were to be burnt. The *Allemaignes* exceeding theſe Cruelties, if it hapned that their ſlaues, either by ſickneſs, wearineſſe, or famiſhment, could not follow them in their iournies; they would cut off their Feet, & ſo leaue them ſtaruing to death. We wil heere end this Chapter, leaſt wee ſhould tire the Reader with length, and barbarous Cruelties. Now we will ſpeake of Slaues among the *Turkes*, and what is become of the ancient race of ſlaues; alſo, how long it is ſince the Mahometans and Chriſtians had no Slaues.

Grecians, Spaniards, and Allemaignes.

The *Allemains* cruelty.

CHAP. XI.

Of Slaues made by the Turkes and Mahometanes. Alſo, how the race of the auncient Chriſtian Slaues became loſt.

Mahomet, firſt Inuenter and Father of the Alchoran religion, to attract people enow to his curſed ſect (which he planted by armes) ordained, that not any *Mulſulman*, or ſuch as made profeſſion of Religion, ſhold be a ſlaue, though he were taken in war, or otherwiſe, which hath bin ſeriouſly obſerued, from the year, 742. to this preſent;

Mahometans nor Chriſtians made no ſlaues among them.

sent. Yet this was not kept by the Christians, who hauing Warre one against another, vsed their captiues and slaues, acording as the *Romans* did. But the Pastors in the Christian Church preached so zealously, & so successefuly, that they perswaded them (in example and imitation of the Sarazins and Mahometans) that they would make no slaues on eyther side, being al of one religion. We haue already spoken sufficiently, what fauor the slaues found among the Romaines, let vs now cast an eye, & note how the Turkes do handle vs, if it were our hard fortune to fal (in the like case) among them.

Preachers in the Christian Church.

It is most certaine, that all Christians who happen to bee slaues to the *Turke*, *Persian*, *Tartare*, *Iew*, *Moore*, or *Arabe*, as wel in the East, as in other places, aswel by right of warr, as otherwise; bee they sucking children, Boyes, youths, men, old, or young, women or maids: they take the like authority ouer them, as on their beasts. Nay more, there are some people following the warres, that make no other benefit or traffick, but onely of Christian slaues; for they make triple commodity of their mony, because soldiers hastily sel them at indiffrent rates; then afterward, they make sale of them in Countries and Citties, where they know that they are very highly desired and sought after. A yong man of 18. or 20. yeares of Age, is now adaies sold for 25. Ducats. A young Infant, aged three or foure years, at fiue Ducats, Women and Maids are not sold so cheape. And before they buy them, they are ofttimes seene stark naked, to obserue whether they haue any imperfection on their bodies. Afterward, they look in their mouthes, to see whether they haue good Teeth, & of what age they are. Finally, they are very dilligent and carefull in obseruing their Countenaunces; for, they that make Trafficke of Slaues, are commonly verie skilfull in Physiognomie.

The vsage of christiã slaues in diuers Nations.

Some follow wars, only to buy christians

The prizes of Christians sold as slaues.

For the most part, men are destenied (as it were) to delue in the erth, after such order as they are commanded, and with Instruments acordingly. Daily are they fed with course, and scarse holsom Bred, & but litle therof neither, so much as they think wil content nature, and no other drink haue they then Water. For clothing, they haue commonly Linnen breeches, a Doublet or Iacket of course cloath, of a blew or redde colour; their legs and feete bare; they lie on the hard ground, and somtimes in ditches, dragging a heauy Ladder after each one, lest desperately they shoulde kill their Maisters, or set their houses on fire. They are beaten & tormented at all moments of time, euen when the toy tickles the Masters head, iustly or vniustly, cõmonly with a stiffe rounde Cudgell, sparing no place of the body. Their Heades are shaueu, and all other parts where anie haire groweth, which is obserued euery second month. There are some that allow them to learne occupations, & let them forth at daily hire, to serue as best they can be imployed, either in helping Masons, Carpenters, & such like labors.

The labour & dieting of their slaues, & how they goe apparrelled.

How they are dayly imployed and vsed.

As for female slaues, they serue for all businesses that they please to vse them in. Oftentimes (if they like them) they make them their Concubines, & when they grow weary of them, they eyther sell them away to others, or suffer them to attend the houshold affaires, & wait on their Mistresses. Heer is to be noted, that they are not compeld to alter their Religion, except they bee so bold, as to enter into their *Mosquees* or temples, or vse any wordes contemptibly of their *Alchoran*, or wound any of their Mahomentan Religion: then, such an offender must be put to death, or else be forced to become of their Religion. And although they be Circumcised, and *Mulsulmans*, yet are they not therefore released; but perhappes they shall bee the gentlier vsed. For this cause, if Christians, warring against the Turkes, happen in their fights (either by land or Sea) to surprize any of these Christian renegadoes, they vse them vilely, knowing that (except they pleased) they wer not constrained to change their religion. And the better to know such, they serch their secret members; and finding the sign of their abiuration; they are handled like turkish slaues, & the oftner bastonaded. If a Christian or Iew liuing among thẽ, shal haue carnal knowledg of a woman Turk; he must either die, or chaunge his religion. In some places, he is sold in the open Market for the Princes profite, if he haue not bin circumcised. Heere I might tel ye, that some haue hapned on kinde

How they deal with women slaues.

For what causes they force Christian Slaues to alter their religion, or die.

Of Christian Renegadoes.

Punnishment for whordom, in Christians or Iewes.

kind & humain Maisters, who haue vsed the̅ like their own children, & I my selfe haue seene some so fortunate; but it fals out very rarely. *Bellonius* saith, that a Slaue in Turky, might cite his Maister before the Iudge, to tell him for how long time he should serue him, or else, what summe of Money he would accept for his ransome. And the Slaue making a lawfull Act of the Iudges ordination; the Authour affirmeth, that he hath seene some (by this meanes) to gaine their freedome. This is to be vnderstood, among the Burgesses in Cities, or Field-labourers: But such as fall into the handes of Pyrats, or of great & powerfull Lordes, they very hardly attaine to liberty.

A way how Slaues compassed their liberty, before a Iudge.

Furthermore, this is very certaine, that young Male Children, either Sons to their Slaues, or taken in Warre; they cut off both *Virga* and the Testicles, by which kinde of incision, very many dye. But such as haue the fortune to escape; they sell them at an hundred, or two hundred Ducates price. Because, when they grow greater, and come to apt yeares; the charge of their Wiues are committed to such Men. For *Turkes* of good and able meanes; doe keepe diuers Wiues: some two, others three, foure, or fiue commonly, according to their degree and condition. But the Prince hath many times in sundry *Sarrailes*, three or foure hundred Women; and giues them in marriage to his Officers, as hee waxeth weary or glutted with them.

The guelding of young children.

Turkes haue many Wiues.

A Slaue that practiseth flight and escape (a thing very hard to bee effected; because the Guardes of the Sea-ports, Riuers, and else where, are alwaies very watchfull and circumspect:) If hee be found to haue no lawfull passe-porte, then is hee stayed, and brought backe to his Maister, paying the Wine, that is, a certaine summe of Money: but afterward hee is very cruelly handled. A Gentleman of *Gascoigne*, returning out of these countries but a while since; assured me faithfully; that he saw in *Syria* two Spaniard Slaues, empaled or broached on stakes aliue and speaking: because, that beeing Slaues, they vsed their endeuour to escape away. Others also (for the same cause) were hanged vp by the feet, and beaten on the belley with many blowes of a Bastonnado. Some yet (more fortunately) haue aduentured, by conference of sixe or seauen Slaues together, that (by diuing into the Sea, or some neere adioyning Riuer) could closely keep themselues hid all the day time, and afterward trauaile (with no mean hast) all the night. Then comming to some great Riuers vppon the Frontiers, haue made meanes to breake downe some branches of Trees, and making thereof a floatage to carry them; bequeathed themselues to the Waters mercy in their passage, some swimming and drawing it one while, till being faint and well-neere spent, the other haue relieued them, and by this meanes some haue been known to saue themselues.

How the flight or escape of a slaue is punished.

Two Slaues spitted on stakes, for offering to escape.

In what manner some Slaues haue escaped.

The *Tartars*, after their Slaues haue serued them seauen yeares, they do enfranchise them; prouided, that they depart out of the Countrey. The *Iewes* are prohibited, to detaine any Christian for a Slaue, dwelling on the Confines, or in the Countries subiect to Christian Princes or Common-weales: but such they may take, inhabiting in the *Turkes* Territories; or others of the Mahometane Religion; if they bee none of the Turkes Slaues, and so knowne to be in their Countrey. The *Iewes* yet herein are more wicked then the *Mahometans*, who compell no Man at any time to alter his Religion; yet they doe it. And albeit they haue done so, they remaine (neuertheless) as Slaues with them stil. Our Christians now adaies perceiuing, that (in imitation of the *Iewes*) the *Turkes* and *Mahometans* will not enfranchise their Slaues, although they submit to their Religion: the very same course keepe they, and to speake truth, the most part doe it not, because they finde thereby not any iot of better vsage.

How the *Tartars* release their Slaues.

Change of religion admits no enfranchisement in any Country.

Christians imitate the Iewes in their Captiues.

This is the reason, that the *Hungarians*, *Transiluanians*, *Polonians*, *Bohemians*, *Germaines*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, and other people in these daies, doe not enfranchise their Slaues, for their alteration of Religion. *France* onely carrieth this priuiledge, that any Slaue treading on that ground, is forth-with enfranchised; as it was sentenced by an ancient Arrest of the Court, against an Ambassadour. *Bodine* writes, that he saw at *Tholosa*,

Any Slaue, comming into *France*, is forth-with franchised.

Tholosa, a *Geneway* Gentle-man, who was there compelled to enfranchise a Slaue, which he had bought in *Spaine*. It happened, not many yeares since, that there arriued at *Burdeaux* (by Sea) a Ship laden with *Moores*-Slaues, of both Sexes, which a Marchant-Stranger had brought thither, in hope there to make good sale of them. Knowledge heereof being brought to the Lordes then in Parliament, they forth-with dismissed them, and gaue them free liberty. So they went to get dwelling, some in one place, some in another, wher they could finde best meanes of entertainement: And this (in mine opinion) proceeded from most equitable conscience.

A Shippe of Slaues *Moores* brought to *Burdeaux*.

Now let vs see what became of the Slaues in former times, that were among our ancient Christians, and how the race of them became lost; in regard that their Children, and all such as descended of them, were alwaies of seruile condition, if they were not enfranchised by good will of their Maisters. It is to be vnderstood, that (by little and little) *Europe* ranked it selfe to the Christian Religion, and that the Byshoppes and Fathers in the Church, ordinarily Preached wholly Charity, perswading them (for saluation of their own soules) not to euill-entreat their Slaues, but rather to giue them liberty & enfranchisement: considering, that all Christians (euen by Baptisme) were freed from seruitude, and were their Brethren in our Lord Iesus Christ. By which, and such like holy remonstrances (continued for some length of time) the people began to lend attention thereto; and (by slow steppes or degrees) as well in respect of brotherly loue, as (peraduenture) feare of reuolt, which the Slaues then might make, as in former times they had done; they granted them freedome, but let vs note how.

What became of the Slaues in elder times

All Christians freed from seruitude by Baptisme.

They vsed in those daies, to let their Slaues haue the tillage & husbandry of their Lands, and they matching in marriage with Women of their owne condition, gaue them speciall charge, to giue their Patrones (yearely) diuers kinds of Graine; as Oates, Wheat, Rie, Mony, and Poultry: beside all which, they were taxable for the foure accustomed times, for their Patrones or Lords prouision then, euen as if they were their Prisoners taken in Warre. If the Patrones chanced to mary their daughters; If they vndertooke any voyage beyond the Seas, against the *Sarrazins*; If they tooke the order of Knighthood, &c. then were these Seruants tyed to sundry kinds of seruices to their Lords. Moreouer, many were charged by their Leases and Couenants, to goe trauaile personally for their Lordes, when they should haue warning thereof, at certain daies limitation. Some found them Wine at their owne expences, and brought it home to their Houses with their Beasts. Some mowed their Meddowes; cleansed the Ditches of their Castles; twisted their spinning; and furnished them with so much Wood, (in part, or wholy) as they should burn for necessary vse. Nor could they alienate the Landes and Inheritances giuen them, but onely by consent of their Patrones: To whom, whatsoeuer they acquired or purchased out of their Iurisdictions, or in the same; wholly returned, in case they had no Children: and both they and their Childrens children, were strictly bound to all these conditions. They ought not to leape, dance, or vse any kind of publique reioycing, during the whole yeare, wherein their Patrone or his Wife deceased. In briefe, there were many seruitudes willingly accepted by thē, some more, some lesse, whereto they stood bound. But the Patron had no power to smite, kill, or molest his Vassaile: for, if he fulfilled not the duties imposed, then should he bring him to open Iustice.

What was to be done at the Seruants own charges, &c.

Patrones had no authority to beat or kill their seruants

And albeit, one of this seruile conditiō, should depart, and dwell for euer out of his Lords land: yet notwithstanding, both he and his held, and still should hold the same estate of seruitude; if he did not compound by Money, or compasse (by speciall grace of his Lord) that he might be enfranchised. In many places, if the Seruant (in iudgement) did cut his Girdle, he quitted all his goods, as well present, as to come, or pretended euer to haue & possesse in his countrey. If then he went and dwelt in a place free, and not subiect to villanage; he was at liberty, and whatsoeuer he attained vnto afterward; he might dispose of to whom he pleased, not hauing any Children of his owne. Likewise, if a

For such as went away from their Lords.

The manner of enfranchising those Slaues, and vpon what conditions to their Patrons.

Lawes for some kinde of Seruants.

Concerning one free, or Noble.

a man of free or noble condition, either bought, or happened to haue adiudged him any goods in a Land of ſeruile quality; he was not therby made a Seruant: but if he chanced to dye without Children, the goods which he poſſeſſed in that Land, came to the Lorde and Patrone, but not any goods which he had elſe-where. In ſome places it is obſerued, as an inuiolable Law, that he which remaineth (a yeare and a day) in a Land of ſeruile condition, and keepeth not Fire continually, without going out or extinguiſhing: although he be a Free-man, yet he ſhall there be in the like nature of the other Inhabitants, and hold what he hath by villainage.

Freedome by fire kept a yeare and a day.

The Lord of *Roche-blanch* in *Gaſcoigne*, pretended to haue, not only the right of Mort-maine ouer his Subiects; but alſo that they were bound to til his grounds, manure his Vines, mow his Meddowes, reape and thraſh his Corne, builde his Houſes, pay his ranſome, and ſtood taxable to the four vſuall Ember-weeks in the kingdom for his prouiſion: Likewiſe, that he might bring them backe with Halters about their Necks, if they departed his Countrey without his Licence. This laſt point (how euer the other ſtood in force) was cut off by Act of Parliament at *Tholoſſa*; as being preiudiciall to the right of liberty, and fauoring of ſeruitude, which can take no place in that Kingdome. It ſeemes that the Monkes (who came very neere this kind of condition) did, and do little differ from ſuch enthralled people: for they can haue nothing properly their owne, but are ſubiect to their ſuperiours, and all rigours. But herein they differ from the other, that they haue ſpontaneally made themſelues ſeruants for life time onely, in hope to enioy (after death) eternall liberty. It was prohibited by auncient Lawes, that Abbots, Priours, and Guardians of Conuents, ſhould receiue any into Religion of ſeruile quality, without the Licence of their Patrones.

The Lord of *Roche-blanch*, his pretence.

Monkes are almoſt meere Slaues.

Many Princes long ſince, and in our times alſo, haue enfranchiſed them of their Countries, deliuering them out of villanage and ſeruitude, euen in meer Charity, or with Mony: And yet without any preiudice to the rights of Gentlemen, that held their Lands and Signeuries in ſuch Nature. As for example, *Lewes Hutin*, King of *France*, who freed ſo many as offered themſelues to him, with the price of Money, that ſerued to furniſh his Warres. The like did *Humbert*, Prince of *Dauſphinie*, in the yeare 1245. *Henry* the ſecond King of *France*, by his Letters Patents, enfranchiſed them of *Bourbonnois*, in the yeare 1549: impoſing a ſmall taxation on them, annually payable. And in his imitation, *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1569. did as much, by perſwaſion of his deuout and moſt vertuous Wife and Princeſſe, Sifter to the fore-named King *Henry*.

The enfranchiſements done by charitable Princes.

Lewes Hutin k. of *France* and others.

I do not infer, that all Prouinces were ſubiect to theſe ſeruitudes, yet there haue beene diuers in *France*; as part of *la Marche*, *Champaigne*, *Auuergne*, *Foreſt*, *Bourbonnois*, *Lyonnois*, *Bourgongne*, and others, whereof I may be ignorant. But the lower *Allemaignes* haue thereto bin more ſubiect, then any other that I know, euen as alſo *Allemaigne* it ſelfe. I would therefore aduiſe, that if any one happen (who is of an vnknowne place) to ſeeke coniunction in marriage: they would be careful firſt of his extraction, leaſt it fall out with them, as I haue ſeen in *Paris*, by an Aduocate of *Lyonnois*, a man of great meanes (attained vnto only by his knowledge) who being maried to a woman of an illuſtrious houſe, yet he dying without Children: the Patrone came and required lawfull ſucceſſion, and it was adiudged him by the Court. I could produce diuers Hiſtories to the like effect, but I let them ſleep in ſilence, fearing to be too tedious.

Diuers part in *France* ſubiect to ſuch ſeruitude.

Great danger in marriages, without carefull preuention.

Now a-daies, well neer all Chriſtendome, beginnes afreſh to make vſe of Slaues, except in *France*, and ſome other few places. But ſuch as are deſirous to vnderſtand more of their eſtate: let thē read the Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes, and there they ſhall finde ſufficient diſcourſe; as alſo plenty of the like matter. And becauſe there is no vſe made of thē in *France*, they are not read of in their Vniuerſities: for the reading of ſuch argument, began to ceaſe a little before *Bartholus* wrote, concerning the Law of right, who liued in the yeare 1350.

The Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes.

Of

CHAP. XII.

Of the ſubuerſion of the moſt potent Empire of the Chaldæans, and of their admirable Citty of Babylon.

The magnificence and riches of the *Chaldæan* Empire. *Tertul aduer. Iudeos. Metaſthenes in rebus Iudicis. Lib. 4.*

NOthing was more famous in old time, nor more celebrated by all Hiſtoriographers, then the riches and magnificence of the *Chaldæan* Empire; which, beſides the Orientall Countries (from *India* to *Æthiopia*) included, al *Ægypt*, *Affricke*, and *Spaine*. In which reſpect, *Daniell* the Prophet ſaid to *Nabucadnezzer*, who was King thereof: *Tu es Rex Regum, & poteſtas tua in terminos vniuerſæ terræ. Thou art King of Kings, and thy power extendes it ſelfe to the bounds of the whole earth.* Beſides that, the wealth, ſtrength, and beauty of *Babylon* (the Imperiall Seate of the *Chaldæan* Kings) was ſuch; as it giueth ſufficient teſtimony of the Empires great power. For the wals were 50. cubits thick, and 200. cubits high. The Citty was (foure ſquare) 15. miles from one corner to another; and ſixty miles in compaſſe. Inſomuch, that *Ariſtotle* affirmeth, that whē it was taken, thoſe which dwelt in the furtheſt part of the Citty, did not heare of it in three daies. It had an hundred Gates, with the threſholds & poſts of Braſſe; great number of Marble temples, and golden Images: whole ſtreets ſhining and glittring with Gold and precious ſtones. And among other Temples, there was one of *Belus*, four ſquare, containing two Stades euery way, which was a quarter of a mile in length, and a mile in compaſſe. In the middeſt whereof there was a Tower, which (as well in breadth, as in heigth) contained a Stade; that is to ſay, halfe a quarter of a mile: vppon the which were raiſed eight other Towers, one aboue another, with eaſie ſtaires to aſcend vp to the top, where there was a Chappell with a ſumptuous Bed, and a Table of Gold. Finally, ſuch wonderfull things are written by graue Authors, of Arteficiall Mountaines, Orchards, and Gardens (called *Horti penſiles*) hanging Gardens, and ſuch other thinges, that they ſeeme incredible.

Dan. 2.

The Wealth, Beauty, and Strength of the Citty of *Babilon.*

Solinus cap. 60. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 26. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3. Strabo. Lib. 16. Hierom. Lib. 5. in Eſay. Cap. 14 Ariſt. Lib. 3. Politic.

Herodot. Lib. 1.

Boſius apud Ioſephum. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3.

Hereby we may gather, how admirable was the wealth of the Kings of *Babylon*, and how great the power of their Monarchy; whereof the deſtruction was propheſied by *Eſay*, 200. yeares before it hapned, who ſaid in the perſon of God. *Ecce, ego ſuſcitabo ſuper eos Medos, &c.* *Behold, I will raiſe againſt them the Medians: and Babylon, which is ſo glorious amongſt all other Kingdoms, and ſo notable and famous in the pride of the Chaldæans, ſhall be ouerthrowne.* In like manner, *Ieremy* the Prophet (aboue ſixty yeares before it was taken) ſaid: *Suſcitauit Dominus, &c.* *The Lord hath raiſed vp the ſpirit of the King of the* Medians *againſt* Babylon, *and his meaning is to deſtroy it.* Alſo *Daniell* the Prophet, interpreting to *Balthazar* King of *Babylon*, the words, *Mena, Thekel, Phares* (which were written miraculouſly before him, as hee was banqueting with his Nobility) fore-tolde the very day before it was taken, that God had giuen his Kingdome to the *Medes* & *Perſians*. All which was accompliſhed the night following, when *Darius* K. of *Media* and *Perſia* (whom *Xenophon* cald *Ciaxares*) beſiedging *Babylon*, tooke it on a ſudden, with the help of his Nephew *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, in the time of a great Feaſt, when the King, Nobility, & and people (contemning their enemies, in ouer-weening their owne ſtrength) attended only to banquets & ſports, as both *Xenophon* and *Herodotus* do teſtifie. They doe alſo declare the meanes how they tooke it, agreeing to the Prædictions of the Prophets: To wit, by a Stratagem of *Cyrus*, who cauſed certain ditches to be opened, to draw away the riuer *Euphrates* which paſſed through the Town; whereby the Channell was left dry, and the ſouldiers entring ſuddenly, ſurpriſed it without reſiſtance.

The deſtruction of *Babylon* propheſied 200. yeares before it happened.

Eſay. Cap. 13.

Ierem. Cap. 50.

Dan. Cap. 5.

Zenoph Lib. 7. How the propheſie of the deſtruction of *Babylon* was accompliſhed by the teſtimony of prophane Authors. *Zenoph. Lib. Ibid Herodot. lib. 1.*

Of this drawing away the Riuer, *Ieremy* propheſied plainly, ſaying; *Deſertum faciam mare eius, & ſiccabo venā eius. I will make her Sea* (that is to ſay, her famous Riuer *Euphrates*) *deſert, and I will dry vp the vaine or Channell thereof.* And againe. *Vada præoccupato ſunt, &c.* *Her Fords or Waters, are preoccupated or intercepted.* And againe. *Siccitas ſuper aquas eius. Her Waters ſhall become dry.*

Ierem. Cap. 13.

Thus began the execution of Gods wrath vpon *Babylon*, and on the Empire of

of the *Chaldæans*, which was then translated to the *Medians* and *Persians*, according to the Prædictions of the Prophets: which Prædictions (neuertheleſſe) were not fulfilled all at once, but in proceſſe of time. For the Prophets fore-told not onely the ſurprize of the Citty, but alſo the vtter deſolation thereof, and of the whole Countrey of *Babylon*. *Murus ille Babilonis latiſſimus*, (ſaith *Ieremy*) *ſuffoſione ſuffodietur, &c.* *That exceeding broad wall of Babylon, ſhall bee vndermined, and digged vp, and the high and magnificiall Gates thereof, ſhall be burnt.* And againe in another place, ſpeaking to the *Babylonians*, hee ſaith; *Confuſa eſt mater veſtra &c.* *Your mother* (meaning *Babylon*) *is wholly confounded, and made euen with the ground, &c.* *And all thoſe which ſhall paſſe by it, ſhall be amazed, and ſhall hiſſe at it, in reſpect of the plagues that ſhall fall vpon it.* Alſo *Eſay* propheſied, that it ſhould become a Wilderneſſe, ſaying; *Non habitabitur vſq; in finem, nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs, nec paſtores requieſcent, ſed requieſcent ibi beſtiæ, &c.* *It ſhall not be inhabited to the end, nor the Arabian* (who driues his cattell from place to place, to ſeek feeding for them) *ſhall not pitch his Tentes there, nor ſo much as Shepheards ſhall remaine there, but it ſhall be a receptacle for wilde beaſts.*

Ierem. Cap. 51.

Idem. Cap. 50.

Eſay. Cap. 13.

All this (I ſay) was wofully accompliſhed afterward, for *Darius* the Sonne of *Hiſtaſpis* the *Perſian*, tooke *Babylon* againe the ſecond time, about forty years after the firſt ſurpriſe; by occaſion of the *Babylonians* rebellion, and then he raced the ſtrong and ſtately wals thereof. And though the Citty was left ſtanding; yet it fell (by little and little) to deſolation. Eſpecially after the building of *Seleucia* by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and of *Cteſiphonte* by the Kinges of the *Parthians*: from which time forward it grew to be diſpeopled. In ſo much, that in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour, there was nothing left of *Babylon* but a poore Wall, which ſerued in Saint *Ieromes* time (as hee witneſſeth) for an encloſure for all kinds of wild Beaſts, that were reſerued and kept there, for recreation of the Kinges of that Countrey, when they came to hunt in thoſe parts. And thoſe which haue trauailed lately that way, affirme; that all that part where *Babylon* ſtood, is ſo full of Lyons and ſauage Beaſts, yea, and of murdring Theeues, and Robbers; that paſſengers are faine to haue Guards of Souldiers for their ſafety. Which I alſo note by the way, as an accompliſhment of the Propheſie of *Ieremy*, who ſaid. *Habitabunt ibi dracones, cum ſtrutiſicarijs*; *Dragons or Beaſts of the Deſert, with wicked Murderers, ſhall dwell there.*

Herodot. Lib. 3 Iuſtin. Lib. 1.

Plin. cap. 6. Lib. 16.

Hieron. Lib. 5. in Eſay. Cap. 13 in fine.

The great deſolation of that place, where *Babylon* ſtood.

Ierem. Cap. 10.

Laſtly, it is certainely reported by others which haue been there, that there is not there-abour any Towne or Village (for *Bagadat*, which is now called New *Babylon*, is a daies iourney from the place where the olde ſtood) nor ſo much as a Tree or greene Hearbe in all that Territory: but that all is (as the Prophet *Ieremy* fore-told.) *Deſerta & arenes*, *Deſert and dry.* Which may be wondred at, conſidering the admirable fertility thereof in times paſt, for (as *Plinie* ſaith) it was the moſt fruitfull Country of all the Eaſt. And *Herodotus* affirmeth, that the ground yeilded ordinarily two hundred for one, and ſome yeares three hundred. And he forbeareth (as he ſaith) to recount other particulers thereof, becauſe the ſame would ſeeme incredible, to ſuch as had neuer ſeene it.

Bagadat, now called new Babilon, a daies iourney diſtant from where the old ſtood.

Bozius de rnuis gent. & regno

Not a greene hearbe. Tree in the territority of old Babylon.

Plin. nat. Hiſt. Lib 6 Cap. 26. Herod. Lib 2.

The admirable fertility of the Countrey of Babylon in times paſt.

But for as much as the Prophets doe all ſpecifie the particular cauſes; that is to ſay, the ſinnes whereby the *Babylonians* and *Chaldæans* incurred the wrath of Almighty God, and deſerued ſo great a punishment: I will lay them downe in the Prophets owne words. *Eſay* ſpeaking of *Babylon* in the perſon of God, ſaid. *Quieſcere faciam ſuperbiam infidelium, & arrogantiam fortium humiliabo.* *I will make the pride of the miſcreants or Infidels to ceaſe, and I will humiliate the arroganey of the ſtrong.* And in another place, the ſame Prophet ſpeaking to *Babylon*, of the calamities that ſhould fall vpon her, ſaid. *Veniuerſa venerunt ſuper te, &c.* *All thy miſeries fell vpon thee for the multitude of thy Witch-crafts, and for the hardneſſe of the hearts of thy Enchaunters, &c.* *Stand foorth with the multitude of thy Witchcrafts, wherein thou haſt laboured, euen from thine Infancy, and ſee whether they can profit thee any thing.* *Thy Aſtrologers, and thoſe which were wont to contemplate the Starres, and to tell thee thinges to come: let them now come forth, and ſaue thee*

Eſay Cap. 13. The particuler cauſes why God deſtroyed Babylon.

The pride of the Babylonians

Witch-crafts. Eſay Cap. 47. Ibid.

Superſtitious Aſtrology.

thee if they can. Behold, they are all made like straw or stubble, the fire hath burnt thē, euery one hath erred in his way, and none can saue thee.

Ierem Cap. 51. The cruelties of the *Babylonians* towards the people of God, & their Temple. *Ierem. Cap. 50.*

Also *Ieremy* comforteth the *Iewes* in their captiuity, saying in the person of God: *Reddam Babiloni, &c. I will render to* Babylon, *and to all the people of* Chaldæa, *all the euill and hurt they haue done in Syon.* And againe, *The Foundations of* Babylon *are fallen, the wals are destroyed; for it is the reuenge of our Lord, and the reuenge of his Temple.*

Dan. Cap. 5. Idolatry, and the prophanation of holy vessels.

Lastly, *Daniell* expounding to *Balthasar* (the last King thereof) the inscription written on the Wall, by the hand which appeared as he was banqueting with his Nobility: signified vnto him, that God had giuen his Kingdome to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as well for his pride and Idolatry; as also, because (in that banquet) he *Prophaned the holy vessels of the Temple*, which *Nabucadnezzer* his Grand-father had brought from *Ierusalem*, when he led the *Iewes* into captiuity. So that the mighty and potent sinnes for which God did ouerthrow so great an Empire, were, *Pride, Witchcraft, the superstitious vse of Astrologie, cruelty towards the people of God, destruction of his Temple in Hierusalem, and the prophanation of holy vessels dedicated to Gods seruice.* Whereby we may see, how heinous those sinnes were in the sight of God, and how grieuous the penalty of sinne is. Lastly, how true it is which S. *Ierome* saith, speaking of that mightie Empires subuersion: *All humane power is but dust and ashes, when the wrath of God striketh for sinne.* Thus much concerning the destruction of Babylon, and Translation of the *Chaldean* Empire to the *Medians*: Next I thinke it most conuenient for me, to relate the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and wofull calamities of the *Iewes* euer since.

Hierom. lib. 5 in Esay. Cap. 14. All humane power but dust & ashes, when God striketh for sinne.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem, and wofull calamities of the Iewes euer since.

Esay cap. 10. & 13. Ierem. Cap. 19. I Omit (for breuities sake) the Prophesies of *Esay* and *Ieremy*, and will onelie speake of two other: the one of *Daniel*, and the other of our Sauiour himselfe. *Daniel* writing after the first destruction of *Hierusalem* by *Nabuchadnezzer*, during the Iewes captiuity in Babylon, and hauing prophesied of the re-edifycation of the Temple, saith further in these wordes: *Daniels* prophesie of *Ierusalems* destruction.

Dan. Cap. 7.

Et post sexaginta duas hebdomadas, occidetur Christus, &c. After threescore and two weekes (that is to say, 490. yeares, counting the weekes by yeares, and not by daies; to wit, seauen yeares to euery weeke) *Christ, or the Messias shall be killed, and the people which shall not be his people, and the Cittie and Sanctuary shall be destroyed, by a people that shall come with their Captaine, and the end of it shall be destruction, and after the end of the war, shall follow the determined desolation.*

This was the prophesie of *Daniell*, of *Ierusalems* destruction, and the cause thereof, aboue 500. yeares before it happened: which our Sauiour himselfe told more particularly, who (a little before his passion) going downe to *Hierusalem* from the Mount *Oliuet* (whence he had the full view and prospect of the Citty) wept for compassion hee had of the misery that was to fall vpon it, saying; *Veniens dies inte, &c. The daies shall come in thee Hierusalem, that thy Enemies shall enuiron thee round about, and shall straiten thee on euery side, and shal not leaue in thee one stone vpon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* And again (afterwards) he said to his Disciples *When ye shall see Ierusalem besieged with an Army: then know, that the desolation thereof is at hand. Then those which are in Iudea, let them fly to the Mountaines, and those that are in the midst of it, let them depart; and those which are in the Countries adioyning, let them not enter into it: For that these are the daies of reuenge, to the end that al those thinges which haue bin written thereof, may be fulfilled. Woe be to Women with child and to Nurses in those daies; for there shal be great misery vpon the earth, & wrath vpon the people: and they shall fall in the face of the Sword, and shall bee carried captiues into all Nations, and Ierusalem shal be troden vnder the feet of the Gentiles.*

Our Sauiours prophesie of *Ierusalems* destruction.

Luke. Cap. 19

Luke. Cap. 21 Math Cap. 24 Mark. Cap. 13

And afterward againe, when the women of *Ierusalem* bewayled and lamented him, when he went to his Passion, he said to them. *Weepe not for me (ô yee Daughters of Ierusalem) but for your selues and*

Luke. Cap. 23

and your Children. For loe, the daies shall come, when they shall say; Happy are the barren, and the wombs that haue not born children, and the paps that haue not giuen suck. Then they shal begin to say to the mountains, fal vpon vs; and to hils, couer vs, &c. Thus said our Sauior, which I haue set down the more particularly; to the end, we may consider, how the euent corresponded to his Prophesie, by the Testimony of prophane Authors; especially of famous *Iosephus* the *Iew*, who was an eye-witnesse, and partaker of the common calamity of his Country, though (being blinded no lesse then the rest) he had not the grace to acknowledge the true cause thereof.

The siedge of Ierusalem 40. yeares after our Sauiours passion.

Although there passed almost sortie yeares, before the siedge of *Ierusalem* after our Sauiours death: yet Almighty God began much sooner, to execute his iust iudgements vpon the *Iewes*, in most euident and rigorous manner; not only in *Ierusalem* & *Iudea*, but also in al other parts where they dwelled. It seeming conuenient to his Iustice, that as they were assembled in *Ierusalem* at his passion, and all consenting to his condemnation; so they should pay the penaltie thereof in all parts whersoeuer they liued. And therefore, within 7. or 8. years after our Sauiour suffered, there were infinite numbers of them slaughtered in all the Citties of *Syria*, *Egipt*, and other countries, by conspiracies of the people against them. As in *Seleutia* 50000. In *Damascus* 18000. In *Cæsarea* 20000. In *Scithopolis* 13000. In *Ascalon* 2500. In *Alexandria* 50000. Beside 10000. more in other Citties of *Ægipt*; and 5000. in *Ioppa*. Within a few years after, *Claudius* the Emp. banished al the *Iewes* out of *Rome*, by a publike Edict, and out of all the Country of *Iudæa*. Besides, the Citty of *Hierusalem* was miserably infected with Theeus, Robbers, Murderers, Magitians, false Prophets; and seditious persons; prophaning the very Temple with bloud: insomuch, that 20000. were killed, and the most of them stifled in a tumult in *Hierusalem*, at a Feast of Easter (as we cal their *Pascha*.) Al which *Iosephus* recounteth, as the preamble to their ruine. Besides, their Gouernours did vse such tyranny vpon them, vnder the Emperours *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*: that very many of them were forced to abandon their Countrey, and the rest to rebell. Which brought vpon the the Armies of the *Romaines*; first vnder *Cestius*, Gouernor of *Syria*, who burned, spoyled, and ransacked all *Palestine*, and besiedged Ierusalem it selfe. Afterward; *Vespatian* destroied all the Country, and great numbers of the people with Fire and Sword: whiles also (in the meane time) they were miserably afflicted with Famine and Ciuill Wars, by reason of three potent seuerall factions, which arose amongst them; first, in the Prouinces abroad, and after in the Citty of *Ierusalem*, where the seditious slue great numbers of their Aduersaries, euen in the Temple it selfe, and committed such horrible sacriledges, & other abhominable mischiefes therin, that *Iosephus* saith thereof. *Non recusabo dicere &c. I wil not forbeare to say that, which sorrow forceth me to vtter. I verily thinke, that if the Romaines had not come when they did, against those most wicked men of my Nation, either the earth wold haue opened & swalowed the Citty, or another Deluge would haue drowned it; or thunder-bolts and fire from Heauen would haue destroyed and consumed it.*

Idem. ibid. lib. 3 Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Idem. Ibid. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Iosephus de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 6. Cap. 16.

The wonderfull punnishments of God vpon the *Iews* many yeares before the siedge of Ierusalem.

Thus saith *Iosephus*, and this was the state of the *Iewes*, when *Vespasian* (being chosen Emperour of the *Romaines*) left the charge and prosecution of the warre against them, to his Sonne *Titus*: who (presently after) planted his siege before the Citty of *Hierusalem*, while the *Iewes* (according to their yearely custome) were assembled there out of all parts, to celebrate their Feast of *Pascha*. Which time was ordained by the special prouidence of God, that the time of their punishment, might answere to the time of their offence (for that they had put out Sauior to death at their *Paschall* Feast.) And partly, to the end, that the reuenge might be the more cõpleat on the whol Nation, by reason of the infinit number of them that were assembled there, for celebration of the Feast, euen from all parts of *Iudea*, and the Countries adioyning. The Towne being besiedged, was (within few daies) enuironed by the *Romans*, according to our Sauiors prophesie; not onely with a Trench, but also with a wall; in such sort, that no liuing creature could issue out any way. By means whereof, and of the great multitude of people within the Town, there

Ierusalem besiedged by Gods especial prouidence, at a Feast of Easter.

How our Sauiors prophesie was fulfilled. Luke 19.

Ioseph. lib. 2. de bello Iudaico. cap. 21. et in 41. Idem. de bel. Iudai. Lib. 2. cap. 19. 20 et Lib. 7. Cap. 18. Sueton. in Claudio. Anno. 51.

Ioseph. Lib. 10. de Antiq. Cap. 6 & de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. 12, 13. 14. 15. Idem. Lib 20. de Antiquit. cap. 4.

Idem lib 2. de bello Iudaic.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. Cap. 13. et Lib. 7. ca. 7. 8.

The extream famine in besiedged Ierusalem.

grew (within a while) such extreamity of famine: that they were forced to eat, not onely Horses, Asses, Dogs, Rats, & Mice, & the Leather that couered their Shields and Bucklers; but also the very dung out of the Stables, yea, and a Noble woman was known to eate her own child that suckt vpon her breast; wherin was fulfilled the Prophesie of our Sauiour, when he said: *Beatæ steriles, &c. Happy are the barren, and the bellies which haue not brought forth Children, &c.*

Luke. Cap. 23

But to proceede, in the meane time, the besieged were no lesse infested with cruell sedition, and war amongst themselues; then with famine, & the assaults of their enemies abroad. Insomuch, that they filled the Citty and Temple with their own blood, and such as were taken by the *Romans*, were (by the commaund of *Titus*) crucified before the wals of the Citty, to the number of 500. euery day, vntill at length (as *Iesephus* reporteth) there wanted both Crosses for the Bodies, and place for the Crosses: so that, their clamorous sentence of *Crucifige*, (giuen against our Sauiour Christ) was iustly executed vpon themselues.

The extream misery of the *Iews* besieged.

Ioseph. Lib. 6. cap. 12.

Luke. Cap. 13

Also, great numbers of them, who (being forced with Famine) sought to saue their liues, by yeilding themselues to their enemies: were (neuertheless) killed by the *Syrian* and *Arabian* Souldiers, and their Bowels ript vp, in hope to find Gold therein; vpon a report, or at least a conceit, that the *Iews* did swallow their Gold, to conuay it out of the Citty by that meanes. And such was the misery within the City, by Famine, Pestilence, and cruelty of the factions one against another; that (as *Iosephus* reporteth) all the sinkes, void places, and retreats; yea, the very streets were full of dead bodies, which were continually cast out from the Houses, and trodden vpon like Dust and Dirt. Wherein the Prophesie of *Esay* was fulfilled, who said; *Facta sunt morticinia, &c. Their Carkasses became like Dirt or Dung in the midst of the Streetes.* And although it was ordained at the first, that the dead Bodies should bee buried at the Citties publike charge, to remedy the contagion, which daily encreased by the Pestilent sauour of them: yet the number grew within a while to be so great, that there was no place to bury them; insomuch, that the liuing were forced to cast the dead ouer the Wals, into the Ditch of the Towne, and in so great nmmbers, that *Titus* the *Romaine* Generall seeing it, and noting the filth and corruption that issued out of their Woundes and Plague-sores, most loathsome to behold, exclaiming, said: *That it was some extraordinary punnishment of God vppon them for their sinnes; and not any effect of his siedge.*

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. ca. 13

Esay. Cap. 19.

Iose. de bel. Iud. Lib. 6. cap. 14.

Iose. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. Cap. 14.

Finally, after fiue months siedge, the Temple and City were burned, and the Wals raced, excepting one little peece thereof, which was left for some shelter and defence for the Souldiours, who were to remain in those parts: besides, some pieces of three Towers, which *Titus* commaunded should be left, for a Monument and remembrance of his siedge. Whereas al the rest of the Citty was destroyed (as *Iosephus* saith) that it seemed neuer to haue beene inhabited. Which our Sauiour signified, when he said; *Et prosternent, &c. And they shall lay thee flat vpon the ground, and one stone shall not be left vpon another in thee.* To conclude, the number of those which were slaine, and dyed during the siedge, was (as *Iosephus* reporteth) a Milion and an hundred thousand, and of the Captains 97000. whereof *Iosephus* himselfe was one: And of those, some were condemned to the publike works; others (of the stronger and handsomer sort) carried in triumph; and such as were vnder the age of 17. yeares, were sold for little or nothing. And those which remained in the Countrey, were loaden with such grieuous impositions and tributes, that they liued in continuall misery.

Ierusalem taken and destroyed, after fiue months siedge.

Ioseph. Lib. 7. Cap. 10.

Luke 19.

Ioseph. Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

The number of Iewes that dyed & were slaine, and of the Captiues.

Thus much concerning the destruction of *Ierusalem*, whereof (I thinke) the like hath not bin read or heard in all Anquity. But what? was the Iustice of God satisfied, & his wrath towards the *Iewes* appeased with this? No, for (as the Prophet *Esay* said, when he prophesied of the lamentable destruction of the City:) *In omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta. His wrath was not auerted from them with all this, but his hand is still out-stretched to punish them.*

The continuance of Gods punishments vpon the *Iews*, euer since the destruction of Ierusalem.

Esay. Cap. 5.

This may euidently appeare, by the wonderfull calamities which fell vpon them after, not only in *Iudæa*, but also in all

Anno. 116. & 117.

all other places where they were dispersed: As first (in the next age) in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subuersion of *Ierusalem*; *Infinita eorum millia, &c.* (saith *Eusebius*) *Infinite thousands of them were killed, for their rebellions in Ægypt, Mesopotamia*, and the Iland of *Cyprus*. For in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where they liued in great multitude, all of them were put to the Sword. In *Macedonia*, they were vtterly extinguished. And in *Cyprus* they were all either killed, or banished; and a Law made, that it should be death for any Iew to tarry there, though he were driuen thither by Tempest against his wil. And a few years after, *Iulius Seuerus* being called out of *Britttany* by the Emperor *Adrian* (to represse a rebellion of the *Iewes*) destroyed almost al the countrey.

Euseb. in Chron. 18. An. Traiani.

Euseb. lib. 4 cap. 2. et in Chron.

Infinite numbers of Iewes slain in diuers parts of the World, in the dayes of the Emperours *Traiane* and *Adrian*.

For, as *Dion* writeth, he dismanteld fifty strong Forts, razed or burnt 965. Townes and Villages, and killed aboue 50000. Iewes in battaile; besides that, an infinite number of others either died by fire, famine, and pestilence, or were sold for Slaues. And such (saith S. *Hierom*) as could not be sold, *Were translated into Ægypt, or else perished by ship-wracke, famine, or by the sword of the Gentiles*. And the Emperor hauing (lately before) re-edified the Citty of *Ierusalem*, and called it (after his owne Name) *Ælia Adria*, commaunded by publike Edict, that no Iew should (euer after) enter into the Territory or iurisdiction thereof, nor so neere vnto it, that hee might behold it from any high place. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were also miserably afflicted by the Emperor *Antonius Pius*, for another rebellion; and after him again, by *Marcus Aurelius*, who being wearied with their continuall tumults (as saith *Amianus Marcellinus*) exclaimed against them, saying; That they were worse then the *Marcomani*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmates*, whom he held to be the most beastly of all barbarous Nations. And again, some yeares after they were subdued and destroied by the Emp. *Seuerus*, who triumphed for his great victory against them, and renewed the decrees of *Adrian*, for their exclusion from the sight of their Country, by means whereof, they were counted no better then Vagabonds.

Dion in Hadriano.

Hierom. in Zachariam Cap. 21. Anno. 137.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 4 ca. 6 Iewes forbidden by Edict to behold their owne Country a far off.

Iulius Capitolin. in Anton. Anno. 141. The affliction of the Iewes vnder An. Pius, Mar. Aurel. and Seuerus. Am. Mar. Lib. 22. Anno. 173.

Spartian. in Seuero. Baron. Anno. 199.

And therefore *Tertullian* (who wrote in the same time) said of them thus. *Dispersi, palabundi cœli et soli sui extorres, vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine Deo rege. They wander about the world, dispersed, scattred, & banished from their native soyle and ayre, hauing neither God nor Man for their King: Quibus nec aduenarum iure, terram patriam salutare conceditur? Who may not so much as (in guest-wise) salute or see their owne Countrey.* Thus said *Tertullian*, and so odious & hatefull became they afterward to all men; that they were tearmed *Fœtentes Iudæi*, *Filthy* and stinking *Iewes*, as appeareth in *Amianus Marcellinus*, a *Pagane* Historiographer.

Tertul. cont. Iudæos Ca. 11. et Apologet. Ca. 11.

The Paynims called the Iewes, *Fœtentes Iudæi*, stinking Iewes. Amm. Marcel. Lib. 22.

Whereof some also yeild a particuler reason, manifesting Gods malediction vpon them; to wit, That all *Iewes* haue a filthy and lothsome sauor continually, euer since their dispersion; and that they perswade themselues, that the same cannot be cured, but with drinking the bloud of Christians. For which cause, they haue killed many children at diuers times, and in diuers * Countries. And particularly in *Trent*, in the yeare of our Lord 1475. at what time they miserably crucified a young Child of 20. monthes old, called *Simon*: and the *Iewes* being taken for the fact, confessed, that one of the causes that mooued them thereto, was to drinke his bloud, for remedy of their stinking disease: as writeth *Iohannes Mathias Tiberinus*, a Learned Phisitian, who liued in *Trent* at the same time. But to returne to the former ages, from whence I haue a little digressed. After the time of the Emperour *Seuerus*, they rebelled also against *Constantine* the Great; for the which, great numbers of them had their eares cut off, and were (by the Emperors commandement) dispersed throughout all Countries, with that and other marks of Infamy, for generall shame and reproach of al the Nation. And not many yeares after, there were many thousands of them slaine in *Iudea*, without respect of young or old: and three or foure of their chiefe Cities, and very many of their Townes, were burnt in the time of *Constantius*, Son to *Constantine* the Great, for another rebellion.

The reason of the stinke that the Iews haue, and the remedy which they haue sometimes vsed for the same.

* See *Mat. Paris* and *Iac. Capgraue*, of the death of *S. Hugh* a childe, crucified at *Lincolne. Anno.* 1255. and another at *Norwich. An.* 1146.

Surius 24. Martij. Io. Mag. Ep ad Senat. pop. Brixian.

Chrys. Orat. 2. adu. Iudæos circa An. 313. The misery of the Iewes in the time of *Constantine* the Great, & *Constantius* his Sonne.

Hier. in Chron. Anno. 352. Sozomen. Lib. 4. Cap 6.

The fauour done to the *Iewes* by *Iulian* the *Apostata*, turned to their confusion.

Emperour *Iulian* the *Apostata*, who succeeded *Constantius*, fauored thē so much for the short time of his raigne (which was but 20. months) that he gaue them leaue, not only to returne to *Ierusalem* to inhabite there; but also to re-edifie their Temple, yet it rather turned to their confusion, then to their contentment and commodity. For first, as concerning the re-edification of their Temple, when they had made collections of great sums of Money (whereto, as well Women as Men most zealously contributed so much, as they were any way able, with intention to make it more beautifull then euer it was:) they lost both their labour & charges, being forced (by three prodigious accidents) to surcease the worke after they had begun it.

The re-edification of the Temple in *Ierusalem* miraculously hundred.

For when all things necessarie for the building were prouided, the foundation laid vpon the ground-workes of the old Temple, the wals rising apace, the *Iewes* triumphing, and insulting against our Sauiour Christ and the Christians (who were much dismaied, in respect of the cleare propheſies of *Daniell*, fore-telling the perpetual desolation of the temple:) It pleased Almighty God, that first an Earth-quake dissolued the Foundation, and ouerthrew the wal that was begun; and then a fire from Heauen consumed as well the Tooles and Instruments of the Work-men, as also the Timber and other matters prepared for the building; yea, and burnt very many of the *Iewes* themselues. Lastly, for their further confusion, and that it might be manifest vnto them, from whence all this proceeded: there appeared a Crosse in the ayre, and the apparrell of all those which were present, was miraculously marked with Crosses, which could neuer after be washed out, nor taken away by any meanes; where-with the *Iewes* were so confounded, that they desisted from their work, and many of them became Christians. This Story is written by *Ruffinus*, *Socrates*, S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and S. *Chrisostome*, who saith; *Huius rei nos omnes testes sumus, nostra enim aetate ante annos viginti haec acciderunt. We are all witnesses of this matter, for it hapned in this our age, litle more then 20. years ago.* Loe then how little the fauour of earthly Kings and Princes auaileth, when the heauenly King disfauoureth and punisheth for sinne. And also how true it is which the royal Prophet saith; *Nisi Dominus aedificauerit domum, &c. Except the Lord builde the house, they labour in vaine who build it.* And now as concerning the aboad of the *Iewes* at *Hierusalem* afterwards, it is euident, that they remained not long there: but that within a while after *Iulians* death (who dyed presentlie after this chanced) they were not onely expelled thence, but also forbidden againe to enter into the Citty. For we read, that within 20. yeares after, in the time of the Emperors *Theodosius* & *Valentinian*, their custome was to purchase licence for Money (yearely) to goe thither, to bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, in the aniuersary day thereof: as witnesseth S. *Ierom*, who liued many years in those parts, and wrote there (at the same time) his learned Commentaries vpon the lesser Prophets. Wherein hee notably describeth the miserable estate, as well of the whole Countrey, as of the *Iewes* themselues, which therefore I thought good to set down in his owne words.

Circa An. 389.

The *Iews* purchased licence for mony, to go to *Ierusalem* to bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, in the time of *Theodosius*.

As for the destruction (saith he) of the strong Cities, which were wont to be in *Iudea*; I thinke it may better bee iudged by the eye, then by the eare; better by sight, then by report. And I especially, who am now in this Prouince, cannot but see it, and approue those things which haue beene written of it: For we see now scant any little Monument of the old ruines, in some of the greatest Cities which flourished in times past. In *Silo*, where the Tabernacle and Arke of the Testament of our Lord was; the very Foundations of the Altar scant appeare. *Gabaa*, that great Citty of *Saul*, is pulled downe to the very ground. *Rama* and *Bethoron*, and the other famous Cities, built by *Salomon*; are now little villages. And a little after. And at this present day, the perfidious and Traiterous Iewes, are forbidden to enter into *Ierusalem*; except it bee to weepe, and bewaile the subuersion of their Temple, for the which also they are enforced to pay Money. So that, as in times past, they bought the bloud of Christ: so now they are faine to buy their owne teares, and cannot bee suffered so much as to weepe of free cost. You might see, in

Ierom in Sophoniam. Cap. 1. Saint *Ierome* an eye-witnes of the desolation of *Iudea*, and misery of the Iewes.

cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc cc

As the Iewes bought the bloud of Christ, so they were fain afterward to buy their owne teares,

Anno. 363.

Ruffin. Lib. 1. *Cap.* 37. *Socr. lib.* 3. *cap.* 17. *Greg. Nazian. Orat.* 2. *in Iulianum. Christ. Orat.* 2. *aduer. Iudeos.*

» in the day that *Ierusalem* was taken and
» destroyed by the *Romaines* (that wofull
» people) old Women at Deaths doore,
» and old Men loaden no lesse with rags,
» then yeares, came flocking thither,
» bearing the Testimony of Gods wrath
» in their very Bodies and Habits. And
» a little after; A wofull multitude of mi-
» serable people (whom yet no Man pit-
» tieth) assemble themselues there, to
» lament the ruine of their Temple. And
» while they haue yet their Cheekes be-
» dewed with Teares, and their naked
» Armes stretched vppe to Heauen; and
» their Haire spred about their eares: the
» pittilesse Souldier asketh them some re-
» ward, to suffer them to weepe a little
» longer. And can any Man (who shall
» see this) doubt, but that this is the day
» of their tribulation, and the time of
» their Anguish, Calamity, and misery,
» whereof the Prophet speaketh? Thus
» saith Saint *Hierom*, of the Infelicity of
» the Iewes, and their exclusion from *Ie-*
» *rusalem*, in the time of *Theodosius*.

Chrysost. Orat. 2 cont. Iudæos. Circa. An. 397.

Furthermore, Saint *Chrysostome* writing some yeares after, in the time of the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, affirmed, that the Iews hauing lost their Liberty and Country; *Were contemptible and ridiculous to all men throughout the World, from the East to the West, and to the very extreamity and further-most boundes of the Earth.* Their misery also (in those times) appeareth by two Lawes of *Honorius* the Emperour; the one against them, and the other in fauour of them: By the first he ordained, *That no Iewe should haue any kinde of Honour or Office in the Common-wealth, and that such as already had any, should bee depriued thereof.* The other Law made in fauor of them, was; *To represse the fury of the people against them in all parts*, because for foure yeares together, before that Law was made; their Sinagogues were burnt, & they themselues despightfully and cruelly handled euery where; which the Emperor restrained by a publike Edict, least (otherwise) they should be vtterly extinguished.

The misery of the Iewes in the times of *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*.

Cod Theod. lib. 24. An. 418.

And who is able to recount all the plagues and calamities, which since that time haue fallen vpon thē euery where? And how they haue bin oppressed, spoiled, banished, and massacred, whersoeuer they haue liued? In *France* 90000. of them were forced to be baptized, or to fly the Countrey, in the yeare of our Lorde 614. In *Spaine*, a conspiracy of theyrs being detected, in the yeare 694. all their goods were confiscate, themselues made Slaues, and their Children (vnder the age of seauen yeares) taken from them and Christned. In the yeare 1009. it being discouered and published, that certaine Iewes in *France* had intelligence (by Letters) with the Prince of *Babylon*, and had procured the subuersion of a famous Church in *Ierusalē*, wher the Sepulcher of our Sauior was said to be; there was such a general hatred conceiued against them throughout Christendome, that they were tormented & slaine in all places where they dwelled; some hanged, some burned, others put to the Sword: besides, very many, that (to auoide torments) killed themselues. Also in the year 1348. infinite numbers of them were massacred in *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, vpon a report, that they had poysoned the Wels in al those Countries, and caused a great mortality of people, which dyed at the same time. And in the yeare 1492. all Iewes were expelled out of *Spaine*, to the number of 124000. Families, of whom there died 2000. of the plague, as they were remouing, and the like rigour was vsed against them in *Portugall* some few years after.

Aimonnius & append. ad Greg Turo. An. 614. Hispa. An. 614

Ioan. Vasæi. Chron. Hisp. An. 694. Gaber. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Baro. An. 1009 Nauc. in Anno. 1348. Pet Mex. de vit. Imp. in Calo

Also in *England*, in the time of K. *Richard* the first, great numbers of them that then dwelled in *Lincolne* and *Yorke*, were slaine (as well women as men) in a tumult of the people. And vnder King *Iohn*, they were miserably oppressed with taxes and impositions, and such of them as wold not pay what was demanded of them; were cruelly tormented, vntill they gaue satisfaction. Amongst others, it is written of one of them, that seauen of his teeth were pulled out, one after another, before he would graunt to pay a Taxe of ten thousand Markes; which he was content at last to pay, to saue the rest. Lastly, vnder King *Edward* the first, they were all banished out of England by Act of Parliament.

The misery of the Iewes in England, while they liued there.

Polid. in Ric. 2. Idem in Ioan.

Math Paris. Hist. in Ioan.

Polid. in Ed. 1.

And at this present time, experience sheweth, that whersoeuer they yet dwell among Christians; they liue in al contempt and subiection, being (as it were) slaues to them whom they most

The calamities of the Iewes in all Christian Countries, since the year of our Lord, 100.

Iewes at this present euery where contemned and oppressed, as well among *Turks* & *Moors*, as among Christians.

hate. And so odious is the race & name of them in most Christian Countries, that it is counted Infamy to be descended of them, or to marry with them, although they become Christians. In so much, that in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, where there are great numbers of baptized *Iewes* (whom they call *Christianos nuenos*, *New Christians*) no man is capable (of them) of any Knighthood, or yet (in some places) of any dignity Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, if he be any way descended of them, which is speciallie enquired of, by expresse Commissions sent forth for that purpose. Neither is this their oppression or seruitude onely amongst Christians; but also among *Turkes* & *Moores*, as graue Authours do testifie, and those which trauaile their Countries, do finde by experience.

The blindnes of the Iewes, & their hardnesse of heart, their greatest plague.

Finally, we may adde hereto another plague (surpassing all the rest) which God hath laid vpon them, for the consummation of their infelicity & misery: I meane their blindnesse and hardnesse of hart, which is not only of it selfe *magna damnatio*, *A great damnation* (as S. *Augustine* calleth it, but also doth exclude them from all remedy, so long as it continueth. This the Prophet *Esay* signified when he said. *Excæca cor populi huius, &c. Make blind the harts of this people, & agranate their eares, and shut vp their eyes, least peraduenture they may see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their harts, and be conuerted, and I moued to heale them.* Also the royal Prophet *Dauid*, to the same purpose. *Obscurentur* (saith he) *oculi eorum, &c. Let their eyes (ô Lord) be obscured, that they may not see, and lay a perpetuall load or burthen vppon their backs.* And the same was also signified, or rather prophesied by *Moyses*, when hee threatned the people of the *Iewes*, saying: *Percuti et te Dominus amentia, &c. The Lord will strike thee with madnesse, blindnesse, and fury of mind, that thou mayst go groping in the mid-day, as the blinde man gropes in the darke, and mayest not direct thy waies, but alwaies sustaine shame and reprosch, and bee oppresst with violence, and not haue any man to deliuer thee.*

Aug Psal. 9.

Esay. Cap. 6.

Psalme 68.

Deut. Cap. 9.

Thus said *Moyses*, threatning the children of *Israel* (in case they shold forsake the Lord their God) but prophetically describing the inuincible blindnesse and miserable state, wherein the whole Nation of the *Iewes* should liue after our Sauiours passion, vntill the end of the Worlde: at what time the Lord hath promised to haue mercy on them. And therefore the Apostle saide; that the blindnes of the whole nation of the *Iewes* ingenerall should continue: *Donec plenitudo gentium intraret: vntill the fulnesse of the Gentiles should enter*; that is to say, *vntill all Nations should be conuerted. Et sic omnis Israel saluus fierit*; *And so all Israell should be saued.* And to the same purpose the Psalmist saith: *Conuertentur ad vesperam: They shall be conuerted towardes the Euening*; that is to say, towards the end of the world.

The Iews shal be conuerted in the end of the World. Rom. Cap. 11.

Psalme 58.

Now then, all this being considered, and in their dispersion throughout all Countries for 1500. yeares space, they haue euer conserued vntill this day their Name and Nation: we cannot but acknowledge with S. *Augustine*, that Almighty God hath (of his prouidence & iust iudgment) signed and marked them like *Caine*, that they may neuer bee extinguished, but remaine alwaies a distinct people from all other, to bear and endure the deserued scourge of his wrath, and to serue not onely for a manifest example of his iustice, but also for an euident testimony against themselues and all Infidels, of the omnipotent Diuinity of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whom they crucified; and of the verity of our Christian Religion, which they impugne.

Aug in Psa. 58.

Gene. 4. The causes why God hath ordained, that the Iewes shall still remaine a distinct people from all other, notwithstanding their generall dispersion.

This S. *Augustine* well considred, who expounding this Verse of the Psalme; *Ne occideris eos, nequando obliuiscantur populi mei*: saith, that it may well bee vnderstood as the words of our Sauior to his Father, concerning the *Iewes*, as though he should say; *Istos inimicos meos qui me occiderunt, noli tu occidere, maneat Gens Iudæorum. These my Enemies (ô Father) who haue killed me, doe not thou kill, but let the Nation of the Iewes remain.* Whereof also he yeildeth two reasons; the one, that they remaining in continuall affliction, may be a Testimony to the World, as well of their owne sinne and great ingratitude to Almighty God; as also of his Iustice in punishing the same. The other reason is, *Quia necessarij sunt credentibus gentibus: Because they are necessary for the Gentiles which*

Psalme 58.

Aug. in Psal. 58

August. Ibid.

which beleeue. And why? *Onely* (saith he) *to the end, that* (as the Psalmist saith: *) Almighty God may shew vnto vs his mercy in our very enemies*, that is to say; That by their obstinacie and reprobation, we may see his mercy towards vs in our vocation. Besides that, *They serue vs also* (saith he in another place) *for Porters, to beare and carrie after vs the Lawe and the Prophets, in testimony of the Doctrine of our Christian Catholick Church.*

August. Lib. 12. cont. Faust.

In which respect, S. *Bernard* saith notably. *Non sunt persequendi Iudæi, nō sunt trucidandi, nec effugandi, quidem, &c. The Iewes are not to be persecuted, they are not to be killed, no nor to be chased from amongst vs.* And then giuing the reason therof, he saith, *Viui quidem apices nobis sunt, &c. They are liuely Letters, representing vnto vs the passion of our Lorde; for they are dispersed into all Countries, to the end, that vvhile they pay the penalty of their horrible crime, they may be witnesses of our redemption. Besides that* (saith he) *if they vvere quite extinguished, how should the promise of their reduction and conuersion to the latter end of the world be fulfilled?* Thus reasoneth S. *Bernard*, which I haue thoght good to note by the way, to satisfie the scruple of some in these daies, who are scandalized to see the Iewes suffered to liue at *Rome*, and other Christian countries, not considering (as it seemeth) the perticuler prouidence of God therein, who so ordaineth it for their greter punishment, his owne greater glory, and the manifestation of his loue towardes vs, the Confirmation of our Christian Religion; yea, and for the saluation of some of them, whom it pleaseth him to call to the Christian faith. While (neuertheless) their whole Nation ingenerall, beareth the heauy burthen of their owne malediction, which they gaue against themselues, when as they cried, *Sanguis eius super nos, & super filios nostros: His blood light vpon vs, and on our children.*

Bern. ad Epis. cler. et popu. spir. Epist. 322.

The *Iewes* ought not to be expelled from among Christians, and why.

Why the *Iewes* are suffred to liue in Christian Cities.

Math. Cap. 27.

Thus much concerning the Iustice of God vppon the people of the Iewes for their sinne; which sin, as it was the greatest that euer was committed: so also it hath had, and still hath, the greatest and most rigorous punishment, that euer was laide vppon any Nation or Country, and is so euident, that it cannot be denied.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a crafty and subtile Physitian, who attained to bee super-intendent in the affayres of France, *and gouerned or ouer-swayed King Lewes the eleauenth, who was accounted the best aduised, and most ingenious Prince in his time.*

IT hath bin said, and the same opinion (for the more part) stil continueth, that *Lewes* eleuenth of that name, and King of France, was the ablest and best aduised Prince, that either was before him, or hath bin since. In regard that at his entrance, he found the whole Kingdom in combustion; his Subiects, cheefest Citties, and Lords of greatest power coniured against him: yet did he so dexteriously pacifie them all, & afterward, set such diuision among them; that he became sole Commander, retyred *Guyenne* to him, which was his Brothers portion, who dyed soon after, not without some suspition of the Kinges acquaintance in the act. Hee found the meanes to accord himselfe with the K. of *England*, hauing preuailed with some of his Counsell, and made a present to him of a great quantity of good wines: albeit the said King had crost the Sea, to ioyne his power with the Duke of *Bourgongne* (a heauy enemy to *Lewes*) and war fiercely on France. Afterward, he dealt so discreetly with the saide Duke, who was then busied in foyling the *Suitzers*, *Lorraines*, and the leagued Countries, that he compassed absolute peace. And becaus the power of the Duke continued very suspitious to the King; closely and vnder-hand, he maintained warre among the Subiects, against their duke: so that in the end, after the losse of some battailes, the Duke was slaine, and the Dutchy of *Bourgongne* seized on, which euer since hath remained to the Kinges of France.

The troubles in *France* at King *Lewes* his entrance.

A briefe summary of the actions of King *Lewes* the 11.

Moreouer, he did so cautelously flye off from familiarity with some persons, whom he knew to be but badly affected towards him; that diuers of them were put

Dangerous confederacies auoyded.

put to death, vpon certaine crimes layd to their charge, according as hee dealt with his Constable, the Earle of S. *Paul*, and the Duke of *Nemours*. He called not the States vnto any new imposition of Taxes, according to the ancient custom of the Kingdom. He encreased (beyond reason) the imposed Taxes which hee found at his entrance, and disposed of al according to his owne fantasie, holding it as a certaine rule; *That hee who knew not how to dissemble, knew not how to raign.* In briefe, from his very Infancy, it was iudged, that he would proue a very dangerous Prince; especially, when not hauing attained to the age of 15. years, he arose against his father, whereon he was enforced to flye to the D. of *Bourgongne*. Which when his father vnderstood, he sent to the saide Duke, aduising him to foster vp the Fox, that one day wold eat vp all his Pullen. And to speake truly, so long as he liued, hee imitated the behauiour of that subtle Beast. At length, he was smoked, and made to die, as vsually we put to death such old Foxes as wee hit on: after hee had run thorough bad courses enow, and how it hapened whereof we are now to discourse.

An vnworthy saying of a King.

It is to bee obserued, that this King, because hee was ambitious, desirous of reuenge, & very suspitious, hauing discontented the most honorable & cheefest persons in his kingdom; becam very curious in finding meanes of imposing new Subsidies vpon his people, for exercise of his own prodigalities, & compassing plots, how he might giue vnto such as deserued not, but euen on pleasure, & beyond reason. It came to passe, that among these diuersities of curiosities, the health of his body begā to alter in a very dangerous manner: for he was not only sicke in body, but in spirit likewise. So that it was found most true in him, which *Galen* said; *Manners do alway follow the temperature of the body.*

Strange fantasies and humours in a King.

Galen. Lib. 9.

To proceed then, this King, in regard of the fore-named causes, became verie melancholy, that formerly had bin very facetious, affecting such as laboured any way to procure laughter. Hee began to be fearful of death, superstitiously enclined, & meruailous suspitious that something was intended against his State. Heer-upon, refusing visitation, he commāded his son *Charls* (who after was the 8. K. of that name) to be closely shut vp, and made strong Iron bars & doores to the house where he lodged. Moreouer, he ordained extraordinary Guardes, to watch night and day about his Court, being vnwilling to speake with any one. Hee would weare the richest and most sumptuous Garments that hee could deuise, albeit hee neuer went out of his Chamber: whereas, when he was yong & healthful in body and mind, he went but meanly aparrelled. Were not these apparant signs, of a man depriued of his best senses, & of that disease which Physitians do terme Melancholly?

Signes of melancholy and alienatiou frō sound vnderstanding.

There was a Physitian, which had bin entertained by the King, some short while before this extremity befell him, named M. *Iaques Cottier*, who had attained to that degree of profession; not so much in regard of his knowledge, as by the fauour of the Duke of *Sauoy*, who had bin his meanes of aduancement to the King. This man, perceiuing *Lewes* begin to bee weakely disposed in his vnderstanding (as hath bin already declared) hauing also serued in former times with some ordinary Physitians, finding the King one day alone, and al his vsual Physitians absent from him (happily about their practique affayres) himselfe soly attending, and none else neere: he tooke aduantage of this opportunity, in manner following. The King apprehending dayly more and more, a dreadfull perswasion of Death, which (indeed) is a matter most irkesome and terrible to Rich and mighty men, especially such a King as this, who was the most famous and Potent Christian Prince in his time; began to question with this Physitian, as desirous to know if hee could in this case cure him? The Physitian assured him, that hee could and woulde, prouided that he wold repose such confidence in him, and he alone to haue the dealing with him, for better effecting the busines. Moreouer he alledged, that his other Physitians came farre short in knowledge of his naturall disposition, whereof he made serious and exact obseruation; for that from the first hour of entertainment into his Maiesties seruice, he applied his whol study & practise to vnderstand his natural inclinatiō, whereof the other had no care at al, but disposed most of their seruiceable attendance

As many bold and ouerweening Empericks doe in these daies.

Death is euer most dreadful and terrible to rich and mighty men.

The subtilty of a *Sicophant*.

dance, only to enrich and benefit themselues withall, hee entreated the King not to reueale this secret information, proceeding onely from intire dutie and affection. And that he himselfe would still bee diligent about his person, searching and reading the most learned authors in Phisicke, to deriue from them an vndoubted remedy for his Disease. Heereto he added, that the more hee sought into the quality of that passion, the more it appeared doubtful and difficult to be cured, because it had formerly hazarded his life very often, but only was still frustrated by his carefull preuentions. And so much the greater he alledged his daunger, in regard, that his other Physitians had applied such Purgatiues vnto him, with other strong and violent Medicaments; which if hee had not very secretly and (vnknowne to them) corrected, the king had died long ago. In briefe, he then perswaded and ouer-ruled the King, euen as him-selfe pleased, for no man could haue accesse to impeach him; yea, he so farre preuailed by this insinuation, as (from thence forward) especiall charge was giuen, that no man shoulde enter the Kinges Chamber, except *Cottier* gaue his consent thereto, by which meanes, he assured himselfe of sole-gouerning his Royall person.

Lying and deceitfull speeches, to win himselfe the greater credite.

A Flatterer seldome wants his Companion.

Nowe, for a stronger fortification of this credite alteady wonne with the King, hee drew in likewise one Mayster *Oliuer* a Barber, who was a *Dane* by birth, vtterly vnlearned, and yet serued as a Councellor about the King, as diuers others in like manner did, that were as vnworthy as both these men: and whatsoeuer *Cottier* saide, Maister *Oliuer* the *Dane* stoutly confirmed it, as iustifyed by the probable Rules of Art. The ordinary Apothecary belonging vnto the King, was drawne into contempt and disgrace, and so were all his other Physitians, as men not worthy to hold such place; but either vtterly ignorant, or playing vppon too much aduantage. These courses were heedfully obserued by two other Physitians, the one named *M. Draconis de Beaucaire*, Professor and Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of *Montpelier*; the other, was a *Scot* by birth, and had (not long before) bin taken in the battaile at *Nancy*, where the Duke of *Bourgongne* was slain, and then was this man entertained into the Kings seruice, by the fame and good report spred euery where of him, for Learning, Honesty, and Merit, to be about a King. It will well appeare by this Historie, how easily Princes are induced to beleeue false reports, and to reiect men of merit for base intruders.

Cottier keepeth all other Phisitions and Apothecaries from the king.

The King grew into such extreamity of Melancholy, that as in those times yong Lyons being brought him out of *Affrica* (by his owne expresse charge) to play and disporte withall, he would not indure to haue a sight of them. And one day (aboue the rest) his passion was so violent, that the humour tooke him, to dismisse an attending seruaunt of his Chamber, because hee had warmed his Ptisane before he dranke it, and saide in Choller; that not onely he did it to bereaue his life, but all his houshold Officers were likewise consenting vnto it. Whereupon, M. *Iaques Cottier*, beeing then present, said vnto him; I know very well Sir, that you comprehend mee in this suspition among the rest: but be you well assured, that after I am departed from you, you cannot liue the space of eight daies, and make account to find it most true. The King was so terrifyed with these words, that from thence forward, he not onely wholly committed his person to *Cottiers* disposition; but likewise all his Kingdome, and whatsoeuer else thereto belonged, so that his Physitian (as then) commanded alone. He refused also to see his Queene, Children, and deerest Friends, because hee was possessed, that they Conspired against his life, and desired nothing more then his Death: in which vaine surmise, hee was not a little soothed by his Physitian.

The King falleth into a violent melancholly.

The insolent boldnesse of *Cottier* to the King.

A wonderfull perswasion in a King.

It hapned afterward, that *Messire Giral de Viennes* of *Bourgongne*, beeing Marshall *de Rieux*, came to see the King, and could gain no entrance into his Chamber, but by permission of *Cottier*: which hauing yet at length obtained, the King (Child like) complaind to the said Marshal, of the great rigour vsed towardes him by M. *Iaques*, as well in restraint of his drinke, as meat; and that hee would not permit him any recreation. Moreouer he told him, that the Virgin *Marie* had appeared to him diuers times, and

The Kings complaint to the Marshall, of M. *Iaques Cottier*.

S. Claud

S. Cland likewise, with diuers other such like fantastick conceits.

Cottier gets pardon for two murders committed by one man.

Vpon a day, a *Champenois* Gentlemã, named *Cortenay* (who had committed two seuerall murders) cam to the Court to get his pardon, which he obtained at the request of *Cottier* the Kings Physitian. But when it cam to the Lord Chancellor, that this grace should be confirmed by the great Seale, hee made refusall thereof, as being granted against all right and equity. Intelligence heereof being brought to the King, he presently called for his Seales, and gaue the Custody of them to *Cottier* the Physitian, sending the Lord Chancellor home to his owne house, with disgraces enow, and reprochful speeches. Thus was the King wholly gouerned, and his Kingdomes affayres, by Master *Oliuer* the *Dane*, a Barber, who represented the Constable; *Cottier* a Physitian, Lorde Chancellor; and a mender of stockings, who was made Admirall.

A strange forgetfulnesse in a King.

An infamous gouernment.

It happened afterward, that for the space of some ten or twelue dayes, this new made Chancellor receiued no Monies at all, by meanes of the Seales hee had in charge; whereof he complained to the King, alledging, that the extreamity of his disease, wold not admit the least absence from his royall person, to attend the benefit due to his new office, and whereas now hee gained nothing; if he had opportunity to apply his own practise, his commodity wold be equal with the best, only by his visitations & consultations amongst sickely persons, whereof hee had no such cause to complain, till this restraint of attending the King only; and whereof hee entreated him to take notice, as also of his great deseruings.

Cottier his complaint to the King, concerning his new Office.

An vnbeseeming prodigality in a K.

The King, who was intirely perswaded, that his life depended onely vppon the Physitians care & cunning; fearing also, least his former Allegations might cause him to forsake him, commanded the Treasurer of his Exchequer, to deliuer him foure & fifty thousand Crowns to content him; and more hee should haue had, if more had then remained in the Coffers. Moreouer, hee caused the King to make his Nephew Byshop of *Amiens*, and to bestow on his other Kindred and Allies, such gifts and great estates as himselfe pleased. For indeed, such was the Kinges infirmity both in bodie and minde, as *Cottier* might doe what hee listed, and none durst contradict him.

As for Master *Oliuer* the Barber, the King sent him into *Flanders*, with large Commissions, and a powerfull Armie against the Daughter vnto the Duke of *Bourgongne*, but being able to performe there no matter of moment, hee returned backe againe to the King, who reioyced not a little to haue him neare about him. At length, the Kinges bodie became so dried vp, wasted, and consumed, that he appeared rather to be an Anatomy, then a man, only thorough the ignorance of this Physitian, as was well obserued by men of greater experience. For, a Melancholy body ought to be humected, and moderately heated, as well with Aliments as Medicaments. And albeit he continually desired to drinke Wine, and feed on a boyled Capon, which were very conuenient for his health: yet would *Cottier* by no meanes permit it, but made vse of a more hurtfull and dangerous diet.

M. *Oliuer* the Barber sent into Flanders.

The Kinges extremitie was caused by his Physitians ignorance.

Now, as thus his bodye wasted in apparant view, so his Spirites became deprawed, and strangely altered. For, he tooke a sudden conceit, that his bodye stunke extreamly, and that hee felt nothing but very vnsauoury smels; which indeed he did not, but in meere opinion onely. And though all the standers by; yea, the Physitian himselfe affirmed the contrary, yet could he not (by any meanes) be disswaded from this strong conceit, but daily desired a remedy for this supposed disease. Insomuch, as they were compelled to burn very odoriferous perfumes, and to giue him cordiall Powders of violent sauour: but his chiefest delight was in receiuing perfumes, which both bred and brought him vnto daily sownings & Conuulsions; whereby appeared, that these thinges happened by Diuine permission, rather then any indiscretion in them that applyed them.

A strange perswasion in Melancholy.

Sweet cordial powders and streng perfumes applied vpon no iust occasion.

These alterations were obserued and known to many, and among others, the Lord *De l'Auardin*, who (at what perill soeuer it cost him) would needs see the King, and said to *Cottier* the Physitian, that the King ought to bee put in mind of his Confessour or Ghostly Father,

An excellent inuention of the Lord *de l'Auardin*, to speake with the King.

ther, and very requisite was it, that hee should receiue the blessed Sacrament, because it could not be otherwise, but his ending was very neere. The Physitian replied, that this matter was as wel knowne to him, as to any other; and that no meane danger depended on very speech thereof, because for the space of halfe a yeare before, his Maiesty had bin continually fearefull of death; and now, if any man should but name death in his hearing, meer terror of the word would bereaue him of life. Notwithstanding all which speeches, the Lorde *De l'Aurdin* (hauing got entrance into the Chamber) said alowd to the King; That if he would be quit of this sickness, he must daily prepare himselfe to Confession, and receiue the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist: in regard, that his Father, being aged aboue an hundered yeares, and very sickely, recouered his health by that meanes onely. The King being indiffrently perswaded, gaue his consent: prouided, that it might be doone by a Religious man, named *F. Phillip*, well entred into yeares, of good life, and had the fame to be verie Learned, beeing a Monke in the Abbey of S. *Martine*; which reuerend man, hauing admission to the King, aduised him in the course of confession, to craue pardon of God for so many murders, *Bontefeux* and rauages, as in his former daies hee had committed, perswading him, that (to his vttermost power) he should make recompence and satisfaction. Among other matters, he alledged, that the people of the *Franche Comtè*, who much complained, that albeit they wer (almost all of them) brought vnder his obedience; yet notwithstanding, his men of war stil committed the most detestable insolences on them, that could be deuised. He told him also, that if God had spoken it (with his own mouth) to his good seruant *Dauid*, that hee would neuer dwell in a goodly Temple, which he purposed to build, because he had bin too prodigall in the expence of Mens blood by his wars, and ouer exceeded in his hostile actions; euen so it was to be feared, that he wold withdraw his grace from the blessed Sacrament, instantly to be administred, and he might hazard the receipt of his owne damnation, except he caused his Warriours to cease from their cruelties. He further aduised him, to reduce the taxations of the kingdom to such estate as hee found them at his entrance; for his people were ouer-extreamely impouerished, and the greater part of them dyed by meere indigence.

The King made answere, that howsoeuer he repented the rauagements & spoyls by him performed in the County of *Bourgongne*; hee was very hartily sorry, that all the Lands belonging vnto the late Duke of *Bourgongne*, was not brought into the same condition. As for the Subsidies and Taxations by him imposed vppon his people; so soone as he recouered helth, he would discharge them, and no other answere could bee had frō him. Notwithstanding al which obstinacy, the Religious father performed his duty, deliuered him the blessed Sacrament, and left him to the further disposition of God. Soone after, they offered him meat to eat, which he could not receiue, because he said, that he felt a foule stinking sauour ascending out of his body vp into his braine: wherefore, he cōmanded plenty of perfumes about him, whereof it seemed he could neuer receiue sufficient, but euen in that manner surrendred vp his soule. So, shortly after, it grew to be a Prouerb in *France*, *That the King was smoakt to death like an old Fox*. Yet notwithstanding all these fantastick humors, he bethoght himselfe (some few yeares before) of his buriall, & gaue order to be interred in a Church (which was founded by himselfe) called, *Noštre Dame a Clery*, where he appointed diuers Cannons to pray for him.

Hauing thus discourssed the death of King *Lewes*, we may not forget Maister *Oliuer* the Dane, Barber; terming himselfe a Counsellor vnto King *Lewes* the eleauenth, no, nor *M. Iaques Cottier* the Physitian, and Chancellour: It hath been a long and common receiued saying; *That of a good Life, ensueth a good Death, and of a bad life, as badde a Conclusion*, which will bee found most true, in the end of our fore-named M. *Oliuer*. For, you must first vnderstand, that king *Lewes* the eleuenth, extraordinarily doting in affection vnto this Barber: bestowed on him the Captaine-shippe of *Chasteau de Lothes*, which was, and yet

is,

A cunning shift in *Cottier*, but not preuayling.

The king yeildeth to haue a Confessour come to him.

Pious aduertisements in a Confessor to a King.

The Kinges answer to his Confessor.

The Confessor departeth from the King

The maner of the kings death.

Of *M. Oliuer*, the Dane, Barber, and *M. Iaques Cottier* Phisitian.

The Kinges great bountie to the Barber

is to this present a most goodly estate; also, the gouernment of *S. Quintins* in *Picardy*; and from a meane Gentleman of his Chamber, aduanced him to many worthy Seigneuries. Insomuch, that being possessed of such large liuings & reuennues, and his courses not to bee controlled, hee plunged himselfe in all kinds of Voluptuousnesse, and euen as boldly after the Kinges death, as in his life time.

A History of a yong Gentleman of France.

It fortuned, that a young Gentleman had committed some offence, of what moment I do not well remember, but the Prouost of the Kings household had him in charge as a prisoner. The Wife to this yong Gentleman wel knowing, that if her Husbands case came to strict examination of Law, it would endaunger his life, laboured with earnest sollicitings from one to another, whom she supposed to hold best credit and fauour with King *Charles*, eight of that Name, and Sonne vnto the King deceased. At length she remembred the *Dane*, whom she thought to hold like esteem as when King *Lewes* liued (because hee was still much followed, richly accoutred, and entred the Kinges Chamber when himselfe pleased) to him wholly she addressed her suite, entreating him to bee the meanes of her Husbands deliueraunce. This *Oliuer*, perceyuing the sollicitresse to be faire, young, and of comely personage, promised to free her Husbande from prison; prouided, that hee might haue familiar knowledge of her, as Louers in secret Dalliaunce vse to doe; whereto the poore Gentlewoman (seeing no other meanes of mercy) after infinit and potent Denials, was wonne to condiscend.

The dishoneſt requeſt of *M. Oliuer* the barber.

Hereupon, to keepe promise with the Gentlewoman, *M. Oliuer* went vnto the Prouost, and entreated him to stand in the Gentlemans iustification: which by no meanes he would do. Then hee desired him to winke at his breach or escape out of prison: but much lesse would he listen to any such perswasion, albeit he promised to stand betweene him and all perill. At length, *M. Oliuer* seeing himselfe so neglected, and his suit denied, reproached the Prouost with great ingratitude, because he had placed him in that Office, and won him many guifts and graces from the deceased King; beside, when the King was once so incensed against him, as it stood vpon his no meane detriment, he appeased the matter, and wrought his peace. These, and other such like vrgent speeches, preuailed at length so with the *Prouost*, that he returned this answer. If *M. Oliuer* could aduise the meanes whereby the Gentleman might euade, and he sustain no peril when his prisoner should be cald for, he would gladly yeild thereto: whereto *M. Oliuer* thus replyed. The safest and surest meanes for his riddance, & to auoid al further dangerous questioning on his own behalfe, is to strangle the prisoner in the Gaole, and then hurle his bodye into the Riuer. In this manner (quoth he) the party offended shall bee both auenged and satisfied, the Wife to the dead man not iniuried, because hir husband stood not (as yet) in law condemned, and matters thus passing, al parties would be pleased.

M. Oliuers perswasions to the Prouost.

The Prouosts answer to *M. Oliuer*.

A Diuelish meanes for a prisoners deliuerance.

The case thus fully concluded on betweene them, the *Dane* inuites the Gentlewoman that very instant Night to his lodging, to satisfie his lewde and libidinous Lust; which she (poor soul) accordingly did, being by him most assuredly perswaded, that the next Morning shee should see her husband at Liberry. But she (alas) was too much deceyued; for, while *M. Oliuer* entertained her in his bed, the Varlet of his Chamber, named *Daniell*, and another, called *Oyac*, a mender of Stockings by his first professiō (whom I do imagine to be the very same man, that *Sessell* sayd to bee Admiral to King *Lewes*) went & strangled the woful Gentleman in the *Prouosts* Prison, and afterwards threw him into the Riuer of *Seine*, as if hee had wilfully leapt out of his Lodging Window, and coueted rather to be drowned, then to answere his accusation. The body floating vpon the water, as hauing no Capacity of sinking, by reason that life was first depriued, was by Sailers & Watermen haled vp on Lande, to lye there on the banke al the day insuing, where it was soone visited by multitudes of people, and easily knowne of euery beholder. The Gentlewomā arising from the Barbar in the morning early, fearfull to be noted, and no way doubting of hir Husbands freedome so dearely bought with her dishonor, heard as she passed along,

The cruel and bloody treacherie of the *Dane*.

The Gentleman murdred in prison, and cast into the Riuer.

The great ſorrow of the wronged Gentlewoman on hir Husbands dead body.

along, that ſuch an impriſoned Gentleman was dead, and lay vpon the banke of the Riuer. With heauy heart ſhe hying thither, too ſoon found the truth of thoſe heauie and ſorrowfull tydinges, throwing her ſelfe downe vpon the dead bodie, made moſt lamentable and pittifull complaints, curſing (in aboundance of teares, and wringing her handes) the *Dane* that had ſo falſely deceiued her, and robbed her of her cheefeſt Honour, vnder promiſe of her Husbandes moſt ſafe deliuerance.

M Oliuer the Barber apprehended, and condemned to tortures.

The Lamentations of this faire weeping Gentlewoman, procured ſuch compaſsion in the by-ſtanders, that Iuſtice was ſoone acquainted with ſo foule an offence; and M. *Oliuer* beeing immediately apprehended, and confronted with the wofull Gentlewoman face to face, vvas forthwith (notwithſtanding all his ſtoute denialles) condemned to the Racke and Tortures. Being vnable to endure the torment, he confeſſed the fact, relying ſo much vppon the Kinges fauour, and his owne proude Authority, that they durſt not ſentence him with death. But heerein the Deceiuer found himſelfe Deceyued; for, being generally hated, becauſe he hadde ſo highly abuſed the deceaſed Kinges truſt repoſed in him, and the whole State, beſide the addition of this monſtrous inhumanitie, he was adiudged to bee hanged, and ſtrangled to Death. In which ſentence, his man *Daniell* bare him companie, beſide large amends out of his Liuings, to the wo-hearted Widdow. As for *Oyac* the Hoſe-mender, he was not hanged, becauſe it was ſufficiently approoued, that he was not preſent in the priſon, when *Daniell* alone ſtrangled the Gentleman, but onely holpe afterward to throwe the dead bodie into the Riuer; wherefore he had his eares cut off, and then was baniſhed out of the Kingdome.

M. Oliuer, and his companion *Daniel* hanged

The ſentence on *Oyac* the Hoſe-mender

Now, concerning Maiſter *Iaques Cottier* the Phyſitian, who was retired home vnto his owne Houſe, enriched with fiue and twentie thouſand Florins of Reuennewes which he had gotten, partly by Offenders Confiſcations, whereof the dead King had made him poſſeſſour; as alſo, by the large ſummes of Money ſo lately giuen him out of the Exchequer. It was iuſtified by re-edition of the Treaſurers accounts of the ſaide Exchequer, that he had receiued in readie moneyes, aboue foureſcore and eighteene thouſand Crownes, beſides other great guiftes by ſeuerall parcelles. Hereupon, he was purſued to make reſtitution; becauſe thoſe gifts were immenſe, and exceeding reaſon.

Of M. *Iaques Cottier* the Phyſitian, his wealth and reuennues.

At length, the King being much hindered in his intended Voyage for *Naples*, onely thorough great want of money, Maiſter *Iaques Cottier*, voluntarily gaue his Maieſty (vnder the faigned Title of borrowing) the ſumme of fiftie thouſande Crownes, and ſo all further enquirie after his Wealth and poſſeſsions ceaſed.

M. Iaques Cottier gaue the King 50000. Crownes.

This Hiſtorie may inſtruct ſuch men as are high in the fauour of Kinges and Princes, and taſte of their bountie in verie gracious manner, when Lordes and others of farre more merrit, paſſe vnregarded; not to abuſe their Royall Liberalities, or become thereby more proud and vicious. But rather, to obſerue a mediocrity in all their outwarde actions, knowing and conſidering the inſtabilitie that waiteth on this worldes beſt occaſions.

The vſe to be made of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. XV.

That Princes, and other perſons of great degree, who ſtand in feare of impoyſoning, ought not giue ouer-much confidence to Eſſayes or Taſts made of their meats and drinkes, neither to the wearing of precious ſtones, or Annelets.

IHolde it not amiſſe, to diſcourſe ſomwhat concerning thoſe Ceremonies, vſed in the Eſſayes & Taſtings before Princes, and other eminent perſons both in Church and Commonweale; who do carrie a degree of reſpect aboue other men; and yet notwithſtanding all thoſe deuiſes, are not a iotte the more aſſured thereby: For example ſake, the Maiſter Cooke, who more Ciuilly is tearmed, the Eſquire of the Kit-

Example of the Maiſter Cooke in his ſeruice to the Table.

P

A worldly way to make Princes wise.

Kitchin, hauing readily prepared al those Dishes on his Kitchen Table, that are to bee presented before the Prince; with a Morsell of Bread, he passes ouer all those Dishes, dipping it also into the Broaths, Sawces, and all other Viands to bee fed on; then eateth he the said piece of bread, to the end, that all suspition of poyson may be auoided. Againe, those seuerall seruices are set on the Princes Table (and before him) he that placeth or ordereth those dishes, performeth as much as the Maister Cooke formerly did. Whereby it is presumed, that the Prince may feede with the safer security. But I am not of the minde, that these essayes or tasts haue any certaine assurance, because those essayers or Tasters doo receiue so small a triall, that albeit the meats should be impoysoned, yet it cannot hurt them; or (at the most) so little, as with very slender remedy, they may be deliuered from any danger.

The Authors reason for his doubt.

A Taster cannot bee easily poysoned.

Moreouer, he that had so diuelish an intent, as to commit an acte so detestable, that partie could not be easily poysoned, by meanes of farced Flesh or Fish, which most commonly is the seruice to great mens Tables. There is much matter (in this case) of important admonishment, to wit; that such treacherous Tasters or Essayers, may formerly haue receiued some precious Antidote, to preuent the poysons perill vnto himselfe; or filled his stomacke with fat and Oyly Meates; or drinke some quantity of Milke; or fed on very fat Tripes; or Lettice well prepared with Oyle, without Salt or Vineger. Nay, it may bee, that hauing receiued some pretty quantitie of poyson, and kept it by such meanes in his stomacke, hee will cast it vp againe, wirhout any hurt or daunger, and there is nothing more certaine then this. I say beside, that Cup-tasters and Butlers may do the like, in tasting their wines, or other drinkes.

Preseruatiues against poison such as haue bin tried.

Many Monarks & Kings haue bin poysoned, notwithstanding all care for preuention.

Heere some one may obiect vnto me, that there is great apparance of trueth in my Wordes, and that manie Monarchs and Kings, notwithstanding their Essayers, Tasters, and other vigilant care to preuent such Villainy, haue been impoysoned, and dyed cruelly; as *Alexander* the Great, *Drusus*, *Claudius Cæsar*, *Charls* fift of that Name, King of *Fraunce*, *John* King of *England*, and diuers other. Also, that these Essayes, Tastinges, and other such like Ceremonies, are nothing else but markes of Soueraignty and principality; and such vesselles of Golde and Siluer may bee made, at such time as the mettals are melted, that may haue such Antidotes mingled therewith, quite contrary to all poysons whatsoeuer. Moreouer, hauing vessels in this order prepared, they will preserue whosoeuer shal be impoysoned, if they feede on their viands out of them only, and receiue their drink out of none other; Nay, I my selfe beheld a Physitian, mounted vp to such a degree of folly, as hee would needes vrge an absolute perswasion of all these things, to *Catharine de Medicis*, late Queene of *France*, albeit they are most absurd, and voide of all reason; for Golde-Smithes themselues do maintaine the impossibility of them. I referre the iudgement heerof, to such as are best experienced in naturall things, because nothing whatsoeuer can be mingled among Gold and Siluer, but mettals only.

Diuers strãge and impossible obiections

Nothing but mettals can bee mingled with Gold or Siluer.

I haue heard some to discourse of preseruatiues against poysons, in the presence of King *Charles* the ninth, and Queene *Catharine* his Mother; and they haue iustified very constantly, to defend any Man or woman from impoysoning; by wearing a Ring on his or her Finger, that should haue a Toad-stone placed so in it, as it might touch the flesh of the Finger; and such was the excellent Vertue thereof, as the party should feele it to burne his Flesh, if any poyson were presented to him.

A Ring with a Toad-stone in it.

Others haue affirmed, that there are certaine Carracters to be worne, hanging about ones necke, or engrauen in a ring, whose naturall property, expelleth al maner of poysons. They alledged *Albertus Magnus*, that hee saith in his Treatise of Images, that if any man caused to be engrauen in some precious stone, the Image of the Hearbe called Draggon-Wort, with all his Spots, Markes, and Starres, and doe but carry the stone about him, it is most singular against all Venoms. *Pedro de Albano*, was also produced, to set downe in his Writings that hee found in a certaine Booke, whereof in elder times, the Kings of *Persia* made especiall account, that whosoeuer procured to be engrauen in a Hematist, a man kneeling, circkled rounde about with a Ser-

Carracters worne about the necke, or in a Ring.

The Hearbe Dragon-wort

The Stone called a Hemaust.

Serpent, holding the head thereof in his right hand, and the taile in his left; then setting that Stone in a Ring of fine Gold, and wearing it dayly, it would preserue and keepe him from all manner of poysons.

In my poore opinion, if this Image should haue so rare a Vertue, as no where else was euer heard of, it were verie requisite, that the engrauing must be done vnder the Constellation of some Plannet, whose influence shoulde infuse the propriety in the Sculpture. It was further added in the discourse, that the Agate or Iacinth, Orientall Saphire, Emeraulde, and the Stone which is called *Draconitis*, because it is saide to be found within the Head of a Draggon, and many other Stones beside, haue the selfe-same qualities.

False properties attributed to diuers precious stones.

As for my selfe, to deliuer readily my iudgement in this case, I thinke there is no great assuraunce to bee reposed in such carriages, because I neuer beheld so much as one experiment, whereto anie Faith or Credit might be giuen. And yet very neere all these fore-named thinges, haue beene experimented on diuers persons, condemned to death for diuers offences, on whom no effect at all could be wrought. And yet it may bee, that by subtilizing (very cunningly) an Emerald, Iacinth, Agate, or Saphire, and putting it into a Cup of Wine, or Cordiall water, the party offended with some poison may finde ease and helpe, because such stones do naturally strengthen the heart. But that wearing or carriage of them only, can quaile the malignity of any poison, I will neuer beleeue (as some verie fondly do, vntill I may my selfe beholde some great and notable experiment thereof.

Experience giueth the best assurance in such doubtfull matters.

Precious stones naturally do comfort the heart.

Not long after our fore-named discourse, there came vnto the said Kinges Court, an impudent bold-facst Fellow, a *Champenois*, aged about thirtie yeares, (whom I spare to name, because hee was extract of Vertuous Lignage, both by Father and Mother, to whom the louers of Learning are not a litle obliged, though he degenerated too far.) This man gaue solemne assurance, that hee had (about some yeare since past) trauailed thorowe diuers famous Cities of *Germany*, and frequented companies of diuers opinions, especially in Religion, among whom he heard it credibly reported, that they of the pretended reformed Religion in *France*, sought means to poison the king, his Brethren, & their Mother the Queen. Whereupon, he shaped his course out of *Germany*, into *Italy*, and thence into *Spaine*, only to find such occasions as best might assure and preserue their liues. At last, comming to *Lisbone*, the Metropolitane Cittie in the Kingdome of *Portugal*, with verie great Labour, and at a deare Value, he bought a Stone, called *Pazar*, or *Bazar*, which had beene found in the brest or stomacke of a sauage Beast, like to one of the wilde Goats liuing in diuers places of *India*: adding withall, that hee had made diuers experiments of the like Stone, as well on Beasts, as Moores, and others of the Mahometan religion. Then with plentie of Oathes, hee assured their Royall Maiesties, that the partie whome hee bought it of, was a Captaine belonging vnto the Spanish Seas; and shewing the Stone, it was presently deliuered to the Physitians belonging to the King and Queene, for their aduise and counsel in the matter: shee being a very Wise Princesse, and well enstructed, hardlie could shee be drawne to doe any thing rashly.

A Historie of a bold and impudent lyer.

A stone found in the brest of a Wild Beast, called a *Bazar* or *Pazar*.

Aduise giuen for trial of the stones vertue.

Counsell was giuen to the Queene, to make triall of the Stones Vertue, vpon criminall prisoners, such as had deserued Death, and extraordinary punnishment. Whereupon, the Prouost belonging vnto the Houshold, was sent for; and beeing questioned, whether he had anie Offender in his prisons worthy of death, he answered; that he had a bold Theef, condemned for robbing the Kinges Receyuers of monies, and remained at his Maiestie mercie. Also he hadde another, a Cooke by his profession, who had robbed his Maister of great store of plate, & both these, without order to the contrarie, were to suffer death the next Morning.

Experiment made on two condemned persons.

It was concluded, that poison should be giuen to both these condemned men, as much to the one, as to the other; and the *Pazar* or *Bazar* stone, being beaten to powder, a quantity thereof should be giuen to the one prisoner, and none at all to the other, to make a perfect proofe of the Stones Vertue; which stone, I my selfe handled, and was as bigge as a common Almond. But hee that receiued the pow-

No Vertue found to be in the Pazar, or Bazar ſtone,

der of the ſaide ſtone, according to the proportion appointed by the *Champenois*, notwithſtanding hee was holpen thereby, as much as could bee poſſibly deuiſed, yet he died as well as the other priſoner, both of them enduring much more heauy, great, and grieuous Torments, then they ſhould haue done by the punniſhments prepared for them. Which when the king & the Queen his Mother perceiued, they threw the reſt of the Stone into the fire, and ſharpely rebuked the *Champenois* for his impudent lying. By this meanes, the impoſture was fruſtrated of his intent, which was, to obtaine the guift of a thouſand Crownes, beſide the firſt Abby or Priory that fell vacant, or already was falne. The man was not long ſince known to be liuing in very miſerable condition, lame in his limbes, aged aboue threeſcore, and generally ſcorned of euerie one that knew or heard of his apparant folly.

The reaſon of the impoſtures lye.

Aduertiſemẽt to Princes, & other great perſons.

By this diſcourſe, Princes and others of high quality may learne, not to bee ouer-confident in ſuch men, as giue thẽ aduiſe and meanes to preſerue themſelues from poyſons; wherof no ſound experience hath beene made, but bequeaths them ſtill to dayly dangers. For which reaſon, wee will declare in our ſucceeding Chapter, how, and in what manner they may be preſerued and defended againſt poyſons. Alſo, why poiſons are vſed to Princes, and men of high Authority, to bereaue them of their Liues, rather then by Armes or Weapons.

CHAP. XVI.

Why the liues of Princes are more attempted by poyſons, then by Armes. And by what meanes they may preſerue & helpe themſelues, if they doubt or finde themſelues to be impoyſoned.

ORdinarily, ſuch as pretend the death of Princes, Princeſſes, & of other illuſtrious perſons by poyſons, they do it in that kind, becauſe openly murdering a Prince, expoſeth the parties life to ineuitable death; and neuer hath any one bin ſeene (or at the leaſt very rarely) to eſcape, becauſe he muſt needes be ſurprized by the Archers or Guardes, that continually attendeth the perſon Royall. Wherefore, ſuch as dare contriue ſo wicked an action, are commonly men of higheſt rank or note, and (oftentimes) of their owne blood, either aſpyring to their eſtate & dignities, or in reuenge of ſome receyued iniury; wherein no reaſon being able to rule them, fury and violent rage tranſportes them vnto this deteſtable meanes.

The Reaſons alledged why the attempt is by poyſon.

Now, to auoid and preuent all occaſions of ſuch dreadfull attemptes, a Prince ought not to vſurp on any eſtate appertaining to another. For this is an eſpeciall reaſon, to leade both himſelfe and his to daily danger. Hee ought alſo religiouſly to keepe himſelfe in the ſtate of grace, by frequent and deuout Prayers vnto Almighty God; to Loue his Subiects; to doo nothing againſt the Lawes of Nature, and to be Nobly Liberall to ſuch as are about him, & haue the hourely care of his perſon. Moreouer, they that attend on the health of any Prince or Princeſſe, as Phyſitians and their Adiuncts; they ought to vſe their ſtomacks to Gargariſmes and Caſtings, at leaſt once euery month, in the Morning. For, ouer and beſide that it much auayleth againſt poyſons, which at their firſt Working will thereby bee expelled preſently, ſo is it one of the moſt ſoueraigne remedies and ſecurities that can be deuiſed. To purge the ſtomacke, is likewiſe aduantageable againſt the Stone, Dropſie, Goute, &c. And two or three dayes he muſt vſe to take Treacle, or *Mithridatum*, faſting. Some do highly commend the Confection of Iacinth; and by frequent vſe of theſe things, very rarely ſhall the bodie be preſerued them poyſon.

How beſt to auoide all dangerous attempts againſt a Princes life.

Purging the ſtomack is very much auailing.

But if it happen, that a Prince haue vndoubtedly receyued poyſon, ſuddenly let him bee made to vomit by voluntary Drinkes, if Nature bee not eaſily therto inclined; or let him drink a good quantity of Lukewarme milke, and if Butter bee well mingled there among the cure is much the ſooner compaſſed. After very ſtrong vomitting, & ſo much as he is able to indure, with the receit of ſome

When poiſon is aſſuredly receiued, what are the beſt remedies

ſome Glyſters: he muſt vſe onely Treacle, Mithridate, or the Confection of Iacinth, wherein there muſt bee no tardy delay.

For dreſſing meats.

Moreouer, thoſe Kitchen Veſſelles for Cookery, wherein his Meates and Broaths are to be dreſt, ought daily and hourely to be kept couered, to preuent the fall of any Venomous Creatures thereinto, as Stellions, Phalanges, Lizards, Scorpions, Serpents, & Spiders, who ordinarily make their aboad about Chimnies. *Nicholas* hath ſet downe in his Writings, that all the Monkes in a Conuent at *Florence*, dyed, by hauing eaten Pottage and Meate ſodden in a Pot, whereinto (from the toppe of the Chimney by chaunce) a dead Spyder fell.

A ſtrange Hiſtory.

Beſides, no Sauces are to bee preſented to Princes, eſpecialy if they be thick, or in co our Greene, Red, or White; becauſe very daungerous Poyſons may be commixed in thoſe Colours, they being alſo much like to them. Theſe things diligently obſerued, it ſhall be a very difficult matter, to bereaue any Princes life by Poyſon. Now let vs ſee in our enſuing Chapter, if poyſons may be giuen any other way, then in meates or drinkes.

...t Sauces ...o bee ...uſed by colour.

CHAP. XVII.

That a man may bee impoyſoned by Pomanders of ſweete ſmell, Fumes of Torches, Tapers, Candels; by Letters, Garments, and other ſuch like things.

IN our former Chapters, we haue diſcourſed how poyſon may be adminiſtred in Meats and Drinkes, to the preiudice of life. Now we are to ſay, whether the like Treacherie may be accompliſhed by ſweet ſmelling Pomanders, Fume, or ſmoake of Torches, Candles; or by reading Letters, wearing Gloues, Shirts, and other Garments.

Many haue held Opinion, that the kiſſing of Princes Garmentes, before they be put vpon their perſons, and generally all things preſented vnto them, as Letters, Hand-kerchiefes, or whatſoeuer elſe, is done to no other end, but onely for Ceremony, Reſpect, and Honour, in duty and reuerence to their Greatneſſe and Excellency. But, I am able to affirme the contrary, becauſe it was at firſt inuented, and done, expreſſly to aſſure them from being Impoyſoned, by ſuch things as ſhould be preſented vnto th m. And whoſoeuer will read the Greeke Authours, ſhall finde that Wickednes ſe to be moſt auncient; eſpecially we finde, that the *Caribes* (inhabiting the New World) haue long vſed it.

Why all things deliuered to Princes, are kiſſed.

Strange manner of Impoyſonings.

And to approoue my words, I will alledge ſome examples well knowne to our ſelues and that ſuch things are to be done, it hath bin, and yet may be noted, that whoſoeuer ſleepeth or ſitteth any long while vnder the ſhadow of a Walnut Tree in Summer, ſhall foorthwith be offended with a grieuous Head-ach. And ſuch as take the Coole Ayre vnder the Yew Tree, will be in dreadfull peril. I my ſelfe haue obſerued diuers inconueniences happening thereby, not only to Men and Women, but to Beaſts likewiſe. Do we not (almoſt) daily behold, that the ſmoake of a Tallow Candle, the light being ſuddainly extinct, is very dangerous to Women with child, cauſing the Head-ach in extremeſt maner, and brought one (whom I very well know) to the falling ſickneſſe?

Experience of diuers kinds of dangers by ſitting vnder Trees.

A Friend of mine, commonly called the *Fat man*, a *Piccarde* by Nation, and Chirurgion to the late *Lewes* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conté*, who hauing handled and carried about him a ſweet Pomander, for the ſpace of fiue or ſix Houres; which Pomander, an *Italian* Perfumer preſented to the ſaid Prince, & preſently was deliuered to the ſayd Chirurgions keeping, who ſoone after, fell into Sownings, Caſtings, Torments in the Braine, Conuulſions, and afterwards, into moſt grieuous and miſerable languiſhing. Yet two Moneths after, by the diligent care and aſſiſtance of a *Piemontois* Phyſitian, who belongeth to my Lord the Conſtable at this inſtant, and then called *Marſhall d'Amville*, hee was recouered. Alſo, the Seruaunt to the Apothecarie, called *Goulet*, dwelling in *Paris*, deſpiſing the Friendly

Of an impoyſoned Pomander, preſented to the Prince of *Conti*.

An Apothecaries Seruant poiſond by the ſame Pomander.

aduiſe giuen him by the ſaide Chirurgion, for carrying the ſame Pommander in his Pocket, the ſpace of halfe a Day, dyed within leſſe then eight dayes after.

The vapor of a Char-coale fire venimous except iron be put into it.

At *Lymoges*, in the beginning of the Leagues turbulent emotion, *Monſieur de Pantadour* being com to *Lymoges*, to take order (as ſworn Lieutenant to the king) that the Towne might bee maintayned for his Maieſties ſeruice, and hauing (by example of Iuſtice) giuen terror to ſom Offenders; a Soldiour of ſom account, ſhutting himſelfe into a Cabinet, leaſt otherwiſe hee ſhould bee diſcouered; by the vapor of a very ſmall Char-cole fire, died in leſſe then twelue houres, and could by no meanes be recouered. The fume aud ſmoake of impoyſoned Torches and Candles, are not they much more able to procure the death of anie perſon?

A man poyſoned by ſmelling to a Gilly floure.

It is not long ſince, a *Lombard* gaue an impoyſoned Gilly-floure, vnto one whoſe death he deſired, albeit hee diſſembled his inward treachery verie cunningly, and (in outward ſhew) with extraordinary friendſhip; but by ſmelling to the ſaid Floure, the party ſuddenly fell downe dead. The ſmell or ſauour of a Sea-Hare, is ſo pernitious, as not only it troubleth the ſence, ſight, and procureth caſting: but likewiſe, if a man continue in the ſame, ſent but for ſome few houres, it cauſeth death without any recouery, as I my ſelfe haue ſeene by experience.

Smell of the Sea-Hare very dangerous.

These few written and recorded hiſtories, of taking away life by impoyſoned Odours and Vapours, may ſerue as ſufficient for our inſtruction; let vs com now to thoſe other kindes, which (by touching onely) do as much, or rather farre worſe. About ſome two yeares ſince, I beheld the death of a yong man, aged ſcarſely twenty yeares, who ſuffered the application of a great Emplayſter (made of the flies called *Cantharides*) to his cheek, whereon he had a great red blemiſh, which hee brought with him into the world at his birth, and appeared to him as no meane deformity; extreamity of paine would not permit him to indure the plaiſter hardly foure houres, but he was dead before the next Morning. And yet, as euery one well knoweth, the *Cantharides* are one of the weakeſt Venoms.

A man Impoiſoned by an implaiſter of *Cantharides*.

I alſo, ſawe the death of a Gardiner, who, by pruning and clenſing his trees, the Egges of Catterpillers happened to fall on his face, and venomed it beyond recouery. Now, albeit this may ſeeme ſomwhat rare, that a mans death ſhould be cauſed by ſo ſmall a matter: yet it is moſt certaine, that both theſe Hiſtories, and ſuch as follow after, doo euidently declare, that by nothing but the very touch onely of ſome impoyſoned thing, death enſueth without any Remedy.

Egges of Catterpillers very dangerous.

Galen declareth, that a man in the City of *Bythinia*, ſcituate in the kingdom of *Thrace*, cauſed the death of diuers men by an Hearb, compaſſing the means that it might but ſticke vppon their skinne only. And that the firſt knowledge or experience which he had thereof, was, by buying the Liuer of an Hogge in the Market, and returning from the City to his Country houſe, he had occaſion by the way to do the Office of nature, laying the Liuer (in meane while) on the ground, on diuers hearbes. As he tooke vp the Liuer again, he perceiued blood to yſſue foorth in great aboundance; whereby he iudged, that it proceeded from ſome Vertue in one of the hearbs, that ſtil cleaued faſt to the Liuer: he further conceiued, that if the ſame Hearbe were applyed to men or Beaſts; their death wold eaſily be thereby procured, which he acordingly performd on ſuch as himſelfe pleaſed. But his wicked and bloody practiſe being known, at length he was apprehended and broght before the Miniſter of Iuſtice, where, without ſufferance of many torments, he confeſſed the whol matter, and what plenty of that herb grew in that place only, which he ſware he neuer had reuealed to any perſon. When the Magiſtrate had heard his whole Confeſſion, he condemned him to Death, and preſently cauſed his eyes to be blindfolded: to the end, that as he was led on the way vnto the place whereas his Execution was appointed, he ſhould not teach or inſtruct any other, in ſo horrid and damnable a practiſe.

A ſtrange Hiſtory alledged by *Galen* of poyſoning by the touch of an Hearbe.

A great diſcretion in the Magiſtrate to auoid further danger.

Many men and women haue greatly indaungered their bodies, by Itches, Scabs, and ſuch like filthineſſe, onely by lying in vncleane ſheets, or wearing the Gar-

Danger by sleeping in vncleane linnen, or wearing garments

Garments of corrupted persons. The *Neapolitane* disease is very easily so taken in *Italy*, but rarely in *France*. Good Histories doe assure vs, that *Hercules* died with extreame torments, being impoysoned by a shirt which his wife had sent him.

A Turke poysoned a *Wallachian* by a paire of Buskins.

Monsieur de Montagnac, Lord of *Trenchillion*, who accompanied *Messire Francois de Noailles*, Bishop of *Dax*, Ambassadour into the East, deliuered vnto mee for an vndoubted truth, that a Turke in the City of *Patara* in *Lycia*, caused the death of a *Wallachian*, in this manner. The Turke very desirous of the *Wallachians* death, which yet he dissembled artificially, sought all vnsuspected meanes how to compasse it: & his reason was, because the *Wallachian* would not take his oath, that the *Turke* (being a *Patarian* Souldiour) was one of the first that mounted on the breach of a final town, (but very strong) which the *Turkes* had besiedged and taken in *Hungarie*. For, such as can approue in *Turky*, that they haue performed any Generous Act; are recompenced with diuers Ducates, ouer and aboue their ordinary pay, and are likewise aduanced to the first vacant degrees. The *Turke* at last presented the *Wallachian* with a faire paire of red Buskins, which he accepting as a Signall of kindnesse, did presently put them on his Legges; or had not worn them aboue two houres, but a great heate and rednesse appeared on his Legges, which he himselfe (as yet) perceiued not. Hauing put off his Buskins, the rednesse conuerted into pushes, blaines, and blisters, which quickly running ouer his whole body, he dyed within twelue houres, exclaiming on the *Patarian*, who was fled away.

Of impoysoning Saddles, Reines of Bridles, Surrops, and Sheathes of Swords, &c

As concerning a common report, that the Saddles of Horses may be impoysoned, the Raines of their Bridles, the stirrops, and Scabberds and Sheathes of Swordes, thereby to impoyson such as sit, handle, or weare them: the *Turkes* that inhabite the higher *Misia*, are saide to be skilfull Maisters in such exercises; yet I make some difficulty of giuing credit hereto, because I neuer beheld any such accident to happen. Neuertheless, many men of sound credit, who haue trauailed the East, and the adioyning parts; do faithfully maintaine the truth thereof. But if there be nothing more certaine, then that a body may be impoysoned, euen to death, by a paire of Gloues, if but drawne vppon the hands, and by a Handkerchiefe, if the face be wiped therewith: Then let mee tell you for a truth, that a great Lady of *France* (some few yeares past) had both these wicked presents, onely for the couetousnesse of the great wealth she enioyed, and the strange manner of her death was bemoaned by many.

Danger by Gloues and Handkerchiefes.

Seeing then, that the death of Princes and great persons may thus be compassed: I would aduise them that hold so high dignities, and liue among bad people, who make no conscience of vsing all kinds of wickednesse; to carry Powders about them, and other compositions, such as skilfull Phisitions can well enstruct them in, which may defend the Braine, the Lungs, and Heart, preseruing both them and the other inward parts of the body, with receiuing often Treacle, Methridate, and such like vertuous things. As for Saddles, Reines of Bridles, and Scabberds of Weapons: danger in them may be auoyded, by seeing them well cleansed, chafed, and rubbed, with faire Linnen Cloathes before a mans face. And for Handkerchiefes, Gloues, and Letters; they ought to be well heated by good fires, and carried abroad into the ayre, before they be read or vsed, as the like is to be done in things of like qualitie.

Necessary aduise to preuent such perils, and by what meanes.

CHAP. XVIII.

That all Venims or Poysons, haue not the power to kill the heart; but that diuers of them (by a certaine hidden or manifest property) doe rather worke against one certaine part of the body; then against another.

DIuers doe hold opinion, that all Venimes or Poysons, do containe operation alike, and all of them tend to no other end, but to kill the hart, which is the onely fountaine of life. But this coniecture hath deceiued

All poysons do not cōtain alike power in working.

A familiar propolition.

deceiued many, for the greater part of Poysons, haue an obscure or apparant property, to viciate or destroy rather one part then another. Because there are some that will infect the braine; others the mouth; others the Lights or Lungs; others the Liuer; others, the Melt, or Spleene; others, the Reines; others the Bladder; and others, the seuerall ioynts of the Body, &c. Concerning the meaneſt or most common kinds, whereof others haue saide somewhat before my self, I would discourse a little; and so much the rather, because what is handled in this Chapter, I wold iustifie for truth; and therefore we will beginne with a venomous simple, that woundeth and offendeth the Braine very greatly.

The danger of Hemlocke, or Homlocke.

Hemlock, or Homlock, called in Latine *Cicuta*, an Hearb vulgarly knowne, by an apparant property, doth more offend the Braine, then any other part of the Body: insomuch, that they who haue tasted thereof, haue felt an instant wheeling giddineſle, or torment in the head, and sometimes meerely haue run mad. I haue seene two men, who thinking they did eate Persley, were deceiued with Hemlock (for these two Plants haue a very neere resemblance) the one dyed soone after; and the other (while he liued) could neuer recouer his health, and this hath been noted in many more.

How the *Athenians* vsed the iuyce of Hemlock.

The *Athenians* vsed to giue the Iuyce of Hemlock, to such honorable persons in their citty, as were condemned to death by sentence of the Iudge.

The people of *Tuscany* much abused by Hemlocke.

In *Tuscanie* groweth a great quantity thereof, and if their Asses happen to feede thereon, they fall downe in such a profound sleepe, as they seeme rather to be dead then astonied. Many poore Countrey people were hereby much abused informer times, who little dreampt on any such strange alteration, or the cause thereof: for verily, imagining their Asses to be starke dead, and hauing more then halfe fleyed their skins, the beasts recouered, to the great amazement of their Masters, but much delight of the Beholders. Hereby may be easily obserued, that Hemlock is altogether contrary to the Braine.

Crow-foot causeth men to dye laughing.

There is another Simple, cald Crowfoote; in French *Batrachion*, or *Passefloure*; in Greek and in Latine *Apium risus*, which if it be put into the mouth, it with-draweth the Iawes in such maner, as if it procured continuall laughter, & in laughing manner it causeth death. That which groweth in *Sardignia*, is not altogether so violent: yet, if it be applyed to the Flesh, as sometimes it is to the Arteries of the Armes against a Feauer Quartaine, it cauterizeth and burneth the Flesh.

The powder of the Sea-Hare, consumeth the Lights and Lungs: witnessed by story of a Singing man, or Quirister.

The scent or smell of the Sea-Hare, and his Flesh dryed in Powder and taken, it greatly iniureth the voyce, and woundeth the Lights in such manner, that such as haue receiued thereof but three times, and in very small quantity, haue bin brought to an exulceration of the Lungs, and incurable consumption of the body. This was verified on a Chanter or Quirister, in the Chappell of King *Charles* the ninth, in the yeare 1566. by another man of the same quality, who beeing desirous to preferre a Kinsman of his into the other Mans place, he being in gracious respect with the King, gaue him some of this Powder, wheron grew an Vlcer in his lungs, his voyce vtterly spoyled, and he (in short while after) dyed. Here you are to vnderstand, that Chaunters vse sometimes to bacchanalize among themselues; especially, when they receiue any extraordinary benefits or rewardes of Princes, or other great Lords in the Courts, for Mornings or Euenings salutations with their Musique and voyces: then, for preseruation of their voyces, they mingle diuers wholesome spices, compounded with Sugar among their Wines, to send them downe with the greater delectation. By which vnsuspected meanes, the Chaunter could the more easily poyson his Enemy; whereof at last he dyed, hauing voyded (by extreamity of a Cough) a mighty Impostumation, which this dangerous Powder had bred within him. Neuertheleſſe, the Fact was discloſed, and the Prouost of the Houshold directing his Proceſſe against the Chaunter, he was (by sentence of the Iudge) hanged and strangled, and his body after burned.

Good fellowship among Chanters, as well as others

A iust and deserued punishment.

A poyson that hurts the stomacke.

The Poyson that is prepared of the Caterpillers, or litle red hairy Wormes bred in the tops of Pine-trees, and of the venomous blacke Fly, called a *Long-leg*, or *Wag-legge*; so frets and vlcerates the

vlcerates the ſtomacke and bowels (but no other part of the body beſide:) that whoſoeuer receiueth it, will dye thereof in very ſhort while remedileſſe.

Of poyſons that deſtroy the Liuer.

Concerning thoſe Venoms that deſtroy the Liuer, there are ſome ſtore of them; onely it ſhall content me to aduertiſe the Reader, and remember him of the Hiſtory alleadged in the precedent Chapter, of the Countrey-man of *Bithynia*, and how by the meanes of one onely Hearbe, which ſpoyled the Liuer he then carryed, he wrought the death of many people. And ſome of the Simpliſts of theſe our inſtant times, haue found out that daungerous Hearb; and yet, imitating the wiſedome of their learned Maiſter *Galen*, they dare not make it openly knowne. They can likewiſe (for the ſame purpoſe) make Poyſons of Minerals, and of diuers other Creatures in theſe daies, which neuer were knowne to our Elders; and they will take away life in very ſhort time.

The cunning of Simpliſts in theſe daies.

For the reins, Bladder, and genitiue parts

Againſt the Reines, Bladder, and genitiue parts, I need ſpeake of none but the *Cantharides*, whereof if any quantity be taken, or more then the skilfull Phiſition ſhall preſcribe by writing, without queſtion death enſueth. As I my ſelfe ſaw happen to a young Gentlewoman, waiting in the Chamber of a Lady in *Guyenne*, to whom a wanton young Gallant (being amorous of her beauty and perfections) found meanes to make her receiue the weight of three drams of the Powder of *Cantharides*, mingled among certaine greene Hearbes, made Sallet-wiſe; onely to induce her to his voluptuous deſires: and this he did by the Councell of a poore, needy, and wicked Apothecary, who (for three Crownes) ſold him the ſaid Powder of *Cantharides*. The Gentlewoman, within three houres after, fell into ſtrange alterations: as a moſt violent heat, and exulceration of the Reines and Bladder, being deſirous euery moment to auoid Vrine, with extreame ſtingings and prickings, whereof in the end ſhe dyed. And her body being opened after her death; the Reines, Matrixe, and Bladder, were found very blacke, dryed, and excoriated. Not onely the *Cantharides* being drunk, or otherwiſe inwardly receiued, are moſt pernitious, but likewiſe if they be outwardly applyed, as I my ſelf can witneſſe, by that which happned to a Curtizane at *Paris*. She being offended becauſe ſhe was of a browne complexion, went to a certaine *Mountebancke*, to buy ſome meanes of fayrer beauty. He applyed a Cataplaſme or emplayſter, both to her Face and Neck, which was well compounded with the *Cantharides*, and this ſhe muſt weare for the ſpace of twelue houres; but within three daies after ſhe died. There was likewiſe then preſent with me, one named *Monſieur Greaume*, a learned Phiſitian, who cauſing her body to be opened, her Reaines, Matrixe, and Bladder (but no part elſe) were found to be Gangrened, and moſt filthily ſmelling.

A Hiſtory of a deceiued Gentlewomã.

Hurt by ignorant Apothecaries.

Another Hiſtory of a Curtizane.

There are alſo diuers kinds of Pulſe or Graine (which I will forbeare to ſpeake of) whereof if any frequent vſe be made; ſuch debility will be found in the ioynts of the body, as in the Legs, Feete, Flanckes, Armes, and ſuch like Members, that hardly can any eaſe bee had for the paine. A Learned Phiſitian ſhewed me a Simple, with credible aſſurance, that if the weight of a Crowne were taken thereof; it would take away the benefit of ſight within foure houres after. He ſhewed me alſo the root of another Simple, the powder wherof procured deafeneſſe.

Danger by diuers kindes of Pulſe.

Simples that take away both ſight and hearing

Wherefore it is not to bee doubted, but as there are Medicaments, which both purge and comfort certaine parts of a mans body: euen ſo there are diuers Venoms and Poyſons, which aſſayle and moleſt one part more then another, as I thinke I haue ſufficiently ſhewne. Witneſſe *Agaricke*, that purgeth the braine particularly, and Muske likewiſe, which (in a ſmall quantity) glads and comforts it. *Aloes* and *Myrabolans*, doe purge the ſtomack; *Cinamon* and *Spicknard* do make it well againe. *Succory* and *Rheubarbe* wil purge the Liuer; *Ceterach* and *Capprier* the Melt or Spleene; *Terebinthina* and cold Seeds, the Reines and Bladet: for al which, there are as many, or more kind of cõforts. In like manner, there are Hearbs, Plants, Minerals, Animals, that both offend and help diuers parts of the body. Hauing (in mine opinion) diſcourſed ſufficiently on this Argument, I thinke it not amiſſe (in our enſuing Chapter) to remooue their error, who do conceit, that Impoyſoners can

Diuers hurts, and aſtmady helps witneſſed by examples.

Hearbes, Plants, and Minerals, both hurtfull and helpfull.

can worke so cunningly, on such bodies as they are willing to destroy: to make them languish, & liue so many months, weeks, daies, houres, or yeares, as they please to limit or appoint.

CHAP. XIX.

To know if an Impoisoner can so arteficially accommodate his poysons, that he may limit the houre, day, weeke, month, and yeare, in which time his intention shall cause the person to languish, & afterward die, by him poysoned.

The opinion of *Theophrastus*

Heophrastus is of the mind, that a man may so prepare *Aconitum*, or other poisons in such manner, as he may thereby cause another body to languish or die, according as himselfe pleaseth. He saith beside, that such as keepe poyson within them for any long time, shall dye with much paine, for it followeth on necessity, that the body will become dry and crumpled: whereas contrariwise, they that containe them but a short while, doe dye much more easily.

The opinion of Phisitions, concerning the times of operation in poysons.

The vniuersality of Physitians haue concluded, that albeit some poysons are found to be more quicke and suddaine then others are or can be: yet notwithstanding, the one or others power, it is impossible to iudge assuredlie on what day shall be the period of their operation, in procuring the death of any one, as some haue supposed. For if we admit, that poysons are more sudden in some bodies, then in others: it proceedeth not from the naturall propriety of those poysons; but is caused by the greater or lesser resistance in nature, in the persons that bee impoysoned.

One poyson giuen to diuers, for tryall thereof.

Hereupon it hath bin noted by experience, that in giuing one and the same poysons, and in iust equality of weight, to diuers condemned persons: one hath dyed within an houre, another in lesse then a quarter; and a third hath continued for foure and twenty houres; yea, in some man, nothing at all hath appeared, such hath beene the strength of Nature. This may be daily discerned in Laxatiue Medicines, for deliuering one and the same Medicine, (and in like quantity) to diuers diseased persons: in some it is found to be of facile motion; in others, of very tardy operation. To some, the Medicine dooth a little seruice; to others, a great deale; and to others nothing at all. It will purge some without griefe or pain; in others, the same Medicine will cause a thousand languishes: and yet notwithstand, all this proceedeth but from the diuersitie of temperature in Men, which cannot be so exactly noted, as to determine certainely, at what time naturall heat shall withstand or resist the poyson.

A similitude drawne from Medicines purgatiue, & comfortatiue.

A notable example well worth the obseruation.

But let vs put the case, that there were an Impoysoner so subtile and ingenious, as (by experience and science) he could easily vnderstand the carriage of the vitall faculties in diuers and sundry persons, and that he could coniecture, how long he should liue to whom hee gaue the poyson: yet notwithstanding all this, it is impossible for him to know resoluedly, which, shall bee the death-day of the party impoysoned by him. For it is not possible, that any Phisition or Philosopher (except it bee diuinely reuealed to him) should calculate so farre as the vtmost point, how much ther is in euery perticular body, both of Radicall humour, and of naturall heate: considering, that the principall qualities of our Bodies, do not alwaies continue in one condition. And hence it proceedth, that wee finde our selues to be more strong, or else more feeble, at one time then another: whereto wee may likewise adde, that internall causes doe alter and change our temperatures ordinarilie. Counter-poysons also, being giuing to such as are impoysoned, although they cannot surmount the malignity of the poyson; yet notwithstanding, they wil prolong the pacients life. And therefore I hold it as a very great folly in any one to thinke, that hee can weigh and iudge of our inward faculties, euen as iustly as if he weighed Saffron.

Our bodies are not at all times in one estate.

Counterpoysons, if not help, yet they will prolong life.

It ought also further to be noted, that although the resistance happeneth, (for the most part) according as the Nature of the party Impoysoned is

is weake or strong: yet neuertheleſſe, it proceedeth likewiſe hence, that ſome men haue their arteries (through which ſome poyſons paſſe, to penetrate ſo far as the heart) much greater and groſſer then other men haue. For when a Poyſon findeth the Conduits large & wide, not only doth it paſſe the more ſuddenly, but likewiſe it goes on and enters euen to the heart, by meanes of the ayre continually entring, that peerceth thorough the flabels of the heart, or other parts, where the poyſon (by his hidden or manifeſt quality) ſeeketh to hurt. Which neuer happeneth in ſuch perſons, as haue a coole heart, and their vitall Spirits ſtrengthleſſe; becauſe their Arteries are very narrow.

why Hemlock is deadly to men, & good for Starlings.

Hereupon enſueth the ſaying of *Galen*, that Hemlocke is mortall to men, and nutratiue to Stares or Starlings: for thoſe Birds haue their Arteries ſo ſtrait, that it is not poſſible for the venome in the Hemlocke, to penetrate ſo farre as the hart. And to approue my wordes, I will relate an Hiſtory, of one named *Seigneur Valentine*, who was held to bee the naturall Sonne of Pope *Alexander* the ſixt: & the ſame is alledged by *Mathiolus*, who heard it reported credibly, by diuers men in his time. This Man, being deſirous to poyſon certain Cardinals at a banquet; without thinking thereon, poyſoned himſelf alſo, with his Father, & diuers other frends: ſome wherof dyed within few daies after; others, ſome months after; others, ſome yeares; and yet himſelfe eſcaped, by the help of certaine Antidotes which he tooke, and other remedies. He experimented the ſame poyſon, by giuing it to diuers Mules and Mulets, which he could eaſily kill, according to the working of their naturall heat. The reaſons then before alleadged, and this Hiſtory may ſerue to perſwade the Reader, ꝑ the vulgar opinion is not auaileable; holding obſtinately, that the Impoyſoner can certainly determine the houre of a mans death, which is apparantly falſe.

Dioſco. lib. 5. cap. 1. A Hiſtory of a notorious impoyſoner.

A poyſon inuented by the of *Cumana* in *India*.

Thoſe people in the Prouince of *Cumana*, ſcituate in the Weſt *Indiaes*, doe make a poyſon which killeth the heart ſuddainely, eyther by the ſmell thereof, or touch: it is compounded of the blood of diuers Serpents; Gum made of a certaine Hearb, and a ſtrange kinde of Apples, all commixed together, with the Heads of ſome Ants, that are full of venome. In compoſition of this vile Drugge, they ſhut vp an old Woman in a Chamber, giuing her all the ſeuerall ſubſtances, and ſuch Wood as muſt boyle all the Simples together. This decoction continueth two or three daies and nights on the Fire, before it can bee brought to perfection: and the old woman dyeth with the ſtincke and venomous fume iſſuing from the ſeething. If ſhe dye, they then highly praiſe and commend the poyſon; but if ſhe ſcape without death, then they caſt it away, and puniſh the woman very grieuouſly. This poyſon is ſaid to be the very ſame, which is vſed by the *Caribes*, and againſt which, the *Spaniards* could neuer finde any remedy; being wounded by the impoyſoned Arrowes and Darts, ſhot and caſt at them by thoſe *Caribes*.

Proofe made of the poiſons power.

Poyſon vſed by the *Caribes*.

I could haue proceeded further in this diſcourſe of poyſons, to the pleaſing, or rather diſlike of the Reader, becauſe the ſubiect is ſome-what odious: but the cauſe procuring me to what hath beene deliuered, was, to aduiſe ſuch as are conſtituted (in theſe our daies) in places of eminency and dignity, to haue an eſpeciall regard of themſelues, becauſe ambition hath beene, and yet is ſo great in ſome perſons; as very fewe Princes haue not beene endangered by poyſon. And if that way hath not preuailed, to make their liues ſubiect to their mallice; then Piſtols haue beene imployed, and impoyſoned Kniues: As on the moſt Chriſtian King *Henry* the third, who was ſlaine in that manner at Saint *Clou*. Then on King *Henry* the fourth, whoſe memory will endure to the Worlds end, for a famous King and peereleſſe Souldier: and who bare the markes of ſuch villainous attempts all his life time, euen in his royall face, and could not preuent his death thereby.

The Authors reaſon, for diſcourſing on poyſons.

Kings ſlaine with impoyſoned Knines.

I am alſo to be excuſed, in not ſetting downe the names of many poyſons, & paſſing vnder ſilence the power of ſuch as are very dangerous; becauſe I held it no part of my duty, in regard that *Galen* himſelfe refuſed to name them: *Nicander*, and (after him) *Dioſcorides*, haue ſet downe the names of many poyſons in their workes, and deliuered certaine ſignes, whereby to know what poyſons

Galen, *Nicander*, and *Dioſcorides*.

are

are to be dealt withall, and remedies also incident to them. But let me tell ye, that those perrilous matters whereof they haue made so publique euidence, are so grosse, and of such easinesse to be defended, as (in very truth) they doe not deserue to be set downe in writing. For such as are made vse of in these our times, they haue much more pernitious effects, and sooner can ridde the world of many persons, then any of the other (by vse then made of them) had power to do.

Our notell poysons more dangerous then them of old.

CHAP. XX.

What manner of people they were, that had the Title of Gymnosophistes.

FOr better vnderstanding, what is meant by the word *Gymnosophistæ*, to such as are little experienced in the Grecke tongue, I direct mine intent, giuing them to know, that the Word is composed of two vocables; to wit, *Gymnos*, which is as much to say, as *Naked*; and *Sophistæ*, that is, *Wise*; euen as if you would say *Naked-wise*, for (in very truth) they went continually naked. *Pliny* and *Cicero* haue discoursed of them, and (after them) Saint *Augustine*. These Philosophers dwelt about Mount *Caucasus*, neere vnto the Riuer *Ganges*; where they went naked, as yet (to this day) the most part of the Inhabitants of that Countrey doe. They vsed to make Vowes, to liue in Deserts, some in Forrests: not during life, but for a certaine number of yeares, walking in contemplation of Celestiall thinges, and of Morall Philosophy. They would neuer enter into any Townes or Cittics, neither married, but liued austerely, alwaies looking stedfastly on the Sunne, euen in the greatest heate of the day; standing vsually vppon one foot, in the very hotteste and scorching sand or dust. Beeing wearied with long standing in that manner, they would stand as long vpon the other, and sildome stand on both feet together; this they wold likewise do in the extremest cold of winter.

Gymnosophistæ, Naked-wise Pliny. Cicero. S. August.

Mount *Caucasus* neere *Ganges*.

Vowes of the *Gymnosophists*.

Their Life, Custome, and Behauiour.

They fed on nothing but Fruits and roots, which alwaies (in meere charity) was brought to them: for rather then to aske or require food, they would famish themselues to death. They vsed to lye in the coole shade vnder Trees, or else in the vast, wide, open fielde. Persons of great honour, and multitudes of other people beside, vsed to goe see them, and brought their Children with them, to be enstructed by them; because it was reputed in euery opinion, that they were men of great sanctity, and excelled all other in knowledge. In breefe, all their Doctrine was to know God, shunne Vices, and (aboue all other) ambition. They inred their bodies to endure all kinds of afflictions, were it to bee burned aliue: for many of them would cast themselues into a fire, if they had attained vnto the age of fifty years, or there about. There was no small number of them, but very many, and they accepted into their society children descended of the best houses. Whereof *Cicero* being certified, he marualled not a little, that among so barbarous a Nation, and where they made no vse of letters: there should bee found so many Learned Philosophers, chast, sober, adorned with many vertues, and accustomed to suffer all iniuries, as well of the Ayre, as in other externall matters.

Their manner of feeding and lodging.

Children brought to be instructed by them.

Their Doctrine and sufferance.

Cicero his reason of amazement at the *Gymnosophists*.

Strabo writeth, that there were two kindes of *Gymnosophistes*; one of them dwelling in Deserts and Forrests, cloathing themselues with leaues and barks of trees, liuing bashfully and soberly, neuer dinking any Wine; and these Men were tearmed *Hermanes*. The other sort frequented Kings Courts, Cities, and assemblies of people, and they were called *Brachmanes*: who held opinion, that the day of death was the birth-day of vertuous Soules; which opinion appeared to be truly Christian.

Strabo affirms two sortes of *Gymnosophists*.

Hermanes.

Brachmanes.

Alexander the great, hauing trauailed farre in the *Indiaes*, heard report of these *Gymnosophistes*, and caused some of them to be brought before him: of whom he was sharpely reproued, because hee beeing but a Mortall Man, hauing but one mouth to feede, and one Kingdome, more then sufficient for his Gouerning; that yet he tooke such paines, and oftentimes fell into great dangers, to raunge, trouble, and conquer all the East

Alexander the great, reproued by the *Gymnosophists*.

East and the *Indiaes*, which neuer any way had offended him. He seeing himselfe so toucht to the quicke by these naked Philosophers, for his limitlesse ambition; refused to passe on any further, but returned backe to *Babylon*, to liue thence forward quiet and peaceably, purposing neuer after to trouble any person.

Alexander taxed, represseth his ambition.

Aristobulus, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his voyages and Conquests, writeth, that two of those *Gymnosophistes* followed him, in his returning from the *Indiaes* to *Babilon*, both of them being continually naked, without any Garment on them. He that seemed the eldest or more auncient of them, would lye groueling on his face vppon the ground, euen in the powerfullest warmth of the Sunne, or heat of Summer, much molested with Waspes and other stinging Flyes; yet would he not stirre, or once make offer to driue them away. He that was the younger man, he would stand continually vppon one foote, holding a Log of Wood in one of his handes, containing the length of three cubits; and ordinarily would hee stand in this manner, as well before *Alexander*, as out of his company. Some while after, the elder man left this austerity, and began to liue more delicately; for which, being reprehended, hee answered: That he had liued (in his former manner) the space of sixe and thirty yeares, according to the vow he had made to God, to hold that rule of *Gymnosophistæ* for such length of time: which being now expired, he might returne to liue in the same sort as other Men did. The younger man being named *Calanus*, hauing followed the Court and and Army of *Alexander*, so farre as *Persia*, he made a goodly fire in an open assembly, and hauing annointed al his body ouer with Lard or Grease, he threw himselfe into the midst of the Fire, with a smiling, iocond, and cheerefull countenance, according to the custome of the *Brachmanes*, and so burned himselfe into Ashes.

Two *Gymnosophists* followed *Alexander* to Babylon.

One of the *Gymnosophists* reproued, & his answere.

The *Gymnosophist* burneth himselfe.

The Mountaines called *Caucasas*, where these *Gymnosophistes* doe inhabite, are not they which touch *Scythia* in *Asia*; but those that confine on the mouths of the great *Indian* riuer *Ganges*, where the Inhabitants are blacke, going all naked, except some small couerture for their parts of shame: they are great Idolaters, euen to this day; of friendlie conuersation, not nice or daintie, and they are often deceiued by Marchants-Strangers. None of those other *Gymnosophistes* are found in these partes, but there are certaine Priests and Women, who do (very nere) hold the same manner of behauiour, as the ancient *Brachmans* did, for they burne themselues when they become aged. If any man among them happen to dye otherwise, all his Wiues (for there they haue many) doe contend among themselues, which of them loued him best, and the case must be pleaded (for tryall) before a Iudge, Each of them is an Atturney in her owne cause, and she that is found to be of greatest affection, and hath done most accepted seruices to the dead in his life time; shee onely hath the renowne in Iudgement, and she shall haue the honor to be burned aliue, with the dead body of her Husband.

The abyding of the *Gymnosophists*.

Priestes and Women that dye in fires.

The proofe of womens loue to their Husbands.

As for my selfe, I alwaies conceiued, that those *Gymnosophists* were religious persons, who beleiued the immortality of the Soule, and sequestred themselues from mens societies, because they would not be touched with worldly desires; thinking to do all things acceptable to God, and enstruct others how to liue vertuously. And in so much, as they willingly threw themselues into deaths power, before nature had runne her ful course; it seemed to mee that they did it, to auoyd further offending God by their sinnes. There are found some Men among vs, euen in these daies, that sequester themselues from sight of other Men, exhorting vs to all charity & vertue, to haue daily remembrance of death, and to prepare all our thoughts to God: they are said also, to liue as (if not more) chastly and austerely, as the other did: but as I am not able to speak this of mine owne absolute knowledge, so will I not condemne any one thereto enclined, that doth it not on a superstitious kind of zeale, or to be held of greater sanctity then others, therefore I refer iudgement herein, to him to whom it iustly belongeth.

The Authors opinion of the *Gymnosophists*.

Some religious persons resembling the *Gymnosophistes*.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ *Against the opinion of such men, as doe thinke, that the Septentrionall Countries, which bee vnder the North Climate, are vnfruitfull and inhabitable.*

THere were many of our fore-Fathers, who helde opinion, that vnder *Zona Torrida*, no Man can haue any dwelling, in regard of the extreame heate there continuing: but they were therein much deceiued, for it hath beene found by Nauigations of the *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and others, within some hundreds of passed yeares, that very many ciuill people doe inhabite there, and great store of Victuals for nourishment, dooth also there abound.

Zona Torrida.

Habitable land vnder *Torride Zone.*

Contrariwise, some likewise haue thought, that the two *Zones* which bee imagined to holde the two extremities of the Worlde, are (by their violent colds) not habitable; because they are farre remote from the Zodiaque and Eclipticke, which is another imagined Line, and through which the Sunne maketh his course. Heerein also they haue beene greatly beguiled; for vnder the two *Zones*, the Land is couered with Men, Beasts, Hearbs and Trees: the inclemency of the Ayre, or of the cold Heauens doth there no hurt at all. Nothing but the Earth it selfe, which is found in some partes barren and vnfruitfull, makes them not to bee inhabited by men: as in the Desert and Sandy *Arabia*, whence yet you may passe into diuers Countries, carrying Victualles with ye. So is it likewise to be imagined of many other Desets, which are in many other parts of the World.

The Zodiaque and Eclipticke line.

The Earth it selfe vnfruitfull.

I haue alleadged these fore-named matters, because many yet doe holde, that the Septentrionall Countries are infertile; as *Moscouia*, *Tartaria*, *Scithia*, *Getia*, *Prutania*, *Denmarcke*, *Suetia*, *Norway*, *Finland*, and others; whereof it would aske some time to make recitall, which are all Neighbours, or vnder the North; in regard, there it is cold the greater part of the yeare, and at all times subiect to Snowes and sharpe Frostes; as also Fogges and Mistes are there very frequent, and the Ayre commonly cloudy. Wherein they are also much deceiued, for in all those Prouinces, there are neyther Fieldes, Vallies, Mountaines, Hillockes, nor the Banckes of Riuers, but you shall see them couered with goodly Hearbes, Grasse, and Plants, faire spreading, and in fruitefull manner, as also plentie of Men and Beasts. Now, because coldnesse is vnprofitable to Generation; therefore many haue held these Countries to be very desert and empty of all thinges.

Lands vnder the North populous and fertile.

Countries vnder the north.

Signes of fertility and plenty.

First of all, there is great plenty of Horses, fat, high-fed, and very good, so that when they goe in any expedition, their Troopes doe ordinarily consist of threescore or fourescore thousand horses. The Men also are very nimble and ready, so that if they had the vse of Armes among them; as of the Harquebush, Petronils, and other Artillerie, accordingly as wee haue: they would quickely ouer-runne *Europe*, or the *Persian*. That it can be no otherwise, we haue had good experience in our times, when they haue giuen assistance to the Turkes, in much greater number then I haue spoken off. Of Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Goats, Swine, and other Beasts for Housholde seruice, the Countries are (well-neere) ouer-burthened, and wonderfully well fed: abounding also in White-meates, which are their verie chiefest sustenance. So that, if those Countries were so barren, as most Historiographers, and some Cosmographers (that neuer dreampt on these things) haue written: wold beasts there multiply in such plenty, and thriue in such extraordinary manner?

Great aboundance of men and beasts.

Lacke of knowledge in Artilery.

The error of Historians & Cosmographers.

As for the Women, they are so fruitfull, as commonly they bring two children at a burden, oftentimes three, and foure at sometimes; whereof let no doubt or scruple be made. For I haue seene many, and frequented long with people of those partes (both of Honour and Learning) who haue confirmed the truth heereof vnto mee. All the Men of Warre heretofore, of the *Gothes*,

The fruitfulnesse of the Women.

The North hath yeilded very potent Armies.

Gothes, Vandales, Scythians, Hunnes, Normanes, and others; beeing in number aboue foure or fiue hundred thousand Men, and the Army of *Tamberlain* (who liued in the yeare 1390.) that consisted ordinarily of a Milllon of Men; were of no other people or Countries, but such as inhabited vnder the North. They are Men of Spirit, Learned, and preserue Annales among them, euen as we doe in our Nations: Some of them are Christians, after the *Gracians* manner; others, Mahumatists, and others Idolators.

The plenty of Furres which those Countries yeild.

These people were Furres, euen from sole of the foote (as wee vse to say) to the Crowne of the head: And whence can such prouision of Furres be made, but by the fœcundity of their Landes? For they doe not onely cloath themselues, but they likewise furnish *Fraunce, England, Italy, Germany, Spaine, Flanders, Greece*, and other Prouinces; yea, with the very richest and fayrest; as Ermines, Sables, Martines, White Wolues, Foxes, and diuers others.

Great store of Venison.

Shall I speake of the great plentie of Venison, and exceeding in fatnesse, daily taken by them? As Harts, Hinds, Kiddes, Wilde-Boares, Hares, &c. very easilie and familiarly hunted among them. Likewise, Fowles of all kinds, as well haunting the Mountaines, as liuing on Plaines, and in Waters. All which Viandes are at such cheape rate, as, for halfe an ounce of Siluer, which valueth twentie French *Solz*, or two Shillings of our English Money, a man may haue a Redde Deere, or a Wilde Boare; and a Hare for the fift part of a dramme of Siluer, hardly valuing a Pennie. I set not down the Names of their Monies, because the *Scythians*, of whom I speake more then others, and dwell direct vnder the North, haue no vse at all of Money: but both buy and sell all thinges for the weight of Gold or Siluer, Duckes, Mallards, Plouers, wilde-Geese, Cranes, Ringdoues, Pewets, Partridges, Quailes, Blacke-Birds, &c. in a manner for nothing, they are so easily taken, by reason of their great aboundance. The people lead a Pastorall kinde of life, and haue no other dwelling then vnder Tentes, and in the open Fieldes, without any repining thereat, and yet they sleepe there verie soundly. This Countrey whereof I speake, containeth more then sixe hundred Leagues, which *Pliny, Ptolomy*, and *Pomponius Mela*, doe hold to be almost desert, and from an hundred Miles, to another hundred, hardly is any Towne or Village to be seene.

Pliny, Ptolomy, Pomponius Mela.

The cheapenesse of victuals.

The *Scythians* haue no vse of Money.

Store of wilde Fowles.

Their maner of life and dwelling.

The North-Sea greatly aboundeth in Fish.

Their Seas are fertile, and abounding in Fishes of all kindes, for there they are greater, and much better nourished, then in any other Seas; witnesse the Whales, Coddes, Lings, &c. that doe come all (well-neere) from these Regions. And if any Whales be taken in the Spanish Seas, as I haue seene some, but very sildome: they are much lesse then the other, nothing so fat, nor in such store and plenty. Let vs proceede yet a little further. If these Countries were so vnfruitfull and inhabitable, as they are said to be; would Bees and Hony be in such aboundance there as they are? For there is scarcelie any Tree, where those little Labourers doe not builde their Hiues: especiallie if they can meete with any hollow Tree; wherein I haue heard it credibly reported, that Men haue diuers times sunke vp to the shoulders in Hony. Whence comes such store of Waxe, as the *Germaines* send into *Fraunce*, and other places of Christendome, but onely out of those Countries? For although there be some store in *France*, yet is there not any such plenty or encrease, as would furnish *Paris* for one month onely. In breefe, their Trees are full of Honny, Waxe, and Fruites: beside, I haue been certainely assured, that the leaues in their least Groues and Thickets, haue well neer equalled your common Colewortes. The whole Land is euen couered (as it were) with extraordinary odoriferous Hearbs; especially young Mariorame, which is held there to bee so precious, as if we can get thereof; wee compound it with the Powder of Violets, and vse it as a restoratiue.

Great aboundance of wax, Hony and fruits.

Hearbes of sweet sauour.

The opinion of the Naturalists, concerning generation and production.

Now, according to the opinion of all the very greatest Naturalists, coldnes is not aduantageable to generation and production, eyther in Beastes or Plantes; because we perceiue, that (in Winter) Beasts haue no familiarity together, and all Plants become as if they

were dead, or despoyled of their goodly leaues: which needs must be the reason of no such fœcundity in these cold and freezing Countries; and yet there may be in those Climates, some humor intermingled with the earth (beyond the ordinary nature of other partes) which is the only Argument of such fertilitie. For the Butter-flyes, Bees, and other common Flies, doe not feare any cold there; but are much greater and grosser then they be heere. Oftentimes, the very least or cold Frostes heere with vs, quite kils our Bees and Flyes; but the very greatest coldes there, and (as one saith) when mighty yfickles couer al the Rocks; yet euen then doe they produce generation. Men are far more healthful there then we be heere; they feed more then we do, & digest their meat better, because (indeede) they are much more laborious. I haue obserued in *Auuergne*, that on the highest Mountaines there, (which are those called *Mont D'or*, and *Domme*) where the Snowes neuer stirre for nine months together: that yet neuertheless, they are very fertile, & yeild the greater quantity of grasse & hearbs; of better tast, and bigger and faiter, then the plaines do with all their temperate ayres. Beastes likewise doe much better fatten there, then commonly we see in other places.

A reason of fertility in the North Countries.

Mont D'or and *Domme* in *Auuergne*.

Heere it may be obiected to me, that the reason why Cosmographers and Geographers haue set down no Towns or Villages, on the plaines of those Countries; as namely, in *Scythia* and *Tartaria*, was, because there are either very few, or none at all. And so much the rather, in regard that the people dwelling vnder Tents, are still vnsetled and ambulatory; as seeking after new pasturages, when they haue made their feeding (any time) in one place. The people make no auouchable testimony hereof, but rather, that the reason why they dwell in Tentes, and in the open fields; is, because they will not be shut vp within Wals; to the end, that they may the sooner approch their enemies, when they Warre vpon them; as also for their apter courses, out-rodes, and surprisals, for they are of very Warlike disposition. For other occasions, they haue all thinges sufficiently for sustentation of Mens liues, without neede of any thing brought from other places: except it be wines and Spiceries, which (of necessity) must needs there be verie scarse, and they haue little neede of.

Few Townes or Villages in those Countries.

The reason why these people liue in Tents, & not in Townes.

I conclude then, that when any man shall fall in contemplation of the countries fruitfulnesse vnder the North, and also of their Seas; hee must not thinke, that coldnesse is the cause thereof, for it bringeth rather discommodity, then any good benefite. But let him propound to himselfe, as I haue formerlie saide; that the reason proceedeth of some good and fat humiditie, remayning in the Groundes of those Countries, and whereof we haue none such heere.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. XXII.

A Paradoxe, approouing, that the meanest and simplest place of Birth or descent, maketh a Man to be truely most Noble.

THat Nobleneſſe of Bodie and Heart (which our Elders euermore obserued for the minde) being both combined together, are the very fayrest partes to be wished in any Man; I make no more doubt thereof, then I do of truth it selfe. For, let there bee neuer so great a number of them, whom we tearme Gentle-men, Lords, mightie *Magnificoes*, or others whatsoeuer; yet, except they bee enriched with these vertues ioyntly: I reckon them not within the compasse of true Nobilitie. And I dare oppose my selfe directlie against any Man, who (in the peeuishnesse of his owne Spirit) shall aduenture to maintaine, that descent from a great House, without other Title then the bare name onely; is sufficient to make eyther a Nobleman, or Gentleman.

Nobility of body and mind.

The compass of true Nobility.

Admit the case, that (as some hold) Vertue auayleth but little, which (neuertheless) they shall finde to bee most false: yet the Vnnoble-borne person hath this aduantage, and the obscurity of the place (whence he is deriued) giueth him this power and Prerogatiue:

Vertue of little or no account yet free for to vse.

to

to take delight (without any preiudice) in all those kindes of sportfull pleasures grounded on Vertue, which can bee in present vse. As, to vndertake strange enterprises, though appearing difficult and full of daunger; which hee may safely doe, without any to reproue him therefore, or cast a blush in his countenance: succeeding as well, as if he could say to himselfe, heere wanteth nothing now, but Nobility by Race, & Antiquity of Kinred.

The benefit of poore, yet honest birth.

I dare say beside, that a poore Man honestly borne, and of good Spirit, standes free from the rough severitie of troublesome Tutors, froward indiscreete Pedants, reckonieg himselfe in the number of them, who are truelie borne free and at liberty, and voyde of those distastes, which obscureth the splendor of famous Lignages. Hee findes not himselfe subiect to such diuersitie of fashions in Garments, which wee behold to alter and change day by day; oftentimes making both minde and body aunswerable to those fantasticke and idle-headed Habites. Nor is hee bound (for preseruing the honour of his House) to keepe a great Traine, or a surfeiting Table. Hee holds it no disgrace or shame, to walke on foote in his Countrey, without his quarrelling Rapyer, or other Weapons. If Fortune smile not, but ouertaketh him with worldly and ordinary mishaps: he rather accounteth it credit for him, to vndergoe another mans honest seruice, then fall into misery, or hazzard his future hopes, with any blemish and staine of Obloquy. All which thinges they dare not doe, that either remember in themselues, or any other of their Race, the eminent place of their Birth and Off-spring: but, ouerweening themselues destyned to the same Fortunes; doe (oftentimes) endure and fal into the greater mischiefes, because the smoake of their famous Houses, laies diuers charges on them, inferiour to their Nobility and excellence, and beeing slipt or falne in their first aduenture, they can neuer afterward (without great difficulty) rise againe.

Fantasticall garnets, that make as foolish minds.

Seruice to good men is no disgrace.

Great minds are the cause of their owne greate ruine.

Industry the steps to greatest fortunes.

The Man not Noble borne, is verie wary, before he fall into worse then his Originall Fortune, and makes his Industry his best pillers and vnder-proppes: by which commendable meanes, making Vertue his course, and pursuing the golden degrees of Wisedome, his name attaineth to be more illustrated & famous, then it can easily bee obscured by any sinister accident. Then, addicting himselfe to Letters, and the liberall Sciences, or else to follow Military Discipline; he bestowes therein such labour and diligence, that by meere right and Iustice of Merit: first hee beares away the special benefit thereof; next, the luster and splendour of it waites on him continually; and the fame (due to so high deserving) cannot bee taken from him, by any Commaunder, Lorde, or Maister, to whom (for bare Name of Gentry) it may bethought more fitly to apperraine.

Learning, the liberall sciences and Military discipline

Example of Warlike actions hath beene noted, in *Bayarde*, *Manleurier*, *Malherbe*, and other valiant French Captaines; as also in *Castruccio Castagne*, *Picine*, *Carmaygnole*, and *Ioannine* in *Italy*; all which men (though descended of meane and humble Parentage) ther renowne did sufficiently manifest, that in them remained the onelie Vertue of high attemptes. The like may be saide concerning Learning, and the Sciences, if wee remember *Henrie* the eight, King of England, who is said to Write diuers worthy Bookes in Latine: which (neuertheleſſe) were reported to be done by Sir *Thomas Moore*, who was his Lord Chancellour, a man that liued in great reputation, for singuler Wisedome and Authority; yet descended but from meane place and Parentage, and (in regard of Blood, or House) might bee tearmed Vn-noble: Learning neuer seeketh after eminent places, or mightie and Magnificent Houses, where sloth and negligence is much better friended, then all industrious dilligence or labour in actions of Vertue can attaine vnto. In approbation of this *Maxime*, we can produce; that Nobility of House maketh not the Philosopher, Poet, or Oratour; but studious paines and trauaile bestowed in either of them; these are the thinges that makes a Man both Noble, and immortall to posterity.

Example of diuers French and Italian Captaines.

Sir *Tho. More* of England.

Learning coueteth no pride or pomp

Noble parentage maketh not a Philosopher, Poet, or Oratour.

Socrates was Sonne to a Caruer or Worker in Marble: yet see what an excel-

Socrates Son to a Caruer in stone.

excellent polliſher of the minde, he became a beater downe of bad and broken conditions, more hard then euer was the Iaſper or Adamant. The auncient Tragicke Poet *Euripides*, came of very poore and abiect Parents. *Demoſthenes*, the honour of Greeke eloquence, was not onely of meane place, but beſide, of vncertain Parentage. *Virgill*, the famous Latine Poet, was begotten by a poore *Mantuan* labourer. And *Horace*, the incomparable *Lyrick*, was Sonne to a Trumpeter in the Warres. For Men Moderne, find but one onely that wrote in Philoſophy, Poeſie, Rhetoricke, or any other Science, who could renowne himſelfe (at any time) by the Anceſtors of his Houſe. Ye may very well note to the contrary, if (out of a Noble or magnificent Houſe) ye finde but one that giues himſelfe to ſtudy, he is commonly tearmed a laſciuious wanton Pamphleter, a cunning Satyriſt, a Rayler, or Brabler; and I pray ye, how is his houſe ennobled by him, when Vertue thus forſakes him, and lends him not her aſſiſtance.

Euripides poorly borne.

Demoſthenes of vncertaine Parents.

Virgill a Labourers Son.

Horace a trumpeters Sonne.

Of Moderne Men, who become wanton Writers, &c.

If we ſhall neede to paſſe any further in this diſcourſe, I dare vndertake to ſhew ye, that true Gentility (indeede) came at firſt from Men of meane condition, and many of them are yet (to this day) renowned by good Hiſtorians. Nay, more, that great Princes and Lordes haue receiued their Originall from poore Cottages, and ſimple Houſes. For example, *Tarquinius Priſcus*, was Sonne to a Marchant of a ſtraunge Countrey. *Seruius Tullius*, was begotten on a Woman Slaue. *Septimius Seuerus*, came of very baſe degree. *Agathocles*, King of *Scicilie*, tooke it for no ſhame, to garniſh his Pallace and richeſt Cup-boordes with earthen Veſſels, in memory that hee was but a Potters Sonne.

True Gentility came from men of mean quality.

Tarquinius Priſcus. Seruius Tullius.

Septimius Seuerus. Agathocles K. of *Scicilie.*

Ælius Pertinax was (at firſt) but a ſimple Seller of Wood. And *Venadius Baſſus* came of maruellous poore Parents. If it bee ſo then, that among ſuch great perſonages, the more part are found to bee deriued from poore and meane places: What reaſon haue ſo many men now-adaies, to ſearch out ſuch expreſſe inuented lyes, by counterfeit and Heteroclite Titles, to tearme themſelues Noble and Gentle; meerely to purchaſe credit by ſuppoſed Preheminence of great Linage? And then, what a turmoyle and trouble doth it procure, when a ſilly Antiquary or Chronicler (or ſome other idle writer) eyther through want of diſcretion, or otherwiſe, ſets not downe in his poore Pamphlet, all the Titles and qualities of ſuch an vp-ſtart Gallant?

Ælius Pertinax Venadius Baſſus.

Inuented Titles to make men Noble or Gende.

It would cauſe an eſpeciall content in minde to mee, if (by my paines) I could procure a ceſſation of this ouervaine and fooliſh humour, this heate of deſire to be tearmed Noble or Gentle: were it but in ſuch onely, as neuer knew what Armes meant, nor could euer expreſſe or approoue, one vertuous Act in any of their Predeceſſours. Surely, mee thinkes it is a very ſtrange courſe obſerued in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that euery baſe Groome in the Countrey, muſt (at euery Word) be tearmed *Signior*: And in the ſuperſcription to ſome ſlouenly Slaue, hee muſt haue the Title of *Don* ſuch a one, which agrees euen as handſomely, as to call a filthy Slut in the Kitchin, *Madama Lucretia*, or *Signiora Pampiluna*. Oh intollerable abſurditie? the like folly in no age (heeretofore) euer heard of. So, in Frannce, euery Peazant and Lacky muſt bee called *Sir*, or *Monſieur*: then which, no greater ſtile can be giuen to the King, or his Brother, or the greateſt Lord in Grace about him. In *Burgundy*, *Flaunders*, and *Henault*, a verie Lacky-Boy following the Campe, will make Armes for himſelfe, after his owne minde and faſhion, with Mantle, Helme, and Creaſt, after the *Saxon* guiſe, wherewith many Hoſtlers doors are famouſly dawbed. In *Britaine*, ye haue not one, but his Father was a Lord at leaſt. In *Scotland*: they all extract of the blood Royall: And in *Anion* (as in *Wales*) they are all Gentle-men. And this is moſt certaine, that there are very fewe places to be found in the World, but (in them) ſome Seedes of this miſerable ambition is diſperſed. Scarcely is there any Citty, Village, Towne, or Borough; but ſhakes hand in this folly, euen for friendſhip ſake.

The Titles of Gentry in the Kingdome of *Naples*.

In *France*.

In *Burgund. Flanders*, and *Henault*.

In *Britaine*.

In *Scotland*.

In *Wales*.

All the world is ſet vpon Gentry.

I let paſſe the goodly Citty of *Venice*, wherin euery ſimple trafficker in Sugers, Cloths, Spices, &c. muſt be ſtiled a Gentleman at the leaſt, or *Meſsieur Magnifico*.

The Citty of *Venice*.

If

Folly in persons appertaining vnto the Church.

If he be but a Sexton, and looke to the Church goods, presently hee must be intituled, Most Reuerend Sir, Most Religious, yea, and Most Blessed too, if it might bee admitted. Consider (seeing such dishonor don to true noblenes & Gentility) if it can bee endured with any patience? Would ye imagine, that these ambitious blastes haue past the Alpes, euen into *Frizeland*, *Saxony*, and high *Germany*? I can assure ye, hauing bin in those partes, about important affaires, wherein then I had some imployment, that so soone as I perceiued this horrible misery; Oh Deuill (quoth I) how largely hast thou euery wher shot forth thy pernitious venom? Couldst thou not keepe within thy Natiue bounds, but thou must climbe ouer those admirable Mountaines, and places almost vnaccessable, to enflame mens minds with this thy hellish fury? I found in that Country, howe some would ride post to the Chambers Imperiall, only to buy the title of Gentility; and afterward, make vaunt of their Nobility; some, by two; others, by three; and others, by four seuerall linages, curtalling the true names of their owne right Aunce stors, to make their claime by a contrary way, the more likely. Some boasted of their discent from the *Tuscanes*, some from the *Romans*, som from the eldest *Allemaignes*, and some were naturally bred of the race of *Achilles* Mirmidons. There was one, who for the Ensigne and Emblazure of his Nobilitie, in my conceit, had a very apte Coate of Armes giuen him, to wit; A Green-goose necke, in a Field Geules, couered with a Creste double staged, enriched with Mantle and Feathers, myraculously wasted after the *Tartarian* manner, with other deuises of farre stranger fashion. Whosoeuer had sworne to me, that among so great a number of rough and sterne people, there should be found one sparke of such peeuish ambition, I would neuer haue beleeued him. Because I was (euer before) giuen to vnderstand, that this folly dwelt onely in the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Spaine*. But for ought I can perceiue, it hath euery where taken so deepe roote, that it hath receiued no smal hope in short time to haue an vniuersall flourishing.

Frize-land, *Saxony*, and high *Germany*.

Great paines taken for Gētility, and starting vp to Nobility.

Boast made of mens descent.

A fit Coate of Armes for a Foole.

The Kingdom of *Naples* and *Spaine*.

The Father of *Euripides*, & his Sons wordes to him.

I remember I haue read, that the Father of *Euripides*, expressing some outward ioy, because on a sudden he was ennobled, receiued from his Sonne these words; *Good Father* (quoth he) *doe not reioyce so much at this matter, for the Prince hath but giuen yee a thing, which anie man else may haue for his money.* For Nobilitie nowe hath no other foundation then on Riches, and hee that hath store thereof, hath power likewise to be made a Nobleman. This was it which moued good *Socrates* to say; *Only Vertue maketh vs noble and excellent.* For it auayleth nothing, to glory or renowne our selues by this or that family, if without Vertue wee thinke or perswade our selues to be Noble.

Nobilitie grounded on riches.

The saying of *Socrates*.

To this purpose, *Cicero* who deserued that famous name, to be alway called *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his natiue Countrey *Rome*, being reprehended by *Salust* in his inuectiues, that he knew him not to be descended of Noble race, but rather came from a place vtterly vnknowne to Noblemen, he returned him this answer; *My Linage beginneth in the name of Cicero, but the race and name of* Salust, *will end in* Salust. *Plato* also maintaind, *that seruants were descended of Noble bloode, if their Parents were Louers of Vertue, & they therein did follow their steps.* And contrariwise, that all Princes and Lords were issued at first, from people of base and meane condition, and thence might derive the antiquity of their race.

The answere of *Cicero* to the reprehension giuen him by *Salust*.

The saying of *Plato*, concerning Seruants and Princes.

This was to qualify the pride of some insolent persons liuing in his time, who made no account of any thing, but of their goods and treasure; imagining, that Gentility in olde time, dropt from Heaven, like the fall of *Manna* to *Aponillus Calaber*, or *Briancon*. But the ancient Noblemen, were made by their Vertue & courage, which they woorthily manifested, both in manly fighting, and dying for the honor of their Country, committing no other action beside, that might bee blotted with the detection of villainie or reproach. Such as go that indirect way, and labor to get the name of Gentility, by actions apparantly fowle and dishonorable; them I may properly tearme to be Gentle-villaines, in regard that their long coueted Nobility, by such depraued behaviour, can giue it selfe no other Name, then the iust guerdon to such notable iniquitie.

Gentility to fall from heauen.

True Nobility indeed.

Gentle-Villaines.

The Egyptians, from whome came the Originall of all faire and honest disciplines, did hold opinion; that all persons

The opinion of the ancient Egyptians concerning Nobility.

in

in this world are Noble in quality, each one beeing composed of selfe-same matter, and framed by one onely builder or Worke-man, by whome their soules are infused into their bodies, being capeable (euen from their birth) of one selfe-same power and vertue. But they allowed afterward, that according to the disposition of each body, they which receyued the greatest portion of Vertue, had likewise greater preheminence aboue others; and so (for difference sake) were therfore called either Noble or Gentle. Vertue then is the truest Nobility; and Greatnesse of house, or antiquity of Lignage, are matters meerely of nothing. For, a poore Countrey-man, borne in *Arpinum*, hath bin as well called Emperor, and Father of his Countrey; as any *Iulius* or *Augustus Cæsar*, descended of most auncient Houses.

Vertue is the truest Nobilitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

A pleasant Allegoricall description of Charon, *called the Ferry-man of Hell.*

Seneca in his Tragedie of *Hercules Furens*, introduceth *Theseus*, who recounteth to *Amphitrio*, the strange sights he had seen in Hell. And he describeth *Charon*, according as *Virgil* doth, in the sixth Booke of *Æneides*; and as *Polygnotus* painted him in a Table, which hee made for the Temple of *Apollo*, as *Pausanias* recordeth. *Boccace* being desirous to interpret the figure of *Charon*, deliuereth his mind in this maner; By *Charon*, we are to vnderstand the signification of Time, who is saide to be Son of *Erebus*, and of *Night*. *Erebus* may be taken for the secret counsell and spirit of God, by whome, both Time and all things else were created, and Night was the Mother of *Charon*. For before Time was, there was not as yet any light at all; but it was made in darknesse, and out of darknesse it first appeared. *Charon* was afterward commaunded into hell, because they that are in Heauen, haue no neede of Time, as we mortals haue, that inhabit this lower part of the world; frō whence, if we cast vp our eyes to them, we may (by good right) account out selues to bee in Hell. *Charon* carrieth and re-carieth mortals, from one side of the Riuer vnto the other; wherby we may gather, that when we are borne, Time in like manner, leads and guides vs on toward death, causing vs to passe the Riuer *Acheron*, which is as much to say, as without ioy or comfort, in which kind of course, slideth away our fraile liues, full of many and infinite miseries.

Charon is old, and yet notwithstanding strong, hardy, and couragious; signifying thereby, that Time looseth no strength by multiplicity of yeares. His Garments are blacke and sullied, as shewing, that while we are slaues and subiects to Time, wee make no care or account of any thing else but the worlde, and occasions belonging to the world, which are vile, fowl, & much deformed, in comparison of them appertaining to heauen, and whereon we ought to set the very height of al our loue and desire. But the fraile Garment of our mortall body, which we continually cary about vs, doth in such sort couer the light of reason, that as led blind-fold, we walke through the hell of this world, guided only by common sense, and a million of inordinate appetites. Wherefore, there needs no great meruaile, if we bee dayly enuironed with multitudes of euils which present themselues as readily, as souls discend into the hell of this our worlde, and take vp their lodging in our mortall bodies. In which manner also, may the speeches of *Virgil* bee interpreted, describing the wicked carried into Hell, in the sixt Booke of his *Æneidos*.

Theseus his return from hel.

How *Boccace* describeth the figure of *Charon*.

No neede of Time in Heauen.

What is ment by the Riuer *Acheron*.

Time looseth no strength by yeares.

The frail garment of our bodies.

The end of the Second Booke.

The Third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of Old Rome, in her Primitiue Nature and condition: Of her first Religion, Lawes, Magistrates, Ciuill Pollicies, &c.

Pan the first God honored in *Rome*.

AMongest all the Goddes, which the ancient Religion of *Rome* first exalted, it was *Pan Lyceus*, called by many, *Faunus* and *Syluanus*; to whome, with the *Lupercalles*, they did the honour of Sacrifice, as is affirmed by many auncient writers. They say, that such kinde of sacrifices were first brought to *Rome* by King *Euander* that fled from *Arcadia*, who came to that place, where afterward was built the Fort of *Rome*. Shepheards, who held this God as their Head and Commaunder, vsed to performe their Sacrifices starke naked to him, with their faces couered, and a certaine Girdle in their hands; but this kind of naked sacrificing is not punctualy known, in regard that our ancients haue written diuersly thereof. Some say, that he being their God, and naked; declared thereby, that he was more apt and ready with al diligence in their assistance, and therefore required, to haue his Ministers naked in like manner. Some others affirmed, that the *Arcadians*, the very ancienteſt Inhabitants of *Greece*, who at the beginning, remained like wilde Beasts, in Woodes and Thickets of trees: After, they became reduced to a more Ciuill kind of life, would haue their God to bee honoured in the former manner, onelie in respect of their owne greater memory.

Many others haue VVritten, that *Iole* the Mistris of *Hercules*, was seene by this *Faunus*, and lasciuiously affected by him. The Old God, hauing from an hie rocke espied this beautifull aspect, became pleased beyond all patient sufferance, concluding with himselfe, to follow her whither soeuer she went. Shee, on the other side, hauing no notice of him or his intent, went along with her husband thorough the woods, seeking a place where to sleep in safety. In meane while, the night being at hand, she, according as she had formerly vsed to doe, tooke the hairy Lyons skin from *Hercules*, and spreading it about hir shoulders, tooke also his Club; then walking some distance from her husband, she laid her selfe downe to rest; for they were to Sacrifice to *Bacchus*, and therfore they ought to sleepe assunder. *Syluanus*, burning in wanton heate beyond al measure, and perswading himselfe, that nowe vvas the apteſt time to effect his amorous purpose, silently made stealth vnto the place where she lay; and putting forth his hand softly, felt the Lyons skin. Feeing thereat somewhat amazed, and thinking hee had mistaken her lodging, as whistly he withdrew thence, and went to the place where *Hercules* slept. His hand being there likewise his Taster, & finding more smoothnesse then he felt before; softly hee lifted vp the cloathes, and putting his hand still on,

The Historie of *Faunus*, and faire *Iole*.

Iole putteth on her the Lyons skin.

Who brought the first Sacrifices to *Rome*.

The reason of their Secrifising naked, alledged diuers wayes.

The Lyons skin deceiueth *Faunus*.

on, scarsely could he well feele the roughnesse of *Hercules* his body, but hee began to wake, and extended his hands to feele who troubled him. *Syluanus* offered to escape, but feare and darke night barring sight of his passage, hee began to make a noise, whereat likewise the Lady awaked; and lighting her Lampes, *Hercules* could plainely perceiue who it was that hadde made this ydle attempt. If *Faunus* (seeing his folly thus discouered) were ashamed or no, the effect it selfe can best witnesse. Confounded both with grief & disgrace, he fled thence into the remoter Woods, and ordained, that in the Sacrifices offered to him, no Garments shold be worne by the Sacrificers, because by them hee had bin so deceiued.

Faunus would fly, but cannot

The ordination of *Faunus*, in regard of his owne disgrace.

Notwithstanding, some doe assigne the especiall cause heereof to *Romulus*, & say, that hee celsbrating the like Sacrifice all naked, in regard of the Suns extreame heate, heard by certaine of his Newes-Bringers, that diuers theeues (in the time while he was thus busied) had stoln away a heard of his Cattle. Whereupon, euen naked as he then was, he swiftly pursued, and taking the Theeues, in perpetual memory of this worthy deed, he would haue all his sacrificing Priests, to exercise their office naked. But let the custome arise of what cause soeuer, it is most manifest, that it so continued to the time of *C. Iulius*. For it is recorded, that *Cæsar* beeing *Dictator*, at the spectacle of the like sacrifice, M. *Anthony* (who was one of the Sacrificers, and afterwarde of the *Triumviri*) comming running, would haue crowned *Cæsars* head with a wreath of Lawrel, wherein there was a Royall Crowne; but *Cæsar* not accepting thereof, because all the people frowned thereat, he went and crowned his Statue therewith. Afterward concerning the name of the *Lupercalls*, and wherfore Sacrifices were in that kind called; there are many reasons founde. Some say, they were called *Lupercalia*, because by inuocating on the name of *Pan*; Woolues were frighted away from the folds of Cattle. Some tearmed the Temple wherein that God was honoured, *Lupercale*; whereon saith *Virgil*.

How the reason of Naked Sacrificing, is attributed to *Romulus*.

The continuance of this naked sacrificing, to *Cæsars* time.

Of the *Lupercal* sacrifices, and why so called.

And the Lupercal vnder the frozen Cliffe.

They shewe also, and are perswaded. that because the Wolfe was there found, which gaue suck to *Romulus* and *Rhemus*; thereupon it was called *Lupercale*. There wants not some also, who say, that it was so sir-named, after a Mountaine in *Arcadia*, called *Liceus*, where that kind of Religion is yet in account; for the *Arcadians* do call that Beast *Licon*, which we in Latine terme *Lupus*, a Woolfe. The especial deuotion vsed to this God, and the priests dedicated to him, was, as is found written, because women that could haue no conception or easy deliuery in childbirth, or prosper in constitution of their bodies, vsed to go to the *Luperci*, who were the Priests of *Pan*; and as they were more or lesse, beaten with a little rod, dipt in the blood of a young Goate, by the Priestes, euen so they conceiued, and were deliuered also of their Children. The solemnity done to this God, was celebrated the 18. day of Ianuary, as *Ouid* declareth in his Bookes to *Faustus*.

The Nursing of *Romulus* & *Remus*.

The deuotions to this God, and his Priestes, and wherefore.

1. In the same time that *Euander* raigned, it is saide, that *Hercules* hauing slaine *Gerion*, brought along with him a heard of Oxen and Kine, of meruailous goodlinesse; and hauing found neere the Riuer of *Tiber*, a place that liked him well for their feeding, made his stay there, and being weary with trauailing, did eate and drinke a little to sustaine nature; and afterward laide him downe to rest. *Cacus*, a Neat-heard of those parts, one that liued by others losses, seeing the seemly appearance of the Cattle, was very desirous to steale them: yet fearing least the owner should take notice of his theft (albeit now was the time of night) he tooke the verie fairest of them, and drawing them backeward by the tailes, conueyed them in that manner into his Caue. At breake of day, *Hercules* awaked, and numbering his cattle as he was wont to do, not only discerned the Theft, but also the backward footing of the Beasts; whereby he coniectured no otherwise, but that they had wandered, and came forth of the caue again. Yet meruailing how the other should be gone, he concluded to inquire no further, but to depart with the rest; and driuing them thence with his wand, it happened, that the Beasts themselues missing the others gon, as naturaly desiring their company, began to Low or bellow, which the enclosed Cattle in the Caue hearing, answerd them againe in the same language. *Hercules* immediately knew the noyse of his Oxen and Kine, and ran presently to the Caue, wher *Cacus* comming to withstand

Of *Potitius* & *Pinarius*, priests of *Hercules*.

The Historie of *Hercules* and *Cacus* the Theefe.

Hercules deceiued by *Cacus*.

Cacus his theft discouered by the Beastes themselues.

stand his entrance, by resisting him manfully hand to hand, was there slain vnder the weight of his Club.

The Parents and Kindred of the partie slaine, with all the other Heardsmen together, immagining that this iniurie was not to bee endured, called *Hercules*, as a stranger, in iudgement before King *Euander*, who not long before, was fled thither from *Peloponesus*, and gouerned iu these parts, rather by authority, then any right of Seigneury, yet was hee a man very venerable, for inuention of Letters among rude people; and much more venerable, by Diuinity of his Mother *Carmenta*, who before the comming of *Sibilla* into *Italy*, was honoured of the people as a Propheteſſe. *Euander* hauing heard the case, and well noted the habit and stature of *Hercules*, which appeared to bee beyond ordinary manner, he demanded his Birth, Parentage, and Condition; but no sooner heard he his Name, Father, & Countrey, but presently he entered into these speeches; *O Hercules, thou Sonne of Ioue, highly art thou welcome, my Mother presaged thy future being, telling mee, that thou shouldest encrease the number of Gods in Heauen; and that in this place an Altare should be dedicated to thee, which altar shold be honored by the richest people in the world, obseruing thy custome.*

Hercules vpon these wordes, gaue his hand to *Euander*, in sign of peace, answering him that he vnderstood the Augury, and woulde himselfe see the Diuine will executed; whereupon, he built and dedicated an Altar, and selecting foorth the best and faireſt of his Oxen, they were giuen to be celebrated in Sacrifice, to *Potitius* and *Pinarius*, men of a family in those times, most honorable and famous. It fortuned, that the *Potitij* (as *Liuie* declareth) were much more ready then the other, to the solemnity: whereupon, the inwards or intrailes of the Beasts, were assigned to them. And the *Pinarij* cōming so tardy, and finding them burnt, the rest of the Sacrifice was appointed to them; and thence-forward it was ordained; that while the generation of the *Pinarij* continued, the Beasts inwards should neuer be giuen to them on the solemn day. The *Potitij*, enstructed by *Euander*, were presidents for many years at the like sacrifices; and till this charge was imposed on publicke seruantes, there wanted not of this solemne family of the *Potitij*. Which was occasioned by *Appius Claudius*, an enemy to this family; and therfore it was immagined, that in iust reuenge and displeasure of the Gods he was smitten blind.

2. I finde vnder good Authoritie, that the Brethren *Arnales*, were especiall Counsellors to the *Romans*, for preseruation of their Corne fields, and that they might produce plenty of graine. I find also, that the first inuenter of this Religion, was *Romulus* the Father and first builder of *Rome*. For *Accalaurentia*, the Nurse to *Romulus*, being a strumpet, gaining greatly by that base profession, and becoming rich beyond measure; of two Sons which she had, one of them dying, by way of adoption she made *Romulus* her owne son, instead of the dead childe; and when she her self died, she made the people of *Rome* heires to all her wealth. The people mernailing at so great a liberality, and desirous to make a liuing memorie of their Kings Parentage, they gaue order, that the womans name should be registred in their yearely Kalender; and the children descending of her Kindred, to bee called Brethren *Arnales*, of *Serendo*, which is a Latine word, signifying to sowe; and of *Arui*, that is, Fields; so forming their appellation, and at what time the authoritie of this Brethrens Priest-hood flourished. It is also recorded, that there were but twelue of them in number; and whē they receiued their order of Priest-hood, their heads were crowned with wreaths of ears of Corne, and a Bend or Stole of the like put about their neckes.

3. About the very same time, the knowledge or Religion of Angurie or Soothsaying, was brought to Rome out of *Tuscany*, where the people were verie excellent in that Science. It is saide, that a certaine man, whose Name by antiquitie of time, is not remembred, as *Naso* writeth, being banished thence, conducted as I think by hope and perswasion of safe Sanctuary, came vnto Rome. I am of the mind, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, in contending to impose a name on the Citty, vsed the same kind of Angurie; for M. *Tullius Cicero* writeth in those Bookes, which hee entitled of Diuination, that *Romulus* was very expert, and especially skilled in the science of Diuination. *Numa*, who afterward succeeded *Romulus* in the kingdom, ordained, that this science should be obserued

Hercules charged with the death of *Cacus*

Carmenta, Mother to King *Euander*, a Propheteſſe.

Euander his words to *Hercules*.

Hercules his answere to *Euander*.

The *Potitij*, and *Pinary*.

The *Potitij* instructed by K. *Euander*.

Of the Brethren called *Arnales*, who were Prieſtes of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*.

Accalaurentia, the Nurſſe to *Romulus*.

The first Naming of the *Arnales*.

Of the *Angures*, diuiners or Sooth-sayers in *Rome*, and of their Originall.

M. Tul. Cicero. in lib. de Diuin.

A perpetuall Priest-hoode of *Angures*;

ſerued in a perpetuall Prieſthood. I think, that in writing the cuſtome which vvas kept in Diuination or augnry, one example may be ſufficient, becauſe therby may eaſily be comprehended euery other maner; therefore, out of all obſeruations of ancient writers that euer I could ſee, this was the cuſtome.

The cuſtome obſerued by Diuiners and Sooth-ſayers in their Diuination.

The Diuiner or Sooth-ſayer, who was to fore-tell what ſhould enſue, aſcended vp on ſome Fort or Caſtle, or ſome other place of beſt diſcouery, where hee ſate downe vpon a ſtone, turning his face into the South, leaning on the left ſide, and holding a crooked Wand in his Hande, commonly called the *Augures Staffe*. Hauing thence well noted the Citty, and the fields round about, praying to the Gods they would deſign the Regions from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and collocate the right hand partes from the South, to thoſe on the left hand in the North; then ſilently, determining the ſigne, which his eie from farre ſhould bring to ſight, holding the wand in his left hande, hee would ſet the right hand on his head, of whom he was to augurize, ſaying; *O Father Ioue, if it be lawful that this Numa Pompilius, vvhoſe head I lay my hand on, ſhould be K. of Rome; giue a cleare ſigne thereof manifeſtly, euen there where I haue confined the place.* Then naming what ſigne *Ioue* ſhold ſend, it was forthwith ſent, and *Numa* vnderſtood to be King; whereon he deſcended vnto the Temple, which ſhould be called after the deſigned Region from Heauen, by the litle wand. This forme of Angury, as elſewhere I haue ſaid, may ſerue for all other of the like Nature.

The words of Augury.

Many men of great Authority, ioined hand in this ſcience, crediting the famous skill of *Accius Nauius* the Sooth-ſayer. *Tarquinius Priſcus*, beeing deſirous (beyond the forme of auncient order) to alter many things, and make addition of as many, without Diuination. *Accius Nauius*, a Noble Augure of thoſe times, ſaid; that thoſe thinges appointed by *Priſcus*, were not good, becauſe they had not bin augurized before. The King grew offended thereat, and ſcorning both him and his Art, ſaid; Now Sooth-ſayer, vſe thine Augury, and ſee if thou canſt (with al thy skil) accompliſh a thing which I haue inſtantly conceited. *Accius* hauing conferred with the experience of other Augures, made anſwere, that the Kinges conceit was poſſible to be performed: whereupon *Priſcus* preſently replied; I haue already conſidered with my ſelfe, and ſay, that with this Raſor thou canſt not cutte this whetſtone through the middeſt. Cal now thy wits together, and vſe the inſpiration of all thy Birds, to try if poſsibly it may be done. It is affirmed, that *Nauius* inſtantly (without any delay) did cut the whetſtone through the midſt with the raſor. In memory whereof, a Statue was afterward erected, containing *Accius Nauius* in liuely forme, with his head couered, a Razor in the one hand, and a whetſtone in the other, and in a faire table of Marble, was the whole argument engrauen to perpetuity.

Accius Nauius, an *Augure* of great fame, who in the preſence of *Tarquin*, did cut a Whetſtone in tunder with a Razor.

A Statue erected to *Accius Nauius*.

The authority and credit of theſe Diuiners ſo encreaſed, and the Prieſt-hood of the Augures (as *Liuie* declareth, and *Cicero* in his Books of Diuination) as not any thing was enterprized for future ſucceſſe, either within doores or abroad, but firſt it paſſed the triall of Angury: and to this ſcience and order of Prieſthood, the moſt Noble men of the City, and the very cheefeſt Cittizens were wholly enclined. *Tiberius Gracchus*, the Father of *Tiberius*, & of *C.* in an aſſembly of the people, obtained to haue Conſulles placed according to his owne minde. The *Tuſcan* Augures ſaide, that hauing conſulted with their Diuination, they founde this creation of Conſuls not to bee good: for which, they were reprooued as fools and ignorant men. But *Gracchus* beeing gone to his owne Prouince, could then write backe to the Senate., that the *Tuſcans* ſaid true, and were no fooles, in ſaying; that the preſent Conſulles were by him moſt badly created, becauſe they were elected in a Tabernacle without the walles of the Citty, contrary to cuſtome and order by all their elders obſerued; and therefore, they ſhoulde renounce them for Conſulles.

Plin. lib. 9. Cicero in lib. de Diuinat.

Tiberius Gracchus obtaining the Conſull-ſhip for whom he pleaſed.

Now, as this order encreaſed both in authority and reuerence, ſo did they likewiſe in number, inſomuch, that a Colledge was erected for Augures & Sooth-ſayers. At firſt, they were only created of three Tribes, to wit; the *Rhamenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*, and obtained together, that they might chaunge their number, and changing into vnequal number. According to this obſeruation, they began to create foure orders, contrarie to the

A Colledge erected for Diuinators.

Rhamenſes. Tatienſes. Luceres.

The common people affected to be *Augures.*

the Common people grewe desirous of this honour, both in the Senate, and in all other places. Therefore, by meanes of the Tribunes, they compassed, that as they were partakers in all other matters, so in like manner they might exercise the Augures Priesthood. After many Seditions and garboyles, they obtained, that with foure Noblemen, fiue *Plebeians* might bee ioyned. And this was doone, when *M. Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius* were Consuls.

Flamini Dialis, an Order of Priests inuented by *Numa Pompilius*, king of *Rome.*

Numa Pompilius King of *Rome*, was the first that instituted the *Flamini Dialis*, because in former times, the King himselfe did exercise the Office both of King and Priest, without any differente at all, as manifestly is to be seene in *Virgill*, both of *Priamus*, and of *Æneas*. *Anius* the King (as the same Poet doth likewise witnesse) was King of men, and Priest of *Phœbus*. The like hath bin obserued of their Successors; as of *C. Cæsar*, of *D. Augustus*, & of many other Princes, who had (as wee may plainly see) the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, the chiefe Priest. Wherefore, *Numa* considering, that there might bee (in time to come) more Kinges like vnto *Romulus*, who (after his manner) wold leaue all care of Religion, and rather attend to matters of Armes; he ordained 4. Priests, by him called *Flamines*, who continually were to waite on the Diuine seruice; and them he dedicated to diuers of the Gods. One *Flamine* to *Ioue*, and hee was called *Dialis*: Two to Mars, and one to * *Quirinus*. They were called *Flamini Diali*, *Flamines* belonging to *Iupiter* (as *Varro* saith) because their heades were couered with Vailes, and bound rounde about with a Fillet of Wooll, whereby they hadde the name of *Flamine*; and *Dialis* was interpreted of *Dion*, which is, helping the Goddes.

Numa ordained foure *Flamines* at the first.

*The surname of *Romulus.*

All the other *Flamines* had Titles of those Gods, to whose seruice they were appointed. It was ordained, that those Priests or *Flamini Dialis*, should wear very honourable Garments, and sit in those Iuory seats, which (in those times) were onely graunted vnto the chiefest Magistrates.

The habit and honour of the *Flamini Dialis*, with diuers other of their dignities and priuiledges.

These men onely, were allowed to weare white Chaplets or Bonnets, because they were higher in dignity then the other; or else in regard of their sacrificing to *Ioue*, it seemed more proper to haue them vested in White. In all other occasions whatsoeuer, by their pontificall priuiledge and iurisdiction, many other especiall prerogatiues were graunted to them, which *Aulus Gellius*, in his Commentaries of the Attick nights, hath left at large described. In honour of their Religion, they rode on horseback. It was not lawfull for them to sweare, nor to carry the Fire for their Sacrifice, but in hallowed places. If any man entered into his Church girt, hee ought to be presently vngirt, and drawne forth againe by the haire of the head. They vsed not to wear any knot backward, or behinde them. If the Malefactor which was brought to be whipt, fel vpon his knees at his feet whom he had offended, it was held as a finne if he suffered him to be whipt. He that was no Free-man, ought not pol or to cut the haire of the *Dialis*. it was not lawfull for them to speake of, or touch a Goate, raw flesh, Ivy, or Beans. They might gather no clusters of Grapes, but on the top of the Vine. The feet of the bed wherin any one of them slept, ought to be besmeared with a certaine blew kind of Morter, and no other then himselfe might (lawfully) sleepe in that bed. The pairinges of the Nailes, and cuttinges of the haire belonging to the *Dialis*, were buried in the earth vnder Flintes or pebbles; and euery day was (to them) a Festiuall. It was against their Religious Order, for any of them to be bare-headed in the open aire, and none of the *Flamines* or priests ought to go vncouered. They might meddle with no Flower or Dow, wherewith any Leauen was mingled: Neither ought any one of them, either put off or on, any shirt or Linnen Garment, but in some priuat and couert place; because he must not be naked vnder Heauen, or in the sight of *Ioue*. At dinner time no man might sit, but only the sacrificing king. The *Flamine* marriage might be (by no meanes) separated, vntill death. They neuer entred into anie place where any dead bodies were. *Marcus Varro*, in those Bookes which he entituled the Originall of the Latine tongue, saith; That in ancient time, they had as many *Flamines*, as they honoured Gods; as the *Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, *Vulcanalis*, *Furnialis*, *Falagris*, and many others of different manner in authoritie, and as we tearme Byshops, Arch-byshops, Cardinals, Patriarkes, and Metropolitanes:

Aul. Gel. in Comment. Att. Noct.

Their orders and Ceremonies in their Religious Offices, and also in their common behauiour.

Mar. Varr. in lib. de Origi. ling. Lat.

so had they among them *Flamines*, *Protoflamines*, and *Archflamines*, who held sundry kinds of degrees in Offices.

The Vestall Virgines inuented by *Numa Pompilius*.

5 The beginning of *Vestall* honour (euen as of all other things) was found out by *Numa Pompilius*, although the Originall thereof be so auncient, that from the *Troyans* (*Æneas* beeing their chiefe) it was transferred to the *Albanes*, as *Virgill* hath very well recorded. To the Goddesse *Vesta* (by some learned *Terra*, the Earth, and Mother of the Goddesse) they vied (in perpetuall memory) to consecrate an eternall Fire, which they committed to the care and heedfull obseruation of many elect Virgines, Daughters, to the chiefest Senators: thorough whose neglect or careleſnesse, if the sacred Fire happened to goe out, or to be quenched; they were (with certaine Roddes) beaten by the chiefe-Priest; according as *Valerius* hath left written, of *C. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest, who did beate them, that vsed not diligence in preseruing the fire. It was ordained, that she who was condemned of vnchastnesse, and had had the carnall knowledge of a Man, should be buried aliue.

An eternall fire consecrated to *Vesta*, and committed to the charge of many Virgines, Senatours daughters.

A seuere Law against vnchastnesse.

Labeo Antistius writeth, that it was not lawfull to accept into the Societie of the *Vestall* Virgins, any vnder the yeares of sixe, or aboue the age of ten; beside, that she must be the Child both of one Father and Mother: without any imperfection in speech, sight, hearing, or any other impediment of body. None might be admitted to be a *Vestall*, except her Parents (one, or both of them) had beene of ability to keep Seruants, and stood clear from hauing vsed any bad or infamous quality. It is further said, that such a one might be excused from the vow of Vestality, as had a Sister elected into the same Order; or tha ther Father were a *Flamine*, *Augure*; or of the ten men that made the Sacrifices; or of the* *Epulones* sect, or of other like Offices. The Spouse to the chiefe Priest, and the Daughter of the sacrificing King, had the same vacancie from such Sacrifices: And, as *Capito* hath writtē, no Election could be made of any mans Daughter, that had not his dwelling in *Italie*; and yet his Daughter might be excused, if he had three Sons beside.

Labeo Antistius so called of his great lips.

Who were excused from the Vestall Vow.

* That furnished feasts for *Iupiter*, and the other Gods.

Capito translated the *Epitome* of *Liuie* and *Eutropius*, into Greeke.

Next vnto the precedent decrees, many times it hath beene ordained by the Prætors Edict, that the *Flamines Dialis*, nor the Vestall Virgines should be compelled to sweare: But the *Prætors* words might serue in this manner. *I commaund within my iurisdiction, by the publique Proclaimer, that neither Vestall Virgines, nor the Flamines Dialis, shall bee enforced to take an oath.* In election of the Vestall Virgines, these were especiall obseruations. It was ordained by the *Papian* law, that at pleasure of the chiefe Priest, twenty Virgins should be elected by the people, out of which number they were chosen by lots. The same law saith, that by Antiquity, many other thinges grew into forgetfulnesse. In election of Virgines, it was sufficient enough, that any man being borne of honest place, might go to the supreame Priest, and offer his Daughter to the Priest-hood, she being able to vndertake such an authority: the obseruation of Religion reserued, because the Senate onely had power of the Law *Papia*. And then the custome was, that those Virgines were taken by the chiefe Priest, as if they had been surprised by the enimy, and the wordes vsed by him in the action, were these. *If by the chiefest Law it hath beene allowed, that the Vestal Nunne or She-Priest, should offer these Sacrifices, which I am commaunded by the people of* Rome, *and by the Fathers: then (to that end) doe I take thee, ô Amata.* They vsed to tearme euery Virgine *Amata*, as witnessing thereby, that the first Nunne taken to that Office by *Numa Pompilius*, was called by the name of *Amata*. Shee being thus taken, and led to the Castle or Fort of *Vesta*; presently, without enfranchising, or alteration of degree, she is freed out of her Fathers power, and obtaineth authority, to make her Will & Testament. I finde in the Commentaries of *Lateranus*, which he wrote vpon the twelue Tables of the Lawes, it is thus written. *The Vestall Virgine is heire to no man or Woman, that dyed without Testament, neither can any one be heire to her, dying intestate: but her goods or possessions are to be publikely bestowed.*

Vestal virgins not enforced to sweare.

Order in electing the Vestall Virgines.

The wordes vsed to the Vestall Nun, and reason of the name then giuen.

Lateranus a Nobleman of *Rome*, of whō *Lateranensis* tooke name.

6. Among all other Sacraments or Misteries ordained by *Numa*, and of posterity helde in reuerence, it was that obserued by the *Romans*, to wit; the vow made

Of the *Salij*, or Priests of *Mars*, that danced in Armor.

made to *Marti Gradiuus*. There were xii. men elected into this Order, who were called *Salij*, of Leaping or dancing, which they vsed in their sacrifices. To these men *Tullus Hostilius* added twelue more, when the *Romans*, conducting their men of war against the *Fidenates*; the Albans (vnder colour of treachery) rebeld against them, and would not fight, *Metius Suffetius* being their Captaine. For these men was appointed a very honourable kind of Vesture, with a Breast-plate of Steele. And they might weare Celestiall armor, which they called a Target or Shield, wherewith they leaped and danced through the Cittie, singing Verses along as they went; & it was appointed, that at the end of euerie Verse, they should name *Mamurius*. It is said, that (in those times) this *Mamurius*, was a very notable Smith; and a Target being faln from heauen, while *Numa Pompilius* and the Senate were sacrificing, it was committed vnto the saide *Mamurius*, that (by his Art) he should make many other, resembling that which fel from heauen. Which he hauing performed in very excellent maner, *Numa* commanded him to request whatsoeuer himselfe woulde make choise of, and it should be granted him. Whereupon, the ingenious workeman, not mooued with greedy desire of mony, but glory; requested that his name might bee mentioned by the *Salij*, at the ending of all their Verses and Daunces; which (as *Liuie* affirmeth) was orderly obserued in all their assemblies, and in their Sacrifices for long time after. The number in this Priesthoode increased in such manner, that a Colledge was builte for them; and afterward, a chiefe Magistrate was appointed ouer them in the Colledge.

An addition of 12. more to this Order.

Mamurius, a famous Smith and engrauer in the time of *Numa Pompilius*.

The request made by *Mamurius* to *Numa*.

It is very manifest (according to *Liuy*) that Byshops (like as all the other Priesthoods) had their Originall by *Numa Pompilius*, and (for long time together) were created by no other persons, then the Senators. They were at the first but foure in number, but afterward, when the Common people (by meanes of the Tribunes) obtained part in all the greatest honours; they wold likewise participat in the priesthood, and with euery other most Sacred power. It was then concluded, that foure other Byshops should bee created of the vulgar people, in the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius*. To all

Of the Colledge of Byshops, and of the chiefe Bishop.

A chiefe Byshop appointed by *Numa*,

these there was appointed one Heade or Chiefe by *Numa*, and he was then called *Pontifex Maximus*, the Chiefe Byshop. He in his owne person, both noted and wrote downe euery thing, that appertayned to Diuine worship or reuerence; as best knowing what sacrifice, what day, & also what time best fitted for the ceremonies. Hee also had the care from whence such Monies should be collected, as were expedient for the charge of diuine occasions: as (in like manner) all other sacred things, either publicke or priuate, were subiect to the Holy priestes allowaunce. Whensoeuer any dissention happened about sacred Misteries or Religion; the people did helpe (both with their care and counsell) in his assistance.

and what his Office was to do.

The people assisted the chiefe Byshop

Numa Pompilius, Author and Founder of this priesthood, conceiued this to be the best course, to auoide perturbation in all things, contempt of religious persons, and Diuine seruices; in which regard, he inioyned very especiall care to be had by such men. It is further said, that the chiefe Priest had a table, wherein to know the Ecclipses of the Sunne and Moone; as also a reason for all the festiuall dayes in the yeare, as monthly they happened. *Varro* Writeth, that *Q. Mutius Scæuola*, was wont to say, that of the words *Potare* and *Fare*, the title of *Pontifex* was compounded. But they would not so admit it, because they thought that *Pontifex* rather was deriued of *Ponte* and *Facio*, because (by them) was first made the bridge called *Ponte Sublitio*, and many times after very well repaired.

M. Varro, concerning the word Byshop in the Originall.

8. I do not find, that the Priests called *Fecialis*, were among the *Romains*, before *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. Neuertheless, as I do not maintaine, that *Tullus* was the first inuenter of them; so do I not also deny; but that *Numa* (the most Religious King of them all) might be the Originall of them. But be it howsoeuer, the first mention made of their name (according to *Liuie*) was, when M. *Valerius* was *Fecialis*, *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. It was the Office of the *Fecialis*, to stand as president, when publicke faith was made by the people. Also, it was adiudged to bee an vniust warre, except it were first denounced and made knowne by the *Fecialis*. When end or conclusion likewise was made of the warre, he constituted peace vnder solemne faith, which was teamed

Of the Priests called *Fecialis*, who were as Heraldes or Officers of Armes for war or peace.

The Office & quality of the *Fecialis*.

Fœdera, by the teſtimony of *Varro*: but by *Ennius* it is called *Fidera*, as induced by reaſon of making Faith, and therefore hee conceiueth, that *Fecialis* was formed of *fides*, and *facere*. The manner of offending or breaking (by the *Fecialis*) a league of peace, was ſuch, as (in *Liuies* opinion) none can be found more ancient. *The* Fecialis (ſaith he) *demaunded thus of King Tullus. O King, doſt thou commaund, that I ſhall confirme or breake peace with the Paterpatratus, or king of Heraulds belonging to the Albane people?* The King commaunding it to bee done; the Fecialis ſaith: *Allow mee then (ô King) the herbage that I muſt carry with me.* The King commaunded him to take the very beſt: whereupon he taketh the choiſeſt Hearbs out of the Herbage Caſtle, and againe thus proceedeth. *Doſt thou (ô King) make me Meſſenger for thee, thy Kingdome, the people, and the* Romaine *Senate?* The King replieth, that he doth. Then the peace being made, after many vttered wordes, concerning the Lawes on both ſides, he beginneth againe with a loud voyce, ſaying; *Heare me, ô Ioue*; *Heare me, ô Paterpatratus of the* Albane *people*; *Heare me, ô you people, called* Albanes; *Heare mee from the beginning to the end: if I haue recited thoſe thinges contained in the Tables, and vnder ſeale, without fraude, or any deceit, and according as they ought rightly to be vnderſtood. The people of* Rome *will not bee the firſt breakers of ſo good Lawes; but if through lacke of good Councell in publike, by fraude or deceit they ſinne in ſuch ſort: Then doe thou (ô Ioue) that very day ſmite the* Romaine *people, as I doe this Swine; yea, ſo much the more violently ſtrike them, as thou art much more potent and powerfull.* The words are no ſooner ſpoken, but preſently hee throwes a ſtone at a Swine, appointed there for the purpoſe, & then ſtreweth the Hearbs vpon the ground. The ſelfeſame forme and ſpeeches is obſerued on the contrary ſide by their Prieſt, and then by his Dictator: and thus is peace fully agreed on.

But when warre is denounced by the *Fecialis*, then this is the manner. The *Fecialis* carrieth a Speare or Lance, headed with Iron, and halfe burnt with fire, and ſtreweth Hearbes alſo all the way, euen to the Confines of them, againſt whom he is to menace warre. There, in preſenee of three men of good yeares, he openly declareth; That ſo farre hee came ſtrewing ſignes of peace, till hee found, that the people of *Priſcus Latinus*, and the Men of *Priſcus Latinus*, had dealt againſt the people and Senate of *Rome*, and had greatly offended them: wherefore, the people of Rome purpoſed to make Warre on *Priſcus Latinus*. *In which iuſt cauſe* (ſaith he) *I, and the people of* Rome, *doe denounce war againſt Priſcus Latinus, and againſt the Latine people.* When he hath ſo ſaid, he throws the Lance (ſo far as he can) vpon their ground, to the end it may be ſeene, that the warre is iuſtly vndertaken.

9 There is no difference (according to *Liuie*) betweene the *Paterpatratus* and the *Fecialis*; yet notwithſtanding, diuers haue comprehended, that there was and is ſome diſſimilitude: wherefore, I am the more willing to diſcourſe ſeparately, both of the one and other; and how the State then ſtood in eyther condition, it ſhall not ſeeme much from our purpoſe, if I deliuer what I haue obſerued. The vſe of the *Paterpatratus* declareth, that he was at the ſame time as the *Fecialis* was: becauſe when the *Fecialis* went to breake peace, he needeth both the help and authority of the *Paterpatratus*. They vſed equall aſſiſtance to *Patrare*, that is; to commaund the Oath, in place where peace was to be concluded on. *Marcus Valerius* being the firſt *Fecialis*, *Spurius Fuſius* was created the firſt *Paterpatratus*, in the firſt warre that *Tullius Hoſtilius* made againſt the *Priſci Latini*, hauing his bare head circkled with a wreath, made of the Hearbe called *Veruein*. The other Office, that is, to demaund any thing whatſoeuer; was giuen to *Ancus Martius*, according to the cuſtome of the * *Æquicoli*, a very auncient people, and the auncient manner of their behauiour, was thus. The *Paterpatratus*, and an Ambaſſador with him, went to the Confines of them, of whom the demaund was to bee made, his head beeing couered with a Silken Vaile, and there he vſed theſe wordes. *Heare me, ô Ioue; Heare me, ô you confines, of what people ſoeuer they be; And heare, ô you Deities, honeſty and plaine truth. I am the publique Meſſenger of the people of* Rome, *and I come pioufly and iuſtly with this Ambaſſador; therefore giue faith to his words*

The wordes of *Liuie*, concerning the *Fecialis* of peace or warre.

Ceremonies betweene the King and the *Fecialis*.

The words of the *Fecialis* in preſence of the King and State.

The denounciation of war, by the *Fecialis*.

The Prieſthood of the *Paterpatratus*, or K of Armes

The authority of the *Paterpatratus* and the *Fecialis*, and their equall aſſiſtance.

* A people very anciẽt, neer to the *Sabines*.

The words of the *Paterpatratus*.

words and mine. Then doe they manifeſt the ſumme of their demaund, and call *Ioue* as Witneſſe thereof, proceeding thus. *If I demaund for the people of Rome, or for my ſelfe, any thing of theſe Men that they poſſeſſe: deale with me ſo, that I may neuer participate in the ioyes of my Country.* Hauing thus ſpoken, they paſſe on vp-on the Confines, deliuering the ſame ſpeeches to the firſt Man they meete withall. So entring the Citty Gates, and going on to the Pallace, there they declare (more at large) the full intenti-on. And if that bee not giuen them, which they made demaund of, within the ſpace of three and thirty daies; the time is no ſooner expired, but Warre is denounced, in this manner. *Heare me, ô* Ioue, Iuno, *and thou* Quirinus: *Heare me alſo all you Gods Celeſtiall, Terreſtriall, and Infernall. I make knowne before you all, that this people* (and then he nameth them) *are vniuſt, and will not pay that which is reaſonable. Wherefore, wee will take Counſell (with our Countrey and our Elders) in theſe matters, and wee vvill duelie examine all meanes, that beſt may helpe vs, to regaine our own rights and dues.*

Their proceeding in their demand.

Their manner of proclaymming warre.

So, returning back to Rome, to take further Councell in this caſe, foorthwith the King, the Dictator, the Conſull, and all other that belong to the Senate, aſſemble together, and the matter is debated, in what reſpect the *Paterpatratus*, which (in behalfe of the Romain people) denounced Warre againſt the *Priſci Latini*, and the demaund made; wherein, no ſaying, doing, or repaying being made on the contrary part, according as they ought to haue ſaide, done, or paied; *Make anſwere* (ſaith he to him, that firſt is to ſpeake his opinion) *what is your mind herein?* Then he ſtanding vp, ſaith. *I iudge, that theſe things are to be recouered by battaile, or otherwiſe by ſingle Combate (body to body of two men) pious-lie and honeſtly performed.* Euery man deliuering his iudgement in order, and the greater part iumping with this reſolution; the ſentence then is determinately pronounced. Thus, conſent muſt firſt conclude the warre, and then the *Fetialis* throwes his Launce vppon the enemies Confines, according as wee haue before declared.

The aſſembly of the King & State in councell, for further deliberation in the buſineſſe.

10 The King of the Sacraments, who is alſo called the Sacrificer, had his firſt beginning, in the time of the firſt Conſuls, *Iunius Brutus*, and *Marcus Valerius*. The occaſion of this inuention, was the expulſion of the kings, becauſe they (without any difference) vſed to execute the Prieſts Office. Whereupon, the people, after they were thus excluded, thought it very ſtrange, that there was no ſacrificing and that ouer-much reputation was taken from Religion, by ſending thus their Kinges away: They therefore created a Prieſt, and becauſe he ſhould be of no leſſe authority then a King; they called him King of the Sacraments. Notwithſtanding, they would haue him to be vnder the cheefe Biſhops iuriſdiction; leaſt, being at his owne liberty, the expulſed Kings might returne, or be called backe againe. But what his office was, is not at this preſent to be found.

The King of the Sacraments, or the Sacrificer.

The creation of the King of the *Sacraments.*

11 The *Gaules* dedicated al Antiquity to *Berecynthia*, Mother of the Gods: which Religion, as many other beſide; came to *Rome* from *Phrigia*, at ſuch time as theſe Verſes were found (by way of anſwer) in the *Sybils* Bookes.

The Tranſlation of the Image of the Mother of the Gods.

Rome, farre hence is thy Mother, I command
That thou go ſeeke for her, and if ſhe come:
Welcome her with a chaſt vntainted hand.

The *Sibilles* verſes.

The Fathers and Philoſophers, hauing long conſidered on theſe wordes, and beeing vnable (by any ſufficient meanes) to finde out what Mother was intended hereby, and alſo from whence ſhe was to come: they ſent to be reſolued by *Apolloes* Oracle, from whence the Meſſengers returned with this anſwer. *Take with ye the mother of the Goddes, whō you ſhal finde in a hill.* Hereupon Ambaſſadors were ſent into Aſia, where they had commaund to ſeeke for her, and hauing found the Simulachre or Image of the Goddeſſe, to bring it thence with them to *Rome*. But *Attalus* King of Aſia; denying the *Romaines* (after they had found the Image) the carriage of it thence, and they preparing themſelues to depart without it: it is ſaid, that a voice was heard from the Goddeſſe, ſaying: *I am deſirous to go to Rome, as to the habitacle of al the Goddes.* *Attalus* being amazed at this Miracle, gaue conſent to the Ambaſſadours for her carriage thence,

The anſwere of the *Oracle.*

A voice heard in the Image before king *Attalus.*

The Ship sinketh in *Tyber*, by waight of the Image.

whereupon she was brought (by Sea) to *Rome*, & many of the people going forth to meet her, singing Verses, and making much ioy: it fortuned, that by the great waight of the Statue, the ship sunk in the Riuer of *Tyber*; which caused the people to labour by all meanes, both with ropes, Cables, and other helpes of strength, to get it vp againe, but all proued to no purpose. There was then present among the throngs of Roman people, a Vestall Virgin, named *Claudia Quinta*, a Lady of incomparable beauty, who wearing more costly and sumptuous Garmentes then some thoght conuenient for her degree, was suspected to be immodest and vnchast. This goodly young Virgin, knowing the peoples idle suspition, and puritie of her owne soule, fel on her knees by the riuers side, and (as it should seeme) by that part of the Ship where the feete of the Goddesse lay, and holding a loose Girdle in her hand, which she had fastned vnto the Cable of the ship, vttered these speeches: *Before them that haue accused me of immodesty, I beseech thee (O Sacred Goddesse) that by thy testimony my fault may be iudged: to the end, that beeing condemned by thee, I may by death suffer deserued punnishment. But if thou approue me to be innocent of such foule shame, let this my chast hand bee thy guide, to raise and conduct thee hence.* Hauing thus spoken, and rising from off her knees, by her Girdle she easily drewe the Ship along, and (to the no little maruail of the people) guided the Goddesse into the Citty.

Claudia a Vestall Virgin, approued her Chastity myraculously.

The words of *Claudia* before all the people on her knees.

Scipio Nasica was only thought worthy to receiue the Image, and touch it vvith his hand. And to him it was committed, that he should cause a magnificent Temple to be built to the Goddesse, & Priests dedicated to her seruice; who according to the ancient Custom of the Goddesse, ought to be guelded. The reason of this institution is said to be thus: *Cybele*, which also was the name of this *Berecynthia*, loued a young youth in *Phrygia*, and gaue him charge not to breake chastity. But he being enamored on a Nimph, named *Sagarida*, slept with her one Night vnder a Tree, which was dedicated to the Goddesse. *Cybele* comming thither, and cutting downe the tree, killed the Nimphe; which the youth perceiuing, fled in hast to the neareste Mountain; & there, meerly confounded with griefe and shame for so foule a fault committed, hee did quite cut off the wanton instrument wherby he had so highly offended. Vpon this occasion, the Goddesse (in memory of this act) commanded that all such men as sacrificed to her, should bee guelded. It is further said, that the name of the *Gaules* or *Galli*, was deriued from a riuer in *Phrygia*, which was neare to a Temple of this Goddesse. And I find written, that whosoeuer entred into that Riuer, or drank of the water, it foorthwith caused them to run mad.

Scipio Nasica did cause a Temple to be erected to *Cybele*, and priestes for her seruice.

The Historie of the Nimph *Sagarida*, and her louer.

Gallus a Riuer in *Phrygia*, the water wherof made mẽ mad

12. There were two men belonging to the Sacraments, or sanctified mysteries, whose charge and Office was, to read the sacred Bookes, the verses of *Sibilla*; and likewise, to interpret the deeds of the *Roman* people. Next, they were as Presidents at the sacred Ceremonies, which vsually were made to *Apollo*. And at all times when any Monster was born, or any prodigy happened, fore-telling the ensuing of some great accident, entering into their beds, before the Tabernacle of the Goddes, they would appease them with Sacrifices and praiers, that their displeasure might some whither else bẽ turned from them.

Of two men appertaining to the Sacraments.

Furthermore, by their Decree and order, all Sacrifices (for times of prosperity) were solemnly determined and apointed. I find no other mention made of this Priesthoods Order, vntill such time as a Temple was Dedicated to *Castor*, by the Sonne of *Posthumus* the second Dictator, who was then one of the two men: for his Father being Dictator in the Latine war, made a solemne Vow to performe such a Temple.

Sacrifices for times of prosperity.

A Temple dedicated to *Castor*.

These two men, being long time created in this order of Priest-hood, and the Common people coueting in like maner to create the Consuls among themselues, and so to meddle in all matters, they being no way else to be appeased, obtained at length, that on the same day as these two men were to be created, they might also create ten other men; fiue of the nobility, and fiue of the Comminalty. Heerupon, of two men they grew to be ten in number; and likewise to haue the name of the Ten men.

The creation of tenne men more.

13. By that which may be coniectured and comprehended, it appeareth that seuen men, tearmed *Epuloni*, were included in a kiude of Priest-Hoode. And

Of seuen men called *Epuloni*, and of their Originall.

And so much the rather it is to bee presumed, because in discoursing the vacancy of Vestall Virgines, it is saide, *That the Sonnes of the* Augures; *of the ten sacred men*; *of the* Flamines; *and of the seauen men, called* Epulonj, *deserued, and had their lawfull excuses admitted.* Whereby I gather, that among the other Priest-hoodes, this of the seauen men was included. Yet I know not how this matter should so fall out; because I can finde nothing (concerning them) worthy of faith and authority: wherefore I am the lesse forward, in affirming what office was committed to this Order. Neuertheless, I must needes say, that *Pliny* reciting an Oration of one that stood in some feare of his Auditours, saith; *In the midst stood the Consul, and next, the seauen men, tearmed Epuloni.* And euen to this present day, there is to be seene engrauen on a smooth Piramide in Rome, this inscription. *Opera finita, &c. The worke ended the CXXX. day, by the Testament of Caius Cornelius, Tribune of the people, and seauen men of the Epulons.*

The wordes of *Pliny*, concerning the seauen men.

Hauing determined with my selfe, to intreat of all other Magistrates, not appertainiug to Religion: we are then to consider, that some Magistrates were called Greater, and some Lesser, and what the lesser were, may breefely bee declared, because. *Aulus Gellius* writeth at large on this Argument, taking his instructions frō the books of M. *Messala* the *Augure*, & these are his words. *The authority of the Noblemen is diuided in two parts. The greater is of* Prætors, *of Consuls, and of Censors, and yet neuertheless, there is not one kinde of iurisdiction or power among them: because the Censors are no Colleagues with the* Prætors *and Consuls, but the* Prætors *are Colleagues with the Consuls, and therefore the Prætors and Consuls haue not the power of the Censors, and the Consuls trouble not the* Prætors *and Censors. But the Censors among themselues, the* Prætors *and Consuls also among themselues, obtaine and enioy alike authority. The* Prætor, *as it were a Colleague with the Consull, cannot (in reason) vse the same power, as belongeth to the Consull, and to the* Prætor; *as wee haue learned from our betters, and as hath beene obserued before these times.* And it is manifest in the thirteenth Commentary of *C. Tuditanus, that the Prætor hath the lesser, and the Consull the greater authority: whereupon meere reason directeth, that the lesser cannot vse the power of the greater, nor the greater, the priuiledge of the lesser Magistrate. We in these times, creating a* Prætor *for the* Prætors; *haue followed the authority vsed of old, though wee haue not searched into the like power: for Censors, Consuls, and Prætors, cannot iustly deale in one & the same scrutiny. The rest of the Magistrates haue lesser authority, and therfore these other are called the Greater, and they, the Lesser Magistrates; the Greater are made according to the Centuriatæ leges, Lawes made by the whole assembly; and the Lesser, among the Tribunes priuiledges, but yet much more iustly, when it is done according to the Lawes Curiatæ, Lawes made by the same assembly.*

C. Tuditanus in 13. Comment.

Centuriatæ leges, and *Tribunitij*.

Of other Magistrates not appertaining to Religion.

Aul. Gel. ex. lib. de M. Messala Aug.

Prætors, Consuls, Censors, and of their seuerall authorities.

By all these words of *Messala* (saith he) may easily be gathered, what the lesser Magistrates were, and vppon what occasion they were so called. Hee saith also, that the *Prætor* was Colleague of the Consuls, because they were created by one absolute power. And he granteth them to haue the greater authority, because their scrutinie or search was more firme, and better ratified then the other. The Consull may reduce all the other Magistrates scrutinies, and their conference or Parlement: the Prætor had not the like priuiledge at all times, or equall reducing. The lesser Magistrates could not reduce any thing from the Consul, or to any other Magistrate. In an equall action, he that is first called of them, and first obserueth the search; he goeth directly to his charge: because hee may not moone the people twice, neyther can he carry one to any other, if hee will haue conference, and deale with the people, although many Magistrates together may admit conference. By these words of *Messala*, is euidently discerned, that it is one thing to worke with the people, and another, to deale by speech or conference. Because, to deale with the people, is to request some thing, which their suffrages either commaundeth or denyeth: But to haue speech and conference; is simply to speake to the people, without any rogation or intercession.

A collection vpon the words of *Messala*.

The Consuls power.

Of working the people by speech and conference, or other wise.

14 There is no man doubteth, that the order of the Senatours did not receiue:

The original of the Senators.

ceiue Originall from *Romulus*. Hee was the first founder and builder of the City, and considering with himself, that it was sufficiently fortified with able youth, as also with others of competent strength; he conceiued also, that it was not the lest important matter, if it had like helpe, or much better ability of Counsell (elected to the number of an hundred) of the chiefest Fathers and Cittizens then to bee found; who (for their honour) might be called Fathers; and (for their yeares) Senators; according to the saying of *Caius*, that those (amongst the *Lacedemonians*) were called *Senes*, that were men of years, and ought to haue the place of Magistracie.

The order among the *Lacedemonians*.

Tullus Hostilius encreaseth the Senators number.

Afterward, such as were born or sprung from these first Fathers, were named *Patricij*. *Tullus Hostilius* made the number of them much more perfect, hauing vanquished *Alba*, and brought the *Albanes* thence to *Rome*. Hee then entertained among the Senators, the *Tulli*, the *Servilij*, the *Quinti*, the *Gregani*, and the *Clodi*. But the Kinges being expulsed, the Consull *Brutus*, perceiuing the Senat to be empty of honest persons, appointed, that those men who were cheefest in the Order of Knight-hood, should be made Senatours, and beare the name of *Patres Conscripti*, Enrolled Fathers. Whereuppon, from hence the Nomination of Conscribed Fathers, receiued Originall; and because he spake it, it had full approbation, and ioyned with the other Fathers.

Brutus the Consull altereth the Senate.

Patres conscripti.

The absolute authority of the Senate.

These Senators had such absolute authority, that they administred the maine importancy of all matters in the Commonwealth; in such sort, that neither the King, the Consuls, the Dictators, nor any other Magistrate dealt in any thing, vntill it hadde first passed Counsell in the Senate. For *Tarquinius Superbus*, hauing (beside the Senates authority) doone many things according to his owne will; was called Tirant, and (last of al) lost his state.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Three Degrees of Senators.

I finde that there were three degrees or orders of Senatours, because some were called *Pedarij*, others *Patricij*, and some others *Conscripti*. The *Patricij* were they that descended (by Birth) of those hundered, elected at first by *Romulus*. The *Conscripti* wer such, as, by decree of the Consulles, the King and the Censours, were brought into the Senate. But I finde the

Patricij. Conscripti.

Pedarij to be so called for diuers reasons. Some say, that though they were in the Senate, they might not bee allowed to speake their minds, but only to giue their consent to the rest, and (with their feete) to expresse the same, by making some little noise, whereon the Latine sentence of them was, *Ibant pedibus in sententias*, and therefore to be tearmed *Pedarij*. Others Write, that many of the Senators being great Magistrates, came to the Senate in their Horse-litters or Coaches. Others, (hauing no Office of Magistracy) came after them on foot; and thereupon were called *Pedarij*. *Marcus Varro* saith, *That there were some Knights, who hauing beene imployed by the greater Magistrates, and not (as yet) elected by the Censors in the Senat: They might not deliuer their opinion in the Senate, or giue any sentence. Onely it vvas lawful for them to be present with the rest in the Senate, and yeelde consent vnto that which was agreed on by their elders.*

Pedarij, and the reason why so called by sundry opinions.

The saying of *Marcus Varro*, concerning the *Pedarij*.

Concerning the Consulles order in the Senate, all that I haue read, doe consent in this manner. It was the vse at first, that he (who by the Censors) was appointed chiefe in the Senate, should begin to speak his opinion; and other-whiles they graunted such as were elected Consulles leaue to begin. *Cicero*, in the book which he intitled the Elder *Cato, of Old age*, writeth; *That they vsed to giue their preheminence to him of greatest yeares.* Whereupon, he that was the most aged, hee began to speake his minde, and giue the sentence. Neuertheless, it is saide, that (by custome) it was introduced, that he who was desired thereto by the Consul, might be the first to speake. And yet it was not lawfull for him to intreate any man, that either was, or had not bin Consull. I find recorded vppon this custome, that *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, in the Consulship which he held with M. *Bibulus*, made entreatie (out of common forme or vse) to three seueral men, (to wit,) M. *Crassus*, *Cneius Pompeius*, and *Marcus Cato*. Afterward, *Marcus Crassus*, (as straining courtesie) began to entrea t *Cneius ompeius*, because his daughter was his Wife: but preuailing with M. *Cato*, hee accepted the charge, but spake so loude, and continued so long in his Oration, as all the time was welneere spent, that the Senate obserued in their arguing. *Cæsar* perceiuing that hee grew to no conclusion, but held on still; commanded

The Consuls degree in the Senate.

Cicero in lib. de Senectute.

Iulius Cæsar, Consull with *M. Bibulus*.

Cæsar committed *M. Cato* to prison.

manded him to be carried thence to prison. *Cato* obeying, and beeing led on the way towards the prison, the Senate rose and followed after him; whereat *Cæsar* being enuiously moued, staied, and commanded to let him go.

Of the assembly of the Senate, a Booke written by *M. Varro*.

Concerning the congregating and assembly of the Senat, M. *Varro* at the intreaty of *Pompey*, wrote a Booke when he was the first time designed Consull with M. *Crassus*: and it was conceiued, that he who (till that time) had bin so long in the Warres, would (in that respect) make the better obseruation of customs, and other ciuill occasions. In like manner he wrote a Letter to *Opimius*, wherein he saith, that the fore-named Booke was lost in the age of *Varro*. In which letter (saith *Aulus Gellius*) *Varro* wrote many things of the same argument; and there was set downe, what they were, that might cause the Senate to be assembled; as also to nominate the Dictator, the Consul, the Prætor, the Tribune of the people; the *Interrex*, the *Præfect* for the Citty; and that no other had authority beside, to congregate the Senate. Some adde (ouer and beyond the ordained authority) the *Tribune militaris*, or Tribune for the warres, who was first Vice-consull. The ten men who had then the Consuls power: the two men, created on especiall occasion, to order the Common-wealth: and that those men were of power to assemble the Senate. As for the Præfect of the City *Latium*, none do sufficiently proue, if hee might assemble the Senate, because (they say) he was no Senator, neither might speake his minde in the Senat. Yet M. *Varro*, and *Atteius Capito* do both affirme, that the Præfect of *Rome* Citty, had authority to Assemble them, as the Tribune of the people (before Law made to the contrary) had the like prerogatiue.

The seuerall Offices nominated in the Senate.

The Præfect of *Latium*.

M Varro, and *Atteius Capito*.

Their prohibition also are written of, Namely, that such men had authoritie to prohibit and gainsay, who had power ouer him that was to be prohibited, or wer greater in credit: which power they receiued either from the * *Senatusconsultum*, or the * *Plebiscitum*, or some other Decree from the purpose. But concerning the place where the Senate ought to assemble, or to request *Senatusconsulti*; it was flatly forbidden to be any where, that had not bin first ordained by the Augures and (by them) called a Temple. Where-

*An act of the Senate

*A Law of the People.

The place for the Senates assembly.

upon, when they met first togither in the Court *Hostilia*, in *Pompeia*, and afterward in *Iulia*, they being all prophane places; the Augures gaue order, that they should be made Temples, to the end, that (according to precedent custome) in them their deliberations might bee consulted on. Now, for meete time of the Senates Assembly, if it were before Sunne-rising or Sun-setting, it appeared vtterly vnprofitable. Wherefore, the Censor gaue direction, for the time most fit and conuenient.

Hostilia, *Pompeia*, and *Iulia*.

The time of the Senates meeting.

What yeares the Senators were to be of, is very apparant, and that youths had likewise leaue to be in the Senate House: but *Papyrius Prætextatus* occasioned the absence of all youths afterward, as *Valerius Maximus* hath recorded. And then, it was ordained, that no person vnder the age of fiue and twenty yeares, should be admitted entrance, as we read in *Plutarch* in the life of Pompey the Great. The like is comprized in the *Romans* Ciuill Lawes, whence likewise we receiued these instructions.

The age of the Senators.

Plutarch, in vit. Pomp. Magnus.

Varro also recordeth, that hee who was to be admitted into the Senat, should first be a Sacrificer, and an Augure: and that his first speeches in the Senate, ought rather to be of Diuine causes, then anie humain matters. Moreouer he saith, that deliberations there, were in two kinds, by disputation; or (if the case were doubtful) by generall opinion: such order they obserued likewise, in conferring on Monies, pawnes, and punnishment of them that appeared not (on summons) while the Senate sat. As for them that appertained to Senatory Families, it was decreed, that vnder the appellation of any Senate person, they comprehended the Wife also, and that those children which were giuen in adoption, before the Father was admitted into the Senat, should also be Senators. They obserued also, that whosoeuer was of the *patrician* order, though the same were by adoption the son of a common Plebeian, yet he should continue a Patrician still: which law (in mine opinion) was scarsely obserued truely in those times; considering, that P. *Clodius* (being a Patrician borne) and coueting the Magistrates power of the *Tribunitia*, to make vse thereof against the faction of *Cicero*, gaue himselfe by adoption to a common man.

Of admittance into the Senate, and order of their deliberations.

For the Senat Families.

Of the *Patrician* order, yet not approued in P. *Clodius*.

The

Concerning the daughters of Senators.

The Daughters of Senators, if any of them were giuen (openly) as wiues to Senatory Men; they were not comprehended vnder the name of honorable Women. And the Sonne of a Senator, being made free by his Father, as in the ciuil right of reason: loſt the name of ſubmiſſion, and yet retained ſtill the Senatory dignity.

Of the *Poſthumi* or *Poſt-nati* in the Sons of Senators.

The *Poſthumi*, who were borne after the death of their Fathers, were yet neuertheleſſe, called Senatory men. But he that was conceiued, and borne, after that his Father had been remoued from the Senate: both *Proculus* and *Pegaſus* doe ſay, that he was not the Sonne of a Senator. But if before his Fathers remooueall, his Sonne was conceiued; meer paternal reſpect cleared him from any preiudice, and hee was eſteemed to be Senatory. But if before his conception, his Father had loſt the Senatory Dignity, and then dying, his Sonne fell into the power of his Grand-Father, (being then a Senator) ſo that he might ſeeme as not to be borne of a Senatour: ye was he (notwithſtanding) to be held as Senatory. A Woman, being maried at firſt to a Senator, and afterward matching with a Man of meaner condition; loſt her Title among the Honourable Women. In regard whereof, many of them made interceſſion to the Princes, that although they were marryed to men of humble condition; yet that they might ſtill retaine their Senatorie Dignity. And it is ſaid, that D. *Auguſtus* did affoord ſuch grace to *Iulian Mania*, being his Cozin. The Law *Iulia*, of reſtitution, prohibited Senatours, ſuch as were remooued from their Order (albeit they changed not State, but dwelt ſtill in the City) yet could they giue no ſentence, or bee Witneſſes in any caſe whatſoeuer.

A Senatours falling into his Grand-fathers power, after his own fathers death. Of Womens marriages.

The law *Iulia*, of reſtitution.

15 I find, that *Romulus* was the firſt that ordained the *Tribunes* of light or nimble Horſe-men, when hee ſelected three Centuries of Horſe; whereof he made vſe in all buſineſſes appertaining to the Commonwealth, and gaue them theſe Titles: Of the *Ramneſi*; of the *Tatij*; and of the *Luceri*. The *Ramneſi* were named of *Romulus*; the *Tatij*, of *Tatius*: but the *Luceri*, the reaſon of that name was not knowne, as *Liuie* remembreth, and nameth them all in this manner.

Tribunes of the light horſe men, ordered in three Centuries by *Romulus*.

Ramneſi, *Tatij*, and *Luceri*.

Three Tribunes he appointed to thoſe Centuries, as Heades and Commaunders, and thoſe three were choſen forth of three Tribes. It is ſaid, that the Horſe in number were three hundred, in regard that the *Curiæ* (being thirty) might haue to each one ten Horſe. And the reaſon why he would haue them called ſwift or light Horſe, was; becauſe they ſhould be alwaies in ſpeedy readineſſe, whenſoeuer the Common-weales affaires ſo required. There be ſome, who affirme, that they were called *Celer*, or ſwift Horſe, after the name of a Man called *Celer*, who was the firſt (ordained by *Romulus*) chiefe or Commaunder of thoſe Centuries, according as *Ouid* affirmeth.

*The Tribes, Wardes, or Precincts of the *Romaine* people.

Ouid in lib. de Faſt.

16 The Originall of the *Quæſtores* creation, is very ancient, and they were ordained (ſome thinke) before all the other Magiſtrates. *Gratian*, in his Booke bearing the name of *Times*, hath written, that *Romulus* and *Numa* had two *Quæſtores*, who were not by them created, but by the care and ſcrutiny of the people. But if (as it is not certainelie noted) that *Romulus* had *Quæſtores*; it is manifeſt, that *Tullus Hoſtilius* the K. created ſome. It is ſaid, that they were called *Quæſtores*, becauſe their duty was to gather the publike Monies, and they had the charge alſo of the publike treaſury. *Gratian* further ſaith, that they vſed to read in the Senate, ſuch Letters as were ſent from this or that Man, and that they were named (by the Prince) *Candidati*. I find beſide, that ſometimes theſe *Quæſtores* examined Malefactors, and gaue them tortures. Whereupon, *Varro* wil haue it, that of *Quæſtionarius*, an Inquiſitour, or Giuer of the *Strappado*, the name of *Quæſtor* was impoſed on them. They vſed to create the *Quæſtores*, as wel from among the common people, as the *Patritians*, euen as all other Magiſtrates; which authority, becauſe it was giuen to the meaner ſort, had neither any admonition or prohibition. And as thoſe priuate men were to be called in queſtion by the *Prætor*; ſo is it likewiſe ſaid, that (at the beginning) they had authority to ſpeake their opinion in the Senate. And becauſe the Conſuls could not ſentence any *Romain* Cittizen to death, without commiſſion from the people; therefore it was ordained

Of the *Quæſtores*.

Grat. in Lib. de Temp.

Why called *Quæſtores*.

Quæſtor Aerarius.

Candidati. Examination of malefactors.

Quæſtionarius.

Quæſtores created among the *Plebeians*.

No Romaine Cittizen iudged to death, without commiſſion from the people.

dained to the people, that certaine *Quæstores* should haue authority in Capitall occasions, and they were called *Quæstores* of Homicides or Murderers, whereof mention is made in the Lawes of the xii. Tables.

The Magistrate of *Inter Regnum*, or the Kinges decease.

17. *Romulus* being dead, and the Fathers bethinking themselues in what manner they might then best gouern the Common-wealth, and who should seeme worthy to succeed *Romulus*; as also, what course therein were best to bee obserued, that the people (who were as without a Head) might enter into no such disorder, as (thereby) to draw war from neighbors, vpon a Citty without a guide: they congregated themselues seriously togither, and concluded (after mature consultation) to make choise of an hundred fathers which should be diuided into ten bandes or Squadrons, ten for each company, & out of each company to elect one man; and he (with the other ten) should haue the charge of the other ninety. Out of these also, they made Election of one man, who should assume the place of a King; which dignity of his, was to last but fiue dayes, and the fiue dayes beeing ended, another was chosen; and so went it thorough them al, each man by his fiue daies, vntill a whole yeare was expired in this kind of gouerning.

The election of an hundred Fathers.

A King elected for 5. dayes standing.

An hundred Kings in stead of one.

But this Empery or rule appearing hurtfull, and the people complaining, that (for one King) they had now an hundred; the fathers likewise perceiuing what stirres might arise in challenging the sole Gouernment, they deuised what meanes might best rid them of so waighty a burthen, and throwing the same clog vppon the people, determined with them, that no Iurisdiction or power should remain to any future King, but only vnto such a man as they should make choise of. They further resolued, that he should be King, whom the people commanded to be elected as King, with this condition: That he should be said to be truly a king, if the Fathers gaue him their full Confirmation. Thē the *Inter-Rex*, or fiue daies king, called a Parliament, and said to the people, as followeth: *O you *Quirites, create you a King, that may bee good, iust, and happy. If you create such a one, as may worthily be said to second Romulus; the Fathers will therein gladly ioyne with yee.* With these conditions, they created him who should haue the generall gouernment. But in the time of vacancy, and when there was no King, he that had the chiefe power of the hundred, was called the *Inter-Rex*. It happned afterward, that wanting a King, and the Consuls being absent from *Rome*, as men imployed in the Common-weales waightiest affaires, and thereby to be excused by their absence; they coulde not find a man to generall liking. And therefore, being frustrated of a full and lawfull creation, the gouernment was referred to the *Inter-Rex*, by whose meanes they created their following Consuls.

Election of a King referred to the people.

*The people of *Rome*, so called of *Quirinus*.

Conclusion for the Kings creation.

The gouernment of the *Inter-Rex*.

18. There were two chiefe or capitall men, created in great authority, but if wee would vnderstand the Originall of these two especial men, we must then begin with the time of King *Tullus Hostilius*. He warring vpon the *Albanes*, had already conducted his army into an apte place; and *Metius Suffetius*, Captaine of the *Albanes*, came to haue conference with the King of the *Romaines*. Hauing long debated about the conditions of peace, it was finally concluded in this maner. There were then in the *Albane* army, three worthy Bretheren, who were tearmed the *Curiatij*, & these three Gallants must fight (body to bodye) with three other *Romain* Brethren, called the *Horatij*. The resolution being past, without anie alteration, the day of battaile was determined, and the order to bee obserued in their fight.

Of two especiall and Capitall men.

The memorable & famous History of the three Bretheren of *Alba*, & other three of Rome.

Hauing tried their manhood valiantly a long time togither, at length the three *Curiatij* (who were all sore wounded) happned to kill two of the *Horatij*. The thirde man seeing his Brethren slaine, and himselfe (as yet) sprightly and vntoucht, began to consider, that to defend his life against the *Curiatij*, ther was now no need of any lost time, or to stand still in a season so perrillous; and therefore he began to run about the Lists. He of the *Curiatij*, that was in weakest estate, immagining, that the death of his brethren had amazed his sences, and therefore sought the best meanes how hee might escape; pursued him very speedily. But *Horatius* turning suddenly backe vpon him, manfully slew him: and the second making hast to succour his Brother, beeing ouer-feeble for the performance, was likewise slaine; and euen so sped the thirde, who needed not many strokes to dispatch him.

A stratageme to preuent 3. potent enemies.

Hauing

Horatius triumpheth after his worthy victory.

Herevpon (by common consent) a glorious Triumphe was prepared for *Horatius*, and he riding back to Rome in that manner; no meane confluence of people came to meete him, among whom also was the Sister to *Horatius*. This Lady, who formerly had beene giuen by her Brother, in marriage to one of the *Curiatij*, beholding the spoiles of her slaine Husband hanging on his chariot: fel both into such loud and lamentable exclamations, as made all present very much amazed. *Horatius* taking her sorrowes discontentedly, perceiuing them to be a blemish to his victory, and a trouble to the generall reioycing; suddenly slew her. The Ttiumphe being ended, *Horatius* was brought before the King, from whom he was sent to Prison, and (in common opinion) thought worthy of death. But his memorable fortune, winning great grace and fauour with the King; procured his tryall to be delayed, and he being desirous also to haue his cause duely examined, would be one in his owne royal person, and therefore created two men more, who should heerein assist him to their vttermost power. The two chosen men pronounced *Horatius* worthy to dye: but then he appealed from them, and would put himselfe on the peoples sentence. At which time, the aged Father to vndaunted *Horatius* (halfe drowned in teares) fell on his knees before them, entreating, that hauing lost two of his Sonnes in battaile, and onelie for the honour of their Country; that they would not suffer him now to be depriued of the third. The people being moued to much compassion, and calling to minde, the no small hazzard of his atchieued victory; clearely acquitted him.

The Sister of *Horatius* was wife to one of the *Curiatij*, & killed by her own Brother.

The K createth two men, to examine (with him) the fact of *Horatius*.

The people deliuer *Horatius* frō death.

Thus grew the Originall of those two Capitall men, to whom (not long after) a third man was added, and so they became three. Now, because they were appointed to Capitall Inquisitions: they had the charge of those Prisons, wherein capitall Offenders were enclosed, and thereupon had the Name of Capitall Men. And this degree of Magistracy, had hand in the condemnation of *Caius Manlius Capitolinus*, from the people of *Rome*. And the same authority chastised all them, that dealt in the conspiracy of *L. Cataline*, according as *Salust* describeth.

The Capitall men, and how they became so named.

Caius Manlius Capitolinus.

19 Concerning the *Præfect*, Prouost, or Captaine of the Citty, there is nothing found written, before the time of *Spurius Lucretius* (Father to *Lucretia*) who was *Præfect*. I doe not heerein deny, but that there might be such Magistrates, and that all the other Kinges, from *Tarquine* forward, might create *Præfects*. But howsoeuer it might be, or was, the Reader is to take notice, that at all times, when the King had occasion to be farre off from *Rome*, he left (in his stead) the Præfect of the Citty. But as the Empire increased, so was the iurisdiction of all *Italy* committed to the Præfect. All delicts and offences which were found through *Italy* (as is witnessed by an Epistle sent from *D. Seuerus* to *Cilionus*) were brought before the Præfect of the Citty, in the beginning of which Epistle, are these wordes set downe.

Of the Præfect, Captain, or Prouost Marshall of the Citty.

A note for the Reader.

Epist. D. Seuer. ad Cilion.

We hauing committed the Gouernment of the Citty to thy faithfull trust; know from vs, that all such transgressions as happen in our Citty, shall appertaine to the care and cure of the Præfect thereof. The like we say, of all delicts and errors committed foorth of the Citty, within the circuit of an hundred miles euery way. But if he proceede any further, he shall be then out of our protection. Let him giue audience to Seruants, that flie for refuge to the Statues; or in complaining on their Maisters, for not making them free, they hauing bought their liberty by their owne true seruice, or best meanes. He must heare Maisters falne into pouerty: And such as are sicke and weak, that releefe may come to them from the sound and healthfull. His authority likewise extendeth, to confirme, and to banish. If any one shall faithfully affirme, that a Wife hath committed Adultery with her Slaue; the Præfect *is to heare his information: because he may (by his authority) make enquiry, whether the accusation proceedeth on spleene, or fraud, or whether the act were violently committed, or no. He shall also cause to appeare before him, Gouernours of Wards, or fatherlesse Children, and Stewards of mens Landes or possessions, for enquiry of well or ill dealing in their offices: how they stand suspected, either for giuing Money to enioy their Gardianship, or deliuered any other bribes or rewards, without which, they had beene vnmeete for such authority;*

The words in the Epistle.

The limitation of the Præfects power.

Their causes of Audience.

For Maisters and Seruants.

For sicke persons.

Confirming and banishing

For Adultery.

For Stewards and Guardians of Wards.

thority; Also, whether they haue abused and diminished the Orphanes faculties, or (by fraudulent conueyance) got any part of his patrimonie.

Other additions to the Præfects office.

Ouer and beside the precedent matters, *D. Seuerus* likewise added to the office of this Magistrate, That he should haue an eie to Seruants, least they swerued from their Maisters, to vnlawfull entertainers.

For Coyners of Money.

To be carefull of the Moniers or Minters, in carying themselues vprightly, and to make knowne all their treacheries against the Lawes.

For iniury done by Wife or children, or free-seruants.

That Maisters should not be iniuried by their Free-Seruants, or Iourney-men, as we call them: neyther by his owne Children, or his Wife, or his Neighbours. All these occasions ought to bee heard before the Præfect, who, according as he findes the offence, may punnish the Free-man menace, disfranchise, or proceede to some heauier kind of punnishment; as the like is to be doone, if he haue practised and conspited with any of his Maisters enemies.

For the Markets, and all other matters of sale.

He ought likewise to ouer-see all things that were to be sold, and giue admonition, that a iust value or price should not be exceeded. The Markets also were vnder his charge, for Oxen, Sheepe, Swine, &c. with the Shambles, Fishery, Hearbery, and such like.

Souldiers in due readines.

And to conserue the people in quiet, he kept the souldiers in their places of quarterage, to preuent any insurrection, vpon the least suspition.

The Prætors power and translation of it.

In the Citty he might prohibite the faculties, pleadings, and Sessions, at such times as himselfe pleased, and (in like manner) appoint them.

At length, when this Man had long time continued in this high place; his Authority was giuen to the Prætor of the Latines Holy-daies, vntill (at some other time) the like creation should begin againe. And when all the other Magistrates made Holy-day, yet they gaue place to the Præfect of the *Latines* Citty onely. I haue left some other things vnspoken of, concerning the authority of this Præfect, but they are not of any great importance.

Of Consuls, and their originall.

20 The most auncient Writers doe consent, that the authority of Consuls was formed after example of the Kinges. For when the Kings were expelled, two men were created; to whom no lesse power was graunted, then formerly had beene giuen to the King: only excepted, that their Dominion endured but for a yeare. They had * Lictors, and all other Officers as the King was wont to haue. Now, because their especiall care was, to counsell what was most conuenient for the Common-weales benefit: thereuppon they were named Consuls, and to them was committed the diligent respect of al occasions, which they could conceiue to be fittest for generall good. The first Consuls, after the rule of Kinges was controuled, were *L. Iunius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*. *Brutus* concluded with his Colleague or companion, that (by turnes) one of them onelie should be seene with the Ensignes royall: to the ende, that the people (who had seen and knowne both the one and other) might not lament for the losse of one King, nor yet bee terrified with the sight of two. The Lictors or Sergeants were twelue in number, who with bundles of Rods & Axes, alwaies went before the Consull.

* Sergeants attending with Rods and Axes.

L. Iunius Brutus and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, the first Consuls.

The reason of twelue Lictors or Sergeants.

It is said, that *Romulus* instituted this number of Lictors, because as hee questioned with a Brother of the *Augures*; he beheld twelue Gripes or vultures on Mount *Auentine*. Many other Authors of credit hold opinion, that the Lictors, Commaunders, the * *Sella Curulis*, the Gowne, and the long Roabe, called *Prætexta*; came to *Rome* from the *Tuscane* people, confining on the *Romaines*. For it is saide, that the *Tuscane* people, being of twelue seuerall kinds, and hauing created their King; each people affoorded and gaue him a Lictor. They hold, that the word *Lictor*, was formed of *Legare*, because as suddainely as the Consull gaue commaund, eyther to apprehend, or to binde any man; they were as ready and officious thereto, and they gaue commaund also to any that was to appeare before the Consull. *Iunius Brutus*, one of the first Consuls, died in Warre, and *P. Valerius* remained aliue in the Consulship, because he was put in place of *Tarquinius Collatinus*, who for the hatred the *Romains* bare to his Progenie; had renounced his Dignity. Such was the mutability of the vulgares mindes, not onely to beginne false Calumniations against him, but also to intimate blames, suspitions,

* The Iuory Chaire of State for a Consull to sit in.

Concerning the word Lictor.

Iunius Brutus died in warre, and *Collatinus* gaue ouer his Office.

and (finally) vehement accuſations. Notwithſtanding all which, hauing called a Parliament, and iuſtifyed himſelfe beyond their expectation: he was the Authour of making a Law, that a Man might defend himſelfe, and appeale from any Magiſtrate. Then beganne the Conſulles Authoritie (which had long continued famous) to bee inferiour to kingly prerogatiue, and ſo largely ſpread the Seedes of Licence and Liberty, that quickely began too liberall a Harueſt thereof: for they left creating of Conſuls among the Fathers, and the *Auſpici* or hopefull ſignes, would neuer afterward come neere any other.

The declining of the Conſuls office.

At laſt, the Warres beeing ended with the *Gaules*, I meane that Warre wherein *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, taking the Chaine from the *Gaule*, that fought hand to hand with him, was ſlaine by him, and gaue the Sir-name of *Torquatus* to all his Poſterity: the Romaines waxing wearie of the Tribunes continuall ſeditions; gaue grant, that one of the two Conſuls ſhould be choſen by the Common people. The firſt Conſull (then) of the *Plebeians* or Commoners, was *Lucius Sequatius*, and the *Plebeians* hauing obtained before, that the Tribunes of the Souldiers might be choſen among them, becauſe they ſerued in the ſtead of Conſuls: oftentimes, in creation of the Tribunes, they made likewiſe a mixture of the Conſulles Authority, and that in ſuch manner, that many times it happened, that the Conſuls commaund was voide two yeares togeather, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe, according as occaſion fell out.

Titus Manlius Torquatus, a Noble Romaine.

Lucius Sequatius firſt Conſul of the *Plebeians*.

Concerning the Conſtitution or creation of the Conſuls power and priuiledges; I finde, that an aſſembly beeing called by the Conſuls, or by the two cheefe men, or by the *Inter-Rex*, or the Dictator of the *Squttinie*, which Man was elected of the Tribes, or by the congregating of the Centuries; and all theſe meeting in the field, called * *Campus Martius*: ſuch as were deſirous to require the Conſulſhippe, came into the Fielde, and then they were called *Candidati*, in regard of White Robes or Garments which then they wore. He that obtained moſt Suffrages among the people, or had his happineſſe by lot, hee was immedinly called Conſull.

The constitution of the Conſuls authority.

*A Field neer Rome, where they made vſe of all manly exerciſes.

Now, becauſe wee haue formerlie made mention of the *Squitinie*, whom the *Latines* tearmed *Comitij*: it ſhall not differ ouer farre from our purpoſe, if we ſet downe what wee haue collected concerning them. Among theſe *Comitij*, there were ſome called *Calati*, and other ſome, tearmed *Tributi*. *Calati*, becauſe the *Curiata Comitia* were called by the Lictors. The *Curiata* were deuided into Centuries and *Curij*, and called *Curiata*, of *Curij*: who were thirtie in number, containing the Cittizens among them; whereupon, euery one of the *Curij*, was called by the Lictors to the *Comitij* or aſſembly. The Centurie were elected by voyces, and according to their yeares. The Tribunes were ſo named (as I thinke) of the parts of the Citty, and of the Tribes. It was not lawfull, to congregate the *Centuriata Comitia* within the Wals of *Rome*: becauſe it was accounted vniuſt, that an Army ſhould bee commaunded or gouerned, but in place moſt conuenient; which could not bee within a Cittie. Wherefore, the *Centuriata* vſed to aſſemble in *Campus Martius*, where by reaſon of ſpeedieſt ſupply, Martiall matters might be beſt diſcourſed, and men trained. Beſide this, it was neceſſary for ſuch as demaunded the Conſulſhip, that by themſelues (perſonally) they ſhould be with the *Squitini* or *Comitij*, becauſe it was not accepted, or giuen by a third perſon: which I perceiue they alſo obſerued in euery other Magiſtracy. Such as were Sonnes of the Family, and were not vnder the awe of their Fathers, or Grand-Fathers; might haue the Dignitie of Conſull, and might alſo be made free when they would, by their owne authority. Finally, it was concluded, that ſuch as were Conſuls; without any other freedome of their Fathers, were at their owne liberty.

Of the *Squitini* or *Comitij*, aſſembled as in a Parliament houſe.

These Men made the *Curiatæ leges*.

The Century and the Tribunes.

Centuriata Comitia.

Where the *Centuriata* vſed to aſſemble.

For Sons of the Family.

21 *Titus Liuius* beareth witneſſe, that the *Albanes* had a Dictor (euen *Metius Suffetius*) before the *Romaines* had any: The firſt Dictator authorized in *Rome*, was *T. Largius*, who had formerly been Conſull: but it is not preciſely knowne in what yeare, and vnder what Conſuls. It is well obſerued, that in time of the *Latines* and *Sabines* Warre, and when forty Men had conſpired againſt

The *Albanes* Dictator before the Romaines.

Manilius Octavius Tusculanus

gainst the Romaines (prouoked thereto by *Manilius Octauius Tusculanus*, Son in Lawe to proud *Tarquine*, and who bare him company in exile) that euen then it was ordained, to create a Dictator in *Rome*. This Dignity (among the *Romaines*) was of very great importance, and their auncient Writinges doe testifie, that could none appeale from them: but he must be a Romaine Cittizen by blood, and (among them) consisted the Authority of the whole Common-wealth. All the Kings honours were attributed to the Dictator, and because he had cheefe rule ouer the people, therefore he was sir-named *Maister of the People*. Whence proceeded, that whosoeuer held any publique authority, as being bred or deriued frō the high *Dictators* office: they were likewise called *Maisters*, as the *Candidi*, of the *Candidati*.

What the Romaine Dictator ought to be, and of his eminency in authority, and all appertaining to him.

It was not the custome to create a Dictator, except when some suddaine and vnexpected occasion hapned, that threatned ineuitable ruine to the Citty. At first, it was vnlawfull to create a Dictator, vnlesse he were a *Patritian*: neuertheless, it fell afterward much lower; for in the Warre which the Romaines had with the *Falisci*, and with the *Tarquines*; then was created the first Dictator of the Common people, named *C. Marius Rutilus*; and then (in like manner) did they elect *L. Plancus*, to be Maister of the Horse, or Cauallery, a *Plebeian* also. This Magistrates power (being of such *greatnesse*) could be endured no longer then sixe months, and because he spake, nominated or elected the following Magistrates: therefore (saith *Varro*) he was tearmed Dictator, vnder pretence of this or the like authority, *L. Silla* and *Iulius Cæsar* gayned liberty, as coueting (so much as in them lay) to shunne the odious and infamous name of Tirants.

At what times they vsed to create a Dictator.

Dictator of the *Plebeians*.

Varro his opinion of the Dictator.

22 Such as were the Tribunes of the light Horse, in the Kinges time; the like (with the Dictators) were these other Maisters of the Horse. And as the Dictator had Iurisdiction ouer all the people; so had the Maister of the Horse ouer all the Souldiers. The first that was chosen into this place, was *Spurius Cassius*, created by *Titus Largius*, the first Dictator. To conclude, the Office of Maister of the Horse, was such with the Dictators, as (with *Cæsar*) was that of *Præfectus Prætorium*.

Maister of the Horse, and his office.

23 The occasion of creating Tribunes, was the deuision of the Common people with the Fathers, at Mount *Sacer*. For the Warre (on one side) being concluded with the *Volscians*, and (on the other side) with the *Æqui*, and with the *Sabines*; the Common people also hoping, that (by a promised Law) freedome should bee had from the burden of Vsury, and perceiuing (to their hurt) that the Fathers did but prolong the time: suddenly *M. Valerius* was created Dictator, to appease the popular sedition, and for ease of a most important warre. He hauing begun to intercede for the Common people, and finding both himselfe and them to be deceiued: hee renounced his Office, and went away from the people; who were not a little displeased, because the fathers thought, that the best way to quiet the peoples mindes (vnder colour of an Oath giuen them by the Consuls) was presently to lead them forth to Warre. The people taking the matter very ill, passed the Riuer *Teueron*, and went thence to Mount *Sacer*, which was three Miles distant from *Rome*. This bred such a terrour in the Fathers, not knowing how the Common-weale should be defended (being now destitute of all thinges necessary thereto) if Warre should be raised from any Neighbour Enemy: that they sent to them *Menenius Agrippa*, (a man dearely respected of the Fathers, and no lesse affected by the people) hee as an Ambassador, should comprenize this discontentment of the people. He speaking very gravely to them, induced the fable of the members, entring into conspiracy against the belly: which so highly pleased the people, that they consented to haue peace with the Fathers. But in the conditions of peace, they obtained; that there should be Magistrates of the Common people in the Citty. Whereupon ensued, that the *Plebeians* (from that time forward) were to haue two Tribunes in full authority, *A. Virginius*, and *T. Vetusius* then beeing Consuls.

The cause why Tribunes were created.

M. Valerius created Dictator, quickly renounceth his Office.

The people offended with the Fathers.

Menenius Agrippa is sent to the people.

Two *Tribunes* appointed of the common people.

Another time grew the like seperation, and then three Tribunnes more were added to the former two: *Appius*

Claudius, and *C. Quintius*, beeing Conſuls. Afterward, fiue other; in the Conſulſhip of M. *Horatius Puluillus*, and *Q. Minutius*: and ſo (in this manner) the *Romaines* came to haue tenne *Tribunes*.

Ten *Tribunes* in ful number, for confirmation of the Senate.

The authority of theſe men encreaſed in ſuch ſort, that whatſoeuer the Senate ordained, was of ſure ſtrength, if ſo be it were approued of the Tribunes. They ſtood at the entrance of the place, where the Senate were aſſembled (becauſe it was not lawfull for them to enter into the Temple) and thoſe matters deliberated by the Senatours, were committed to the *Tribunes*, to examine them. If they were for the good of the Common-wealth, they ſhould then ratifie them, changing, or adding whatſoeuer they pleaſed: and in ſigne that matters were confirmed by them, they ſhould ſet (vnder the writing) the Letter T.

The prerogatiue of the Tribunes.

But concerning the power of the *Tribunes*, if I might ſpeake at large thereof, I ſhould then alleadge the iudgment of *Labeo Antiſtius*, that excellent Lawyer, whoſe wordes are theſe, as I finde them ſet downe in *Aulus Gellius*. *Wee reade* (ſaith he) *in a certaine Letter of* Atteius Capito, *that* Labeo Antiſtius, *was of great obſeruation, and very learned in the Lawes; yet was he extreamely enclined to liberty, and there-withall of ſuch courage; that* D. Auguſtus *beeing then Prince, nothing whatſoeuer was allowed to be firme or good, but what he found to be ſacred and iuſt in* Romaine *Antiquity*.

Aul. Gellius ex Labeo Antiſt. Of *Labeo Antiſtius* the famous Lawier.

Afterward hee ſheweth, that the ſame *Labeo*, being called by a Commander of the peoples Tribune; ſent aunſwere by the ſame Commaunder, bidding him ſay thus to him that ſent him. *Tell the Tribune, that hee hath no authority to call me, or any other: conſidering, that (accercording to the cuſtome of our Elders) the Tribune hath power to take, but not to call, or commaund. Wherefore, himſelfe ought to come, and then to giue commaund to him who ſhould be taken; otherwiſe, he hath no power to call an abſent man.*

A bold anſwer ſent to the Tribune.

Aulus Gellius affirmeth, that the very ſame is written by *Varro*, in his Book of Humane things. This *Varro*, being one of the *Triumutri*, maintained; that hee was not to bee called by the Tribune of the people: And when he was *Tribune*, hee gaue no commaund that any Man ſhould be called. Matter of greateſt importance in the Tribune, was; that he went vp and downe (as a Mediator) in ſuites of Interceſſions, to prohibite, that no violence ſhould be done them by other Magiſtrates. His leaſt power alſo, was, in publiſhing the Lawes to the people, thoſe which were called *Plebiſcita*. In which Interceſſions, the authoritie of the Fathers making no interuention; they aſſigned ſuch Men as were ſent to the adminiſtration of the Prouinces, in ſtead of the Conſulles: as we may reade in *Plutarch*, in the Life of M. *Cato*, and eſpeciallie in the Tribune-time of *P. Clodius*. I finde alſo recorded, that when all the Tribunes were to agree vpon any matter, if one of them onely varried, and were diſcordant; he might doe more then all the reſt, and eaſily hinder any other that was contrary to him.

Varro in Lib. de Reb. Human. Of the Tribunes power and place.

Plutar. in vit. M. Cato.

24 I can finde no matter at all, concerning this Authoritie, vntill (vnhappilie) the Warre was made by the Romaines vppon the *Æqui*, which procured great terrour to the Citty. For the Conſull which remained at that time in *Rome*, for the better muſtering of Men together, and with the more ſpeede, onely to helpe his Fellow-Conſull, who was beſiedged: *T. Quintius* was created Vice-Conſull, *Albus Poſthumius*, and *Spurius Furius* beeing then Conſuls. And becauſe he was to be ſent in ſtead of a Conſull, he was (the rather) called Vice-Conſull. To him, and others in like place, all the enſignes of a Conſull was graunted, onely excepted, that but ſixe Lictors attended on him, in not vſing the ordinary iuriſdiction committed to the Conſull: albeit (not long after) theſe Vice-Conſuls beganne to haue equality in power and authority with the other. For the Confines of the Empire beginning to be enlarged; diuers charges in Warre were neceſſarily required. Whereuppon, it was concluded, that they which went foorth of the Conſulſhip at expiration of a yeare; ſhould bee Vice-Conſulles the yeare enſuing, and to them, by lots (deuiding the gouernments) all the Prouinces of the Empire were giuen in charge.

The power of the Vice-conſull.

T. Quintius the firſt Vice-Conſull

Vice-Conſuls grow equall in authority with Conſuls.

No Vice-Conſull could (of his owne Prerogatiue (exerciſe any iuriſdicti-

on

on out of his owne Prouince, albeit the case concerned and appertained to the Vice Consuls administration. If the matter (peraduenture) were fiscall or penall, it better deserued reference to *Cæsars* Procuratour or Atturney. If he carried his Wife with him into his Prouince (which were better for him that he did not) hee might chastise her for any euill Act committed. And as he was not to refuse Royall presents giuen him; so ought he also, to obserue a certaine meane in receiuing them: because, as it were very inhumane to receiue none at all; so likewise it sauored of too much couetousnesse, to take all thinges whatsoeuer; but, beside presents sent in free guift, the Vice-Consull ought not to accept of any. Next, he might not buy any thing in one Prouince, to feede on in another. Hee ought not to treate, negotiate, or summarily define any cause, that had neede of further inquisition and examination. But if it concerned diligent enquire in some cases, as the obedience of Children to their Parentes, and (on the other side) what Children or Sonnes were to demaund of their Parents; such matters he might fully consult on, and define. He might also deale with free Seruants, that were ingratefull to their Maisters, or otherwise abused them; and commaund them to bee whipped, without councell of the Ciuill Doctor, or ordinary Iudge. He that wanted an Aduocate, eyther in regard of his pouerty, or powerfull oppression of his Aduersary: hee might, and ought to appoint him one, and take obseruation of the whole businesse, or any other of the like Nature (as in his owne right and lawfull authority) according as all other Magistrates had, to pardon or punish such delinquents. But because the flowing streame of daily occurrences, permitted not the Vice-Consull to attend all occasions: hee was suffered to haue his Legate, of whose office likewise we will speake somewhat briefely.

The Vice-Consuls obseruations in his Prouinces

Concerning Children to their parents, and Seruants to their Maisters.

For poor men oppressed by might.

25 The Vice-Consuls, by the torrent of weighty affaires which continually came vpon them; vsed to send Legates into the Prouinces, who exercised iurisdiction, not as of themselues, or by their owne authority: but as it was committed to them by the Vice-Consuls; nor could they thus appoint them in their sted, except themselues had first bin in those Prouinces. If it happened, that any graue, waighty, or important matter came to the Legate, which required diligent care of the Iudge: the Legate ought to referre it to the Vice-Consull, because he had no authority to shed blood, nor punish by stripes. Neuertheless, he might giue iudgment in occasions of litigancy; and on such as had the tutelage of Orphanes. The vice-Consul vsed to ratifie arbitrated causes, and he might send no Legate, vntil himselfe were parted out of the Prouince. If peraduenture the Legate died in the Prouince; the Vice-Consull tooke the charge on him, as the Legate in his life time left it. And if the Vice-Consull, (vpon some earnest and important businesse) was to part from the Prouince: hee might referre any cause to the Legate, although it concerned the life of a Man.

Of Legates, or rather Auditors to the vice-Consuls, and what their authority was.

When Legats were to be sent into the Prouinces.

26 I am of opinion, that the *Ædilitas Plebei*, was a very auncient kinde of Magistracy, and yet I make some doubt, whether the *Ædiles* were first created, before the Tribunes of the people. I remember, that (the Kings being expelled, and the separation of the people made at Mount *Sacer*) a great part of the Romaine people, remained a long time without any Magistrate in the Common-wealth, by whom it ought to bee defended. We read in *Liuie*, that not long after the Tribunes of the people were created, one of the Consuls dying in a Pestilence, and the other being grieuously sicke: the *Ædiles* of the people, tooke the charge of the Tribunes of the people on them, and the administration of the whole Common-wealth. Yet doe I not heereby inferre, that but (as then) their creation began; for it may be, that they were many yeares before. But the wealthinesse of the people encreased afterward in such manner, that out of their owne body or community, they yeilded Dictators and Bishoppes: yea, & many times (vniting themselues with the Fathers) they obtained of them, that two *Ædiles* of the people might be created.

Of the *Ædiles* of the commō people, and the time of their creation.

A great Pestilence in Rome, whereof one of the Consuls died.

The *Plebeians* yeelded Dictators and Bishops of their owne quality.

The *Ædiles* being commaunded, to make prouision for publike Plaies and pastimes, and to set downe an agree-

The yeung *Patritians* against the *Aediles*, craue to be made *Aediles*.

ment for sollemne daies in the Kalender, both which were referred to their charge, they making deniall thereof: it is said, that the young *Patritians* challenged their aptnesse to such an Office, in honour of the Gods, and craued, that they might be made *Ædiles*. Their motion being no way misliked, but rather much commended: the Senatours concluded, that the Dictator should elect two Cittizen *Patritians*, who must be *Ædiles*; the Fathers and the *Comitij*, tearming themselues to bee Authours thereof. Whereupon were created two *Patritian Ædiles*, to wit; *Cneus Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. Last of all, there were two other created by *Iulius Cæsar*; who looking to the prouision of Corne, were therefore called *Cereales*. I finde among Authours, worthy of good credit, that the *Ædiles* receiued their name of *Ædes*; which signified a sacred Temple, and their charge was, to be carefull of Temples. And because they were created of the *Patritians*, they had the name also of *Curules*; because they were carried, either to the Pallace, or else where by Land, in Chariots or Litters. The *Plebeians* and the *Curules* are so wel knowne, that I thinke there needes no further report of their condition.

The two first *Patritian Aediles*.

How they tooke their name at first.

Concerning publicke Feasts.

The *Ædiles* appointed publique feasts to bee made, which was no small burthen: because it was ordained, that (according to their Dignity, and State of their Patrimony) such should bee their expences. Concerning this Order, *Cicero* giueth sufficient Testimony, in those Bookes which hee entitled *De Officijs*, where he makes mention of the time, when he himselfe was one of the *Ædiles*, and of *Pompey* the great. * *Asconius Pædianus* saith, that *Pompey* being created *Ædilis*, hauing (at his own cost) builded a maruailous rich Theater: beside the magnificent plaies which were there performed; would needs haue a sumptuous Chariot also, drawne by diuers Elephants. Whereby may further be gathered, that the *Ædiles* were at the charge of the feasts, & of the arguments of the Comedies; because they carried name of those *Ædiles*, vnder whose authority they were made and acted. The *Ædiles* appointed the places for all men to sit in, with due obseruation of their quality and degrees. *Valerius Maximus* writeth, that *Attilius Seranus*, and *Lucius Scribonius*, being *Ediles*, were the first, that (in sitting) diuided the Senate from the *Plebeians*. If a Buyer were deceiued by a Seller, in deliuering him a sicke or weake Beast, for a sound; his helpe was had by the *Ædiles*. They likewise had especiall care, that the Conduits for Water should be kept very cleane, and all other buildings neat and sweete. Finally, if bad things were sold in the markets, vnder the name of good; and rotten or corrupt wares, in stead of honest sufficiency: it appertained to the *Ædiles* to controule.

Cicero in Lib. de Officijs.

* An excellēt expositour of Tullies Orations.

Attilius Seranus and *Lucius Scribonius Aediles*.

27 It was not lawfull for the Magistrates of the Common-weale, to take away the regiment of the ten men, who are said to be created on this occasion. The common people being daily mooued with new tumults, by electing Magistrates among themselues, to make lawes for freedome from oppression of Vsury; to contract marriages with the Fathers, and for confirmation of their owne possessions: by these means, matters (both diuine and humane) grew to an ouerthrow; and then, nothing was more desired then Common Lawes, to the end, there might be no lurking corner for enuy; which made them conclude, to deriue (from some place else) lawes for the Citty. Hereupon, three Ambassadors were sent to *Athens*, who should bring thence the written Lawes of *Solon*, hauing first well obserued the Customes and vsage of other Nations. The Ambassadours were these; *Spurius Posthumius Albus*, *Aulus Manilius*, and *Publius Sulpitius Camerinus*. These three men, three yeares after their departure from *Rome*; returned thither againe, and bringing with them the written Lawes: which Lawes, in regard they were to bee more fully perused, exemplified, & accommodated to their vse, there were ten men created by the *Comitij* of Centuries, to ouer-see them for the Common-weales benefit. The ten men were these; *Appius Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, *P. Cæsius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Iulius*, *Aulus Manlius*, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Curiatius*, *T. Romulius*, and *Spurius Post-humius*; from whose iudgement and censure of the Lawes, no man whatsoeuer should any way appeale.

Of ten men created for bringing the Lawes to Rome.

Lawes for *Rome* to be fetcht from some other Country.

Three Ambassadors sent to *Athens*.

Ten men created to peruse the Lawes, and their names.

Of publicke Playes and pastimes.

This

Ten Tables made for the Lawes, that the people might aproue them.

This yeare (therefore) they made ten Tables, and publiſhed them openly, to the end, that the Lawes might bee heard of all the people, with authoritie giuen them: that they might amend, Correct, interpret, and deliuer their opinions; promiſing to be patient in attention, vvhile they were fully read and herd. After they had bin ſufficiently peruſed, they were ſet downe in writing for continuance, openly manifeſted, and the former Magiſtrate quite diſplaced. But a certaine conceit riſing among thē, that if two Tables more were added to them, the *Romaine* Lawes (thereby) would bee made moſt perfect: Heereupon, the *Comitij* were called together againe, euen in the former place of meeting; and there, other ten men wer anew created. Then *Appius Claudius*, to whome the charge of aſſembling the Counſell was committed, contrary to his duty, and againſt the forme of all good vſe: nominated himſelfe for one of the ten, calling theſe alſo to bee his Colleagues, *Cornelius Maluginenſis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *Quintus Fabius Vipulanus*, *Q. Petilius*, *Titus Antonius* Merenda, *Cæſius Dulius*, *Spurius Opius Corniceus*, and M. *Rabuleius*. Theſe men, being verie deſirous to ouer-rule and commaund, made their appearance (the 15. day of May) in the Market place, with twelue Axes each man borne before him, interpreting the ſame to be a matter of the leſſe moment, becauſe they were created without apeale or prouocation. It is ſaid that at their firſt comming into the peoples preſence, they ſeemed as if they had bin ten Kings. And it is a matter (almoſt) exceeding beleefe, what a publicke feare this forme of behauiour bred in the Citty, wherein they were not much deceiued, nor their ſuſpition cauſleſſe.

Two Tables more to be added to the ten.

Ten other mē choſen again, about the two other Tables

The ten men appear before the people.

They began to waxe cruell, and libidinous againſt the people. There vvas no matter heard or handled amongſt them, but it paſt rather by fauour and reſpect, then any Reaſon, Iuſtice, or Equity. They concluded together, that what matter ſoeuer they pronounced in publick, or elſe intended to do; if any man appeald from any one of the Confederates to another: he parted from him with ſuch ſatisfaction as he had bin better not to haue appealed from the former. It was a generall opinion, that they had agreed amongſt themſelues, and confirmed it by oath, neuer to ceaſſe this kind of Counſel, but perpetually to hold this Order of Magiſtracie, with Dominion ouer all the Empire. Vnder this condition paſſed the greater part of the yeare; and vntill the two Tables were added to the ten, there was nothing elſe current, but what paſſed by publication of the *Centuriata* & *Comitij*. Matters fadging thus, the yeare being ſpent, and no other tidinges heard from the Counſel: the people (not a litle lamenting their loſſe of liberty) began to mutiny, & moue a tumult. Inſomuch, that newes came, how the *Sabines* and *Equi* raiſed warre againſt *Rome*. Hauing pondered heereon awhile, the ten men aſſembled the people, and ſelecting an Army out of them, went to the Warre. While there they fought with variable fortunes, *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten, who remayned behind for gouernment of the Cittie, became inamored on a *Plebeian* Virgin, and practiſed (by what meanes hee might) to enioy her company.

The pride and inſolence of the ten men vnto the people.

The *Sabines* & the *Equi* menace warre againſt *Rome*.

The Father of the yong Maiden, whoſe name was *Lucius Virginius*, being abſent from *Rome* at the warre, where hee had a place equall to his worth and merite; had formerly affianced his daughter to a yong Gentleman, named *Icilius*, one of the *Tribunitij*. *Appius* tempting the Virgin with entreats and promiſes, yet no way preuailing to gaine his intent: altered his purpoſe to pride and cruelty, and complotted with one M. *Claudius*, an intimate friend of his, that as he ſat in his Tribunal to liſten cauſes: M. *Claudius* ſhould ſteppe forth, and challenging the Damoſell to be his ſlaue, to demand her in iuſtice, and he himſelfe would puniſh al them ſeuerely, that durſt take on them to approoue her freedome. This luſtfull wretch, taking aduantage of apt opportunitie, M. *Claudius* had ſeized the Virgin, as ſhe paſt ouer the Market place, calling hir his ſlaue-ſeruant, and the daughter of a ſlaue: commanding her to follow him, and offering to carry her away violently, if ſhe made any reſiſtance.

The Hiſtorie of *Appius Claudius*, and the faire *Virginia*.

The compact betweene *Appius* and *M. Claudius*.

The Damoſell (hauing no other company then her Nurſe) cried out for aſsiſtance, becauſe there were many by, to defend her ſtom *Claudius*. But he told them, that they preſumed ouer-raſhly vpon his right, there was neither time or place (as then) for tumults. But if they miſtruſted what he had ſaid, he entreated them to go with

M. Claudius (by his ſtalle pretence) ſeazed *Virginia*, and caried hir before the Iudg.

with him to immediate iudgement. *Appius* sitting ready to entertaine the busines, demanded of *Claudius*, the reason of his disquiet, whereto he thus answered. *This Maiden* (quoth he) *was borne in my house, and of a slaue my Seruant: some while after he was stolne from me, and (vnder the name of daughter) conueyed to the house of* Lucius Virginius, *where euer since she hath forcibly bin kept from me. But hauing now seized her in mine owne right; I craue that she may be sentenced, & that she may part hence with hir maister, or else you deserue not the place of a Iudg.* *Appius* perceiuing so good a beginning, to the end it might not appeare, that he was rash in censure before examination; he caused the Maidens defenders to be called, who alledged, that it was a very vniust proceeding, to call the Virgin in question, her Father being absent about the Common-wealths affairs. Adding other cases of like moment, the young Gentleman *Icilius* (troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*) and *Numidius* his Grand-father, came before the iudgment seat. *Icilius* making a great stir and noise, vsing words likewise very neglect & carelesly, as being of bold and vndanted courage: command was giuen him by a *Lictor* (by Commission deliuered from *Appius*) presently for to make his departure thence. But he resisting, imboldned by a resolued spirit, and the goodnesse of his cause, a great multitude of *Romaines* also being there assembled: *Appius*, to auoide any nouell accident, which might rise frō the people, caused him to giue securitie, that *Virginia* (the day following) should bee presented againe in iudgment. These ill-pleasing Newes were soone carried to her Father, who needed no other Spurre to hast him to *Rome*; where hee himselfe brought his daughter (accompanied with manie worthy Matrons) the next day before the Iudgement seate. With teares and humble intreats, the graue Olde Father desired to haue Iustice; and that the whole case might be publickly discussed; the like did *Icilius* and mournful *Virginia*, assisted by the voices of all the other Ladies.

But *Appius*, whose heat of lust admitted no reason, despising all their woful lamentations; mounted vp to his tribunall, where he gaue sentence, that *Virginia* was the Bond-slaue to *Claudius*. This Iudgement filled all the hearers with admiration; and *Claudius* offering to lay hand on the Maiden, with intent to carry her presently thence: her wofull Father stepped betweene him and the Iudge, and (with abundance of teares trickling downe his White Beard) vttered foorth these speeches:

Heare (O you Romaines) that I haue espoused my Daughter to Icilius, *and not to thee* Appius. *I bred and brought her vp, that she might go vvith a virgins honor to marriage, and not to libidinous rape or deflouring. But if (in a Fathers true affection) my words may seeme offensiue to thee; pardon me, that in thy presence, and before hir face, I may demand of hir nurse, whither she know me to be* Virginias *father or no, that truth being acknowledged, I may part hence with the more contented minde.* Then stepping to his Daughter, as if he intended to aske her some priuate question; he drew forth a Knife (which he had purposely hid) and there slew his Daughter, rather then she should be dishonored. The people amazed at this admirable resolution, gaue so loud a cry, that it drewe more people in multitudes thither; and *Appius* perceiuing a strange tumult toward, to secure his life, musled his face closely, that he might not be knowne in his escape thence. The people taking addantage of this occasion, for their recouery of the City; forthwith entred into Armes, and chose wronged *Virginius* to be their Commander: parting away presently to mount *Auentine*. *Icilius* (on the otherside) drew hon[illegible] his Fathers power of Souldiours; and in example of the *Plebeians*, tenne Militarie Tribunes were immediately created, who (accompanying the other Army) came in verie powerfull manner vnto *Rome*, forsaking Friends, Wiues, and Children, now to redeem the liberty of their wronged countrey.

The ten men, not a little confounded with this sudden alteration; made hast to assemble the Senate, and consult what might be done for safety of the Cōmonwealth. At length, after many and sundry determinations, with very bold reprehensions (by the Senators) giuen to the Ten men, calling them as many *Tarquins*: the Tenne were gladde and faine to submit themselues vnto the power of the fathers, so they might bee freed from publicke Iniuries, and all other doubted Daungers. Concluding withall, that Ambassa-

The false claim of *Claudius* before *Appius*.

The defenders of *Virginia* are called.

Icilius the troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*.

Lucius Virginius bringeth his daughter to the iudgement barre.

Appius gaue iudgement against *Virginia*

The words of *L. Virginius*.

Lucius killeth his Daughter *Virginia*.

The people take Armes, and make *Lucius* their Leader.

The Ten men driuen into amazement.

The Ten men submit to the Fathers.

Peace sought of the cõmon people.

bassadors should be sent to compound & quiet this great disorder. Heerupon, M. *Horatius*, and *Lucius valerius*, good men, and of great authority, were sent to deale with the people about the conditions of peace. The people demaunded (in their peace-conditions) that the ten men might bee punished according vnto their deseruings: but by faire and gentle language in the Ambassadors, such seuerity was mittigated. They were therefore contented, that their wonted Tribunes should be restored to them againe, and the gouernement returne (as formerly it had done) to the dignity of Consuls. By this means, the ten men renounced their Authority, and the *Comitij* were warned fot creation of the Consuls and Tribunes. Thus by this new ordination, the ten mens power was suppressed, and the State came vnto hir woonted honourable kinde of Gouernement.

Consuls again agreed on.

The Præfect appointed for the prouision of Corne.

28. Because wee are discoursing on Offices of authority, I hold it reasonable, that we should say somwhat of the Præfect for Corne, who (in these times) was created out of the woonted order. I find nothing concerning this Magistrate, but that hee was vnder the Consulship of *Appius Claudius*, and *P. Seruilius*, which was the very same yeare, when *Tarquinius Superbus* died, neare to *Aristodemus* the Tirant. It is saide, that about this time, a contention hapned between the Consuls about dedication of the temple of *Mercury*, which finally was concluded with this condition; that he who should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*, shold likewise be appointed for prouision of Corne. The people gaue the dedication to *M. Pletorius*, Captaine of the chiefe Squadron, not in regard that he deserud it, but as a shame and disgrace to the Consuls, for not carrying themselues vprightly in their Consulship. But not finding this matter so apparant in *Liuie*, I am induced to thinke, that it was their error, who tooke vppon them to write so manifestly; because I find, that not long after, *L. Minutius* was made Præfect for Corne. This office was very expedient in hard times, when Corn wanted, and men sold it very deare. It was his charge to procure Corn from all neighboring parts; and he might command any man (who had more then fitted for his owne House and family) to bring it forth to publick sale (how farre soeuer it were off) and to set a price thereon. By meanes of this Magistrate, the people of *Rome* (being many times in great want of Corne) had present helpe. *Pompey* the Great, hauing the same authority, & the same Magistracy, as we now speak of, setting forth from *Sicilie*, with a great quantity of Corne intended for *Rome*, the Mariners told him, that it was not good for them to put to Sea in a tempest or storm. Whereto, it is said (in his Countries behalfe) he returned this answere. *It is good and necessary to saile, but it is not necessarie to liue.* The care for Corne (afterwardes) grew into such fauour and authority, that all such persons as were not thoght meet, nor admitted to accuse in any other case: yet in this onely they had free admision, yea, though they were Strumpets (most infamous) and such like persons.

Example of *Pompey* the Great, in bringing Corne from *Sicily*.

The death of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and *Aristodemus* the Tyrant.

M. Pletorius, Præfect for Corne.

The Præfects power.

29 Through many deuisions of the Fathers, made with the people, who had demanded of them, that (out of their own condition) they might create Consuls, & yet by reason of the wars abroad, the people made no administration thereof: they were faine still to supply the Fathers with men, and giue way aswell to enemies far off, as to contentious Cittizens at home. The first discordancy among the Fathers, was in them, who supposed, that if the Tribunes were created of the Common people; it should be but vnder bare pretence of agreement. Whereby ensued, that matters were so caried, as (by the request of *Camillus*) the Fathers permitted Tribunes to be created, who should be in the sted of Consuls; aswell of the Plebeians, as of the Fathers indifferently, not altering any thing from the Consuls. Then were created three Tribunes of the Consuls authority, whom they called Military, & these were ordained by diuers numbers. Somtimes they were twenty; otherwhiles more, and then againe lesse. But the first three of all, were these; A. *Sempronius Amacinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Cecilius*, all *Patrittians*; and the people were contented, because it seemed, that their owne desires were obtained. At that time also, some came from the Consulship, to be Military Tribunes, yet of Consull-power: as when M. *Genutius* and P. *Horatius* left their Consuls Office. And next to this Magistracy, was that (the name whereof is not expressed) wherein they were in like authority as the Consuls had; chaun-

Tribunes of the Soldiers, and of the Consulpower.

Camillus perswades creation of the Tribunes.

Three Tribunes of the Consuls power, and who the first three were.

Som left their Consulship to be Militarie Tribunes.

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ging only the name, and the people being not thereby impeached.

The Office of the Censors.

30. Many yeares were past in multiplicity of warres, and among ciuill dissentions at home; al which time, the people of *Rome* were not burdened with Tributes, paiments, taxations, or the *Lustrū*; which was the Collection of Toll or custome euery fifth yeare, and purging the Citty by Sacrifices, acording to the ancient manner. For this waighty burden was not laid on the Consuls, who vnder-went the many important occasions of warre: but was recorded by the Senatours, who thoght fit to create a Magistrate for matters of waight, and yet not appertaining to the Cousuls place, to which Magistrate should be giuen the charge of the Notaries, of the Prisons, of the Bookes, of the Tables, of the Lawes, and of the Taxations.

The creation of the two first Censors.

Heereupon, and on better consideration, they created two Censors, *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, and in regard of the Tribute-collections, they were termed Censors: *M. Geganius Macerinus*, & *T. Quintius Capitolinus* being then Consuls. It was also ordained, that this Office or Magistracy should continue for fiue years. But this long limitation was afterward altred, in regarde of the Censors insolence; and reduced to one man only, named *Mamertius Æmilius*, Dictator, in the Consullship of *Iulius Virgilius*, and M. *Appius*. It is wonderfull to consider, how much this preheminence increased in power, being raised out of so weak an Original. It grew to such height, as (in this authority only) consisted the Customes, the *Romain* Discipline, the Senate, the gouerning of the Caualery, the Iurisdiction of priuate occasions, and the taxing of the publick places and people in *Rome*: Alledging in the Senate, electing the Princes of the Senat, gathering the Subsidies, celebrating the fiue yeares Sacrifices, adding good men to the Senate, and commaunding such thence, as were thought vnworthy in his iudgement.

One Censor alone, and not two.

His great power & authority.

Remouing Senators frō the Senate.

I finde, that *Caius Fabricius*, beeing made Censor, he remooued *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, a *Patritian*, from the Senat, because he had spent at one dinner at his table, ten pound in mony. *Marcus Cato* also did put from the Senate, the Brother of *C. Flaminius*, because (beeing entreated thereto by a Strumpet) he commanded a prisoners head to be cut off, he being (at that time) Vice-Consull in *Gallia*. What shall I say of the consuetudes of the Censors, in their aduertisements about all other occasions? Such as were corpulent and well-fed Souldiers, from them they would take both Horse and Armour, to the end they might the better breath thē selus. And if any delighted in sweet smels, or curious apparrell, they accounted it in them as a note of infamy, and therefore remoued them from the army.

The Censors managing of ordinarie occasions.

A *Roman* Caualiero (costly and delicate in Garments, but riding on a Leane and meager lade, so thinne and ouer-statued, that his bones might easily be counted thorough his hide) chanced to meete the Censors vpon the way. They demanded of him, how he came so neatly polished in attire, his countenance ruddy, and of so good complexion, and yet his horse so euill-fauoured and vnsightly? Whereto he answered; *I my selfe haue care of my Cloaths and diet, but my seruant only looketh to my Horse.* The Censors well regarding both him and his aunswere, without anie shew of humanity or reuerence, did leaue him to his own vanity, worthily condemned of notorious infamy.

Of a Romain Gallant, and his horse.

They obserued likewise another man, who was a Citizen, that vsed to yawne or gape very much, especially in those places, where they sat and gaue audience to serious affaires, and he did it with a very irkesome and vnseemly noise: but when they vnderstoode, that want of modesty was not the cause, but meere weakenesse and infirmity; they cancelled him out of their note of Taxation, requiring onely his absence from such place and occasions.

Of an vnwise Cittizen, that had an offensiue infirmity.

When the Censors went into such places where Weddings wer celebrated, and (according to their custome) demanded of the young men, if they tooke their Wiues with their owne free liking and ful contentment, or no: If they made answere, that they accepted the marriage, because their Parents so commaunded; their company was thence-forward despised, and themselues set downe in the Kalender of infamy. Because they held opinion, that it was much vnfitting for the Maiesty they presented, in open sight of their Censoriall seuerity, that an vnmanly, foolish, or ridiculous answere should be made to them. Many other such matters

Of celebration of Marriages, by their owne liking, or commaund of Parents.

ters might be spoken of; but concerning this argument, these may bee sufficient. Only I may not omit, that they helde it somwhat religiously, when one of the two Censors died, the other was sufficient to serue, both in his owne place, and for him that was dead. I know not how this fauor was admitted, but this I am sure of, that it was (not long after) apointed: that the one Censor dying, the other shoulde renounce his Office, and two other men be newly created.

A Censor dying, the surviuer to serue the place of both.

A reason deriued from the *Gaules*, concerning the Censors.

The cause of this obseruation was thus. In those parts where the *Gaules* surprized the City, one of the Censors being dead, the other was substituted in his stedde, which seemed to the *Romains* to be a sign of an euil Augury; whereupon, it was set downe as a perpetuall Law, that such succession should neuer more bee admitted. It was then vnlawfull to create any Censors, but onely of the Fathers: yet this grew (euen as all things else) to an alteration; and then the election fell to bee indifferent. The Censors also had authority, that they should limit the taking of Vsury.

Of three men to conduct the Colonies.

31 The *Arcini*, and the *Ardeati*, hauing had many and continuall fights together on their Confines, waxing at the length weary of warre (in regard of great slaughters and ruins made on both sides) committed their cause of contention to the *Roman* people, and made them Iudges of either's quarrell. Ambassadors being sent from each City to intreat this fauour, a Counsel was called, & (from the Magistrates) the case was referred to the people, whereon there grew verie greeuous contention. For three men beeing choosen to vnder-goe the charge of the whole businesse; *P. Scaptius*, a *Plebeian*, aged in yeares, rose vp and said: *Consuls, if it be lawfull to talke concerning the Common-wealth; I cannot endure; neither will I, that the people shoulde erre in this matter.* But the Consulles laughing (as at a man that doted) would no further heare him. Hee grieuing, and much displeased, that such a publicke cause should be betrayed and smothered; was (by commaund) remoued thence by one of the *Lictors*. He appealed from them to the Tribunes, and being brought before them, he began in this manner: *I want not one day of ninetie three yeares old, and I do very well remember, that those Fieldes for which these two people contend thus together; belonged neyther to the one or other, but to* Coriolanus; *for I (at that time) was a warre-fellow with him.* Coriolanus *taking these fields by fortune of the warre, they fell (by that meanes) to the people of Rome. In which regard (methinks) plain truth should perswade the people, not to deceiue themselues in a case so apparant.*

The wordes of P. *Scaptius*, in the Counsell.

His appeale and words before the Tribunes.

The granity and authority of the man, moued not so much, as the vse and commodity of the fields, and so highly preuailed the power of the Tribunes, that this cause appearing in this forme to the people; a Law was forthwith made, whereby the Fieldes were interessed to the people of *Rome*. This act greatly blemished the Maiesty and reputation of the Romaine Common-wealth; and the *Romains* were much blamed and reproued of their neighboring people, and of the Citties confining with them. The Fathers hadde no great liking of the matter, and not long after, a case of high iudgement hapning vnto the *Ardeati*, against the *Volscians* in their aide, beeing earnestly desirous also to cancel such an infamous sentence, they grew to this deliberation. In regarde that the Citty of *Ardea* (by ciuill warre) was reduced into the hand of a few, and consisted but of a few inhabitants, they must be written for a Colony, or sent (for present helpe) against the *Volscians*. This conclusion being told to the people, & pleasing them (much better) to bee Written downe *Rutilians*, then *Romaines*: the *Ardeati* were iudged to bee the chiefe, because their fields (at the first) had bin gorten by so infamous a iudgement. Then were three men elected to conduct these Colonies, to wit; *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Ciuilius Succulus*, and *M. Flutius Elus*. I denie not, but that this Office or authority might consist of greater personnes, because it had so high and notable a beginning. It appertained to this place, to deuide the field to new Colonies, to designe the Citty, and appoint conuenient places for buildinges, to distinguish it also into wards & streets, ordaining & composing the Common-weale, in forme of an excellent, especiall, and well ordered Tabernacle.

While two sides contend a third (beyond expectation) preuaileth.

The Romans seeke to wipe of their disgrace.

The three men that wer choosen for the Colonies.

32 By continuall ciuill warres and dissentions, the Fathers being ouercome by the people; and hauing granted them, that one of the Consuls should bee created

Of the Praetors, and their authority.

ted of the *Plebeians*, they reserued onely this open way to the Consulship, and afforded the people that they might create one only Magistrate of the Fathers, and cause him to be called an appointed *Prætor*; whereof a reason being rendered to them of the land, they termed him *Vrbanus*, of *Vrbs*, which was the Citty. Afterward, such was the Authority of this Magistrate, that in euery priuat and publick iurisdiction, hee had the power to erect new Lawes, and to take away the olde. Last of all, his prerogatiue so largely extended, that whatsoeuer the Prætor commanded, in honour of him, was called an honourable Law. All the regall Ensignes were graunted to the Prætor, and almost all the Consuls adornments; but yet, no more then sixe *Lictors*, and the seat called *Curulis*, with euery other thing to them appertaining.

Power to make newe Lawes, and deface the olde.

The Regall Ensigns giuen to the Prætor.

Now, albeit the Prætors vsed but sixe Lictors, yet I finde in *Plutarch*, that *Paulus Æmilius*, Prætor, going into *Hiberia*, had twelue Lictors afforded him. The Prætors rode on White Horses, wearing likewise white Garments, and the *Roman* Footmen going by their Stirrops, were all apparrelled in white also, as *Iuuenall* affirmeth.

Plu in vit. Pau Emil.

Iuuenall.

At length, an infinite number of strangers comming to Rome from all partes; and one Prætor seeming not to be sufficient for the multitude of businesse daily insuing, another Prætor was created, who was called the *Pilgrim*, because he heard the causes of Pilgrims and Strangers. But the Monarchy greatly increasing, the nũber of them likewise so inlarged, that somtimes there were eighteene Prætors, for the dispatch of occasions. And because it was thought inconuenient that Magistrates themselues should be seene publickly in the Night time, fiue men were apointed, who dwelt on each side the Riuer of *Tiber*, to execute the Office to such Magistrates belonging. But after the surprizall of *Sardignia*, *Scicilia*, *Spaine*, and the *Narbone* Prouince, there were so manie Prætors created, as Prouinces had beene taken, to the end, that some might attend the affaires of the Citty; and others also, apply the Prouinces businesses. Within a while after, *Cornelius Sylla*, added publicke tortures for Forgers of Writinges, Parricides, and impoysoners, and added foure Prætors also. *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, appointed two *Prætors*, and two *Ædiles*, who were to haue charge for the prouision of Corne, and (of *Ceres*) they were called *Cereali*; so that then there were twelue Prætors, and six Ædiles. Afterwardes, *D. Augustus* made vp the number of sixteen Prætors; and *Claudius* sought to haue added two more; but *Tiberius* placed one, and *D. Nerua* another, to render a faithful reason of the trust committed to them concerning the Treasuries priuat & publicke. And thus the number of eighteene Prætors was completed for gouernment in the City. All these things also they obserued, when they (as Magistrates) were in *Rome*: but when they went forth on anie voyage, there remained but one only for the businesse, and he was then called the Præfect of the Citty, which Præfect they before ordained.

18 Prætors at one time.

Fiue Officers for the Night time.

Publicke torments for offenders, deuised by *Cornelius Sylla*.

How the number of 18. Prætors was perfected.

Another Præfect was afterward induced, tearmed of the Latines *Feriæ*, who was created yearely, the other Magistrats being absent, for they then being superintendents of the warres, vsed to permit others into their iurisdictions, except the Præfect of the Land, who continued in the Citty onely.

A Præfect created of the *Feriæ Latini*.

3. Thorough the disastrous Fortunes of warre, vsury being buried, as it were, and the *Roman* people quite vndon, by great summes of debts, the Princes of the people likewise many times attempting to remedy such an vnsupportable difficulty: at length, all their minds inclined to concorde, and they (who were then Consuls) concurring heerein, referred the paiment of their debtes, to publicke care.

Of Fiue men called Dispensators or Stewards.

There were therefore elected fiue men, who by their dispensing and dealing with Monies, were termed *Mensarij*, Bankers, or Mony-changers. The notable Equitie, and great diligence vsed by them, deserued worthily, that their names should be honoured in all their Annalles. The men were these, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decimus*, M. *Papyrius*, *Quintus Pompilius*, and *T. Æmilius*, who dealing in so waightie and important matters, supplied (euermore) both the one and others part, with much modesty, and little iniury. And such was their care and hourely respect, as not only they auoided offence to any person, but likewise could no way be complained on, which was wonderful in discharging such a multiplicity of debts.

Bankers and Changers of Mony & what their names were.

Their care & respect admirable.

Of the *Triumvirat*, or three men, for ordinary rule of the Common wealth.

34. *Iulius Cæsar*, being slain in the Senate house by them that accompanied *Cassius* and *Brutus*, and it appearing, that *Anthony* (by all his endeauour) sought to sway the whole State, and becom Prince of the City: proceeding on in his ambitious thirst of rule, hee trod downe *Cicero*, *Brutus*, & all the rest of that faction, that were contrary to him, & compelled them to forsake *Rome*. But *Octauianus* (who had bin set downe as heire in *Cæsars* wil) being returned from *Asia*: *Citero*, and all other of that faction, ran to ioyne with his power. Whereon ensued, that *Anthony* being constrained to leaue *Rome*, was adiudged by the Senat as an enimy, and (for his vtter ouerthrow) *Hirtius* and *Pansa* (being Consuls, were sent forth, as also *Augustus* with his followers, who neere to *Modena* put him to flight. *Anthony* being thē in a very desperat condition in most humble maner made his recourse to *Lepidus*. Being then wel backt by his countenance and power, they inforced *Octauianus*, who aspired to the dignity, to make a league with them: by which combination, many murders were concluded, & multitude of great persons proscribed to death: Among whom, *Cæsar* granted *Cicero* to *M. Anthony*, by *L. Cæsar*, Vnkle to the said *M. Anthony*. These men (vnder pretext of pious Magistrats) excercised that bloudy tirany, which was called the *Triumvirat*, or office of three men, for gouernment of the commonwealth. But in short while, their intention was apparantly discouered, hauing brought al occasions (both diuine & humaine) into a hurly burly: for hauing consumed both their own & others treasures, with all their vttermost abilities; at length, *Cæsar* got the vpper hand, and being alone in authority, vpheld the *Triumvirat* for some ten yeares, as we may read in *Suetonius Tranquillus*.

M. Anthonie compelled to leaue *Rome*.

Lepidus ioyneth with *M. Anbony*.

Ciceroes life giuen to *M. Anbony*.

Octauianus Cæsar commaundeth alone.

35 Such as wer the *Tribunes* of the light horse for the King, or the Maister of the horse for the *Dictator*; euen such (about *Cæsar*) were the *Præfects Prætorij*. They, with *Cæsar* held the second place, and (as Lieutenants) corrected publick discipline. In such sort increased their authority (hauing at first but a simple beginning) that for a certain time, it was lawfull to appeal from the *Præfectus Prætorius*; but yet the order how the appeale ought to be done, was by censure of the Prince, in granting the appeal from so great a Magistrat. For the Prince held opinion, that such men as attained to this dignity, by their discreete and singular industry (carying due respect of his supreame power) should giue iudgment as if it had bin pronounced by himself. This authority had another priuiledg, that such of yongest yeares, being sentenced by the *Præfect*, could haue no excuse or defence from all the other Magistrats.

Præfectus Prætorius.

Appeale from the *Præfectus Prætorius*.

The Prince gaue order for Appeales.

36 I find, that there was another kinde of Magistracy, for hearing of matters in the City of *Rome*. For the burden of warbusinesses being remoued from the other Magistrats to the *Prætor* only: there were ten men created for hearing of matters, holding the places of *Prætors*, al the while that the other remained abroad, and they were called Magistrats or Iudges of contentions. It is said also, that at the same time, foure other men were elected, who had the charge (as Surueyers) of the highwaies. And three other beside, for care of gold & siluer, atending on the coinage of the Monies, and matters in the Mints.

Of som other inferiour Magistrates.

Iudges of contentions.

37 The famous *Augustus*, reputing that publick welfare and safety appertained to no one person more then to himselfe, ordained seuen troops or squadrons of men in the most needfull places of the City, to the end, that (with all expedition) they might quench fires, or any harms that by fire should happen. And it was ordered, that euery two Regions or Wards of the City, might commodiously be defended by one squadron onely; the *Tribunes* being chiefe of the troops, and yet aboue al, the *Præfect* of the Guard or Watch. And albeit (amongst the ancient *Romanes*) this charge was committed to three Officers for the night, vnto the *Ædiles*, and to the *Tribunes*: yet notwithstanding, there happning (in one day) more mis-haps by Fire, then they (appointed for that purpose) could haue care of, as necessity required; *Cæsar Augustus* thoght it very expedient, that a *Præfect* of the Watch or Guarde should be created. All occasions then concerning fires, thefts, and rapes, were dealt withall before the *Præfect*; except eyther the delinquents personnes were so stubborn, or the facts so famous, that they required reference to the Cities *Præfect*.

Of the *Præfect* of the City, & of the Guard.

Three Officers for night occurrences.

What causes were heard before the Prafect.

And becausse (many times) fires hapned by default in the Inhabitants, they were therefore punnished with whipping, becausse they were so negligent of their fire, or else reprooued with seuere admoniti-

Of fires happning thorowe negligence.

ons, if they escaped whipping. If any breach or decay appeared in such part of the house, where the Father of the family kept his thinges of most respect, eyther for housholde seruice, or benefit of the wars abroad: the case was discussed and sentenced before this Magistrate. For so wrote *D. Augustus*, to *Erictheus* his beloued Præfect, saying; *If Garners or Granaries be rotten or wasted, it pertaineth to thy care to see them amended.* Moreouer, it belonged to the Præfect of the watch or Guard, to haue his officers watch the greater part of the night; and beeing armed, and lighted Lanthornes caried with them; to walke all about the streets of the City, remēbring the people in their houses, to bee carefull of their Candles and fires. They commanded likewise, that euery one shold haue water ready in their houses; that if any such casualty hapned, it might the quicklier be remedied.

D Augustus, to Erictheus Præfect.

Great care to preuent fires.

3. We had like to haue omitted two Officers (whose charge was to order, settle, and place the Armies) thinking their imployment not to bee of any great importance; but seeing *Liuy* hath recorded them, we may not silently slip them. In the yeare when *Appius Claudius* (who afterward was sur-named blind) was Censor, *M. Valerius*, and *Publius Decius* being Consuls, two offices then began by the peoples gift (as *T. Liuy* saith) both of them appertaining to the Commonweal. One, which (by the *Tribunes* of the Souldiors) was created in the 4. Legions; and being a little before left, fell as a benefite to the *Dictator* & Consuls. These places by the *Tribune* of the people, was giuen to *Attilius*, and *C. Martius*. The other, was an ordination of two men by the same people, to restore, order, and settle the Armies by sea, & referd to the deliberation of *M. Decius Tribune* of the people. Not long after these publick fauors, 2. men were selected forth for night occasions; to whom (as I gather by some obseruations) in the difficult times of war and ciuil dissentions, the charge of the wals was cōmitted in trust, and a Guard for ouer-seeing the soldiers. It was also referd to their fidelity, to preuent all tumults in the night; all idle walking and talking, and that the City might be in absolut quiet. Finally, the seueral duties of such a Magistrate, were granted to the *Præfect*, termed *de Concordia*. The very names of these Magistrats, did declare their offices; and *Liuy*, the Authour of these matters, speaketh thē no further, nor find I other mention made of them.

Of two men, for ordering and placing the Armies.

Two Offices giuen by the peoples full Authority.

Three Officers apointed for especiall occasions.

The Præfect of the *Concordia*.

39 It remaineth now in this last place, to speak somwhat of *Cæsars* aduocats or Atturnies, who was Iudge between *Cæsar* & the people of *Rome*, albeit custome induced, that soueraign greatnes (from whom proceeded the lawes, decrees of the whol Senat, and of the Magistrates) should not be subiected to law, whereof himself was head and president. And because it exceeded possibility to find a greater person thē the Emperor, that might in his priuat cases, and other mens actions, yeild a direct proceeding, without the Prince himself, to sit as Iudge in his own proper cause: it was therefore determined, that a Magistrate should be created, who (betweene *Cæsar*, and a priuate person) might sit in iudgment, and to be called *Cæsars* Procurator or Atturny. To this Magistrate was granted license, that whatsoeuer hee dealt in of the Imperiall affaires, was as firmely ratified, as if it had bin done by *Cæsar* him self. But if the Atturny alienated any thing belonging to the Emp. as if it wer properly his own, it was not therefore to be iudged, that the Emp himself had made such an alienation; but it was firmely aliened, whē *Cæsars* consent gaue testimony therof. If he bought or sold, dealt in Donations or bargains, they were not good; because his charge was not to estrange any thing of the Emperours, but to execute *Cæsars* busines diligently. Principally, he was to be carefull, that if a seruant of *Cæsars* was ordinary heire in any Will; hee shold command his succesion in that inheritance, & boldly do it in *Cæsars* name; because such matters as a slaue atained to was by the means of his maister. But if he were *Cæsars* heire, and the Atturny made mixture of a richer inheritaunce then his right; he was then no heire of the Emperors. But if the goods fell to *Cæsar*, which could not easily bee found: the Atturney ought to preuent the Emp losse, by diligent inquisition of the will, and due examination of euer party. Thus haue we sufficiently discourse of *Cæsars Procurator*, and al the other *Roman* Magistrats, from the beginning, to the time of noble *Cæsar Augustus*. The name of President was general, because the *Vice-Consuls*, *Legates* of *Cæsar*, and al the *Rectors*, gouerning Prouinces (as the Senators) were called Presidents.

Of *Cæsars* Aduocates, Proctors or Atturnies.

The Prince no Iudge in his own cause

No alienations without *Cæsars* consent

Concerning Heires in wils

The Emperor ought to be no looser.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Rome in her Moderne and later estate, since the Pope name to keepe his Court there, with his Cardinals, and other assistant Officers, &c.

Ou haue seene *Rome* in hir Infancy and first original, so farre as we could go by our best obseruations. We come now to speak of hir, in another kind of nature, since the Apostolicke See grew to be planted ther, and hir gouernment fell into the Popes preheminence. The authority of the pope, he being the chiefe, dispersed it selfe into so many members, that his Courtiers & followers grew into multiplicity of yeares, before they could well vnderstande that forme of gouernment; yet I will bestowe my pains to discouer the same fully, & as briefly as may be. First of all, there is the most holy and Apostolical Senat of Cardinals, whose head is the chiefe Priest, & therefore called *Maximus*, and the Cardinals are his members: of whom, though in our times there is no definite number; yet I find, that in elder times there were but twelue, after the example of the Apostles. These honorable Fathers vsed formerly, to come altogither (twice in the week) to visit the Pope: but in later daies, important affaires & busines being scanted, they meet once togither only; & this meeting is vulgarly termed in the Consistory, of the word *Consistere*, which is as much to say, as being togither: because on the day of their assembly, they stande firmly togither, for publick negotiations. In this Senat are appointed and ordained such as are elected to Bishoppricks, Archbyshoppricks, to *Metropolitane* and *Patriarchall* churches; when such places are vacant; the election of which men, belongeth to the Chapter, City, Prouince, king, or some other person: or otherwise they are elected by the Pope, and this his Sacred Senate, to whom (by a reserued Custome of al the Popes) this office properly is said to appertaine. Which reseruation, was woont also to extend to certaine Monasteries, which wer found to be taxed in the bookes of the Chamber, and in this sacred Senate were either to be granted, or recommended to apt & sufficient persons; and therfore those Monasteries were cald Consistoriall, because no other disposition was made of them, but by meanes of the Consistory.

In this place, they discourse on all matters which appertained to Diuine Reuerence, Faith, Religion, and peace of the Christian flocke, also for presentation of temporal patrimonies giuē to the church of *Rome*. In this Senate (as being the greatest in al the world) al Prouinces, all Iurisdictions, and all Kings were faide to haue their defensiue Fathers, whom they tearmed Protectors: whose charge then was, to propound the election, and other occasions of their Prouinces in the sacred Senat. He that propoundeth the case, ought to hear (in the election) al contradictions if any hapned, and to seeke out of many, for the fittest person to bee elected, or to take order for the Church vacant, with al things necessary to the said Church, performing the same by way of testimonie. Which inquisition or search, was vulgarly called, proceeding by Processe; wherein all things were orderly set downe, and recited at large by the propounder, he hauing first made his purposed preamble to the sacred Senat. Then was he to vnderstand the Senats answer, which (according to order) was subscribed, and sealed, and vnder-written, the Apostolicall answere. This answere, by such as gaue attendance for it, was presented to the Vice-chancellor, who framed another Schedule in his name; whereby he faithfully signified to the Officials in all places, that had charge of expedition, what belonged to them to see immediately performed. The relation thus obtained, the Suppliants required and procured to haue a Breeffe, conformable to the Relation; to wit. That it might first be done among the Abbreuiators, next indited in true forme among the Clearkes; and being written, to passe through all the other Offices; then to the Chancery; next, vnto the Apostolicall Chamber, and (sometimes) to be extraordinarily fauoured by the Secretary; of all which Offices we will speake in their due places. Being dispatcht, it hadde the Seale of Lead; and this last expedition, was to be done by the Officiale.

2 The times haue bin, that most places in the world, made humble intercession

The Popes authority diffused into many members.

The pope and his Cardinals.

The meeting of the Cardinals.

What is done in this Holy Senat.

A reserued custom of the Popes to certain Monasteries.

Of the sacred Senate in the Consistorie, said to be the greatest in all the world.

Proceeding by way of processe.

The Apostolicall Answere.

A Breeffe answerable to the relation passing thorow many offices.

Of the chiefe Penetentiary.

The power of binding & loosing.

to the Pope, as being perswaded, that he had the selfesame blessings & graces conferred on him, as our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ bestowed on S. *Peter*, to wit; to loose & bind in earth, whatsoeuer seemed to his best liking. This prerogatiue of loosing and vnbinding, reserued by the Pope to himselfe, was granted by him to one of the Cardinals, whom we vse to cal the chiefe Penetentiary; & he, forsomuch heereof as appertained to him, consonant with the Law Diuine, and his owne saluation, did exercise this authority (committed to him by the Pope) by diuers Vicars and Substitutes, commonly called Penetentiaries, who were diuided into all the chiefest Churches in *Rome*; as S. *Peters* in *Vaticanus*, S. *Iohn Lateranus*, S. *Maria Maiore*, &c. But the dispensation to bee made in obseruation of human lawes, was not granted, except vpon some cause, and by himselfe, and by generall commission of the Pope. To heare first the suppliants in such cases; and after their demand wer known, to see if there were cause, whereby the desirer deserued to be herd, & whither the case thus required, were wont to be granted to the Pope, or no. Then hee writes it vnder Apostolicall power, and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth; but by the generall commission affirmed in his letter, and his Commisions (authorized to write so) from the Popes mouth; and credit heerein is giuen to his assertion, as a matter belonging to his office. In supplications directed to the Pope, the rescription was in one of these kinds; *Fiat in forma*, *Fiat de speciali*, *Fiat de expresso*; by which variety of answer back, is declared to the Maister of the Taxations, the importancy of his request. And he, according as the Penetentiary hath varried in his forme, so doth he direct the other Officers, in taxation of paiment. But now adayes, the multitude of Lawes haue so increased, both of the Popes, the Counsels, and of Monasteries, that men (being formerly bound to a certaine rate) do desire againe their auncient liberty, and are the more humble seruants to the Penetentiary. But he, after he hath signed the suppliants request vnder his hande, the Bull is likewise dispatched vnder his name and seale. And because somtimes it is not precisely written yet cleare enough, what assertion of the suppliant is referred to his Iudge: the cause being so knowne, the act is absolued, and he restored to his Office againe.

The churches of the Penetentiaries.

Dispensation for keeping of human Lawes

Of Supplications directed to the Pope, and of their answers.

New taxations far differing from the old.

This sacred Office of the Penetentiarie, hath (for the more commodious ease of such as come for expedition) 24. Defenders of the suppliants causes, who are termed Procurators of the holy Penetentiary. These men, as Aduocates, do declare the extendure of the parties request, and plead the case (as it were) to the Penetentiary; from whom they procure to obtain the matter demanded, and to make expedition of the Bull. They vsed also, to set downe the whole proceedings in Iustice, with all the Allegations, *Pro & Con*, on either side, in true and faithfull manner. To this Office, belonged dispensations for marriages, in degrees prohibited by humain Lawes, Legittimation of Children, Dispensation for defect in members of such as had taken orders, or were beneficed. Moreouer, for incompatibilitie of many Benefices, Absolution for Homicides *in foro de conscientia*, and for clarkes in both kinds, with retention of Benefices, or dispensation to some other benefice. The like for Simony, or for banishment, for an oath taken voluntarily, for a false Oath, for communication of Vowes, and Licence for obseruation of any humain Law, especially to Regulars, of what Chapter soeuer they were; with Indulgences for place and person. Beside infinite Commissions, in *forma Iuris*, in declaring a *Nullitie* or *Validitie* of Matrimony, which they termd *Declaratory*. And in many other matters, much better knowne to them that are practised in such iudgments, or in the ecclesiastical courts, where they are frequently entercoursed.

24. Procurators attending on the Penitentiarie, and what was their Office.

Of matters belonging to the Penetentiary Office.

The Warehouse of Romain commodities.

3 Continually, suit is made for matters signed by the Pope, in cases that come of his owne voluntary, or out of his liberality; as concession of Benefices, and other gracious fauours, which are likewise generaly committed to the chiefe Penetentiary. Beside, there are some things concerning Iustice, about matters Ecclesiasticall, in most parts of the world, and also of the prophaned temporall patrimonies of the *Roman* Church, deuolued thereto by accounts of ecclesiasticall persons, or by the remission of princes, or by consent of other persons, and giuen to the Court of *Rome*. The Pope for all these occurrences, & for the speedier dispatch of suters; apointed two audiences, in which Courts both

Of both the Seales or Signature.

Two Courtes of Audience appointed by the people.

both those matters appertaining to grace, are made suit for; and those that do more properly depend on Iustice; for either of which, there is a Court of Audience, and they are termed by seuerall names, to wit; *The Signature of Grace or fauour*, and *The Signature of Iustice*. To each of these Courts of Audience are certaine Lawyers appointed, and to the Signature of grace, do belong all those Cardinals that are Lawiers: for very rarely or sildom are any Prelates thereto appointed, if they be not Lawiers, and they are commonly called *Referendaries*, ordained both for grace and Iustice, by both the Signatures.

The two Signatures.

The Office of the Referendaries.

Their charge and imployment is answerable to their Offices, to regard what is required by suppliants, as also, to ouersee whither the requests made, doe tend to such matters, as vsually were and are to be graunted, which accordingly they insert in the forhead of the supplication, & then signify the same to the Pope: or to the Cardinall appointed to signe it, that the demand may be lawfully granted. But if the suppliant desire any thing, that may be preiudiciall to some other bodye; it is not granted, vntill the other party be first called. If then the case appeare to be important, rarely (in former times) seene to be granted; or else so doubtful, as the Referendary scarcely knowes what to resolue therein: it is then referred to the Court of audience, among other matters of like nature, where the suppliant is sure not to obtaine it, vntill it be agreed on by al belonging to that Signature. Heereupon, and for ease in such serious affaires, the Pope appointed a Cardinal, to attend on both the one & the other Signature, who ordinarily graunteth matters, if they bee light; and great matters also, if they were wont to be granted. The vnder scribing *De Iure*, was vsed by the Pope, but he referred this Office to a Cardinall his Substitute; so that the Pope (very sildome or neuer) vnder-writeth *De Iure*.

For important and doubtfull cases.

A Cardinall attending on either of the Signatures.

No medling in one and others Office.

The Referendaries attending on the Signature of grace, doe refuse all supplications, containing matter appertaining to Iustice, because it hath much displeased the Pope, that any belonging to the one Signature, should meddle in the others Office, but euery man to respect his owne charge. One day in the Weeke, is appointed for the Signature, wheron the Referendaries do meet togither, & ioyntly consult, whither any matters that haue passed in the Courts of Audience, do require them to bee there present, or not. And heereupon, the (day before that appointed for the Signature) the suters vse to come with their Aduocates, to the Referendaries for either occasions; because sildome (or neuer) any contradiction is disputed on the day, in any cause, be it neuer so vrgent. Vpon the day of hearing, it is the Office of the Referendary, briefely to declare (in the Court) the Suppliants request, which passing the iudgement of the Fathers: he who sitteth as President, graunteth or denieth the suite, according as most or fewest voices do yeilde liking therof. And the Referendaries do obserue it as a Law, that if a request be once denied; they neuer after vrge it any more.

The Day appointed for Audience.

If the Suppliant find himself to be contradicted in his suite, hee cites him that hinderer, to com before the Referendary appointed for propounding the case, in this maner; *Coram Reuerendo, A. let N. be cited to render reason, why the Supplication or Commission ought not to be signed.* These citations are made answerable to the quality of the request, for appearance before the *Most Holy*, or *Most Reuerend*, because the Signature of grace requireth the presence of his *Holinesse*; and that of Iustice beseemeth a *Reuerend Presence*; where it is lawfull for euery Referendary, to propound what time is expedient for grant, each mans eldership and dignity beeing duely considered. But at the Signature of grace, if it be brought before the Popes presence; two onely haue their authority to propound, as their antiquity appeareth by the Court Roll. And yet in the time of *Paul* the third, very sildom the second man had leaue to speak, so that then (by little and little) matters grewe restrained to one propounder only, especially as the businesse increased.

In contradiction of Suites, what Citations are to bee called.

Obseruation concerning the Signature of Grace.

The Pope euermore subscribeth in this maner: PLACET, A. when it is a matter concerning Iustice: but if it appertaine to Grace, the Worde *Placet* is chaunged, and then hee Writeth; PLACVIT PETITVR A. and this Letter A. signifieth the Popes true Name, as *Alexander*. But if his name be otherwise; then, as *Iulius* the third, he writes I. that is, *Ioannes Maria*, & so from time to time. If at any time the Pope subscribe, not by any suite or entreaty, but as

The maner of the Popes subscribing to petitions, either on suit made, or of himselfe

One day in the weeke for the Signature

of himself: then he writes not *Vt Petitur*, but makes this addition, MOTV PROPRIO. But the Cardinal attendant on the Signature of grace, writeth alwaies in one and the same forme, to wit; CONCESSVM IN PRÆSENTIA, D.N. PAPÆ: and then he vnder-writes his own name, PP. CARDINALIS PARISIVS, which hee writeth not in the Popes presence; but this fauour is only granted him to doe it, by vertue of the generall commission he hath. The same words also are vsed by the Prelate of the Signature of Grace, belonging to the said Cardinal, and is his Vicar; but then he addeth (beside the Cardinals name) his own, in this maner: C. EPISCOPVS CESENNAS.

The Cardinal for the Signature of Grace

The Prelat of the Signature

Now, as concerning the forme of subscribing in cases of Iustice, when it is written vnto the Iudges of the Romaine Court, he settes downe, PLACET. D. N. PAPÆ, and then addeth his owne Name. B. CARDIN. IVDICIONVS. If he Write to the Iudges of the Prouinces, then he saith, CONCESSVM IN PRESENTIA D. N. PAPÆ, B. CARDIN. IVDICC. And sometimes he Writes, *Placet prout de Iure. Placet arbitrio Iudicis. Concessum arbitrio, &c.* Now, to know what is Written concerning Iustice, and to bee sent vnto the Iudges in the Prouinces; they come no otherwise to the Regents hand, but (without any other forme of Signature) are deliuered to the Datary, as likewise those of Grace are, writing onely in them the day of the date. Afterwardes, they are set downe in the Register, where (word by word) they are recorded in publique Bookes, and being first heard, they are then giuen to the Suppliants, or to their Sollicitors, in forme of a Letter for expedition. For speedier dispatch in these affaires, when the case belongeth to Iustice, there are three seuerall waies or meanes, to wit; by the Chancery; by the office of contradiction, vnder the Leaden Bull, or by the Secretary, in forme of a Brieffe, *Sub Annulo Piscatoris*, as cõming from concession, to the rescription. But if the matter be of grace and fauour; it is expedited by the same Chauncery, or by the Chamber, and sometimes by the Secretary extraordinarily.

The maner of writing in cases of Iustice.

To the Iudges of the prouinces.

Three wayes for dispatch of businesse belonging to Iustice.

4 The Office of the Chancery, hath a Cardinall thereto appointed, who is commonly called the Vice-chancellour, and his degree (by solemne iudgement of all other Officers) is the very chiefest, and before all other belonging to the Court of *Rome*, both for dignity, authoritie, and benefit. This man, in regard of his proper Office, is President and present at the expedition of all Letters (concerning Ecclesiasticall occasions) that passe through the world, and ordereth the expediters, who are a great number of them, as Abbreuiators *de parco maiori* (whose Office is, to endite Letters at request of Suppliants; which enditing is tearmed a rough draught, or coppy of the request) Clarks, Writers, and Abbreuiators also *De parco minori*, whom the *Italians* doo call *Giannizzeri*, Casters of Leaden Bulles, and Registers or Keepers of Records. Al these do attend on the expedition of Letters, in some one or other Negotiation. Next these, there are other Officers, who must be sought after in the time of expediting, for agreement of paiments of Annates, first fruits, and such like, attending on no other charge, but receipt of the said Annats, fruits, and like paiments, they being Clarkes in the *Chancery*, Groomes of the chamber, and Bankers of Monies.

Of the Chancery and vice-Chancellor.

Abbreuiators *de Parco maiori*

Abbreuiators *de parco minori*

The order of expedition is in this maner. After that the Suppliant hath gotten his Supplication to bee signed and Registred, he or his Sollicitor for him, dooth procure amongst the Abbreuiators, *de Parco Maiori*, that there may bee a rough Draught or coppie made of his request; which being in due forme enlighted, it is next drawne amongst the Clearkes in forme of a Letter, and Written in the Chancery among the bench of writers. Then it is taxed or valewed by him that is called the Rescribendarie; and vvhen he hath taxed it, another Officer, termed the *Contatore*, or keeper of the Accounts, sets his hand therto, when paiment of the taxations is made to the Clearkes. Afterward, another draght of the same is made among the Abbreuiators *De Parco maiori*, where another taxation is paide to the Sollicitor, as the sum of fiue * *Iulioes*, and there one of them likewise subscribeth his name. The Abbreuiators *de Parco Maiori*, hauing receiued their fees, they then send backe the Bull to the Abbreuiators, *de Parco Maiori*, at vvhose Bench or seat two Officers (thereto deputed) doe subscribe their Names, vnder the Name of the Abbreuiatour *De Parco Minori*.

The order of expedition, in the Courts of *Rome*.

*About the value of halfe a Crowne.

From

From hence, the Letter is carried to the Sollicitors Office, appointed for those Letters, called *Giannizzeri*, where payment is made, according to a taxation of so much in the hundred: for, if the taxation be of thirty Ducats, then two Ducats and two Carlines are deducted for the Chauncery; but if the taxe be vnder thirty, then one Ducat is paid, and two Carlines. From this place, it is afterward carried to another Seat of the *Abbreuiators de parco minori*, where sit the viewers, or ouer-seers, and there the Sollicitor paies a Carline to one of the *Abbreuiators*, who sets his hand to the Letter, a little beneath the subscription of the Clearke Apostolicall. But if the matter therein contained, be such as requireth the Annates paiment; then pay is also made to al the Officers in the Chancery ratably: as to the *Giannizzeri*, or Apostolique Sollicitours, to the Clearkes of the Exchequer, to them of the Chamber, the Groomes and Bankers. The foresaid payments beeing made, the Bull is brought backe with the supplication therein enclosed, to the *Abbreuiator de parco maiori*, that drew the rough draught. He peruseth the Bull, to see if it concord with the Supplication, and if he finde them correspondent; his iudgement passeth so, & then he writes down his name, in signe of approbation, which he testifieth, by casting the Bull, with the Supplication enclosed, from his Seat to the ground, and then the Keeper of the Chancerie, or his seruant for him, taketh it vp from the ground, and looketh aduisedly; whether it be subscribed by all the Officers, according as the cause requireth, and if the date doe agree with the supplications grant of date; which doone, he sends it to the Regent of the Chancery. His authority is, to see by whom it hath been iudged and allowed, which if hee finde conformable to his liking, he sends it to one of the Abbreuiators, to the end it may once more bee ouerviewed; and then deuiding the supplication from the Bull, hee layes it aside where it ought to be kept. If the Bull doe containe grace and fauour, then is it againe subscribed by his hand, and on the right side hee maketh a great text Letter A. and on the left, an I. drawne very large and long. Afterward, it is circumscribed round about with Text Lines, by the Clearkes and Abbreuiators appointed for such Bulles. This being done, it is laid on a certaine Desk, and all the Officers of the Chancerie being finished, the Officer of Lead commeth, and receiueth it from the Regents hand, he carrieth it to his leaden office, where hee fastens a Bull of Lead to it, with a silken little cord. Then the Keeper of the Chancery, perceiuing it to be returned to the Regent; he requireth it at his hand, that it may bee deliuered to the Suppliant; he hauing first paide a *Iulio* to each Man: then passing on by the *Giannizzeri*, there it receiueth finall expedition.

5 This Audience became so tearmed, on this occasion. There was a domesticke Audience of the Pope, where he himselfe both heard and discoursed on many matters: Whereupon, for speedier expedition, sixe Domesticke Prelates were made choise of, who were then called Clearks of the Chamber, as men elected to be of the Popes Chamber; because *Cheros* (in Greeke) is as much to say, as elected by lot, by which example they were tearmed Clearkes, they being all elected for diuine seruice. These Men were Domesticall Councellours to the Pope; with whom the Pope vsed to discourse on all thinges that belonged to him, and deuided from the sacred Senate; as gouerning of the Cittie, the whole Temporall Estate, and the accounts of the Exchequer. Heere the Pope elected Magistrates, and there (to this day) an oath is receiued by them of the Chamber, for faithfull behauiour in their Offices. Heere, the contracts and bargaines are handled, of such matters (on the Popes behalfe) as concerne publique dealing by his disposition. Heere, expedition is vsed in Letters of Benifices, euen as well as in the Chancery; when Suppliants make choise of this way, for quicker speede, or in regard of the businesse; or because such matter belongeth not to the Chancery; but requireth the expresse commaund of the Pope. Heere, Malefactors are sentenced for punnishment, be they Ecclesiastical or Temporall, according to the persons qualitie, or manner of the offence. Heere, the causes are heard, concerning Toules and

The order of taxations and paiments of Monies in seuerall offices.

The officer of the Leaden Buls.

Of the Audience in the Apostolicall Chamber.

Domesticke Councellours to the Pope.

The manner of the Buls approbation by the Abbreuiatour *De parco maiori*.

Matters handled and dispatched in the Apostolicall Chamber, according to their quality and nature.

and Taxes, and such like publike occasions appertaining to the Church, in all places of the World, or to the Temporall Estate of the Church, be it between priuate persons and a Generality, or priuate men and the Exchequer. Heere finally, concurrence is made, by way of appellation, or otherwise, for all such as are molested, in behalfe of the vniuersall Temporall State of the Church; as by a supreame and proper Audience of the Pope. But *Romaine* businesses ouer-abounding, both in Negotiations and other causes: the Pope (easing himselfe by little and litle from this burden) commeth now very sildome into this Audience; except it bee on important affaires, concerning eyther the Treasury, or slow expedition of his Buls. He vseth likewise (now a-dajes) separatelie to expedite some of the fore-named matters by himselfe, without the chamber Audience; as election of Magistrates, and other causes most importing, which he thinkes fit to dispatch alone: in execution whereof, he calleth to him such as are his Familiars, who also are tearmed Housholde Secretaries.

The ouer-abounding of Romaine businesses.

Matters dispatched by the Pope himselfe.

6 The Chamberlaine vseth, on behalfe of all the rest, and sometimes euen of himselfe, to write *De Iure* to the Iudges, as of all profane matters appertaining to Magistrates, of the Temporall Estate of the holy *Romaine* Church. And abroad also, for paiment of tenths, of Fruits, of Benefices, of spoiles, of dead Clearkes, and of other causes belonging to the Apostolique Chamber. He writeth alwaies, as by Commission, from the Popes owne mouth, and is credited, as occasions really appertaining to his Office; the forme of his writing beeing tearmed, Letters from the Chamber. The expedition of these Letters are in two kindes; the one, close signed and sealed; the other open, and deliuered vnder the Chamberlaines Seale.

Of the Chamberlaine, and the seauen Clearkes.

Letters from the Cnamber.

7 Next to the Chamberlaine, the Treasurer is the cheefest, in regard of his office: and he is called Treasurer, because hee is put in trust with all the Monies, that are brought into the Apostolike Chamber, where his charge is to receiue it, keepe it, and lay out for expences, as occasion requireth. For some certaine yeares, not long since, they vsed to bring the Money to some worthy Marchant, who (by Commission from the Treasurer) receiued it, and paide it forth again as his Cashiere, being tearmed the *Depositarie*. Whereby the Treasurer hauing the lesse encombrance, vsed to passe diuers things vnder his hand, which (in their owne nature) appertained to other Officers. Especially in those occasions, that (else) were dealt withall by the Commissarie; as payments, bargaines, of buying and selling, Fruits and Rentes, and demises graunted from the Chamber; yea, almost in all other matters, only through weakenesse and simplicity in some, that scarcely knew how to manage their offices.

Of the Treasurer, and his Office.

The Treasurers Cathiere called the *Depositarie*.

8 Next to the Auditour of the Chamber, who is appointed for spirituall causes; the Gouernor hath his place, and he punisheth Offendours with the temporall Sword: for, being the main power of the secular Arme, he decideth causes of strifes, compacts, assurances, breach of peace, quarrels of vassals against their Lordes, although they extend forty miles about *Rome*. He heareth and defineth causes of Hire or wages, without any iudgement Seat, summarily, without Writing, according to the forme of the Romaine Statutes, and common reason; when there is no perticular Statute to the contrary. In all the recited occasions, he euermore preceedeth the Senatour, because the first recourse is made to him: but if all the parties be present at an instant, then the case is referred to the Senatour. And yet the Gouernour cannot excommunicate, or threaten any Ecclesiasticall censure; because it belongeth to the peculiar charge of the Auditour of the Chamber. Finally, this man (as Vice-Chamberlaine) is appointed to all the Law-businesses, and offices in the cittie, & by reason of his precedency, attedeth for the peace of the Cittie, and Court of *Rome*, being assisted by all other Officers of the Citty, and of the Court, in matters appertaining to the peace and quiet both of Court and Citty; which is much furthered by his help and fauor. But if you read the Chapter of *Sixtus Quartus*, and the Bull of *Iulius Secundus*; there you shall more amply bee satisfied in the Gouernours authority.

Of the Gouernour, and his office in temporal matters

The Gouernor not allowed to excommunicate.

Vice-Chamberlaine.

Peace of the Citty and Court of Rome.

9 After

The Presidente of the Apostolique Chamber.

9 After the Gouernour, followeth another Officer, whom we call Presidente of the Apostolicall Chamber; whose charge is, to attend the affaires of the Treasury, and receiue the accountes of euery person, that is admitted entrance into the Apolique Chamber, eyther from the Citty, or the Prouinces. And there they sit as *Censors*, and confer in the Chamber Audience.

The aduocate for the poore, and priuate persons.

10 Because (in former times) some matters happened, betweene the Exchequer and priuate persons, in the Chamber Audience: it was concluded, that priuate persons should haue an Aduocate in this Audience, at publique charge, there to defend priuate causes, but especially the poore, in this Audience, against the Aduocates belonging to the Exchequer, or the Atturney generall.

The Exchequer Aduocate.

11 Then followeth another Aduocate, who maintaineth the Exchequer causes, not onely in this Audience; but likewise abroad, among the Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts; where he answereth by an Oath, for the Exchequer affaires, and he is one of the Conciſtorial Order.

The Atturney of the Exchequer.

12 Next to this Aduocate, the Procuratour or Atturney of the Exchequer hath his place in this Audience: and he discourseth, oppugneth and defendeth the Exchequer businesses, in this chamber of Audience, and among the other Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts. Exchequer causes are such, as concerne liberty, or publike Monies. This Office is very conuenable, to bridle euill Customes, and to preserue peace and quietnesse in any Christian Commonweale. In the Court of Rome it is of no meane power and authority, importing also very much, that both Princes and priuate persons should respect it, and to aduance a man of good learning and practise thereto. This Man sits as an assistant for the Exchequer, in the Chamber Audience, among the Fathers and other Iudges. Out of this Audience, he is acquainted with secret causes, hearing and ordering them after his owne will; giuing his voyce in all thinges, or councell at least, although he be no Iudge himselfe. He is allowed also to come into the publique Conciſtorie, and by his publique Office, may require and plead, as well as any of the Protonotaries, to haue a publique Instrument made by any of them, in perpetuall memory of thinges publiquelie done, and to continue in the Commonwealth for publike Testimony thereof: as, of obedience yeelded to the Pope by any Prince, or in matters doone of the like Nature.

Of the Commissary of the Apostolicall Chamber.

13 Next to the Exchequer Atturney, sitteth the Commissary of the Apostolique Chamber, who handleth, dealeth, and executeth the Negotiations of the Chamber, that tend not to cases of Iudgement. He is appointed for Exactions, Toules, looking to the Mint and Corne, beside other businesse belonging to the Chamber, and this charge (of his owne Nature) was wont to be no way vulgar. Yet in our times, it hath been much debased: because the Gouernour, the Treasurer, the Presidente, and the Exchequer Atturny, haue vsed the same authority belonging to the Commissary.

The Clearke of the Colledge of Cardinals, resident in the Apostolike Chamber.

14 Last of all the rest, a place is allowed in the Apostolicall Chamber, for him that defendeth the arguing, and entrances assigned to the Cardinals, and for what matter soeuer is to be discoursed on there, appertaining to the Cardinals: And he is called Clearke of the Cardinals Colledge, resident alwaies in the Apostolique Chamber.

Of the same Chamber audience, and of the Iudges of either banke.

15 Seeing we haue spoken sufficiently of the Members of this Chamber; let vs not omit to say somewhat concerning the maine Body. This Audience was wont to meete together three times each week, and in the same place, called the Apostolique chamber; where they discoursed on publique affaires, as already we haue declared, and heard what causes came before them there; as also committed abroad, and partly referred to other Ministers, as we haue elsewhere more at large dilated; to wit, vnfit expedition of Bulles by the Chamber; or controuersies among publique Magistrates, or Toules, and other publique entrances, for matters Ecclesiasticall in all partes of the World, and Temporall businesse also, concerning the Temporall estate of the Church, among the Offices in the Romaine Court, to whom assignement was made by the greater part, or among

The conuenience of this Office.

Of the publike Conciſtory.

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mong the Toule-gatherers, Receiuers, Collectours; or concerning them with persons priuate or vniuersall; or betweene those priuate vniuersalities; or finally, about any businesse of the forenamed Treasury. Beside these matters, heere were determined all causes of Merchandizes, which were brought from Sea by the Riuer of *Tiber* to *Rome*, or from the Mountaines, being termed *Water-side occasions*. For this businesse, two Iudges, Vicares, were appointed, attending at the Water side continually; one of them, being President for Sea-Merchandizes, comming farre off on the Riuer, and from beneath the City. He alwaies is called Chamberlaine of the Bancke, and this Office euer belongeth to a Cittizen borne of *Rome*: whose election and gouernment (euen of all the rest of the Audience abroad) was aunciently committed to the Romaine people, whom the frequent vse of Merchandize most imported. The other was appointed for Merchandizes which were landed on the Water side, and comming from those parts beyond the Mountaines; and he, as by a different name (from the other) was called the Banker.

Merchandizes being brought to *Rome* by the Riuer of *Tiber*

Two Vicare Iudges for the Water side.

Now, if any Offender (in these matters (would appeale to the Chamber, or be heard by these men, for his most commodious and speedieſt expedition: he commiteth his cause to one of the Fathers aside by himselfe, and hereupon grew their seuerall Names, of President and Banker. This charge hath bin sometimes giuen (euen for euer, as it were) to one Man alone, he being the ancienteſt Deane: but now a-daies it commeth to men by Order of Courtrole, and all the actions done by them, are written in the publike Bookes, called Apostolicall. Which Bookes are kept in a publique place, and in the Chancery, whereto the Notaries may goe at their owne pleasure. And they are keepers of that place, and there they Regiſter the Apostolike Letters, which are expediated from the Chamber, by the other Bookes of the Chancery, and were for this intent purposely ordained.

The appeale of offendours, concerning Marchandizes.

Apostolicke Bookes.

16 The number of Iudges in the Romaine Court, being very great, and many Offendours in the Prisons, who were to be heard each man by himselfe: it often hapned, that by want of Iudges, who were otherwise imployed, and (many times) very seriously; that matters were longer delayed, then the quality of the cause required, and to great annoyance of the Prisons. Heereupon they tooke another course, that the Fathers, as supreame Iudges, and Vicegerents to their Prince, piously vsed to visite the Prisons sundry times in the yeare; to wit, euery month each Prison. And yet, not all they that had place in the Audience Chamber, did meete together for this visitation: but hee that was Vice-gerent to the Chamberlaine, and (well-neere euer) one of the seauen Fathers, Clearkes, and with them, all the other Ministers of the Chamber formerly named, except the Treasurer and the President. All these, on the day appointed, went to sit in a publike place of the Citty (for some space of time) neere to the Prison; where calling the Prisoners before them by forme of order, they might be heard, if themselues were so pleased. The Fathers hearing the guilty, and vnderstanding the merit of their causes, by graue discretion of Iudges, invred to such matters: by power of their office, according to the condition of the cause, the time endured of imprisonment, and nature of the offence; doe eyther determine on deliuerance, or longer debarment of liberty; or otherwise on expedition, eyther for death, or other kind of punishment, which (by meanes of the Fathers) is tempered with pitty and mittigation, in this manner. If any man, for a case of ciuili debt, shall be long time detayned in Prison, and hath had testimonie (in the Audience) of his pouerty: the Fathers vse to speake for his releaſe, comforting the Creditor (according to his faculty) that the poore man may haue some further dilation, to make payment after such a rate, & with some security; sometimes vnder punishment in the Gallies, and losse of goods, if no security can be giuen.

Visitations of the Prisons.

Seauen Fathers Clearks

The manner of visiting the Prisons, and hearing the causes of offendours.

For matters of debt, betweene man and men.

Sometimes, when the parties pouerty is plainely apparant, and he (dispayring of all meanes of payment) will rather voluntarily yeelde his goods: the Fathers do (of themselues) admit the debter to the benefit of simple cession of his goods,

In cases of plaine and apparant pouerty.

The Chambers view or surnay of the Prisons.

goods, and Faith beeing made, for demonstration of the goods; the partie is foorth-with deliuered. From hence ensues it, that Creditors, at the instance of any imprisoned Debter; is vigilant, and euermore present at these visitations, and labour (by all their vtmost endeuour) for the poor mans deliuerance. This Office of the Fathers is very pious and pittifull, and with them are ioined some others (at liberty out of the Audience Chamber) by the Popes will and appointment; especially the Vicare in the Cittie, and in the Popes Dioceſſe.

Marshall Iudges of the Citty, at *Corte Sauella*, and the Iudge of the *Salaria* of *Rome*, at this day called *Torre de Nona*

17 With the two Keepers of the Prisons; to wit, of *Torre de Nona*, and *Corte Seuella*, certaine inferiour Iudges, called *Pedany*, haue their abiding; who haue their names of the places, because one is called Iudge of *Torre de Nona*; and the other, of *Corte Sauella*. The appellation of these Iudges, was wont to come from the Gouernours Court, concerning that of *Torre de Nona*, and that of *Corte Sauella*, from the Auditour of the Chamber. These Men, as ordinary Iudges, by this Appellation and their owne faculty, do so heare and descide matters done, as the Gouernor may also intermit them in Appellation of the Iudge-Marshall: but the other, in regard it belongeth to the Auditour, is one of those Iudges called *Curules*, inferior to a Superior, because this Iudge of the *Curules*, is a Iudge ordained of an inferiour degree, who makes his abyding at *Corte Sauella*, and attendeth on all them that follow the *Romain* Court; but not to excepted persons, or them that are of more humble condition, who haue also an ordinary Iudge for them. The Whoores and common Strumpers of the Stewes, doe yearelie pay to this Man a certaine Rent, which they tearme a tribute, and it hath had so long a continuance to this day, as no other reason appearing to the contrarie; it is gathered as by prescription, euen of them that are most vnwilling, and they are compelled to pay it.

Iudges Curules, called also *Pedany*.

A Tribute paide by the Whoores.

18 Beside the ordinary Court, there is in *Rome* another Generation of Romaine Cittizens, to whom the Pope hath giuen a *Prator*, and them wee call Senators. These men commonly dwell in *Campideglio*, and (by ordinary authority) heare the causes of *Romaine* Cittizens. They haue three Vicares substitutes; two whereof, beeing Presidents in priuate Iudgements, are called *Collaterali*. These men are different in degree; because one is called the first; another, the second; and the third is called Iudge of cuill actions. If a Man do appeale from any one of these; there is a Iudge beside in *Campideglio*, who is ordinarily for all Appellations, whose sentence, if it bee conformable to the first Iudge; the party cannot by Lawe, (belonging to the Burgers of the Citty, which forbiddeth it) vrge any other appeale. There are also certain Tribunals, where all Arts or Trades (which are noted downe in little Tables, hanging in diuers Porches) are to be righted. Ther all the Mysteries are to be read, and election made of Maister work-men, who render account (as Ouer seers) for others of the same Society: and yet the party offended, may appeale from their sentence, to certaine men cald *Conseruatores* of the citty; that haue their abiding also in *Campideglio*. This iurisdiction of *Campideglio*, was confirmed by Pope *Iulius* the second; *Leo* the tenth, and last of all, by *Paule* the third.

Senators of the Cittie.

Three Vicars Substitutes.

Diuers Tribunals for trades and occupations.

19 There is yet a third kind of persons, who are Priests, to whom the *Pope* (as a matter proper and appertaining to himselfe) hath graunted a Vicare. This Man (as well in *Rome*, as in the whole Dioceſſe) hath the same authority in all things, as the Pope hath: for all Priestes are subiected to his iurisdiction, and he heareth Clearkes causes, in matters belonging to the Church, and the Ecclesiasticall Courtes. Hee imposeth also the forme of pennance to Penitentes, conferreth the Sacraments of the Church, and (by law of the Dioceſſe) calleth Congregations, visiteth Churchess and regulare Monasteries, where there is no exemption by especiall reason. Beside this, he hath some charge of his Ordinary, though it cõmeth not by his general deputation: as to enquire, correct, punish, remoue, and to giue Benefices. Hereuppon, Popes vsed to graunt the fore-laide matters, onely by his permission, concerning Benefices that were abroad. And by vigour of this permission, the Vicares iurisdiction extended to all Lay-

The Vicare of Rome, and his authoritie equall with the Popes.

The Vicares power ouer

Lay-men and ſtrangers, and ouer the *Iewes* in Rome.

Lay-people and Strangers, that by reaſon of ſome confraternity, or dwelling, or ſeruice in Hoſpitals, or in Monaſteries, or in other holy places; ſeemed to follow Religion. Likewiſe, ouer all *Iewes* in the Citty, Widdowes, Orphanes, and other miſerable Chriſtian people, accounting them within the boſome of the Church: and among all theſe perſons (by ordinary authoritie) he dealeth in cauſes, as ordinarie Eccleſiaſticall Iudge of the Citty, and of the Dioceſſe, for what ſummes ſoeuer.

The Vicares authority out of Rome, in diuers occaſions.

Abroad alſo, beſide the fore-named power, his authority extendeth (by the ſame diſpenſation) to cauſes, wherein no ſpeech is made of propriety, but of Rents; and penſions out of thoſe rents; remiſſion of paiments; and in caſes concerning Villages, Hamlets, Fieldes, Houſes, Vineyards, and all kinds of wages. But in other matters, where queſtion is made of proprietie of thinges; he can proceede no further, but to ſixty Ducates of Gold of the chamber. Now concerning the fore-named cauſes, his authority ſtretcheth forty Miles out of Rome, and in thoſe occaſions hee dealeth of his owne ordinary power, and within the ſumme of ſixty Ducates limitted. The Pope hath likewiſe giuen him all thoſe Pontificall priuiledges, which euery Ordinary exerciſeth in his Dioceſſe, which come not in generall within his Vicares deputation, & which cannot bee committed to their Vicare without diſpenſation, and Licence of Faith: As to conſecrate prophane places; reconcile vnhallowed matters; promote to ſacred Orders; elect any Biſhop in times prohibited; and to puniſh the delict of any Body (in reſpect of the Church) out of Cleargy; as blaſphemy, vſury, periury, inceſt, and ſuch like. When the Viſitours doe goe to the Priſons, the Vicare is one with thē. If there bee queſtion of any offence, wherein corporall puniſhment is requiſited: he alone (as the Eccleſiaſticall Iudge) ſendeth the guilty perſon to the Gouernour, or to the ſecular Iudge. For all which matters, hee hath foure Notaries, or publike Scriueners appointed to attend him, and two Vicares ſubſtitutes. One of them heareth priuate and ciuill cauſes; the other, publike and criminall: who, vnder the value of ſixty Ducates, make a quicke diſpatch by demaund onely; but if it exceede the limitation, it is purſued by proceſſe, according as other ordinary cauſes are.

How far out of Rome his power is limited.

Matters out of the Vicares authority.

The Vicare is one among the Priſon viſitants.

Two Vicares ſubſtitutes.

Of the Popes Chaplainse, and Auditour of cauſes in the ſacred Pallace.

20 After that matters in *Rome* grew to ſuch height, that all parts of the World had recourſe to the Pope, as well for accounts of Benifices, as diuers other occaſions beſide: all ſuiters, not onely priuate perſons, but Princes and Kinges alſo, had their cauſes queſtioned in the Court of *Rome*; eyther by diſpoſition of reaſon, nature of the action, weakeneſſe in the Prince, or verily, by conſent of the offendour. And ſuch was then the deuotion of our forefathers, that they voluntarily excited people from all parts of the World, to make their remorſe to *Rome*, onely to be eſteemed moſt holy Trauailers. All therefore recited cauſes (prouided that they wer not Conciſtorial) were heard by the Pope, and he himſelfe, deuided from the Senate, heard thē in his Chappell, & then (for their expedition) cald none but Lawiers: whereupon, they are now at this day called Chaplaines, and ſerue in the Chappell for diuine ſeruices. But the Byſhops eaſing themſelues by (little and little) from this buſineſſe granted: that they ſhould haue all ſuiters a part, and their cauſes, and therefore (by a new name) they became to be termed Auditors of cauſes in the ſacred Pallace, and according to their relation, the Pope ordered his ſentence. Theſe men, as they haue admittance into this Order: haue authority to heare cauſes, by this moſt auncient delegation granted them by Popes.

The Pope heareth matters alone by himſelfe.

CHAP. III.

¶ *A breefe Collection of the Originall and Progreſſe, of the Knightes of the worthy Order of Saint Iohn of Ieruſalem, who were afterward called Knightes of Rhodes, and Knightes of Malta: Likewiſe, their exploits in Warre, vnder the conduct of their Great Maiſters, from the yeare* 1099. *vntill this preſent.*

THE Military Order of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*, had her birth and firſt origi- 1099.

The Orders first beginning in *Ierusalem.*

originall in the holy Citty of *Ierusalem*, and passed there her first yeares of Infancy, with a great part of her adolescency: When as the *Sarazins* were Maisters of the holy Citty, and of the Country all about the sacred Sepulcher of our Lorde, which was ruined about the yeare of Saluation, 1012. by the commandement of *Equin*, *Califfe* of the *Sarrazins*, and continued so ruined, vntill the time of *Constantine Monomachus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, who, at the intreaties of the Christians which then dwelt in *Hierusalem* (with the consent of *Bonenfor Elmenius Stensibus*, *Califfe* or *Soldane* of *Ægipt*) built it againe at his owne charges, in the yeare 1048. About which time, certaine Gentlemen and *Italian* Marchants of the Cittie of *Melphes*, frequenting the Portes and Maritime Citties of *Syria* and *Ægipt*, and bringing good Marchandizes into those Countries; won themselues much loue and liking, not onely of the Citties Gouernours, but also of the *Califfe* of *Ægipt*. And being well disposed Christians, they would oftentimes goe to *Hierusalem*, to visite the holy memorable places: and hauing no place of retirement in the Citty, they obtained fauour and permission of the *Califfe*, to build there a Church and a Pallace, for their owne vse and habitation, as also for others of their Nation; in that quarter of the Citty, where the Christians might dwell neere to the holy Sepulcher. There they erected two Monasteries; one, in honour of the blessed Virgine *Mary*, called S. *Maria de la Latina*, (differing from the *Greeke* Churches which were in Hierusalem, and placed there an Abbot of *Mont-Casina*) & was built to lodge Christian Pilgrims therein. The other, was dedicated to S. *Mary Magdalen*, as a place of entertainement of all such women, as should aduenture thither in Pilgrimage, they beeing also religiously gouerned. Not long after, they builded an Hospitall, wherein to lodge as well all sickly Trauailers, as any other Pilgrimes of honest disposition, with a Church also thereto belonging, beeing both dedicated to S. *Iohn Baptist*. These Monasteries, Churches, and Hospitals, were long time maintained by the care and cost of the *Amalphitanes*, who founded them: and vntill such time as the Citie was conquered by the Christians from the Infidels, and that *Godfrey* of *Bullen* was there elected King, which was in the yeare 1099.

Constantine Monomachus.

A Church and Pallace builded in Ierusalem by Merchants, and two Monasteries.

An Hospitall for sicke Trauailers and Pilgrims.

1 THE Citty being thus won, *F. Gerard* was the first Rector or gouernor of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn*, who, when the Citty was besieged by the Christians, was very ill dealt with by the Infidels, and was long time (by the) kept captiue Prisoner, because they distrusted, that he had some secret intelligence with the Christians, which beleagered the Citty. But after that the Christians were Maisters thereof, hee was deliuered out of Prison, and gouerned both wisely and charitably the hospitall of Saint *Iohn*, perswading and inducing Christian Kings and Princes, to enrich & endow it with their liberality, which (indeede) they did in bountifull manner; so that in *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, and other Prouinces of Christendome, the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn* found good Benefactours, and attained (in short time) to great reuennewes and possessions. In the yeare 1113. Pope *Paschall* the second, receiued *F. Gerard*, and the Knights of Saint *Iohn* vnder protection of the Apostolique Seat, and graunted them great priuiledges; ordaining, that after the decease of *F. Gerard*, they should proceede cannonically, to the election of another Rector or gouernor who was afterward cald Great Maister, of the Order or Military Hospitall of Saint *Iohn* of *Hierusalem*, a name which continueth yet to this present, after fiue hundred yeares from the beginning thereof.

1099 The first Rector and Gouernor of S. *Iohns* hospital.

Bounty and liberality from Christian Princes.

1113

The Rector called by the name of great Maister.

2 IN the yeare 1118. *F. Gerard* departed out of this life, in the Papacy of *Gelasius* the second, and when as the order of the Knights Templers began. After his decease, there succeeded him by election, *F. Raymond de Puy*, who was a professed Knight of the Order: Albeit, some holde opinion, that *F. Roger* succeeded deceased *Gerard*, and gouerned the Hospitall of S. *Iohn*, from the yeare 1118. vntill the death of *Baldwin*, second of that name, King of Ierusalem, who dyed in the yeare, 1131. *F. Raymond* (in a generall Chapter, assembled in Hierusalem, with aduise of the other

1118

The beginning of the Knights Templers.

Knights) made Statutes for the Order, formed and inſtituted a rule of life, which all the following Knightes were to obſerue. He was called Great Maiſter of the Order, and yet he qualified that Title, by calling himſelfe Seruant vnto the poore of Chriſt Ieſus, and Guardian of the Hoſpital of Ieruſalem. This Great Maiſter, perceiuing that the Reuennewes of the Hoſpitall did daily increaſe, and that hee could not better imploy ſuch wealth, then againſt the Infidels, by making war vpon them: he made offer to the King of *Ieruſalem*, of himſelfe, his ſtrength, and all his Knightly Brethren, who bare in their Streamers and Enſignes, a Croſſe Argent, in a field Gules. And thence forward, theſe religious Brethren were diſtinguiſhed into three degrees: for one company were Knights, another Captaines, and the thrid Seruants, not hauing (from the beginning) any other difference among them, but that ſome were Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the other Layiekes. And from that time forward, there was not any enterprize in *Paleſtine* againſt the *Infidelles*, but the great Maſter was preſent therat in perſon, with his religious Knightes: who were firſt called Knightes Hoſpitallers, or of the Hoſpitall of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalē*, afterward Knightes of the *Rhodes*; and laſtly, Knights of *Malta*. They grew into ſo great credit and reputation, that they were imployed in the mannaging and guiding all affaires of chiefeſt importance. Among others, *Gerard Gebert*, Knight of this Order, was ſent by *Foulks* King of *Anion* into *England*, to treat on the marriage of *Conſtance* (Princeſſe of *Antioch*, Neece to the Queen *Meliſenda*, and Daughter to Prince *Boemond*) with *Raymond*, Sonne to the Earle of *Poictiers*, who was then in the Court of *Henrie* King of England. In like manner (this marriage being thus concluded, by the ingenuity of this Knight) at the ſame time, *Raymond Berengarius* Earle of *Barcelona*, and Prince of *Cathalonia* (who had conquered the Iſles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica* from the *Moores*, and in ſingle combat) defended the chaſtity and honour of *Mahauld*, Wife to the Emperor *Henry* the fiſt, againſt two *Allemaigne* Knights, that had falſely accuſed her of adultry) to ſhut vp the concluſion of his daies, reſolued to take the habite of this famous Brother-hood, and in that ſacred profeſſion, he perſeuered all his life time after, which was in the year 1131. Not much differing from this time, it is reported, that three Knights of this Order, being natiue French-men of *Picardie*, and detained then by the Soldan of Ægypt in Captiuity, were admirablie deliuered and tranſported out of *Egipt*, with *Iſmeria*, Daughter to the ſaid Soldane, to the place where (at this inſtant) is the Church of *Noſtre Dame de Lieſſe*, and this happened in the yeare, 1139. In the yeare 1153. *Raymond* the Great Maiſter, cauſed the ſiedge to bee yet ſtill continued before the Cittie of *Aſcalon*, which the Infidelles had defended againſt the Chriſtians more then fifty yeares: and at length, it was yeelded to the ſaide Maiſter, the 12. day of Auguſt 1154. which was in the tenth yeare of King *Baldwine* the third. In acknowledgement of a prize ſo ſignale, & beneficiall to all Chriſtendome; Pope *Anaſtatius* the fourth, gaue and granted very great priuiledges, to the Order of theſe Knights of S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*, the firſt day of Nouember, in the ſame year, exempting them from the iuriſdiction and controle of the Eaſt Eccleſiaſticall Prelates, which was the cauſe of great troubles, betweene the Byſhops of the Country there, and the Knights of this Order: albeit the Pope and his Cardinals maintained them ſtil ſtoutly. Some haue held, that this Great M. *Raymond* was a *Florentine*, but the moſt credible opinion is, that he was a French-man, a Natiue of *Daulphine*, iſſued of a verie Noble Houſe, called *Du Puy*: whereof, namely, *Iacques Roſius* the *Italian*, (who hath amply written the Hiſtorie of this Order) is an ingenious witneſſe. He dyed in the yeare 1160. with this reputation; that he had beene a Man of good and vertuous life, fearing God, valiant, wiſe, and aduiſed in the affaires of the World, and one well approued in warlike exerciſes.

3 AFter that *Raymond* was deceaſed, there ſucceeded in the Maiſterſhip and gouernment of the Order, *F. Auger de Balben*: of whom there is found nothing deſeruing Memory: but that (in his time) died King *Baldwine* the third, who

1131.

1139

1160

Seruant to the poore of Chriſt Ieſus.

The Armes of Saint Iohns Knights.

Three degrees of this Order.

Knights Hoſpitallers of the hoſpital of S. Iohn of Ieruſalem: became afterward to be Knights of the Rhodes and laſtly, Knights of Malta.

The honor of chaſt Ladies defended.

The Cittie of *Aſcalon* yeelded to the great Maiſter.

Great priuileges granted to this Order.

Iacques Roſius an Italian Author.

Death of King *Baldwine* the third.

who was not onely much bemoaned of the Christians, but likewise of the Infidels, who said: *That the Christians had iust cause to lament for the death of Baldwine, because they had lost a Prince, that had not his equall in the World.* This Great-Maister *Auger*, after hee had gouerned his charge in peace and repose about three yeares, dyed in the yeare 1163.

1163

4. *Arnold de Comps*, was next elected Maister in his place, who was a Man of great Spirit, valour, and councell. And in short time after his election, he entred into *Ægipt*, with *Amaury*, the new King of *Hierusalem*, who made warre vpon the *Califfe* of *Ægypt*; because he refused to continue and pay the annuall Tribute, wherein hee had bound himselfe to King *Baldwine* the third, for a perpetuall payment to the Kings of *Ierusalem*. *Arnold*, after he had (with great wisedome and courage) gouerned the Hospitall of S. *Iohn* about foure yeares, he dyed in the year 1167. and then succeeded him

Amaurie K of Hierusalem warred on the *Califfe*.

1167

5. *Gilbert d'Assaly*, or *de Sailly*, who was of stout minde, and so liberally; that he flowed in bounty, especially to his Souldiers, so that he fell into great expences, and wasted the whole Treasure of the house. Insomuch, that he was enforced to borrow Money at interest, with condition; that if hee tooke from the Infidels the Citty of *Belbeis* (aunciently called *Peluſium*) hee should stand acquitted to his Brotherhood (as indeede hee did) and victoriously performed his promise, the third day of Nouember, 1168. In which year he held a Chapter generall in Hierusalem, where perceiuing that hee was greatly indebted, and had charged the Hospitall, with more than an hundred thousand Crownes of meere debts; being also much grieued, that his attempts found not equall issue to his desires: he determined to renounce his great Maistership, which he did in the yeare 1169.

Mony borrowed at interest for maintenance of the Order.

The Maystership resigned.

1169

6. BY his resignation, or renunciation rather, another Knight was chosen Great Maister, named *F. Gastus*, or *Castus*; of whom there is nothing found, that makes to any purpose of this our breefe History. And the breuity of his time of gouernment was the cause, by reason he was not a full yeare in the charge, but dyed in the very same yeare of his election, and had

1169

7. *F. Ioubert*, a very religious Man, for his Successour, who in the yeare 1176. ioyned himselfe with *Phillip* Earle of *Flaunders*, that was then come into *Syria*, to assist King *Baldwine* the fourth against *Saladine*, who had a very powerfull Armie, miraculously vanquished by the Christians, that were but few in number, in the Moneth of Nouember, 1177. at which time the Emperour *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, and Pope *Alexander* the third were reconciled together. At length, *Saladine* withdrew himselfe from the Country of *Damas*, in the yeare 1179. And then dyed *Ioubert* Maister of the Hospitallers, a Man very charitable to the poore, and sickly. It is said, that meere conceite of greefe, to behold (so manifestlie) the ruine of Christian affaires in *Syria*, with the shamefull and damageable truce, made betweene the King of Ierusalem, and the Earle of *Tripoli* (by his example) with *Saladine*; was the onelie cause of abridging his daies, hauing gouerned the Order of S. *Iohn*, about ten yeares.

K *Baldwine* the fourth warred against *Saladine*

Saladine forsaketh the Country of *Damas*.

1179.

8 IN his stead was elected *Roger de Molins*, a Man of high discretion and courage. In his time happened a great dissention betweene the Prince of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of the said place: and this *Roger* was chosen to be Mediatour of peace and agreement betweene them, which followed in the yeare 1181. This *Roger* (with *Heraclius* Patriarch of Hierusalem, and *Arnold de Troge*, Maister of the Knightes Templers) was sent by the King of Hierusalem (in qualitie of an Ambassadour) into the West, to require ayde of the Christian Princes. These Ambassadours were kindly entertained by the Emperour, King *Phillip Augustus*, *Gods Guift*, Sir-named the Conqueror, the Kinges of *Scicilie*, *England*, and *Hungary*: they returned backe againe into *Syria*, all but the Maister of the Templers, who died by the way. In the year 1187. the Earle of *Tripoli* being leagued

Dissention betweene the Prince and Patriarch of *Antioche*.

Ambassadors sent for the aid of Christian Princes.

gued and confederated with *Saladine*; graunted him passage, and releeued his Army with victuals. And *Saladine* hauing besieged the Citty of *Ptolomais*, the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers (ioyning together) disordered the whole Army, and *Roger* the Great Maister, fighting valiantlie, there dyed, with the fall of his Horse vpon him, and smothered in his Armour, as also beeing much troden on with the Enemies Horses. His body being afterward found among the dead, was buried with great woe and sorrow. And notwithstanding this losse of the Great Maister; yet the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers, won the day of battaile against the *Turkes* and *Sarrazins*; of whom dyed then in the fielde about fifteene thousand, the first day of May, in the yeare 1187. After whom

Saladines besieging of *Ptolomais*.

1187

Guy de Lusignã King of Ierusalem taken Prisoner, and his cheefest Lords.

9 F. *Garnier* of *Naples* in *Syria* (which was the auncient Citty of *Sichem* in *Canaan*) was elected Great Maister. In his time was a bloody battell fought betweene the Christians and Infidelles, wherein the King of Ierusalem (named *Guy de Lusignan*) was taken Prisoner, with the very cheefe Lordes of his Kingdome. It is saide also, that the Christians had then the true Crosse in the battell, but it was taken from them by the Infidelles: and almost all the Knights of *Hierusalem*, and the Templers, were one part slain in the battaile, and the rest beheaded in cold blood. *Garnier*, after hee had fought verie manfully, yet being mortally wounded in many places of his body; by the goodnesse and swiftnesse of his Horse, escaped into the citty of *Ascalon*, where ten dayes after, he departed into a better life, the foureteenth of July, hauing beene great Maister but two months and sixe daies.

A great and wofull losse to the Christians.

1187

10 THe twenty day of the said month of July, 1187. the Knights that were in Hierusalem, chose *Fr. Ermingarda'Aps*, to be their Maister. The second day of October, in the same year, the Citty of Hierusalem was submitted to the power of *Saladine*: 88. yeares two months and seauenteene daies, after that it was delitered (by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*) from the hands of the Infidels:

Ierusalem yeilded to the power of *Saladine*.

Fredericke the first, sir-named *Barbarossa*, then holding the Empire of the West, and *Isaac* the *Angell*, that of the East, at *Constantinople*, *Vrbane* the third being Pope of *Rome*, and *Phillip* the second, called *Augustus*, *Gods Gift* and Conqueror, raigning in *France*. Then were expulsed out of *Hierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers, Templers, and all the *Latine Christians*, of which Christians, the Hospitallers redeemed from captiuitie of the barbarous, to the number of two thousand with their Money. All the Churches of the Citty were then polluted and prophaned, except the Temple of the Resurrection: which was bought with a great summe of Money, by the Christians of the East. After the losse of *Ierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers were continuallie in Armes, faithfullie assisting the Christian Princes, that had put on Crosses, for the recouery of the holy Land, and did actions (of high desert) at the siedge of *Ptolomais*: which, after a long siedge of three yeares, was regained from the Infidels by the Christians, the twelft of Iuly, 1191. And in that Citty, the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* kept then their ordinary aboad and residence. And in the very same yeare, the Christians wonne a notable victorie against the *Barbarians*, and *Saladine* their chiefe: wherein they were worthily assisted by the Knightes Hospitallers, and Templers. The yeare following, beeing 1192. in Winter, dyed *Ermingard d'Aps* the Great Maister, in the citty of *Ptolomais*, and then was chosen in his place

The Knightes expulsed out of Ierusalem.

Temple of the Resurrection.

Ptolomais regained from the Infidels.

1191

1192

11 G*Eoffrey de Duisson*. In his time there was truce taken for fiue yeares, betweene the Christians that were in the holy Land, and *Saladine*; by which meanes, many Lordes and Gentlemen of diuers Nations, who had worne the Crosse, and gotten great store of goods and possessions: returned home to their Countries, and gaue their goods to the Brother-hood of S. *Iohn*, which greatly did augment their reuennewes. And after the death of *Henry* Earle of *Champaigne*; the Hospitallers and Templers remained Gouernors, and Administratours of the Kingdome of Ierusalem: howbeit, that (by the fewer number of Christians there abiding)

Truce betweene *Saladine* and the Christians.

Amaury de Lusignan, King of *Cyprus*.

abiding) election was made of *Amaury de Lusignan*, who had succeeded the king of *Ierusalem* in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, with consent of the Patriarch, the Prelats and Barons of the Realme, in the yeare 1194. when soone after dyed *Duisson* the great Maister, and then succeeded him, by election

1194

A Royall Portugall Great Maister.

12 F. *Alphonso* of *Portugall*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *Iohn*, and of the Royall House of *Portugall*, though it doth not appeare certainely, to what King he was Sonne. Hee made very worthy and commendable Statutes, whereof (to this day) there are some inuiolable kept. But because hee was of too stiffe nature, ouer-rough, surlie, and seuere: hee encurred the hatred of the greater part of the Knightes Hospitalers. Which was the cause, that he renounced his Maistership, and shipt himselfe for returne home to *Portugall*, in the same yeare of his election: But hee dyed the first day of March, in the yeare 1207.

1194

Death of *Saladine*.

13 THE same yeare that *Alphonso* renounced the Great Maistership, to wit; in the yeare 1194. *Geoffrey le Rat*, who was Graund-Pryour of Fraunce, was chosen Maister: And *Saladine* then dying, his Sonne *Noradine*, (Lord of *Alepo*) succeeded him. About this time, *Simon*, Earle of *Montfort*, was sent by King *Phillip Augustus*, with an Army into *Syria*; where finding much disorder, he tooke truce for ten yeares with the Infidels, in the yeare 1198.

Difference betweene the Hospitallers and Templers

In the time of this tranquile estate, there chanced a great difference, betweene the Knightes Hospitallers and Templers, grounded on this occasion. The Hospitallers complained, that the Templers had enterprised too farre vpon their Iurisdiction, with much contempt, and violation thereof. Which quarrell (after many rough encounters and skirmishes) was appeased and accorded, by the interposition of King *Amaury*, the Patriarches of *Antioch* and *Ierusalem*, and other Princes and Christian Prelates, who comprimitted this difference, in the Name of *Innocentius* the third, which fell out very successiuely. For, after that GOD (the onelie Staffe and stay of all affaires in the Holy Land) had permitted this friendlie vnity, betweene these two Millitarie Orders of Knight-hood, King *Amaurie* of *Lusignan* so preuailed, that the Great Maister and Knightes of Saint *Iohn*, might liue with him in the Isle of *Cyprus*, where hee graunted the Gouernment of the Kingdome to them. In the yeare 1205. King *Amaurie* dyed, so did Queene *Isabell*, who appointed her Daughter *Mary* (which shee had by *Conrade* of *Monferrat*) to be her Heire, and he left her to be tutored and guided by the Knights Hospitallers and Templers.

Cyprus gouerned by the Knights of S. *Iohn*.

In the yeare 1260. *Geoffreyle Rat*, the Great Maister died, and then succeeded him

1260

Lyuon King of *Armenia*.

14 G*Verin de Montagu*, of the Language of *Auuergne*, who (with the Knights of this Order) ayded *Lyuon* King of *Armenia*, against the *Turkes* and *Barbarians*, that had intruded into his Kingdome. In recompence whereof, hee gaue them the Citty of *Salef*, with the Castles of *Camard*, and New Castle, and their dependances. Hee likewise recommended his Heire and Kingdome, to the Knights of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn*; which guift was confirmed by the Pope, the fift of August, 1209. Then were *Iohn de Brienna*, and *Mary* his Wife (Heire to the Kingdome) Crowned King and Queene of *Ierusalem*.

King and Q. of Ierusalem.

At length, in the yeare 1230. *Guerin* the Great Maister dyed in the Citty of *Ptolomais*, and during his time, all the Christians affaires in the Holie Land, depended (very much) vpon the knights Hospitallers and Templers: who albeit they had many contentions betweene them, yet did they still agree together, (in all matters) against the Infidels. After him succeeded

1240 This is miſtaker, for this was K. *Richard* the firſt himſelfe.

15 ONE *F. Gerin*, of whom no other name is found remembred. *Richard* Duke of *Cornewall*, and Brother to *Henry* (then King of England) arriued ſoone after in *Paleſtine*, with any Army of forty thouſand Men, and did many worthy actions there. The Great Maiſter alſo, and his Knights with him (bearing him company) fought valiantlie againſt the *Coraſmine* Infidelles. There the ſaide Maiſter was taken, and ſent as a Priſoner to the *Soldane* of Ægypt, where he dyed, and in his place, the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* elected (in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*) for their great Maiſter

1345

16 BErtrand *de Comps*, in the time of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, and when the Generall Counſell was called at *Lyons*, 1245. This Great Maiſter was preſent in a furious battaile, fought againſt the *Turcomans*, that waſted all the Countrey about *Antioch*, in the Month of Auguſt, 1248. where, hauing receiued ſundry deadly Woundes, he ended his daies: And in the citty of *Ptolomais*, on the 24. of Auguſt, was elected as Great Maiſter.

Turcomans ſpoiled the Country of *Antioch*.

1248

17. PEter *de Villebride*. In his time, *Lewes* King of *France*, called Saint *Lewes*, tooke on him the Croſſe againſt the Infidelles, with many Princes and Prelats of *France*, who went and beſieged *Damieta*, where they were ayded by the Knights hoſpitallers and Templers, and the citty was ſoone after ſurrendred to King *Lewes*, in the yeare 1250. Then did the *Soldane* of *Ægypt* giue battaile to the Chriſtians, wherein King *Lewes* with his Brethren, *Charls* and *Alphonſus* the King of *Cyprus*, as alſo the Great Maiſter, and many Knights of the Hoſpitallers and Templers, were all taken Priſoners. Which ſurprizall, cauſed an attonement betweene King *Lewes* and the *Soldane*, and the Hoſpitall Knightes lent Money to King *Lewes*, to pay his ranſome. In the yeare 1251. *Villebride* the Great Maiſter died in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*, and ſucceeded by election

Damieta beſieged by the Chriſtians, but with ill ſucceſſe.

1251

18. GVillaum *de Chaſteau-neuf*, or *De Caſtelno*, of the ſpeech of *Auuergne*. He was a great obſeruer of Iuſtice, and Pope *Alexander* the fourth, gaue to the Knightes Hoſpitallers, the Caſtle and Landes of *Bethania*, in the yeare 1256. In his time, the Chriſtians loſt their vtmoſt hope, of any ſuccour from the Princes of *Europe*: and in the yeare 1280. the Great Maiſter of *Caſtelno* died, when as the Hoſpitall Knights of Saint *Iohn* elected in his ſtead

The Princes of Europe ſend no more ſuccor.

1260

19. HVgues *Reuelle*, or *Reuel*, in the time of Pope *Vrban* the fourth, who gaue to the Knights of Saint *Iohn*, *Mont-Tabor*, 1261. and in *Anno* 1262. they bought the Caſtle of *Aſſur*, but in the following two yeares, they tooke from the *Sarazins* a caſtle named *Libon*, whereupon, the *Soldane* of *Ægypt* concluded, to worke the ruine of the Knights Hoſpitallers, & (as an inſtance) he forcibly tooke from the ſaid Knights (in the yeare 1265.) the Caſtle of *Aſſur*, at the ſurprizall whereof, there were ſlaine to the number of 90. Knightes of S. *Iohn*, which greatly abated their power and repute. And in the yeare 1267. the Knights Hoſpitallers and Templers were aſſailed, and much confuſed in battaile by the *Sarazins*, neer to the City of *Ptolomais*, for they waſted & ſpoiled all the Country there-about. In the yeare alſo 1270. the Knights of S. *Iohn* loſt the Caſtle of *Cracque*, which was aſſaulted by the Soldane, and all the Knightes within it, were put to the ſword. It is likewiſe ſaid, that this great Maiſter *Reuel*, aſſiſted King *Lewes* in the voyage to *Tunis*, where the ſaide King dyed of the Plague, and that in the ende, about the yeare 1278. the Great Maiſter *Reuel* ended his daies, hauing held fiue Chapters, or aſſemblies of the Brother-hood of S. *Iohn*, wherein many notable Statutes were made; for gouernment and reformation of the Order.

1265

Knights of S. *Iohn* aſſayled by the *Soldane*

1278

20 AFter his deceaſe, *Nicholas Lorgus* was choſen Great Maiſter, who, not to ſwerue a iot frō his Predeceſſor (well knowing, that nothing ſooner procureth the ruine of common-weals, and comminalties, then diſcord and diſſention) took ſuch paines, to reconcile the Knights *Hoſpitallers* with the *Templers*, that he drew thē to accord, & made them good Friends. In the yeare 1282. the

Hoſpitallers and Templers reconciled.

A famous victory against the Sarrazins

the Knightes of S. *Iohn* woon a famous victory against the *Sarrazins*, who proudly came to besiege the Castle of *Margate*, their verye principall Fortresse: which was very manfully defended by the Hospitallers; and in the end, quitted (at composition) by the Knightes, who returned (with their Ensignes displaied) to the City of *Ptolomais*. And in the yeare, 1288. *Lorgus* the Great Maister died, with very griefe, because hee saw the Christian affaires in the Holy-Land, daily to fal from ill to worse, without any meanes or hope of remedy.

1288

21 IN the same yeare, *Iohn de Villiers*, a Frenchman born, was created Great Maister of the Order. In his t ie, the City of *Tripoly* was taken from the Christians, by the Infidelles, as (in like manner) were the Citties of *Sidonia* and *Baruth*, in the yeare, 1289. all which, were ransacked, ruined, and burned, and the Citty of *Tyre* brought vnder the Soldans subiection, whereon the christians of *Ptolomais* were glad to seeke their owne peace. During which time, the Great Maister went to *Brunduſium*, with the Great Maister of the Templers, to sollicit the christiā Princes of the *Croisade*, and the Soldan came to assaile the Citty of *Ptolomais*, which was vertuously defended by the Knightes of the Hospitall and Temple, with manie braue sallies forth vppon the besiedgers. Especially the Great Maister *Villiers*, who was sore wounded, with long sustayning the whole charges of the *Barbarian* Infidels, the Knights Barricadoing themselues in a quarter of the Citty, which yet was afterward taken on Friday, the 18. of May, the same yeare, 1292. With this great losse, the christians were driuen out of the Holy land, 191. years ten months, & 3. daies, after it had bin conquered by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*. The Great Maister, with the rest of his Knights, fled (for safety) to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where they were very kindly entertained by the king of the Island, who assigned vnto them and the Templers, the Citty of *Limoſson*, which was a Port Towne or Hauen on the Sea. There did they inhabit; and there did the Great Maister assemble two generall Chapters, one in December, 1292. and the other in October, 1293. making therin diuers good Statutes for the Order: and in the yeare, 1294. he died at *Limoſson*, and then succeeded him

Tripoly surprized from the Christians.

The Citty of *Ptolomais* taken, and the Christians driuen out of the Holy-land.

Limoſson assigned to the Hospitallers, and Templers

22. F. *Odo des Pins*, borne in *Prouence*, in the time of Pope *Boniface* the eight. He incurred the hatred and disgrace of the knights of his Order, by reason of his negligence and couetousnesse. And there was a purposed determination to depriue him of his Great Maistership; but it was impeached by the Pope, to auoid scandall, and at length hee was cited to appeare at *Rome* in person, to answere the complaintes of the Hospitallers, and thitherward he trauailed. But before hee could see *Italy*, he died by the way, in the yeare, 1296. hauing (in the precedent yeares) held two generall Chapters at *Limoſson*. He carried also a long with him, a Manuscript Chronicle, wherein he had appealed certaine Letters of the Popes, containing Excommunication, whereby he pursued and releeued his owne Appeale.

1294.

The Great Maister hated for his Couetousnesse.

A Manuscript Chronicle.

23 THe Knights hearing the death of their Great Maisters *des Pins*, elected (at *Limoſson*) the 24. day of March, 1296. F. *Guillaume de Villaret* to succeede him; who was of the same Countrey of *Prouence*, and Prior of S. *Gilles*, where he was at the time of his election. But hauing intelligence therof, he trauelled immediatly to the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, and gouerned in his charge very prudently. In his time, *Vsan Cassanus*, King of the *Tartars*, became a Christian, and recouered the Citty of *Ierusalem*, where hee placed the Knightes Hospitallers and Templers in Garrison, in the yeare, 1300. He tooke the Citty of *Damas* likewise, but it was quickly regained by the Infidels, and the Hospitallers and Templers returned then to *Cyprus* againe, where the Great Maister departed out of this life, in the yeare, 1308. hauing held fiue generall Chapters at *Limoſson*, and seen the vtter ruin of the Knights Templers.

1296.

Vsan Cassanus K. of the *Tartars* became a Christian.

Vtter ruine of the Knightes Templers.

24 THe great Master being dead, *Folquet de Villaret*, of the same Nation of *Prouence*, was elected in his room. He was a man of liuely spirit and corage, and seeing that hee had attained to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolued to put in execution a matter, which (in his predecessors daies) had often beene intended; but could not any way be effected (viz:) to depart

1308.

The knightes depart frō *Cyprus*.

depart from the Isle of *Cyprus*, and to get a dwelling some where else, which he very happily performed. For, in *An.* 130°. the very yeare of his election, hee made a voyage to *Constantinople*, and afterward, into *France*, wher the Pope gaue him the Isle of *Rhodes* (if hee could get it) which with his Knights he conquerd, in the year 1309. and seauen other Islands neere adioyning. So that thither was the residence of S. *Iohns* Knights transferred, and then they were afterward called Knights of the *Rhodes*, yet keeping the name of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* still. Not long after, *Otthoman* first Emperour of the *Turkes*, came and besieged *Rhodes* with a potent Army: but it was releeued by *Amadis* the 4. Earle of *Sauoy*, and *Ottoman* was compelled to raise his siege. After which time, the Earls of *Sauoy* wore on their Armors a Crosse Argent, in a field Geules, in memory of the helpe they had giuen to the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

The beginning of the Knights of the Rhodes, who held their first name of Saint Iohns knights still.

The order of the Templers (hauing bin vtterly suppressed, in a generall Counsel holden at *Vienna* in *Dalphine*) the greater part of their goodes was giuen to the Order of the *Rhodes*, and confirmed by Pope *Clement* the 5. one thousand three hundred & twelue. In the year, 1314. the Knights of the *Rhodes*, conquered the Isle of *Lango*, with other Isles in the *Archipelague*. And in the yeare, one thousande three hundred and seauenteene, *Folquet* the Great Maister (pleasing his owne Humour ouer-much in his Victories and Conquests) beganne to grow haughtie, proud, and insolent, which brought him into contempt of his Companions. Whereupon, the Knights reuolted from him, and if he had not saued himselfe in a Castle, they had seized his person. But in regard they could not get him, they deposed him from the dignity of Great Master, and in his place, elected

The Isle of Lango, & other Iles conquerd

The Great Maister deposed from his Office.

1317

25. *Maurice de Pagnac*, whereof Pope *Iohn* the twenty two, beeing aduertised, he was greatly offended thereat, and sent two Prelates to the *Rhodes*, to informe themselues of the fact, with command to cite the great Masters *de Villaret* and *de Pagnac*, to appeare at *Auignon* in person, *Gerard des Pins*, being appointed Lieutenant Generall in the meane while. At this instant time, *Orchanes*, Emperour of the Turkes, came boldly and besieged the Isle of *Rhodes*. But the Knights had an admirable victory against him; for there were then tenne thousand Turkes hewne in pieces. In this interim, *Maurice Pagnac* died at *Montpellier*, Anno, one thousand three hundred twentie two, and *Folquet de Villaret*, was re-establisht ed in the dignity of Great Maister. But he perceiuing, that it was against the liking of his fellow Knightes, renounced his Great Maistership, in the year one thousand three hundred twenty three, and liued as a priuate Knight, vntill the first day of September, 1327. when hee died, and was buryed at *Montpellier*.

Orchanes Emp. of the Turkes besieged *Rhodes*, but to his foile.

26 THe same yeare that he gaue ouer his dignity, the Knightes of the *Rhodes*, chose *Elion de Villeneufue*, borne also in *Prouence*, and Priour of S. *Gils*. In the year 1343 a league was made between the Seigneury of *Venice*, the K. of *Cyprus*, and Knights of the *Rhodes*. And the great M. hauing won the name of an hapy Gouernour, died the twenty seauen of May; at *Rhodes*. In his life time, hee had enclosed the Great Maisters Pallace with wals and Towers, and diuided the Languages, *Bayliwicks*, and other dignities of the order. 1327.

A League of peace and amity concluded.

27. AFter the decease of *Villeneufue*, *Deo-dono*, or *Gods guist*, (a Natiue of *Prouence*) was elected Great Maister. About foure yeares before hee was promoted to this dignity, he had fought with an horrible and monstrous Dragon, that greatly afflicted the Isle of *Rhodes*. And hauing killed the Monster, hee was therfore so highly honored and esteemd, that his memory yet remaineth renowned to posterity. In the yeare, 1347. he aided the king of *Armenia* against the *Soldan* of *Egipt*. Pope *Clement* the sixt, held the Knights of *Rhodes* in such esteem, that almost all the Forts in *Italy* (belonging to the See) were gouerned seuerally by one of them. In the yeare, 1351. *Constance* K. of *Armenia*, became a Brother-Knight of *Rhodes*. And in the yeare, 1353. the son to *Iohn Canta-cuzen*, Emp. of *Constantinople*, came and required aid of the Great Maister of *Rhodes*: who after he had gouernd this Order of S. *Iohn* 7. yeares, 6. months, and ten daies, died the 7. of Sept. in the saide yeare, 1353. and was buried in the Church of *S. Iohn* of *Rhodes*. He builded 1346.

A Dragon afflicted the Isle of *Rhodes*.

Constance King of *Armenia*, a Kni. of *Rhodes*.

Church of S. Iohn, in the Isle of *Rhodes*.

Milles

Milles in the Citty of *Rhodes*, and engirt the Subburbs with wals, making them very strong on the Sea-side.

1353. 28. NExt succeeded him by election, (as Great Maister) *Peter de Cornilian*, Prior of *S. Gilles*, born also in *Prouence*. He was Maister but one year, eight months, and seuenteene dayes; for, falling into a grieuous sickneſſe, hee died in the city of *Rhodes*, the 24. of auguſt, 1355. He was a man of very exemplary life, and so seuere, that he was sur-named the *Corrector of Customes*. Hee held a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*, 1354. wherein manie good Statutes were made.

Corrector of Customes.

1355 29 AFter the Great Master was deceaſed, according vnto accustomed forme, *Roger des Pins*, borne likewise in *Prouence*, did next succeed him. In his time, the Pope perſwaded the Knights of *Rhodes*, to buy the Principality of *Achaia*, of *Iacques de Sauoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, and the Knights of *Rhodes* made a generall assembly in the Citty of *Auignon*, to effect the treaty of buying of the sayde Principality of *Achaia*, and to reforme some abuſes, crept into the Order. For their Statutes were nowe traduced into the Latine tongue; & to all Princes were sent authenticall Coppies or Volumes of them, by appointment of the great Maister. And in the yeare, 1359. the Great Commaunder, and the Marshall of the Order, were sent into *France* (in qualitie of Ambaſſadors) to be visiters and reformers. There was an assembly of the Knightes, called at the Citty of *Carpentras*, but it could not holde in regarde of the great Maisters death, who died the 28. of May, 1365. and was much lamented, but by the poore especially, to whom he was a great and charitable Almoner.

A generall assembly in the City of *Auignon*.

Great Commander, and Marshall of the Order.

1365. 30. RAymond Berengarius, of *Prouence* also, was next chosen great Maister, who had bin before the Commander of Castle *Sarrazin*. In his time, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knightes of *Rhodes*, made a league together, & tooke (perforce) the Citty of *Alexandria* in Egypt, which they ransackt, spoylde, and burnt. The *Armenians* being expulſed by the *Sarrazins* out of their dwellings, were charitably entertaind by S. *Iohns* knights, in the Isle of *Lango*: and at the same time the Citty of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, was taken and sacked by the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

The Citty of *Alexandria* spoild and burned.

In the year, 1371. the Great Master was (by the Pope) elected *Nuntio* from the Apoſtolicke seat, to appeaſe the humours & diuiſions which were then in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*: whether he went in perſon, and both by his Authority and wiſedome, he soone seased all the troubles and molestations. The Great Maister hauing gouerned his Order about 18. yeares and an halfe, departed this life, in the yeare, 1373.

The great M. elected *Nuntio*.

31. IN the same yeare, *Robert de Juliac*, or of *Gulieh*, great Prior of *France*, was chosen Great-Maister, who (at the time of his election) had the charge of his Priory: but vnderstanding the newes, he went forthwith to *Auignon*, where he was receiued with great honour; an assembly general of this Knightly order, being then there held, and the Great Maister had the gouernement of *Smyrna* imposed vpon him, vnder paine of excommunication. At his comming to *Rhodes*, he qualified all the contentions which had hapned in the time of his absence. At this time went the Pope, to hold his seat at *Rome* againe, which he and his predeceſſors had kept at *Auignon*, for the space of seauenty one yeares, 1376. In which yeare, the 9. of June, died the Great Mayster, and then

1373. *Robertus Juliacensis*.

The Great Maister made Gouernor of *Smyrna*.

32. IN his place came *John Fernandes d'Heredia*, a Natiue of *Arragon*, in the citty of *Valentia*, who was Priour of *Cathalognia*, and *Castillian d'ampoſta*. Twice he had bin married, and (chaunging to be a Widdower) hee was made a Knight of *Rhodes*, in the time of *Villeneufue*, who was then Great Maister. Beeing then but a simple Knight, hee went to visit the holy Sepulchre, and other memorable places in the Holy-land. He was also Ambaſſadour from Pope *Clement* the sixt, to the Kings *Phillip* 6. of *France*, and *Edward* the third of *England*, and did very good seruice to king *Phillip*, in the year 1346. For he being dismounted from his Horse, on a day of battel against the *English*, he gaue him his owne horse, whereby the King escaped to a place of safetie. In like manner, hee fortified the Bastions and new wals of *Auignon*, whereof he was made Gouernour by the Pope. Beeing great

1376.

The Great Maister rescued the King of *France* against the King of England.

great Maister, he took his way to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1377. and being required by the Generall of the *Venetians* army, to vnite their forces together: they went to *Morea*, in the year, 1378. where they besiedged the Citty of *Patras*, and tooke both it and the Castle. The Great Mayster (fighting man to man with the Gouernor of *Patras*) slew him manfully. Afterward, in an Ambuscado of Turkes, he was taken prisoner, by reason hee was too well knowne to them. Whereuppon, to worke his liberty, *Patras* and other places (which had bin won from them) were redeliuered to the Turks. And yet notwithstanding, they would needes carrie him with them into *Albania*, where they kept him as a slaue three yeares. In the yeare, 1381. the great Maisters freedome was bought with mony; and hee returning to *Rhodes*, the Ambassadors of *Smirna* came to desire succor of him. In the yeare, 1391 *Baiazeth* Emperor of the Turkes, made some preparation to besiedge *Rhodes*: Whereupon, *Phillebert de Naillac*, Prior of *Aquitaine*, was sent by his fellow-Knights to *Auignon*, with Letters to the great Maister, to require aide against *Baiazeth*. *Naillac* retnrning to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1396. *Heredia* the great Maister died, & was buried at *Cassa*.

The Citty of Petras besiedged and taken

Patras redeliuered to the Turkes.

Baiazeth prepared a siege against *Rhodes*

1396.

33. NEwes being brought to *Rhodes*, that *Heredia* the Great Maister was dead, *Phillebert de Nail'ac*, Graunde Priour of *Aquitaine*, and born in *France*, succeeded in his roome. At the Spring time, he was inuited by *Sigismond*, K. of *Hungaria*, to come and assist him with his Knights, against *Baiazeth*, which hee did in person, in the yeare, 1397. And then was a battaile foughten at *Nicopolis*, where *Baiazeth* had the victory, the King of *Hungary* beeing glad to saue himselfe, and (with the Great Maister) retyred to *Rhodes*. Thither also did the Emperor of *Constantinople* send all his precious Iewels, to be kept by the Great Maister, fearing least *Baiazeth* should surprize *Constantinople*. But hee was disappointed by *Tamburlain*, who ouercam *Baiazeth*, and kept him captiue in a Cage of Iron, so long as he liued; and the siedge of *Constantinople* being raised, the Great Maister sent home againe the Emperors Iewels. After the foil of *Baiazeth*, the great Maister, *de Naillac*, failed with an armie into *Caria*, and there builded an inexpugnable fortresse, which hee named Saint *Peters* Castle, in the yeare, 1399. vnder the raigne of *Charles* the sixt K. of *France*. In the yeare, 1403. there hapned warres betweene the King of *Cyprus* and the *Genewayes*; which was pacified and ordered by the wisedome and authoritie of the Great Maister: to whom the Souldan of Egypt sent an Ambassador, for request of peace.

Sigismund king of *Hungaria*.

Tamburlaine hindereth *Baiazeths* siege at *Constantinople*.

Warres betweene *Genowayes*, and the K. of *Cyprus*.

In the yeare 1409. the Great Maister gaue his personall assistaunce in the Counsell of *Pisa*, assembled to quench the Schismes which were then crept into the Church; and the guard of the Conclaue was committed to the Great Maister, when *Alexander* the fift was elected Pope. The saide Maister was likewise at the generall Counsel of *Constance*, where three Popes were deposed, and *Martine* the fift elected, Anno. 1414. the gard of the Conclaue beeing then againe giuen to the Great Maister. Trauailing into *France*, he held a general assembly of the Knights at *Auignon*, afterward at *Florence*, and last at *Ancona*: whence returning to *Rhodes*, *Anno* 1420. he held there a generall Chapter, & in the beginning of Iune, 1421. he died.

Three Popes deposed in the Councell of *Constance*.

34. AND then in the deads place, *Anthony de Fluviano*, or *de Riuers*, reported to be a Native of *Arragon* (but more say of *England*) was created Great Maister. In his time began the general Counsel of *Basile*, 1430. And not long after, the Soldan of *Egypt* (puft vp with the victory which he wonne at *Cyprus*) brake the Truce, and prepared a great Armie, with intent to besiedge *Rhodes*. But when he heard, that the Great Maister was prouided of sufficient strength to withstande him; he left off his determination, and so the Order that way remained in quiet. This Great Maister founded and endowed a chappel in the City of *Rhodes*, which (afterward) hee made a Church for his Knights. And the 25. of October hee died, after he had gouerned (in his place) with much wisedome, 16. yeares and an halfe.

1321

This *Anthonie de Riuers* was sent for to *Rhodes*, he being then chief Commander of the Brother hood, at Saint *Iohns* of Ierusalem, in S. *Iohns* street.

35. THE sixt of Nouemb. in the same yeare, 1437. *Iohn de Lastic*, borne in *Auuergne*, was elected Great Maister, albeit he was absent at his election, & remai-

1437.

mained in *Auuergne*, wherof he was Priour. Before he would go to *Rhodes*, hee made a generall assembly of his Knightes at *Valentia*, in the month of December, 1438. When he cam to *Rhodes*, he began to build the new Hospitall for sicke people, which the precedent Great Maister, (by his will) had appointed to be done at his expences. In his time, Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, was deposed by the Counsell of *Basile*; and *Felix* the fift, created in his place, who was held at Rome to bee an Antipope. In the yeare, 1440. the Soldan of *Egypt*, being come neer to the Port of the Isle of *Castel le Rouge* (which apertained to the Knights) and from thence turning towards *Rhodes*, he was put to flight by an army of the Knights, who had but eight Gallies; and in the Souldans armie there were eighteen; and there were slain about 700. *Sarazins*, beside a great number that were wounded. This foyle did so highly offend the Soldan, that he leagued himselfe with *Amurath*, Emperor of the Turkes, with intention to make himselfe Maister of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and to kill or expell thence, that famous Order of Knight-hood.

A generall assembly at *Valentia*.

The So'dane of Egypt put to flight.

Heereupon, in the yeare, 1444. hee came and besiedged *Rhodes*, which was vertuously defended by the *Rhodian* Knights; and in the month of September the same yeare, a generall assembly was held at *Rhodes*, to helpe the ensuing necessitie of the order. So the yeare following, the Great Maister (by aduise of the Pope and the King of *Cyprus*) made peace with *Amurath*, and helde a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*. At which time, the D. of *Cleues* passed by *Rhodes*, in his returne from *Ierusalem*, where he had visited the Holie places. In the yeare, 1451. a generall assembly was made at *Rhodes*, wherein, the administration and gouernement of the Treasure, and whole fraternity, was giuen to the Great Maister: who in Anno 1452. after the death of *Amurath*, renewed the peace with *Mahomet* the seconde his son. And yet the yeare following, *Mahomet* became Master of the City of *Constantinople*, the 29. of May: when (being not a litle proud of this fortunate succes) he sent to the great Master of *Rhodes*, that he should pay him yearely, two thousand Ducats, in name of a tribute, otherwise, he purposed not to hold (any longer) the peace sworne betweene them. Whereunto the Great Maister made a couragious answere, to wit; *That neither his religion, the Isle of* Rhodes, *nor himselfe were Subiects to any, but God and his Church; that he would neuer pay Turk any tribute, being rather resolued to dye (both he and all his Knightes) then to endure Christian Libertie, (which euer had bin free) to come nowe (by his meanes) into thraldome.* Whereupon, he sent Ambassadours to the Pope and Christian Princes, to entreat supply from them, against the periured Mahomet. And in the yeare, 1454. the xix. day of May, he died, hauing valiantly gouerned his Order sixteene yeares, six months, & thirteene dayes.

A generall assembly helde at *Rhodes*.

The death of *Amurath*.

Constantinople won by Mahomet.

The Great Maisters answer to Mahomet.

36. IAcques de Milly, borne in *Auuergn*, whereof he was Prior, succeeded as Great Master, the first of Iune, 1454. being in his Priory when he was elected, & his Nephew *George de Boisrond*, brought him first tidings thereof. Whereupon, he immediatly went to *Rhodes*, and helde a generall Chapter the same yeare, in the month of Nouember. In the yeare, 1456 the Isle of Rhodes was greatly afflicted with pestilence and famine, whereby it became halfe desert, and to re-people it againe, many generall citations wer sent abroad to all the Knights, to meete there at a certaine time. The yeare 1457. Mahomet besiedged the Isle of *Lango*, & the Castle of the Isle *des Singes*: but hee was couragiously repulsed, the Knightes hauing a very happy and singuler victory against him, which caused *Charles* the 7. King of *France*, to send the Knights (as a guift) sixteene thousand Crownes. The Bayliffes, Commanders, and other Officers of the Order, beeing then enioyned (by a generall Chapter) to come to Rhodes, for the more secure defence thereof. The xvii. of August, 1461. the great Maister died, hauing (with much prouidence) gouerned his charge in harde & troublesome times, seuen years, two months, and sixteene daies. He was greatly lamented, because he was very benigne, affable, and humaine, desirous to preserue peace and vnity among his worthy Brethren.

1342.

A great plagu and famine in *Rhodes*.

The Isle of *Lango* besiegd by *Mahomet*.

The bountie of the King of *France*.

37 PEter Raymend Zacosta, born in *Arragon*, and *Castilean d'Emposta*, was created Great Master next, he being then absent in *Spaine*; but at his comming to Rhodes, by a generall Chapter there holden,

1461.

The eight language admitted into the Order.

den, the eight Language of *Castile* & *Portugall*, was then admitted into the order. For till that instant, there were but seuen Languages there before; to wit, three of *France*, *Auuergne*, and *Prouence*; one of *Italy*, one of *Arragon*, one of *England*, & one of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*. The yeare 1464. the *Venetians* army besiedged the Citty of *Rhodes*: but the siege was soone raised, and the *Venetians* returned home to their Countrey, the war being appeased by the wisedome of the Great Master, who caused the Tower of S. *Nicholas* to be built, at the mouth of *Rhodes* Port, in the very same place, wher (in elder times) the great *Colossus* of the Sun (numbered among the seuen wonders of the world) had stood. As a helpe to this building, *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, gaue ten thousand Crownes of Gold. The yeare 1467. the great Turke sent Ambassodours vnto *Rhodes*, to mediate a peace between him and the Knightes Hospitallers: but they worthily refused it; and in presence of the Ambassadors, denounced warre against the Turke. The generall Chapter being then transferred from *Rhodes* to *Rome*; & the Great Master being present in person thereat, he died there the 21. of February, 1467. and was buried in the Church of S. *Peter*.

The Tower of S. *Nicholas* builded.

The Duke of *Burgundies* Liberality.

The generall Chapter transferd to Rome.

1467.

38. *Baptista Orsino*, Prior of *Rome*, an *Italian* by Nation and Tongue, succeeded the Great Master *Zacosta*. No sooner was he come to *Rhodes*, but he receiued intelligence, that the great Turke prepared a puisant army, purposing to be siedge either *Rhodes* or *Negropont*: wherfore, hee sent for a great number of the Knights, that were then absent, to come forthwith for defence of the Iland. Moreouer, he leagued himselfe with the *Seignury* of *Venice*, against the Turke. Neuertheless, in the yeare 1470. *Mahomet* forcibly tooke the Citty of *Negropont*, the last day of July, committing verie great and horrible cruelties, killing (in colde blood) all the *Latines* there to be found, and (by sound of Trumpet) he proclaimd open war against the Knight of Rhodes; which enforced them to seeke all meanes for their best defence, prouiding euerie way to withstand the Turkish Army. But in this time of preparation, the eight day of Iune, the Great-Master died of a long lingering disease, which had afflicted him a whole year together: and after him succeeded

Negropont take by *Mahomet*.

Horrible cruelties of the Turkes.

39. *Peter d'Abusson*, born in *Auuergn*, Priour there, and Captain of the Citty of Rhodes. He being chosen Great Maister, solemnly took his Oath (according to custome) to keepe the statutes of the Order. Hee visited the whole Isle of Rhodes, and made very great prouision to defend it against the Turks army, sending for all Knights and Commaunders appertaining to the Order, to repaire thither for defence of the Isle, and renewing peace with the Soldan of Egypt. The same year, King *Lewes* preuailed to haue a Iubily in *France*, in fauor of the knights of Rhodes; taking order, that the monies thereby arising, should soly be imployed for their defence. And by this Iubily cam great store of Money, wherewith Castles and fortifications were builded in the Ile. Truce also was taken, betweene the Knights, and the King of *Tunis*, for thirtie yeares; and the Knights of the Sepulcher at *Ierusalem*, were ioyned with the Rhodians of S. *Iohn*. In the yeare, 1479. *Mahomet* the second, Emperor of the Turks, helde a solemne counsell, that Rhodes should be besieged with a powerfull Army, as indeed soone after it was. In which siege, many sallies forth were made, and the Turkes daily repulsed and chased; albeit they were an 100000. fighting men, and the army consisted of 180. saile. The Great Maister, was much succoured by *Mesire Antoine d'Aubusson* his Brother, Viscount of *Montelis*, who was a great Warrior, and a most skilfull Captain, he was elected Captain Generall for the besieged. In few daies, the Turkes gaue 3700. shot with the Cannon, against the Citty wals, and a maruellous assault was made of 40000. Turkes, who neuertheless were valiauntly resisted, albeit the Great Maister receiued (in this fight) fiue great wounds, one whereof was thought to be deadly. In the end, so worthily were the assaylants withstood, that they were enforced to raise their siedge, hauing lost a great number of their Souldiers, & the Army of Turkes returned (with mightie shame and disgrace) to *Constantinople*, after they had besiedged the Citty, for the space of 89. daies. After this siege, *Mahomet* the second, concluded to come in person to *Rhodes*: whereupon, a generall assembly

1476.

A Iubilie in *France*, for the Knightes of Rhodes.

Knights of the Sepulcher ioyned with them of *Rhodes*.

The great power of the Turks against Rhodes.

The Turkes compelled to raise their siedge.

assembly of the Knights was made. But the death of *Mahomet* hindered this deseigne, and his Sonnes *Bauazeth* and *Zizime* performed the warre, after the decease of their Father, which gaue some breathing time of rest to the Knightes of *Rhodes*. And yet *Zizime* (in person) came to assist the Great Maister, withdrawing himselfe to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1482. wher he was receiued with great honor, and from thence conducted into *France*. In the time of this Great M. *D'Aubusson*, the statutes of the Order were reformed, and brought into one Volume: Peace being concluded betweene the Knight and the Great Turke *Bauazeth*. The great Maister, was made a Cardinall by Pope *Innocent* the eight, and Legate also into *Asia*, with honour of Legate, and general of the legued Army against the Turk. Finally, he died at Rhodes, Anno 1503. the third day of July, full of honor and reputation, and was interred with great funerall pompe. He had liued 80. yeares, three months, and 4. daies, and gouerned the Order 27. yeares, and xvi. daies.

Mahomets death gaue some respit to *Rhodes*.

Peace concluded betweene *Bauazeth* and *Rhodes*.

1503

40 THere were 387. Knights assembled at *Rhodes*, when the Great Maister *D'Aubusson* died, who elected for his successor, *Emery D'Amboi*s, Brother to *George L'Amboi*s, Cardinall and Legate in *France*, Arch-bishop of *Rouen*. He was a French-man by birth, & great Prior of *France*, at the time of his election, *Guy de Blanchefort* comming into *France*, to accompany him in his voyage to *Rhodes*, wher he was receiued with much applause and reioycing, because the Kinges of *France* and *Spain* had written verie fauourable Letters on his behalfe, to the Knights of the order. He was no sooner there arriued, but he held a general chapter, wherein was concluded, that a sumptuous Tombe of Brasse should be made, for the deceased Cardinall Great Maister. In the yeare following, they obtained a very famous and nauall victory, against the Soldane of *Egipt*, vnder the conduct of *Phillip de Villiers*, of the Isle *Adam*, a French Knight of the order, & afterward he was Great M. But this Maister *Emerie D'Amboi*s died at Rhodes, An. 1512.

A great assembly of Knights at Rhodes.

A Nauall victory against the Soldan of Egypt.

1512

41 AND the same yeare, 410. of the Knights were assembled at Rhodes, where they chose *Guy de Blanchefort*, borne in *Auuergne*, and Nephew to the deceased Maister *D'Aubusson*, to be great maister. In his time, the generall *Lateran* Counsel was holden at *Rome*, where *Fabritio Carretto*, Admirall and Procurator for the order of Rhodes, was Captaine of the Guard to the said counsel. This great M. *de Blanchefort*, embarking himselfe at *Nicea* in *Prouence*, to make for Rhodes, was surprized (by the way) with a dangerous sickenes, whereof hee died the 2.. of Nouemb. a yeare & two daies after his election.

The generall *Lateran* counsell at Rome.

42 IN his sted, *Fabritio de Caretto*, born in *Geneway*, and an *Italian* by Language, was created Great M. in an assembly held at *Rhodes*, the xv. of December, 1513. where were then present 550. Knights of the order the said *Carretto* hauing formerly bin Admiral of Rhodes. In the yeare 1516. peace was made between the Knights of S. *Iohn*, and *Tomombeus* Soldan of Egypt, successor to *Campson Gauri*, who (but a short while before) was slaine in a battaile, wherein *Selim* (Emperor of the Turks) had the victory against him. And *Tomombeus* was as vnfortunat, for in the yeare, 1517. he was taken, and strangled at one of the Ports of the great *Cayre*, by the appointment of *Selim*. And this was the cause, that the great Maister fortified the Isle of *Rhodes*, to his vttermost power, sending Ambassadors to the Christian Princes, to let them vnderstand the great victories of *Selim*, the sooner to take order for sending succour. But *Selim* dying, his son Sultan *Solyman* succeeded him: and in Ianuary, 1521: the Great M. *Carretto* finished his daies at Rhodes, leauing great prouision and munition for warre, which soon after did seruice to his successor.

1513.

550 Knights, altogether at Rhodes.

Tomombeus Soldan of Egypt.

The Isle of Rhodes strongly fortified.

43 P*Hillip de Villiers*, of the Isle *Adam*, great Priour of *Fraunce*, and there borne, where because he also was at the time of his election, *Gabriel de Pomereux* great commander, was chosen Lieutenant to the Great Maister till he came. The very same yeare of his election, the xxii. of Ianuary, 1521. *Sultan Soliman* resolued to besiege the Isle of Rhodes, executing the last Will of his Father *Selim*: whereof the Great Maister being aduertised, he made his preparation by al possible meanes) to withstand the Turkes enterprize.

1521

Sultan *Solyman* executed his Fathers *Selim* last will.

War betweene the Emperor *Charles* the 5. and *Frances* the 1. King of *France*.

Dilligently did he strengthen the City of *Rhodes*, sending for supply into Christendome, which as then hee coulde not haue, by reason of the Warre hapning betweene *Frances* the first, K. of *Fraunce*, and the Emperor *Charles* the fift. In the month of Iune, 1522. began the memorable siedge of the Citie of *Rhodes*, which was besiedged with an army of two hundred thousand Turkes; and afterwardes the army encreased vnto three hundred thousand men. The besiedged defended themselues most courageously, and verie worthy exploits of war were there performed, especially by the Great Maister, who (during the siedge) did neuer put off his Armour. The assaylants were in many attempts repulsed, and in one of them, twentie thousand Turkes remained dead in the place: *Solyman* hauing then a purpose to raise his siege, but that there were some close Traitours, who hindered him from so dooing, and yet they did not escape vnpunnished.

The losse of Rhodes, to the great griefe of all Christendom

At length, the Great Maister (receyuing no succour) was enforced to surrender the Citty, vpon composition, the 24. day of December, 1522. the Turkes hauing lost more then an hundred thousand men. *Solyman* would needes see the great Maister, and when he beheld him, teares issued from his eyes, in meere compassion of him. So the first day of Ianuarie, 1523. the Great Maister (with fiftie saile) departed from *Rhodes*, and tooke his way towardes *Candie*: after that the Isle of *Rhodes* had been in the power of the Knights Hospitallers, for the space of two hundred and thirteen yeares, to wit, from the yeare, 1309. to the end of the yeare, 1522. After this losse of Rhodes, the Great Maister, and his valiant Religious Knights, had not any assured place of abiding, vntill the Isle of *Malta* was giuen them by the Emperor *Charles* the fift. For they departed first into *Candy*, from thence they went into *Sicily* and *Italy*, where the Pope lent them the Citty of *Vitterbo*, and where they held a generall Chapter. Afterwardes, thy soiourned for some small time, at *Cornetto*; then at *Villefranche*, and at *Nicea*. While they remaind at *Nicea*, the Great Maister made a voyage into *England*, and from thence to *Fraunce*; where being at *Lyons*, a great sickenesse tooke him: but after his recouery, hee went to *Cambray*, to holde the Baptisme of Font for *Phillebert Emanuel*, Sonne to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. Afterward, comming with his Brethren-Knights to *Malta*, on Wednesday morning the sixte of October, 1530. he caused a Pallace to be there erected, for the abiding of him and his successours, calling it *Castel Angelo*, building another Pallace also in the olde Citty of *Malta*. When he had gouerned his order thirty yeares, and seauen monthes (being aged seauenty yeares) the xxi. of August, 1534. he died at *Malta*, and was buried in a Chappell, which hee had builded neere to *Castel Angelo*, and then succeeded him by election

A palace built at *Malta*, cald *Castel Angelo*.

Malta giuen to the knights by the Emp. *Charles* the fift

The Knights of S. Iohn became Knightes of *Malta*.

44 *Pierre du Pont*, a Natiue of *Ast*, and an *Italian* by language. Before the taking of Rhodes, he was Gouernour of the Isle of *Lango*; & after the losse thereof, he departed (with all the Knights vnder his gouernment) and ioyned his power in *Candie*, with the army of the order. In his time *Charles* the fift, Emperor, attempted to go in person to the Kingdom of *Tunis* in *Affrica*, where he was assisted by the Gallies belonging vnto the Order, and the Knightes also, who performed there great exploits of armes: especially, in the surprizing of *Goletta*, which was held to bee a Fort vnconquerable. This war being ended, the Great M. aged 72. yeares, died; hauing gouerned only xiiii. months, and xxii. daies, and was buried by his predecessor *Villiers*. 1534.

Gouernor of the Isle of *Lango*, made great Maister.

Goletta taken by the Emperor & Knights

45 *Desire*, or *Didier de S. Iaille de Tolon*, borne in *Prouence*, and Prior of *Tholosa*, was next made great Maister: when lifting vp his eies to heauen, he vsed these words: *O my God, if thou thinkest me fit for this great charge, I will not refuse the paine and labor.* In his trauailing towards *Malta*, being very aged, so soone as he arriued at *Montpellier*, hee fell into an extreame sicknesse, whereof he died, the 26 of Sept. 1536. and was buried with much solemnity, in the church of the *Commandery* of *S. Gilles*, without the gates of *Montpellier*. When the Knights were aduertised of his decease, the xviii. of Octob. in the same yeare, they proceeded to the election of 1535.

The words of the Great M.

46 *Iohn d'Homedes*, a natiue of *Arragon*, who being then in *Spain*, made hast to *Malta*, wher he was ioyfully receiued. 1536.

ued. Albeit he was discontented that they had not sent some of the Gallies, nor the great *Carrack* of the Order, for his conduct thither; wherefore he disarmed and destroyed the Great *Carrack*, which caused many complaints against him. Verie often would he discourse of the siedge at *Rhodes*, because he gaue generall notice thereby, that there he had lost one of his eies. He made a goodly Parke of Deare. and a very beautifull Garden in the Isle of *S. Michael*, and there would hee spend the greater part of the day, which raysed occasion of murmuring against him, that he was slacke in his p.blick gouernment. and no way carefull to prouide the Isle of *Malta*, of needefull supplies against the Turkes forces, for he trusted too much in the strength of *Castel Argelo*. In his time, the citty of *Tripoli* in *Barbary* was lost by the knights of the order, & taken by the Turks, which droue him to no litle fear & amazement. In the year, 1552. *Leo Strozzi*, an especial Commander of the order, made an attempt vpon the Isle of *Zoara*, which had very harde successe, because many Knights were then slaine of all Nations, especially manie *French*, *Auuergnacs*, and *Prouenceals*. It being declared to the Great Maister, he grieued extraordinarily thereat, and saide; *That a greater losse had not happed to the Order, since the surprizal of Rhodes*. He builded the Castles of S. *Elme*, and *S. Michael*, and being eighty years old, died the 6. of Sept. 1558 hauing gouerned xvi. yeares, x. months, and xv. daies, and was buried in the great Maisters Chappell.

A great Carrack belonging to the order.

A Parke of Deare and a goodly Garden in the Isle of S. *Michael*.

Tripoly in *Barbary* taken by the Turkes.

The Isle of *Zoara*, manie knights slaine there.

1558. 46 C*Laudius de la Single*, borne in *France*, was next created Great Maister, and at his election, there were then present at *Malta*, aboue foure hundered Knights of the Order. Hee Gouerned verie discreetly, by Counsell of fiue Worthy Knightes his Officers and Attendants, (to witte;) by his Steward. Maister of the Housholde, Maister of the Horsse, the Treasurer, and Secretary. So that the Order was in great happinesse, during the time of his Maysterships, hauing obtained the priuiledge of Neutrality, of King *Henry* the second, and *Charles* the fift, Emperor, who made warre against him.

Foure hunderred Knightes assembled at *Malta*.

Priuiledge of *Neutrality*.

Hee was verie Valiant, Religious, and a most profitable Administratour of the Orders reuennues, in whose Treasury he left aboundant store: dying of a *Catarrh*, which had much suffocated him, after he had attained to the Climacteriall yeare, 63. of his age.

47 F. *Iohn de Valette*, borne in *Prouence*, succeeded next as Great Maister, and his election was verie pleasing to all the Order of Saint *Iohn*, because he was generally beloued of all the Nations, and vniuersally desired, as most Woorthy of that charge and Dignitie. In lesse space then two yeares, he was generall of the Gallies, Bayliffe of *Lango*, Great Commaunder, Priour of Saint *Gilles*, and Lieutenant to the great Mayster, and nowe at length Great Maister also. 1561

Seuerall dignities in litle space.

Hee did so affect his Knightes and Order, that, after the day hee first entered into it, he would neuer more returne into his Countrey. So that by making continuall residence there with them, he passed thorough all the Degrees and offices of honour in the profession: appearing still (in all his actions) to bee of rare iudgement, perfect integrity, & incomparable valour. So soone as he was aduanced to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolued to builde a new Cittie at *Malta*, vpon the Mountaine of Saint *Elme*, knowing that all the other Fortes were not sufficiently munited, to endure the batterie of a potent enemy: yet this disseign was deferred till a further time. He fortified the Castle of the Isle of *Gozo*, and forsaking his abiding at the Castle of S. *Angello*, came and dwelt within the town of *Malta*, which hee defended most valiantly against the siege of the Emp. Sultan *Soliman*, when he was grieuously wounded in his leg, in the year 1565. But the siege being raised, to the shame and confusiō of the Turks; he greatly strengthned the Isle of *Malta*, and began to build the new City, which was called *Valette*, according to his sur-name, and whereof himselfe solemnly laid the first stone, on monday the 28. of March, 1566. And by the sollicitude of the Great Maister, the building thereof, continued on still, eight thousand persons beeing daily employed therein, and fiue hundered thousand Crownes monthly paid to the workmen. At length, the one & twentie of August, 1568. the Great Maister died, on the like day as hee was promoted vnto his place, ha-

A new Cittie built at *Malta* on S. *Elmes* Mount.

The Turkes receiued shame by raising their siege.

Building of the new Citty of *Valette*.

hauing gouerned eleauen yeares, fullie compleat.

1558. 48. After the obsequies of *Valette* the Great Maister, they proceeded to elect a new successor, which was *Pedro de Mente*, an *Italian* borne, and Priour of *Capua*. Immediately after his promotion to the Maistership, hee caused his predecessors bodie to be carried into the New Citty, and to bee honourably buried in the Chappell of our Lady of Victory, for he worthily deserued to be surnamed the Father of Souldiers, the Shield and Defender of the Catholicke faith, and the great persecutor or queller of proud Infidels. This new Great Maister, before he attained vnto so high degree, had made good proofe of his wisedome and valour, in sundry other honourable and woorthy Offices. For hee was first, Patron of the Gally, which was Captain or Commander of the band. Next, Lieutenant Generall of the Gallies, *Castillion* or Gouernor of the Castle. *S. Angello* at *Rome*; he was then Admirall, next General of the whol Fleet, and Ambassador for the Order to the Popes *Pius* the fourth, and *Pius* the fift. He came from Rome to *Malta*, when he was chosen Great Maister, and followed his charge so effectually, that the new Citty was finished, and thither hee purposed to transfer the dwelling of the Order. For the good Old man, thought it as great honour, to dwell in the New Citty, and make it habitable; as it was for his predecessor *Valette* to build it. In his time, the memorable Nauall battaile of *Lepanto* was fought, and victory obtaind against the Turkes, wherein the Knights of the Order did many woorthy actions of armes. The Great Maister deceasing at *Malta*.

Titles giuen to the deceased Great M. & his buriall.

The new City finished.

The Nauall battel of *Lepanto*.

1572 49 *Iohn*, Bishop of *Cassiera*, borne in *Auuergn*, did next succeede him, in the yeare, 1572. Before his election vnto this Office, his Vertue had appeared in diuers waighty charges. For, at the enterprize of *Zoara*, he was Ensigne-bearer to the Order, and defended the Standarde very worthily, bringing it backe with him to *Malta*, when both it and himselfe were smitten into the Sea, yet both of them saued by a Gally belonging to the order, after he had a long time fought vndantedly against the Infidels. Soon after, he was

Honorable actions performed by the Great Maker before his choise in that Office.

choſen Captaine generall of the Horsemen: Commissary of the fortifications, then Marshall of the Order, and now last Great Maister, wherein he liued very vertuously, not letting any day passe him, without some especiall piece of Seruice; and feeding with his own hands, thirteen poore men. With his owne Money, hee builded the great Church dedicated to to S. *Iohn Baptist*, in the new City of *Valette*, endowing it with a 1000 Crownes of annuall Reuennues, erecting also a goodly Sepulcher, for interring therein the bodies of the Great Maisters his predecessors. There happened some discontentment betweene the Knights and him, which shortning his daies, he died.

The Church of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, built at the Great Masters charge.

1582 50 And the twelfth of Ianuary, 1582. *Hugues de Loubenx Verdale*, born in *Prouence*, was elected Great Maister. He was but a yong Knight, yet both learning and Military knoledge shined clearly in him. For he was in the attempt at *Zoara*, where he declared himselfe to be truly valiant, and had many honourable offices impoſed vpon him. He dying,

1595. 51 *Martin Garzes*, a Natiue of *Arragon*, succeeded him next as great Maister. Hee quallified the discontentments amongst his Brethren-Knights, & tooke away those Taxes which had beene impoſed, and interdicted (for a time) the Officers of the Order, to giue a newe forme to his owne Gouernment, and to the good liking of all the Knights. He did expreſſely prohibit, that not any Knight, (nor the Great Maister himselfe) might particularly haue any ship on the Sea, to vse any Piracies for his owne profit. Hee died also at *Malta*, and lieth buried in the Sepulcher of the Great Maisters.

Discontents pacified amōg the Brethren.

1601. 52 The Knights assembling for a new election, the tenth of Febr. 1601. *Aloph de Vignacourt*, borne in *Fraunce*, was created Great Maister. In the yeare, 1566. he comming to *Malta*, with great store of other French Gentlemen; vpon a flying rumour that the Isle was likely to be besiedged againe by the Turkes army, they all entred into the order, vnder the Great Maister *Valette*, receiuing (afterwardes) sundry great Charges, wherein his wisedome and man-hood was euidently discernd, hauing bin captain of the Citty

Citty of *Valette*, and not long after, great Hospitaller of the order. He yet continueth in the Office of great Maister, a great comfort (we hope) to Christendom, and a terror to the *Ottomans* Empire, whensoeuer they shall attempt the hurt of the Isle of *Malta*, where the famous memory of that ancient Order of Knight-hood of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, is still kept and maintained.

The Great-Maister that yet liueth.

CHAP. IIII.

The seuerall Orders of Knight-hoode, both Ecclesiastick and Secular; as they haue beene, and are yet honored in this Christian World.

Ecclesiasticall Orders.

Knights of S. Iames of Compostella.

1070. IN the yeare, 1070. this Order of Knight-hood began in *Spain*, after that *Ramirus* had won the most famous victory, in the Prouince of *Compostella*, against the *Moores*.

At first, their number consisted but of thirteene, and it was lawfull for them to take wiues. There was a chiefe man chosen of this order, by the name of Great Maister; who (together with the other 13.) had power to elect other knights.

The badge or note of honour of this Knight-hood, was a Red Crosse, carying the forme of a downe pointed sword. At the Feast of *All-Saints*, was their meeting appointed, that they might confer about their affaires. Many years haue they continued, with many priuiledges, & scarsely any but they (called *Augustines*) holde any such lawes.

Knights of Saint Iohns of Ierusalem, vvho were afterwardes knights of the Rhodes, and at this day are called Knights of Malta.

1099. IN the yeare, 1099. the Cittie of *Ierusalem* being recouered against the impulsions of the Infidelles, by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, Duke of *Lorraine*. About that verie time, a certaine Hospitall was erected by the Christians in *Ierusalem*, consecrated by the name of S. *Iohn Baptist*, for the entertainment of Pilgrims. Soone after, was this Order of Knight-hood instituted, and the first Rector or Ruler vvas called *Gerrard*, and the next after him, *Raimond*. These Knights wore a Blacke Garment, with a Crosse Argent, in a field Gules, vpon their breasts.

In the yeare, 1308. beeing enforced from their former abiding by the Turkes, and the Isle of *Rhodes* granted them by Pope *Clement* the fifte: they were (in that regard) called Knights of *Rhodes*. 1308.

In the yeare, one thousand fiue hundred twenty three, *Rhodes* being wonne from them, *Malta* was affoorded them; whereon to this day, they are called Knights of *Malta*. 1523.

The duty of this Knight-hoodes Order, was, to fight for the Christian faith, to releeue the oppressed, to defend Widdowes and Orphanes, &c. Nor was anie one to be admitted into this Order, that was descended of a Moore, Iew, Mahumetist, or any such ignoble race.

Knights Templers, or Knights of the Temple.

1117. ANno Dom. 1117. *Gotfredius Aldemarus Alexandrinus*, and *Hugo de Planco de Paganis* (*Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine*, and King of *Ierusalem* being dead, and *Baldwine* then raigning) this order of Knight-hood first began, and a seate was granted them in the temple of *Ierusalem*, whereuppon, they were called Knightes Templers, or Knights of the Temple.

By entreaty of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, Pope *Honorius* brought in this Order, and confirmed their Society, giuing them a White Garment, whereunto *Eugenius* the third, added a red Crosse on the breast.

The charge of these Knights, was, to guide trauailers on the way of *Ierusalem*, and to entertaine strangers.

1310. Anno Domini, 1310. *Clement* the fift (who then held his See in France) by perswasion of *Phillip* King of *France*, gaue order for the vtter subuersion of this Knight-hoods Society, and all their Colledges, throughout our Christian Worlde, whersoeuer they were builded: in regard of a most abhominable trechery, by them intended and ratified.

Knights Tentons, or Knights of Allemaigne.

1130. SOne after that *Ieruſalem* was regayned from the Chriſtians, one *Teuto* a Nobleman, and abounding in Riches, inſtituted this Society of Knight-hood, building an houſe (for their entertainement) at Ieruſalem, called, *Hoſpitium Virginis Mariæ*.

Among this Order of Knight-hood, neither Knight of *Malta*, nor any other, except a *Germain* (and he likewiſe to bee Noble by birth) could be receyued into their degree. Their garment was White, and a Blacke Croſſe figured vppon their Breaſts.

In the yeare, 1184. theſe Knights (the Citty of *Ieruſalem* being ſurprized by the Sarrazins) *Ptolomais* was graunted them: but beeing likewiſe driuen from thence, they came into their Countrey of *Germanie*.

In the yeare, 1220. they intreated *Fredericke* the ſecond, Emperour, that hee wold ſuffer thē to take Arms againſt certaine fugitiue Idolaters in *Pruſsia*: who beeing by them ſubdued, they obtayned there a new ſeating, and their Dition or Lordſhippe of *Lsuonia* was then added to them.

Calatrauian Knights, or Knights of Calatraua.

IN the yeare, 1130. this order of Knight-hood was inſtituted by *Sancho*, King of *Toledo*, in imitation of the order of Saint *Iames*.

Theſe Knights, tooke the name of *Calatraua*, which was a place graunted vnto them, where (in former times) had ſtood a Church, that belonged to the Knightes Templers: And when the Sarrazins were ouer-powerfull for them, thoſe Knightes were conſtrained to ſurrender this place vnto them.

Theſe Knights did were a black Garment, with a red croſſe vpon their breaſt, and were ſaid to be of the *Ciſternian* Order, holding in Spaine large poſſeſsions.

Knights of Alcantara.

1250. THeſe Knightes, held their name of a Citty in *Caſtile*, called *Alcantara*, and were of the *Ciſternian* order.

They had a goodly Temple neere to the Riuer *Tagus*, where they helde very ample poſſeſſions.

Their Enſigne or Badge was a Greene Croſſe.

Knights of the Redemption.

IN Anno Dom. 1212. this order was inſtituted by *Iames* King of *Arragon*, who Conquered the Iſlands called *Baleares* or *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, in the Spaniſh Sea. 1212.

It was the Office of theſe Knights, to redeeme captiues: whereupon, the Title of Redemption was giuen them: they wer alſo called Knights of *Mary*.

Theſe Knights Order was confirmed by *Gregory* the ninth, Biſhoppe of Rome. And they wore a white Garment with a blacke Croſſe vppon it.

Knights of Monteſia.

THis order was inſtituted much about that very ſame time, as the Knightes of *Calatrana* were. 1150.

They deriued their name from *Monteſia*, in *Valentia*, where was their place of abiding.

The Enſigne of theſe Knightes, was a red croſſe.

Knights of the Holy Sepulcher.

THeſe Knightes (who deriued their name of *Chriſts Sepulcher*) did weare two Red croſſes. This order (at this day) is quite extinct, or (as ſome do imagine) the Order of the Knights of *Malta*, is ſaid to be ſomewhat neare it. 1219.

Knights of Chriſt.

IN Anno Dom. 1320. this order was inſtituted by *John* the 20. Biſhop of *Rome*. The place of theſe Knights abiding, was in *Portugal*. 1320.

A Black Garment, & a double croſſe, were the Enſignes of this Knight-hoodes order.

Knights of S. Mary, the Mother of Chriſt.

CErtaine Noblemen of *Bolognia* and *Modena* in *Italy*, being much trobled and 1261.

and moleſted by perturbations among the Princes, deſired of *Vrbane* the fourth Byſhoppe of *Rome*, that they might be ſuffered to begin ſome kind of Societie. Whereupon, this Order was graunted them, to holde in free and peaceable manner.

A little red Croſſe, reflected with Gold, they wore vpon their Breaſts.

Theſe Knights did weare coſtly Garments, and fared delicately: whervpon they were vulgarly cald by the *Italians*: *Frati Gaudenti*.

They might not were any gilt Spurs, or vſe any Gold on their Horſes Furniture.

¶ *Knights of Saint Lazarus of Hierusalem.*

1048 THis Order was confirmed, or (as ſome will haue it) reſtored by *Pius Quartus*. And yet the Knightes of this order (are ſaid to be) in the times of *Baſilius*, and Pope *Damaſus*, when *Iulian* the Apoſtata raigned, & then they flouriſhed, as ſome do affirme.

The Enſigne or Impreſſe of this Order, was a greene Croſſe, worne on the left ſide of the breaſt.

A man twice married, might not be admitted into this Order.

Knights of the round Table.

The Secular Orders. IN *Anno Domini* 516. *Arthur*, a worthy and warlike King, raigning in the Iſle of *Brittaine*, the Countrey beeing infeſted and troubled with Armies of *Saxons*, &c. was yet (by him) very valiantly ſupported, and his fame out-ſtretched to the remoteſt Regions. Afterward, when peace was eſtabliſhed, that other knightly mindes might bee inflamed with the like glorie: this Order he inſtituted, which continued (with others) in long and honorable obſeruation.

The Order of theſe Knights was (eſpecially) in the Citty of *Wincheſter*, as ſome haue recorded; and their yearelie meeting was there, at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, or Whitſontide.

Knights of the Garter.

1349. IN the yeare 1349. *Edward* the third, King of England, hauing had great victories againſt the French, and other neighbouring Nations, did inſtitute this Order, and conſecrated it to Saint *George*.

The King appointed a Garter to bee the Enſigne of this Order, wrought richly with Golde and precious ſtones, which ſhould circle the leg beneath the knee, and on it to haue theſe words apparantly diſcerned:

HONI. SOIT. QVI. MAL. Y. PENSE.

The number of theſe Knightes, are twenty ſixe, whereof the King himſelfe is the chief.

The time of this Societies meeting, is the Feaſt of S. *George*, and celebrated at *Windſore*.

These Knights do weare the Enſigne of Saint *George* (fighting with a Draggon) faſtned to a rich Chain or Collar, which weighed or valued, neither more or leſſe, then eighty pounds of Engliſh Money (as hath beene ſaide) in former times. Their Garments is Purple, with a red Croſſe.

Knights of the Starre.

ANno Dom. 1350. *John* King of *France*, being much mooued with the glory of *Edward* the third, King of England; did inſtitute this Order of Knighthood, entitling it by thoſe 3 *Magi*, who (going from the Eaſt to honour Chriſt) were guided by a Starre. 1350

The Enſigne of this Order was a Star, ſet eminently in the Hat: and the words were

Monſtrant Regibus Aſtra Viam.

The founder of this Order, beeing much moleſted with the difficulties happening in warre; could not perfect what he had inſtituted. And therefore (within a ſhort while after) this Order ceaſed.

Knights of the Band.

IN the yeare 1367. this Order was inſtituted by *Alphonſus* King of *Spaine*, the Son of *Ferdinand* and *Conſtance*. 1367.

Theſe Knights did wear a certain red ſcarffe or Band, of three fingers bredth, which (like a Stoale) was faſtened on the left Shoulder, and ſo came vnderneath

derneath the right Arme, thwart the body.

Into this Order, younger borne Brethren onely (of Noble descent and Family) and none of the elder, might bee admitted.

Many Articles (belonging to this Order, and to bee obserued by these Knights) are at large set downe by *Sansonino*.

Knights of the Annunciation.

1409 ANno Dom. 1409. *Amades* or *Amadeus*, as some write, the sixt, Sirnamed the *Greene Earle of Sauoy*, deuised this Order, who were tearmed Knightes of the *Virgine Mary*, and for this reason instituted: because *Amades* the first Earle of *Sauoy* (with wonderfull fortitude) defended *Rhodes* against the Turkish powers, in his memory it was thus celebrated.

A Chaine or Collar (such as Knights vse to weare, made of Gold and Siluer Plates, and fastned together with little Linkes) each Man had about his necke, with these Letters engrauen thereon, F. E. R. T. that is; *Fortitudo eius Rhodũ tenuit*. Thereat hung also (by another small Chaine) the Picture of the Virgine *Mary*, with the Angels salutation.

Knights of the Golden Fleece.

1429. IN the yeare 1429. *Phillip*, Sir-named the good Duke of *Burgundy*, instituted this Order, and dedicated it vnto Saint *Iames*.

The number of these Knightes were twenty four, whereof the Duke of *Burgundy* was the chiefe.

They vsed to weare the Picture of a Golden Sheepe, affixed to a Chaine, inter-wouen like flames of Fire.

Charles the warlike Duke of *Burgundy* (who also is said by euery one, to bee the first Founder of this Order) added thereunto these words: *Ante ferit, quam flamma micet.*

But now at this day, the Knights haue these words:

PRETIVM NON VILE LABORVM.

Knights of Saint Michaell.

1469 IN the yeare 1469. *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, instituted this Order at *Amiens*, and dedicated it to Saint *Michaell*.

The beginning of this Society, consisted of a Band of Men, to the number of thirty sixe, the very cheefest and noblest Peeres of the Kingdome, beeing Knights cleere from all detection; and the very cheefe of them was the King himselfe.

At this day, there are a great number of these Knights, and the Kingdom of *France* is not now so respective in their election, as at the first.

These Knightes weare a Chaine of Gold daily, wouen like little shels, valewing two hundred Crownes: And thereat hangeth the Picture of Saint *Michaell* fighting with the Deuill, the words being these; *Immensi tremor Oceani.*

These Knights did vse to meet euerie yeare, at the Feast of Saint *Michaell*, in the Church of Saint *Michaell* on the Mount.

Their Garments by *Henry* the second, King of *France*, were appointed in very honourable manner.

Knights of Saint Stephen.

IN the yeare 1561. this Order was instituted by *Cosimo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and the same confirmed by *Pius Quartus*. 1561.

The Ensigne of these Knights, was a Red Crosse, worne on a blacke Garment.

The Statutes of this Order, doe not much differ from thē of *Malta* Knights: and they were allowed to haue Wiues.

The Duke of *Florence*, is alwaies the chiefe of this Order, and it is not to be censured by any of the religious degrees, but properly it dooth hold a freedome in liberty.

Knights of the Holy-Ghost.

IN the yeare 1578. *Henry* the third, King of *France*, instituted this Order, and named it of the Holy-Ghost: the memory whereof, was to be celebrated in the time of Pentecost: vpon which day, the King was borne, and succeeded also in the Kingdom. These Knights are an hundred in number, and the king himselfe is President. 1578

This

This Feast is celebrated yearely the first day of Ianuary, in the *Augustines* Church in *Paris*, by the *Parisians*.

The Ensigne of these Knights, is a Doue (in which forme the Holy-Ghost appeared) in midst of a Crosse.

The last or lowest degree of Knighthood, is theirs, who (as reward of their Vertues) haue Golden Spurres put on their Heeles, and vulgarly are called Knights.

Concerning Knights Bannerets, who had that Title giuen them by the Kings of England in Warre, Knights of the Bath; And Baronets last of all deuised, they being also created by the Kings of that Kingdome: because they are of another Nature; I passe them ouer, without vsing any further speech of them.

CHAP. V.

Of a strange Custome (though scarsely commendable) vsed by the People, in the Kingdome of Cathay, for marriage of their Daughters, when they want means of Wealth and dowry.

Concerning the seatage of *Cathay*.

SOme Geographers doe place the Prouince of *Cathay* in *Asia*, and others in the higher *India*: but it matters not much to me, in what part soeuer of the World it is scituated; for I am not a little ashamed, to read the manner of their daughters marriages, when they haue no meanes to bestow Dowries on them, which I finde to be thus related. Their Daughters hauing attained to the able yeares of marriage, and they wanting means whereby to aduance them: they bring them into a publike place, where making a noise, by beating two boards one against the other (which may bee heard almost as audibly, as the sound of a good Bell or Trumpet) the people thereupon assemble together. The appearance being made to generall liking, the Maid that then is in question of mariage, must be mounted on some Piller or ascent of Stone, where best she may be seene: and there, by commaund of her Parents (hauing Garments made for the purpose) she vnlaceth and openeth all her nakednesse backward, and so suffers her selfe to be seene for a long space before them. Hauing laced her Garments againe, shee makes the like shew of her naked fore-partes, hauing first taken away her hairy excrements, if of such there bee any: And then, whosoeuer best fancieth her, and shee him; they are allowed to be Man and Wife, prouided that he haue meanes to cloath and keepe her.

A dishonest fashion in matying Maids.

For my selfe, I condeme this custome as sauage and brutish, and hold the *Cathayans* to be very grosse people; albeit, they both say and beleeue, that the whole World (beside them) dooth see but with one eye, and they directlie with both. I confesse them to be of great spirit, in matter of Architecture, for (in all the World) are not to be seene more beautifull Temples, nor so richly elaborate Pallaces, Bridges, & other buildinges, then in that Country. Neither can any where else be seene, more goodly fashions of silken Cloathes, fine Linnen Cloathes, Cloath of Golde or Siluer, workes of Gold-Smitherie, Painters, and other ingenious Artificers. People for knowledge in Phisick, the Mathematiques, and Astrologie, they are not to be equalled. But in matter of ciuillity and pollicy, I protest they vnderstand iust nothing: in regard they compell their Daughters to discouer those partes, which ought to be with care concealed, and brute Beastes themselues doe obserue it. I am of the minde, that they should do much more honestly (notwithstanding their Custome) when they would haue their daughters to become wiues; to be contented with sight of their naked armes & Breasts: for if those parts do appeare to good liking, the rest of the bodie must needs be answerable. In like manner, it would be more ciuill and commendable, to follow the Law of *Licurgus*, who prohibited any guifts or dowries to be giuen to Maidens: to the end, that poore Mens Daughters might speede as well as the Rich do, and not blush to be seene as well behinde as before.

The Author's opinion concerning this bad Custome.

The *Cathayans* are people of great Spirit.

Learned Phisitions, Mathematicians and Astrologers.

Licurgus made another Law beside, that Maids should go to publike playes and daunces, starke naked, except little

The Law of *Lycurgus* concerning mariage.

cut

Lycurgus his Law, for Maids to com naked to publike pastimes.

cut Buskins onely, which they wore on their Legges: and this he did for diuers reasons, whereof I will alledge some. The first was, because he noted, that many young Men were so enamoured of Maides and Women; that they became vtterly lost in iudgement, and forgot all man-hood, appearing rather to be brute Beasts, both in desire and heat, then any way endued with reason or gouernment. Such immoderate Amouristes, would euermore be present (he supposed) at such assemblies, their to behold their naked Goddesses, and seeing their vnsightly partes, so neere neighbouring to the receptacle of all vncleannesse and loathsome conuayance of the Bodie: they would distast and abhorre such slauish affection, and declare themselues of more manly carriage, and that such a wretched shape deserued no such torments, forbearance of Meate and Drinke, and many Night sleepes losses. Another reason was, that Maides should not bee ashamed of those partes which Nature had bestowed on them; but feare to commit any foule Act with them. For he vsed to say; that Maids and Women should blush rather to commit any sin, then to shew the necessary parts of their bodies.

Lycurgus his second reason

The follie of Maides and Women now adaies.

There are some Maids and Women now a-daies, who (I think) are perswaded, that Men doe desire they should haue great and fat Thighes, as the *Cathayans* did; because, they labour to ground this perswasion in Men, by their spacious, huge, and round circling Verdingales. Moreouer, they exceede the *Cathayans*, who onely were naked vnder their garments: but our Women can haue close Breeches or vnder-slops, not of meane matter; as of fine Linnen, Fustian, and such like; but of Sattin, Taffata, Veluet, Cloth of Gold and Siluer, though they openly shewe them not. For by our lawes, we hold and account them as infamous persons, that freelie, or without cause, doe shew such secrecy. Me thinkes it were more seemly for those *Cathayans*, to were close breeches of such rich stuffes, to adde thereby a grace and alluring to those parts, and so prouoke men the rather to seeke after them for mariage: then that they should be vsed by any Women among vs (in manner as I haue formerly said) not suffering them to be seen, much lesse to be toucht. I know not, whether they wear them for pride or profit, but this I am assured, that it hath giuen occasion to many men, to iudge strangely of such women, & to repute them scarse chast.

Women vsing to wear vnder breeches.

Aduise to the Maides and Women of *Cathay*.

Let vs then moone a question; to wit, whether women doe attract and allure more Suiters and Followers, rather by their nakednesse, then when they are seemly cloathed? For my selfe, I couet not to determine any thing, except by plurality of opinions; yea, of Men of good iudgment, who haue bin in those Regions and Countries, where Men and Women do vsually go naked; as in many places of *Affrica*, almost throughout the *Indiaes*; the Land of the *Caribes*; and in all the *Brasiliane* Territories (containing more then sixe or seauen hundred leagues) in which Countries are more goodly Women, and better formed, then are among vs. For ye shall finde none there, either corrupt in body, crooked, lame, or otherwise deformed. And yet they neuer knew that cruel law of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, which was; that euery Infant, Male or Female, appearing in birth to be mishapen, was presently put to death.

A pretty question mooued and answered

Countries where are very goodlie Women.

A cruell and bloody Law of *Lycurgus*.

All those Spaniards, Portugalles, French-men, Flemmings, and English-men, beside diuers others, that haue beene very conuersant in those partes, where the people goe daily naked, they haue affirmed: that such manner of going, is neither sightly nor pleasing, and that nothing makes a Woman to bee more dispised and contemned, then to behold her ordinarily naked. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Cathayans* are not to be imitated, that so freely discouer their parts of shame, onely thereby to gaine Husbands; nor the *Affricanes*, *Indians*, *Caribes*, or *Brasilians*, who goe naked, not for ostentation, but by Custome, either in regard of the countries great heate, or by not being acquainted with the vse of Garments: but rather wee ought to cloath and conceale those partes, which Nature her selfe hath placed so farre off, both from the sight of our selues and others. As expresly is discerned by the wordes of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, commending Charity aboue all thinges: in giuing

The opinion of many, concerning the nakednesse of Women.

The Authors Conclusion, pertinent to his purpose.

meanes

meanes to the poore, whereby to cloth them, not only for their defence against heate, cold, raine, stormes, and byting Flyes; but also to hide their partes of shame.

CHAP. VI.

Of a good Custome among the Locrenses, *or* Locrians, *that he who would be the Authour or maker of any new Law (if it were not allowed for good and profitable) must presently be hanged.*

THere were sometimes a people, commonly called *Locrians*, and the Metropolitane Citty, was tearmed *Locris*, or *Locros*, scituate in the Countrey of *Greece*, neere adioyning to *Beotia*. This people, while liued vertuously, and admitted no innouation among their Countrey Lawes, but carefully kept them of their Predecessors; their Common weale continually flourished, and neuer could they be ouer-awed by Tyrants, where-with they were enuironed, and very much enuied, but rather made themselues much feared and admired.

The Citty *Locris* neere to *Beotia*.

And to preuent, that no man should be so bold, as to induce any nouell laws among them, whereby to vrge alteration of them so long embraced; they made an Edict, and thereby (according as *Demosthenes* recordeth) ordained: That euery Cittizen, that sought to bring in any new kind of Law, must come with an Halter about his Necke, and deliuer his Law publikely before al the people; to the end, that if the New Law were not receiueable, and highlie profitable to the Common-wealth; he might presently bee hanged, as a condigne recompence for his hasty forwardnesse.

The new law maker, must declare his Law, with a Halter about his necke.

In all well instituted Societies (saith *Aristotle*) and by Lawes well ordained, it behoueth to vse very diligent regard, not to diminish or change any thing, (how little soeuer it be) of the Lawes, and warily to fore-see matters, that (by little and litle) may intrude themselues. For if (then) resistance bee not vsed, it will fall out as in a disease of the bodie, whereto, if at the beginning of the sicknesse, prompt remedy be not applyed: the disease so increaseth by slow degrees; that that which (at first) might easily haue beene holpen, becommeth (by negligence) quite incurable.

Aristotles rule for well ordered Societies.

A good Similitude.

The first signe to be obserued in an Estate, tottering towardes ruine, is, when we behold vnbridled liberty, and facility in dispencing with good ordinances; nothing being daily more listened vnto, then flying nouelties, tales, and rumours: because Law is a singuler reason, imprinted and stamped in Nature, commaunding thinges which ought to be done, and prohibiting the contrarie. The Ethnicks were much more conscientious in keeping their Lawes, then Christians; for, if we would looke into many Lawes of the Emperours and Christian Kinges: we should finde no meane store of Nouell Lawes, forged in fauour of some one; and them of more Antiquitie, to be either quite cut off, or much modified. Following the opinion of *Machiauell*, who hath left written: That a Prince may make laws, contrary to them of auncient standing, prouided, they be for his owne profit.

The euident apparance of a lost Estate.

Ethnickes more obseruant of lawes, then Christians.

A wicked aduise of *Machiauell*.

It was demaunded of *Archidamus*, Sonne to *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, what were they that presided and commaunded in the Citty of *Sparta*? He made aunswere, that they were the Lawes. Surely, his reply was to good purpose, for in a well gouerned Common-wealth, chiefe authoritie is to be referred to the Lawes: for it is not permitted to any Magistrate, either to attempt against, or decline from the Lawes. Another, named *Pausanias*, and likewise King of *Sparta*, beeing asked; whether it were any great offence, to swerue from the auncient Lawes, and leane to them new made: replied, that it was a very great crime. *For* (quoth he) *it behoueth that Lawes should haue authoritie among men, and not men among Lawes.*

The aunswer of *Archidamus*.

The aunswer of *Pausanias*.

Chilo, one of the Wise-men of *Greece* said: *That all Men were bound to obey the Lawes; and Princes themselues ought not to be exempted from them.* *Crœsus*, King of *Lydia*, demaunded of *Pitacus* the *Mitilenian*; *Where was the best and cheefest Gouernment*, who answered. *It is in that*

The saying of *Chilo*.

The answere of *Pitacus* to *Crœsus*.

that place, where the Lawes haue Soueraign authority; for there Tyranny (how little soeuer) could gaine no admittance. The saying of *Agesilaus.* *Agisilaus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, said; *That the multitude of Lawes, resembled the multitude of Phisitians, who, where they abounded, the like abounding of Diseases was found.* In like manner, *Where were plenty of Lawes, there likewise was the greater store of Vices.*

The saying of *Heraclitus.* *Heraclitus* the *Ephesian*, said: *A Man of Honour ought (no iot lesse) to hazzard his life for the Lawes, then for the Walles of his Country: Because* (quoth he) *a Cittie may subsist without Walles, but not without Lawes.* Lawes vtterly vnprofitable in France. At this day, Lawes seeme to litle purpose in *France*; for the good haue no need of them, and the wicked or vicious care not for keeping any one of them. By the precedent discourse, and sententious sayings of many worthy men, it plainely appeareth, that for the best conseruation of any Common weale, and to keep it in continuall flourishing; the ancient lawes ought strictly to be obserued, and no easie admittance of any new, because it giues way to euill disposed persons first to decline from them, and then (afterward) to trouble the quiet of the State.

CHAP. VII.

Of the strange life of Diogenes, the Cynick Philosopher; with a breefe repetition of some of his witty sayings, propositions, and answeres.

Five seuerall Men named *Diogenes.* I Finde among good and credible Authors, that there were fiue seuerall Men, all of them bearing the name of *Diogenes*, and each of them, both for his vertue & singuler learning, wel deserued report to posterity. Howbeit, omitting all the rest, our present purpose is, to speake onely of *Diogenes*, the *Cynick* Philosopher; whose learning, life, and rare qualities, though they seemed strange and vnimitable, yet their foundation was vertue and goodnesse. He liued continually in voluntary powerty, exposing his body to all toil and trauaile. The life of *Diogenes* in willing powerte, and his prouision against al extremities In Summer, his lodging was on the Sand, in the sight and heate of the Sun; to arme him with patience against violent warmths. In Winter, he would embrace huge Statues of Snow and Ice, for better inuring himselfe to the extreamity of cold. His feeding was on grosse Viands, and none of the best neither; to the end, he might neuer perish for want of sustenance. He neuer had any certaine place, where hee might determine his absolute abiding: but whersoeuer hee came and stayed; there he fed, drank, and slept. He would neuer speake, except cause required, and looke what Garment he wore all the day, the same was his Couerlet likewise all the night season. He had a certaine Scrip or Wallet, wherein he kept all his Victuals together; and a Staffe, which serued him as his Horse, when he felt himselfe sickely or weary. A Woodden Dish was his Cup to drinke in, whersoeuer he trauailed: but, beholding a Boy (one day) drinke Water in his hand, he brake his Dish in peeces, saying; *Why should Art finde me a Vessell to drinke in, when Nature hath bestowed one much better on me?* Diogenes refused all things whereof he had no neede. The like did he by a Woodden Trencher; seeing another Man make vse of one made of bread, and did eate it afterward, to piece out his dinner.

This Philosopher spent the most part of his dayes in *Athens*, which hee had made his retirement, beeing banished from his owne Gountrey. *Diogenes* liued in *Athens*, and dwelt in a tun. A Tun or great Tub (open at the one end) a long time was his House and dwelling; all things else being contemptible to him, but Vertue onely, and great was his feare to commit any sin. His contempt of Riches. As for riches and honour, he counted them as nothing; but helde them in like slight regard, as he did them that enioyed them. It was an vsual saying with him, that he did not a little admire Mens vanity, in quarrelling and killing one another, for Dignity on the way, or taking the wall: neuer beholding any contention in them, who should excell each other in vertue. His comparison of an ignorant rich man. A rich ignorant or vnlearned Man, he alwaies compared to a golden Sheep; that had a goodly fleece, but no goodnesse else. And when he demaunded any thing that was needful for him, he said, he did it not in begging maner, but

but as asking due reſtitution; for that the goods of rich men, were properlie gathered to be the poores inheritance, becauſe they wer gathered of the poor.

How *Diogenes* inſtructed Beggars to get an Almes.

He had a certaine behauiour, which (in outwad apparance) ſeemed to ſauor of folly, and yet it had a miſterious and concealed vnderſtanding. Many times he would reſort to Images and Statues of ſtone or wood, and make an humble requeſt for an almes; as if he had ſpoken an liuing perſons, & his reaſon was: that heereby hee learned patient ſufferance, becauſe men would as ſoone deny poor men charity, as thoſe dumb Images did when he deſired an Almes, he made no exception of perſons, but vſed theſe words. *If thou vſe to giue any charity to the poor, the let not me paſſe without ſomwhat; for I am the neediest of all other. But if (as yet) thou haſt neuer giuen to any man, begin with me, and it will teach thee how to beſtow on others.* Comming (on a time) into a certaine mans houſe, who ſometimes had beene wealthy, but his eſtate was now very poore: he found, that he had nothing to ſup withall, but a poore Sallet of ſower herbs; whereupon, he ſaid to him. *Had thy former diet beene no better, thou haddſt been ſure now of a better ſupper.* Whereby he gaue him to vnderſtand, that his riotous and lauiſh waſt before, made him now to vſe neceſſitie as a vertue. Being demaunded at an other time; what biting of any Beaſt was moſt dangerous? He anſwered. *Among wilde beaſts, the ſlanderer and backe-biter: & among the tamer ſort, the flatterer.* One asked of him; for what cauſe Gold looked ſo pale and wan complexioned? *Becauſe* (quoth he) *all men (like Theeues) lie in waite to ſurpriſe it.* Another man aſked him, if he wanted a Seruant; and he told him no. Who ſhall then bury thee (quoth the other) when thou art dead? *Any he* (ſaid *Diogenes*) *that will dwell in my houſe.* Some were deſirous to know of him, when was the fitteſt time for marriage; and he replied: *Young Men may marry at all times for leaſurable repentance; but old men may tarrie, for little is their need*; inferring thereby, that marriage (in neither age) required ouermuch haſtineſſe.

His own kind of begging an Almes.

To a prodigal men talne into pouerty.

For Backe-biters and Flatterers.

For the complexion of Gold.

A fit time for marriage in young or old.

Thus, as *Diogenes* was free both in life and behauiour, ſo was he likewiſe in any words paſſing from him. For, as on a day he went thorow a ſtreet, and beheld a goodly houſe, belonging to a Lord of very diſhonorable life; looking theron more aduiſedly, hee perceiued (in faire Carracters) engrauen ouer the Gate, theſe words: *No diſhoneſt perſon hath here any entrance.* Turning himſelfe ſuddenly about, to ſuch as then paſſed by him, he ſaid: *If this Inſcription be true, which way doth the Lord and Maſter enter into his owne houſe?* Not long after, trauailing into the Country, he came (by chance) to a little Village, altogether as poore, as ſillily peopled: yet the gates thereof were extraordinarily great & ſpacious, whereat, falling into a loude laughter, he ſaid. *Be wiſe ye Inhabitants, and ſhut vp your wide Gates betimes, or elſe all your Towne will run out by their meanes.* He chanced to paſſe by a company of Archers ſhooting in Croſſe-bows, among whom there was one very meanly practiſed, for ſtill he ſhot faire and farre off from the marke; which when *Diogenes* noted, euer as that man ſhot, he would enter in, and ſtand directly before the But; and beeing demaunded why he did ſo? He anſwered. *Heere is my ſafeſt ſtanding, when this man ſhooteth, for here (I am ſure) he meanes not to hit me.* Looking on a young Lad, very well proportioned of body, but wicked in qualities: *Alas my Boy* (quoth he) *why doſt thou tary ſo bad a ſword, in ſo ſeemely a Scabberd?*

Of a faire and goodly building.

Of a litle Towne with great Gates.

Of an vnskilfull Archer.

Of a fair Boy with foule conditions.

There were diuers, who commended a man that had giuen a ſmal gift to *Diogenes*, to whom he ſaid: *Why do ye not much rather commend me, that deſerued it, before he had the wit to giue it?* Vnderſtanding thereby, that it is better to deſerue a fauour, then to performe it vpon due deſert. He neuer vſed to aske Money, as a guiſt from any man, yet (contrary to his cuſtome) he once required a great ſum of Money of a prodigall Companion; who being offended thereat, ſaide: *Why doſt thou vrge me in ſuch an vnreaſonable requeſt?* Whereto he anſwered. *I aske of other men reaſonably, as hoping often to ſpeed with them: but my demand is thus liberall to thee, becauſe I intend to moue thee no more*; taxing (heereby) his immeaſurable expences. Whence proceedes it (quoth one vnto him) that men more gladly giue their Almes to the Lame, Blinde, Gouty, diſeaſed and diſmembred, then to Philoſophers and Men of learning? Whereto his anſwere (in my conceit)

Of a gift giuen to *Diogenes*.

In asking a great ſumme of Money.

Neglect of Philoſophers and learned men.

conceit) was apt and excellent, saying: *Such is their bounty, because they feare to become sooner diseased like them, then any hope they haue of euer beeing Philosophers, or so much as louers of learned men.* The sayings and wise answeres of this Philosopher, were almost infinite, and I may the easier passe them, as being well knowne to the whole world.

He was very iudicious, discreet, and deeply learned in al the Sciences; for he was Scholler to *Antisthenes*, in the life time of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and dispised all Arts that were vnprofitable, & them that studied them, more for curious knowledge, then the exercise of vertue. He reproued Astrologers, that gazed on the heauens, and regarded not what they held in their hands. He would tell Musitions, that they could better tune their Instrumeuts, then temper their owne disordered affections. When he heard an Astronomer argue skilfully of the Stars, he demanded of him; *When he came last out of heauen?* To a *Logitian*, that (by Sophisticall Arguments) laboured to disproue all motion; he scorned to make him any other answere, but walking vp and downe before him, saide. *What, is this motion, or no?* The renowne of this Philosopher did extend it selfe so largely through the world, that *Alexander* the great comming to *Athens*; desired to see and confer with him, of diuers matters concerning vertue. At length, *Alexander* said vnto him. I perceiue *Diogenes*, that thou art poore, and standest in need of many things: wherefore, demaund what thou wouldst haue, and I will giue it thee. To whom *Diogenes* replied. *Which of vs two dost thou thinke is in most necessity? Either I, who desire nothing but my woodden dish to drinke in, and the least morsell of bread: or thou, that art king of Macedon, and yet exposest thy life to multitudes of perils, onely for further extent of thine Empire, insomuch, as the whole world sufficeth not thine auarice?*

Diogenes on a time, was surprized by certain *Athenian* Pirats, yet his hart and speech neuer faild him in prison, but being brought to a place, where he should bee sold to him that offered most for him: a Merchant comming thither, demaunded of the Trumpeter, who had the charge to sell him, by what authority he exposed him to sale, and whether he were a bond man or no? Whereupon *Diogenes* said to the Trumpeter: *Tel this man, that thou wilt sell him a Seruant, that knoweth how to commaund and gouerne his Maister.* *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* doe affirme, that he made this answer to *Geniades*, who was the man that bought him, and brought him to his Inne; *Diogenes* said to his new Maister. *Take heede Geniades, for now it stands thee vpon, to be obedient to whatsoeuer I shall councell or command thee.* Whereto *Geniades* replied, that it were against all reason, for the Seruant to commaund his Maister. *Diogenes* answered. *If a sick man do chance to buy a wise skilfull Phisition: shall not hee doe well to obey, and follow his councell? In like manner, if an vntutored Mariner (for his safer conduct) happen to buy a cunning Pilot, will not his passage be the freer from perill? If this appeare to be profitable, in cases of sicke and bodily infirmity, or preseruation of life from infinite dangers: how much more then is his merit, that knowes how to order and direct the Soule, being respected but as a wise and vnderstanding Philosopher?* All these sayings were well obserued by *Geniades*, for hee vsed the aduise of *Diogenes* in all his businesse, and made him Maister of his Children, to their no little benefit and aduancement. In this manner, and with such exercises, *Diogenes* liued the space of ninety years.

Some hold opinion, that he died by by the byting of a Dog. But others doe affirme, that when he saw himselfe to be old and feeble, without strength, or any longer desire of life: containing still the same constancy and courage wherein he had formerly liued: he caused his owne death, the very same day that *Alexander* the Great dyed. A little before he yeelded vp the Ghost, his Schollers perceiuing him so neere his end, desired to know, where he intended to be buryed? He replied, that hee would haue them leaue him in the open fieldes vnburied. They maruailing hereat, told him, that therein he was not well aduised, because, beeing left in that manner, the Birdes and Beastes would feede vppon him. *Why then* (quoth he) *lay my staffe by me, and I will keepe the Birdes and Beastes from comming neere me.* At this answere they fell a laughing, saying; it were in vaine to do so, because the dead do neyther see nor feele. *Why then* (quoth he)

trouble

Diogenes was the Scholler to *Antisthenes*.

For Astrologers.

For Musitions

For Logitians

Alexander the Great visiteth *Diogenes*, and their conference together

Diogenes taken by Pirats, and sold a Bond-slaue.

Aulus Gellius & Macrobius.

Diogenes confesseth with his Maister *Geniades*.

Geniades misliked not his Man *Diogenes*.

Concerning the death of *Diogenes*.

Concerning his buriall.

trouble your selues no more, for if I shall neither feele nor see: I had rather be fed on by Birdes and Beastes, then to be deuoured by Wormes of the Earth: And this was al the care he tooke for his funerall.

CHAP. VIII.

Of diuers and variable Natures in Men, beyond vsuall and naturall inclination, and whence the occasions doe proceede.

THe diuersity of complexions, and inclinations in Men, is a matter very marualous, and greatly to be considered; for among so many as we doe daily behold, there are very few, or scarcely any to bee found, that are conformable in Nature one to another. You shall see some one man, that cannot abide some one kinde of meat; And others say, that there is no tast or relish in their meat. Some will say, that they cannot feede well, but in company; And others, doe take no delight in their food, except they do eate it alone by themselues. All which variety of accidents, doe plainely testifie the great power of God, and of his vncircumscribed wisedome; who pleased to send such strange kinde of complexions, among so great a multitude of men. For let vs admit the case, that man had still enioyed the benefit of his owne free-will; yet it is most euident, that diuers dispositions & actions, variable promptitudes, complexions, and conditions, (next vnto the will of God) are occasioned by influences of the Stars and Planets, as second causes and instruments, wherewith God is serued, because they haue a working in inferior bodies. And in regard, that among such an infinite multitude of men, there are som things more notable and apparant, then frequent or common: we will make some short discourse of them, according as they are set down and iustified by good and approued Authours.

Seneca writeth of a Man named *Senecius*, who was very rich, but of strange and extraordinary condition: for all thinges that he would haue to doe him seruice, must be of excessiue greatnesse, or else he could not endure them. The Cuppes and Glasses wherein he vsed to drinke, hee bought them of such hugenesse, as hardly could he lift them with both his hands. He sought to haue Horses for his riding, of monsterous stature; and that which was much more ridiculous, hee would weare shooes, which were foure or fiue times bigger then his feet. He alwaies vsed to goe very fast in the streetes, and still on tip-toe, as we tearme it; to seeme more great & high, then he was by nature. He could neuer abide Women of low stature; but coueted and fancied such as were hugely big and taule. He would neuer eare Figges, Oliues, Pease, Chiches, or such like small Fruites; for he contained the same affection in all other things. His garments were so long, that they trailed after him in the streets, the like he did both at bed and boord: so that vpon this immeasurable appetite, he was cõmonly cald, *Senecius the great*. *Pliny* writeth of *Marcus Crassus*, Grandfather to the other *Marcus Crassus* the *Triumuir*, that was slaine by the *Parthians*: and he tearmeth him *Agelastus*, because he was neuer seene to smile or laugh. We read of *Socrates*, that he was neuer beheld more pleasant or melancholly, at one time, then at another. And *Pomponius* the Poet, who neuer belched or brake wind vpward or downward. *Marke Anthony* neuer vsed to spit at any time. It is a matter against Nature, which the learned *Pontanus* writes of himself; that he neuer felt any stitch, pricking, or ach in his bodie: albeit, he would sometimes wilfully fall on the ground, and yet notwithstanding, hee could feele no paine. In the same place, which is in his book of heauenly things, he speaketh of another man, who neuer in all his life time, did drink either wine or water. But *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, once compelled him to drinke, and it much endangered his life. I know not if that bee more admirable, which *Theophrastus* writes, of a man named *Peninus*; that in his whole life time, did neither eate or drinke any thing else but water. *Aristotle* speaketh of a certaine Maiden, who being in her infancy norished with poyson: could as well digest it all her life time after, euen as we doe our naturall food. *Albertus Magnus* giueth credible assurance, that hee saw at *Cullen* in

Few men like to one another in nature

A testimony of Gods great power and wisedome.

The influences of the stars and Planets.

Seneca his report of rich *Senecius*, who fancied all things of extraordinary bigneſſe.

Little weough disputed by *Senecius*.

Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 8. *Marcus Crassus* who neuer laughed in all his life.

Of *Socrates*.

Pomponius the Poet.

Mark Anthony.

Of *Pontanus*.

Pon. in Lib. de Reb. Celest.

Theophrast. lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Arist in Nat.

Alber. Mag. lib. 2. Cap. 9.

in *Allemaigne* a young Damosell, who vsed to pull Morter from the wals, and eate it so sauourly; that all her life after she liued onely thereon.

August. in Lib. de Ciuit. Dei. S. *Augustine* declareth, that he saw a man in his time, who could moue his eares like as a horse doth, one while the one, and afterward the other, and then again both of them together: howbeit, *Aristotle* maintaineth, that man onelie (among all other Creatures) cannot stir or moue his eares. He saith moreouer, that without stirring his head, or touching it with his handes; hee could raise or lift vp al the haires on his head, and make them fall flat vpon his face: afterward, he could likewise raise them againe, and return them orderly to their due places, which (questionlesse) was very strange, and argued admirable dexterity. He further declareth, that he saw diuers men, which could counterfeit the notes and singing of Birds; so naturally (and with such perfection) with their mouths, that very Birds were beguiled by them; witnesse a Moderne and late Vicount. He tels of one beside, that had a strange kinde of cunning (though discommendable and beastly) in breaking winde so readily below, and with such variety of sound; as if hee had sung to some musicke. In breefe, we read of infinite things, quite contrary to common vse; both concerning the sences of hearing and sight, as in legerity of race.

Aristot. ibi supra. August. ibidem.

August. ibidem.

August. ibidem.

Solin Lib. 7. cap. 5. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 20. Strabo the sharp sighted. *Solinus* and *Pliny* do both testifie of a man named *Strabo*, who in the time of the *Punick* war, could (from one of the Promontories of *Scicilie*) discerne the Shippes setting forth from the Port of *Carthage* in *Affrica*, and count them one by one; albeit, the distance was more then fiue and fiftie leagues. They speake also of *Amistis*, the *Lacedemonian*, opposing himselfe to *Philonides* (who was noursed and brought vp with *Alexander* the Great) auouching, that they did runne aboue a thousand and two hundred stades, which are more then an hundred and threescore thousand paces. They adde moreouer, that a Page or Lacky of the age of nine yeares, did runne (from mid day to night) the full distance of seuenty and fiue thousand paces. *Quintus Curtius*, in the History of *Alexander*, speaketh of a Man named *Phillip*, who was Brother to *Lysimachus*; he being armed, did follow *Alexander*, (riding in great hast) on foot, without any stay or breathing (as we vse to say) the space of two hundred stades, which containe foure and twenty miles in Geometry. *Plato* writeth of *Socrates*, that no man liuing could endure so much trauaile and paines as he; yet would he neuer rest, although he might do it. Beside, such hunger and thirst, (as was able to kil any other man) he could abide without any annoiance, oftentimes following the wars daily, without any wearinesse or debility. When he had aboundance of victuals, he would eat no more then at any other time. In times of greatest frosts and colds, when no other men durst be seen out of their tents and dwellinges, except they were well wrapt in Furs: *Socrates* would walke abroad in no other garment, then that he wore in Summer, and go barefooted in the Ices and Snowes, distasting it no more, then they that were best hosed & shod. One while he wold stand a whole daies space vpright on his feet, without mooving or stirring out of the same place: then would he (afterward) walke all the whole night, without any signe or shew of desiring sleepe.

Amistis and *Philonides*, swift runners.

Quint Curt in Hist. Alexand.

Plato concerning *Socrates*, who had a more able body then any other man.

Pliny maketh mention of a certaine man, whose sight was so excellent, and his hand so ready; that he wrote all the Iliades of *Homer*, in the compasse of so much Paper, as he could very easily enclose within a Nut shell. The same *Pliny* (warranted also by *Solinus*) maketh report of one called *Callicrates*, who was such an ingenious Sculpture and Caruer; that he could make Flyes and Ants in Iuory, so small, and yet so absolutely perfect, that it behooued such as would see them, to haue a very cleare sight.

Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

Homers Iliades, written in compasse of a Nut-shell. *Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2.*

Callicrates the admired Caruer.

It is a matter very meruailous, concerning both good and euill properties or qualities in diuers people. For, it is most notorious, that ther are both men and women in many places, whose eies are very venomous, and by looking intentiuely vpon a thing: the very acuitie or piercing subtilty of the sight, doth (in the meane while) both infect, and performe apparant harme, and when it is done on children, it is cald, bewitching by the eye. *Solinus* and *Pliny* do affirme, that there was Family in *Affrica*, who had the priuiledge, that if (in anger) they looked

Both good & euill qualities in men and women.

Infection by the eye.

Solin. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

looked vpon any Fielde or Meddow, it dried vp immediatly; the like they did to Trees, and were the death of many Infants. In *Scythia* also there were Women of the same quality. Our auncient Phisitions haue experimented, & some (of latter times) doe confesse, that there are men in the world, of very venomous Nature; not onely by their sight, but likewise by their spittle. The blood of a red and freckled Man (if it be taken from him while he is enraged) is very venomous: yet God hath giuen the benefit to some men, by their spittle, to heale the byting of a mad Dogge, though others (thereby) can doe great iniury. These properties are to be known in cases of lesser efficacy. For it is most certaine, that let some man kill any Foule, they will suddenly fall into such putrifaction; as hardly any stomack can endure to feed on them. Againe, let such a party salt any meat; the flesh cannot possibly receiue the salt, but corrupteth presently, and yet the like (as hath been tried) could not be done by another body.

Men of venomous nature.

The blood of a red Man poysonous.

Foules infected in the killing.

Pliny further auoucheth, that (in his time) there was a Kinred or Linage of people neere *Rome*, the men whereof, would go thorow any fire, without the least scorching. There was also another Family, who were called *Marsi*; and they could heale the biting of Serpents, onely by the touch of their handes, as is approoued by many good Authours. These things are to be credited, especially when *Pliny* affirmeth any matter for certain; then boldly may faith be giuen to his wordes: though many times hee speaketh of things, which may seeme to deserue little beleefe. But then it is to be noted, that he neuer maintaineth any thing, as by heare-say from others; but onely such as himselfe hath seene or experimented.

Plin. lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Men that heale the biting of Serpents.

Pliny is a good and sufficient testimony.

That which *Suetonius* writeth of the Emperour *Tiberius*, is also very admirable, for he saith; that when hee rose in the night, although he was in neuer so obscure a place, and without any light: yet could he see (for a long whiles continuance) as perfitly, as if a lighted Candle had stood by him, yet, soone after, he could not discerne any thing. *Quintus Curtius*, and many other Authours say the same; that when *Alexander* the Great was in any sweat, it yeilded (of it selfe) a most sweete and pleasant sauour.

Sueton. de vit. de Tiber. Emp.

Quint. Curt de Alexand. Mag.

Many more haue written of sundrie men, priuiledged by very strange & no common qualities: but because in such arguments as these, I haue affected and aymed at breuity, I need wander no further in this discourse. For I perswade my selfe, that a sufficient view may bee had of Mens strange complexions, by these alledged examples, deriued from true testimonies, and ancient Historiographers worthy of credit: not warranted by Poets or Fatists, from whom I make no account to fetch any verity. Let *Virgill* tell the World, the Legiere promptitude of * *Camilla*, Queen of the *Volscians*; *Catullus* brag of *Achilles*; *Ouid*, of *Atalanta*; *Statius*, of *Fidena*; *Sidonius*, of *Olphetus* the Mariner; *Higinus*, of *Orion* the Sonne of *Neptune*; and *Claudian*, of *Lycaste*; with many other of like matters: I onely cleaue to soundest authority, such, as (by the best iudgements) haue beene, and are still held for credible.

The Authors conclusion of this argument

* She holpe *Turnus* against *Aeneas*, being daughter to *Metabus* and *Casmilla*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the great and large extendure of the Romaine Empire: Also, how, and in what time it began to decline and waxe feeble.

IT is most apparant, that not any other consideration, can deliuer more certaine & intire knowledge, concerning the instability of worldly occasions; then that of the great and large extendure, which sometime belonged to the *Romaine* Empire, comparing it with that small portion, which the Emperours of *Rome* haue since then enioyed. For, in ancient & elder times, the most part of that, which is contayned and inhabited in *Europe* and *Affrica*, was subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, and likewise a great part of *Asia*. Thereto was subiected *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Germanie*, withall the Prouinces of *Italie*, and the *Mediterranean* Islandes: All *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Hungaria*, *Polonia*, *Dacia*, and as wee haue alreadie said, the very greatest part of *Affrica*, *Mauritania*,

The Romaine Empire is witnesse of the Worlds inconstancy.

The greatnes of the *Romaine* Empire in elder times, and how largely her limits extended.

nia, Numidia, Carthage, Lybia; and (beside great store of Realmes and Prouinces) *Ægipt*, and all her Confines. In *Asia, Arabia, Siria, Iudea, Palestine*, and *Mesopotamia*, they went through with their powers, and extended their dominion, euen to the famous Riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: which happened in the time of the Emperor *Traiane*, who stretched his limits so far as the East *Indiaes*, conquering the Cities of *Seleucia, Ctesiphonta*, and *Babylon*, making Prouinces also of *Armenia* and *Albania*. In former daies, they had all the lesser *Asia, Pontus, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Galatia, Bithinia, Cappadocia*, and so many other Regions; as I know not when I should make an end, if I were to name them particularly. All which goodly length, and large scope, became restrained (through the pusillanimity of some Emperours) into one onely and little part of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, and *Italy*: wherfore we will declare how, in what manner, and when this huge Empire began to diminish.

The Empire restrained into a small part of *Germany* and *Italy*.

The principall and most notable wound, which the *Romaine* Empire receiued, and the very originall of her ruine; proceeded from the *Gothes*, a people greatly renouned in Armes, descended from the Northerne *Scithia*, to destroy and ruinate al the rest of the world beside. But to deliuer the matter in due forme, I must make a backe retreate for a while, to recite breefely the whole History. For I would amply describe, how many times the *Gothes* haue molested and affronted this Empire; how many Prouinces they destroyed; and how often they were repulsed; what victories they obtained, and yet were also vanquished by the Emperors and *Romaine* Captaines. But the discourse would be ouer long, and therfore it shal content me, to keep the same course we haue already continued, with breuitie and best order to please the Readers.

The Empires first wound grew from the *Gothes*.

To auoide confusion of opinions, I will forbeare to dispute, from what part of *Scythia* they descended; or making declaration, which were they that named themselues *Ostrogoths*, and others *Vuisigoths*; because heerein is no difference, but that the *Ostrogoths* liued more towardes the East. To conclude this point, they were all *Gothes*, and so will I name them, without any other note or difference among them. Passing ouer many things, that neede no repitition; *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that in the time of the Emperour *Domitian*, the *Gothes* enterprized to make war on the *Romaine* Empire. And, in some short while after, the Emperor *Traiane* took truce and peace with them; hauing first receiued assurance from them (vppon great promises) that they should abide at home in their Countries quietly in peace, and so they continued for the space of ninety yeares. But this time being expired, they began to rise againe, and make another entrance vppon the Empires lands: against which attempt, the Emperor *Antoninus* made opposition, and vanquished them. Twenty years after, they became incensed againe, and assayed to passe the Riuer *Danubius*; wherein they were hindred by the Emperour *Gordianus*. Ten yeares after, being aduertised of his death, and in the time of the Emperor *Phillip*; they leuied an Army of three hundred thousand men, and subdued the Countries of *Thrace* and *Misia*, without any abilitie of resistance. Made proud with these victories, long time after the death of *Phillip*; they renewed warre againe, in the raigne of *Decius* his successor, and entering by the Country of *Rome*, *Decius* (in good equipage) got before them, and gaue them battaile. In which resistance (after cruell effusion of blood) the *Romaines* lost the day; and there remained *Decius*, who neuer after was seene, eyther aliue or dead, and there likewise died his Sonne.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 1.

Traiane maketh peace with the *Goths*

The Emperor *Antoninus* vanquished the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes* army of 30000. men.

The *Romaines* conquered by the *Gothes*.

Afterward, all the Successors (well neere) of *Decius*, did euermore carrie themselues weakly in their wars against them: so that, in the time of the Emperor *Valerian* (who was conquered by *Sapor* King of *Persia*) the *Goths* made themselues Maisters of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and also of *Bythinia* and *Nitomedia* in *Asia*, yet were they valiantly fought withall, and discomfited in *Achaya*, by *Macrinus*. Matters proceeding in this manner, when *Claudius* (second Emperor of that name) came to succeede in the Empire; he gaue them battell, euen one of the most cruell and deadly, that any Histories doe make mention of. For it is most certaine, that three hundred thou-

The *Gothes* conquered *Thrace, Macedon*, &c.

Ostrogoths and *Vuisigothes*.

thousand *Gothes* perished in this fight. The rest that remained, the Emperour was victorious ouer, and expelled them out of those Countries which they had formerly gayned: Moreuer, he surprized such an huge number of them, that there was not one house in the Empire, but it had a *Goth* Slaue in it. Their so often restauration, and re-assembling in warre, after so many ouerthrowes was receyued by diuers Emperors, was an euident Testimony of their great multitude and power: for continually (after such great destructions) they would returne a fresh in armes to the field, euen as if they had sustained no losse at all.

The strength and multitude of the *Gothes*.

The king, and fifty thousand *Gothes* slaine.

It happened within a while after, that the Emperour *Æmilianus* bad them battell in his owne person, wherein was slain their King *Canobius*, with fiftie thousand *Gothes* beside, that stroue to renewe the warre again; so that (then) they seemed as vtterly ruinated. But growing to bee repeopled, in the reuolution of 30. yeares: they mustred infinit troopes together, to bee reuenged of their passed harde fortunes; and being an army of mightie power, possessed themselues of *Sarmatia*. By meanes whereof, the Emperour *Constantine* the Great (who was gone to *Constantinople*, purposing there to keepe his Imperiall seat) made head against them, so foyling and killing them; that the *Gothes*) weary of vanquishing, and beeing vanquished) desired truce of *Constantine*, and afterware peace, and did him seruice in war, against *Lycinius*, as formerly they had done the like to the Emperor *Maximianus*, against the *Parthians*. In this maner, by many Confederacies & Friendships with the *Romans*, they receiued warwages of them, because they were reputed very valiant and warlicke Souldiours. Since which last rout or ouerthrow, they liued quietly for more then threescore yeares, in *Scythia*, whence they first parted: and now they became to be no more feared, because they seemed as vtterlie bruised with their passed Trauailes; and therefore, were verie gladde to liue in quiet.

Constantine the Great, conquereth the *Gothes*.

Another Nation cald the *Hunnes*, dwelling by the *Riphean* Mountaines.

The foresaid time was no sooner ended, but it fortuned, that another people, called *Hunnes* (who were likewise of *Scythia*, and neere neighbouring to the *Riphean* Mountaines) warring with great spleene and hatred against them; & scorning that they should inhabite so neare them: became Conquerors of them, and (prouing the stronger side) chased the *Gothes* out of their Countries. They perceiuing their great number, and yet to be thus violently expulsed (being compelled by meere necessity) did send their Ambassadors to the Emperor *Valens*, intreating him, that he would giue them some Country to liue in, and (as his Vassailes) they would obey him. Whereto the Emperor condiscended, and suffering them to passe *Danubie*, gaue them the Country of *Misia*, according as *Orosius* Writeth; where they held and liued in peace, vntill two Captaines belonging to the Emperor *Valens*, named *Maximus* and *Lycinius* (who had parted and deuided the places of their abiding, and kept there as a Guard for the Countrey) vsed them badly, tyrannically robbing them, and (thorough extreame Auarice) compelling them almost to vtter famishment.

The Gothes sued to the Emperor *Valens* for an abiding place.

Maximus and *Lycinius*, Captaines te the Emp. *Valens*.

Heereuppon, they were enforced to enter Armes, and to vse by force, that which by loue and fair meanes was denied them. So passing on further then their limitation, they entered *Thrace*, destroying, robbing the Country, burning and wasting the Cities and Townes al along as they went. Against this impetuositie and violence, the Emperor *Valens* opposed himselfe, presenting them battaile, wherein he was vanquished; and beeing wounded with a Dart, was fain to flie and saue himselfe in a Village house, where the *Gothes* (being Victours) put fire to it, and burned him therein. Pursuing their fortunate successe, they besieged the City of *Constantinople*, which was worthilie defended by *Dominica*, Wife to the Emperor *Valens*.

The Gothes enter into armes againe.

The Emperor *Valens* foyled and burnd by the Gothes.

Gratian, Nephew to the Emperor *Valens*, succeeded the Empire, during whose raigne, the *Gothes* (glorying in such a victory) assailed the *Romaine* Empire; and made warre in so many places thereof, that it was in great daunger to bee lost. Which *Gratian* perceiuing, as also the danger and distresse hee was in (hearing the great renowne of *Theodosius*, born in *Spaine*, a very valiant man both in peace and warre) he elected him as his companion in administration of the Empire, creating him Captaine, to controule the pride and fury of the *Gothes*. Imitating the Emperor *Nerua*, successor to *Domitian*;

The Gothes assail the Romain Empire.

Gratian ioined *Theodosius* with him in the Empire, to resist the Goths.

rian, who seeing himselfe to grow Olde, & the Empire fall into much decadence, made choise of good *Traiane* (borne also in the same Cittie of *Spaine*) who (by his wisedome and valour) not only defended the Empire, but likewise augmented it, in large extendure of Lands and Riches, more then any other did. In this maner, *Gratian* chose *Theodosius* (whom manie reputed neere Kinsman to *Traian*) and he became so worthy a Captaine, and afterward so wise an Emperor, that he hadde many victories against the *Goths*, of whō hee slaughtered so great a number: that he compelled them to begge peace, and yeild themselues tributary to the *Romain* Empire, bereauing them of all that they formerly vsurped, and abated thē in such sort, that (all his life time) they were peaceable subiects to him, and tooke pressemony of him, to serue in his wars; beside, they had neither king nor Captain (while hee raigned) but such as hee allowed them.

Theodosius vanquished the *Gothes*, and made them tributarie to the *Romaine* Empire.

So remained the Empire of Rome in peace, and restored (by him) to her first authority, albeit it was not accomplished without much trauaile, and great aduenture of his person. But after the death of *Theodosius*, this great Dominion turned topsie turuy (as we shall relate) although it was daily augmented so much in 1100. yeares. After which time, it fell into such decadence, as neuer (since then) could it be releeued: except by the Nouell recidiuation, which it had by *Mahomet*, and reduced it into the same pouerty, wherein the greatnesse thereof first tooke Originall.

Romes Empire decaied, after the death of *Theodosius*.

CHAP. X.

The History of the Romaine Empire, further prosecuted, vvith the Successe of the Gothes, and their Surprizall of Rome.

THeodosius dying, leste two Sonnes, the one named *Honorius*, and the other *Arcadius*, with one daughter called *Placida*; betweene whome, he deuided his Empire. Now, because they were verie young, and vncapeable of gouernment, hee left them two notable Tutors; the one, called *Ruffinus*, the other *Stellico*: *Ruffinus*, for the Countries in the East, and *Stellico* for *Italy* and the West. This *Stellico* was a verie worthy Captaine, wise, and prouident; and the other (being euery way as valiant) pursued high and famous enterprizes. Whereupon, enuy and ambitious thirst of rule, got footing between them; and they perceiuing the Princes to be ouer yong, applied their seueral practises vpon the Empire; *Ruffinus* for himself, but *Stellico* for his Sonne. Now, because this could not be easily compassed, in regarde that the people of the Empire bare affection vnto the sonnes of *Theodosius*, remembering the Vertues and goodnes of their father: these climbing spirites (in the couertest manner they could deuise) both desired and sought all meanes, whereby to throw Warre and distresse vppon the Empire. For they being men of great imploiment might thereby continually command, & preserue their awfull authority ouer the people.

Ruffinus and *Stellico*, tutors to *Honorius* & *Arcadius*.

Practising against the yong Princes, by their Tutors.

Moreouer, by such election as might be made of them (as formerly had beene done of Consulles and Captaines) they might (as occasions gaue way) entermeddle in the gouernment of the Empire.

The first of them that made discouerie of his intent, was *Ruffinus*; for hauing (by some quiet means) prouoked strangers to make warre; and he being elected Captaine or Chiefe Commander, assayed to haue himselfe named Emperor; wherein failing, for this presumption he was put to death by the apointment of *Honorius*, who (by this time) was growne to pretty stature. *Stellico*, who was much more ingenious, and better knewe how to play with time, hauing ioyned *Arcadius* in mariage with one of his daughters: forestalled (thereby) all suspition of any badde thought in him. Yet notwithstanding, seeking all apt waies to compasse his enterprize, he secretly sollicited the *Gothes*, the *Vandals*, the *Hunnes*, and other barbarous Nations, to rise against the Empire, assayling them himselfe sometimes, and meerely prouoking them to Warre. Besides, hee sent Messengers to them, to giue them hope, that they might easilye conquer diuers countries in the Empire: all which he did, vnder absolute perswasion, of being elected Generall (as we haue alrea-

Ruffinus first fought to name himself Emperor, and therefore was put to death.

Stellico prouoketh the *Gothes*, *Vandals*, and *Hunnes* against the empire.

Deuision of the Empire.

already ſaid) knowing himſelfe to bee the moſt able man for armes that thoſe times afforded. For, albeit *Honorius* and *Arcadius* were then tall youths; yet their care (as yet) extended not to the Countreyes Gouernment, as Princes ought to do.

The Gothes bring a potent army.

Now came the *Gothes* with a main army, and *Stellico* beeing choſen Captaine againſt them, obtained ſome fewe victories: but they were in ſuch ſort, that no generall Conqueſt was intended, but only to lengthen out the warre without finiſhing; yet heereby he won himſelfe ſuch reputation, that whatſoeuer he did, needed no other approbation. In the meane while, the *Gothes* elected *Alarick* as their King, who went into *Italy* with a mighty army, againſt whome, *Stellico* oppoſed himſelfe very powerfully: and although he had much diſaduantaged the *Gothes* and their King, yet it was plainly perceiued, that greater matters might haue bin performed, had he bin ſo pleaſed. *Alarick* who was a man of great fore-ſight, and of good vnderſtanding, diſcerned apparantly, that *Stellico* deſired no concluſion of the warre, leaſt then his means of commanding ſhould ceaſe: for, by a ful conqueſt, he could not attend the comming of ſom other barbarous nations, as namely the *Vandals*, who hee knew certainely would attempt againſt the Empire; and he being diſcended of their Nation, conceiued the greater hope, that (by their helpe and fauour) hee ſhould the eaſier ſeize on the Empire, and ſo aduaunce his ſonne thereto.

The Gothes entred *Italy* in armes.

Stellico ſeeketh to prolong the war againſt the Gothes.

In this maner, *Alarick* being throughly acquainted with the drift of *Stellico*; priuately aduertiſed *Honorius* thereof, deſiring that he would graunt him peace, becauſe he ſought nothing elſe, but ſome ſmall Countrey to liue in, with his people; in ſigne whereof, hee tendered him his faithfull ſeruice. The Emperor being thus certified of theſe proceedings; and looking into the cunning Stratagems, with all other ſuſpitions inducing to the purpoſe; clearly perceiued the intention of *Stellico*. Neuertheleſſe, he diſſembled (as yet) all apprehenſion thereof, & yeelded to the requeſt of *Alarick*, graunting him to inhabit a certaine part of *Gaul*.

Alarick dealt couertly with *Honorius* for peace.

Alarick is granted his abiding in *Gaule*.

While matters thus waued vppe and downe, manie daies paſſed on, quite fruſtrating the perſwaſions whereto *Stellico* bended his courſe. And albeit (according to the agreement) *Alarick* remoued with his army, to take poſſeſsion of the place aſsigned for his dwelling: yet notwithſtanding, *Stellico* practiſed ſecretly with a Captaine of his troopes (a Iew born, and named *Saul*) who pretending ſome perticuler quarrell againſt the *Goths*, ſhould find meanes, that vppon one day in the Eaſter, when the *Gothes* (as ſuch Chriſtians as they were) ſhould celebrate their feſtiuall, to ſet vppon them vnprouided, and in this maner of aſſault, to kill ſo many of them as he could. For, his Office of captain, being void in this time of peace, the warre (by this meanes) would be begun againe, and *Stellico* aduaunced to his former dignity. The Iew performed his deſire, and aſſayling the *Gothes*, made a great ſlaughter of them: but in the end, he made them amendes with loſſe of his owne life: for the *Gothes* being quickely aſſembled, ran violently vppon him and his people, and he (with a great number of them) there periſhed.

Stellico ſplotteth with a Iew againſt the Gothes.

A great ſlaughter of the Gothes by a Iew.

Alarick beeing much offended at this treachery, marſhalled his forces againſt them belonging to *Stellico*, who made ſhew of fearfulneſſe, and woulde (by no meanes) aduenture themſelues that day: but diſpatching a Trompet to the Emperor, required to haue more men for his aſsiſtance. The Emperour well knowing (before) the cunning of *Stellico*, and ſtanding in dread of his further meaning; ſent ſuch a potent Army to the field, & ſome others put in eſpeciall truſt for the purpoſe; as there was both *Stellico* and his Sonne ſlain, few or none being acquainted with the reaſon of his death, or the treaſon by him intended. Now, albeit *Honorius* had well prouided againſt this ſcandall and danger, yet could he not ſodenly take order for creation of a newe Captaine, ſo excellent and meete to manage matters in fielde. And *Alaricke* pondering heereon, that this might be occaſioned by the Emperors direction, or that *Stellico* miſcarried in his owne purpoſed miſchiefe, tooke aduantage of ſo apt an opportunity, and went on towards *Rome*, without any impeachement by the way, putting to fire and ſword (al) along as he iourned, and planted his ſiege before the Citty, in the yeare eleuen hundred, threeſcore and four. of the foundation therof. But finding by his firſt aſſaulte, that the manhood and courage of the Romaines, yeilded

Stellico and his ſon ſlaine in the field.

Rome beſieged by the Gothes.

Rome beſieged by the Gothes 2. whole years.

ded ſlender likelyhood of any ſpeedy ſurprizall: he beſiedged it on all ſides verie ſtrictly, and his ſiedge continued two whole yeares together.

Many Authors haue thus written, concerning the aſſault and taking of Rome by *Alarick*: neuertheleſſe, the actions of Armes therein performed, haue been ſo briefe and ſlenderly deſcribed, as almoſt nothing thereof can be ſaid. They that haue written thereof, are *Paulus Oroſius*, in his ſeauenth Booke; *Paulus Diaconus*, in the Hiſtory of *Honorius*; *Iordanus*, or *Ienardus*, in his Hiſtory of the *Gothes*; S. *Auguſtine* in his ſeauenth Booke of the Citty of God; and S. *Ierom*, in the beginning of his Epiſtle, as a thing that happned in his time. *Iſidore* alſo ſpeaketh thereof, in the Hiſtory of the *Gothes*, with many other Moderne Writers: who (all agreeing together) ſay, that ſo it hapned. Moreouer, one ſaith, that as *Alarick* went marching againſt *Rome*, and as a Chriſtian, though fierce and cruell: there trauailed a Monke before him, of great Authority and holy life, yet could it not poſſibly be knowne, of what place hee was. *Alaricke* affoording him audience, the Monke councelled and admoniſhed him to leaue off this euil purpoſe, bidding him remember that hee was a Chriſtian, and (euen for the loue of God) he ſhold moderate his paſsions, for hee ought not to take any delight, in ſhedding ſo much Chriſtian blood, conſidering, that *Rome* had neuer offended him. Wherto k. *Alarick* thus replied: *Man of God, let me tell thee, that my going againſt Rome, is not of mine owne wil: but contrariwiſe, I aſſure thee, that euery day there goes a man before mee, who much conſtraineth and importuneth me, ſtil ſaying; Set on* Alarick, *goe againſt Rome, deſtroy it wholy, and bring it to deſolation.*

Paul. Oroſ. lib. 7. Paul. Diac. in Hiſt. Honor. Iord. in Hiſt. Got. Aug. Lib. 7. de Ciuit Dei. Hier. in Epiſt. Iſid. in hi. Goth.

The words of a Monke, to King *Alarick*.

Alarick's anſwere to the Monke.

The Religious man beeing amazed at theſe words, durſt make him no anſwere, but ſuffered the King to proceede in his purpoſe. I found this written in the Annals of *Conſtantinople*, annexed to the hiſtory of *Eutropius*; whereby it appeareth, that this aduerſity of *Rome*, was by the eſpeciall rod or ſcourge of God. *Paulus Oroſius* affirmeth as much, and ſaith. That euen as God drew *Lot* out of *Sodome*, to deliuer him from deſtruction; euen ſo, did he free thence Pope *Innocent* the firſt, who (ſome few dayes before the ſiedge) went out of *Rome*, to viſite the Emperor *Honorius*, who was then at *Rauenna*. Notwithſtanding, *Platina* ſaith; That this deſolation hapned in the time of Pope *Zozimus*: but it may be, that it began in the Papacy of the one, and finiſhed in the others Gouernement. Saint *Ierom* was likewiſe (in theſe yeares) out of *Rome*, in ſolemne penitence in the Deſerts of Ægypt.

Annal. Conſt. per Hiſt. Eutrop.

Paul. Oroſ. vbi ſupra.

Plat. in Hiſt. Ro. cap. 9.

Rome being thus beſieged, the *Gothes* and *Romains* performed many woorthie deeds of Armes: and ſo reſolute were the *Romaines*; that they kept it till extreame famine came vpon them, for S. *Hierome* ſaith; *When the Citty was taken, there were found very few priſoners; becauſe deuouring famine had conſumed, and (wel-neere) brought them all to death. For they were compelled to feede on infected victuals, and one did eate another: the Mother ſpared not her nurſing infant, but (enforced thereto by famine) ſent it backe to the place frō whence it came at firſt ſo little*; Theſe are the very words of S. *Ierom*.

Hier. vbi ſupra.

Among Authours there is great variety, in what manner *Rome* was taken. *Procopius* the *Gracian* ſaith; That *Alarick* perceiuing his forces inſufficient to take it, concluded to compaſſe his determination by treachery, and faigning as if hee meant to raiſe his ſiedge, made a certaine kind of truce, and ſent three hundred priſoners into the Cittie, with whom he had compounded during their impriſonment and durſt relie vpon their vowed promiſes; for fulfilling ſuch inſtructions as hee had giuen them, only to enioy their liberty, and other great benefits. The deſigned time being come, the priſoners that were at liberty in the Citty, to the number of three hundered; tooke one of the Gates, in deſpight of the Guardes which kept it; and thereat entered *Alarick* furiouſly, with all his followers.

Variation among authors concerning the ſurprizall of Rome. *Procopius* the Greeke.

Others ſay, that by the induſtrie and command of a Great *Romain* Ladie, this Gate was giuen into the *Gothes* power; & that this action proceeded from meere pitty in her, to ſee poore people ſuffer ſuch extreame euils. For ſhe was perſwaded, that the enemy could not performe ſuch cruelties in the City, as the *Romaines* acted vpon themſelues.

A ſecond opinion, concerning a worthy Lady of *Rome*.

There are others who ſay; That it was ſurprized by force of Armes: the people within being no longer able to withſtand the

A third coniecture of the Cities taking.

the *Gothes*. But by what meanes soeuer it was, they all agree together, that before any person entered the Citty, K. *Alarick* proclaimed (on paine of death) that none of his followers should be so hardie, as to touch one liuing creature of them, that had betaken themselues into Churches for their safety, especialy those Churches of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, which accordingly was obserued; but all the rest of the City was sacked and spoiled; in which siedge, perished many thousands of persons, beside multitudes of prisoners taken. Among whom, was the Emperors Sister, named *Placida*, who was deliuered into the power of *Attaulfus* (one of the cheefest in the Army, and a verie neere Kinsman to King *Alarick*) which *Attaulfus* in short while after married her.

King *Alaricks* Proclamation for such as fled to sanctuary.

Placida the Emperors Sister taken prisoner.

The day following, they made themselues (wholly) Lords of the Cittie, and (for the more ignominy and disgrace to the Empire) the Soldiers made one *Attalus* Emperor, whom they carried vppe and downe in habit of an Emperour; but the next day after, hee was made to serue as a slaue. Thus remaind the *Gothes* three or 4. daies in *Rome*; and then setting fire on it in diuers places, they departed out at the further side therof. Al which while the Emperour *Honorius* was at *Rauenna*, where he could not but heare these wofull tidinges; yet did hee declare no compassion for the Citty, whereof hee bare the Title of Emperour. This is the first time, that *Rome* (being in hir ful strength) was subiected to the power of strangers. As for the *Frenchmens* entraunce in the time of *Brennus*, I make no reckoning thereof, because it was but in *Romes* nonage or beginning, and had not attained to such might, as she did afterward. But from this time of the *Gothes*, the City and Empire went continualy to wasting. And many other times (since then) it hath bin ouercome and destroyed, whereof we wil briefely report the most notable successe; to the end, that all men may knowe the frailty of Kingdoms and worldly powers, and how *Rome* (sometime the Ladie of our vniuersall Nations) hath beene made subiect and Slaue to all manner of people.

An Emperor made among the Soldiers, in scorn of the Empire.

The Emperor *Honorius* was at *Rauenna* in all this spoile.

The first decadence of *Rome* after the Gothes.

Not many daies after, *Alarick* was gone out of *Rome*, hee would haue set saile towardes *Sicily*; but fortune returned him backe into *Italy*, and hee died in *Cosenza*, a Towne in *Calabria*. In regarde of his death, the *Gothes* elected (as their King) the fore-named *Attaulfus*, who had taken to wife *Placida*, daughter to the Emperor *Theodosius*. Hereuppon, this new-made King returned to *Rome*, with intent to ruinate and confound it to the very foundation, to dispeople it vtterly, and to burie the name thereof in obliuion: which determination hee had executed, but that the teares and intercessions of his Wife, preuailed with him.

The death of King *Alarick*, and *Attaulfus* made King of the Gothes, who threatned the vtter ruin of *Rome*.

These things, and many other passing, the *Gothes* departed out of *Italy*: but forty yeares after, the *Vnandels* or *Vandalles* (who were likewise a Northerne people) came thither, vnder conduct of their K. named *Gensericus*. They entred *Italy* with a stout people of *Affrica*, ouer whom they commanded: and comming to *Rome*, entred without any resistance, because the greater part of the Inhabitants were fled thence. Thus the *Vandals* (and their King *Gensericus*) remained in *Rome*, the space of foure daies: during which time, they made what spoil and hauock they could, and then set it on fire in many places.

Gensericus K. of the *Vandals* entered into Rome with his power.

The second spoile of *Rome*

Seauen and twenty yeares following this surprizall of the *Vandals*, (which was in all seauenty two yeares, after the *Gothes* had entred vnder King *Alarick*) the King of the *Ærules* and *Thoringes*, named *Odoacres*, came with a mighty armie against the Citty of *Rome*, which the Cittizens perceiuing, and how vnable they were to withstand so potent an enemy: went forth and entertained him amiably in peace, which caused him to name himselfe King of *Rome*, and there he raigned fourteene yeares.

Odoacres King of the *Erules* and *Thoringes*, goeth to *Rome*

Afterward, *Zeno* comming to succeede in the Empire, sent *Theodorick* King of the *Gothes*, (who in those dayes) were become friends to the *Romaine* Empire, & *Theodorick* going against *Odoacres*, with a powerfull Army, only to recouer *Rome*, performed his purpose; and hauing the victory ouer *Odoacres*, not onely chased him out of *Rome*, but likewise out of *Italy*. Then tooke hee on him the name and kingdome, ruling there for the space of thirtie yeares in peace, and without anie contradiction. He dying, his Sonne *Atalarick* raigned there, eight or ten yeares, with his Queene *Amalasunta*.

Rome (the 3. time) kindly yeilded.

Theodorick K. of the Gothes goeth to *Rome*

Rome conquered the fourth time.

Time passing on, and many trauels in Warre endured, *Iustinian* succeeding in the

Tailus the cruel King of the Gothes.

the Empire, the *Gothes* returned againe into *Italy*, vnto the Ensigns of their most cruell King *Totillus*. But *Bellizarius* and *Narsetes*, most excellent men, exceeding all other in valour, and being Captaines in *Italy* for the Emperor *Iustinian*: did vanquish the *Gothes* diuers times, in the yeare of our Lord, fiue hundred & eighty. This *Totillus*, after he had many times besieged *Rome*, and fought sundry hardie battels; at length, (by secret treason of some within the Citty) he won it; *Pelagius* being then the chiefe Bishop, who was found therein, and by his teares and earnest entreats, *Totillus* was mooued, to moderat the cruelty and slaughter which his people vsed to the Inhabitants. This done, the cruell King sent his Ambassadors, to require peace with *Iustinian*, and because hee did not freely graunt it him, but referred him to *Bellizarius* (who was then Captaine generall in *Italie* against him) hee grew to great discontentment with himselfe, for sending to the Emperour, and to be thus denied. Heerupon, he destroyed almost the whole Cittie, nothing remaining but the third part of the walles: he caused the Capitoll to be burned, and the greater part of the Cittie; euen all that possibly hee coulde, commanding the Dwellers to get them from thence.

Rome betraide and won the first time.

Rome almost quite destroied by *Totillus*, and the Inhabitants expulsed.

When the people had deuided themselues into diuers other Neighbouring Citties and Townes, he led thence with him many of the Senatours, and such as were of greatest respect in *Rome*; leauing the Citty wholy vn-inhabited, and most Goodly sumptuous buildings vtterly desolate. In briefe, such was the ruine and destruction, as neuer after could it be reduced to the former condition. Albeit *Bellizarius* (after his entrance into it) repaired a great part of the wals and dwellings, and gaue title to the *Romaine* Princes; fortifying their Cittie, so much as in him lay; and procuring the return of many dispersed Inhabitants, who had fled to sundry Neighboring places of *Italy*, now to beginne a New Population of Rome. In such good sort was it repaired, that it was strong enough to out-stand a second attempt of *Totillus*, who came againe, & laid his siege to it. But in regard that *Bellizarius*, at his departing out of *Italy*, carried thence with him the Manly courage wherewith such a Citty should be defended: therefore, King *Totillus* had his second surprize of it the more easily, and vsed effects quite contrary to his former. For, insted of againe destroying it, he laboured to restore what he had ruined, & such Cittizens as had fled (being feare-full of him) he caused their returne with verie kinde Welcome, and Royall Feasting.

Bellizarius repayed a great part of Rome.

Rome the sixt time surprized, and by K. *Totillus*, but in very strainge manner.

Some Authors say, that the cause of this strang alteration, proceeded by these meanes. That he had sent into *Fraunce*, with request of one of the Kings Daughters in marriage, and answere was returned him; That he would not giue him any one of them, because he knew him not to be King of *Italy*, for if hee were King thereof, he would not labour so much to destroy it, but rather striue to maintaine it in all her rights. Others affirme, that repenting himselfe for his passed cruelties, he made a Vow to S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, to restore Rome againe. But howsoeuer it was, it fell out to prooue so, and this was the last time that the *Gothes* entred *Rome*: for they lost it before many daies were past, being vanquished by the woorthie *Narses*, or *Narsetes*, Captain to the Emperor *Iustinian*, who threw them whollie out of *Italy*, whereinto afterward, they neuer re-entred.

The opinion of Authours, touching the kind mutation of *Totillus* the 2.

The Gothes last entering into *Rome*.

Neuertheless, it plainly appeared to other Nations, that *Rome* was no difficult thing to be conquered and taken. For in short time after, the *Longobards* went into *Italy*, where making themselues Lords of *Cisalpine Gaule*; by that occasion it is called *Lombardy* to this day. This hapned three yeares after the ruine made by *Totillus*, and vnder the raigne of King *Clouis*: then went they on to Rome, where they mainely besiedged it, and did great dammage to the Neighboring parts, albeit they could not take the Citty. Some while after, and in the life time of *Gregory* the third, *Luitprand* their King, besiedged it likewise; and being vpon the point of taking it, hee left off his enterprize, at the intreaty of *Charles Martel*.

The Longobards entred into Italy, and sharply assaulted *Rome*, but could not take it.

Luitprand king of the *Longobards* besieged *Rome*, but would not take it.

After which, and in the yeare seauen hundred and two, another King of these *Longobards* or *Lombardes*, called *Attaulphus*, besiedged it once more, in the time of Pope *Stephen* the second; & although he entred not into the Citty, yet did hee engirt it with the most cruell inuasion, that euer hapned since the Tyrant *Totillus*,

Attaulphus another *Lom ard* King, most cruelly besieged *Rome*, and very neer tooke it.

Ins, and worse (for the extreamity) then he performed. And, if *Pepin*, King of *France*, and Father to great *Charlemaign*, had not gone to succour it: without all question they had entred in, and then it had beene vtterly destroyed, as appeared by the spoile they made without. This calamity being ouer-blowne, *Rome* had some respite, by the fauour of *Charlemaigne*; and so much the rather, because the Empire then came into the West.

Notwithstanding, by succesſe of time, and in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred thirty three, *Gregory* the fourth beeing Pope, and *Lewes* Emperour: *Sarrazins* (Disciples of *Mahomet*) descended with a mighty Army into *Italy*, and hauing destroied *Centoncella* (at this day cald *Ciuita vecchia*, or the old Citty) they went against the Citty of *Rome*, which they both besiedged, and tooke; prophaning the Temple of S. *Peter*. When they had performed many ignominies, and burned all they could: they returned vnto their Shippes, enriched with many Prisoners, booties and spoiles.

The Sarazins entred *Italy* with a mighty power.

Rome taken the seauenth time, by the *Sarazins*.

Rome hauing endured all these misfortunes, *Gregory* the seauenth came to succeede in the Papacy, who had great wars against *Henry*, Emperor of *Germany*; and the Emp. pursuing his iniuries, brought his armed troupes before *Rome*, wherein he besiedged the Pope: but the *Romaines* defended the Citty couragiously, and the Emperor resisted with such constancy, that the siedge continued a very long time. Neuertheleſſe, in a battaile well ordered, he surprized the Citty, by meanes whereof, the Pope fled to the Castle of S. *Angelo*: in which place, being also belegered, he was succored by a great number of *Normans*. When the Emperour perceiued, that his stay could not (well) be long; hee destroyed (first) many goodlie buildings in *Rome*: and at his parting, he left the greater number of his Men in the Citty, to defend it with the *Romains*, who were then of his faction. Many more *Normans* comming to ioyne with the rest, in fauour of the Pope; the two Armies encountred together diuers times, and such was the dammage which the Citty receiued on both sides: as the greater part thereof was burned. For this was especially obserued, that whatsoeuer the *Normans* could seaze on their Enemies, were they houses, or what else: they were burned, raced, and laid flat with the Earth. The Capitoll it selfe, which had beene againe builded, and wherein the Emperor *Henries* people were fortefied; was again burned and quite ruined. Finallie, the *Normans* and the Popes side got the victorie, but with such wofull hauocke and desolation of *Rome*: as neuer since then it could be restored, nor euer will be, to her first estate. Some that haue written, do auouch, that neither *Totilas*, nor any other Nation; did euer cause so much losse, as might be compared with the hurt it then receiued. And that it must needes be true, it is apparant at this day to bee seene, for Vineyards, Gardens, and other empty places, doe supply roome where Churches, & other things (very remarkable) then stood, the which wofull ruine, hapned in the yeare one thousand eightie two.

Henry Emperor of *Germany* besiedged *Rome*, & tooke it the eight time, with much destroiing it.

The most part of *Rome* burnt in this combustion.

Rome neuer can be restored to his first dignitie.

Wherefore, whosoeuer shall well consider these misfortunes: will finde, that there is not any Nation in the World, (hauing heeretofore beene subiected to *Rome*) that in such diuersity of times, cam to spoile. And for a last example, in our time, by meanes of our sins, especially of them there inhabiting: the Emperiall army (consisting of *Spaniards* and *Germans*) came before this Citty, tooke it, and sacked it. And because in the first assault, *Charls* Duke of *Bourbon* (a *French* Prince, and one of the worthiest men in his time, who was then Generall Commaunder of the Emperour) hapned to bee slaine: his Souldiers (beeing at liberty) committed such ennorme cruelties, that they acted euen all the villainies they could deuise, except setting the Churches on fire. Which proceeded (as hath beene presumed) by the iust iudgment of God, albeit the executioners thereof were not clear from grieuous sinnes: But it is necessary that scandals should happen, yet woe to them that cause and commit them.

Rome taken and spoyled the last time, vnder the conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*.

CHAP. XI.

That there is no height of spirit, valour, courage or Man-hood, truely commendable; but such as is necessary, & grounded on vertue.

MAny Authours, both Ancient and Modern, haue deliuered their iudg-

Concerning such as haue written on this argument

ments concerning Man-hood or Valor: but yet so weakely, and without any true validitie, as nothing can be collected from such instructions; but meere Cowardise, and debility of courage. For they being empty of such naturall capacitie, as should conuay them to so high a knowledge: haue sought for such a Iewell in ruinster places, and not where the perfect mades of this vertue is to be truly found. The *French*, *Germaines*, *English*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, haue (like Fresh-men) discoursed on this Argument, vsing so many words, and little grace; as if they were depriued of all meanes to write on such a subiect. For now a-daies, Man-hood is so slenderly practised among Noblemen; that it appeares no other then a cloud of Vanitie, which disperseth it selfe at the first noyse of an armed Enemy. Because it is impossible for him, who hath no other courage, then a braue apparance onely (which is more proper to threaten, then to hurt an enemy) to forme any true resolution in his Soule, of being then valiant; when hazzard disputes with reason, and feare coapeth with honour so rudely; that gallantry in desseignes, proues goutinesse in performance. Herevpon was it, that *Maherball* spake so courragiously to his *Numidians*, on the great battaile day at *Cannas*; *We come not hither to looke on, but to conquer; we are not here for shew, but for our liues. For the Romains dispute about an Empire, and not for the excellency of Affricke or Europe. If ye couet flight, to preuent the great tempest that may fall vpon yee; let me aduise ye, to get ye gone, before ye be chased. For otherwise, they that shall haue more courage then you; to preserue their liues, will haue more breath to pursue the ruine of yours, then you can (by flight) can be assured of safety. Considering, that as there is no neede of fight, where no victory is to be had for the Conqueror, nor rout for the conquered: So let no man fly, when flight is not auaileable; retreat being much more daungerous, then fight.*

The small regard of Man-hood among Noblemen.

The words of *Maherball* to his Souldiers at the battaile of *Cannas*

These, or the like wordes, vsed this great Caprain, Maister of the Horsemen to *Hannibal*, who was so happy in armes; as neuer was any slacknesse noted in him, no, not in the battaile of *Zama*, which he lost; by fighting rather against the rigour of Heauen, and the destinies waiting on the huge Empire of *Rome*; then by the violence of his enemies, who conquered, onely because they could not be conquered. Whereto we may adde, that whatsoeuer outward note or effect, could deliuer (for happinesse) in a wise and valiant Captaine: it was exactly deliuered (that day) by *Hannibal*: who (in so hard a necessity) did all the offices both of head and armes, so many times, and for so long a while together; that *Scipio* himselfe, after the battaile was won, made this loude exclamation, *O Rome! What shouldst thou yet suffer, if Hannibal were liuing?*

The perfect valour remaining in *Hannibal*.

The words of *Scipio* concerning *Hannibal*.

Now, it is most certaine, that the *Affricane* fought by power, being commanded by the Magistrats of his Common-weal, to whom he made apparant their errour, and his owne experience; accompanied with such perfect Man-hood, as he would neuer make vse thereof, but where it was so needfully required, that meere necessity tooke away all suspition of vaine glory, and the issue gaue testimony of the beginning; to wit, effectes of their cause, more then legitimate and necessary. To whom then, shall not this true Valour in *Scipio* seeme admirable, that neuer came to manly triall, but by necessity? And hauing conquered, made no such assurance of his victory by his enemies foile; as by diligent search of their loue and amitie?

The absolute man-hood, remaining in *Scipio*.

A wretched fortune attendeth on some Nations, wherein no Lordes or Gentlemen are found, to delight in the imitation of this auncient Man-hood, whereto so many Vertues were enchained: that they seemed rather a colligation of wonders, then any simple qualitie, reaped in the Fielde of a strong and couragious soul. There are so many inciuilities mingled with our Man-hood, that they simpathize rather with wild Goats, or the heat of Bulles; then with the reall excellencie of humaine Nature, which beeing the Image of the Diuinitie, figures vnto vs another kinde of strength and courage, then that which is proper to brute Beasts onely. For their transport, is desseigne, fury, fight, and hugenesse of body, wherein assuredlie, they so far exceed vs, that if we esteem Manhood to consist in sudden fury: we shal find our selues more feeble then all other Creatures, worthily deseruing to be termed vnreasonable, & much lesse excellent then Lyons, Panthers, & Tigers, the least enraged whereof, so little feareth the brutall fury of any Man, (how

The miserable condicion of some Nations in these daies.

The courage in brute beasts for their fighting.

(how violent soeuer he be) that a Wolfe hath feared the Tuskes of a young wilde Boare, the space of three whole daies together.

King *Pyrrhus* his demand concerning the *Romaines*, of *Cineas* his Ambassadour.

Pyrrhus King of the *Epirotes*, demanded of his Ambassadour *Cineas*, what manner of people the *Romaines* were? he answered: They are goodly men. What more (quoth the King.) They are aduised, said *Cineas*. What else? saide the King. They are valiant, quoth *Cineas*. Is this all? replyed the King. No, said *Cineas*, they are (beside) vertuous and honest people. Why then (answered the King) we shall deale with three enemies more then I dreamed of. True replied *Cineas*, and the legerity of the *Tarentines* makes the fourth. But it is all one, prouided, that the merits of *Italy* doe not exceede theirs of *Greece*: for the *Epirotes* and the *Romaines* must act a Tragedy, whereof the *Tarentines* will be the Iudges. The common Theater is *Italy*, the Gods & victorie will leane to him perticularly, that shall declare himselfe to be most worthy. How-soeuer it be, replied *Pyrrhus*, reason is on our side: for we haue crost the Seas, to yeild Iustice to the *Tarentines*, and mercy to the *Romaines*; if we be Maisters of the day. As for the rest, they are Sonnes to them whom our Fathers haue beaten, & we cannot be conquered; without doing iniury to the vertue of our Auncestours, who were neither lesse, or more valiant then we be, if we would enter into possession of one another.

A worthie resolution in a King, and fit to be imitated

Vndoubtedly, these were words, or rather Oracles, well becomming a Christian Captaine: and what were their effects, but meere perpetuall miracles? *Romes* fortune and vertue fell flat vnder his valor; the Sea stouped her breast vnder the weighty burthen of his Ships; the straites of *Scicily* opened wide (like mouths) to receiue his victorious triumphant fleet; and *Greece* (his Countrey) had more honour then disgrace, in being subdued by so vertuous a Conquerour. And yet notwithstanding, in striuing to be a more forward Souldier, then so good a Captaine; hee lost his life, not in the midst of his victories, but in the beginning of his triumphs, and vpon the very end of a fight. For, pursuing (to no purpose, and against all prouidence) a young Lad of the Citty of *Argos*, that was carried away in the assault:

The succesſe of *Pyrrhus* fight against the *Romaines*.

The iniurie which ensueth by too much rashnesse.

he was slain by the stroke of a Tile, which the Mother of the lad threw at him in the pursuit. Was it not enough, that hee had shut vp King *Antigonus*, who had called him forth to fight? that he had commanded the day, & prouided security against the assailants; but he must yeild himselfe to common seruices, which are more ignominious to great Commaunders (being done out of time) then they can bee honorable to the meanest Souldier, that serues no other God, but occasion, and seekes no pay, but applause and vulgar knowledge?

The death of King *Pyrrhus* by his owne follie.

When it was told the wise *Antigonus*, of a certaine *Polyperchon*, that being excited thereto, or rather drunke with boldnesse; ran into the army of *Eumenes*, and had broken fiue *Corps du garde* of the *Argiraspides*, but was staied at the sixt. *It is nothing* (answered *Antigonus*) *for I haue seene an Elephant much more signale and commendable in courage, that trauersed the whole army of Demetrius, and yet was neyther slain nor taken.* *Hyrodes*, Prince of the *Parthians*, beholding a *Hyrcanian* mainly galloping into the field, & smitten down at the first encounter; instantly gaue him this farewell. *We are not now* (*my friende*) *at the passage of a Riuer, where euery one striues for entrance into the Boat, before his Fellow; but we are heere to grow enamored of victory, and she is a Goddesse so full of Maiesty, that shee scornes to looke vppon Fooles and mad men.* *Pelopidas*, the hodour of *Thebes*, failed (by this meanes) in the day of battaile, which he hadde against the Tyrant *Phalaris*, of whom hee had won a verie great victorie: which at length he robd himselfe of (by vnaduised courage) in running rather to the ruine of a particular *Thessalian* Souldier, then to the conseruation of his Army, and the establishment of his Common-wealth; which was left more desolatee by his death, then this vnperfected victorie yeelded assurance and safetie to *Beotia*.

A *Polyperchon* in the army of *Eumenes*.

A pretie reproofe for foolish hastinesse, giuen to an *Hyrcanean*.

The indiscretion of worthy *Pelopidas* the *Thebane*.

Gaston de Foix might serue vs for a sufficient example, without borrowing any among the Greekes or Romaines, whose losses (in the like cases) may the better direct vs to Wisedome. For the *French* vse to say, that (without all question) they wholely lost *Italy*, and their owne good fortunes together; when the saide *Gaston* lost himselfe. For he enuying

Example of *Gaston de Foix* in being ouer aduenturous.

the brauing valour of some Gallantes, too apt in spurring on such as had betaken themselues to flight: more to bee seene, then for any hope hee could haue of recalling them, lost his owne life. And his fall might be compared to that of a great and mightie *Colossus*, whose ruine not onely hurteth whatsoeuer is neere neighbouring; but thinges much further of, by very distant separations.

An excellent comparison concerning true valour.

Like as the bright Luster of the Easterne Opalles, doe figure and represent to our eyes, the very liuelieſt Colours of all precious Stones; euen so is perfect Man-hood endued with this particuler Vertue, that it giueth to him (who is therewith possessed) a generall acquisition of all such varities, as may builde vp a faire Nature, and make it euerie way compleate. But he who is simply valerous, and hath no other merit, but onely a giddie and skipping kinde of courage: is borne rather for his owne hurt and ruine, then any aduancement; except he will goe liue among sauage Beastes, for whose humour (perhaps) he may be more capable, if they should make any dangerous sallie vpon his person. To this purpose, the famous Captaine *Epaminondas*, compared a valiant man, that had no other vertue; to a great goodly Shippe, wherein is nothing but a saile. Shee is not carryed by any Conduct, or whether the Mariners desseigne had appointed their Commerce: but fortune onelie is her course; the Windes her Pylot, and she hath no other anchorage, but ship-wracke. Yet if it so happen (as it may, though rarely) that hauing contended with the angry Heauens, and iniuries of the Seas, thee bring her selfe (vnbruised) into some safe harbour: no glory is therefore to be ascribed to the goodnesse of her prow, to the best form of her poope, nor to any cost bestowed on her building; but onely to the opportunitie of the place, the nature of the Windes, the depth of the Water, and calmnesse of the Seas, that altogether, or one for all the rest, rather left her so without dommage, then warranted what thus hapned, they being insensible of good or euill.

Epaminondas his comparison of a valiant man.

Sildome such aduenture is seeue, but only this is a meere comparison.

To what end (I pray ye) serued the hot and spleenitiue Manhood, of *Charls* Duke of *Bourbon*, who would needs enter *Rome*, among the pell-mell furie of his foot Souldiers, that saw not the ouerture of the breach, but with the eies of pillage and Rapine? Beeing abandoned in this sort, by the transport of gaine, and bootie of the Cittie (which was thē more allarmed, then assaulted) their generall intention was to vanquish, onely thereby to enrich themselues; and this was the sole command of the assault, yea, the absolute forme or cause of the fight & victory. Wherein, the Conquerour (not knowing how to conquer his owne impaciency) declared himselfe vnworthy of such fauor, as the Heauens had then prepared for him to make him Maister of the Queen of Citties: which could not haue been subdued, but by so Noble and famous a Commander, who (out of his death) begot a second life, and conuerted his particular triumphe, into a generall mourning: for the Army and Cittie (which was then spoiled) were very far dissemblable, in condition of their fortune.

Charles Duke of *Bourbon*, that sacked *Rome*, and lost his life thorow his owne rashnesse.

What Man-hood was that in *Polydamas*, who (all alone, and disarmed) ran after a great and strong company of Theeues, amongst whom he was slaine: more satisfying (therein) his owne fury, then good intention, which was, to cleanse the Country of them? He wounded, slue, and chased the greater part of those common enemies to mens society: but what did he heerein, either for himselfe, or others? When his verie death, caused more courage & violence in the remnant of them that remained aliue; then the whol heap of them (before) had together? Could not he haue mustered the community of *Greece*, and selected young Spirits of his owne hot temper? with such a sindiquat, he might haue made opposition, rather against their flight, then violence, and (by this means) had the grace to vanquish them at the first sight, and by this first too, rather haue punnished, then vanquished them. For so base a victorie, better becommeth the pursuit of a Prouost of iustice, or a polliticke Magistrate; then the dreaded Armes of a Prince. Were it not that one must haue the charge, when the leudnesse of men so far aboundeth, that Theeues and Pirats may better giue the Title of army (yea, of a great Army) to their conspiracy; then of a simple

Polydamas the Sonne of *Antenor*, wilfully sought his owne death.

A Prince is not to expose valour in base occasions.

Examp'e of *Pompey* the Great.

simple company of misse-led men. As it happened in the time of *Pompey*, who was to fight with so great and prodigious a multitude of Sea Rouers: that the very Conquest of them, rather got him the Name of Great, then all the victories he had in *Asia*. This likewise was the verie greatest honour, that euer the valiant and inuincible *Hercules* attained vnto, if the *Greekes* write truely.

A good aduertisment to all Noble-men.

I am the more willing to continue this subiect, because it were no dishonest wish, that the Man-hood of all our Nobilitie, would declare it selfe (more then it hath done) in diligent search of Morall Vertues, and opposition against all vices, for whose destruction, they were first created by God, and secondlie by Kinges. For, let me tell yee, that the best and most famous Houses in *Europe* (let me not say of the whole World) were sometimes plain Yeomanry, & extracted out of the common Masse: out of which, some apparant and remarkable vertue gaue them distinction & separation. Because a recompence so faire and glorious, moued braue courages (in quest of such occasions) to become partners in the like benefits: which the meere courtesie of Kinges (animated by this subiect onely) established, to make differences between more and lesse, good and better, the Comparatiue and the Superlatiue.

Th Original of the best houses in *Europe*, and their separation.

Much commended, but little knowne.

Man-hood is commended by many, yet known of very few; because it is much more easily praised, then learned, or practised. It ought to be in the hart, like pure and cleere water in a Cesterne; whence it may be fetcht for diuers seruices, and all for no other end, then mens commodity. Some to make drinke therewith; others, Bread; others dresse their meats, Water their Gardens, and wash, as occasion is required. In all these vses, it is not onelie profitable, but also very needfull: and yet it may be abused, for ouer-much thereof, doth rather returne disaduantage, then any benefit. To elect it (then) for our best seruice, is not according to it selfe; as in a liuing thing; but answerable to manlie iudgement, & discourse of reason: which appropriateth the quality and quantity of this Element, according as the occurrence and neede thereof, shall require his vertue and succourable power. It is euen so in Man-hood, one while it is imployed for the establishment of Kinges;

The vse of man-hood exampled by water, in vsing it.

for the conseruation of their Estates; for particular defence of our assayled persons; and for perfection of the weake and innocent. Out of this, or the like subiect; it is ridiculous, changeth into fury, and gets the name of madnesse, rage, and desperation. This immaculate Virgine shunneth such a Spirit, as hath more cowardise to offend a Man, of whom hee thinkes he hath receiued an iniurie: then true valor, to do him grace, by letting him rather know the pardon, the the pain; the precept, then the punishment. Hereon was it, that Diuine *Plato* was wont to say. *If we were all iust; Might would bee condemned in humaine societie, for Iustice doth all by her owne proper Vertue. Shee made Aristides both courageous and patient. She made him more necessary the Themistocles; more victorious then Miltiades; and more happy, then all the other Athenian Captains.*

The application in the vse of man-hood.

The saying of the diuine *Plato* concerning Iustice.

It is impossible then, to be very valiant, without being iust; or to be iust, without courage; because, it is not faintnesse, or want of Spirit in the heart, that makes a Man acceptable in all Companies: but rather a Celestiall heate; which mounts the Soule beyonde common pitch, and seeketh after a commendable contentment, by delight which others apprehend in seeing our actions to hold euen gate with their good, as much (or rather more) then they doe with our owne. We are not bound to those boistrous wordes of *Alexander* the Great, when he said; *That he did not abandon hazzards, but to be honoured and renowned among the Grecians in generall, and particularly, of the Athenians*: Who seemed (neuertheless) vtter Enemies to his Fortune, as formerly they had beene to his Father *Phillip*. Such speeches issued from the mouth; nay, the very heart of a Man, an Atheist: who had no other God, but Vanitie; no Reason, but Couetousnesse; no Iustice, but feare of contempt; Fortune for his Armes, *Asia* for his pay, and the rest of the World for his hope. Little was his care, if the whole Earth were afflicted, for the weake Subiect of his fraile satisfaction: for hee receiued but the rinde or shell of goodnesse, and tooke (from euery one) the whole heape of happinesse, which Peace onely bringeth.

There is no valour without iustice, nor Iustice without courage.

The words of *Alexander* the Great.

Wordes more like an *Atheist*, then a worthy King.

All occasions of the great battailes he gaue, were conceiued on a sole desire, to shame and disgrace all Princes in the

Alexanders enuying of all other Princes onely to exceede them in might and courage.

World, whom he ſought to oblige by his victorious Armes; and by the Graces he did them, to beleeue, that hee excelled them in power and courteſie. Nor had he any other intention beſide, either to aſſure the eſtates of *Greece*, or doe any good to his Countrey, much leſſe would hee exalt any of his partakers: for all his proiect was, not to be equalled by any one in his life, nor ſeconded after his death, ſaying, not long before. *He that hath no part in my Glorie, can be no Heire to my Conqueſt: How then ſhould I make a Succeſſour, that neuer could haue any Companion?*

The ſaying of *Alexander*, not long before his death.

He well declared, that his valour was imperfect, when he ſlew his Friend and Benefactor *Clitus*, reprooving him for his ambitious vanitie: beſide, it was very vnorderly done, and out of due time. He ought to haue expreſſed the truth of courage, in ſupplying the defect of the others indiſcretion (if he pleaſed ſo to iudge it) then ſo furiouſly to bee his Deſtroyer and Murderer. *Demetrius* had more valiancy (but leſſe Fortune) then *Alexander*, conſidering, he pardoned the *Thebanes* twice; but many times the people of *Athens*. Whereas (quite contrary) *Alexander* ruined *Thebes* from the top to the bottome, and neuer left the *Athenians* in peace: but when time ſerued not to proclaime open Warre; his mind being then buſied and imploied in much greater matters, & yet notwithſtanding, leſſe perillous. For, it is moſt certaine, that had hee elſe-where conuerted his fury (rather deſtenied, then premeditated for the ruine of *Aſia*, which (was in his time) the principall ſubiect of Gods wrath, of whoſe vengeances he was the onely Organe:) doubtleſſe he had ended his Fortunes in *Greece*, and his triumphes had extended but the length of *Macedon*, which remained more vnuanquiſhed, then victorious, by the Armes of this Shittlecocke of the Heauens diſpleaſure. At whoſe ending, all Tytants in the world tooke their beginning, and the vniuerſe it ſelfe, was more ſhaken (then maintained) by the accidentall valour of this Monſter of ambition, and of pernitious glory. For he had no Law, but ſuperſtition; no Magiſtracy, but prodigious and vnſociable diſdaine. Yet could he outwardly ſeeme milde and familiar, becauſe he affected this neceſſary vertue in a great Prince: eſpeciallie in ſuch a one, that exaltes himſelfe (without any right or election) into others Empires and Monarchies. For power doth not ſo much ſtrengthen the nouelty of a Kingdome; as hope, which ſubiectes (halfe deſperate) doe deriue, from the accoſtable and kinde behauiour in him, who (in effect) hath forced, and (in apparance) ſtriueth to ſurmount their feare, of being worſſe entreated afterward.

Demetrius compared with *Alexander*, for more valiant, but leſſe fortunate.

Alexander was tearmed *Gods* ſcourge in *Aſia*.

Affability a neceſſary vertue in a great Prince.

The Empire of the *Romaines*, was of longer continuance then the other, becauſe it daily begot more Friendes then Enemies, and onely began to looſe it ſelfe; when they grew to diſdaine the Northerne people, who being farre off from *Italy*, by long diſtance of Seas, Riuers, Mountaines, and by ſo great a length of ground: the Gouernors ſeemed to be meere proprietaries or Owners. By means whereof, they committed ſuch prodigious violences, as were to be wondred at. But the patience of the afflicted, kept in, and continued ſo long a time, for a iuſt and neceſſarie puniſhment, that the Arreſt being concluded on: the North (at length) leapt out of her limits, and brake the Ice of her heart in ſuch ſort; that the ſhiuers flew ſo farre as *Rome*; yea, and with ſo ſtearne a ſtrength, that their power and Iuſtice (vſing neceſſity as their beſt helpe) made a meere break-necke of the Worldes pride. For hauing nothing but valour, and no equity in their firſt Oeconomy, they became ſo humbled; that their fall remaineth (to this day) very dreadfull, and it would exceed credence, in men moſt learned, if the ruines did not render a more apparant teſtimony, then all our Hiſtories.

The Romain Empire continued longer thē the other.

The Northerne people long wronged by the *Romans*

CHAP. XII.

That all ſuch, as had no other vertue, then meere and naked valiancy, or valour; haue ended their daies very vnfortunatly.

IT is a caſe without all queſtion, that the firſt Monarches more eſtabliſhed their

The wisedom of the first Monarcks in establishing their Empires

their Empires, by election which they made of their Friendes and Enemies; then by force of Armes, or relying on their power. And true it is, that the people of *Asia*, had (naturally) more might and courage, then the *Grecians*; who notwithstanding, did almost daily beat them, because they had no other helpe, but such a transport of spirit, which being linked to indiscretion and fury: admitted no other meanes of conquering; but that which Nature enstructs brute Beasts withall, being furthest off from all iudgement. When the *Grecians* degenerated from the wisedome of their Ancestors; they suffered themselues to bee led by the Romaines prouidence: who were a people, not so goodly of Body, so well proportioned, or of like courage to them of * *Attica*; where the Ayre was of such temperature, as nothing wanted, to be desired. Euerie one knoweth, that *Greece* was not onely the Mother of Sciences, but of all the Pagane Gods, and of all those most remakable thinges, which our auncient Histories doe make mention of. It was the birth place of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, who knowing nothing else to be maistered in the World; went so farre as Hell to exercise their violence. Thence they drew out *Cerberus*, with his three heades, and (some say) they cornuted wretched *Pluto*: a goodly act no doubt, aunswerable to the birth of * *Calais* and *Zethes*, who rid the Countrey of the *Harpies*, that deuoured the foode of blinde *Phineus*. There was *Meleager* born, and all the *Argonauts* in generall. Of thence was *Achilles* and *Diomedes*, who wounded *Mars* and his Concubine *Venus*. Of thence was *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, *Demetrius*, *Themistocles*, and *Alcibiades*, all which, hauing giuen a subsistance of valiancy to their world: had Children to their Successours, that suffered themselues to be conquered by the Heardsmen of *Calabria*, and Shepheards belonging to the Romain fields; onely because they were lesse wise then valiant, in comparison of their predecessors, who had true iudgment, both in the one and other.

* A Country in *Greece*, between *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, where *Athens* stood.

* The Sonnes of *Boreas* (by *Orithia*) that had wings to flie.

Theseus in the Labyrinth of *Creete*, ouercame the *Minotaure*.

Theseus had neuer got out of the *Cretane* Labyrinth, if hee had not brought more discretion to his enterprize, then meere valour. For he did not vanquish that great and dreadfull Monster, halfe a Man, and halfe a Beast; but by deuise and singuler cunning: in regard, that the prodigious Bull was endued with more strength and courage, then hee could be; the Nature (both of Man and Bull) being common and indifferent to him. Moreouer, it was (in manner) nothing, to haue surmounted such a confused masse of Flesh, because he had more need of conduct, to get foorth of the Forrest where he was enclosed; then power to warrant him against a violence, which was soule-lesse to all reason. And surely as offence (in another body) trained him vniustly to this hazzard; euen so was hee deliuered by strange vertue, which was as well acknowledged, not to be Domesticke to his owne Spirit, as he declared indiscretion and improuidence in his returne, which appeared more signale in the deplorable death of his Father, then any wonder could be discerned in his victory: for he was more prepared by wisedome in the King of *Creetes* Daughter, then well atchieued by vertue in the *Athenian* Prince.

The meanes how *Theseus* was deliuered, not by his owne valour, but by wisedome in the Daughter to the King of *Creete*.

The selfe-same (doubtlesse) happened to *Iason*, Captaine of the *Argonauts*, who beeing (well-neere) inuincible for humaine valour: had yet all been vtterly lost, without the industrie and prouidence of ingenious *Medea*. For shee knew how to conuert the Armes of the Garrisons of *Colchos*, quite against thēselues, for whose vse and preseruation they were onely destined. Here, amazement surmounted the courage of our young Conquerants, and their valiancy had no other vigour, but onely for flight: till she alone, without any other Armes then inuention; changed their feare, to a chearfull heat for fight; their incertitude, to assurance; and their vnauoydable ouerthrow, to a victory sudden, and done at an instant.

Iason and his *Argonauts*, deliuered by the ingenuitie of discreet *Medea*.

The meanest Fortresses would appeare impregnable to humaine valiancy, without Art and inuention of a sprightly minde: who vniting the one with the other; bringeth supernaturall things to passe, or (at least) such as are extraordinary. The Poet *Lucretius* mockt our first men, that made bodily strength their best benefit of defence, vsing their teeth, nailes, feete, and handes, as their safest

Valiancie and discretion linked together, bring admirable occasions to end.

Good armour is not the best defence.

safest Armour, and beeing guided by courage, without order or direction; ran head-long into ineuitable dangers. *Homer* also tels vs, that the Captaines of best ranke (as well in *Europe* as *Asia*) were singularly well armed: as *Aiax*, *Sarpedon*, the Son of *Mars*, *Diomedes*, *Glaucus*, and *Patrocles*, that perrished with the Armes of *Achilles*: who was not so hardie, as to run and reuenge the death of his perfect and intimate friend, till he had gotten him new Armour; to wit, much better then that hee had before. He, that (to shew himselfe couragious) throwes his vnarmed body into charges, breaches and assaults; declares the actions rather of a mad man, then one that is valiant. Some men haue bin seene, one, to cast him selfe into a Fire; another, fall vpon the point of a sword; a third, leap suddenly into a deep Riuer, or from the height of a dreadfull Rock; according as frenzy altereth and misguideth the ordinary mooning of his disease. A fourth, as vnhealthfull in mind, guideth his life by the pathes of death, onely by defect of apprehension, which cannot, neither ought to bee lawdable or imitable: but onely in such, who being weary of life, doe defie both fortune and perrill, and become obedient to dispaire and melancholly, which makes them to esteeme death more sweet then life.

Difference betweene madnesse and valour, end very easie to be discerned.

A *Macedonian* banished for being vnarmed on the day of Battell.

Alexander the Great, banished a *Macedonian* from his Troupes, because he was vnarmed on the day of battaile, which he fought at the Riuer *Granicus*, saying to him. *In this manner (my small Friend) we vse to goe to Weddings, and not to war; where he that is best armed, cannot be cleare from perill.* The *Spartanes* condemned a young man of their Citty, to a very great penalty, because on the day whē the *Thebanes* gaue their assault; he came naked to the fight, where (notwithstanding) his fortune was equall to his valour, deliuering such proofe of high desert, as themselues, by whom his folly was condemned; adiuged a great salary to his valour, which had beene perfect, if it had been exercised in better forme. *Lysimachus* being vanquished by a *Thessalian* Prince (that was reputed barbarous, and slenderly acquainted with glorious actions) when he was mockt for his foile, made them this answere. *Mine enemy (whatsoeuer you conceiue of him) seemes to haue as much wisedome, as fury: for, the fortune of Alexander, and himselfe pertaking with me, could not make me inuincible; because I was ordained to be one of this Princes heires. But the misprision I made of my companion, deceiued my possessed assurance of conquest, and enabled mine enemie to fight, when I thought him more capable of flight, then of assailing. But why then* (answered one) *did you vndertake such a difficult attempt? Because* (qd. he) *I had courage enough to execute it, if meere valiancy had onely bin necessary.*

Actions are not good, wanting their due forme.

Lysimachus conquerd by a Thessalian Prince, his speeches at the instant,

When rich Crassus was vanquished by the Parthians in Assiria.

When rich *Crassus* was ouerthrowne in *Assiria*, by the Army of the *Parthians*, which were farre lesse in number, then that of the *Romaines*; a *Patrician* said to *Cato*: *This rout seemeth to me incredible, considering the courage of many strong Legeonaries*; whereto *Cato* replyed. *There would haue beene much better apparance, if the couetous eye of Crassus had not lookt more to booty, then to the charge: which was more easily desired, then taken, and yet more easily taken, then kept.* For it behoueth, that (in euery desseigne) wisdome should exceed the power of execution, and execution to arise, not from possibility, or apparance; but from truth and certaintie of the matter, which distinguisheth it selfe by no other time, then when we are assured of it. This sacred Lady Wisedome, onely taketh intermission, to haue greatest priuacy with such, whom she iudgeth worthy of her fauour; which is continuallie combined with Prouidence, Iustice, and Necessitie.

Wisedome is the best guide in all our actions whatsoeuer.

It is not might only, that surmounteth the ouergreat agitation of the Billowes, iniurie of the Winds, and their immeasurable violence. Might onely, doth not oppose it selfe, and make resistance against the Tempest of that ayre, or those turbulent stormes, that beget and forme the ruine of Passengers. Might onely, doth not facilitate the entrance or issue, of straites or narrow passages on the Seas, Riuers, and such like places: neither can it onely compell the rigour of seasons, nor their quality, to be either more or lesse intemperate; nor to fortify vs against dangerous change, from our first dwelling, to any other. In all these, might is but as an humble seruant, to a million of much fairer,

Might hath little or no Maistery in it selfe, concerning infinite occasions.

The worthines of a braue and generous mind.

fairer, or (to speake better) more lawdable and necessary vertues, for the atchieuing of such high enterprises: wherein (oftentimes) meere Valiancy, simple valour, and courage onely (badly guided) and ouer-rudely imploied; is more dammageable, then beneficiall; and lesse sightly, then well beseeming. For, to speake truely, a braue and generous Spirit, thought it were naked of all other Grace; yet it carrieth with it an admiration aboue capacity: which followeth not other vertues, as by a selfe allurance, but inciteth their imitation out of his owne splendour.

Hercules numbred among the Gods, and the especiall reasons why.

Hercules was not numbred among the Gods, for the sole benefit of his greatnesse in courage: for, in Heauen, as much esteeme is made of a weak man, as of him that is most strong and vigorous. Seeing that it appeareth, to be rather as a defect of his bodie, which is ill disposed: then any iniury naturallie linked to the Spirit, of such as are more timorous, and lesse couragious then others. It was the Iustice of *Hercules*, that made him dreadfull to the wicked, and wonne him the fauour of euill ordered Common-weales. His Charitie made him necessary, for the mallice of his time, that abounded in tyrannies and cruell oppressions. His courage made him the lesse apprehensiue of daungers; yet oftentimes dispairing of their good issue. The greatnesse and Nobility of his Parents, made him the more famous, and knowne through all partes. But his setled Resolution, to be an vtter Enemie to Vices, and a partaker with Vertues, much more requisite: that onely made him commendable among all men. I say, the braueſt Spirit (in his time) durst not enuy his glorie, nor compare their actions of greateſt merit, with the very meaneſt of his. Courage was one in number of his merits, neuertheleſſe, it was not the principall, in regard hee ouercame many, that ought him nothing in that point: not reckoning Lyons, Hydraes, and other prodigious Beastes vanquished by him, to whom he might well haue seemed as a prey, if cunning and knowledge (by what meanes to shunne their violence and fury) had not beene a better subiect to him of hope, then of feare, in such bold enterprises, which alwaies were grounded on neceſſitie, occasion most apparant, and vndertaken with iudgement.

His Iustice.

His Charitie.

His Courage.

His parentage

His Resolution.

Courage was but a part of his merits.

The words of K. *Artoxerxes* concerning his Brother *Cyrus*.

The great King *Artoxerxes*, compared courage onelie, to a sparke of Fire, which dyeth as soone as it is borne, and hath more apparance, then body. *Hereby* (quoth he) *I perceiue, that my Brother and Enemy Cyrus, will be but of small continuance: For he is of the Nature of small Coales, which are good for nothing, but to kindle great Wood, and then suddenly they extinguish, because the great Fires flame, disperseth and scattereth them among the light Cinders.* It came so to passe, for *Cyrus* enflamed all *Greece* and *Asia*, against the said *Artoxerxes*, who was much better qualified then his Brother: on whom rashnesse bestowed wings, to fly more swiftly to his owne ruine; then to prepare any danger for others. For they that had lesse power, and more pacience then he; assured their liues by the hazzard of his, beeing more carried by the violence of his owne courage, then by the strength of his enemies.

Cyrus, a very rash and intemperate man.

O inconsiderate courage, principall Artezane of so many sudden losses, so many deplorable deaths, so many cruell Wounds, and so many light enmities! Thou art more hurtfull, then succourable to mankind. Thou art deadly Enemy to reason; thou blindest iudgement; thou art the Father of pride, and the peruerter of all order. Thou makest Families desolate; Wiues, to bee Widdowes; Children, Orphanes; Cities, Deserts; Common-weales vnpeopled; and Kingdomes, shaken into shiuers. Thou neuer dost any good, except when faire hap (in such as inherit thee) beguiles their certaine hope, and all occasion, of loosing thee. The good thou dooſt, ensueth from hence, that thou hast not strength enough, to weaken the deſtiny that saues and deliuers thee, or (to speake better) the diuine benediction, that armes it selfe in thy succour, and opens an assured passage to the inconstancy of thy motions; which leads thee (without eyes) hither and thither, like a Skiffe beaten with the Windes and Billowes, euer ready for wracke, as often as eyther the one or other gaines the maistery, and lifts it vp betweene those two light elements. Rashnesse is the mother of Murders, the

The Authors inuectiue against rash & haire-braine courage, declaring the manifold mischiefes thereby ensuing.

the Witch that conceiueth contempt, bringes forth deſpaire, and nurſſeth froward opinion. Thou art Foe to humility, and haſt no ſhame, becauſe thou art blinded; neither any vnderſtanding, becauſe thou ouer-turneſt the braine, and engendreſt the Palſie, both of the mind and bodie. Thou haſt no Law, but ſudden aptneſſe and inclination; to be guided by thine owne tranſport; to aſſure thine own diſpaire: that the rule of thine opinion, the Soule of thy diſtemper and thy deſire of reuenge; may make booty of impoſſible things. Thou only makeſt vs companions with beaſts; takeſt reaſon from vs; ſetteſt diuorce betweene Body and Soule; depriueſt vs of election; robbeſt vs of our owne wils; and deſtinateſt vs to offer ſacrifice, euen to all kindes of miſeries and calamities. It was thou that didſt build Hell, and Armed the Angels againſt God, yea, euen one Heauen againſt another. It was thou that madſt the confuſion of languages, when thou mountedſt thy head as high as Heauen, by the proud top of audacious *Nimrods* Tower. From thy Womb, improuidence firſt receiued life, and all violent and inſolent actions, tooke their former Eſſence. Thou makeſt vs preſumptuous and miſerable, full of melancholly, out of our ſenſes, and meerely mad men; by diſpoſing vs to fiery diſeaſes, whereon firſt roſe the name of a fiery Ague. Thou makeſt vs all furie, draweſt vs out of our ſelues, to be more beaſtlie then Beaſts, to whom (by right) belongs the chiefe vſe of thine imperfection. Thou diſtinguiſheſt no times; but makeſt all ſeaſons equall; all perſons indifferent; all iudgements, venters; all authoritie, contemptible; all Iuſtice, powerleſſe; the Magiſtrate doubtfull; and Lawe weake and imbecile, beyond her Nature. Thou raiſeſt people into Armes; mockeſt all Superiors; formeſt * Anarchies; exalteſt the wicked againſt the good; tyraniſeſt our duty; ſeduceſt obedience, and excludeſt fidelity from our hearts, when they are thereto moſt willing. Thou art neuer pleaſde, but in pleaſing thy ſelfe; accounting patience to be faintneſſe; counſell, excuſe; diſpoſition, delay; mildneſſe, fear; and humility, ſottiſhneſſe.

To conclude, from thee ſpringeth the chiefeſt miſhapes that can come to Men; by teaching them an opinion of duty, as a ſhadow without a ſubſtance, debilitating their actions, & deſtroying (by immoderate power) all thoſe Vertues, which Iuſtice eſtabliſheth in this great Theater of worldlie affaires, and would depend vppon diuine aſſiſtance; but for ſuch a daungerous plague to all mankind.

His like commendation of Wiſedom and prouidence, & how needfull it is to be our guide in all our actions.

But O deare Wiſedome! How neceſſary art thou for the helpe of vs all? Thou ſerueſt for an eye, or as bright day to our Soules, like thoſe windowes properly deſigned to any goodly building. Fooles come to knowledge of thee, when thy vertue is not auileable for them, but to their ſorrowes; and when repentance whips them, for not entertaining thee in due time. Raſh courage commends thee, in the verie depth of his fall, and exalts thee aboue the height from whence he fel, becauſe he did not accept thee as guide and directour. The vnfortunate terme thee, to be none of their faction; and the fortunate aſcribe the vertue of their content, onely to thy merit. The Blinde doe borrow eies of thee, whereby to direct them, and the beſt ſighted (ſeeing thee) ſtand like meere Mummers, gazing at the glory of thy bright radiance. Thou ſerueſt as Sentinell in Armies; as a Rampier for Cities wekly defended; as a faithful Guard to forſaken Princes; as the cheefe Starre for Marriners to ſaile by; and the firſt innuentreſſe of all Commerce. It is by thy Grace (next vnto God) that Kinges hold their Empires; that Kingdomes are eſtabliſhed; Magiſtrates ordained, and Policies authoriſed.

It is thou that makeſt Kinges venerable; that keepeſt people in awe; the feeble in aſſurance; the ſtrong in ſuſpition; bringeſt offenders to puniſhment, and containeſt the honeſt minded in their quiet being. It is thou that giueſt eſteeme to valour, and keepeſt courage in contempt; vntill it bee enriched by thy aſſiſtance. It was thou that gaueſt Teſtimony to God, of the Royall Prophet, when he ſaid: *I haue known Dauid, the Sonne of Iſai, a Man according to mine owne heart; in Wiſedome and greatneſſe of Courage.* It was thou that madeſt the ſame *Dauid* acceptable to the mildneſſe of

* A people without Prince or gouernment.

of *Ionathan*, and ſuſpitious to the mallice of *Saule*. Thou gaueſt gouernment to *Ioſeph* in *Ægypt*, *Cadmus* in *Beotia*; *Ianus*, in *Italie*; *Triptolemus* and *Ceres*, in *Scicily*; *Bacchus*, in the *Indiaes*; *Saturne*, in *Aſia*; *Pompilius*, at *Rome*, and *Vliſſes* euery where. Thou madſt graue *Neſtor* much more reſpected, then the furious and raſh-headed *Aiax*; yea, more then the vntameable *Achilles*. In briefe, it is thou, that onelie inciteth and compelleth maſſiue puiſſance, for more imployment of the bodie, then the mind, wherein thou declareſt thy ſelfe to bee the *Genius*, and fauourite of the Deuill.

He returneth to his primitiue Argumẽt of meere valiancy.

Returning now to meere Valiancie, to form a neceſſary perfection for him; I ſay, that all ſuch, as haue had nothing but courage onlie: haue loſt themſelues wilfully, and were thereto trained thorow their owne default. And (on the contrary) where Wiſedome and true Iudgment hath managed the buſineſſe; the maine matter hath not onely beene preſerued, but eſtabliſhed from periſhing, euen to immortality. Courage, (let me not ſay inconſideration) ruined the two new Potentates of our time: for the one exalted himſelfe aboue the Towers of his young authoritie; and the other became a founder of ſuch a Fortune, as was blunted by the meere incontinency of his owne deſires. I confeſſe, that courage lookes ſweetelie (at firſt ſight) in the eye of raſh conceit: yet will ſhe bee courted onely by the wiſe, I would ſay, by vertuous mindes; that conclude the perfection of their happineſſe, by the Iuſtice of their actions; ſhaping them alwaies, to bee as commendable in deſſeigne, as by attempt and finall concluſion. The one, (without any other fore-ſight, then goodneſſe of the place) promiſeth himſelfe an inuincible permanency: but the other iudgeth what is to come, by the iſſue of his precedent actions, which carried no ſplendor but by the vglineſſe of theirs, that ſuffered them to ſhine in ſuch true radiance, as they themſelues could neuer attaine vnto.

The two worthy ſpirits of our latter times ruined by their owne temerity.

How many haſty heads haue I ſeene periſh, without any benefit to their Countrey, but onelie their owne example, as an admonition to preuent the like calamitie? how many Families haue I knowne deſolated, by this plague of ſuppoſed happineſſe, Glory and Life? How many young Gentlemen haue I ſeene buried, that (but for this daungerous diſeaſe) had rather beene an admiration to Straungers, then ſorrowe to their Friendes, by ſuch vntimely loſſe? How many braue Caſtles haue I ſeene abandoned, by the raſh fall of their Commaunders, who would needs ſeek Death in their Enemies Trenches; and wilfullie looſe their liues there, when neither vndermining, Cannons, ſcalado, or breach could preuaile againſt them; albeit, they were euen as common and familiar to them, as deſire of ſuperiority? How many Prouinces haue I ſeen deſerted, by the ouer abounding courage in ſuch, whom election and not lot, made their Gouernours? How many wilfull people haue I noted to periſh; aſſemblies diſſolue themſelues; Comminalties abrogated; factious heads run to the libbet, training Troupes after them likewiſe, much more indiſcreete, then faultie? Meere Courage is a double death, that ſtifles reaſon, and makes the body inſenſible of the thing, which moſt offendeth it; yea, killeth and ruinateth it altogether. Meere Courage is a double debilitie of Spirit, which altereth the Heart and Soule, principall Iudges of the humain Common-wealth, and Oeconomie of the little World. Meere Courage, is a double Enemy, that betrayeth vs by miſ-gouernment, and leadeth vs into the Ambuſh, which our Enemies wiſedome prepared for vs. Meere Courage is a double aſſurance, promiſing and performing victory, to him that out-reacheth vs in iudgment and councell. Meere Courage, is a double Engine, that ſhaketh our naturall cariage, and changeth vs into that, which is much leſſe proper, then the thing that animates and moſt enflameth vs.

The harmes enſuing by meere courage, in the body of Man.

Example is woſull, when it hurteth any Countrey, by loſſe of ſuch as can hardlie be ſpared.

I grow the larger in this Argument, to abate the prodigious pride of greatneſſe, and to annihilate the preſumptuous excellence, which they giue themſelues aboue others, who (oftentimes) are rather inferiour to them in happineſſe, then in merite. They attribute our Soueraigne and principall Felicity, to a braue and ſwaggering oſtentation, as to the onely Lady and Queen of this life: which (notwithſtanding) is not to be

The Authors intent, by enlarging this diſcourſe.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

be found in vs, but by the knowledge of true humanity. I am sworne Enemy to Court-flatterers, and Mountebancke Diuines of these daies, who hold opinion, that to induce, & thrust a man on to the rule of duty: there is nothing more conuenable and necessary; then to shew him all that is glorious in him, or worthy of most precious esteeme. Alasse, by this way, Princes (intemperate enough of their owne Nature) can meet with nothing but Rockes, which bruising themselues against, they mustneeds fall into the Gulfe of ignorance. Al this *Cabala* is practised to no other end, but to puffe vp vaine-glory, and to make apparance esteemed for an effect. By this meanes, a man labours to conceiue a good opinion of himselfe, and then aduentures vpon some enterprize, wherein he cannot chuse but faile. For the chiefest vertue in a man (that is truelie Man) according to the rule of truth; is properly placed in the slender estimation, which he ought to haue of his own miserable condition, whereinto he was deiected by the fall of our first Father: by iust consideration whereof, all vaine glory and presumption will bee beaten downe in vs. For, if we duely weigh, in what manner our first grace is disgraced of Celestiall fauour, and that (in stead thereof) we are plundged in the bottomlesse death of corruptions, all the parts of our Soules becomming so possessed with sinne, that each man, in himselfe (as the Eagle of Doctours, S. *Augustine* saith) *is made a meere Enemie to Nature*; If wee were liuely touched with the rigour of our importune mallice, and those out-ragious defectes, which betrayes vs in perticuler conduct of our liues: we would immediatly depart out of our selues, as empty and vnprouided of all goodnesse, and seek our glory elsse-where; yea, our Dignitie, Fortune, and perfect contentment; by sighing after those glorious qualities, as desirous to giue a new Title to humaine Nature, the name whereof being so infamous and monsterous in it selfe.

It is our case, that being puft vp with the little glory, which remaineth of our Originall, and tearmed (by our diuines) a portion of the Diuinity: we exalt our selues in such sort, that we grow proud of those things, which appertaine onely to the goodnesse of God, yea, and that in such manner, as he refuseth further to assist vs; because we referre that to our owne proper and peculiar vertue, which is due to his grace onely, being the sole Artezane of our cheefest felicity. We neede not bee proud of vnderstanding our primatiue excellency, if wee consider withall, in what darkenesse wee are enueloped, and detained in the Prison of that Curse, which is likewise falne vppon vs, by the timerity of him, who, hauing touched what was forbidden, threw into obliuion that Wisedome, which might haue kept him to the subiect and obiect of his first condition. Alas, we conceit, that we haue something properly resident in our selues, which opinion beeing presented to our vnderstanding: abuseth our weakenesse, and eleuates vs to ingratitude; yea, euen to the ouerweening boldnesse of *Nimrod*, who thought to touch Heauen with his litle finger, as *Lysimachus* with the point of his Lance. Man hath naturally in him a Spirit, too capable of entertaining this life; and some discretion also of good and euill, grauen on the Table of his conscience. Hee hath likewise in him, some naturall knowledge of God. But all these thinges are sullied in him, much like to pure and good Wine, infected by the foule fauour of the Caske; which makes it loose the grace both of goodnesse and beauty, throwing a sower, harsh, and hurtfull tast to health on it.

In this manner, the iudgement remaing with him, whereby to discerne the most from the least; is imperfect & confused in part, and whatsoeuer is solide in him, slydeth away in meere vanity. As (for example) his courage, or (to speake better) his will, which (without will) ouerthrowes it selfe by frenzies, and impetuous heate: according as his errour enstructeth him to runne, and as his bad Nature transporteth him with motion, which was not so familiar in the first man. In breefe, the intelligence that courage onely (in Man) hath of his own good; is nothing else but an horrible sourse of errour, which declares it selfe in plurality of most necessary desseignes, and not onely

Of Courte Flatterers, and talkatiue Diuines.

The chiefest vertue in a man, that is truely a man.

August. De Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 7.

Men grow proud of those things, which are not in themselues, but proceed only of Gods goodnesse.

The folly of mens idle imagination concerning them selues.

Mans natural knowledge of God corrupted in him.

Courage, or will in Man, ouerthroweth it selfe.

Wherein our best considerations may be abused.

ly therein, but in this faire and holy consideration: to wit; That the Heauens doe alwaies retaine their ordinary motion; The Waters their inconstancy, and course ordained; The Birds building their Nests; The Fruites fructifying according to their times; And finally, that no Creature (inferiour to Man) committeth any fault in his worke. Whereas (quite contrary) he drawes himselfe from his propertie, to resolue and conuert into his contrarie; hauing lesse shame then the *Molosses* of *Albania*, and lesse feare then the Vultures, which follow battailes, and seek the furious encounters of cruell and dreadfull Armies.

The *Molosses* of *Albania*.

We must deriue then our conclusion in this point (at least) if we followe Christianity, and the duty of a Christian Soule, which neither can, or ought to glorifie it selfe, but in the Grace of God; we must conclude (I say) that all our vertue, be it great or little, commeth from no place else, but Heauen; or, to speake better, from the first, chiefe and Soueraigne Architect: who, without considering or regarding any thing beside himselfe (fore seeing our weaknes) is willing (of his owne good pleasure) to helpe some, by placing them in honor, as vessels of his Almightinesse, and to leaue others in their own iudgment. So that the one haue Grace, which is not due to them, neither is giuen them, but by diuine clemency; and the other receiue such punishmét as they deserue. For it is in Gods power, to communicate himselfe to them that are vnworthy (but onely by his grace) and not to vse the like to euery one; to make his iudgments admired and to enforce our diligent search, for that, which wee esteeme more requisite for him to giue, then we are worthy of. Onely we are so much the lesse capable of this fauor, by how much there is nothing more certaine; then that God will neuer pardon a man of violent courage, and of prompt execution in doing euill, being led by the rage of his own angry reuenging hart.

Wherein any Man ought to place his greatest glorie.

God respecteth them that are vnworthy, but enabled by his grace.

The whole drift of my scope in this Argument, is nothing else, but to enstruct Princes, that they ought to ioyne piety and pitty with their State affaires; and further to assure them, that their courage (without wisedome) is rather the fire of Gods anger, then any marke of perfect valour. The *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, & *Vandals*, may testifie the same, whose rage made an vniuersall terror in three great parts of the World, running here and there, like a tempest arising on the calme Sea: which yet (at length) dissolued of it selfe, and brought more amazement then perill to the beholders. The *Gauls* also witnessed as much, who, being growne great with courage, and improuident in their blindfolded hope; ran to ruinate the buildings of *Rome*, & not to the Conquest of the Cittizens. Tell me, I pray ye, to what end serued such hastinesse, temerity, and insolent fury? To what purpose were the *Gaules* so violently transported; but onelie to tell the *Romaines*, that their Enemies were more vincible, then vneasie to be vanquished? That their fury, was without desseigne; their rage, without any premeditation; their rash leape, their owne breake-necke; their enterprise, a meere Chaos of distempered wils; and the issue of all, a shame very dammageable, a ruinous infamy, and a perticuler scandall to that Nation.

The violence of the *Gaules* in sacking *Rome*.

Courage (saith a learned Gentleman of *France*) is not for these times, when Men are growne madde; nor for these daies, wherein follie possesseth vs, transport commaundeth vs, and the verie Atomies of inconstancie, doe forme a body to our intentions. We make Warre with the Spaniard in a leafe of Paper; we gad thorough all our Parliament Chambers; our Cannon is yet in the Mettall Mine; our Artillerie carriages yet growing in Forrests; our Pikes in the liuing bodies of Trees; our Souldiers in the purse; our Captains in creation; and our enemy (who hath not so much courage, as to enterprise any difficult thing, without a solide & robust bodie) mindes not the defiance in writing, but victorie, destroyeth *Picardie* and *Champaigne*; and, in stead of Paper warre, which leadeth our *Frenchmen* by the nose, to the seuerall quarters of the Citty: he brings his Ensignes before our Bastions, his Trenches to our wals, & his Souldiers to our breaches. Of al which, our own rashheaded ambition is the only cause, & somwhat else, whereof I spare to speake at this time,

The words of a *French* Gentleman, concerning courage.

The *Spaniard* is subtile in his stratagems and aduantages.

The Authors admonition to Princes of these times.

forbearing also further pursuite in this argument, because the Reader is euermore best pleased, when he wandereth at liberty in variety of discourse.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a strange and wonderfull accident, that happened in the Islands of the Molucaes, about the yeare of our Lord, 1525.

I Haue long time forborne, to remember in this labour of important occasions, an admirable accident, which befell in the Islandes of the *Molucques*, seated in the East *Indiaes*. Whereof (neuertheless) there is not any mention made, in the Booke of the generall Historie of the *Spanish Indiaes*, nor in *Hierome Osorius*, Byshop of *Sylues*, neither in *Lopez de Castagneda*, and other Historians of *Portugall*: but onely in the Booke of *Laurentius Surius*, *Germaine*, Chronicler to *Charles* the fift Emperour, entitled; *The Historie of all memorable thinges, as well Ecclesiasticall as Seculer, happening within seauenty and eight yeares, in all partes of the World, beginning at the yeare* 1500. But the saide *Surius* heard this strange accident, by people worthy of beleefe, who made report thereof to the Emperor, because they were there present at the time; and since then, I my selfe haue heard it confirmed by diuers honorable Gentlemen, who trauailed for certaine knowledge thereof.

Laurentius Surius, Chronicler to the Emp. *Charles* the fift.

The Islandes of the *Molucques* are many in number, but among the rest, there are fiue, more great and remarkable then all the other; which are named *Tidora*, *Terrenata*, *Mata*, *Matila*, and *Mattena*. In which Islands, there is much greater increase of Spices, then in any other as yet discouered: as of Pepper, Nut-megges, Ginger, Cloues and Maces. Moreouer, the Countrey aboundeth in Rice, which is their onely Corne, and in many other Fruites. The Spaniards were the first that discouered these Islands, and made very great profits of them, by Traffick of those Spices at meane prices. Which when the King of *Portugall* vnderstood, he made knowne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, King of the seuerall *Spaines*; what wrong hee offered him, by sending his nauall Armies to Traffique in those quarters, because they belonged to his partage, which had beene made betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*, by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, a *Valentinois*, who had heard the discoueries of the new lands, made by both these Kings, and the differences depending betweene them, for gouernment of them. Whereupon, of his own meere good will and motion, hee gaue the *Indiaes* to the Kinges of *Castile*, and all the Coast of *Affrica* to the Kinges of *Portugall*; with charge, to conuert the Idolaters and Gentiles to the Faith of Iesus Christ.

Fiue especiall Islands of the *Molucques*.

The *Spaniards* first discouerers of the *Molucques*.

And to the end, that the one should not presume any way against the other, he commaunded a line to be drawne vpon the Globe, descending from the North to the South, & passing towards the West more then 400. Miles from one of the Isles of *Cap verdi*; because it should not touch any iote of *Affrica*, which appertained to the King of *Portugall*. This line deuided the whole World, and serued as a borne or limitation, to the Conquests of both these Kinges. The partes beyond the line, belonged to the *Spaniards*, and those on the hither side, to the *Portugals*. And yet, notwithstanding this deuision, each of these kings was perswaded, that the *Molucques* belonged to his seuerall part, and there was a long time of contention (there-about) betweene them. But the Emp. hauing neede of Mony, to serue his Warres in *Italy*, *Germanie*, and *Fraunce*: quitted his rights to the King of *Portugall*, for three hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates, whereby the *Portugals* haue (euer since) enioyed the sole Trafficke, to their great and inestimable profit.

The partition of the World made betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*.

The Emperor sold his right to the King of *Portugall*.

At that time raigned in the great Isle of *Tidora*, one named *Manser*, a Man well skild in Astrology, and very affable, contrary to the nature of *Mahometane* Religion: for hee entertained the *Spaniards* courteously, as afterward hee did the *Portugalles*, permitting all his Sub-

Manser King of the great Isle of *Tidora*.

Subiects to be instructed in Christian Religion, and so many of them as pleased to bee baptized, the *Portugalles* hauing brought thither Priestes, and religious persons for the purpose. In the meane while, the Deuill (enuying that Gods Kingdome should be so freely furthered, in these rich and populous Islands) quickely altered the estate of Christian Religion: for this good King *Mansor* dying, his Sonne (succeeding him in the Kingdome) not onely interdicted the *Portugalles* Commerce with his Subiects; but also commaunded his people (as suddenly as they could) to kill them, and that none should be so bold, as to make profession of Christian Faith, or to meddle with any matter thereof. This was no sooner vnderstood by some, who were but badly affected to Christianity: but (before they could preuent it) many *Portugals* were slaine, and such as had any means of escape, fled into their Ships, lying neere at Anker, and returned home to *Portugall* with these ill tidings.

The death of King *Mansor*, and succession of his Son.

Heere ye are to note, that after this disloyall act, of so euill vsage towardes Strangers, and breach of fidelitie, without any cause giuen to procure it, (albeit the deceased King *Mansor*, whose owne Letters cleared him from all such barbarous and Mahometane perfidie, had graunted to the *Portugals*, free libertie to slay any that hindred their Commerce, or any way scandalized their Religion, which they refused to doe) they carried themselues very patiently, in all the iniuries that these *Mahumetist Moluccques* offered them, who were much assisted in their violence, by the *Arabian* Marchants, that repined and grudged at the Christians fauour and authority. After (I say) this massacre of Christians; for the space of two yeares, the Land of *Tidora*, and other Isles thereto adiacent, became to bee barren, that had before beene as fruitefull, as any other Countries in the World.

The fauours granted by K. *Mansor* to the *Portugals*.

Heauen reuenged the Christians cruel oppression.

Their Trees brought forth no more Fruites nor Spiceries, and albeit the grounds were sowed and re-sowed many times together; yet did they not produce any Corn, and the Rice which they kept for further sowing, putrified of it selfe. The sweete Waters became salt; the Cattell, as Elephants, Oxen, Kine, Camels, Sheepe, and such like, dyed (well neere) all, and caused the death of many people beside. All which notwithstanding, these wicked Mahumetists would not acknowledge their Apostasie (the greater part of the Island hauing made profession of Christianity in the life time of *Mansor*) abiuring the same now with their new king, who was of a wauering and inconstant Spirit.

The King of *Portugall*, named *Iohn*, hauing heard by such as escaped, the Treason and inury committed on his people, was not thereby dismaied; but arming himselfe with royall courage, and not regarding the great distance of two thousand leagues by Sea, with other difficulties of passages to the *Moluccques*; leuied an army of four hundred men, who (two yeares after this massacre) arriued in the Hauen of *Tidora*, which is a great Citty, and whereof the whole Island beareth name. The Army landed, and (placing their Artillery) gaue great terror to the City, and erected a Fort on the Sea shoare: the King, with his Islanders and other Neighbours, labouring to hinder the *Portugals* purpose. Here we are to consider, that the principall Armes of the Islanders, were poysoned Arrowes, which they could deliuer from their Bowes very dexteriously, and those arrowes were very dangerously bearded, otherwise they went starke naked, as all the other Negroes doe.

The King of Papua prepareth to right his wronged subiects.

A second Army of the *Portugals* against the *Moluccques*.

Twenty thousand of these men of war being thus assembled, they ranne with such boldnesse and courage vppon the small number of Christians; that they had all beene immediatly slaine, if these Apostate *Moluccques* (God so appointing it) had not beene suddenly surprized with a mightie feare and terror, & that in such sort, as the Weapons fell to the ground out of their handes. For the Sunne (albeit it was then the houre of midday) was so obscured, as hardlie could they discerne one another. The earth trembled and quaked, and fierie stones fell downe from Heauen, which bruised and battered their Mosquees or Temples. The Trees were strangely rent and torne, the roots being turned vpward. This tempest beginning some-

Twenty thousand *Moluccques* in armes against the *Portugals*.

A wonderfull tempest suddenly happening.

what to slake, the *Portugals* ranne vpon the affrighted *Barbarians*, and slewe the greater number of them, not any one Christian being so much as wounded, and the Islanders flying, the *Portugalles* remained Conquerors, and finished vp the remainder of their Fort.

The *Molucques* enter into consideration of this admirable accident

The *Molucques* hauing considered with themselues, that this losse sustained in battaile, the barrennesse of the Land, the Earthquake, terrour, darkening of the Sunne, the fiery stones falling from Heauen, and the Tempest which rent their trees in such sort, could not happen but by Gods heauy displeasure, and that their Prophet *Mahomet* could not be God, but rather an abuser and imposture, and that the Christians were assisted by the true God indeede, and to him onelie (and to none else) repaire ought to bee made for safetie, as well in this World, as that to come; Considering also, that the Famine, barrennesse of the Earth, and Mortality both of Men and Beasts, which hapned in the precedent yeares, was, because they had forsaken Christian Religion, and (returning to the Mahometane) had cruelly murdered them that enstructed thē in the truth, without any iniurie offered on their behalfe: Hereupon, they concluded to make peace with the *Christians*, with promise (thence forward) to liue in loue and fidelity with them, embracing Christian Religion againe. Moreouer, such as had not formerlie beene baptized, they caused them then to bee baptized, whereof there was so great a number, that in the space of a Weeke, more then fifteene thousand were become Christians. Beside, diuers of the neighbouring Islands, hearing of this wonderfull accident, came thither in great numbers to doe the like. Since which time, the Countrey returned, to the former fertility, & the most part of the people haue continued in Christianity. And not only these of the *Molucques*, but many of the great Prouince of *China*, of the Kingdomes of *Narsingua*, *Bindana*, *Bennaga*, *Ioana*, *Cor*, *Calecuth*, *Arabia*, and others, became Christians, who before were Idolaters, and of the Mahometane Religion.

The *Molucques* forsake their former Apostasie, and returne to Christianity.

Of other Nations that became Christians vpon this accident.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of some, who haue counterfeited sickenesse, to exempt themselues from businesse and imployment: And of others, who (in mockery of Men) haue feigned to haue their imperfections; and falne (truelie) into sickenesse, and the same deformities.

Martiall, who was a notable scoffer, makes a mockerie at *Cælius* in his Epigrames, who counterfeiting to bee Gouty; annointed himself with Oyles and other things, wrapping and binding vp his ioynts, because hee would haue nothing to doe at the Court, either by night or day, or attend (as Courtiers doe) vpon any great person. But in the end, his fortune so fell out, that he happened to haue the gout indeede. *Appianus Alexandrinus* reporteth also of another *Romane*, who, to escape the proscriptions of the *Romaine Triumuiri*, and not to bee knowne for what he was, by such as might take notice of him: kept himselfe close, and wore an emplaister of veluet vpon one of his eyes, which hee continued for a long time. After all such search and pursuite was passed ouer; the man took off his plaister, and found the vtter losse of that eye indeed.

Cælius, that counterfeited to haue the Gout, became gouty indeed.

A Romaine that dissembled to haue but one eie.

The reason of his fall into this accident, is plaine and apparant, in regard that the eye, not performing his action (which is to see) looseth it selfe. As may be gathered by such, who haue long time beene imprisoned in some dark Caue or Dungeon, where no light could be discerned; and haue lost their sight, or very greatly impaired it, by discontinuation from beholding light. Serpents containe the same quality, for when they come forth from vnder the Earth, where they hid themselues all the Winter: they see not any iote at al, and therefore they are the more easilie killd. This *Cælius*, who became Gouty, it may be, that idlenesse, the cloaths wrapped about his ioyntes, with the ranck & hot Oyles applied to his limbs and

The reason of those strange accidents, in both those *Romanes*.

and Arteries, hauing made attraction of the humours; caused such goutines. For, if a bruise, receiued by a straite shooe, or a seame of some hardnesse in a stocking, hath many times occasioned the Gout, according as some learned Phisitions haue written: much stronger reason then is there for the fore-named matters.

A strange accident happening in *France*

But of another History, which I my selfe credibly knew to happen, I cannot alleadge any naturall reason. During those troubles of the vnion or league in *Fraunce*, it chanced, that (neere vnto a Castle) certaine honest men were set vpon by Theeues, and robd in such sort, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. When they perceiued the Castle, they went presently thither, and entreated the Lord thereof, that hee would lend them some assistance, for apprehension of the Theeues: in regard that he had a certaine knowledge of them, and was armed with such authority, as might (at least) helpe them to their Garments againe. But the vncharitable Gentleman would afoord them no fauour; no, not so much as to see them: but feigned that hee had the Collique, and was vnable to stirre out of his Bed, or to attend vpon any businesse whatsoeuer. It was then the coldest season of the yeare, and the Seruants (albeit vnknowne to their Maister) lodged these despised poore men, (for that night) in a Stable; whence they parted homeward on the next morning, without drawing the least courtesie that could bee, from that vngentle Gentleman. Now, I know not whether it happed by iust vengeance of of Heauen, or by some naturall occasion thereto leading: but he fell into the Collike indeed, and keeping his Chamber for it, the space of twenty daies, at last he died by violent extremity thereof.

Diuine vengeance happning on a dissembling Gentleman.

An Abbot of *Guyenne*, and Archdeacon in a Bishoppricke, was cited by the Bishop and Chapter, to appeare at a visitation, for assessing of each Benefice in the Diocesse (according to their faculties) for the releefe of poor Parishes, from whence they deriued dismes and rents. The Abbot made excuse, saying hee had a plurisie (which was meerely false) & therefore he could not be there present. But within few daies after, hee was taken with such a grieuous paine in his side; that hee kept his Bed a whole yeare together, and was glad to haue his side cotterized in two places; all which notwithstanding, he could not recouer health while he liued.

An Abbot iustly punished for his dissembling.

Snibdager, King of *Swetia*, being very couetous, counterfeited deafenesse, to the end, he might heare no requestes made to him, for bestowing of any gifts. For in that Country, he negotiated his whole raigne, by conference with the King, and not by writing or petition, as they do to this day: But in short time the King became both deafe and blinde indeed.

A strange accident happening to a king

I knew a young Scholler, descended of good Parentage in the *Franche* Countie, who was a very facetious Scoffer and mocker, and continually vsed to counterfeit the gate, gesture, and behauiour of his Sister (the Wife to his elder Brother, descended of a verie worthy and vertuous familie, and had brought great estates and meanes to his Brother) but she was lame, and as she halted, so (in scorne) he would doe the like. But (no doubt by Gods iudgement) he chanced to breake one of his Legges, which could neuer after be recouered, or brought to any forme, but that he halted downe right to his dying day.

a scorner that became lame by meere mockery.

Mothers vsed to correct (& with very good reason) their Children, when they counterfeited squinting in their eyes, gogling, blindnesse, limping, wry Mouthes, and other imperfections and deformities of body. For as a bodie so young and tender, wil easily apprehend any bad impression; so, oftentimes it fals out (by what meanes I know not) that they are suddenly surprized, euen in their wanton and mocking imitation. And assuredly, I haue seene many, who haue become sicke, in attempting (by scorne) to resemble sicknesse: especially, if such dissimulation hindered their due presence from requisite occasions; and Children, in mocking at others, by succesſe of time, haue falne into the same disease or infirmity.

An especiall duty in all good Mothers.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Vertue and excellency of Hony, and how it ought to be vſed and applied.

Of *Tadeus* the couetous Phiſition of *Florence.*

Adaus, the *Florentine* Phiſition, a Man moſt couetous, for he would not go forth of the Citty, to viſite any ſickly and diſeaſed perſon; except hee might haue fiftie Crownes allowed him for his paines; and to viſite Pope *Honorius*, he had each day allowed him an hundred Crownes. This Man peruſing the workes of *Cardanus* (who left a ſmall Treatiſe, which was (as yet) neuer imprinted to our knowledge, for hee liued in the yeare one thouſand two hundred and foureſcore) found certaine places, where hee diſcourſed of Milke, Wine, Beere, and many other thinges: but he obſerued one eſpeciall Chapter, concerning Hony and Manna, & that he alleaged *Galen* therefore, but declareth not out of which Booke he deriued his Authority. I enquired of many learned Phiſitions, whether it were true or no, that *Galen* had written on any ſuch matter? Some told me, that they had neuer reade any ſuch thing in his Workes: yet others affirmed, that hee had made ſome report thereof, in his Booke of the Preſeruation of Health. But whether it be ſo or no, ſeeing the diſcourſe is commendable, and full of learning: this Chapter ſhall containe ſome portion of his relation, to the end, that the Reader (not as yet there-with acquainted) may vnderſtand the Vertue of Hony.

Of Hony and Manna alleaged by *Galen.*

Gal in lib. de Conſer. Sanit.

He deliuereth it for certaine, that *Galen* had ſeene two men, very different in yeares, for the one was old, and well neere; decrepite; and the other, in the beſt time of his age. Theſe men were moſt contrary in opinion, concerning Hony yet brought to agreement, by ſtore of good reaſons, as you ſhall perceiue. The Auncient and decrepite Man ſaide; that Hony made him verie healthfull, becauſe it gaue warmth to his Body; ſtayed the fluxe in his belly, when it greatly pained him; cleanſed his Lights and Lungs, when they were ouer-charged with raw and indigeſted Phlegme, onely by ſpitting; made his Vrine come orderly, and (conſequentlie) diſcharged the Reines. Hee had alſo ſeene ſome, who were inpoiſoned with *Opium*, and had daungerouſly fed on venomous Muſhromes or Toadſtooles; that recouered ſound health by the vſe of Hony. He ſaid moreouer, that he had had an inueterare & ſordide Vlcer in one of his Legs, for which he could compaſſe no remedy, by application of manifold very likely helpes; and yet he was thorowly cured, and the Vlcer conſolidated by Hony onely. He ſaid alſo, that he heard of many, who were cured of Tetters, Itch, and Ringwormes; by application of Hony: beſide, diuers others, that had loud tinklings, noyſes, and winds in their eares; yea, & were almoſt ſtark deafe; yet holpen by Hony. It cauſed quick motion in the Pulſes, and (vſed as a Gargariſme) it is a ſinguler remedy againſt the ſquinzy, Kernels in the Necke, ſwolne Aldmonds in the Mouth, and ſoreneſſe in the Throat. Applied to the eyes, it took away thicke miſtes and vapours, which oftentimes obſcureth ſight.

The old Mans allegation in defence of Hony.

In breefe, the old man was aſſuredlie perſwaded, that there was not a better Aliment or Medicament in all the World, then Hony; according to the experience he had made thereof, vpon his owne perſon. Hauing ſpoken theſe things with good iudgment and diſcretion, he held his peace, and *Galen* commanded the other party, to ſpeak what he could concerning Hony, ſo highlie commended by the olde Man; admoniſhing him withall, to deliuer his minde without paſſion or choller, and likewiſe to ſet aſide al partiall affection: For *Galen* found (accidentally) theſe two Men thus diſputing. The young Man being Chollerique, prompt, ambitious, and impacient; perſwaded himſelfe of victory before hand, and to preuayle againſt the graue man. But *Galen*, who had great credite in many partes of the world (in regarde of his ſinguler knowledge, and renowne of his learned labors, being alſo Phiſition to the Emperors *M. Anthonius Aurelius Verus*, and to his ſucceſſor *Commodus*) required ſilence; and hauing heard the aged mans report, was as deſirous alſo to heare the young man, and

Galen commãded the yong man to ſpeak.

Galen a Man of great authority.

Two Men different in opinion as touching Hony.

and giuing him a signall when to begin, he arose vp (as in anger) and proceeded in this manner:

The young mans declaration against Hony.

I protest to speake nothing at this instant, concerning Hony, which I haue not experimented in mine owne person; and it may be, more truly and certainely, then he hath any way made proofe of the like. I protest withall, that it is the most pernitious aliment or medicament, that can be vnder heauen. For, I haue diuers times made vse thereof (vpon vrgent necessity) hauing beene surprized on the Sea by Pyrats, who kept mee captiue for diuers moneths; when I was constrained to feed thereon, enforced thereunto by meere hunger: but hauing eaten it, I found my stomacke wholly vndigestable, with much procuring to casting, which brought me (at length) to such gripes in the belly, that by the meanes of Windinesse, which it extreamely caused, I looked for no escape with life. Beside these things, it brought mee to a dry Cough, and engendred such a number of worms in a friend of mine: that, notwithstanding hee drank e Vineger, for want of better Wine, he must needs haue dyed, if hee had not voided them.

The vse of Hony il applied, what it worketh.

The vsing of Hony, after my deliuerance, made me fall into a Feauer Tertian; during which time, by aduise of som, I dranke nothing but *Hydromell*, or *Metheglin*, which is a Breuage made of Hony, and sodden Water, boiled till the third part thereof bee consumed, and it prolonged my disease: but so soone as I made pure Water my drinke, I mended presently.

Moreouer, the skinne being (by a mischance) a little flayed off my foot; by the aduise of some Women, I vsed an oyntment of Honie, which neuer brought any skin againe: but when I applied a litle burnt Paper thereto, it dried and healed it verie speedily. Briefly, I conclude, that Honie is neither Aliment, nor wholsom Medicament, either for the inwarde or outward affections: but contrariwise, it is verie dangerous and hurtfull to Nature. He pronounced these wordes with such vehemencie and affection, according to his vse and behauiour; as if he wold haue torne the aduersarie partie in pieces with his teeth and nailes.

Galen then spake with great Modestie, (albeit he was by nature, as Chollerick as the other) that both of them had deliuered the truth, & no man needed to make anie doubt, because hee would make it presently apparant. It is most certaine (quoth hee) that this aged man speaketh nothing but truth, declaring what goodnesse he findeth in Honie; because Honie is hotte, and all Aliments or Nutriments of hot Nature, doe agree with all persons, ages, and sexes, temperately, or of cold complexion. But this man is of a Flegmaticke complexion, old, subiect to many cold distillations, Flegmatick, and Quotidian Feauers; and therfore it is no marueil, though he giue such assurance, and finds the vse of Hony wholesome for him. But yet it is verie likely, that he doth not vse it indifferently, as it is brought from the Bee-hiue, but rather prepareth it: for he causeth it to be boyled, sodden, and taketh off the scum, in which maner it nourisheth and conuerteth into good blood. If it much holp him in restraining the Flux of his Belly, it was in this regard, that being in that maner prepared, it had no mordication in it, neither excited any gripings, as it doeth when it is crude and raw, as my Great Schoole-maister *Hippocrates* hath left written. And whereas hee saith, that it made speedy discharge of his Vrine and Reines, from Sand and Grauell, whereto in age he becam much subiect: surely, being boiled with Water, (which the Physitians call *Mulsa*) it hath out of question, such Vertue. By coughing and spitting, it cleanseth the Lightes and the Liuer; and the Pipes being charged with colde Flegmes (diseases which depend vpon age) when it is thus reduced into a Syrrope, and taken in Morninges long before feeding, it is verie soueraign, and excellent also, to make olde people liue merrily.

Hony boyled or sodden is the cause of good blood.

Hip. in lib de Diæta.

Against Sand and Grauell.

Against coughing & spitting.

It cannot bee good for such as haue drunke *Opium*, or cold poison, by misaduenture, follie, or pride of mind (as now adaies the Turkes, and a great part of the Grecians vse to do) but it is necessary that the Honie should be verie aged, as, of ten or twelue yeares at the least, boyled and clarified in Wine of ten or twelue yeares old; and being so prepared, it correcteth the great coldnesse of the saide *Opium* or poison. Against Mushromes or Toade-stooles (which are commonly venomous) vndoubtedly, it is a most certain remedy, as he hath formerly said: but it must then be

Old Honie good against *Opium* & poyson.

Against Mushromes or Toad-stooles.

The vertue of *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*.

be ordered into a *Syrope*, as in that nature it is vſed, to diſplace phlegme, and an old dry cough. *Hidromell* or *Metheglin* gargarized, doth very well cleanſe all hinderances, which proceede from any thicke phlegme, either in the throat, *Vuula* or the Almondes. Concerning the ſordide and inueterate *Vlcer*, which he ſeemeth to haue had in his leg, and cured it by the helpe of *Hony*: the caſe is very euident, for *Hony* cleanſeth, cleareth, and is vtter enemy to all ſordity or filthineſſe, and hauing thus neated the *Vlcer*; it eaſily heals & cloſeth it vp. Touching that which he alleadged, of ſome, who haue diſtilled & put Hony into their eares, being deaffened, full of windes, and aſcending vp into the braine: this muſt be vnderſtood of very old Hony, ſodden with foure times as much old Wine, for all hot medicaments (as very olde wine and Hony are) they doe diſperſe windes very eaſily, and other cold cauſes, which procure deaffeneſſe, and other accidents in thoſe parts.

For olde and foule Vlcers.

For deaffenes and windines in the head.

That it cauſeth the drying vp of Iteches, Tetters, Ring-wormes, and other ſuch like defoedations in the ſkinne; proceedeth from hence, that it is abſterſiue of his owne nature, and a great enemy to al corruption, for whatſoeuer thinges are confected in Hony, will neuer corrupt. By the ſame reaſon, it worketh the death of Itches and Tetters, which are nothing elſe, but meere vncleanneſſe and filthineſſe of the body. In regard of ſight, queſtionleſſe, being mingled with a little Fenell water, and ſo diſtilled into the eyes; it quitteth them from blearings and wateriſh humors, which congealing in thē, doth greatly trouble the ſight, eſpecially in ſuch as vſe ouermuch weeping. To conclude, Ladies and Gentlewomen doe waſh their faces and hands therewith, to keepe them ſmooth, faire and white. And *Cato* was wont to ſay; That to liue long, we muſt vſe Hony within the body, and oyle without.

Againſt, Itches, Ring-wormes and Tetters.

Againſt the weakeneſſe of ſight.

The ſaying of *Cato*.

Galen thus finiſhing his proofe (by very good reaſons) that the olde man had ſpoken truely; would not ſo giue it ouer, but though the young man (who was oppoſitiuely contrary to the other) had declared ſo much againſt Hony; yet would he maintaine the truth of his ſpeeches likewiſe. And directing his eye to him, began in this manner, diſcourſing with plenty of words, after the *Aſiatick* courſe, and not *Laconically*, as his good and ancient M. *Hypocrates* was wont to do in his time. Let no man count it ſtrange (quoth he) if thou doe miſlike the vſe of Hony, and lay ſo much blame vpon it: for it is very contrary to thy nature, being of an angry and chollericke temper, hot in action, and eaſily diſpleaſed. And though I had not heard thee ſpeak, nor beheld any action of thine: yet very ſight had beene ſufficient to me; thy haire being red, thy skin yellowiſh, thy body leane and meager; theſe are enow whereby to direct iudgement. Firſt, let me tell thee, that diſeaſes are neuer cured, but by their contraries, for whereas thou ſaidſt, that thou hadſt a Feauer tertian, and ſuppoſed it to come by the vſe of Hony, a food enforced in the time of thy captiuity: I make no doubt at all thereof, for Hony conuerteth it ſelfe quickly into red choller, in any body naturally hot, as thine is, and I wonder it did not more hurt vnto thee, becauſe it was in no manner prepared. For albeit that many viands are good, yet there be ſome that (before they are eaten) doe require preparation, to correct a certaine malignity, which they haue naturally in them. As Coriander, which is venemous of it ſelfe; Neuertheleſſe, corrected with Vineger, it is an excellent medicine for the ſtomack, trauailed with indigeſtions, and filled with windeneſſe. In like manner, crude and raw Hony, not repurged from his excrements; offendeth the ſtomack, engendering a deſire of caſting, and deſcending into the inteſtines, begetteth there ſuch windineſſe, and ſo painefull gripings, as are not poſſible to be declared, and therfore thou haſt affirmed nothing but truth. As for the drie cough which it raiſed in thee, there is no doubt thereof, for but by eating it rawe; ſome part thereof muſt needs fal into the conuoye of the lights and liuer, as it doth in all liquid things (that are thick and impure) receiued into the body. And his tartneſſe or ſaltneſſe (not being ſcummed away before) prouoketh a dry cough, yet auoyding nothing in ſpitting, becauſe no matter at al was deſcēded to the lights & liuer. Which hapned not in like ſort to this old man, for he had phlegm enough in him, to let fall downe ordinarily vpon thoſe parts. But fot that report, that Hony ſhould engender wormes; it is quite contrary to all reaſon; becauſe all things ſteeped in Hony, are exempt from vermine

Galen vndertooke to defend the yong mans ſpeeches.

The ſignes of a chollericke man.

Hony quite contrary to a Feauer tertian.

Rawe Hony and vnprepared is dangerous.

Coriander venemous.

Crude Hony procureth a dry cough.

Hony doth not engender wormes.

mine or corruption. But if it fall out, that a man vſing Hony, had wormes before, or is enclined naturally to them: then it doth maintaine and nouriſh them, euen as Suger doth; but it can bee no cauſe of their generation.

Hidromell or Metheglin, for what perſons it is good.

Concerning *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, drunke in the continuance of thy Feauer Tertian, and preſumed to prolong the ſame: there is nothing more certaine, then that this drinke (compoſed of Hony and Water) did it. But it was not cauſed by any defect in the liquor, which of it ſelfe is moſt wholeſome, for Men of melancholly habitude, and for diſeaſes of black Choller and Phlegmaticke: but for any chollericke perſon, ſuch as thy ſelfe is, moſt certaine is it, that it is a true foment, and a maintainer of fiery Agues, euen ſuch as thine then was, and he was greatly to be blamed, that thereto did aduiſe or councell thee. And whereas thou ſaieſt, that it is an enimy to ſuch places, as the skin is flaied or gone off: it is to be conſidered, that it was no Vlcer, like vnto the other; for it detergeth, cleaneth, and dryeth not. To regenerate new skinne, we muſt not apply deterſiue Medicins: but ſuch as are deſiccatiue, without any mordication. And I credit well, that burnt Paper was much more conuenient for it: but yet we muſt not ſay, that if Medicines be badly vſed, they are not therefore good, being fitly applyed.

Burnt Paper good to procure new skin.

Galens concluſion of theſe two contraries.

I conclude then (by theſe reaſons) that you both haue ſpoken very well of Hony, albeit ye are ſo different in opinion: but all your contrariety hath no other ground, but that the younger man of ye both, did not vſe Hony duely, and with conſideration and good iudgement, according as the circumſtances required. Thus *Galen* gaue ending to this Controuerſie, and it was to be feared, that if *Galen* had not thus moderated the matter; the difference had cauſed blowes between them. Such debates and contentions, are daily ſeen in Countrey Townes and Villages; when a man will raſhly commend his Scithe, Hatchet, Sickle, Dogge, Bull, or Cow, beyond his Neighbours, and thereupon are ready to goe to Law. But breaking off [illegible] diſcourſe, becauſe I would not be [illegible]enſiue to the reader: I wil adde another Chapter, to declare whence the matter of Hony is taken, and how it is made.

Contention quickely cauſeth quarrell.

CHAP. XVI.

How Hony is made; Whence Manna proceedeth; Of the Aiery Hony; And of Sugar.

HOny commeth from the Dew of Heauen, which falleth vpon the Herbes and Flowers, and is ſuckt vp by the Bees, and encloſed in their ſtomackes: afterward, it is vomited or caſt vp at their mouthes, and they preſerue much part thereof in the hollow of their Iawes, to liue theron during winter, and other hard times. Prouident Nature hath ſo well ordered al thinges, for the benefit and commodity of Man; that ſhee hath beſtowed many vertues and vigours on thoſe pretty Flies, in gathering ſufficient for themſelues, and liberall extendure for Man alſo. For it is a great merchandiſe, helpfull for diuers Maladies, and a ſinguler nouriſhment for ſome bodies, as may bee gathered by our former diſcourſe.

How the Bees do make their Hony.

Natures prouidence for Man.

Nature hath beene ſo bountifull to Man, and ſtill continueth the ſame affection; that ſhe cauſeth great quantitie of this Hony dew to fall, euen like raine vpon the earth in ſome Countries, vpon the Mountaines, and places where Frankinſence groweth. To gather it, the Inhabitants lay fleeces of Wooll vnder the Trees, and beat the Trees, to cauſe the Dew to fall vpon the fleeces, which drinke it in: afterward, they preſſe the fleeces, and receiuing this hony-dew into conuenient Veſſels; they boyle and purifie it, making vſe thereof in their foode, as alſo in their Medicines, as they thinke beſt, and it is much better then that which is wrought by the Bees.

Hony-dew falleth like raine in ſome places.

Galen ſaith, that there fell ſuch great quantity of this Dew (in his time) in his Countrey of *Pergamus*; that the Countrey people (greatly delighted therein) gaue thankes therefore to *Iupiter*. *Ælianus* writeth alſo, that there fell ſuch

Galen his report of Hony dew.

ſuch plenty thereof in *India*, in a Region which is called *Praſia*, and ſo moiſtened the Graſſe, that the Sheepe, Kine, and Goates feeding thereon, yeelded Milke ſweete like Hony, which was very pleaſing to drinke. And when they vſed that Milke in any diſeaſe, they needed not to put any Hony therein, to the end it ſhould not corrupt in the ſtomacke: as it is appointed in Hecticke Feauers, Conſumptions, Tiſickes, and for others that are vlcered in the inteſtines, as is confirmed by the Hiſtories of *Portugall*.

Hony hindereth Milke from corrupting.

Euripides and *Aelianus* of the vertues of Hony.

Euripides ſaith, that meere Hony fell vpon the Trees in *Media*; and *Ælianus* ſaith, that in *Trapezonde*, the people gathered Hony on the Boxe-tree leaues; and albeit it was bitter, and of ſtrong ſauour, yet it cured ſuch as were mad, and them that were tormented with the falling ſickneſſe. Doubtleſſe, it is very likely, that Hony ſhould relliſh of the Plant or Hearbes quality, from whence it is gathered: for if the Tree be venomous, ſuch will the Hony bee, and if the Hearb or Graſſe be healthful, ſo is it likewiſe. Which was very well obſerued by *Dioſcorides*, who ſaith; *In Heraclea of Pontus, there was ſome Honie ſo venomous, that it would reduce all the body into a ſweat, and take away their ſenſes, that did eate thereof: but the Hearbe Rhue being preſently taken, was an immediate remedie*. In *Sardignia* it is gathered of very bitter taſt, becauſe it may bee, that much Worme-wood or Sothernwood groweth in that Countrey: and yet notwithſtanding, it is not venomous, but irkſome to taſt.

Hony both medicinable & venomous.

Dioſcorides concerning hony

Hony gathered in *Sardignia*.

And to the end, that nothing may be omitted, of what may be ſaid concerning Hony; I finde, that there is another kinde of Dew, beſide the former, which congealeth of it ſelfe, & is found and taken vpon the leaues and branches of Trees, vpon Hearbs and ſtones, and ſometimes on the very ground, forming it ſelf into litle Grains, like Gum, which falleth from heauen before break of day; being very ſweete in taſt. And this dew or moiſture, is called grained Manna, the beſt whereof commeth from *Calabria*, where they take it on their common Aſh-trees, vppon the wide commons, and (many times) vpon ſome other Trees, by ſome ſecret of Nature. It maketh the belly looſe, without any violence, as by daily experience it is to be ſeene, for if a man take the waight of two ounces and an halfe thereof; it releaſeth the belly gently, and purgeth choller particularly: nor is there any feare, in giuing it to Women great with childe, and young ſucking Children, if they neede any purging. Now adaies, becauſe in ſtead of Hony, moſt part of men doe make vſe of Suger, as being more amiable vnto Nature; it ſhall not vary much from our purpoſe, if wee enter into ſome breefe diſcourſe thereof.

Another kind of dew beſide the former.

Grained Manna, the beſt is of *Calabria*.

The vertue of this Manna in vſe.

Suger is but the Pith or Marrow of certaine cultiued Reedes or Canes, naturally produced, and boiled in Water, vntill it grow to ſome hardneſſe. The Suger, whereof our auncients (as *Pliny*, *Galen*, *Dioſcorides*, *Paulus Æginetus*, and others) make mention, was none other, but that which came forth of the Cane, by a riſt made thereinto, as being ouer full of ſugred pith, which congealed to the Cane like a Gumme; and long-time (both before and after) no other kinde of Suger was knowne, but onely that, which quenched thirſt in the hotteſt fiery Agues. Quite contrary to the Suger of theſe daies, which prouoketh thirſt, and turneth it ſelfe into bitter choller, euen as Hony doth. This Hony was then rare, and all Sauces, Conſerues, Confections, Opiates, Electuaries, and other medicinable compoſitions, were made with Hony; only through defect of knowing Suger in thoſe times.

The definition of Suger.

Pliny, *Galen*, *Dioſcorides*, *Paulus Æginetus*.

The naturall Suger vſed by our elders.

But ſince Madame Auarice diſcouered the Art, of preſſing and boyling thoſe Suger Canes, deriuing thence great aboundance of Suger: it hath happened, that the *Indians* haue (and yet yearly do) cut the Suger Canes, making alſo a yearely planting of thē. And therefore there needeth no maruaile, if thoſe great Suger Canes be not to bee found, wherein nature ſhewed her effects, and ſo (by conſequent) the naturall Suger vſed by our fore-fathers, is vtterlie loſt. In ſtead whereof, our moderne rimes haue vſed Suger-candy, which is artificiall and cleare, drawne forth of minerall Salt; being ſucked vp on the tongue, whereby it wholely reſembleth the Suger of our Auncients.

Couetouſnes the firſt inuenter of Suger.

The artificial Surger-candy of theſe daies

The

Difference between Hony & Sugar in vertue.

The comparison which our Physitions make betweene Hony and Sugar, is, that they are both Abstersiue, Deiccatiue, and Resolueable; but yet Sugar much lesse then Honie. Sugar is not so contrarie to the stomacke, as Honie, neither so hot, that it may be numbered amongest those Medicines, which may be administred in Feauers: and this is the opinion both of *Galen* and *Auicen*.

How long time it is since sugar was first knowne.

The inuention of boyling, and making it into a Licquid kinde of Loaues, for common Traffique and distribution (in such great quantity) through all parts of the world, began within these last 500. yeares. In which time (yet farre off from the Originall) the *Affricans*, and people of *Asia*, being Neighbors to the *Indiaes*, got the sight of making Sugar in *India*, & preparing their grounds aptly for Sugar Canes; by transporting some of those sugar Canes into their Countries, and husbanding their tillage for them. Afterward, they communicated the manner therof to other people, as (at this instant) there is verie good Sugar made in *Egipt*, *Madera*, the *Canarie* Ilands, throughout all *Barbary*, *Sicily*, the Isles * *Baleares*, in some partes of *Spaine*, and other places. The Reader may perceiue by this Discourse, in what case Honie is good, and in what euil: how it ought to be applied, and in what things it is best vsed; What difference there is betweene Honie and Sugar, and the generation both of the one and other. By obseruing also the disputation, which hapned between those men of different yeares, some profit may bee gathered; in what kinde it is wholesome, Nutritiue, and Physicall; and in what Nature also, dangerous and hurtfull.

* *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

CHAP. XVII.

How the Gothes vsed to elect their Kings, Great, Fat, and Corpulent of Bodie. Contrariwise, how the Sarrazins wold haue their Kings to be Meager, Leane, and of small stature.

IT were needlesse to declare, what maner of people the Sarrazins vvere, hauing formerly spoken sufficient thereof, in a Chapter onely thereto appertaining. And for the *Gothes* likewise, somewhat hath alreadie bin saide, and the rest remaineth to more conuenient place. My instant purpose is, to relate of what stature and habitude of bodie, both those Nations vsed to create their Kings, therby to appeare more apt and proper for command ouer them. The *Gothes* would not elect anie man to be their King, except he were tall, great, grosse, and verie corpulent. On the contrary, the Sarazins would haue no King to commaund ouer them, except he were little, lean, and low of stature. Whosoeuer considereth well on these matters, will find neither side to be voide of reason, albeit their opinions were so opposite; and therefore wee will begin with them of great, grose, and corpulent condition.

Kinges far, great, and tal, and others leane, lowe, & little.

Hippocrates, the Prince of Physitions, saith; *Great stature is verie seemly & commendable in a young man, and it begetteth him much grace; but it is an vnprofitable charge to age, and much worse then smalnesse.* Doubtlesse, a Prince of high great apparaunce, and goodly shape, is much more respected by the greater part of his people; then one that is lowe, leane, and little. To approue this, certain *Normans*, hauing made a Voyage into the Countries of *Brasile* (where the people were tearmed *Saluages*, and went whollie Naked, feeding on humaine flesh) brought backe in their Ships diuers Captaines of the *Caribes*. and made a present of them to King *Charles* the ninth, who was then young in yeares, onely about the age of fifteene. The Saluages perceiuing his great attendance, and that euery one was verie respective of him, demanded what he was? One told them, that he was the King, who absolutely commaunded all *France*, a Countrie of large extendure, and well peopled. The *Caribes* answered, saying; *Surely, there was but ill proceeding in the election of so young a King, rather this man, or that man had bin much better*, pointing their fingers to two *Switzers* of great corpulence, and were of the Guard belonging to the said King.

Aphor. 54. lib. 2.

The Normās voyage to *Brasile*.

The iudgement of *Saluages* in choise of a King.

It is contemptible and vnseemelie, to behold a chiefe person, as the king, Captaine, or other men of command, to bee of small stature, and their seruants great. The first King of *Israel*, which GOD chose and gaue to his people, was *Saule*,

Men of small stature, much despised.

a man of high and great ſtature. After ſuch ſightly perſonage, commended by *Hippocrates* in a yong man; he addeth, a great diſcommoditie, ſaying; *Great Corpulence is inſupportable and hurtful to age, becauſe a great man being old, becommeth bending or bowing, and hath labor enough to beare the bigneſſe of his bodie, by the puffing vp or ſwelling in his legges. Moreouer, for the moſt part they are Cowardes, without magnanimitie or bodily ſtrength: For neither their ſpirits, natural heat, or animal forces, are ſo well aſſembled and vnited, as in them of leſſer corpulence.*

Hippoc. Aphoriſ. 54. Lib. 2.

Great ſtature is very hurtful to age.

If occaſion ſo required, that ſuch men ſhould be expoſed to danger, either by Sea or Land, or ſome misfortune or aduerſity ſhold befall them, they wil quickly ſhake and tremble with feare: vvhich hapneth thus to them, becauſe their Naturall heat languiſheth, their ſpirites are thin and little. and their blood leſſe boyling. Beſides, Naturall Vertue ſpendes it ſelfe, when it ſpreads into a long & large extendure; which vniting and encloſing it ſelfe in a little bodie, is much more vigorous and powerfull, then that which is heer and there diſperſed. And that which yet is worſe, what grace could the *Gothes* finde, in a bodie ſo great and groſſe? For ouer and beſide, that they muſt needs be vnable for all royal actions, either in bodie or vnderſtanding; ſo likewiſe, life could not prolong it ſelfe ſo wel in them, as it commonlie dooth in leaner bodies. The reaſon is, becauſe groſſe corpulency hath not ſo manie vitall ſpirites, neither ſuch plentie of bloode in the Veines and Arteries, as Leanneſſe generally hath. For, Fatneſſe doth cauſe great oppreſsion, whereby (ſuch men) doe verie ſoone ſuffocate vnder anie laborious trauell, or ſharpe diſeaſe. It procureth alſo, that in the leaſt ſickneſſe or indiſpoſition happening to them; they thereby become daily tired, panting, ſighing, grieuing, hartleſſe, deiected, and in ſuch ſort emptied of all courage, that life it ſelfe (thogh tenderly affected) is tedious and irkeſome to them.

The diſcommodtie of great or groſe corpulence.

A good reaſon againſt corpulency of body.

Men of leſſer ſtature, haue (naturally) a meruailous vigor, and the faculties of Nature ſtrongly combined. We may diſcerne in them verie excellent graces, both Corporall and Spirituall, with ſingular promptitude and ſubtiltie of mind, and that in ſuch ſort, as not only they excell, or equall (at leaſt) the others in any diſpoſition: but likewiſe, in ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe, as alſo in goodnes of ſtomack for eating or drinking. I haue oftentimes noted in our Armies, ſome French men of ſlender ſtature, who haue bin drinking a Vie (as we terme it) with *Switzers* and *Germaines*, great of bodie, and verie fat: but the *Switzers* and *Germains* were ſooner drunke, became ſleepie, reeling, and fell to the ground, vnable to vſe any function of ſoule or bodie; then the other light timberd men, that went away clenly. The cauſe of all theſe thinges remaineth, not only in great capacitie & largeneſſe of the Veines and other Veſſelles: but likewiſe in heate both Naturall and vehement, which boileth, concocteth, and conſumeth all. Likewiſe, in a ſtrong and firme braine, which doth not eaſilie apprehend or receiue fumes: but, in ſuch maner, as a Tile made red hot with fire, or as a hot Iron, that ſlips water off, being caſt vpon them; alſo, like to a verie drie ground, which ſuddenly diſpatcheth and conſumeth Water caſt on it, for there it looſeth it ſelfe, and paſſeth away, as in a ſubtle vapour.

Small ſtature preferred before fat Corpulence.

Concerning men of indifferent ſtature

Moreouer, that commonly there is more magnanimitie and valour in a litle bodie, then in the corpulent, may be approued by the Annals and Hiſtories of *Fraunce*, in the life of King *Pepin*, called the Lowe or Little man, Maior of the Pallace, who liued about the yeare, 750. He was of no corpulence, yet contained in him a great ſpirite, generous and robuſt of his members: which was the cauſe, that all the people of *France*, reiected *Childerick* (who was their legitimate and Naturall King, a man of great ſtature) and hauing ſhorne him as a Monk, did locke him vp in a Monaſtery, there to end his daies, becauſe he was tearmed *Do Nothing*, a Coward, dull, and ordinarily addicted to drunkenneſſe.

Pepin the litle man preferd before *Childerick* the great.

We read in the *Romain* Hiſtories, that a man of *Gaule*, of immeaſurable greatneſſe, and higher (by the head) then anie in the Army, called or Challenged anie *Romaine* to fight with him in ſingle combate. Among all the reſt, *Marcus Coruinus* (being a man of lowe ſtature) could not endure this inſolence and arrogancy in the *Gaule*, but vndertook the fight with him, and ſlew him, in faire warre, as we vſe to tearme it.

Of a great *Gaule*, and a little *Romaine*.

We

The aduised care of the *Carthagenians.*

The *Carthagenians* were of no such humour as the *Gothes* and *Sarazins*, for their eyes were not fixed on Fatnesse or Leanesse, great or small stature; but on a man that was magnanimious and Vertuous, not any way respecting either bodily beauty, or feature. In briefe, I find that the *Gothes* were not so able in the election of their Kinges, as the Sarrazins. In like manner, they were people void of Letters or Learning, and those battailes which they won, consisted more in multitudes of men, then any industry or magnanimity.

The Sarrazins were great louers of learning

On the contrarie, the *Sarazins*. *Affricanes*, and *Arabians*, had amongst them many men of great Learning, and well read in all the Sciences. Amongst all other excellent qualities, they were very skilfull in the choise of their Kinges; as being able (by Phisiognomie) to gather mature iudgement of their Magnanimitie, Vertue, and Vices; well knowing, that in great and grosse Bodies, neyther Science, Good Spirite, or Generositie, hath (commonly) any abiding. And to this Day, they are knowne to be good Physiognomistes, and, but for them, all the Learning which the *Graecians* left vs, had vtterlie beene lost, thorough those bloody warres of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Ostrogothes*, *Vusigothes*, and other barbarous people.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the abuse committed, in carrying sweet Drugges, Powders, and Perfumes, about Men or Weomen: What harme thereby ensueth, and at what time they came to be first vsed, and of their properties.

Very bad accidents insuing by the cariage of sweet sauors

METhinks, that the *Romans* dealt both wisely and worthily, in ordaining (at the request of their Censors, *P. Licinius Crassus*, & *C. Iulius Caesar*) that no man shoulde sell any sweet Odours, or Arromaticall Vnguents, which commonly were brought forth of strange Countries. For this law, they had (vndoubtedly) very great reason, because such sweet perfumes and sauours, do make men effeminate, weak in the brain, and all the other animal parts: engendering nothing else, but vertigiousitie or giddinesse, and great torments in the head, with trembling of the Nerues, procuring (by these meanes) a pale and bloodlesse colour in the Face, and the verie selfe-same accident, which Quicksilner causeth amongest VVorkers in Golde.

Galen in Aphor. 28. Lib. 5.

Hippocrates and *Galen* doe both confirme as much, saying beside, *That they do beget great paines in the head, and all such as make vse of them in wearing them about their bodies; it is only but to attract voluptuous Loue, whether it be in Men or Women.* It was neuer seen, that any braue Princes, Captaines, or men of great erudition, and that made account of vertue, did vse any of those Perfumes, or Muske sauours. Not any (as I haue already said) but the voluptuous, or such as haue som defect in their bodie, do carry such smels about them; as a strong vnsauoury breath, which commeth from the brain, or some Vlcer in the Lights and Lunges, beeing commonly called, a corrupt & stinking breath. Or for rotten teeth, ful of putrified food sticking in them. Or for such as haue a Goat-like sauour, by reason of an ill-seinting sweat vnder their arme pits, & other parts of the bodie. For such people, I say, it is permitted (as a shaddow to their defects) to carrie Perfumes, or sweete Powders about them, or else to haue their Garments perfumed. *Martial* speaketh the verie same in his Epigrams to *Posthumus*. The Easterne people did much more vse these sweete Vnguentes, then they of the VVest; and were extraordinarily addicted to Luxuries and Voluptuousnesse, beyond all other parts of the world.

Sweete Perfumes serue to couer the bodies imperfections.

Who are alowed to weare perfumes.

The verie greatest antiquitie that I can finde, for the vse of these sweete Vnguents, is in *Genesis*, where it is said, *That Iacob sent such guiftes into Egipt*, because there was a great dearth of Corne, and to be fauoured of *Ioseph*, who distributed the Kings corn out of his Garners, which he hadde reserued to preserue his people, or to make profit thereof, or rather, by diuine inspiration. *Salomon* in his Canticles, speaketh of most sweete Oyntmentes, especiallie in the first Chapter. The like dooth his Father DAVID; and that hee did Annoint his owne Face.

The antiquitie of sweet odors Genes. 43, 12.

Cant. 2, 1, 11, 12, 13.

Plutark. in vit. Alex.

After that *Alexander* had conquered *Darius*, there was found (amongeſt the other ſpoiles) a little Coffer full of moſt ſweet and ſingular Vnguents. We read in *Herodotus*, that *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia*, and Sonne to *Cyrus*, ſent his Ambaſſadors with very rich preſents, and veſſels full of precious Oyntments, to *Macrobius*, King of the *Ethyopians*. But the King hauing vnderſtoode by the *Ichthyophages*, (who brought him this Preſent) in what manner thoſe compoſitions were made: would by no meanes accept them, becauſe, they were too effeminate for him.

Herodot. in Euterp.

In troth, this barbarous Moore gaue a good Leſſon to vs that are Chriſtians, and thinke our ſelues to excell all other in the worlde for Vertue: that wee are much more barbarous then hee, and all his Countrey of *Ethyopia*. For, in theſe our dayes, wee cannot bee content with perfuming our Garments, and the haire on our heads; but many are growne to ſuch horride immodeſty, as to annoint thoſe ſecretes both in men and VVeomen (only to prouoke Luſt, and for the more laſciuiouſneſſe) which were not ordained for any ſuch brutiſh wickedneſſe. Many alſo, haue their Beades made of ſweet Perfumes, not to vſe in their priuat Oriſons, but only for Vaine-glorie, and where any interchange of affection is, to procure the better meanes for voluptuous pleaſures, and ſeeme more acceptable to his wanton Miſtris, or ſhee to her as idle ſeruant. Incenſe beſtowd in churches, or on hallowed Altars, are matters of no great value or moment. And yet the Altar of God in *Ieruſalem*, vvas not perfumed but with *Sitim* woode, according to his owne appointment.

On what beaſtly pleaſures ſweete perfumes are now a-dayes imployed.

Let me not heerein be miſtaken, as if I would inferre, that Beniamine, Storax, Amber, Muske, Ciuette, and ſuch like, which are the principall foundation of Vnguents, Pouders and ſweets, are wholy to bee reiected; for they are of great Vertues, and haue peculiar properties againſt diuers diſeaſes, and then they may lawfully be vſed, but not abuſed. Not as did *Muleaſſes* King of *Thunis*, who in the yeare, 1554. hauing left his Kingdome, to require aid of *Charles* the fift, Emperour, fearing the Turkiſh forces, which the Admiral to *Barbaroſſa* prepared againſt him; whereſoeuer hee went, hee abuſed theſe

The Authors allegation for himſelfe.

bleſsings very highly. For he had ordinarily (well-neere) ſerued in to his Table, a Peacocke, and two Phesants, farced full of moſt precious and odoriferous Vnguents, amounting to aboue 200. Crownes: beſide his other delicious Sawces, Pottages, & meats dreſſed in like maner, and this was plainly ſeene at *Naples*. He was ſo extreamly beſotted in theſe ſweete ſauours, and yet without cauſe or neede, that when he was caſt out of his kingdom for his cruelties, wherein he was re-ſeated by the ſaid Emperor, and at the ſacke of *Thunis* by the Spaniards, when he returned to his Caſtle, and found his Cabinet emptied of thoſe precious perfumes, which the inſolent Souldiers (not knowing their value) careleſly threw away; he ſaid. *That he grieued more for his Delicate Drugges, then if he had loſt his whol kingdome*, which he had but newly reconquered, by the helpe of the Emperor.

Muleaſſes king of *Thunis*, greatly abuſed ſweete ſauours.

An yd'le conceit in a King.

Going afterward againe, to entreate freſh ſuccour (being ſtill feareful of *Barbaroſſa*) while hee went about this buſineſſe, he placed his Sonne (as his Lieutenant) in his Kingdome, who ſeazed it only to himſelfe. Which when *Muleaſſes* heard of, he returned (with a few people) backe to *Thunis*, thinking they wold open the Gates vnto him; but hee found the contrary, for his Son hauing ſlain about fifteene hundred of his Followers, and finding the King to be none in number amongſt them: at length his Father was knowne, only by the ſweete ſmell of his Odours and Vnguents; and his Son *Amades* beeing poſſeſſed of him, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out. Beholde, what benefite this wretched King gotte by his ſweete ſauours and perfumes, being vſed vpon no cauſe or neceſsity. I haue known too many, that bearing ouer-much affection to this vanitie, and enriched vvith more wealth then wiſedom, haue vtterly loſt their health, and falne into exceeding pouerty.

The ſon ſupplanteth the Father in his abſence.

The miſerable end of *Muleaſſes*.

Thus yee ſee, what I haue collected for yee, out of many good and auncient Authors, concerning the vſage of drugs or ſweet Perfumes; what euil vſe is made of them, and how being vnfitly applied, they are the chiefe cauſes of manie maladies, and ſeruing (for the moſt part) for nothing but voluptuouſneſſe. I hold Opinion, that no man dooth more abuſe them, then a man that ſhoulde moſt reſpect

The Author his concluſion

ſpect his honor, and hold it in higheſt recommendation; to be ſo much forgetful of himſelfe, as to feed his effeminate and voluptuous apetites, with theſe vnfitting & wanton procurements. Now, becauſe there are great controuerſies, and manie are ignorant, from whence wee haue our Amber-Greece, Muske, Ciuit, Beniamine, and Storax, wherewith are compoſed the ſaid Vnguents, Powders, Sweete Pomanders, and Perfumes, it ſhall not alter our determination, in our next ſucceeding Chapter (to recreate the Readers ſpirits) to ſpeake ſomething more of them, and of their faculties.

The compoſition of all perfumes & ſweet ſauours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *Of Amber-Greece; From whence it is brought: The worth and properties thereof. And certaine Fables (concerning the ſame) refuted.*

MY purpoſe is not, to ſpeake of that Amber, which is bred among Rockes of coloured ſtone, and (by his Native Vertue) attracteth Straw thereto, as the Adamant doth Iron: But of that ſweet Aromaticall iuice of Amber-Greece; wherof, becauſe many men haue diuerſe opinions, concerning the production of a thing ſo rare & precious, I thought good to make ſome briefe diſcourſe. I woulde gladly alſo refute diuers Fables, deliuered in publicke conference thereof, without alledging any Authours in my concluſions, that write or ſpeake by heare-ſay; but onely ſuch perſons as haue ſeen the places from whence it is had.

There are two ſeuerall kinds of Amber.

Concerning the name of *Ambar* or *Amber*, it is ſo called in all Countries of the name. Our ancients haue ſuppoſed, that it is the ſeede of the Whale, which is left by her vpon the Waters, and ſo is gathered, becauſe in the Bellies of ſome Whales, there hath beene found thereof. *Nicholas Monardus*, a Spaniſh Phyſition, ſaith; That in the year, 1560. (himſelfe being preſent) a Whale was taken neere to the Canarie Ilands, which are teamed the fortunate, and in the Bellie thereof, was found aboue foure pounds waight of Amber. Afterward, he was alſo preſent at the taking of manie other, with their young Ones, but not a iotte was to bee found in any one of them. Others are of the minde, that amber is nothing elſe but the excrement of the Whale, which he auoydeth by his egeſtions in April and May: becauſe hee then feedeth on certaine fruites growing on the Sea-bankes, which are verie odoriferous. Some do affirme, that it is not any excrement of the Whale, but of another huge Fiſh, as great, or much more in greatneſſe exceeding the Whale: and it hath a head more hard then Marble, & neuer ſwimmeth but in the Northerne Seas. But all theſe coniectures come nothing neere to truth, becauſe all thinges of good and great ſauour, do com from Countries and Regions which are hot; as experience deliuereth by our Spiceries, of which, no one kinde was euer knowne to be produced, from Northerly or cold Countries.

Of the name *Ambar* or *Amber*.

Variety of Opinions, how Amber is found, & how men come by it.

I finde ſome other Authors, who ſay, that Amber is ſought for and found, being deuoured by a Great Fiſhe, named the *Azell*, which dying, and floating vpon the Waues, hee is quickely knowne by Marriners, that ſeaze on him with their Hookes, and ſo dragge him on the ſhore. There opening his Bellie, they finde ſtore of Amber; but that is onelie good and pure, which they finde againſt his chine-bone. But there is no aparance of truth heerein; for Amber is not anie kinde of poiſon, but a dear Friend to the heart and life. On the otherſide, Fiſhes doe neuer ſeeke anie thing to hurt them, except by Trecherie vſed to them, and that men do mingle Venom among other foode, which is apte and proper for them, as they do to Lyons, Wolues, Foxes, Leopards, Rattes, and diuers other harmefull Beaſtes, that liue on the land. Many alſo haue bin perſwaded, that Amber is a kind of froth or ſcum of the Sea; but this Coniecture, is euen as Fabulous as the other. For, Amber is not found in thoſe Seas, where Whales doo frequent, and much leſſe in any place where the Sea is continuallie full of Billowes, or ſtore of froth appeareth.

A ſtrange Fiſh in whom Amber is ſaide to be found.

Amber is a louer and friend to the heart.

Amber ſuppoſed to bee a ſcum or froth of the Sea.

Theuet ſaith, that hee Learned of diuers *Arabes*, Iewes, and Eaſterne *Greeks*, diſperſed heere and there thorough the *Turks* iuriſdiction, that there are certain

A verie erroneous opinion of *Andrew Theuet*, concerning Amber.

Birds in the Isles of the *Veiques* (which are scituated in the way leading to *Mozambique*, towards the North) as great as our Geese, and called by them *Aschibobne*. These Birds, doe ordinarily withdraw themselues, farre off from any Inhabitations of men, and pearch in the Night time, either in these vn-inhabited Islands, or on the toppes and pointes of Rockes and Clifts, for auoyding disturbance in their rest: and there they mute in great aboundance, because they company in huge flightes together, euen as our Cranes or other Wilde Fowles do with vs. It is saide, that this Dung or muting of these Birdes, is true Amber, which beeing concocted in the heate of the Sunne, purified by the Moones power in the Night, and refined by the ayres subtilty, which keepeth continually vpon those promontories: it so remaineth, till the Sea doth swell and rise (either by those violent Windes, or some out-ragious Tempest) and carrie it thence away. Floating thus, by Morselles or Fraggements vpon the Waues, it is one while cast into Creekes, Hauens, or Neighboring Strands: and another while, deuoured or swallowed vp by Fishes. But, it beeing a matter vndigestiue, they are enforced to cast it vppe againe. And the other, that continueth still swimming hither and thither, yeeldeth a reason (by these seuerall meanes) of three kindes of Amber. The one, is of a Whitish Colour, which is the true Naturall qualitie of fine *Amber-Greece*. The second, is more Clowdie and obscure, and yet good account is likewise made thereof. But, as for the thirde sort, which hath beene swallowed by Fishes, and sent vp againe, thorough the lacke of Digestion, being Blacke, waightie, and of much lesse sauour, they reckon it to be of slender perfection, and therefore, make no esteeme at all thereof. But all these thinges, come nothing neere vnto the trueth, and I am verie sorrie, that *Theuet* (hauing trauailed so much) shoulde set downe this in Writing, euen in the verie same manner, as I haue deliuered it, beeing a matter no way likely or probable.

Three seueral kinds of *Amber*.

Æcius and *Simeon Sethius*, only Writers concerning Amber.

Æcius, and *Simeon Sethius*, Greeke Authors, who onely and chiefelie haue spoken of this Amber, do say; That it is a kinde of *Bitumen*, comming foorth of the Fountains or Springs in the bottom of the Sea, and that by floating vpon the water: it becommeth hardened, as manie things else doe, which houer vppon the Seas, being first bred in them; all which while, they are soft and tender; but comming forth, they wax presently hardned, as Corrall doth. This Amber thus floating, when the Seas are angry and tempestuous, as many times they bee: there is store thereof found among the Rocks and stones, as also about the trees growing on the Sea-shores, when the East-wind, or else the North-east (but more enclining to the East) bloweth.

Places where the Amber is found.

A great quantitie thereof is found in *Sofala*, and in the Isles of *Comaro*, *Demogra*, *Mozambique*, and along this Tract, euen to the Isles of *Maldina*, or *Naledina*, which looke into the East. But when *Zephirus*, or the Westerne Windes do moue the Seas to choller, then is a great quantitie found in the later named Islandes. There haue beene some fragments found floating on the Sea, as great and tall as any man; and others of the bredth of foure spannes, and twentie in length. Some do affirme, that they haue a whole Isle (as it were) all built of pure Amber; and within some fewe daies after, when search was made for it, it was dispersed, and could not be found.

Ilands where the best Amber is found.

Garcias d'Orta, a *Portugall* Physition, from whom I tooke this latter opinion: and with whom, the best iudgements of these times doe giue consent, for, being alwaies found veritable, and hauing been present in the Countries where this drug is had, where hee kept possession of an Island belonging vnto the King of *Portugal*, wherein great quantity of Amber was daily founde: hee was of the same minde with *Æcius* and *Sethius*, & heard them when they deliuered their Iudgement therein. Hee saith also, that in the yeare, one thousand fiue hundered fiftie fiue, neere to the Promontory of *Comaro*, a great lumpe or proportion thereof was founde, which waighed more then three thousand pounds waight, and hee that found it (supposing it to be a kind of Pitch or *Bitumen*) sold it almost for nothing. For himselfe, hee sayeth; the very greatest lumpe that euer hee saw, did not exceed aboue the waight of fifteene pounds. But the Merchants which trauaile into *Ethiopia*, giue good assurance, that

The opinion of *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physition and an Eye-witnesse.

The Merchants that commerce in *Ethiopia*.

that they do ordinarily behold pieces of much greater ſcantling: for all the paſſage from *Sophala*, euen to *Brana*, aboundeth plenrifully in Amber. In the country of *Braſile*, there hath bin ſome found, and yet is, but very rarely. In the year, one thouſande fiue hundered thirtie, a fragment was there found, contayning the waight of foure poundes, in ſayling vnto a Porte of *Portugall*, called *Setuball*.

Amber found in the beakes of Birds, and cleauing to cockles in the Sea.

Some ſay, that Amber hath bin found in the Beakes or Billes of certaine Birds, which may be ſo: and cleauing to ſome Cockles and Scallops of the Sea, which I immagine happened, by being faſtned thereto. But, Maiſter *Nicholas Raſſetus*, a verie Learned Man (my intimate Friende, liuing yet in *Paris*) and curious in ſearch of the rareſt thinges; ſhewed mee what manner of Beakes thoſe were, and we plainly perceiued, that they were the beakes of Sounds or Cuttle-Fiſhes, and not of Birds.

Amber eaten by the rich *Indians*.

Amber, is of great eſtimation among the Wealthie *Indians*, for they eate it in their Meates; and looke how much the price appeareth in bigneſſe, ſo much the greater is his price in Value, euen as of precious Stones. There is no Countrey or Region, where more ſale is made thereof, then in *China*: for, as the *Portugales* obtained fauour of the *China* Kinges, to Trafficke with that kingdom, and bringing thence ſome ſmall quantitie of Amber, they ſolde the Waight of twentie Ounces, for fifteene hundered Crownes: Which beeing vnderſtoode by other Merchants, they broght thence more ſtore afterward, becauſe (thenceforward) they would not pay ſuch a hye price in that Countrey.

Amber ſold at deare value in *China*, *Fraunce* and other places.

In *Fraunce*, it is commonly ſolde (at this day) for eight or nine Crownes the Ounce, at the leaſt: Neuertheleſſe, it is ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſſe.

Amber maintaineth helth and long life.

Let no man count it ſtraunge, that it is ſo curiouſly coueted by Rich and Noble perſons; for it hath manie eſpeciall properties, whereby to preſerue ſoundneſſe of Health, and to maintaine long life, as I will briefely declare. First of all, it ſtrengtheneth the Braine, appeaſing all paines therein, either of the Nerues or Heade, comming of Colde cauſes: by chafing the fore-head therewith, and all the Head ouer, or making a good bigge Emplaiſter, and mingling a little Oyntment of Muske with it, lay it ſo to the Head. If a good lumpe thereof, be hanged about the Necke of Man or Woman, tempered with a little *Lignum Aloes*, and a ſmall quantity of Musk, the very ſmell thereof cheareth vp a dull braine, augmenteth memory, and reuiueth both the ſpirits and heart extraordinarily. Beſides, it is a ſingular remedy againſt the plague, and all colde deſtillations, onely by perfuming a Night-Cappe therewith. There is nothing more beneficiall for auncient people, and to lengthen life in them; if they moderately vſe it in ſmelling either in perfuming their Garments, anointing their faces, or mingling it amongſt their Meates. A litle pouder of the Load-ſtone compounded with it, and applied Emplaiſter-wiſe to the Nauell, it holdeth and reſtraineth the Fruit, that it fall not before due and conuenient time. It is a ſingular Remedie, not onely againſt the procidence of the Matrixe, but likewiſe to preuent the ſuffocation; being applied with a litle Cotton, and vſed in the ſecret parts. Applying it both outwardly & inwardly, it maketh Women fruitfull, whoſe barrennes is cauſed by coldneſſe. It profiteth greatly for paines in the heart and ſtomacke, occaſioned by windineſſe. Such as are afflicted with the *Epilepſie*, that is to ſay, the falling ſickneſſe, or diſeaſe of *S. Iohn*, if they vſe it as an ordinary ſmell, or receiue it as a perfume, it quite appeaſeth it, or cauſeth a mightie aſſwaging thereof, as hath beene many times crediblie experimented. In like maner, it is verie ſinguler good againſt the Palſie, if, beſide taking it inwardly, yee vſe it as an Oyntment to the necke and Chin-bone of the backe, mingled with ſome neruall Oyle.

For memorie and a dull braine.

For the Peſtilence.

For auncient people vſed moderately.

For Women with Colde, and ſome other infirmities happning to them.

For the falling ſickneſſe.

For the Palſy

If it be taken in Wine, as ſome Phyſitions (not well informed in the Nature thereof) haue appointed; it preſentlie cauſeth drunkenneſſe, and brings a man (at length) to a trembling in al his ioints. But if any neceſsity doe require vs to vſe it, it muſt be mingled with the yolke of a new-laid Egge; and the Doſe or quantity to bee taken, is commonly ſixe Graines each day, & to drink no wine in the ſpace of two houres after. If a man that hath a hotte Chafing Braine, ſo procured by

For what people it is hurtfull, and ill to be vſed.

For a hot or dry braine.

Nature, do either vse it as a sauour, or receiue it inwardly: questionlesse, it will proue verie troublesome to his memorie and vnderstanding, and cause diuers diseases in his head, endangering his fal into frenzie or madnesse. And therefore, it is most auaileable for olde decrepit people, and such as haue a cold braine; and for such Diseases, whose Causes or Originall do proceed of frigidity.

Amber of 4. seuerall Colours, and to know the best sort.

There is Amber of foure seuerall colours: White, Gray, Red, and Blacke; which commeth according to the variety of places or Regions, where it is found out. The Gray, is preferred before al the other, and is knowne to be good, if when pricking it with pin, it deliuereth forth a moisture like Oyle. It hath bin tempered in Torches, Tapers, and Candles, for Emperors, Kinges, and Great Princes: as in the Court of *Campson*, the last Soldane of Egypt, *Muleasses* King of *Thunis*, and diuers others. It is mingled also amongst other Drugges, for making of Chaines and Bracelettes, worne vsually by Ladies, and Great Courtiers, without anie great offence or discommendation, the causes in our precedent Chapter alwaies remembred.

CHAP. XX.

Of Muske, and of Ciuit, howe they are ingendred; From whence they are broght, and how they are any way good.

NExt vnto Amber, methinks that Musk ought to haue his due ranke. The *Barbarians* call it *Patt*, and there are manie sorts or kinds thereof. The best of all, is that which commeth from a Countrey, that leaneth very much into the West, as farre as the Citty of *Chorasa* doth, and is yellowish, or of Gold colour. The best, next to it, is that which is brought from the *Indiaes*, and appeareth blacke, whereby it is not so good as the first. The worst of all, is that which they bring from the Land of *Sini*. All these kinds of Musk, are engendered in the Nauell of a certaine Beast, like vnto a wilde Goat, which hath only one horne, and is verie great of bodie. When this Beast is in paine, by a raging swelling in his Nauell, which filleth it selfe with a kind of grosse bloud, in manner of an impostume: he afterwarde voideth this bloude, halfe corrupted, and within a certaine while after, it becommeth of very sweet sauour.

Sundry varieties of Muske according to the countries.

How the Muskes are engendered.

Serapio (among the *Arabes*) hath written diligently and carefully concerning Muske, speaking in this manner: The Beasts that make Muske, and are like vnto wild Goats, are principally bred in the Countries of *Tumbasco*, & of *Sini*, which bee neere neighbouring to each other. The Muske of *Tumbasco*, is better then that of *Sini*, because the Goates which make the Muske, do feed on nothing but Spicknard, & other odorifferous plants, whereon only they liue. Which hapneth not so in the land of *Sini*, for, albeit the Musk-Goats do there liue also on sweet hearbs and plants: yet are they not to be compared in their Muske, neither to the Spickenard, nor to the other plantes of *Tumbasco*.

Serapio an *Arabian* writer.

The maner also of gathering the Musk, is some reason of the difference, for they of *Tumbasco*, do neuer take the Musk out of the thin skin or wrapper, to sophisticat it; neither will they gather it, but when the season is bright & clear. But the men of *Sini*, they vse to squeeze the skin of the swoln impostume, and mingle and sophisticate it, euen in the issuing foorth, not caring whither the time be foul or faire, and so they shut it vp in purposed boxes. That is the best Muske, which is the most odorant, and is very ripe when it cōmeth forth of the swoln bag. These goats which carry the Musk, are no way different, but onely in their teeth, for they haue teeth (there commonly cald Dogs teeth) very long, stāding out of their mouths, aboue a span-long, like to the wild Boare.

The maner of gathering the Musk in *Tumbasco*, & in *Sini*

Difference of the Muske-Goats only in their teeth.

Musk that is not mature & ripe, hath a most offensiue smell: but they which seek for the Musk, do shake the thin skins wherein it is not ripe; and hanging them in the open aire, there leaue them so, vntill they be ripe, and the foule sauour bee vtterly gone. It becommeth very odorant of it self, when it is perfectly baked in the aire: neuertheless, the best Muske is that, which naturaly receiueth his maturity, euen in the thinne wrappers of the Musk-Goat. The people of this country, do

Muske not ripe, hath a hurtful smell, and how they ripen it.

Howthey find and gather their Muske.

doe gather it among Stones & Trunkes of Trees; for the Beast, when he feeles his impostumation ready to ripen: hee takoth great delight, in rubbing his body against the Rockes and Trunkes of Trees, vntill the Bag be broken, and all the congealed matter bee voyded out. This Muske is better then all the other, as being that which is plainely ripened; both by the good temperature of Heauen, and perfect concoction of the sun. They then that seeke after it, so soone as they haue found and gathered it; they close it vp in the thin skinnes and Bladders, of such Beasts as haue bred Musk, and haue (formerly) bin slaine by them in hunting.

The best Muske, and how it is sould and vsed.

Of this Muske is it, that presents is made to Kinges and Princes, & whereof they make vse. It hath (almost) the equall properties to Amber, but herein it is much worse; for if a Man beare too great quantitie about him, or if he receiue ouer much inwardlie: it brings him to a palsie trembling, and raiseth great torments in the head, enforcing so vehement an attraction of blood to the Nose; as many haue suddenly dyed by bleeding. But in a small and moderate quantity, it is good against all paines in the head, comming of colde causes.

In what manner we finde Muske to be hurtfull.

I haue not found any Author, either *Greeke*, *Arabe*, or Moderne, but iumpeth with this Man in opinion, and in the gathering of Muske: except one *Amatus*, a *Portugall* Phisition, a Man of very great inconstancy, as diuers haue declared to mee, that had knowledge of him in Turky. Hee makes a mockerie, of that which hath beene deliuered by diuers good Authours, concerning Musk, and laboureth to assure vs, that in a certaine Countrey of *India*, there is a Beast as big as the Hares here among vs; which being taken, and beaten to death with rods; the bowels and inwardes is then taken forth, and the Flesh bruised or beaten in a Morter. Afterward, it passeth through a Searce, to the end that no bone may remaine vnbruised, and then the flesh is made into round Bals, and wrapped vp in pieces of the said Beasts skinne; stil to preserue them in a round forme, and because the Merchants, that buy them thus readily prepared; may make no doubt, but that the Muske is of the very same Muske-beast. But both *Portugals*, *Arabes*, and *Iewes*, who haue trauailed into those partes, and seene these matters thus gathered: are of *Serapios* mind, and hold the course which I haue formerly alleadged; and that our Muske commeth from a Beast like vnto the wilde Goat.

The errour of *Amatus* a Phisition of *Portugall*.

The opinion of *Amatus* strongly refused.

Marcus Paulus, a *Venetian*, in the first Booke of his Voyages, and the first Chapter, saith; That in the Prouince of *Singuil* in *India*, himselfe found the best Muske in all the world. For in that Countrey, they haue a Beast, of no strange kinde, but about the bignesse of a Cat, with haire like to a Hart, or red Deere, very great Clawes, and foure teeth only; to wit, two aboue, and two beneath. Neere, or about the nauell of this Beast, betweene the Fleth and the skin, there is a bladder full of blood, which is true Muske, yeelding the vertuall sent and sweete sauour. I would be loath to belye such an approued Authour: For it may very well be, that this Beast is of the same kind, as the Muske-Goat is, notwithstanding the smalnesse in body: because (heere among vs) we see Dogges, Horses, and other Beastes, of all shapes and formes. But yeelde agreeth with all the rest in this; that the Muske is found about the Nauell, as hath formerly bin said.

The report of *Marcus Paulus* a worthy *Venetian* trauailer.

The Authors censure with *Marcus Paulus*

Muske (by length of time) looseth his good smell, or beeing tainted with wind, or too closely kept. Therefore, to preserue him still in his goodnesse, he must be kept in Boxes of Lead, verie well stopped.

Of Muske loosing his sauour.

Platearius, a learned man, is of this opinion; That if Muske haue lost his vertue and good odour; it must be hanged in a Viall of Glasse, with the mouth open, in the midst of a Sink or house of Office, and so it wil recouer his former sauour. There is some sound composed of another fashion; but then it is sophisticated, and how that composition is made, *Gesner* enstructeth in his History of Beasts.

A receipt to re-accommodate tainted Muske.

Ouer and beside Muske, we haue yet another licquid matter, which is not onely odorant; but also pierceth all the sences and spirits at the first encounter. Perfumers make great vse thereof, in their compositions of sweete smelles, which

Of Ciuet.

How Ciuet is engendred.

which they tearme mixtures. It is engendred in the skinne of the Testicles of a Beast, much like vnto a *Feyne*, some calling them Cats. To speake more properly, Ciuet is as a sweate, passing betweene the Testicles of this Beast, being of a temperature hot and moyst. If it be put into the pits about the Nauel, or into the Wombe-pipe; it serueth maruailously against the suffocations of the Matrix. Many times, vpon vrgent extremity, the Husband vseth it to his owne secrets, and so conuayeth it vnto his Wife; whereby immediate remedy ensueth for the paine.

The vertue & power of Ciuet.

And as we haue already saide, that Muske being tainted, or ouer-aged, recouereth his strength and quickenesse by stinking ayre, as of a Sinke or Priuy, as by one contrary to correct another. Euen so, in those Countries where these Ciuet Creatures are bred, there is another Beast, equalling the Ciuet Cat in bigenesse, called *Agobdilhat* (which signifieth nothing else but foule sauor, and this beast is (indeede) the most stinking of all other) who continually is at Warre with the Ciuet Cat, his colour being very pleasing, & somewhat neere to a Sky-colour.

War'continually betweene the *Agobdilhat* and the Ciuet Cat.

A History of a Ciuet Cat in France.

I call to memory, that beeing (one day) in the House of the Constable of *Fraunce*, *Anne de Montmorancye*, a Cat (not being discharged of her Ciuet, according as her selfe sought meanes and place) emptied her burden vppon the Gowne of a young Gentlewoman, deliuering thereon such a great quantitie of Ciuet; that all the spacious roome was filled with the ouer-piercing sauor thereof. Whereupon, diuers were readie to fall into sownings, others felt grieuous paines in their heads, and (among the rest) the young Gentlewoman fell suddenly into a suffocation of the Matrixe; yea, and in such extreame manner, that she was reputed dead for the space of twelue houres, and was cured by stinking fumes and ill smels onely. The Gentlewoman gaue sufficient testimony, that she had neuer (before) beene subiect to that perplexitie: and yet notwithstanding, when Women are vexed with the anguish forenamed, if Ciuet be put into the Nauell pittes, they feele presently ease. But ye must vnderstand, that it ought to be applied in a very small quantity. For this cause is it, that Muske and Amber are wholesome for many cold diseases, being applied and taken in small quantitie. Here also the Reader may be aduertised, that there are people of such complexion, as do affect such sauours naturally: and others againe, who finde them very hurtfull, and therefore doe fly from them; of which sort there are many more, then of the other. Therefore, when any vse is to be made of them, let euerie one well vnderstand his owne naturall inclination, or take the aduise of some skilfull Phisition: for oftentimes, by vsing them indiscreetely, they haue beene the death of diuers people.

How Ciuet ought to be vsed and applied.

CHAP. XXI.

Of an Edict, made by Dionisius the elder, King of Scicily, against Women, Maids, and youngest Virgines; in hereby he purchased a double returne of Mony.

Tyrants alwaies raigned in *Scicily*.

WHosoeuer readeth the *Grecian* Histories, shall finde, that the Isle of *Scicily* hath anciently beene subiect, to be gouerned and commaunded by Tyrant Kings: among which Tyrants, it appeareth that *Dionisius* (whom they vsed to tearme the elder) surpassed all the rest in tyranny. For, after he had drawne all meanes from his people, by frequent, great and intollerable impositions: hee surcharged them againe with a new taxation, much more irkesome and burdenous, then any one, or all the other gone before. Which was an expresse payment, by poule, or head (as they call it) both for Men, Women, Maidens, children, great or little, young or old. And albeit the Collectours of these imposed Monies, made great and grieuous execution in the leuey, as well vpon Cattell, as seazing moueables and immoueables; yea, imprisoning the people (euen to the death of many) by cruell vsage, and bad handling: yet, notwithstanding all these extreamities, no Mony could be had, because the Tirant had drawn them dry, euen to the vttermost

Plutarch. in vit. de Dion.

An intollerable taxation by the poule.

How the Tyrant wasted his peoples Monies, and ouer-awed them.

moſt penny. All the Mony of this rich Iſland, hee had imployed (in daily payments) for ten thouſand foot Souldiers, to guard his perſon, and ten thouſand Horſſe-men, beſide foure hundred Gallies, well armed and furniſhed. Beſide this, he payed great penſions to other Common-weales, and to ſtrange Princes; to the end, hee might haue their ayde when neede required; repoſing little (or no truſt at all) in his own Subiects. In breefe, he exerciſed all kindes of prodigalitie towards Straungers, at the coſt and expences of his owne people, for the more ſafe aſſurance of his Eſtate and dignitie.

Signes whereby to know the pouerty of the people.

He had aduertiſement, that there was no more Money to be raiſed, neyther by Wine or Corne, or any other Commodities: for there was great dearth of Victuals two whole yeares together. He knew it euidently, becauſe the people were growne careleſſe, and did nothing but laugh at his impoſitions; as knowing, that he could not bee paide, when they had nothing wherewithall to pay, which made them then raiſe that memorable Prouerbe: *Where nothing is to bee had, the King looſeth his right.*

The *Sicilians* affected braue and proud apparrell, both in the Men and Women.

But this old Tyrant Foxe, knew wel enough the Cuſtome of the *Sicilians*, which was, to be pompous, affecting brauerie in Apparrell, and (aboue all) to be richly decked with Iewels of gold and Siluer, embelliſhed with coſtly precious ſtones: neuer regarding their owne condition, as Husbandes and Wiues, nor good of their Families; but ſuffering all their prouiſions to be ſold, to feede the Kinges impoſitions, and ſerue other Negotiations, prouided, that they might ſtill enioy their Iewels and brauery. The Men (for Antiquity of this idle Cuſtome) did willinglie tollerate it, though they were to endure all the neceſſities in the World; yea, death it ſelfe. And this was all which remained, of the mightie riches of *Sicilie*: for the Iſland had abounded in plenty of Corne, which was the maine hope of all the Inhabitants, and (next to *Ægipt*) it was one of the beſt Garners in the whole World.

The mighty riches of the Iſle of *Sicilie*.

A Tyrant taketh aduantage on all occaſions.

Heereupon, he would inſtantly help himſelfe, according as the time fitted him with occaſion, which was (in regard that his tyranny, and the two precedent years, had greatly impoueriſhed the Kingdome) notwithſtanding al former oppreſſions: he would now haue the Iewels of the Women and Damſels, then which, they had nothing elſe remaining to them. And for his more cleanely conueyance heerein, he cauſed to be publiſhed by the Prieſtes and Sacrificers (whoſe Ceremonies hee gaue no faith to, nor any way beleeued) that the Goddeſſe *Ceres* was very greatly offended with the Iſlanders, becauſe there was no worſhippe giuen her, but in an old Temple, ruined, darke, and vtterlie vnpleaſing: wherefore, ſhe would haue a new one erected to her, built with faire ſhew, and ſumptuous coſt, elſe there ſhould no more happy daies bee ſeene in that Iſland. According to theſe remonſtrances, made by the Prieſtes and Sacrificers, with interpoſition of his owne anthoritie: it was credibly giuen forth, that the Goddeſſe her ſelfe had appeared to him, & this the Prieſts ſollemnely iuſtified, being well enſtructed in the treacherie. Vpon this vrgent occaſion, and pretending careſull reſpect of the Common-weale, as alſo to appeaſe the high diſfauour of *Ceres*, (ſhe being the Goddeſſe of Corne and Fruites of the Earth:) he had determined, to erect her a new and magnificent Temple. Now, becauſe he had no Mony, nor the people neither, who are called the Kinges Purſe: he willed and commanded, that all Women, Wiues, Widdowes, Maids, & Damſels, ſhould bring foorth their Iewels of Gold, Siluer, precious ſtones, and all other matter elſe whatſoeuer, to a certaine place, and at a time by him appointed; impoſing grieuous paines and penalties, on any that durſt vſe the leaſt contradiction. The female ſexe were in wonderful perplexitie, and durſt not hide any of their Iewels or brauery: becauſe they had ſo long openly worne them, and good note was taken of them from time to time, both of the riches and value, on feaſtiuall daies, at ſollemne ſacrifices, publique plaies, banquets, and marriages.

A cunning ſubtilty of the Tyrant.

A feigned apparition of the Goddeſſe *Ceres*.

An Edict very diſpleaſing to Women.

Now, for the better obtaining his purpoſe, and inducement of the people to more willing forwardneſſe heerein: he cauſed a ſpacious compaſſe of groſid

to

The deuise of the Tyrant to deceiue his people.

to be prepared, in an eminent place of the Citty *Siracusa*, not far off from the Fountaine *Arethusa*, where hee made some proiect, of present building a goodly Temple, by a forme or Modell shaped thereof. Farre off was his mind from any such intent, but day by day to get possession of the Womens Iewels, and hanested the leuey of them with all possible speed. He gaue notice heereof also, to the round neighbouring Isles and Countries, where he had no commaund: from whence he got almost a Million of Gold, where-with they willingly furnished him, onely that the Goddesse would be gracious to them. And thus he held the people in suspence the space of the three whole yeares. In his time, the Land began (naturally) to waxe fruitfull againe, yeilding as great plentie of Corne and all things, as formerly it had doone: by which good meanes, Corne, Wine, and Cattell, thriuing stil with them, the Inhabitants became rich and sufficiently stored.

Neighboring people also cheated by the Tyrant.

The women could not forget their pomp and pride.

When the women began to tast of this well-relishing fertility; they could not forget their former vanities, but faine would fall againe to their pride & rich brauery: Only their feare was, least the Tyrant should play the like tricke againe with them. To make an estimate, of the inestimable masse of Wealth, which they were cõpelled to lay down, for building this new Temple to the Goddesse *Ceres*; is a matter exceeding my capacity, and yet no Temple at all builded. The Tyrants ayme was only at wealth, and hauing compassed what he intended; by the aduise of some well-willers to the Women (pretending comiseration on their disfurnishment of Iewels) a counterfeit request was made vnto him, that he would be pleased to permit their wearing of Iewels againe. Standing (like a crafty Reinard) vppon some strangenes for a while, the suit at length was granted; with this Prouiso. That euery one of the Female sexe (of what degree or age soeuer) should perticularly present her offering to the Goddes *Ceres*, either in Gold or Siluer, according to the number and value of those Iewels, which shee purposed to weare: whereto they consented verie gladly, so foolishly fond were they of their curious adornments, which gaue way to the Tyrant, to make a double benefit of one and the same Edict. And to this very day, the Women of that Island do continue this proud humour, in beautifying themselues with Iewels, beyond any other Country that I haue read of. The riches that he compassed by this Edict, is not to be valued, for the Isle was (in those daies) much more peopled then now it is: And then the principall and royall Citty, was called *Syracusa*, which at this present is named *Sarragossa*. This Tyrant, hauing occasion then to vse men of Armes, beside such Strangers as he kept in pay: could leuy sixescore thousand foote, and twelue thousand Horsemen, beside foure hundred Ships and Gallies; whereas at this day, the Land will hardly yeeld fifteene hundred able fighting men. When it was surprized by the *Romaines*, for hauing taken part with the *Carthagenians*; there was found in one place (called the *Magazine* or Store-house for war) furniture to arme seauenty thousand men; and such large booty was found therein, that *Carthage* (which fought for the Empire) could hardly yeeld the like.

The Citty of *Syracusa*, now is called *Sarragossa*.

The greatnes and ableness of *Syracusa* in former times.

Another subtilty of an old Tyrant.

This *Dionisius* was an affronter and Deceiner, who knew better then any Man else in the World, how to finde meanes of non paiment, when reason & equity did require it. Among diuers other, he had entertained a young man, who was reputed to be very skilfull in playing on musicall Instruments, and tearmed the very best that those times afforded, to whom he promised liberall wages. The Musition hauing serued him a long while, requested to haue his due recompence; whereto *Dionisius* replied: That he ought him nothing; *Because* (quoth he) *I haue giuen thee as much contentment, by hope and promise of great wages and enriching thee, as thou hast yeilded me, for I haue taken paine enough, to heare the idle sound of thy instrument.*

Concerning *Dionisius* himselfe.

A History of a Musition.

In breefe, he cared not how he came by any thing whatsoeuer, prouided that it would yeild him profit, making spare, neither of Statues of the Goddes, or any other sacred thing, but made a meere mockerie of all, as I shall haue occasion to speake else-where. The *Scicilians* haue neede of such a King in these daies, to punnish that shamefull murder and massacre, which they committed

The *Scicilians* are a bad kind of people.

The *Sicilian Vespres.*

mitted (on a day in the Euening time) vpon so many worthy *French-men*, called thither in their aide and succour, to deliuer them from the seruitude of an other Tyrant; and when they were at libertie, they did bloodily put them all to death.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Word or Name Grammarian, and what it is truely and properly.

THose persons which the *Latines* properly called *Grammaticos* (which in all other Languages is tearmed *Grammarians*) were not any such men, as knew not how to speake congruately, or write Orthographically, with good obseruation of accents in their speech, as being vnskilfull in the Etimology of Dictions or Vocables, according as some (to this day) haue supposed. For well I know, that it hath beene a common matter, when one would point at a man slenderly learned, or little seene in the soundnesse of learning, as vnderstanding nothing but the very principles: they would tearme him a *Grammarian*, or a Grammer Schoole-Boy, for his greater scorne and open disgrace.

The name of a *Grammarian* very badly vnderstood.

But contrariwise, the ancient *Latines*, as in the time of *Cicero*, had no other vnderstanding of the word *Grammarian*: then of a learned Man, well skild in all the Sciences, and thought fit to be the Interpreter of our graueſt Authours. The Greekes called *Grammarians*, *Critiques*, of the Greeke Verbe κρίνω which signifieth to be iudged. For when learned men (were they *Greekes* or *Latines*) had any doubt about the interpretation of some Text, sentence, or saying, in any Science whatsoeuer: it was then wholely referred to a *Grammarian*.

The ancient *Latines* in *Ciceroes* time.

Grammarians cald *Critiques.*

Suetonius was of the same opinion, in his Booke of famous *Grammarians*, who were likewise called Learned, as for example, *Messala*. *Coruinus* and *Macrobius* write, that one *Didimus*, sufficiently learned in the Sciences; was esteemed to be a great *Grammarian*. *Cicero* made high account of one named *Emiphon*, whose Schoole continuallie he frequented, after his handling causes in the Senate. *Nidigius Figulus*, and the excellent Wise-man *Varro*, are said to be the learnedst *Grammarians* of all other: as also *Marcus Valerius*, *Probus*, and *Palemon*, the most audacious of thē that euer professed Letters, with many more beside. And among the *Grecians*, who triumphed more then *Aristarchus*, *Aristotle*, *Theodotus*, and diuers others? all which were esteemed admired *Grammarians*.

Grammarians were most wise and learned men, and acounted the best Schollers of those times

CHAP. XXIII.

A Paradoxe, maintaining by witty Arguments: That speedy death is much better to be desired, then a long & tedious date of life.

SO great is the disaster & miserie of worldly occasions; that long griefe, and ouer-burdenous cōpassion of them (without any other hope of speedy amendment) hath made the better sort of people to affirme and maintaine: *That it is more expedient for a Man (who feareth GOD) to wish for death quickely; then long to endure in these labourſome trauailes.* For albeit that death (the true Minister of Iustice, end of all vexations, and most assured way of our eternall health) performes no other good or fauour to Men; but takes them from the afflictions of this World, hindering them (thereby) from offending GOD most strangely, and deliuering them from seruile subiection, being in the hands of rauenous, cruell, and bloody Tyrants: yet for this one and onely reason, hee is most highly to be extolled and praised. For, without this happy helpe, wee should be miserably condemned to vnsufferable pains, and altogether pressed downe, or smothered, by vnresistable stormes. Our hope (without this) would be quite quenched. And, without this) what is the Sinner, be he neuer so great a Prince or Lorde, not knowing, fearing, and regarding God?

The lamentable condition of worldly affaires.

A definition of Death, and what good he performeth.

An especiall reason to be considered.

By

By death we liue eternally; and by death we are freed from the prison of all sorrowes and mishaps.

A memorable custome obserued in *Thrace*.

This was the reason, why the ancient custome of *Thrace* was so deuoutlie obserued, that at the birth of euery Infant, they vsed great sorrow and lamentation. Contrariwise, when any (eyther aged in yeares, or of what time soeuer) died: They would make much ioy, triumph, and feasting, and (according to the parties Dignity) celebrated the Funerall, with sportes, plaies, and other varietie of pleasures. If such a barbarous Nation as this was (depriued of all vse of Philosophy, and good Letters) could doe so great an honour to death: Is it not a shame for vs, that call our selues Christians, and know, that our very best benefit came by his death, to whom we pretend both Faith and seruice: to be so wretchedly amorous of life, which is nothing else (according to the learned Poets opinion.)

Pindarus.

But an obscure Prison, enthralling the best ennobled Spirits.

Foolish men doe couet long life.

Blessed Saint *Paule*, *The Vessell of election*, did not he desire to dye, *That hee might liue with his Lord and Maister?* Yet we (onely to compasse leysure, for committing ten thousand horrible excesses) make life our great God; adding daily one paine vpon another, and augmenting the Register of our numberlesse offences. Are not we so obstinately affected to this short and dangerous pleasure (if that may be called pleasure, which is the plaine high-way to euerlasting death) that for it onely: wee care not to loose the life celestiall, diuine, & (then which) the like can no way be so much as dreampt on? *Ezechiel* wished for speedy death; *That hee might ioy in the beauties and excellencies of Heauen.* But we couet long life, the more to entangle our selues in the filthes of this World. *Simeon*, that good, iust, and holy old man, *Desired death with all his heart*: But we (blinded, or depriued, euen of naturall discourse) hate Death, and speake all the euill we can imagine against it.

Ezechels desire of death.

Old *Simeon* desired death.

Wherefore (thinke ye) was it, that death was (by our Elders) called *Thanatos?* But onely in this respect: That (in the end) it makes vs all ioyfull, and wel pleased with that, which we ought most of all to desire. Are we then so ignorant and senceleſſe, as not to acknowledge the aboundance of benefits; which we gaine by beeing taken out of this so hatefull a Labyrinth? Do we not plainly perceiue, that he which escapeth longest, and tarrieth the longest while in this world; beholdeth (euery day) more troubles and discontentments, then reall ioyes, or true recreations?

Why death was called *Thanatos*.

If ye alleage vnto me, the nobleness of Age and length of life, for great experience in things past, as seruing to discouer and approue them which follow after. Let me then aske ye, of how much happinesse may we boast, in prooving our vnhappinesse? Considering, that (whether we be well or ill-pleased) wee must patiently endure those thinges, which we cannot tell how to shun: hearing that which our eares hateth, and seeing things, wherewith our eyes are most strangely offended.

An Allegation for old Age or length of life.

But what is that which we call olde Age; if not a continual dolour, and languishing disease? what other sir-names can we giue to aged men; but mouing Anatomies, or liuing Mortuaries? Filling them with so many distillations, & falling humors; as leaues them not one good houre, during the remainder of al their poore life time. If then, the verie memory of death, and hourely cogitation of our departure, makes such a certaine aduantage for vs, and assures vs infallibly, that we are (thereby) permitted immunity from sin: how much more then would deaths reall presence preuaile with vs?

What old age is.

Remembrace of Death.

Who they bee that are most fearefull of death.

Who are more fearefull of death, then such, as neither know, nor vnderstand the faire straite passages thereof? which indeede are such, as all the art in Man cannot corrupt or blemish; except (like a Monster, and no sensible Creature) he would deface al Histories both sacred and prophane. What had the famous *Romaine* people bin, if the valiant *Horatius Cocles* had feared death? If *Quintus Curtius* had bin fearfull and timorous, and had not preferred glorious death, before the irkesome life of the world: had not (but for him) the goodly Citty of *Rome*, bin subiect to the most daungerous Hell, as can be deuised to name vpon earth? VVhat shall I say of them,

Horatius Cocles and *Quintus Curtius*, two famous Romanes.

Cheerefull going to death.

them, who (for the freedome of their country) went cheerfully to death, with striking vp the drum, and the very highest sounds of the Trumpet, euen as if they had been bidden to some triumph? Did ye euer know a man (that feared death) worthy of so great an honour?

The Custome of some barbarous Nations.

For this cause was it, that ancient Historians so highly praised & applauded, the Custome of some barbarous Nations, who, with like promptitude and alacrity ranne to their death: as if they were to be presented in some publique triumphe, or other great pleasures and Iouiall spectacles. Why are the *Germaines* entred into such credit with vs,

Of the *Germaines*.

if it were not onely for this; that they are knowne to be a Nation, meerelie prodigall of their liues, and couetous of most precious death?

Hee that gaue the first enstruction, for entermedling Musick with the harsh battery of warre; as Drummes, Phifes, Trumpets, Clarions, and Harps (albeit the vse of the Harpe is now altogether left) did it for no other occasion, but for a sound assurance to Souldiers: that to dye, was, as if a man were going to the Fountaine of all consolation; yea, euen to the perpetuall iouisance, of eternall and immortall Treasures with the highest. Conclude we then, that it much better auaileth to dye quickely, then long time to languish in this wretched world. Let vs also maintaine, that death is more noble and excellent, then life: Because his power extendeth ouer all, without any limit or exception; and in regard likewise, that he is the Maister Controler of this life. As, not without iust cause and good reason, a Philosopher (being demaunded what Death was) readily answered: *An accident and passage inevitable, from which, neyther by teares, entreats, sighes, or the sweetest Kisses, we can be deliuered.*

The Musicke vsed in warre. The Authours Conclusion.

A Philosophers answere concerning death.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The saying of Plato familiarly interpreted, That Kings should be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.

THere are very many, who in reading good Authors, doe take thinges litterally, without any further rumination: which makes mee the more desirous, to interpret the saying of *Plato*, so often spoken of within these last two thousand yeares, by many learned and excellent Men. His words are these; *Those Common-weales shall be most happy, where Kinges be Philosophers, or Philosophers are found in the places of gouernment.* And because that diuers Men (especially such as are not conuersant in State affaires, doe wish for a King, who might altogether bee giuen to learning, and not to the pollicies fitting his Kingdome) greatlie abuse their iudgement heerein, for this would bee the totall ruine of his Monarchy: therefore I will set down some obseruation, what Philosophy it is that *Plato* meaneth, wherein a King ought to apply his studies, and wherby, there cannot but redound extraordinary good and profit to all his people.

Vpon occasion, that kings were addicted to vnprofitable readings.

This Diuine Man *Plato*, vnderstood not by a King Philosopher, a Prince so addicted and bent to studie, that if hee should chance to be deposed from his Dignitie; he might thereof make a benefit of liuing afterward. This humous appeared in *Dyonisius*, the younger (King of *Sarragossa*, and the greater part of the Isle of *Scicily*) Sonne to the affronter, and imposer of Nouell subsidies; for he beeing offended with his Subiects, and doubting least his estate would haue no long durance: fell to learne good Letters, to the end, that if he happened to be expulsed his Royalty; he might become a Schoole-Maister, for the better support of his life, as indeede (afterward) such fortune befell him. This his study of Philosophy, (which is as much to say, as the loue of wisedome) while he raigned King, proceeded but from a bad intention in him: for he had done much better, in effecting some worthy pollicies in his kingdome, then frequent vse of vices, and exercising tyranny, thereby to haue preuented the office of a Pedant, and liuing in such an abiect manner.

The ayme and intent of *Dyonisius* the yonger, in giuing himselfe to study.

Nero was enstructed (from his youth) in the three partes of Philosophy, and

Nero learned in Philosophy and Poesie.

beeing created Emperor, was skilfull in Poesie, much addicted to Musique, and to play on the Harpe: yet would hee say, that he could liue well, if he were deposed from the Empire. We find recorded, that many Princes were giuen to learning, as *Tiberius* and *Adrian*; who found good companions of *Ouids* loue-Bookes, and *Martiall* his Epigrams. But this is no part of Philosophizing, neyther labour of minde, how a Prince should liue after his falling.

Tiberius and *Adrian*, read *Ouids* Art of Loue.

For a King to bee a Philosopher, it consisteth in establishing his Throne so assuredly; that he may neuer sit tottering in it, or be shaken out of it. In rendring himselfe necessary to the cõmonwealth, as well by his vertues, as generous disposition; he sits safe from all deiection: carrying himselfe in such sort, like one that is a Tutor ouer many inferiours, as well in charge, as in correction, and (as he) when time respiteth his Office; then to take delight and recreation. Princes that read plenty of Books, doe it (oftentimes) for pleasure, rather then to deriue any obseruations thence, for profit of their people. And when they cherish learned men about them; it is onely in hypocrisie, and to let their Subiects vnderstand, that they are gouerned by their aduise, and by Men of knowledge. So dealt the fore-named *Dyonisius* the elder, as himselfe would often reueale, to such as were his familiar and intimate friends.

How a Prince ought to be a Philosopher.

Disimulation in som Princes

The Emperor *Commodus* made but bad benefit of his Philosophy.

The Emperour *Commodus* (Sonne to *Marcus Antoninus*, and Emperour likewise) sir-named the Philosopher; was learned, and read ouer diuers Books of Philosophy: And yet notwithstanding, he could not refraine, from beeing the most detestable Emperour, which had beene before, or came after him. Contrariwise, his Successour, who had imployed all his life time, in exercising Marchandize about the sale of Wood or Billets: is numbred among the most bemoaned Emperors; and *Traiane* likewise (who scarcely could write his own name) was esteemed a very vertuous Prince and Emperor.

Princes are not to be repured Philosophers, if they can reade lasciuious Bookes of Loue, or compose in in poetry; as *Thibaulte*, Earle of *Brie* & *Champaigne*, and *Raymond*, Counte of *Tolosa*, whose Poems are yet (at this day) to be seene, and they accounted rather ignorant, then learned Philosophers. This is no such Philosophy as ought to bee exercised: but that of true and especiall import, I will come now breefely to relate. It is to be vnderstood, that Philosophy is deuided into three distinct parts, to wit: into Phisicke, Logicke, and Morall Philosophy, according as *Cicero* saith in his Oratour. The first, aymeth onelie at an intire search into the obscuritie of Natures secrets. Logicke diueth into the subtilty of disputations and discourse. Morall Philosophy, speakes of Life and ciuill manners; & this is that which Kings ought to seeke after. The best exercising whereof, is neyther read or studyed in the Bookes of the *Romaines* Lawes, called Ciuill Law: For, how euer it produceth some honourable effectes, yet (questionlesse) it is the onely Motiue, whereby we enter into a Labyrinth of suits. Because, in not beeing built vpon one only piece, but running into diuersity of scantlings; ech man makes a cloak thereof after his owne fashion. Therefore, let Princes neuer meddle with such intricate matter, but referre the study thereof, to men destined for so troublesome a profession.

Ciccro. in Orat. The three parts of Philosophy

Which part of Philosophy is best in a King.

The first lesse for a Prince.

The first Lecture that a Prince ought to take, is out of sacred & vnreprouable writ; because (thereby) he shall learne knowledge both of God, & of himselfe; and that the beginning of true Philosophy, is the fear of God. Next, he ought (aboue all things else) to bring his people in obedience of the Magistrate, and the Magistrate of the Law, without any infringing or violation. We read of the *Æthiopians*, that at the receipt of their Lawes, they protested; that they would be subiect to those laws, & passe no other letters contrary to them. The people of *France*. when they place their K. in the seat of Iustice; they deliuer him a staffe in his right hand, on the toppe whereof is the figure of a hand: Giuing therby to vnderstand, that the K. should lend a strong hand to Iustice; and then they giue him a scepter in the left hand.

People ought to be subiect to the Magistrate, and the Magistrate to the Law.

Poetry is not reckoned to be Philosophy

He must study to quench ciuill warres in his Kingdome, if there be any, and preuent such as may ensue, vppon the least presumption or apparance; euermore

A king to keep his word with his subiects.

more keeping promise with his Subiects, for otherwise it may fall out, that delay and length of time, will bring his life and the State into great daunger. The death of *Henrie* the third, King of France, happened thorow euill counsell giuen him, and also to his Predecessour; as the Histories of Fraunce and Flanders (written according to truth) doe credibly declare: without crediting, what detestable *Machiauell* hath written on that Article. By the last ciuill warres in *Allemaigne*, the *French* brought their Frontiers into the Cities of *Mentz*, *Toula*, and *Verdune*, which are three goodly Imperiall Cities, and held by them to this day. They that are called the States of the Low Countries, and of Flanders, hardned by long Warres against their naturall Prince, vpon refusall of some serious requests: are become Cantonned; so that in cõmon opinion, the whole Countries haue suffered grieuously: all which had bin well eased, if no *Machiauelist* had medled among them.

Wicked counsell of *Machiauel*.

O *Flanders* & the *Low Countries*.

As for strange warres, which a King may haue with other Princes; he must bee mindfull of Faith therein, for they are euer the least hurtfull. Prouided, that he do it in such sort, that being fortefied with alliance and Confederats, strength, and meanes; hee may haue peace when himselfe pleaseth. Euermore remẽbring, that he do not imitate *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who couetting to make himselfe great, lost both his State and life together. And *Frances* the first, King of *Fraunce*, in seeking to ioyne *Millaine* and *Italy* to his Crown, was fondly taken Prisoner.

How a Prince ought to begin warre.

He must not likewise lend eareto some kinde of Courtiers, who commonly are prating, that a generous King should neuer be without war: For in time of their continuance, hee may impose great taxes and subsidies on his people, which the saide people, taking then to be a matter extraordinary; doe finde them (soone after) to hold on as ordinary. These meanes (indeede) may encrease his reuenewes; but somtimes they reach to troublesome rebellions, wherein the Prince looseth both his land and subiects. The leagued Countries of *Germany*, had neuer come vnder their Lords obedience; but for the like causes.

Taxations for warre ought not to be continued.

In like maner, he ought to make no Forts or Cittadels, except in case of very vrgent necessitie; for it doth but declare contempt and distrust, conceiued in the Prince against his people, procuring (oftentimes) a reuolt in the subiects, with desire to seeke a new Maister. As the like was imagined to haue happened at the good Cittie of *Lyons*, which hath euermore beene very obedient to her kings, and lent them strong aide in their necessities, when they haue beene thereto required. Neuertheless, through some bad counsell, and vppon small occasion, the Kings of *France* did build a Cittadell there, a meere retreate for all scelerates: who, by the cautels of diuers loose Captaines, too much diminishing the reuenewes of the *Dezane*, and the Souldiers committed many insolencies in the Citty, viciating diuers Virgins, & making pillage of al things. Which was the cause, that the men of *Lyons* arose to ruinate this Cittadell, that serued for nothing else but wicked purposes. And albeit they were sollicited to take a new party, yet would they not yeild thereto; but kept themselues in obedience to their King, being contented with the demolition of the Cittadell, how euer the king otherwise mistrusted them. Such Cittadels ought not to be erected, but in countries newly conquered, and not in ancient and obedient Cities, whence Princes can receiue nothing, but commodity & pleasure. Nor ought he to exercise prodigality, or giue immense gifts, especially to such people as haue no merit: for wee know very well, that it is the blood and labour of the people, which is so prodigally wasted. And for offending in such manner, some Kings haue been deiected from their Thrones; as hapned to *Edw.* King of *England*, second of that name, in the yeare 1325. who affected nothing but the Family of the *Spencers*, giuing them all great confiscations, and the Mony of his subsidies. These extreame and vnsufferable courses, raised his Queene, Sonne and people against him, who were punished with death, & the King (at length) strangled.

The election of Cittadels do but cause hatred in the people.

* The name of the custome-house at *Lyons*.

Lyons impacientely endured the Cittadell.

Prodigality is very odious in a Prince, when he giueth immeasurably to vnworthy men.

Adde we hereto, that it is a great blemish and deformity in any King, not to bee liberall: for a couetous Prince is contemned of euery one, and hath few

Couetousnesse discommendable in a King.

A Prince should inquire what is reported of him.

Friends. He should informe himselfe, what is reported of him, to vnderstand who are malecontent, and who pleased, prouiding for both in good discretion. As (very wisely) did *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, who was informed, that an auncient Knight (following his Court) did nothing but speak badly of him, and raised diuers enemies against him. The King comming couertly to know the cause of this obloquy; heard the old Knight complaine, that he had imployed both his youth, age, and vttermost meanes in the Kings seruice, whereby he was not onely growne poore, but also vnregarded. The K. well noting so foule a fault in himselfe, prouided for the Knight in such gracious manner: that he had not (formerly) so greatly reproued him, but now he did much more exalt him. Whē the King heard thereof, he said to euery one about him; *I was the sole cause of the Knights iust complaint, but hence-forward I will take order, that others shall not haue the like aduantage against me.*

A gracious & worthy mind in a King.

The bad and dangerous counsell of *Machiauell*.

He must be careful to constitute some bad man in great authority, and to haue rule in his Kingdome, euen as his Lieutenant: to the end, that he may bear all the blame, and if the people fall into commotion, they may rest contented with killing him, and so the K. shall remaine safe. This is the Philosophy of Maister *Machiauell*, a matter verie dangerous; for hereby, both the one & other may well loose their liues. As we may read in the History of *England*, that King *Richard* accusing his Earle Marshal to the people, to be the onely cause of Subsidies, and robbing them of their Monies, seeming willing to content the people; he banished him the Land. Which man, could finde no place of safety, either in *Fraunce*, *Flanders*, *Allemaigne*, nor thorow all *Europe*, where to make his abiding. After this bad man, the king committed the gouernment of his kingdom to four other Men, against whom, the people conceiued as great hatred, as before they had done against the Earle Marshall. Which caused the saide *Richard* to be imprisoned; where those foure men were beheaded before his prison window, and he himselfe (afterward) lost his life.

The cause why *Richard* King of England was cruelly murdred.

He shold study, not to be ouer dreadfull to his Subiectes, nor too familiar; for the one begetteth hatred, and the other contempt. He should punish the wrongs of other men, and be sparing in his owne. As did good King *Lewes* of *France*, the 12. who in the time when he was but Duke of *Orleance*, hauing some enmity with King *Charles* the eight, and seeking to seaze the Citty of *Orleance*, for security of his own person, least the King should further labour to disquiet him: the Citizens made fast their gates against him. It happened, notwithstanding many trauerses and misfortunes; this Duke came to the Crowne, after decease of the said King: And then the people of *Orleance* came to entreat him, not to remember precedent accidents, but graciously to grant them pardon. The King made answere, that he had forgotten all iniuries doone him: but wished them afterward to be carefull, how they offended another man. After that *Hanball* with-drew himselfe from *Italie*, the *Romaines* found no better meanes of raigning in quiet for the time to come: then by forgetting those iniuries, which they had receiued by the Common-weales of *Italy*, that had ioyned with *Hanball* in making the warre.

Not to be ouer terrible, nor too familiar to his subiects.

A History of the Duke of *Orleance*.

An answere iust & right by Royall.

In quarrels among great men hee ought not to entermedle, to support one side more then the other: but cause them to lay downe their Armes, by his absolute authority, and seek best means to reconcile them. For, in formalizing himselfe, more for the one then the other, it hath many times occasioned intestine war, and sometimes the losse of Royal dignity, as hath too often happened both in *France* and *England*.

How he ought to behaue himselfe in other mens quarels

He should not be addicted to wine, but shun drunkennesse as poyson. For a King being drunke, is like a Lion, or any other furious beast, that bites and teares the first he meets withall. It causeth beside, that the K (hauing his spirits fiered and troubled with wine) may kil some one man in that fury, or otherwise so offend him: as may afterward endaunger both his Royall person and the State. He must moderate choller, so much as in him possible lieth, without vsing either a Sword or Staffe. Imitating heerein the Bees, whose King hath no sting at all: For choller and fury are the chiefe hinderers, that the soule cannot

A king should shun drunkennesse.

Anger and choller very dangerous.

not forme her functions according to reason.

Whoredome and incontinency abhominable in a King.

Incontinency, whoredome, and obscenity, should be detestible to him, and for his better support, he must frequent no luxurious company, nor haue any such person about him, whose ordinary talk is euermore thereto enclining; but such, whose speech is alwaies vertuous. Luxury makes a man dull, neglect, and effeminate, and a King (giuen to that vice) should rather carry a distaffe, then a Scepter. *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assiria*, lost his life, by being ouer-greedily giuen to this sin. So did *Nero*, Emperor of *Rome*. King *Frances*, first of that name, became very vnhealthfull in his aged daies, by being too much addicted to this vice; and yet otherwise, he was vertuous, and a louer of learning.

Examples of vnchast life.

Where the treasure Royall most consisteth.

Being affected of his Subiects, for his good life, his treasury is the purse of his people, who will succour him liberally when he shall haue any needfull occasion. Which, in our memory, and not long since, *Elizabeth*, that famous Q. of *Eng.* found to be true. For in al her time, she neuer oppressed her people, but declared her selfe to be the liuely Mirrour of true Maiesty. And therefore, when there came a very potent Army (verie strongly bent against her and her Kingdomes) such as (in humaine iudgment) was likely to preuaile: yet her subiects Bounty & Loue (next to heauens blessing) stood so strongly to her, that when her enimies supposed her ruine neerest, they were shamefully foyled, and she gloriously triumphed. *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, two great Monarches, made themselues mighty, not by their Money (for they had none at all, or at least very little, at their first aduenturing) but were only assisted by friends, and the purse of their people. Whereas on the contrary, *Darius* and *Croesus*, two Kings that had aboundance of treasure, and no loue of their people; were brought into most miserable condition.

Examples of loue & bounty in Subiects to their Princes.

War enterprised farre off, cannot be but full of Euills.

Let him not be easily led, to beleeue some Courtiers, men affected in the search of nouelties, vsing perswasion, to attempt Conquests and far off voyages; as crossing the Seas, either to *Barbarie*, *Asia*, and the foure quarters of the world, 500. a thousand, or two thousand leagues distant from his own kingdome, and ther to make war: such warrs doe (oftentimes) beget the totall ruine of his owne estate. As hapned to King *Lewes of France*, ninth of that name, who lost a goodly Army of Noble-men and braue Souldiers in *Syria*, himselfe also beeing there taken Prisoner, to the no litle cost of his owne Kingdome. After his returne home, he would needes be gone thither againe: but he died before the Citty of *Thunis*, and lost the verie greatest part of his Army.

Diuers true & well knowne Histories tending to this purpose.

By perswasion of the *Genewaies*, *Charls* King of France, the sixt, sent an Armie into *Barbarie*, against the chiefe Cittie of *Affrica*: but one part of the French dyed there thorow Famine, and by inclemency of the aire, and the rest returned home, not hauing performed any one act of honour. *Iohn* of *Bourgongne*, Counte of *Neuers*, was sent with a worthy French army into *Epire*, against *Baiazeth*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, in assistance of the *Hungarians*: but there hee was surprized, and kept as Prisoner, with the Constable of France, and diuers others, and the whole French Armie quite defeated. *Lewes* of *France* the twelfth, sent an army against the *Turks*, that besiedged *Mitylene*, a Cittie in the Isle of *Lesbos*: but vtterly in vaine, for he lost (well neere) all his people. Notwithstanding, if a King make a league against any Infidell Prince, and that all Christian Princes (or the more part of them) are thereto likewise mooued and sollicited, vpon good reason: the King ought to contribute both Men and Money, but not to goe in person, except hee haue an assured peace with all his Neighbour Princes. Now, albeit a King had conquered a farre-off Country, yet scarcely knowes he how to keepe it for any long time: because the manners of strangers will hardly agree with theirs of that Countrey, and then the building of Cittadels is to be talkt on, but yet he must Philosophize how to maintaine them. It much better for any King, to sustaine himselfe vpon the forces of his men of armes, and fidelity of his Subiects; then on the strongest wals he can build. Which the *Lacedemonians* practised, by the aduise of *Lycurgus*. But after they had engirt the Cittie of *Sparta* with Walles, and gaue themselues wholely to the fortifying

Exceptions in this case to be obserued.

No trust to be reposed in strong wals, but in the faith and power of men.

fying of places: thence forward, their Common-weale grew to bee iust nothing. The Turke practiseth the verie same yet to this day. The first Cantons of the *Suitzers*, had neuer any wals, and were no other then great Villages; for they relyed more vppon their strength, then any trust in wals.

What profit a Prince should make of reading.

But it may be alleaged vnto me, that it is good for a King to read, to the end, he may learne something, as other men doe, and as other Kings haue formerlie done. This I approoue, and do no way mislike, at such times as he is not to bee more seriously imployed: For, a King that will well discharge his duty, shall find very little time of respit or leisure. Bookes that discourse on matter of good manners, should then be most familiar with him: becaus, in them hee shall learne such lessons, as no man else dare be so bold as to teach him.

Concerning Bookes of Histories.

As for Bookes of Histories, he must haue choise and plenty of them, becaus in reading such as are another mans Collections, that neuer saw, or came where they were acted: they cannot alwaies talke of truth, in regard, that hee giueth credit but to what he finds in another mans Papers, and Writers, will (vsually) speak fauourably of their owne occasions. If they be Histories, concercerning the time when the Authour liued: he wil be sure to fauor the Prince, and the party which hee best affected, or to whom he was Pentioner. As may be noted in *Paulus Iouius*, the *Italian*, and *Sleydan*, the *Germaine Historian*, who haue written well enough: except whē they fall into some particular matters, as of Religion, or such like; there they are euidently perceiued to wander, in speaking partially, or out of priuate affection. Likewise, he should not iudge of good and lawfull enterprises, according to the bad successe they haue had, or so to condemne them: neither, whē affaires haue bin ill grounded, & worse mannaged, to repute them good, becaus they haue passed with fortunate euents. Therefore it behoooueth any Prince, to read Histories, with good and deliberate iudgement.

Bookes of Histories are to be read with good deliberation and iudgement.

Concerning the reading of some Princes.

Alexander Seuerus (at an houre of leisure) would read *Platoes* Commonwealth, the Offices of *Cicero*, and sententious *Horace*. Wise *Scipio*, when occasion serued, would read the Institutions of *Cyrus*, proposed by *Xenophon*. *Charles* the fift, Emperour, neuer reade any Authour, but *Phillip de Commines*, who wrote the life of King *Lewes* the eleauenth. I would not be mistaken herein, as (seeking by these allegations) to restraine a Prince from reading, or limit him none other, but these Books onely. But I say, that the principall Bookes, and those which bee most necessary for him: are such, as do discourse on the affaires of State, and of matter belonging to the Common-wealth.

To make a Bridge of mony into the enemies countrey.

Many times, it fals out, to bee more expedient for a Prince, to buy a Town by intelligence, or giuing Mony to the Enemy: then to take it by force of armes, though it cost him not so much; so is the Land sure to be no way ruinated.

Alwaies to be prouided of men for warre

To conclude, let a King stand vppon his Guards, and haue assured and trusty people about him; euermore ready, least occasion should present it selfe, & he be suddenly surprized: such as were the *Legionaries*, or those trained Souldiers, instituted by King *Frances*, first of that name.

Humility availeth more thē glory.

And for conclusion to his Philosophy, he should be little, or of least reckoning in his owne eye, how great or potent soeuer hee appeareth to other. As it happened to *Alexander*, who had no sooner ended his Conquests in the East, but (standing vpon his own pride) he was cast downe, and poysoned by his owne Followers. *Baiazeth*, the verie greatest Emperor of all the *Turkes* that were before him: was vanquished, chained, and carried about in a Cage of Iron, by *Tamberlaine*, King of the *Tartares*, who was but a Neat-heard, by his first profession.

The Authours conclusion of Kings Philosophy.

Behold (in sumine) what Philosophy Princes ought to learne, which is not so much comprized in Bookes; as it is the braine (prouided of good and solid iudgement) the feare of God beeing alwaies principally preferred. So shall the saying of *Plato* be truely found in them: *That Kinges ought to be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.*

The end of the third BOOKE.

The Fourth Booke.

Chap. I.

Of the Kingdome of Persia; *Nature of the Country and People; Condition of their Court, Lawes, and Commonwealth affaires, &c.*

PErsia hath caried the same name, from the beginning to this day, containing it in these seueral Regions, *Lar* and *Requelmall*. The principall Citty thereof is called *Siras*, in elder times tearmed *Persepolis*; which is gouerned by the Sophy, Great Lord of all *Persia* and *Azimia*, called (by our Elders) *Assyria*; and the Kingdom of *Dearbech*, sometime named *Mesopotamia*; and *Seroan*, that was *Media*; and *Parthia*, now called *Iex*; with *Hircania*, now tearmed *Coraxan*; And *Sarmania*, now *Dulcendana*; and *Asia*, at this instant called *Hetti*. All these Regions, with the greater *Armenia* (which is a part also of them) are gouerned by the Great Sophy, and the greatest or largest Citty vnder his command, is named *Tauris*, being built in the midst of the Mountaine *Taurus*, foure Dayes iourney off from the *Caspian* Sea. Next vnto *Tauris*, there are other Cities beside; as *Soltania*, *Concassan*, *Saphan*, *Corazan*, *Lera*, *Mora*, *Sarmachand*, *Gesti*, *Far*, *Siras*, and *Ormuz*, a City in the *Persicke* Sea, which at this day, is called *Mare Misindia*. In this Citty, is great Commerce of Merchants, made with the *Portugals*, and there they Fish for great abundance of Pearles. There are also other Cities, as *Cureh*, *Iex*, *Casmine*, and *Coy*, with infinite Castles. On the west-side of the Cittie *Tauris*, are the *Caspian* Mountaines, which bee now called the Mountaines of *Ararat*: And on the *Bacchan* Sea (aunciently named the *Caspian* Sea) are these Cities; *Summachia*, *Derbent*, *Baechan*, and *Mamutaga*. All these Prouinces, and their Regions, are very barren, because they haue small store of Riuers: the greatest whereof, is cald *Bindarin*, but (in former times) they entitled it *Bragada*. The people of these Regions, are warlicke, ciuil, and very valiant men: ther is not so much ciuility found in al *Asia*, as in these people, but they are al Mahumetists.

These Prouinces do produce the best Horses that are to be found in the world. And there they make the best steele Armors, that is in any Lande, which are made at a place called *Azimina*, where there is great abundance of Silke. As concerning the Gouernment heere obserued, *Zenophon* (speaking of those elder dayes) saith; That they haue a certaine cheefe-place, called by them, *Freedome*; wherein standeth the Kings Pallace, and all the houses of the cheefest men Neere vnto this, ther is such another void place made fit for Merchants, and things to be sold by Mercenary Artificers, seuered farre off one from another, to the end, that such as are addicted to vertue and Liberall Arts, may not be molested with fooles,

Siras the chief Citty of *Persia*

The Gouernment of the great Sophy.

Commerce of Merchandize, and fishing for Pearles.

The nature & qualitie of the people.

The best breed of Horses in the world.

Zenophon concerning their gouernement.

Bad people seuerd from the good and vertuous.

fooles, and their ydle chatting; besides, beastly people, and the rude misgouernd multitude, may not presume to meddle with them.

Foure Courts for foure degrees of people.

The Market-place of Freedom or Liberty, is deuided into foure parts or habitations, and are tearmed Courts. In one, dwelleth young Children: In the second, Youths without Beards: in the third, men of mature yeares: and in the fourth, such as (by Age) are no more able or bound to follow the warres. Each of these (by Law) hath his place and exercise: the Children and men do assemble together daily, in their seuerall quarters; but the Olde men not so often, but only vpon some appointed dayes. The young men, with such Armes as they are allowed to exercise, doe tend about the the Princes dwelling in the Night time; except they be such as haue wiues, who, not being subiect to such commaund, is fauoured for the Night-seruice. But they account it not honest but rather a shame and disgrace, to be ouer-soone married.

12. *Præfects* allowed to each Court, & their seuerall officers

Each Court hath twelue *Præfects*, acording to the number of the *Persian* tribes. To the Children, are old graue men appointed, apt for their better continuance in good manners: and such men likewise to the youthes, as (by their Vertue) can yeild them best example of immitation. For, the men of riper yeares, there are Gouernors elected, that by conformitie of their passed liues, and regular sway of authority, may holde good disposition with them, not anie way to swerue from the wil and direction of their Prince, but doe containe them in verie facile obedidience.

The exercises of each age and degree (to the end that euerie man may knowe, with what care and industry he must become a good Oittizen) are these. The Children of *Persia* (like to ours) doe attaine to Learning in Schooles, and there they are taught to vnderstand, what it is to liue according to Iustice and honesty. Such as are their Gouernors there, doe spend the most part of the day, in iudging and giuing sentence on such Delictes, as are reported one of another. Such as are accused of Theft, Rapine, Violence, Deceit, Dishonest Language, and such like offences, being found innocent in these Crimes, the false accusers, are presently punished. Aboue all other Vices, Ingratitude is most seuearely chastised, as being the occasion of infinite shames among men. And he that is found negligent, in returning like thankfulnesse for a benefit receiued, they sticke not publickly to maintaine, that out of this Vice, issueth contempt of the immortall Gods, their Countrey, Parents, and Friends: & finally, that it is the head and manifest originall of all other euils whatsoeuer. Beside this, they learne to liue temperately, and for inducement thereto, they repute example of the most ancient, to bee best auaileable, and the beholding of their temperate behauiour.

Ingratitude is seuerely punished.

Of liuing temperately.

In like manner, with no great difficultie, they are incited to continencie, with abilitie to endure both hunger and thirst: by seeing men of such graue yeares, not part away thence to eating or drinking, without license obtained of the *Præfects*. They eate not in the Mothers company, but alwayes with their Maisters: for their diet is brought to the School, whiche is Breade and Herbes, commonlie called * *Nasturtium*. Little need of drink haue they, because they vse nothing but Water, vntill the age of sixteene yeares. They haue Bowes and Arrowes, wherewith they practise shooting, and afterward are sent to dwell among the * *Ephebi*, who are young youths, that likewise haue, and do still lead the same kinde of life.

Children eate not in their mothers sight.

*Water-Kars, or Water-cresses.

*Striplings of 15. yeares old.

The exercises of each age & degree.

The Children are instructed in Schooles.

Their attendance and sleepe time, is as we haue already said, about the Princes Lodgings, and as well for a Watch or guard to the Citty, as also to preuent such Luxuries, which commonly do ouer-abound in these young years, except they be holpen by diligent solicitude, & verie stirring exercises. In the day time, they waite vpon their *Præfects*, to the end that they may bee alwaies in readinesse. When the King rides on hunting (which happens diuers times in the month) one part of them do go along with him, carrying each man his Bow, and Quiuer of Arrowes, his Axe or Long Sworde, his Shield, and two Dartes: one readie to draw, and the other to hold in his hand, as well to defend as offende with them. The King, as in a Vision of a King, euen so in Hunting, he is the Captaine, pursuing the chase with greatest dilligence, and commanding all the rest what is necessary to be done. So that this exercise, appeareth

The attendice of the youths.

The Kings riding on Hunting, and how attended.

Hunting compared to warfare.

peareth like vnto warre, by carefull foresight, to keepe a good houre of rising in the morning, to endure both colde and heate, to run after Wild-Beasts; and (by the sharpenesse of a sauage Countrey) to make the body able to euery labor. They are likewise (manie times) enforced, to awaite the wilde Beasts comming against them, respecting alwayes, that if hee be more powerful then he was reputed, they may all stirre presently, exercising still that small respit of time, euen as if they were in the Campe for battaile.

Euerie man carries his own food with him; and yet they eate not before the houre of supper time, except they haue leysure to stand still awhile, in expectation of some wilde Beastes comming, or haue giuen better order for the Chase. When they haue supt, the next day following they pursue still the Game, vntill the same houre of Supper againe, euermore without feeding, making two daies together but one, in respect of eating: which habitude is also most profitable in Warre, respecting times, which often do enforce a great scarsitie of Victuals. If there bee any dearth, then they vse to temper their bread, with the aforesaide *Nasturtium*, for no man there will eate, till vrgent hunger compell him. Farre differing from them, that care not what excesse they feede Gluttony withal, who can neuer iudge truly, how little woulde serue, or be really delightfull to Nature: like to him that can please appetite with simple Bread, or a poore small Cake, & seekes not to slake thirst with Wine, but harmelesse water.

Euerie man beares his own prouision.

In the time of dearth or Famine.

They that remaine at home in their houses, for safegard of the Cittie, haue publick places appointed, for like exercises in them. They haue a care of all occasions, euen from verie Childe-hood, to see them vse their Bowes, hurle their Darts, and exercise Armes. They that are most vertuous, wise, learned, and actiue of person, doe carry greatest Commendation, and are honoured of the people; not onely the *Præfects*, but euen such also, as haue bin any occasion (by their diligence) of their education from Child-hood, they carry worthie Commendation, and are contained in highest fauour.

Concerning such as remain in the Cittie.

Who are most commended and honored.

If any lewd Offender should be sought for, any Theefe apprehended, or speedy succour sent to some needefull place, in dealing with these occurrences, vvhich require hast and strength of bodye; the Gouernors make vse of none but young lusty men, who (hauing bin trained ten yeares in such Disciplines) are ranked among the number of men, that (to the age of fiue and twenty) haue hadde the Gouernment of them, as the Præfectes had of their Childe-hood, euer to make them ready for seruice of the Commonwealth. When they go in battell order, they vse neither Bowes, Darts, or Weapons, to offend a farre off: but ech mans breast is armed with a Cuirace, his shield vpon his arme, and so he confrontes his Enemy, either with his Axe, or with his Sword. The Heads or Commanders, are all *Præfectes*, yet none of them abide in the Citty, hauing care of the yong Children and youth.

In causes of vrgent necessity, who are employed.

When they go to battaile.

When they haue past this time, and attained to the age of fiftie yeares, they are placed among the old men, sent forth no more to warre: but rest in their countrey, where they elect Præfects, ordaine Iudges for publicke and priuate causes, and likewise (as Iurors) do passe vpon the liues of men, that sentence may be giuen vpon euery delict, acording as the crime appeareth by due euidence, in which cases, euerie man offended, hath free liberty to accuse. He that stands condemned in the whole course of his life, is reputed most infamous. The whole Common-Wealth of the *Persians*, containeth in it an hundered and twentie thousande men.

What they do at the age of fifty yeares.

There is no prohibition, of being instructed in the publicke Schooles, where Iustice is truely taught, neither is it forbidden by any Lawe, but that a man (by his Vertues) may attaine to dignitie and honor, no exception is made, but onely want of Vertue. Yet let me tell ye, most choise is made of Rich mens sonnes for the Schooles, not because their Parents haue least need, but that themselues are sooneste infected with Vices. And poore mens sonnes (for necessity of common maintenance) are sent to Shoppes, to learne Mercenarie exercises, whereby to liue.

None are denied instruction in the publicke Schools.

Difference betweene rich & poore mens sonnes.

The Children that haue been instructed in the Disciplines fore-named, may conuerse with the *Ephebi*, but not the others. The *Ephebi*, that haue liued according

Order of descent from one degree to another.

ding to the Lawes, may likewise abide among the men, and attaine to Honours and Magistracie. And these men, after they haue liued according to the *Persian* Discipline, may go amongst the Oldest Men, who hauing liued (all their time) with greatest Iustice, are most woorthie and excellent Citizens in the Commonwealth.

The Persians temperate life, is a great blemish to ours.

An expresse note of abstinence in the *Persians*, is, that they can endure labour enough, yet liue moderately. But among vs, there is little or no respect at all, albeit they hold it for the greatest infamy, to spet in company, or make clean the nose, and to voide Vrine publickely, or do any such Offices in open sight. All which, we might easily shun, if wee would eate but little, and the grosse natural humors of the bodie, would consume themselues by labour and exercise of the body.

The *Persians* order of warre in these dayes

In these daies, all things in the world being altred, the *Persians* make their wars with most vnindifferent course, and (for ought I can perceiue) bad conditions, because as they haue a wonderful Cauallerie, so they haue no certaine power of Infanterie or Footmen, either ordinarie or aged. By which part of strength, the Turke (euen in our times) hauing gotten many notable victories, and being neuer foyled in any place; hath brought verie great and important warres to end. It is a matter also verie vnbeneficial to the *Persians*, that they vse no Shotte, neither abounde in any Artillerie on Carriages; with which terrible helpe, euery attempt is soonest concluded. As was too wel exampled, by the vnhappy proofe of *Vsan-Cassanus*, and of *Ismaell*, whose Cauallery were then honourably victorious. Lately also, in the *Caldean* Fields, and (in memory of our Fathers) at *Harsenga* and *Euphrates*, where they could not endure the great and vn-accustomed noise of their Horsses, in that most cruel & bloodie Tempest. Wherefore, in no place may the armed man of *Persia*, compare with the Turke, if he were disarmed. Because the *Persian* is (of all parts) couered with a scalie Cuirace; his Panciere or Belly-peece, of Iron; his buffied Helmet strongly creasted, and hung thicke with Feathers, his Shield or Target rounde, and curiously embellished with Golde. But the Turke of *Europe*, as vtterly vnarmed, is scarsly halfe couerd with a round bended Target, after the manner of the *Asian* Shieldes, inter-wouen with Reeds, subtilly sweetned with Cinnamon, and embroidered with Silke of sundrie Colours. The *Persian* likewise couereth his arme and right hand, with a false sleeue and Gauntlet of Steele, galloping with a Launce of Ash, which hath two points; and being met in the middest, (after the Moores fashion) oftentimes beares off the blowe on high, for easier passage of the men and Horse disarmed. But, the Turke (according to the *Grecian* vse) placing his Launces butt-end in his flanke, and stouping it vnto his horses eare (like them that are made of light and brittle Firre) runnes swiftly vppon the spurre, breakes it at the first blow, and so passing on to the enemies Armie, is constrained to lay hand to his Semitar, or to his iron Mace, as vnable to gouerne the *Persians* furie. For, they are mounted on great & verte strong horses, that haue their foreheads armed with Iron, and their bodies couered with sodden Leather hides (after the manner of the Italians Cappariſons) plaited together in narrowe foldes, and stuffed with Bumbast or Silke, to beare off euery blow falling thereon. In which regard, no one of them (except ouer-audaciously) will compare the best *Persian*, either with the Archer on Horse-backe, or foote-Soldier of the Turk. For he being armed with a big strong Bowe, full of manie knotted Nerues; drawes an Arrowe of good roundnesse, after the *Tartars* manner, and his fall is almost deadly.

The *Persian* Lances varying from the Turkes.

The *Persians* Caparisons for their great horses.

The Bowes vsed by the Turkes.

All these thinges being equally compared together, the armie of the Sophie, euen bounde and deuoted to the King, (by an opinion of a high and Diuine minde, and by a certaine Religious Sacramentall reason) not being fearefull of death in any place, although it bee inferiour to the Turkes in number, might seeme inuincible, if it were not oppressed by Treacherous and vnworthie men of valour, furie of Artillerie, and vnusual multitudes of men.

The Sophies army seemeth inuincible.

I finde, that the principall occasion, why *Ismael* brought so many Prouinces (by glorious Armes) vnder one sole Emperie, yet with lesse number of Soldiers then others would beleeue (especially against *Ottoman*, who ouer-ran the countrey so farre as *Armenia*, and wasted all things:)

The reason of *Ismaels* great successe in war

Their want of footmen.

Their lacke of Shot & great Ordinance.

Example of *Vsan-Cassanus* and *Ismael*.

Difference betweene the Turkes arming and the *Persians*.

things) was onely this: Hee releafed all Tributes, and tooke away euery taxation (onely to purchafe fame by liberality) euen vpon his very entrance. And it much imported this new King then, fo to doe, becauſe (by force of Armes) he expulſed the lawfull heires, from the State and Empire, after *Vſan-Caſſanus* the Grandfire, and *Iacoppo* their Father. In which reſpect, hee was euer needie of Money; and therefore, when any warre aroſe, he brought forth no Armies, combined by their ſtrong and iuſt Nerues, albeit the countries of the Eaſt (abounding in manie things) beſide ſuch diuerſitie of rich Kingdomes) benignlie and largely would haue affoorded ſupply of pay, for all neceſſaries belonging to life and warfare. Quite contrary to *Solymans* caſe, who cõtinually was ſerued with Infanterie and Horſemen, Maiſters of the Artillerie, Captaines of the Army, and all ſuch beſide, as were either Officers for the field, or attended in his Pallace, who were daily and monthly paid by the treaſurer, that deliuered forth monies. Nor in this caſe is there any want of Treaſuries, becauſe that in *Conſtantinople* there are ſeuen Towers or Caſtles, which containe in them ineſtimable mountains of mony, both of gold and Siluer, with perpetual entrance yearely, of ſo many tributes and taxations, as do exceed all expences whatſoeuer, by the fourth part.

Iſmael alwayes very needie of mony.

Solyman was in much better condition.

Seauen Towers ful of mony.

Among the *Perſians* there are 3. ſorts of Soldiers, to wit, of the Guard; of men vnder commaund; and of voluntarie aſſiſtants. Thoſe of the Guard, are at a certain pay, and are dieted at the Kings coſt, and he likewiſe (according to an auncient Cuſtome) and at certaine times of the year, obſerued in writing, as an ouerplus of bounty; giues them Armor, horſes, Garments, Pauillions or Tents for the field, and victuals. At theſe times, being attended with a goodly companie of Lords, as alſo the Soldiers at commaund, and braueſt voluntaries: hee maintaines the reputation of a frequent Court, and Progracing vnto places of beſt maintenance, proceedeth on to viſit the moſt Noble Cities of the Prouinces. When ther is no wars, the *Dinaſti*, *Lords*, *Detrarchi*, and *Feudataries* of ancient Nobility (who enioy the Signories of the Caſtles and Countries, giuen by their elders, do find all the prouiſion in Prograce; or if it be giuen them by the King, it is collected againe by Edict. They do alſo whatſoeuer elſe is commaunded them, according to the ſame reaſon, or equality in condition; as (vniuerſally) al the Nobilitie in *Spaine*, *Fraunce*, and *Italy*, doe vſe to ſerue their Lord and King withall.

Three kinds of Soldiers in *Perſia*.

Liberality to the Kinges Guard.

In times when there is no warre.

The number of the Soldiers is great, and when they are in Armes, they reſort to their Enſignes: but if a diligent inquiry be made, they neuer amount to 20000. Horſe. Nor doe the third part of them, (furniſhed in ſuch rich manner, as wee haue before declared) go ſo to battel; for all the reſt are contented with their Helmets, Mantles (of hard and thick-woüen ſtuffe) wrapped about them, and couered with ſundry ſhields; their fight is onelie with the Lance and Bow. For they haue now learned to helpe thoſe former kinde of Armes, and according as place & occaſion requireth, do hurl the ſhield ouer the ſhoulder, to receiue the Launce of a purſuing enemy, and ſtands vpon his defence before, with his Bow and Arrows. Thoſe Shields which are truely ſaide to come from *Perſia*, and from the Royall City of *Sciros* (where Armor is made of moſt excellent temper, and verie wormanſhip) are reputed to be of cheefeſt eſtimation.

The Persians are altered frõ their firſt armes.

Next vnto theſe, are the neighboring *Aſſyrians*, by authority of name: & therefore the Kingdoms of the *Medes & Parthians*, do affoord the verie beſt and valianteſt Archers, beyond all other, except the *Tartars*. But the *Armenians*, do couet moſt of all to fight on foot, & write themſelues of the Infanterie. For they plant (vpon the ground) a long preparation of Shields, great and plaine, euen as if they had a Rampier before them, and ſo defend themſelues againſt the furie of the Horſemen, fighting with Pikes, and very ſhort Axes, as alſo Bowes and arrowes; yea, many times they fight both neer and far off, with Slings that haue ſhort handles. People that come to helpe them, as voluntaries, are ſent out of *Iberia* and *Albania*, who are their confederate Kinges, and neighbor vpon *Media* and *Armenia*, beeing (for the moſt part) halfe Chriſtians, and therefore do maintaine equall hatred againſt the *Ottomans*, and warre againſt them.

The *Aſſyrians* neighbours to the *Perſians*.

The fighting of the *Armenians*.

Voluntaries ſent from confederate Kings

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Against Iulius Cæsar, *because in his Commentaries of the Warres in Gaule, he oftentimes calleth the Gaules (at this day French-men) Barbarians.*

The especiall occasion of this Chapter.

THat which I haue purposed to handle in this Chapter, proceedeth not either from affection, or ouer-great animosity: but rather to defend (against the *Spaniard*, *Italian*, or *Greeke*) the famous Kingdome of *France*. For, when they are growne discontented with the *French*, or be chafed, and ouer-come by them in warre; they spightfully terme them *Barbarians*, Inciuill, and Saluages, and say, they learned it of *Iulius Cæsar*. Now, to discusse whether it bee true, or no, that the whole Ciuility of the world was amongst the *Romaines*, and that the *Gaules* hadde not as much or more then they; it remaineth vpon sufficient proofe and triall. Although that *Iulius Cæsar* was a great Captaine, hauing all those good partes in him, which are required in an Emperour yet notwithstanding, it may plainly bee noted, that beeing vnable to effectuate his Conquestes in *Gaule*, hee therefore calles it a light Nation, inconstant and barbarous.

All Ciuility among the *Romaines*.

Iulius Cæsar was an excellent Captaine.

The first reason was (as I thinke) beecause they vsed humaine Oblations in their Sacrifices, sacrifising sometimes their Children, other-whiles their slaues, and verie often themselues, vppon some Vow or solemne Oath taken: for vanquishing their enemies in Warre, or for som other speciall matter. Which I must needs confesse to be a great cruelty, and farre from all humanity: albeit that in those times, in al parts of the world, they vsed the same manner of sacrificing. And yet the *Romaines* did much worse heerein, then all other Nations whatsoeuer: For, from all Antiquity, in the Country of the *Latines* (where *Rome* is built) they threw manie men off a bridge, into the Riuer of *Tiber*, hauing their Feete and hands fast bound, to honour their sacrifices of *Saturne*. Nor would they otherwise massacre or dispatch them, in regard of an ancient Oracle (as *Varro* saith) the last Verse, whereof contayneth thus much: *Send the cheefest to Hell, and the light to Father Saturne*, that is to say, the Liues of men.

The *Gauls* and *Romaines* were both cruell in their sacrifices

Titus Liuius, a *Romain* Historian, who was from the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, hath left Written; That the said *Romains* had a Custome, when they behelde themselues in any great perill, to vow and promise solemnly, that they woulde immolate to *Iupiter*, all creatures that receiued life in the next Spring time, calling the Spring time Holy. In these vowes, were comprized al the Infants liues that shold be born during this season. But at length, they conuerted this sacrificing of infants, by sending them into exile: which likewise seemed verie cruell, to banish poore and innocent Infants.

Varroes words concerning the Oracle.

Verie cruell vowes of the *Romaines*.

For ought I knowe, there is not anie people or Nation, that can say of themselues, they haue stood cleare from these horrible Sacrifices. For, in *Chios*, a *Grecian* Island, thy vsed the same. In *Ægypt*, in *Heliopolis*, where euery day they massacred three men, to offer them to the Goddesse *Iuno*. The *Lacedemonians* Sacrificed to God Mars. The *Phœnitians* did as much to *Saturne*, when they were vexed with Pestilence, or persecuted with great warres. *Histreus*, an auncient Author, saieth; that the * *Curetes*, a people of *Creete*, vsed to appease *Saturne*, by offering young Infants in sacrifice vnto him. In *Laodicea*, a Cittie of *Cœlo-Syria*, they did the like, to make the Goddesse *Pallas* placable. The *Iewes* do stiffely denie, that they did not immolat their Infants to God *Moloch*. The *Thracians*, *Carthagenians*, *Scythians*, and (wel-neere) all the *Grecians*, did exercise such detestable Sacrifices. And it was common euerie where, vntill the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, who made an Edicte to the contrary. And yet at this day, throw all the Great Prouinces of *India*, otherwise called the New-world, not only do they still saerifice men, but also feed on humaine flesh.

Who haue bin immolaters of humaine Sacrifices.

**Sybils* Priests called also *Corybantes*.

The Indian *Anthropophages*

If *Iulius Cæsar* reputed the *Gauls* to be barbarous, because (hauing promised & made vowes to their Gods) if they might win battailes against their enemies, they offered such Sacrifices to them: I should rather iudge it great Piety and Religion in them, towards their Gods and Country,

These offrings reputed pietie and religion in the *Gaules*.

trey, becauſe they made no ſpare of them ſelues, but Sacrificed alſo (with them) all that which they had conquered in warre, of what great value and eſtimation ſoeuer it were. For it is eſpecially to bee noted, that whereſoeuer Religion & Iuſtice is, there can bee accounted no barbariſme. Contrariwiſe, after victory obtained in ſome battraile, the *Romaines* ſacrificed common Creatures, and made particular profit of the very greateſt Riches conquered by them: as of Captiues, Gold, Siluer, Horſes, and ſuch like, offering to their God *Iupiter Pheretrus*, mooueables of ſmall value; as ſome Armours, price-leſſe Rings, and Garments. Moreouer, ſuch was the vertue and magnanimity of the *Gaules*, as to endure ſo many tribulatiõs, which time could lay vppon them while they liued. But the *Romaines*, to free themſelues from all perils; would commonly kill themſelues; if they were detained in priſon, or otherwiſe, which is the act of men downe-falne in hart.

Oblations of the ſpoyles of the *Gaules* & *Romaines* compared together.

The *Gaules* neuer ſlew themſelues but in aduerſity.

If he hold them for barbarous, becauſe they haue eaten humaine fleſh, as it is very true: he muſt vnderſtand, that it happened vpon an extreame neceſſity, when himſelfe came downe vpon them with three hundred thouſand *Cymbrians*, *Teutons*, or *Allemaignes* into *Gallia Sequana*, and beſiedged the Citty of *Sens*. For victuals failing them, by reaſon that all the Countrey was ſpoiled about them, and the Enemy kept a long and ſtrict ſiedge vpon them: this poore diſtreſſed people (vnable to defend the Citty otherwiſe) conſiſting of aged perſons, women and children, very young in yeares; did voluntarily expoſe their liues, to feede their bowels that defended their Countrey, and for preſeruation of the *Gaules* Commonwealth. But this was not ordinarily done, nor vpon any wanton or lickeriſh appetite; likewiſe, neuer was it euer heard to bee done, either before that time or after. Contrariwiſe, much more barbarouſly, and without any neceſſity at all; the *Romaines* made it a Iouial vſe, to feed on mens fleſh in their feaſts and banquets, as *Galen* aſſures vs, that himſelfe hath ſeene, in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*. Some *Spaniards* (euen in our times) haue done as much in the *Indiaes*, for, hauing no other victuals; they would eate their owne companions, and *Indians*, that died on diſeaſes, or famine.

Once (throw extreame neceſſitie) the *Gaules* did feed on humaine fleſh.

Galen. lib. de facult. de Aliment.

Spaniards haue fed on humain fleſh.

Iulius Cæſar alſo makes a mockery, becauſe there were certaine people, tearmed waged or mercenary Souldiers among the *Gaules*, who made a free gift of themſelues to people of wealth, to do all ſuch ſeruices as they would imploy them in; receiuing their whole nouriſhment and maintenance (from them) while they liued. But looke of what death ſoeuer their Maiſters dyed; they would gladly and willingly follow them therein, to keepe them company, and do ſeruice to their Lords ſoules, in another world, becauſe this was an Article of their Religion. But the *Romaines* had an inuiolable law, which was, that if a maiſter had few or many ſlaues, and he hapned to be ſlaine (albeit that ſome other had kild their Maiſter) yet all the Slaues muſt be ſlaine. Nay, they had worſe cuſtomes, for if a Captaine were offended with his Soldiers, or ſome idle toy tooke him in the head: hee would haue euery tenth man in his Army culd out, and cauſe them to be hewen in pieces before him, by the other Souldiers of the ſame company. More, the great number of *Gladiatores* or Fencers, that they cauſed to kill one another (either in their open Theaters, or other publique places ſtrewed with Sand) with very keene edged and ſharpe pointed Swordes, before all the people, without any pitty or compaſſion, ſaying: Thus did the *Romaine* people, and more cruelly in war. Nor might theſe Fencers giue ouer the fight, what hurts or woundes ſoeuer they had receiued; except the people were ſo pleaſed. They would make their Captiues alſo fight with cruell Beaſtes; as Lyons, Beares, Tygers, and others, not in any ſmall number; but by thouſandes at a time: only for a paſtime to the people, and to win themſelues credit, that when they ſought after any office, they might bee aſſured of their voyces.

Of hyred & mercinarie Souldiours.

Souldiours of *Gaule* wher to they were obliged.

Decimation of the *Roman* Souldiers.

Gladiatores and Slaues ſlaine, or deuoured by cruell beaſts.

Perhaps he called them barbarous; becauſe that the *Gaules* (in his time) had no other food for their ordinary prouiſion, but Swines Fleſh. I aunſwere him, that it is one of the beſt and wholeſomeſt meate, which can bee vſed for any nouriſhment: for it verie

Swines Fleſh familiar food among the *Gaules*.

easily conuerteth into the substaunce of man, as being almost of the same temperature. The *Athletes* and Wrastlers of *Greece*, to make themselus, sturdy, strong, and of the best habitude, would feed on no other Victuals, but bread and Porke. But the *Romaines* of *Cæsars* time, inriched and made fat with the spoils of the world; were become Gourmandes, dissolute, and prodigall, as the like could not bee found in any other Nation. One may serue for an example of the rest, who termed himselfe a great friend vnto *Cæsar*, named *Lucullus*, that spent vppon one meale, twentie thousand Crownes. But by this kinde of badde life, multitude and varietie of Dishes, and extreame Gluttonie vsed amongst them: the Romaines grew to be verie vnhealthfull, according as *Cornelius Celsus* writeth. And no man is so ignoraunt, but knoweth verie well; that leading such a life, doth rather truly sauour of Beasts liues and barbarisme, then of the least part or iotte of Ciuilitie.

The Romains full of Gluttony and Luxury.

Cornelius Celsus in Vit. Rom.

Hee should not call them barbarous, because when they were at rest in their houses, they slept not vpon soft featherbeddes, but ordinarily vppon the harde ground; which the Romaines (in those times) could not doe. Most certaine it is, that it is rather a Vertue to sleepe in such manner, then otherwise, for more easie support of such discommodities, as commonly doe attend on men of warre: who (as it should seeme) are sent of heauen, for defence of their Countrey, to subdue inciuill people for their sinnes. Nor, for wearing of short Garmentes, could he call them barbarous, because it is the nature of a Warlicke people, rather to bee clad in Garments which are short, then such as be long and troublesome.

The Gaules (at all times) vsed to lie vp. on the harde ground.

The Gaules vsed to weare short garmēts

Besides the Title of Barbarous, he accounts them to bee a light-headed people, verie mutable in opinion and counsell. Hee speaketh these thinges, as a sworne enemie vnto them. For, when he had sowne diuisions and Quarrelles among them, hee would feigne to bee on one side, and quite against the other. But they perceiuing his subtilty, disclaymed from his kindnesse, and brake the agreements which they hadde made with him.

Cæsar termed the *Gaules* to be a light-braind people

He neither surmounted or went beyond them in open and faire warre, for indeed he could not: but only by trecheries, because his intent was, to possesse himselfe of *Gaule*, and be King thereof, if he had vanquished *Pompey*. Now, because they discerned his deuises, & knew the Dominion of the *Romans* to be more insupportable, then that of the *Allemaignes*, whom the *Gaules* of *Sequana* had called to their aide, against them of *Aruni*, and so leagued themselues together very gladly: therefore he cals them light and inconstant. I leaue to further consideration, whether hee had sufficient subiect to hold them for such.

Cæsars ambition apparantly noted.

If he conceited them (then) not to be Lettered, hee was much deceiued; for from all antiquity, the *Gaules* had knowledge in that part of Phylosophy, which we tearme Naturall, and of the *Ethique* or Morrall too, instructing pollicie and good manners, which ought to support a Common-wealth. Nor went they among the Greekes to seeke instruction, as manie haue immagined. For, whereas *Cæsar* saith in his Commentaries, That they vsed Greek Carracters in their writinges; hee meaneth not, that they spake the Greeke Language. But three hundred yeares (or thereabout) before that *Rome* was taken and sackt by the *Gaules*, it was (as their owne Historians haue recorded) both without Law and Iustice. True it is, that they were good Warriours, and that tenne men were sent from them into Greece, to seeke lawes, whereby to pollicie their Common-Wealth. The *Gaules* on the contrarie, woulde neuer vse the Lawes of any other; but contented themselues with those, which they hadde receiued from eldest antiquitie, as manie people vsed by their example; yea, euen the Romaines themselues, immitated them in Articles (enow) of their Religion, hauing withdrawne some of their Phylosophers and Priestes, who coulde not followe those other *Gaules*, when as they departed from *Italy* to goe into *Greece*, by reason of the Dearth of Victualles.

In what Phylosophie the Gaules were skilfull.

The first Romaines begd their Lawes in Greece.

The Reader, by conferring both maners and fashions in behauior of the one and other; will finde as much, or rather more Barbarisme in the *Romaines*, then in the *Gaules*. And although they haue changed their Name, for that braue nation of Warriors in *Franconia*, who are mingled

The Reader to be an indifferent Iudge in this Controuersie.

mingled among them: yet doo they carrie (to this day) the Fame and Renowne, to be the Gallant, Ciuill, and moſt courteous Nation of the World, and where Learned men abound, more then in any other Prouince. But the Romaines and *Italians*, haue had this Vice for long time; to make eſtimation of none but themſelues. For, it is plainely ſeene in all their Hiſtories, that they make themſelues to be euermore Conquerors, without attributing anie thing to others. As may be euidently noted in the very commentaries of this *Cæſar*: but if it were ſo wel knowne by other Hiſtorians of their owne Nation, how often the *Gaules* did beat, vanquiſh and put him to his flight, ouer-throwing the Palliſadoes of his Campe, by their cunning Mines made Vnder-ground, wherein they were verie skilfull Maiſters: the *Gaules* (as I haue ſaide elſewhere) neede care for no other Written Hiſtories; knowing that (for the moſt part) they are either Flatterers or Lyers.

A long continued vice in the Romains.

Scaliger, borne at *Verona*, in his fourth Booke againſt *Cardanus*, ſayeth; That there is not any Nation, which hath a more liuely ſpirit, in doing whatſoeuer themſelues would, then were the French, be it in Armes, Learning, Merchandize, or Well-ſpeaking; but, aboue all the reſt, they haue (ſaieth hee) a moſt Generous and innocent heart, keeping Faith moſt conſtantly, with anie people whatſoeuer. Beholde the Iudgement of a man, reputed the cheefeſt of his qualitie, againſt the opinion of the ſaid *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Trebellius*, & *Pollio*.

Scaliger Lib. 4 cont. Cardan.

CHAP. III.

¶ *How long time it is, ſince the Switzers were Cantonned: and vppon vvhat occaſion their Countrey was called, the Land of Leagues.*

BEfore we ſpeake anie thing of the Switzers, I ſhould deſcribe the ſcituation, Groundeplotte, and confrontation of the country, which was giuen them; to bee Mountainous and ſtrong (the onely benefit of begetting Liberty) to the end that the Reader may the better comprehend the Hiſtory, purpoſely intended for his inſtruction, in knowing, why the people were Cantonned. To ſhew yee then, what the Country is, which is cald of the *Switzers*, or the Lande of *Cantons*, or of *Leagues*; ye muſt vnderſtand, it is that which was called by the Romaines, *Helvetia*. It beginneth in the verie higheſt Alpes, and endeth (on the Eaſt ſide) at *Rheine*, deſcending towardes the North, ſo farre as *Waltzhut* and *Lanſenbourge*; and from thence it turneth towardes the Weſt, as in a direct tracte, by the Mountaine *Iura*, euen to the Lake of *Geneua*: and afterwards, remounteth vppon the Alpes againe.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

The length & breadth of the Countrey of *Leagues*.

The Country ſeemeth to be ſtraight and narrow; as appearing, that the verie largeſt place, ſhould not extend it ſelfe aboue forty Leagues, and (in ſome places) much leſſe: the length alſo to conſiſt of about an hundered and ten Leagues. It is verie Mountainy, populous, and yet more then other Countries, cannot nouriſh or maintaine men. They are a warlicke people, able to endure all trauailes in warre. Manie of them (at this day) doe liue vppon ſuch Wages, as they receiue of ſtrange Princes that will imploy them: not that they take part with ſuch as will giue them moſt Wages (as ſome think) but in willingneſſe to ſerue whom moſt they loue.

A briefe Deſcription of the Country.

Switzers take wages, not in regard of the mony.

In this Countrey, there are manie goodly Cities and Townes, as alſo verie great Villages, and very well pollicied;

whereof we meane to ſpeake hereafter.

The reaſon & cauſe of Cantonning the Countrey. *Blondus lib. 9.*

The occaſion then, wherefore this Country was and is reduced into Cantons, and to become leagued, againſt thoſe that oppreſſed them; was thus, according as *Blondus* maketh faithfull relation thereof. About the yeare 1305. the Emperours and Kinges of the *Romaines*, during the Schiſmes of the Empire, did place Gouernours good ſtore in the *Switzers* Countrey, as to recompence ſuch as had taken part with them, not hauing where-withall (otherwiſe) to reward them. They gaue them leaue to do whatſoeuer ſeemed good in their owne opinion, being as many of them there, as there were Cities, Townes, and Villages, or few wanting: who moleſted the people with ſubſidies and borrowings, extorting all thinges elſe whatſoeuer from them, according as it came into their fantaſie. And yet notwithſtanding, a great many of the Cities, Townes, and Comminalties, had long continued their immunity & franchiſe; eyther by eſpeciall grace of the Emperours, or by buying ſuch priuiledges with their Money, for which they had good & ſufficient Patents to ſhew. Neuertheleſſe, theſe *Harpie* Gouernours, by perſwaſion of ſome Noblemen of the Countrey; did manifold wrongs and iniuries to this people.

Exaction by the Romaines vpon the Switzers.

It happened, that the Gouernour of three Vales, wherein are three great Townes; to wit, *Vri*, *Suuitz*, and *Vnderualden* (that were free of long time) ſent ſundry of his Catch-poles or Sergeants to demand three couple of Oxen, which belonged to a man of *Vnderualden*, & to bring them away perforce: vſing no other reaſon, but: that Country men ſhould labour with their hands, and not with the help of ſtaule-fed Oxen. The Sonne to the man, from whom the Oxen were taken, impatient at his Fathers oppreſſion; laying hand on his Sword, chanced to cut off a Finger of one of the Sergeants. The poore youth was afterward apprehended, and the Tyrant (beeing extreamely enraged) commaunded his eyes to bee pulled out.

Of the Gouernour of three Vales, concerning three yoak of Oxen.

Another Gouernour of the ſaid *Vnderualden*, ſent for an honeſt Woman, that ſhould prepare a bath for him in his owne Houſe; which ſhe did accordingly, as not daring to diſobey the Tirant. No ſooner had ſhe made ready his Bath, and purpoſing to part thence againe: but the Villaine rauiſhed her, for which ſhee was ſlaine by her Huſband, with the helpe of his Friends.

Cruell tyrannies and oppreſſions in the Gouernors.

There was another Gouernour of *Vri*, who, beſide his exacting on many meanes of the people, entred into ſuch folly and preſumption, that he erected (in a faire ſpacious place of the ſaide *Vri*) an high pearch or poule; on the top whereof was faſtned a Hat or Bonnet, which he himſelfe had ſometime worne, commaunding the like to bee done in the Villedge of *Suuitz*. Afterward, hee gaue charge, that the Countrey people ſhould performe as much reuerence to the Bonnet, as if himſelfe were there in perſon. There was a man of very generous Spirit, and borne in that Countrey, named *Guillaume Tell*, who refuſed to doe this friuolous reuerence. Whereupon hee was apprehended, brought before this proud and inſupportable Gouernour, and ſentenced with death: except hee could ſalue his diſobedience, by taking a young Sonne of his owne (about fiue yeares old) and ſtanding fifty paces off from the Childe; cleaue an Apple vpon his bare head, with an Arrow deliuered from a Croſſe-bow, without any harme done to the Childe. The man was both famed, and knowne to bee an expert Croſſe-bow-man, and being heereto thus rigorouſly conſtrained: he performed the deede, without any hurt to his Child; but it was more by the grace of God, then his owne induſtry.

A notorious idle folly in a Gouernour.

Reuerence of the Hat or Bonnet.

A cruel impoſition vpon a Father.

The Gouernour beeing offended that the man had ſped ſo well, and perceiuing that hee had another Arrow left vnder his Girdle; demaunded, for what purpoſe hee had that other Arrow, when he was enioyned to ſhoote but one? *Guillaume Tell* anſwered. If I had ſlaine my Son; this other Arrow ſhould haue had thy life. In regard of theſe words, he was taken, bound faſt with Cords, and put into a Boate, to be conueyed to priſon. Now, it fortuned, that they were to paſſe a Lake in rowing thither, vpon which Lake hee eſcaped very ſtrangely from them. For, hauing (by meere ſtrength) broken

A further proſecution of the poor man by the gouernour.

ken his bonds, he threw himselfe suddenly into the Lake, and recouering certaine Mountaines not farre off, lyued there verie couertly, and awayting for the Gouernour (one day) in a verie narrow passage, there slew him with the forsaid Arrow.

The cruell Gouernour slaine.

Another Gouernor, caused the eares of foure Countrey-men of *Switz* to bee cut off; then commanding them to bee roasted, he compelled them to eat them. The people of the Countrey, beeing not a little mooued with these extreame iniuries, and manie other out-rages in the Gouernours: expelled them quite out of those three Vales, & (from thenceforward) entering into Confederacies, beganne to Cantone or quarter themselues, swearing a solemne League, with absolute promise to succor one another, if they should heereafter be molested by any whosoeuer.

Foure Switzers enforced to eate their owne eares.

Within short time after, a rich Abbot, entitled of the Hermits, saide; That hee had right and Title, to leauie some Prouision of Corne, and of Mony also, vppon the Village of *Switz*, and summoned them to make payment thereof. They answered, that they neuer hearde before of any thing due vnto the sayde Abbot, nor did anie such right (to their knowledge) appertaine vnto him: and therefore, they would pay him nothing. Hee growing verie angrie at this aunswere, and beeing descended of a Great and Noble house: leauied an Armie, accompanied with *Leopolde*, the Duke of *Austriche*, who had great Landes both within, and vppon the Frontiers of the *Switzers*. Besides, manie Barons and other Gentlemen of the Country, came vnto him (Voluntarily) from all partes, hauing alreadie gone on, and vsed those places where they were to passe, more then Hostily.

The rich Abbot of the Hermits, claimeth an interest in Switz.

The Armie of the three Vales, which coulde not amount vnto thirteene hundered men, charged with humble heads, (yet vnconquerable spirits and assurance) the Armie of the Duke and Abbotte; and hauing put them to flight, slewe verie manie of them, and a great number likewise were taken Prisoners, besides; the Dukes best safetie of his life, was speedie flight. This Victorie of these simple, but verie Warlicke people, encouraged them to attempt and put in practise much greater matters, and to stand vpon their best defence, in all ensuing occasions.

The first victorie of the Switzers, against the D. and Abbot.

These leagued Vallies, within little while after, to wit; vppon the sixteenth day of Nouember, according as *Munster* declareth, in the yeare one thousand three hundered and fifteene; ouercame another Army of twentie thousand men, which the Emperour *Fredericke* of *Austriche*, and Duke *Leopolde* his Brother had prepared, to ruinate those three Villages, because they woulde not take the Oath of allegeance to the saide Emperour, at his newe creation; and yet they had formerly doone it to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who called himselfe also Emperour, and lawfully elected.

The second victory of the Switzers, against the emperor & duke.

Ouer and aboue this reason, he was vrged on, and thereto vehemently perswaded, by a great number of Noblemen and potent Lordes, who had made great spoyles both of Castels & Towns. But, the Confederated Switzers, being aduertised of FREDERICKS intention, closely ambushed themselues (to the number of fifteene hundered men) vppon the craggie hie Mountaines, and narrowe passages, full of great Rockes and Quarries of stone, whereof they chose the biggest, & rowled them downe vppon the Armie, as it came vppe from the Mountaines foote, and went along the strait waies.

The occasion of this second warre.

A politicke stratagem, of the Leagued Switzers.

For, from the bottome of the Mountaine, the one side of the Rocke seemed like an vpright Wall on the one side; and on the other, were greate Lakes of Deepe Water, not easie to bee waded: and the huge stones tumbling downe so fast vppon them; drowned no meane number of them in those Lakes, or did beate out their braines, and the rest beeing disfronted, Duke *Leopolde* was glad and faigne to shift for his life the second time.

Duke *Leopolde* saueth his life the second time.

Notwithstanding these two sustained foyles and losses, Duke LEOPOLDE lost not a iotte of his Courage and Valour, but made againe vppon them with fresh Forces; perswading himselfe; that hee should get the Maistry of these Boores, Peazants, and Shepheardes, for so hee tearmed these Confederates. Calling the Men of *Strasbourge* vnto his ayde and assistaunce, with diuers other Townes, that tooke parte with the Em-

The third attempt of Du. *Leopolde*, vpon the Switzers.

Emperour *Fredericke*, and manie other great Princes: he entered againe into the Confederates Country, by the Valley of *Vnderualden* amōg the Mountains. Now was he the third time well beaten and repulsed, by eight or nine hundred people, & yet his army consisted of aboue 1200. men.

The third victory of the Switzers.

Some Write, that the Duke himself, was not there in person; but the Count of *Hasbourge*, who went as his Lieutenant. From this time forwards, these three Cantons tooke hart and boldnesse of spirit vppon them, seizing (by waie of Warre) the Castles, Townes, Forts, and Signeuries, of such Gentlemen as had assisted the Duke, quite ruinating the saide Forts and Castles, or appropriating them to their owne reuennues. For, before these fortunate successes, they had not any thing in proper, but onely their Townes and Villages: but now adayes, they haue reduced those lands into Bayliwickes, whereunto they depute Gouernors, which either they change yearly, or continue to further time; according as it is aduised by the Senate, belonging to each Village of the confederats, and some others, that haue (since then) Cantonned themselues, and entred into alliance with them.

The Switzers successe, vpon these obtained victories.

Duke *Leopolde*, and the Emperor his Brother, died within fewe yeares after these losses, without any Children, and their succeeding heires suffred these confederates to liue peaceably, till the yeare, 1390. Neuertheless, they were molested by other great Lordes, whom still they manfully withstood, and stil got the better hand of all in their attemptes. At last, there came one, named *Leopolde* also, descended of the same family of *Austriche*, an audacious Prince, ouer-light in beleefe, and scarsely aged xx. yeares. He was prouoked by those Noble and Gentlemen, who either were expulsed from their houses, or else had voluntarily forsaken them, and albeit there hadde past some transaction and truce between them: yet now they would breake their faith and promise made to these Confederates. All the pretence that this young Prince had for warre, was, because *Lucerna*, which was a goodly Towne, had leagued and cantonned it selfe with the fore-named Villages, and many subiects of Duke *Leopoldes*, in regard of his often

The death of the Emperour, and Duke *Leopold*.

Yong *Leopolde* maketh pretence of warre against Cantonned *Lucerna*.

molestations, were now (by this means) become Bourgesses, and quietly enioyed the benefits of their Country. These matters, intermedled with the Princes rash furie, made him so violent in spleen against them: that so manie as hee could cause to be taken of *Lucerna*, or those other subiects that had the office of Bourgesses, they were forthwith hangde and strangled in the open fields.

Violence done to the Confederates.

The leagued Inhabitants, not a little displeased at these cruelties, broght their armed troupes into the fielde, and (by a sudden assault made vpon this yong Du. *Leopolde*) tooke the strong Castle of *Ptephicon*, and put vnto death all that were found therein. At the very same time also, they tooke two Townes of Duke *Leopoldes*, to wit; *Detlsbouch* and *Sampach*, that gladly yeilded themselues into the protection of the Confederates, and Bourgeship of *Lucerna*. The Duke beeing highly heerewith displeased, hauing an Armie readie of ten thousande men; entered into the Countrey of the Cantones. But notwithstanding all his heate and hast, by the aduise of some: peace was made betweene them, vnder certain conditions, so that no battel was fought, or Towne taken.

The Switzers honourably reuenged, vpon young Duke *Leopolde*.

A peace made of small continuance.

The yong Duke being returned home to his Court, with intent to sport and recreate himselfe, was perswaded by many Noblemen, that he had greatly dishonored himselfe in making anie contract of peace with his subiects, and that al Lords were dispensed withall, for anie oath taken in that nature. Moreouer, they obiected, that this might prooue a principall cause, to hinder him from succesion in the Empire, whereto his predecessours had formerly attained. Being ouercome by their foolish perswasions, he emploied a great part of the Empires forces; and most of the Nobilitie, beeing numbered twentie thousand men, both horse and foote, all verie expert and wel tried Soldiers, the greater part Noblemen, pretending interest in the cause, and accompanied with manie Princes of power. Thus came they vnto the field, with all kinds of munition, to besiedge *Sampach*: where the Armie also of the confederats met them, who were (in all) but a thousand and six hundred men. But they being possessed of the most aduantageable place in the field, and where the Horsemen

Euill counsel is easily giuen.

A fourth preparation against the confederates.

The Switzers fourth victory.

men could do no good for themselues, or preiudice to the *Suitzers*: the Noble men were feigne to dismount, and battaile being giuen, the honor of the daie remained to the Cantons. It was such an extreame hot day, that the Noblemen were not able to endure any part of the paines (which the poore Rusticks were not so much enforced vnto, but could ably out-stand farre greater toyle) but were glad to flye. Albeit, young *Leopolde* stood firme and courragious, vntill he was slaine, with manie other worthy men; as *Otho*, Marquesse of *Hoch*, *Iohn*, Earle of *Fustembourge*, and diuers others: for very few escaped, but they were eyther taken Prisoners, or slaine. Two yeares after, some of the Gentle-men, which had then escaped, returned thither againe with sixe thousand fighting men: but two hundred men of *Glaronna* stood against the, and slew two thousand and foure hundred of them, compelling the rest to saue their liues by flight, according as I finde it recorded in the Books of *Crantzius* and *Munster*.

Young Duke *Leopolde* slaine

A fift victory of the *Suitzers*

Crantz Lib. 10. Munst. Lib. 3.

Now, these Noblemen and Gouernors, did not onely molest these three Vallies and *Lucerna*; but likewise all them inhabiting about *Bearne*, pillaging all the goods in the fieldes of *Bearne*. Yet notwithstanding, by continuall waging War with them, the Cantons defeated all their purposes, ruinated their Castels, and appropriated all vnto their owne Dominions; except it were of such, as contracted amity and alliance with them. I forbeare heere to set downe, the potent war which they had against the Abbot of S. *Gal*, especially those of *Appenzell*, because they vrged a right vnto their corne and other fruites: but they could get nothing of them but blowes, albeit, their Armies were verie great. *Glaris*; in short while after, being troubled by the Noblemen and cruell Gouernours, which they of *Austriche* had set ouer them: entred into league with the men of *Bearne*, and other of the foure Cantons.

The Castels ruined about *Bearne*, and he Noblemen expelled.

The Army of the Abbot of S *Gal*, vanquished.

Zurick, a great and worthy Citty, seated vpon the Riuer of *Indmat*, had beene vexed aboue fiftie yeares by the Nobility, and a puissant Prince, who was the valiant Counte of *Haspourge*, and extream in hatred to them, because he was taken in *Zurick* (beeing entered thereinto in the night time) by meanes of the treacherous Inhabitants, with foure hundred men, he being made Prisoner, and all his men slaine. Yet, with in some few yeares, he was set at liberty, at the solicitation made by his Cozin *Albert* the Emperour, and thence forward, *Zurick* came into the number of the leagued Confederats. This Citty called it selfe *Tygurum*, and is the most rich and powerfull Cantone, aboue all the rest, next vnto *Bearne*, and holdeth precedence beyond all the other: because all Ambassadours resort thither, and the assemblies are most of all there made. Whereby plainely appeareth, that the Cantons doe not hold place of precedency, according as they were receiued into the league; and I confesse mine owne ignorance, not knowing how these degrees haue passed among them.

The great and goodly Citie of *Zurick*, wher the Earle of *Haspurge* was taken prisoner

Zurick Cantonned and vpon what cause.

It is presupposed, that because there was (then) no Iustice for the people; but that all the Noble-men (almost) in these quarters of the *Heluettians*, were (as we vse to say) cut out of one cloath, that is to say; had sworne the ruine of the third estate: Therefore, *Zoug*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, and *Shaffonze*, (by laps of time) confederated themselues with the seauen before named. All which together, beeing in number thirteene, had many warres against the Emperors, and other great Lords, and were euermore Conquerours. It is therefore to be presumed, that they got not their libertie, nor the goodly lands which the more part of the do now possesse, in a day: but before they could haue peace with their Neighbors, they passed ouer (well neere) sixscore yeares.

Almost all the Nobility of the *Switzers* were lately minded.

This Countrey of the Leagues or Cantones, neither knew how to gaine their freedome, or conquer so many Countries as they haue done; if the Emperours had not beene busied in ciuill warres; whereof the Popes (for the most part) were the sole occasion, or *Germany* had beene vnited, as sometime it was. But the Nobilitie being become insolent by Ciuill wars, acknowledging no Superiours nor Gouernours, that knew well enough how to fish in troubled Waters: enforced (by their tyranny) the people of the *Heluetians*,

Ciuil wars the cause of rebellions.

tians, to shake off the yoake of their superiors also, and to expell them thence. At this present, and since the time of King *Frances* the first, they haue made confederation with the Crowne of *Fraunce*, receiuing both presents and pensions.

The Authors purpose in this breefe relation of the Switzers.

Mine intent was not (in this breefe discourse) to shew my selfe any Historian, neither to set downe all the gestes and warres, which this warlike Nation haue made, since they began to seeke their liberty; for, to performe that labour, it would require three or foure great volumes. Beside, I haue spoken but of three or foure, the most notable and chiefest in the Countrey, thereby to let the Reader vnderstand; wherefore the Region of the *Switzers*, is called the Country of Leagues, or of the Cantons. Wherein I haue followed the best Writers; as *Blondus*, *Crantzius* and *Munster*. By this discourse, I would gladly giue aduise to Princes and Noble-men, to deale better with their subiects, then these Lords did in the *Switzers* Countrey; least (by successe of time) Heauen frowne vpon them, and they be throwne into the like disaster.

A aduise to Princes and Noblemen.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the excellency and deserued commendation of Trauaile; And what great daungers are begotten, and doe ensue of idlenesse.

Trauaile first commaunded by God.

WE are enioined by the law and commaundement of God, that wee must trauaile and labour in this world: For the very first Man that euer was, hauing broken Gods commaundement, was throwne out of Terrestriall Paradise, and the Earth was giuen him to enioy; but yet with this condition, to labour therein with continuall Trauaile, without any limitation of time, but euen so long as he liued. And yet this was not imposed vpon the first man onely; but it came as an iniunction also, to all his posteritie. Now, notwithstanding holy Scripture tels vs, that Trauaile was laid on Man as a matter of repentance: yet it appeareth likewise, to be a proper medicine, whereby to recouer and help some passed euils. For a man attaineth by Trauaile, to regaine that which he lost by feeding. And though this came as a castigation, yet God commaunding nothing, but what is good in it selfe; hath (in that nature) giuen man time to enioy the Land by labour, according as *Iob* saith; *Man is borne to trauaile.*

Trauaile is a Phisicall medicine for passed offences.

Iob 5.7.

Looke vpon our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, our Soueraigne Maister, who, as an example to vs all; trauailed continually in painefull exercises, euen till his death. And beside, in his parables, he blamed and reproued the sleepy Virgines, that were neglect and slothfull: euermore fauouring and commending such as trauailed, saying, in an especiall place of note; *Come vnto me all ye that Trauaile and are heauy laden, and I will ease ye.* If we would sit downe to read, we should finde, that the auncient Saints, imployed all their time in continual exercises and labours. Moreouer, Trauaile is not onely healthfull for the Soule, but it is likewise as beneficiall to the body; for it causeth agility, strength, and quick disposition; it cheareth and encreaseth good Spirits, and consumeth all bad and offensiue humors. And concerning the Soule, it cleanseth it from all occasions of euill doing, and conuerteth bad thoughts into better endeuours. Most certaine is it, that (without paine and trauaile) neuer did matter of any great consequence sort to good effect; but the paines seemed the sweeter, because no slothfull ease was interposed in the action. He that trauailes and takes paines, takes quiet repose and rest also, because to a weary man, all thinges are sweete and acceptable: his meate is sauoury to him, sleepe easie, and all pleasures are to him in trueste contentment.

The life of our blessed Sauiour.

Math. 25, 34.

Trauaile is beneficiall both for soule and body.

Paineful men doe best take their rest.

But returning to the benefits of the body, trauaile maketh a man discreete, vigilant, well aduised, wise, & all goodnesse else proceedeth thence. It is trauaile that apparelleth and beautifieth a Man: it maketh lodgings for him to rest in; waies to walke in; Ships to saile in; Armes to defend him; in breefe, innumerable are the blessings thereby abounding. By trauaile, barren Landes are

The benefits ensuing to the body by trauaile.

The commendations of paine and trauaile.

are made fresh, teeming, and fruitfull: to such as are dry, it giueth water, by opening the earths Wombe, to let forth her owne moysture. It exalteth humble Vallies, where neede requireth, and throwes down high Mountaines, whose steepe passage offendeth. It turneth foorth-right Flouds and Riuers, to take their more needfull course by dry landes without waters, helping (thereby) to adorne and pollish Nature, compelling her sometimes, to engender such things, as in her own proper wil she would not. It tameth the wildest beasts, and maketh them familiar. It maketh mens Spirits prompt and subtile, hauing the like power in all the other sences of man: and he that makes due tryall, findes the vnualuable riches which is got by Trauaile.

Trauaile is a help to nature

The way to Heauen is by paine and trauaile.

God would not haue his owne chosen Vessels to come to Heauen, but by the rugged pathes of paine and trauaile. If sumptuous buildings, goodly Pallaces, and populous Cities doe seeme mightie thinges: then know, that all those were performed by the labour, sweate, and trauaile of thy Predecessors. If likewise, Arts and Sciences doe highly content thee: why then remember, that they were the spirituall Trauaile of learned Men in times past. If thou looke vpon faire fields, beautiful Gardens, and plenteous yeelding Vines: say to thy selfe, all these proceeded from the workes of Trauaile; because idlenesse dooth not any thing, but rather destroyeth whatsoeuer is already done. By Trauaile, men attained to very great and famous renowne. It was that which made wise *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Pythagoras*, and the rest of those learned men, neuer cease to trauaile their bodies and studious Spirits; both in writing, enstructing, & disputing, without any care at all for sleeping, feeding, or cloathing their bodies: and yet, at such times as Nature compeld them to these necessities; they seemed much more sweete and pleasing to them, then they can doe to idle and sloathfull Gluttons.

Matter of especiall obseruation in this case.

Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, &c.

What was it that made *Hercules* so famous and farre honoured; but onelie his twelue labourious Trauailes? What was it that gaue such splendour to the Names of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæsar*, with all those excellent Kings and Captaines; but painefull exercise, and industrious Trauaile? Whereas on the contrary, *Sardanapalus*, and other such like idle and lasciuious Princes, both ruined and oppressed their Countries, and themselues dyed very shamefull deathes. Whereby may easily be gathered, that if the World were depriued of Trauaile; all would turne to nothing. Offices in humanity, would fall into Decadence; Mechanicall Artes, Letters, Studies, Goods, Remembrances, Iustice, Lawes and Peace, no one of all these could continue without Trauaile. All the vertues are supported, only by meanes thereof, and (without it) they could no way be exercised: because, he that will minister Iustice, ought to trauaile and take paines. To conclude, no vertue can bee set on worke, without Trauaile, and therefore *Hesiodus* said: *By sweat and painefull Trauaile, Vertue is to be wun.*

Hercules Trauailes.

Alexander and *Iulius Cæsar*.

Sardanapalus.

The iniuries ensuing by lacke of Trauaile.

The vertues maintained by Trauaile.

If wee would well and exactly contemplate all the things which God hath created; we shall find, that by how much the more they are perfected in a certaine meanes, by so much the more may we truly say, that hee hath giuen to them great Trauaile. Let vs behold his superior handy-workes; the Sunne mooueth it selfe continually; the Moone neuer standeth still; the Heauens and the Plannets haue beene, are, and shall be daily in continuall motion. The fire cannot containe it selfe, without some operation; the Ayre goes alwaies to some place or other. In the inferiour bodies, the Water, Fountaines and Riuers flow incessantly, and the Sea mooueth without cessation. For the Earth it selfe, albeit it were immoueable (for it ought so to be, & vpon necessity, both that men may Trauaile whether they would thereon, and afterward take their rest) yet notwithstanding, it neuer enioyeth any repose: but continually bringeth foorth Hearbs, Trees, and Plants, euen like a diligent and painefull Mother, that counts her selfe obliged, to maintaine and nourish both men and Beasts. And therefore, if we would bring all these thinges to due consideration, we should then finde, that Nature is intentiue to no other thing; but onely to continuall labour and trauaile: in creating, forming, making, vnmaking, producing, corrupting, altering, or gazing and toiling, without the least respite of rest or repose, in any kind whatsoeuer.

Contemplation of the workes of God, & how they labour and trauaile in their seuerall kindes.

Nature continually trauaileth for Men and Beasts.

That this which I haue saide, must needes

The labour and trauaile the body. *Virgill.*

Horace. Euripides.

Menander.

Democritus.

Hermicon.

Pythagoras.

Salomon.

The onely meanes that made any man famous.

The fruits of idleneſſe and ſloth.

Ouid concerning idleneſſe

Examples alleaged by the Author, for defence of labour and trauaile.

Of the Fire.

needes be true, the wiſe Philoſophers (in times paſt) ſignified by their daily labours, that they were neuer weary in commending the trauaile & exerciſe of the body. *Virgill* ſaith, *That continuall labour ſurmounteth all things. Horace*, the Lyricke and Satiricall Poet, ſaith in his workes: *That God gaue nothing to Man, but with paine and labour. Euripides* ſaith: *Trauaile is the Father of Fame: God helpeth him that trauaileth: without Trauaile, there is no true renowne, praiſe, nor happie aduenture.* The Poet *Menander* wrote very wiſely; *a heauyfull man idle, is in worſe condition then he that hath an Ague.* The ſaying of *Democritus* pleaſeth me highly, where he ſaith: *Paines taken voluntarily, are neuer diſtaſtefull when they bee enforced.* When *Hermicon* was demaunded, of whom he learned thoſe deepe Sciences which he profeſſed; he anſwered: *Of Trauaile and Experience.* It was the ſaying of great *Pythagoras*; *That a Man ought to make choiſe of a good life, and to let it appeare, by paine and Trauaile, which brings it to a ſweete and eaſie cuſtome. Salomon* ſaith; *The ſlothfull man ſhould learne example of the Ant.*

I ſhould neuer end, if I were to name heere, the plenty of teſtimonies to bee alleadged in this kinde. It ſhall ſuffice then, for me to ſay, that neuer was any man famous for Armes, Learning, example of good life, or any of the Arts; without great Trauaile. And, to ſpeak truly, neuer were any idle people great, or knowne, but if it happened that a Man being borne great, liued neglectly or idle: moſt certaine it is, that (by ſlothfulneſſe) his eſtate was ruined, or elſe hee loſt his renowne, quiet or life, the loſſe being the true fruit of ſloathes Tree, whereby all vices are multiplied, as the wiſe man wel witneſſeth, ſaying; *Idleneſſe enſtrũſteth many miſchiefes. Ouid* could affirme, that, *Without idleneſſe, Cupid hath no power*, and hee ſpake truely: For in idleneſſe, wickedneſſe is dreampt on, treaſons inuented, and foule ſinnes acted. *Ezechiell* numbreth idleneſſe among thoſe ſins, which were the cauſe that *Sodome* was deſtroyed.

To ſpeak mine one owne iudgement in this caſe, I neuer knew any thing, wherein idleneſſe got entrance, but it came to vtter ruine. We ſee the fire, if it be not maintained, it quickly quencheth of it ſelfe. The Aire likewiſe, it muſt be continually mooued; for if it bee with-held and reſtrained, it will breake forth of it ſelfe. Water, compelled to any limitted place, and where it may not haue his courſe and free paſſage; it putrifieth, corrupteth, and ſtincketh. If the earth be not opened and laboured; it will produce nothing but Brambles, Bryers, Thiſtles, and other vnprofitable Hearbs. It is euident to our eies, that Gold, if it be not much laboured and purified, it will neuer appeare in his perfect beauty. Iron likewiſe, and other Mettals, will meerely ruſt and canker of themſelues; except they bee wrought to ſome kinde of ſeruice. Prouinces and Countries, if they be not inhabited and laboured; they will proue barren & ſubiect to peſtilence. Houſes and dwellings, let them ſtand voyd and empty; they forthwith fal to ruine and decay. Common high-waies, let them not be trauailed and frequented; they will ſhut vp themſelues into impoſſibility of paſſage, ſo that all knowledge of them will be vtterly loſt. All things whatſoeuer, if they be not imployed, and made vſe of by labor; they periſh, impaire of themſelues. Yea, euen the very vitall Spirits of Men or Women, if they be not quickned and viuified by daily exerciſes; they will become lazy and ſlothfull; ſo that the hart and ſoule will conſume themſelues, the powers of the body be ſo waſted and weakned, that no vſe or motion can be made with them.

I haue already (in this Chapter) told ye, that trauaile makes a man agile, and chearefully diſpoſed: and now (on the contrary) I am alſo to informe ye, that ſloath and idleneſſe ſpoyleth the complexion, corrupteth all good humours in mans body, and giues Dominion to them that are bad and naught. *Galen* ſaith: *It is impoſſible for a man, to keepe himſelfe healthfull, except he trauaile and labour.* And *Auicenne* is of the ſame mind, with *Cornelius Celſus*, and other very excellent Phiſitions. Horſes, and ſuch kind of Beaſts, if they be kept idle; they become vnprofitable. Ships rot and ſeemely vgly, if they be kept ſtill in Ports and Hauens: but when they ſaile abroad, they are both beautifull and beneficiall; and keepe themſelues from baſe

Of the Ayre.

Of the water.

Of the Earth.

Of Gold and other Mettals

Of Lands and Countries.

Of dwelling houſes.

Of common rode-waies.

All things whatſoeuer.

The vitall ſpirits, Hart and Soule.

Idleneſſe is the corrupter of all good humours in man.

The ſaying of *Galen, Auicenne*, and *Cornelius Celſus.*

Of Horſes.

Of Shippes.

Of Souldiers.

baſe corrupting. Souldiers, and men inured to Armes; they grow out of heart, in the times of reſt and peace. Beſide, I finde it faithfully recorded, that *Hannibals* idleneſſe at *Capua*, was the onely cauſe of the *Romaines* victorie againſt him. The ſloathfull man hath no other Leſſon; but that all imployment is painefull to him. He that marcheth beſt in Warre, fights alwaies in greateſt ſecurity: but hee that abideth ſtill in one place, is apt to all inconueniences, and the Sunne burnes him with the more aduantage. The Archer herein ſerues as a Schoole-maiſter to vs, who neuer drawes his Arrow at a Bird flying; but when he findes her ſlothfully ſitting.

Hanibals idleneſſe at *Capua*.

The ſlothfull mans Leſſon.

Example of the Archer.

We do ordinarily behold, and finde it true in common experience, that both voices and inſtruments, not being imploied; they loſe their vertue, ſound hoarſly and diſcordant: whereas on the contrary, vſe refineth, concordeth, and makes them moſt pleaſing. There are ſome kindes of Wines, that muſt bee rackt and roughly mannaged, to preſerue them in yeilding the better reliſh. Pretious ſtones, if they bee not polliſhed and purely cleanſed, they cannot appeare in their perfect luſter: but by painefull labour and trauaile, they are diſcerned in their higheſt excellencie. Rude Iron it ſelfe, the more it is vſed, the clearer it ſhineth. Among brute beaſts, they that take the greateſt pains, are moſt eſteemed of men. To ſupport this cauſe, I could alleadge ſo many authorities of Philoſophers and Poets, al blaming and rebuking idleneſſe: as would ſerue to compleat whatſoeuer is wanting, for full confirmation of this needfull diſcourſe. Saints haue curſſed it; Philoſophers condemned it; *Ouid*, *Plato*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Virgill*, and all other Poets haue ſung againſt it. All Hiſtories are full of the euils deriued from it. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, condemning idleneſſe, doe highly exalt the Art that was called *Gymnaſtia*, whereby, all neceſſary occaſions and matters for war were enſtructed.

Of inſtruments and voyces.

Of Wines.

Of pretious ſtones.

Of Iron.

Of brute beaſts.

Plato, in Lib. 7 de Legib.

Of the Emperour *Adrian* & *Turbo*.

The Emperor *Adrian* had long time educated, fauoured, and (at laſt) exalted a man, named *Turbo*, who was a moſt diligent and labourious follower of his affaires, and the Emperor, noting him one day, that (in his opinion) hee was too earneſt in his buſineſſe, he ſaid vnto him. *Turbo, doe not kill thy ſelfe, but be more carefull of thy health*: whereto *Turbo* replyed. *My Lord, the Man that hath beene nouriſhed, fauoured and aduanced by an Emperour, as I haue beene, ought to dye in Trauaile at his foote*. *Quintus Curtius* declareth, that the diſeaſes of idleneſſe ſhould be cured by Trauaile. The *Romaines* had a cuſtome, to begin the day at midnight, to the end, that at the riſing and apparition of the Sunne; they might all fall to labour together: for they were perſwaded, that (already) a moity of the day was paſt, and yet no good Act performed by them. A *Roman* ſought to perſwade the Senate, that *Carthage* could not be deſtroyed; leaſt the *Romans* boaſting of ſecurity, by want of imployment there, ſhould become idle. Vpon which occaſion, *Scipio Naſica*, perceiuing that ſome held *Rome* to be in ſafety, after that *Carthage* was made deſolate, and *Greece* waſted; gaue them this anſwere. *I am of a contrary opinion, and doe thinke our ſelues now to be in much greater perill, becauſe we now ſtand in feare of no body*. Whereby this worthy man inferred, that idleneſſe was the cauſe of more dreadfull daunger, then either warre or neighbouring enemies; becauſe feare yeeldes more aduantage of ſafetie, then when we ſtand free from all doubtfull conſideration. And therefore the *French* haue a prety Prouerbe: *Make Holidaie when the times giue leyſure*.

Quint. Curtius

When the *Romaines* began the day.

A Romaine perſwaſion to the Senate.

The words of *Scipio Naſica*.

Idleneſſe cauſeth more danger then warre can do.

Apuleius ſaide, that nothing ſeemed more commendable to him, then Fencers, who had idleneſſe in ſuch abhomination; that the Maiſters would neuer ſuffer their Schollers to eate, till they had firſt performed ſome act of vertue and man-hood. *Cicero* declareth (to the ſame effect;) *That Men were truely borne to good deedes and aduentures; whereof our Soule is a ſufficient argument, for it is neuer idle, or at reſt*. *Draco*, the famous Law-maker of *Athens*, among the moſt notable Lawes which hee deuiſed, he had one deſeruing the chiefeſt praiſe of all; which was: That ſuch men were ſentenced with death, as ſhould be found idle, or walking at their pleaſure or paſtimes, when others were ſeriouſly and honeſtly buſied. It deſer-

Apuleius concerning Fencers.

The ſaying of *Cicero*.

The Law of *Draco* againſt idleneſſe.

ueth

Three Idols in great esteeme among the Gentiles.

ueth some consideration, to note in what account trauaile was among the Gentiles; in regard, that they had three Idols: the first was named *Strenna*, that is; dexterity, or agility: the second, *Agenoria*, which signified virility, or manlines: and the third, *Stimula*, which is as much to say, as a spurre and pricke to honour and vertue; and trauaile was (with them) in such precious reckoning, that they erected these *Ideaes* to eternity.

The holy Scripture bindeth vs to trauaile.

But not to stay our selues (ouer long) on the Gentiles opinion, let vs come to the sacred Scriptures; where we are no lesse bound to trauaile, then restrained and prohibited from prophane thinges. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, among those other places, where he so deepely condemneth idlenesse, saith: *That the sluggard or slouthfull person, which forbeareth to worke in Winter, shall be a Beggar.* Saint *Paule*, the Doctour of the Gentiles, taketh glory in nothing more, then in not beeing idle, commending labour and trauaile aboue all things. And writing to the *Thessalonians*, hee tels them, that they knew wel enough how to imitate him, for he was neuer idle among them, but it was foode to him both night and day, in that he had gained them; not by any indirect meanes or charge to them, but in giuing them good example. Saing moreouer, that hee that would not labour, ought not to eat. The like did he to the *Corinthians*, recounting his Trauailes taken for their example; and so in many other places beside. Let vs then (hence-forward) imploy our time in good and honest exercises, shunning sloth and idlenesse, that neuer can performe any act of estimation.

Prouerbs. 10.5.

1 *Thes.* 2,9.

2 *Thes.* 3,8, 9. 10.

2 *Corin.* 5,7.

In what manner trauaile is commanded.

And yet wee are not commaunded, to follow labour and trauaile, with such extreamity or rigour; as to leaue our meate, drinke, sleep, or honestly taking our rest and quiet: for decent recreations, and honest repose is sometimes lawfull. In which regard, *Cicero* exalted and commaunded *Scipio*, who said: *That he was neuer lesse at rest, then when he was at rest.* Which *Cicero* maintaineth to be a notable saying: *Because* (quoth he) *he declared thereby, that in his idlenesse, he thought on his businesse, and so in solitude, he could take councell with himselfe.* Moral *Seneca* alleaged; *That idle time, without Letters or study, is death and buriall to a Man, and onely they that are exercised in knowledge, know best what sloath and idlenesse is.* *Plutarch* would haue a man to make some dispensation of his time, in exercising the difference betweene knowledge and experience. O that men (then) would but duely consider, how their time is to bee imployed; which glides away so swiftly, and remember withall, that they must render an account for euery word spoken vainely & idly. *Cato*, although he was a Pagan, yet he could say: *That great and worthy Men did stand as much bound to yeilde an account, for their time lost or neglected; as they that could best deliuer reason for their honest imployment.*

Cicero concerning the saying of *Scipio*.

The saying of *Seneca*.

Plutarch in his Morralles.

The graue saying of *Cato*.

To conclude, we should make such good expence of our time, in honest, lawdable, and blamelesse exercises: that the fruites thereof may be aduantageable to vs, and we esteemed as hyred Seruants for heauen; which is prouided for none, but such, as are called to trauaile in the Lords Vine-yard, and shall haue their Wages according to their worke. And Saint *Iohn* the Diuine saith. *The dead which dye in the Lord, are fully blessed, for they rest from their labours, and their workes and trauailes follow them.* This authority doth well approue, that trauaile is the merchandise of this World; heere bought and sold; but rewarded in Heauen. For so Saint *Paule* testifieth, saying: *Euery one shall receiue his wages and payment, according as he hath trauailed here beneath.*

The Authors conclusion concerning labour and trauaile.

Reuel. 14,13.

CHAP. V.

The reason, why the Palme was giuen as an attribute to Conquerours; and Lawrell obserued as a signe of victory.

MOst certaine is it, that (in elder times) the Romaines gaue the Palme to Conquerours, in signe of Triumph; and it is so true, that by writing in Latine the word *Palma*, it is meerely vnderstood for victory. *Plutarch* also affirmeth, that for each kind of victory, there was a seuerall Crowne

Plutarch in Tract. de Compunct.

Seuerall Crowns vsed among the Romanes for Conquerors.

Crowne designed, where-with their heads were circkled, that had obtained such honor in field. One was made of Oliue branches; another of Laurell; a third of Oaken Leaues, and others, of other trees: but among them all, the Palme was the general signe of victory. Those ancients do likewise say, that the cause why this signification (more then any other) was attributed to them: proceeded from an admirable propriety in the Tree it selfe, which (without any other proofe to confirme it) is allowed to be most certaine, by authority of the that haue written theron; as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Plutarch*. All which learned Writers do maintain, that the more the Palme-tree (or one of his branches) is charged with any heauy weight or burden; the more it resists and withstandeth the oppression. And whereas all other Trees doe yeelde vnder such lading, and are surmounted by the burden; the Palme only resisteth, and cannot be ouer-awed; because the greater the weight is, the more doth it still out-stand it. In this respect, both *Plutarch* and *Aulus Gellius* say: *That he which goes with an intent to Conquer another, must not suffer himselfe to be surmounted by feare of the perrill, nor waxe weake in the attempt: but rather trauaile on with height of courage, and (with resolute resistance) pursue victorie, as being a man, meete to carry comparison with that Tree, which hath the same naturall quality, both in resisting and ouercomming any weighty oppression, and therefore it is giuen as a signe of victory.*

Plin. Lib. 6. Arist. in Probl. Theophra. lib. 5. Aul. Gel. lib. 2. Plutar. in Simp

The words of *Plutarch* and *Aulus Gellius*.

Others say, that this honour was practised by the Gentiles, because the Palme was consecrated to *Phœbus*, long before the Laurell was, and was held to be a most auncient signe of victory. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus*, doe write of many other properties in this Tree, whereof we neede not speake, to auoide expence of time. And yet notwithstanding, I am very loath, to conceale that which is affirmed by so many; to wit, that as the Palme hath contrary effects to all other Trees: so is there of them both Masle and Female, and the Females are they which bring forth dates; the Masles onelie flourish, and when they happen to yeelde any fruite, they are verie small, without good taste, and no profit is made of them. It is also to be obserued, that in what place soeuer the Females grow, if the Masles be not neere vnto them, they will not beare any fruit: but if it chance, that the Masle-tree bee cut or disbranched; the Female (like a Widdowe) thence-forward, will neuer yeelde any more fruit.

The Palme was consecrated to *Phœbus*, before the Laurell.

Palme-trees that are both male and female.

But ceasing further speech of the Palme, we are heere to remember, that in the Triumphes at *Rome*, the Triumphers vsed to bee Crowned with Laurell, and the Captaine that triumphed, carried a braunch thereof in his hand. So is the Triumphe described of *Scipio Affricanus*, by *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and many others, whereof *Pliny* yeeldeth some reason, and saith. *The Laurell was consecrated to Apollo or Phœbus, because that on the Mount of Pernassus, there grew great store of them*; And hee beleeueth, that for this reason, the Triumphers Crowned themselues with Laurell.

Wreathes or Crownes of Laurell were in the *Romane* Triumphes.

Plin. Lib. 6.

He deliuereth another reason, concerning a wonderfull propertie in the Laurell, to wit; that (naturally) it is an enemy to Fire, and Thunder; and Lightening (be it neuer so violent) hath not the power to touch it. Hereupon was it, that so often as the Emperour *Tiberius* heard any Thunder, and beheld the lightning flashes; hee tooke a Leafe of Laurell or Bayes, and layde it on his bare head, iudging himselfe (by that meanes) to bee free from the Thunder and Lightnings daunger. The Priestes of Diuination in *Rome*, vsed also to Crowne themselues with Laurel, and afterward burning them; would diuine (by the noise it made) of that which was to ensue: and therfore *Claudian* called this Tree, *The Diuiner of things to come.*

A strange property of the Laurell.

The Emperor *Tiberius*.

The Diuinatours wore Laurell Crowues.

Pliny and *Suetonius*, in the beginning of the Emperour *Galbaes* life, doe declare a matter very strange, saying; that *Liuia Drusilla* (who afterward was named *Augusta*, because she was married to *Octauianus Augustus*) going from *Rome*, to a place out of the Cittie, called *Veietana*; she chanced to sit downe vnder a Laurell Tree, and very soone after, an Eagle flying ouer her

Plin. lib. 7. Sueton. in vit. Galb.

Of *Liuia Drusilla*, wife to *Octauianus Augustus*.

her head in the Ayre(through the branches of the Bay-tree) did let fall into her lap, a Hen as white as Snow, that carried a branch of greene Bayes fast in her Bill. *Liuia* beeing somewhat amazed thereat, caused the Henne to bee well kept, and of it came many more beside; wherefore, the name of the Graundge where shee kept the Henne, was euer after called *Gallina*. She commaunded also, that the braunch (found in the Hennes Bill) should be planted, which grew so faire, and prospered in such plenty; as it was wonderfull to behold, what aboundance of Trees came of that one Plant. So that, from that time forward, both *Octauianus* and his Successours, (in a kinde of Custome, or superstitious Religion) when they triumphed: would cut braunches of those Baytrees, and beare them in their handes; but when the Triumphe was ended, they would plant them againe by those Trees, from whence they had beene cut, and they prospered as well as the other did. This History is (in this manner) related by these two credible Authors. *Suetonius*, whose authority is of great reputation, addeth yet another matter, whereat I doe not a little maruaile. He saith, that at such times as any Emperour dyed; the Plant of Laurell likewise withered, and all the branches cut from those boughs, which had bin planted at the time of his triumph. And when *Nero* died, who was the last of the *Cæsars* Linage, all the Bay-trees dryed vp and withered, that had grown cheerefully before, and came of that one braunch, which the Hen brought in her beake, and had bin planted by *Liuia*. Beside, all the thriuing store of the white Hennes brood, dyed, not one remaining, and in the Imperiall Pallace fell such Lightnings and Thunder: as smote off the heads of the Emperours statues, erected there in their remembrance, and the Scepter which *Augustus Cæsar* helde in his hand, was also smitten downe to the ground. Continually they placed Crownes of Laurell vpon euery Cornish of the Emperours houses. *Ouid*, among many other things in his Metamorphosis, saith; That the Romaines reputed the Laurell, to bee a very sacred Tree, and would make no vse therof, about things that were vile, vncleane, or prophane: but euer accounted it as a signe of peace, and therfore tearmed it the *Peacefull Laurell*. *Plinie* saith, that the Laurell hath a vertuous property against the Pestilence, & against all venemous Serpents. *Ouid* declareth, that the faire & chast Nimph *Daphne*, was conuerted into this Tree, and in regard thereof, it was consecrated to *Phœbus*, who (among other vanities) was adored by the ancient *Romains* as a God.

Plin. Lib. 9.

The carrying of Laurell branches in triumphes.

Another History auouched by *Suetonius*.

Nero the last Emperor of the *Cæsars* race

The *Romaines* estimation of the Laurell.

CHAP. VI.

Of the abhominable and most detested vice of Cruelty; How horrid it is to humane Nature: With many excellent examples depending on this Argument.

AMong all vicious pollutions, which are most repugnant, euen to common humanity, and make men to become abhominable; me thinks, that cruelty is the supreame and Soueraign of all other. For, man is a most Noble Creature, made in the Image and similitude of God; yea, borne to exercise nothing but mildenesse: but being seruile to cruelty; he becommeth a brute Beast, terrible, furious, wicked, and an vtter enemy to God, who is the Prince of clemency, and would not haue one man to be bitter, or tyrrannous to another. *Aristotle* saith, that fierceneſſe, cruelty, and inhumanity, belongeth only to wild and furious beasts. *Seneca*, in his second Book of Clemency, termeth it Fellony against the Soule, and from thence concludeth; that it is opposite and contrary to the vertue of Clemency. Cruelty is the greatest enemy to Iustice and reason, and is a more detestable sin then Pride or Anger. For it seemeth, that anger proceedeth from som conceiued displeasure, to behold any euill offered to another: but in a cruell disposition, there is found far other maleuolent matter, because in smiles (and without any disdaine, but only in meere mallice) mercilesse torments are inflicted on men; yea, euen to the depriuation of life. Therfore it is capitall enemie to Iustice, which honorably defendeth, and will permit no man to receiue any domage or harme; without some fault com-

Man made a Noble Creature.

Arist. in Ethic.

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Clement.

Anger compared with cruelty.

Cruelty the chiefest enemy to Iustice.

committed, and yet taketh order also, that offenders shal haue milde and temperate correction. *Seneca*, in his Booke of manners, saith; *If we call them Hangmen, that vse no measure in the correction of vices: what then may wee tearme them, that cruelly oppresse and murder Innocents?*

Senec in Lib. de Morib.

Examples of cruell men are infinite, among whom was *Herod*, King of the *Iewes*, who raigned at the time, as our Lord & Sauior Iesus Christ was born. For, after the slaughter of so many Innocents (purposely performed, in hope to haue slaine him among them, that came into the world for our Redemption) he would yet make further shew of his cruelty, not only while he liued, but euen at the instant of his death. And because he well perceiued his end approaching, he called all the chiefe persons of *Ierusalem*, who being come before him: he caused them to be seazed on, and fast lockt vp in a place neere to himselfe, giuing strict charge to his Sister: that at the point of his Soules surrender, shee should see them euery one put to death; wherein she failed, in regard that God appointed the contrary. And what was his reason for his bloody intent? Onely this, as himselfe confessed a little before his death. He knew very wel, that al the people of *Ierusalem* would be very ioyful for his departure, because other matters had happened to the people, then they expected; and therefore (mooued onely by cruelty) to make this the saddest day that euer they endured, he concluded this bloody slaughter and horrible murder. The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Son to great *Gedeon*, were as wonderfull, for, that himselfe might enioy the Kingdome alone, he put to death threescore of his owne Bretheren: one onely escaping, named *Ionathas*, who fled (by the will of God) that the Traytour might liue in continuall suspition. Now, I know not whether this cruelty, or the other following, may be counted the greatest, acted by the same man, against the *Sichimites*, and in reuenge, because they had expulsed him out of their Citty. But he getting entrance againe by power, and in the night time: slew all that were therein, Men, Women, Children, great and small. And because some were fled into the Temples; hee caused them to bee round engirt with wood, & putting fire thereto; the heat and smoak was so great, that there they were all smothered. Then destroying the Citty, he caused the ground to bee ploughed, and gaue commaund, that it should be sowen with Salt.

Herod King of the *Iewes*, at the birth of our Sauiour.

The cruelty of *Herod* at his death, against the chiefest men in *Ierusalem*.

Herods reason for his bloody intent.

The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Sonne of *Gedeon*, vpon his owne Brethren, and the *Sichimites*.

Very great also, was the cruelty of the *Carthagenians*, executed on *Atilius Regulus*, who being taken Prisoner by thē, they sent him (vpon his owne word) to the *Romaines*, to worke the meanes of peace by the permuptation of Prisoners and Captiues. But he, not regarding his owne life, but preferring the honour of his Country before all other respects: returned againe to *Carthage*, where (for conseruation of his faith) he willingly yeilded himselfe. They, in extreamity of cruelty, made him vp fast in a Tun of wood, which was stuck thick with sharp pointed Nailes of Iron, not affoording the least place, where any member of him might be free from torture: and so, rowling him vp and down their streetes, did put him to death in that miserable manner.

Of *Atilius Regulus*, the famous *Romaine* Captaine against the *Carthagenians*.

All Tyrants haue a custome, to be cruell by nature, but aboue all the rest, the execrable and bloody Tyrant *Phalaris* of *Sicily*, carrieth the chiefest place of eminence. He slew infinite men, without any offence commited against him, and (if it were well considered) he was much more cruell in affection, then in action. For he had a Bull of Brasse, which *Perillus* (a cunning workman) had made for him, wherein the party was enclosed, whom he would haue to bee put to death. Then kindling an hot Fire round about it, the voyce of the poore pacient (suffering this torture within) seemed to the Tirant, as if it had bin the bellowing of a true Bull. And this he did, to the end, that the cries of an humane voyce, in such extreamity, might not moone him to the least iot of compassion. Yet one thing is much commended in him, that *Perillus*, the inuentor and maker of this terrible punnishment; was the first (by the Tirants commaund) that made proofe thereof.

Of cruel *Phalaris* the bloody Tyrant of *Sicily*, and his Bull of Brasse made by *Perillus*.

Iustice executed by a Tyrant.

Nor can I well aduise my selfe, with what kinde of cruelty, to compare that of *Tullia*, daughter to *Tarquine*, king of *Rome*, who caused her father to be slain, because she might inherit the kingdom; which himselfe had willingly giuen her,

Tullia slew his owne Father, to enioy his Kingdome.

she would but haue stayed a little longer. And that which is much more note worthy in her cruelty, was; that her father lying dead vpon the ground, & she being mounted in his Chariot; would needes ride ouer the dead body. And wheras the Horses that drew the Chariot, being fearefull at sight of the dead body, refused to goe on; as also the Coach man that guided them (moued with compassion of his murdred Maister) would haue turned them another way, to the end, that the Kinges body might not be dismembred: yet took she pleasure in her cruell affection, & what the dumb beasts (in pitty) denied to do; she (in meere cruelty) would execute, compelling the Horses to obey hir wil, and trample vppon the body of her Father.

Extraordinary cruelty in a Daughter.

The horrible cruelty of the *Scythians* to liuing men.

The *Scythians*, a people very furious & valiant in warre, are likewise recorded, (by Historians) to be exceeding cruell: but among their other cruelties (which gaue much matter of maruaile) this one is especially remebred. They wold that their greatest beasts, as Horses & Buls, and such men as they would haue to be tormented, must be bound fast within the opened bodies of the slaughtered Beasts, so that they could not possiblie stirre any way. There would they giue them food to eate, that while they thus liued: the Flesh of the dead beastes might putrifie and stincke, and the Wormes issuing forth of the putrifaction, should feede on the liuing men, and they dye in this cruell torment.

The cruelty of *Maximinus* and *Maxentius*

We reade that *Maximinus*, Emperour of *Rome*, did as much, hauing deuised the most horrible cruelty, that euer entred into the heart of Man: hee caused liuing men to bee fast bound to the bodies of dead men, and left them in that manner, till the noysome smell of the dead had kild the liuing.

Virgill affirmeth the like of *Maxentius*. As strange horrid cruelties doe we read of, done by *Alexander Pheræus*, who commaunded liuing men to bee buried, being bound face to face one against another. Others, he caused to bee cloathed in the skinnes of Beares, and other wilde beasts, and then threw them forth into the open fields, among Wolues and Mastiues, that they might bee torne in peeces and deuoured of them.

The cruelty of *Alexander Pheræus*.

The History of *Astiages* & *Harpagus*.

I know not, whether the cruelty done by *Astiages* (King of the *Medes*) to *Arpalus*, or *Harpagus* (one of the cheefest and deerest Friendes of his Kingdome) may be reported; without amazement and dreadfull astonishment. This *Astiages* appointed a young Sonne of his owne to bee slaine (in regard of a troublesome dreame, concerning the said Child) and gaue the charge of this bloody execution to *Harpagus*. But he, mooued to compassion, by the moanes and teares of the young Infant (which was afterward called *Cyrus* the Great) and standing in feare also of the Childs Mother, she being daughter to *Astiages*: would not kill the Infant, but with all care and diligence, tooke order for the safety and education therof. Long time after, *Astiages* was aduertised, that the Child was not dead, which smothering inwardly to himselfe, with a countenance declaring no discontentment: he closely practised, how he might repay the pitty of *Harpagus*, in breaking his commaund, and preseruing the life of young *Cyrus*. *Harpagus* hauing a young Sonne, *Astiages* (by secret meanes) got possession of him, and hauing inuited *Harpagus* to dine with him the next day, among the other viands serued in at the Table; the Father fed vpon the flesh of his owne Childe, with exceeding appetite and good liking, because the Kings cruelty was vnknowne to him. *Astiages* not satisfied with the bloody deceipt, did another most cruell deede: for, among the fruites and delicates to finish this dinner, vpon seuerall plates and dishes; the head, feet, and hands of the Infant was set vpon the table, and presented so apparantly before the father, that he could not auoyde the knowledge of his wofull dinner.

The preseruation of young *Cyrus*.

The cruelty of K *Astiages*.

An extreame cruelty in a King.

Betweene the two Warlicke Captaines, *Marius* and *Silla*, being Capitall Enemies to each other, were so many tyrannies exercised; as it seemed, they listned to nothing else, but contended which should exceede in the greatest Cruelrie. *Silla* caused foure Legions of Souldiers to bee slaine in one day. Likewise the *Prænestines*, a people of *Italy*, that desired mercy of him, because they had receiued *Marius* into their safetie and keeping; they could get no

Contention between *Marius* and *Silla*, to exceed ech other in cruelty.

no releafe from his tyranny, but were all generally flaine, and their bodyes throwne into the fieldes, to feede Vultures and Rauens. The like, on the other fide, did *Marius*, that he might not come a iot behind his enemy in cruelty.

The crueltie of the Emperor *Tiberius*.

Could the World yeelde an equall to the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Succeffour of *Octauius?* Hee, after a feigned clemency, at the beginning of his raign, fuffered no day to paffe him, without fhedding the blood of poor Innocents. Moreouer, he deuifed a kind of cruelty, the like whereof (in mine opinion) was neuer heard: For he prohibited (on pain of death) that no one fhould be fo bold as to weepe, or make any fhew of forrow, for them whom he had innocently put to death. Truely, this was a verie ftrange cruelty, for I am of the minde, that there can be no greater paine, then that which hindereth an afflicted heart, from eafing his ouer-weighty burthen of woe, by fighes and teares, the pooreft remedy that oppreffion can haue.

An incomparable cruelty.

That which he afterward did to young Maides and Virgines, deferueth no repetion, but onely to his endleffe fhame. For, before their death, he would haue them violated and deflouted by Ruffians and Hang-men, to the ende, that (with death) they might loſe their chiefeft honour and palme of victory. And fuch was his delight in putting people to death, that when newes was brought him, that one (whom he had condemned to death) had flain himfelfe; he cryed out, faying. *Oh how could this Cornelius* (for fo was the condemned perfons name) *eſcape me? Hee fhould haue vnderſtood, I vſe to torment patients in ſuch ſort before they dye, that death it ſelfe is the greateſt grace I can doe them.* There then liued not any man, but he was amazed at his variety of inuentions, wherby he tormented and put men to death. Whē he was difpofed to fee fome men dye, he would haue them firft to drinke exceffiuely, and when they were able to drinke no more; then fhould their cunduit paffage for Vrine bee fo ſtrictlie bound, that the leaſt droppe of Vrine could not be voyded, and in this mercileffe Agony muſt they be left, vntill they dyed with extreamity of anguifh. Befide, onelie for his pleafure, man muſt bee throwne head-long from an high Rocke (named *Capraria*, neere *Naples*) into the Sea, and becauſe he imagined, that (thus dying in the Water) was too eaſie a death: hee would haue armed men to ſtand beneath, to receiue the bound bodies on their Pikes and Halbardes, ſo to mangle and cut thē in pieces, before they were thrown into the Sea.

The words of the Emperor *Tiberius*.

Violence don to Virgines.

An aduentitious torment.

After the death of this *Tiberius* euen ſuch a death as hee worthily deſerued; *Caius Caligula* ſucceeded in the Empire, and in the violent affection of his Predeceſſours. He wiſhed, that all the people in *Rome* had but one head; that (at one ſtroke) himſelfe might ſmite it off. He thought himſelfe vnfortunate; & complained of the felicitie in his time; becauſe that (while he gouerned) there was no Famine, vniuerſall Peſtilence, Deluges, Ruines, and ſubuerſions of Countries, for vter deſolation of the whole World together. A man was brought before him, that formerly had beene baniſhed by *Tiberius*, of whom hee demaunded; what he did all the time of his banniſhment? The man made anſwer (in meere adulation) that he praied to God, without intermiſſion, for the death of *Tiberius*, & that his Maieſty might ſucceede in the Empire. Which when *Caligula* heard, he remembred himſelfe, how many thouſands of men had bin baniſhed; & thruſt into exile by him, who (doubtleſſe) might make the like Prayer for him: he forthwith gaue command, that they ſhould be all repealed, and euerie man of them put to death. Such as (by him) were ſentenced to die, hee would haue the manner of their dying prolonged by little and little, and inflict (at firſt) but ſmall woundes on them, that their paine might laſt the longer. For he vſed to ſay to his Tormentours; *Deale with them ſo, that they may feele themſelues die.* He obſerued alſo a ſaying of his predeceſſor: *People wiſh me ill, becauſe they feare me* After this *Caligula*, *Nero* ſucceeded in the gouernment, & in no leſſe fiercenes and cruelty; becauſe he was a Man, in whom (if poſſible it might be) all the others cruelties were encloſed, and all elſe that could (by Men) be imagined. For, without any regard of ſanctified things, or perſons (of like qualitie) priuate or publike: hee cauſed the Cittie

Caius Caligula, his bloodie wiſh to the people of Rome.

Of a man baniſhed by *Tiberius*.

Baniſhed men repealed and put to death.

Death prolonged by little and little.

Nero ſucceſſor to *Caligula* in tyranny and cruelty.

against the Christians

ans, and whereof *Eusebius* maketh declaration in his Ecclesiastical History, I cannot well let passe, without some breefe note, to the end, that Blasphemers and bad people now liuing, may see what the Christians endured in the Primitiue Church, because they wonlde not denie the name of Christ.

Christians dragd at horses tayles.

This wicked Tyrant, caused men to be dragd thorow the streets, at the tailes of Horsses, and their bodies beeing thus sore bruised and broken, they were sent backe to prison againe, where they had no other beds to repose on, but broken Potshards, and such like vn-easie matter, whereon they were sure to taste no rest.

The limbes of Christians bound to the tops of Trees.

He would also cause the lofty branches of trees, to be gently haled downe without breaking; and then binding the limbs of Christians vnto them, command their sudden exaltation, that so their bodyes

rants are Gods Ministers, and yet nuertheleſſe, they haue continually had and euill endes, in open viewe of the world.

SVch as haue beene, & yet are subiected to wicked Tyrants, ought to consider (for their consolation) that though they are oreawed by such oppressours, they are (notwithstanding) the Ministers of God. In many places of the Holy Scriptures, they are named the seruants of God, because (by them) God punisheth the wicked, & perfecteth them that are good. The Hæbrewes hauing beene gouerned by Iudges and Priests, *Samuel* growne into old yeares, and sinne and contempt of God encreasing among the people; Kings wer

God maketh vse of Tirants to be his Ministers of vengeance.

giuen

Iuſtice, and (in this vnderſtanding) were named his ſeruants.

Totila called the Flayle of God.

Cruell *Totyla*, King of the *Goths*, was named the threſhing Flaile of God; and iuſtly reputed ſo to be. Great *Tamberlaine*, who liued in the time of our Grand fathers, a moſt powerfull and cruel Captain, ſubduing and vanquiſhing numberles Prouinces; when he was demaunded wherefore he was ſo cruell and inhumain to men by him vanquiſhed, Anſwered in great Choller; *Thinke ye that I am any other then the wrath of God?* Hence therfore may we wel conclude, that (very often) cruell and wicked men are Inſtruments, whereby God puniſheth the ſinfull, and approoueth the vertuous. And yet notwithſtanding, he doth not thereby cleare theſe men from beeing wicked ſtill, and worthy of greater chaſtiſement, euen for theſe actions of theirs: *Becauſe*

Tamberlaine named the wrath of God.

Wicked men are ſaid to be Gods inſtruments.

Cruell *Nero*, before he died, ſaw himſelfe deprined of his Empire, & iudged a deadly enemy to *Rome*; by which means, beeing enforced to hide himſelfe in hollow Vaults, which were wholly infected with humane excrements, he wold needs kill himſelfe. But wanting power to execute his owne will, and calling others to helpe him in the action: three Villaines came and murdered him, mocking him extreamely all the while, which they delayed ſo long as they could, for his greater torment, accoſding as *Suetonius* reporteth.

The miſerable death of bloody *Nero*.

Dioclesian likewiſe, hauing left the empire, died by poiſon, which he had ſecretly prepared for himſelfe. *Domitian* alſo died, hauing receiued ſeuen woundes by *Stephanus*, *Saturnius*, *Maximus*, and others. *Tullia*, of whom we ſpake before, that vſed her owne Father ſo cruellie, being

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Tullia*.

The death of *Astiages*.

ing banished from *Rome*, died poore and miserably. *Astiages*, Grand-Father to *Cyrus*, whom he would haue murdered in his Infancie, by the aide of *Harpagus*, and whom he made to feede on the flesh of his owne Childe, was despoiled of his Kingdome by *Cyrus*, and died wretchedly. *Herod* likewise, and many other wicked Tyrants, of whom to speake, would aske a tedious relation, died all the like infamous deaths. Let such then, as now do command & bear sway in the world; shun crueltie, and embrace clemencie, that they may the better be loued of their subiects. For the verie greatest and surest safety of a King, consisteth in the amitie and affection of his people.

CHAP. VIII.

The strange fortune, which happened to the Sonne of Crœsus, King of Lydia, and likewise to the Sonne of another King. In regard wherof, it is discoursed whither speech bee a thing natural to man or no: and whether man only speaketh, & no creature else.

Herodotus and *Aulus Gellius*.

HErodotus writeth, a meruelous accident happening to the sonne of *Crœsus*, K. of *Lydia*: and in the same manner, is it reported by *Aulus Gellius*. This *Crœsus* was a Rich King, and the same that was vanquished by *Cyrus*, as many good Historiographers haue declared. During the time that this King liued prosperously in his Countrey, he had by one of his Lawful Wiues, a goodly Sonne, healthfull and compleate in all his parts and vnderstanding. The Child hauing attained conuenient yeares, to forme speech, & make vse thereof, was (notwithstanding) by the meanes of some vnknowne string, or other hinderance in the tongue, debarred from speaking for long time after. Yet grew he to good stature, and aptly disposed to diuers enterprizes, which caused him to bee much pitied, & this restraint of his speech, made euerie one to repute him dumbe, albeit hee had good knowledge, and heard verie perfectly, which is against the order of Nature, for neuer was any man knowne to bee Naturallie dumbe, but he was deafe likewise.

The son of K. *Crœsus* bereste of speech.

Dumbe men are also deafe by Nature.

It fortuned, that *Crœsus* was vanquished, and the City wherein hee was, taken by the enemies, so that the forwarde Soldiers pressed on to the Pallace wherin the King and his dumbe Sonne were hidden together. But being found by a Soldier, who had perfect knowledge of them both: and lifting vp his sword, with full intent to kill *Crœsus*: his Son was so affrighted at the bloody proffer, and passion had such a powerful working in him that he stroue for speech extraordinarily. And pressing the extreame Dominion, which the soule hath of the body, immediately the corporall Organes yeelded to the strong determination of the will, and breaking the strings that had so long restraind his liberty of speech, he spake out alowd, saying; *Oh do not kil him, consider that hee is King Crœsus, and my father.* When the Soldier heard these wordes, he with-held his stroke, and woulde not smite the King: so he escaped death, and from thence-forward his sonne continued in perfect speaking, euen as if hee had spoken all his life time till then. Surelie, this was a matter verie maruellous, and I cannot immagine, what naturall reason may be sufficiently giuen for it.

The strange extasy of a son, seeing his Father readie to be slaine.

A wonderfull recouerie of speech.

Aristotle saith, that men are born commonly dumbe and deafe, because they are not formed with such disposition of these two apprehensions, neither in such perfection as is required. Afterwards, in further growing on, they dispose them selues, and striue first of all, to begin with hearing; and after they haue hearde (for many daies together) then they labour how to speake. *Pliny* saith also, hee that is borne and continueth deafe, is compeld likewise to bee dumbe. For, most certaine it is, that if a deafe man hearde, he would easily learne to speake, and speech is impossible to be taught him that is entirely deafe.

The Allegation of *Aristotle* concerning men borne dumb & deaf.

The saying of *Plini, Lib.*

Aristotle also saieth: It may well happen, that a Childe may pronounce some words before ordinary time, and yet notwithstanding, he will begin to lose those words againe, vntill such time as Natures allowed houre (for Infants to speake) be come, and when (by her appointment) they commonly vse to speake. To this purpose, *Pliny* speaketh of this sonne to King *Crœsus* (whose History we haue in briefe

Arist. in Hist. Nat. Lib. 2.

Plini, Lib. 15.

briefe related) and ſaith; That at the age of fiue moneths, hee pronounced ſome words, which were reputed as Prognoſticaters of his Fathers ruine: and ſo it ſeemed, that ſuch effect proceeded from that fore-telling, for he neuer ſpake afterwardes, vntill the memorable accident which we haue already declared.

Another Hiſtorie of the like nature.

I call to minde another aduenture in the like caſe, recited by *Hulsben Ragel*, in his *Iudiciare*, wher he ſpeaketh, as an eie-witneſſe; and being preſent in a Kinges Court, who had a Son borne, that within foure and twenty hours after his birth, began to ſpeake perfectly, and ſtirred his hands, whereat al the Beholders maruelled not a little, for with a ſtrong voice, he deliuered theſe words; *I am borne vnhappily, becauſe I come to fore-tel that the King my Father ſhal looſe his Scepter, & that his Kingdome muſt be deſtroyed*. At the ending of which words, the Childes life ended alſo. This accident (vndoubtedly) was verie dreadfull; and yet it ſeemeth to mee, rather as an Aduertiſement ſent from God, then any wonderfull woorke of Nature. Aſtrologers do tell vs, that the Child whoſe birth ſhal happen when Mercury is Lord of the Aſcendent and Orientall; hee will ſpeake much ſooner then anie other, who ſpeake not, but according vnto the ordinary courſe of Nature.

The ſtraunge wordes of a yong infant.

The opinion of aſtrologers

I remember likewiſe another matter, conformable to the caſe now in hand, to wit; that ſome haue helde opinion, That ſpeech is not a thing naturall to man, but is learned and gotten, as other Artes and Sciences are. Others hold directly, that our ſpeaking Naturally, is not a matter proper and peculiar to man only. The firſt, who are of the minde, that ſpeech is not a thing naturall, do labour to prooue it, in ſaying: That that ſtrength, which is naturally conuenient to one kind, ſhould be, and is as meet to all of the ſame kind. As wee may perceiue by barking in all Dogges, by Lowing or bellowing in all Bulles, Oxen, &c. and ſo (in like caſe) to al other kinds of Beaſts. And yet notwithſtanding, wee behold in men, that ſome ſpeake in one manner, and others quite contrary, ſo that they do not vnderſtand themſelues naturally; and therefore it ſeemeth, that ſpeech proceedeth rather from Art, then Nature.

Whither ſpeech be naturall to man, or no.

Againe, according to *Pliny*, there are ſome people that ſpeake not all, but their ſpeaking appeareth to be rather a kinde or forme of bellowing, then anie ſetled ſpeech; which neuer could ſo happen, if all men did ſpeake by the guift of nature, for, if it were ſo, then all men wold ſpeak in one and the ſame manner.

Plin. Lib. 6.

Now, as concerning the other opinion, in ſuch as ſay, that ſpeech is not perticulerly proper to man, they ground their iudgement on the Words of *Lactantius Firmianus*, who tels vs: That wee haue ſome parts, which ſeeme to vs, proper to men onely; and yet neuertheleſſe, the verie ſame are found to bee in other Creatures; as diuerſitie of voice in Birds, by the ſeuerall tunes wee heere diſcerne in one another; whereby we plainly perceiue, that they do vnderſtad each other, ſo that it can bee no otherwiſe, but as a meere forme of Language among them. Moreouer, they maintaine their argument vpon this ground, in that manie Parrats, Pies, Popingayes, and ſuch like Birds, are heard to ſpeake plainly.

That ſpeech is not proper to man onely

Birds do naturally vnderſtand one another.

But the truth of this matter is (albeit their opinions haue ſome apparance of veritie) that ſpeech is the guift of GOD only to man, not that he purchaſeth it by Art: but is proper and peculiar to him, and not to any other creature. True it is, that other Creatures haue voice, and yet notwithſtanding, they haue no Speech: and ſuch is the opinion of *Quintilian*, & likewiſe of *Ariſtotle*.

Speech, the guift of God, only to man.

Quintillian. Ariſtotle.

In like manner, wee haue good aunſweres to theſe contraty reaſons: As, to the firſt Argument we may well anſwere, That a thing may be Natural vniuerſally, but in perticuler, it may be exerciſed according to the will. It is naturallie euill done, and he deſerueth punithment for it, that killeth another man, or robbeth him of any of his goodes; and yet neuertheleſſe, to inflict one kind of correction or other (vpon him) for the offence, proceedeth from the will of the Iudge. Therfore, although that men do ſpeake diuers tongues, yet is it not to bee ſaid, that this their ſpeaking commeth from Nature. And ſo much the ſtronger is the Argument, that ſuch diuerſitie and confuſion of tongues, was for the punnithment of their pride, that laboured to builde the Tower of *Babel*: for, as we haue alreadie ſaid, there was then but one language in the world, which could be ſaid to be naturall.

Anſweres to the former argements.

Speech is not cauſed by nature.

And

The language of the Troglodytes.

And as for the *Troglodites*, who are are ſaid not to ſpeake at all, it is reputed, that this infirmity proceedeth, by reaſon that their tongue is ouermuch barbarous and imperfect, and they feele nothing, as it were, of humanity; and yet notwithſtanding, it is a kind of Language among them, whereby they ſeeme to vnderſtand one another. And whereas it is further ſaid, that there be diuers Birds that ſpeak,

Of Birds that ſpeake, a Parrat that could ſpeake all the Creed.

as the Parrat, whereof *Lodouicus Cælius* maketh mention, that belonged to Cardinall *Aſcanius*, which Parrat (in his preſence) pronounced (word by worde) all the Creed in Latine, without fayling in any one ſillable: We may lawfully anſwere, that this is no ſpeaking, for they knowe not what they ſay; but it is a certaine cuſtom taught them for many daies together, whereby to forme ſuch a voyce; but a true worde is conceyued in the ſoule, before it is pronounced, whereof Birdes haue no ſuch Capacitie.

The diuerſity of Voyces amongeſt all creatures.

And to that Argument, which implyeth, that wee knowe all creatures by the diuerſitie of their Voices, that they vnderſtand each other, and call one another amongſt themſelues: wee may not heereby inferre, that ſuch a Voyce is a word formed. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, the Voyce looſeth it ſelfe, and ſo can wee, (without any formed word) ſignifie and giue to be vnderſtoode, either ioy or diſcontent, and all vniuerſall paſsions: as wee ſee by the Voice, when it thus expreſſeth it ſelfe in laughter, & with pleaſure, or by ſighes and laments, in deepe ſorrow and anguiſh.

Obſeruations among beaſts and birds.

And for the reſpect of brute beaſtes, that haue difference either in their ſong or voice, and may be knowne when they are diſpleaſed or contented: and the like in Birds, either by motion of their winges, loftie flying, or ſome ſuch other ſign according to the effect: theſe are matters not incident to the caſe in queſtion. For to ſpeake and vtter wordes, whereby may perticulerly be expreſſed, profit, neceſsitie, harme, Mallice, Iuſtice, Iniuſtice, honeſtie, goodneſſe, and whereby alſo paſſed actions are deliuered, and forſight of them to come, by ſolide reaſons and words, in declaring themſelues, and other things are done, anſwerable to the benefit enſuing by ſpeech: this is a bleſſing beſtowed onely vpon man, euen as Hereditarie to him by Nature, & whereof no other Creature whatſoeuer, can any way be ſaide to ſtand in neede, or is ſo meete to merrite ſo gracious a benefite.

Man onely hath the benefit of ſpeaking.

CHAP. IX.

Of a Woman that was married manie times, And of a Man that had manie Wiues, and hapned at length to ioyne in marriage with that woman.

I Haue many times noted that the honor of Widdowes, vnder-went cõmon and publicke taxation, if they had beene married three or foure times. Now, albeit it ſeemeth exteriourly, that men had good reaſon for this detection; yet notwithſtanding, no man ought to iudge of another bodies ſecret Conſcience.

Widdowes often married, ſubiect to taxation.

Marriage, was firſt inſtituted in Paradiſe, and is allowed by the Church to be Sacred and Lawful; in which reſpect no man ſhould or ought vſe any reprehenſion againſt it. And yet wee muſt not denie, but that a Chaſt life, without ſubiection to marriage, is the more perfect eſtate, and is to bee elected as the better. Neuertheleſſe, the bounty of heauen diminiſheth no iot of eithers goodnes; but both eſtates are godly and commendable. If then a Widdow do marie, ſhe offendeth not God therein; and beſides, as concerning the World, it may very well be anſwered, that it is the ſmalleſt faulte ſhe can commit. And becauſe I would no way be miſtaken by the Reader, I will produce (vnto this purpoſe) what I haue read concerning a Widdow, and it is recorded by Saint *Hierome*: of whoſe Authoritie (I thinke) no one will make ſcruple, in regard of his Religion and great holineſſe.

A chaſt life is moſt cõmendable.

He ſaith, that in the time of *Damaſus*, he both ſaw and knew in *Rome* a woman, that had lawfully beene married to two and twenty ſeuerall men, and remaining a Widdowe, after the deceaſe of the two and twentith Husbande: there was a man came thither, that likewiſe hadde beene

A Widdow in *Rome* that had bin maried to 22 men.

A man that had bin married to twenty Wiues.

bin married to twenty Wiues, and was then a Widdower of the laſt, and both of them at freedome and libertie: which being vnderſtood to either, no difference in their degrees, but both of equal mean condition: they contracted Marriage together, which was a thing verie notable, and raiſed a generall deſire in the people of *Rome*, to ſee which of this ſtrange maried couple ſhould firſt die.

A Victorie of no mean moment.

It fortuned that the Woman firſt deceaſed, to whoſe obſequies, all the *Roman* people mainly flocked, to congratulate the Husbands happineſſe, as beeing victorious in no ſimple Conqueſt: ſetting a Crowne of *Laurell* vpon his heade, and placing him firſt in following the bodye of his Wife, bearing a branch of Palme in his hand, in ſigne of his victorie, and numberleſſe people accompanying him in his triumph.

Another Hiſtory reported by S. *Ioome*

The ſame holy Father, recounteth another matter very notable, which he ſetteth downe for truth, becauſe it was deliuered to him by ſuch as deſerued credit. The caſe concerneth a woman alſo, who to ſhewe her ſelfe ſome-what charitable, tooke a young Boy from verie poore parents, that had no releef but frō the Hoſpitall, intending to nouriſh the childe as if it were hir owne, feeding it at hir owne Table, and nightly lodging it in her bed. When the child had attained to x. yeares of age, the woman grew to be ſo incontinent, that ſhe woulds needes haue carnall knowledge of the Ladde, and that in ſuch manner, as at the terme of ſixe moneths, ſhe became quicke with Childe by him, contrary to the rule and order of nature, which neuer doth permit any ſuch conception at ten yeares of age. But, it rather ſeemeth that this happened by the permiſsion of God, to the end, that ſuch turpitude and diſhoneſty in a Woman, (vailed vnder pretence of charity) ſhould be apparantly diſcouered to the worlde. So that, although the other woman had married three and twenty ſeuerall times, yet are not we to iudge or conceite, that therein ſhe ſinned. For, I am perſwaded, that in being ſo oftentimes lawfully married, in publicke confirmation of the Church, and without any iuſt cauſe of contradiction: ſhe did much better then this other luſtfull lewd Woman, in committing ſuch a foule and inordinat ſinne; for which, no colour or excuſe can anie way be made: whereas, on the other ſide the ſaying of bleſſed Saint *Paule* ſtandeth in force: *That it is better to marrie then to burne.*

A ſtrange kind of conceiuing with childe.

The two women compared together.

CHAP. X.

The ſtrange fortune which happened to two Princes of Caſtile.

Sudden conceits very powerfull on the life of man.

THE power of ſodain conceite, or immediate apprehenſion of ſome inward diſlike, is knowne to bee of ſuch ſtrong impreſsiō; that it is able to be the death of man or Woman, and vnto this purpoſe tendeth our preſent diſcourſe. *Don Alphonſo*, eleauenth of that name, who was Father to *Don Peter*, hauing finiſhed his raigne in *Caſtile*, left his Sonne *Don Peter*, a verie young King: In which regard, the kingdome was gouerned by two Princes of the Countrey (who were Vnckles to the King, the one named *Don Peter*, and the other *Don Iohn*) and likewiſe by Queene *Mary*, that was his Grand-mother.

Don Peter, and *Don Iohn*, Vnckles to the yong King.

In the yeare one thouſand three hundred and ſixteen, theſe two Princes, who were Vnkle and Nephew, hauing manie times (like valiant and worthy men) made warre vppon the Moores, for exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith, and returned with famous Victories, as well approued and vndaunted Captaines: concluded togither to make Warre on the kingdome of *Granado*, with purpoſed ſpoyles & dammages on the Countreyes belonging to the Moores; hauing ioyned with the *Alcantara* and *Galatrana*, Great Maiſters of Saint *Iames* in *Galicia*, and the Arch-byſhop of *Toledo*.

Warre made vppon the Kingdome of *Granado* againſt the Moores.

The buſineſſe being growne to full effect, and great numbers both of horſſe and foot aſſembled, they began to inuade the Country, and ſped ſo well in the aduenture: that (with very ſucceſſefull fortune) they came before *Granado*, where they fought valiantly, and ſurprized diuers Caſtels, among which, was that named *Iliora*.

When fitting time for retirement cam, they returned backe againe by the Chriſtians Countrey, and marching in good order,

Don Peter, and Don Iohn, wer sharply assilted by the Moores, in their returning backe.

order; *Don Peter* was in the Vant-garde, and the Lord *Don Iohn* in the Rereward, wher he was suddenly charged by a huge multitude of *Moores*, that had assembled themselues frō all parts, and their assault was so furious, as he was constrained to send to *Don Peter*, to leaue his leading, & to come to his assistance in the Arriere. *Don Peter* verie gladly yeelded thereto, and marching back with admirable courage: founde his men to bee so daunted and weakened with dismay, as by no meanes possible, could he cause them to returne with him. By meanes whereof, he entered into such a sudden alteration and conceiued displeasure, that albeit he contended woorthily to essay a fresh march vppon the enemie, inciting both his horse and foot thereto, and by no reason could preuaile; hee drew foorth his sword, and smote some, thereby to terrifie the rest, and that terror might make them become obedient. But all prouing in vaine, his trouble in minde was so excessiue, that perceiuing he could no way helpe his Vnkle, he was no longer able to manage his sworde, but speech presently forsooke him, & vnderstanding likewise, so that he fell downe from his horse dead to the ground, without either stirring or speaking one word.

Don Peters soldiers wonderfully danted.

The strange and sodaine death of Don Peter.

This wofull accident, was (by some) too speedily reported vnto Prince *Iohn*, who fought manfully against the *Moors*, and had (in a manner) quite vanquished them. When he vnderstood the occasion of his Nephews sudden death; as suddenly likewise entred he into an extream passion, and gaue outward testimonie of such a violent inward alteration, that he fell also from his horse, losing the strēgth and vigor of all his members, and neuer after could vtter one word, so that he was taken vp by his people, and kept (in that strange maner) from midday to the Euening. In which time, the *Moores* being ignorant of these seuerall mishaps, were put to flight by the Christians: who marching onward in forme of battaile, at the instant, as the body of *Don Peter* was laid vppon an horse, Prince *Iohn* gaue vp his latest gaspe. These accidents were verie remarkeable, and the like very seldome heard of: whereby plainely appeareth, that sudden conceit may cause the death of a man.

The violent apprehension in Prince Iohn of his Nephewes death

CHAP. XI.

¶ *The strange and variable complexions of two Philosophers: the one of them weeping, and the other laughing, at the gouernment & condition of the world.*

IN the recitall made by *Diogenes Laertius*, concerning the liues & diuersity of Philosphers: he speaketh perticulerly of two; the one being named *Heraclitus*, and the other *Democritus*, because each of them was in Nature and Complexion verie strange. *Heraclitus* obserued (as a common Custome) that alwayes as hee walked along the streetes and publicke passages, hee would weepe and shedde abundance of teares, in regard of the compasion hee had on humaine Nature. For, hee was absolutely perswaded, that all our life time, consisted in nothing but miserie, & that all the trauailes, labours, and endeauers of men, seemed worthy both of pittie and compasion, both in their paines and afflictions, as also for the sins by thē daily committed. This is much better, and more amply described, in a letter sent by this Philosopher to King *Darius*, according as our fore-named *Diogenes Laertius* reporteth, and in these very words. *All men that walke vpon the earth, are verie farre off from Iustice: for they serue Auarice and Vaine glory, with too much affection and losse of time. As for my selfe, I neuer thought any euill thing; and to the end that I might shunne the paine, which I feele by beholding and knowing these thinges: I haue euermore beene desirous, that I might containe my selfe in some such place, where I might neuer looke on men, because I can sufficiently content my selfe with that which is onely necessary for me.* We read of this Philosopher, that (in all things) he was conformable to this perswasion. For he liued the very greatest part of his time in solitude, and in the fields, contenting himselfe with hearbs and food of slender substance. All the while he was yong, he said he knew nothing; and when hee attained to greater growth, he saide, hee knew all things, and that nothing els had bin

Diog. Laert. in vit. Philos.

The Naturall Disposition of Heraclitus.

The Letter of Heraclitus to King Darius.

The manner how Heraclitus liued.

beene his enstructer, but contemplation onely.

The strange Nature of *Democritus*.

The Complexion of *Democritus* was no lesse strange then this mans. For, although he would leaue his lodging, and frequent mens companies, yet would he laugh immeasurably at al the actions and behauiours of men, tearming the life of man to bee vanity and folly, and that all appetites and desires, were foolish, true subiects to such Masters, and meere matter of laughter. And such was the immagination of this Phylosopher, that it was only enough for him, to go laughing along the streets, as the other went weeping: and considering the paines and trauails of men, it seemeth that ech of them had reason sufficient to do as they did.

Senec. in lib. de Tranq. Vit.

Seneca in his Booke of the Tranquility of life, speaketh of these two Philosophers, approuing rather the Opinion of laughing *Democritus*, and adoising to immitate his merrie humour, rather then that of weeping *Heraclitus*. And it apeareth, that *Iuvenal* was of the same mind, when speaking of them both, hee sayeth,

The words of *Iuvenal*.

That he was amazed, whence and how Heraclitus could receiue so great quantitie of moisture, as satisfied his liberall expence of teares.

And to speake truly of both these follies (for I hold these two complexions to be no otherwise) that of *Democritus* is allowed for the better, because wee read that he was a man taking no dislike at any thing whatsoeuer, and liued an 109 yeares. I find of him, that he vsed verie often to feed on Hony, and beeing on a time, demanded whither it were good to preserue the health of man or no, he answered; *These are only fittest for mans Health, Hony taken inwardly, and Oyle outwardlie*, giuing thereby to vnderstand, that Hony was good for feeding, and Oyle for annointing.

The life time of *Democritus* an 109 years

Concerning Hony & oile.

Laertius reporteth many thinges of him, whereby is euidently discernd, how great his knowledge was in naturall thinges. He saith that one day among others, a messe of milke was brought him, & after he had looked on the Milke, he saide; *This Milke is of a Goat that hath had young ones, & this is the first time of her Kidding*, and indeed it was so. Another time, hee met a yong maid vpon the way, and with doing reuerence to hir, he said; *God blesse ye Maid.* Meeting her againe on the next day following, he made no reuerence to hir, but said; *Farewell Woman.* Such as had heard these seueral salutations, greatly merualled thereat, and gathered thereby, that thee had companed that night with a man, which *Democritus* knewe to be true, onely by the Womans countenance. *Tertullian* likewise telleth vs, that this *Democritus* did put out both his eies, because he would not bee tempted with carnall concupiscences, which ordinarily are occasioned by the sight of weomen. But *Aulus Gellius* saith, that he did it only the better to addict himselfe to the contemplation of natural thinges, for which, this Phylosopher was very highly commended by the learned.

The great iudgement of *Democritus*, in natural thinges.

Tertul. in Apol. Cap. vlt. Aulus Gellius.

Cicero writeth the like of him, so doth *Pliny*, and many others. *Pliny* reporteth in diuers places, that hee was a great Astrologer, and a Magitian, and that to learne al the Arts, and practise them among the skilfull; he trauailed through all *Asia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and many other Prouinces. And *Solinus* maketh mention of his disputations against Magitians. Concerning mine owne opinion of this man, I will conclude further speech of him, with a matter merualous, and not to be omitted, to wit; that by the means of naturall light only, he sought for and beleeued the immortality of the soule, and the resurrection of all the dead, in which contemplation, and many other of like quality, he spent the length of life before remembered.

Cicero de Fin. 5. de Tusc. lib. 5. Plin. lib. 24.

Iul. Solin. in Polyhist.

A rare wonder Pamphl. Natur.

But as for *Heraclitus*, by his wretched Complexion, and feeding on nothing but hearbs, and such like Viands, which continually kept him hungrie: Hee dyed consumingly, and full of Gowtinesse, being wrapt in an Oxe-hide, wherein hee had put himselfe, in hope to bee cured: And some do say, that being thus hidden in an Oxe-hide, hee was deuoured by Dogges, that knew him not to be a man. Neuertheless, he wrote Books of great Learning, but so difficult and obscure, as few attained truly to vnderstande them: which is a fault wherein many great persons haue sinned, only thorow presumption and arroganey.

The Authors iudgement concerning *Heraclitus*.

CHAP. XII.

Of ſome perticuler notable occaſions, which haue happened in one and the ſame maner, and rather in one place more then in another.

THoſe things whereof wee haue ſpoken in our precedent Chapter, may vvell cauſe great meruaile in the conſideration of men, whoſe Conditions and Opinions haue beene ſo extreamely eſtraunged from one another; that the verie ſame thing, which hath made one man to weepe inceſſantly, hath cauſed another to Laugh without any intermiſsion. It is likewiſe a matter well woorthy of Contemplation, to obſerue, that in ſuch rarietie of humaine occaſions: and amongeſt ſo many of diuers difference, ſom are found that do ſeeme as if they were meerly conſtrained, and that it ought vppon neceſsity, that (in ſome places) aduentures ſhold perticulerly happen, as we ſhall diſcerne by our enſuing diſcourſe.

Extreamitie in both kinds.

Variety of humaine accidents.

First of all, it was a matter very admirable (as wee haue alreadie ſaide) concerning the Cittie of *Conſtantinople*, to witte; That the firſt Emperour which builded it, and made his abiding there, ſhould bee named *Conſtantine*, and his Mother *Helena*. In like manner afterwarde, that the laſt Emperor there raigning, and during whoſe time the Cittie was loſt, ſhoulde bee called *Conſtantine*, and his Mother alſo named *Helena*.

Concerning the Citty of *Conſtantinople*.

It deſerueth likewiſe due conſideration, that there ſhould be two ſuch moſt Valiaunt men, as were *Hercules* & *Sampſon*, and that both of them began their great deedes of Armes, with each mans encountering of a Lyon, and both of them deceyued and vndoone by Weomen, euen as if the one were obliged to the others Fortune. It is yet a matter more notable, that in *Arabia*, ſur-named Happie, *Cham* the Sonne of *Noah*, and his Succeſſours, ſhould forſake the Adoration of the true GOD, to vndergo the Idolatrie of Men. And that in the ſame Prouince alſo, after ſo great and long reuolutions of yeares, ſhoulde bee bred and borne *Mahomet*, the perſecuter of the true Faith and Doctrine giuen by our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, God and Man.

Of *Sampſon* and *Hercules*.

Of *Cham* and *Mahomet*.

The Cittie of *Carthage*, a moſt powerfull Common-Wealth, had ſo manie ſeuerall forces in Armes, that no King or Captaine could reſiſt againſt it. And yet notwithſtanding, it was two ſeuerall times vanquiſhed by two *Romaine* Captaines, both bearing one name, and called *Scipios*; ſo that it ſeemed, in that verie name conſiſted the power of Conqueſt.

Of the Cittie of *Carthage*.

It is likewiſe verie remarkeable, in the Hiſtorie of the Byſhops of Rome, that al the Popes which bare the name of *Alexander*, were all Anti-popes, and that (in their times) grew the Sciſmes in the Church, as in the time of *Alexander* the ſecond, third, fift, ſixt, &c. Another meruailous matter was noted in *Spaine*, that commonly all the Kings which were named *Ferdinands* or *Alphonſus*, were very good and excellent Kinges. *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were two Captains of *Rome*, very famous and moſt puiſant, great enemies and competitors one againſt another: yet it happened, that they both died on their very Birth-dayes, yea violent kindes of death, and by weapons. As worthy warriors likewiſe were *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, King *Phillip*, Father to *Alexander*, King *Antigonus*, Father to *Demetrius*, *Sertorius* the Romaine, *Viriatus* the Spaniard, and in our time, *Fredericke* Duke of *Vrbine*, and diuers others beſide, reſembling one another in behauiour and Regiment of Warre; but in one thing, they were all truly equal, to wit, they halted euery one vpon one and the ſame leg, and each man loſt his left eye by misfortune. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, was borne on the day of S. *Mathias* the Apoſtle, on which day alſo (in courſe of his life) vvas King *Fraunces* taken by him in battaile, and the victory likewiſe woonne at *Biccoque*: Hee was alſo elected and Crowned Emperour on the ſame day, and many other great Fortunes befell him ſtill vpon that day.

Of the Popes of *Rome* named *Alexanders*.

Of the King of *Spaine*.

Of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*.

Of other famous warriours, equall in their fortunes.

Of *Charles* the fift Emperour

Yet I cannot chooſe but reproue ſuch men, as in their woorkes and eſpeciall actions,

Of obseruation of particular dayes, for vndertaking of our affaires as dayes of good or euill fortune.

actions, do obserue perticuler dayes and names, wherein to beginne or vndertake their purposed businesse: neuertheless, seeing that such things haue formerly bin considered and read of, I make the lesse account of their humour. It hath beene noted, that not onely the *French*, but som others Nations beside, do holde diuerse dayes to be vnfortunate, and that no respect in the world whatsoeuer, can cause them then to vndertake any fight or combate, because vpon those daies) commonly some great mis-fortunes haue befalne them. And yet they esteeme some other dayes, to haue a kinde of happinesse attending on them, because that on them no losse or euill mischaunce hath happened to them. All these things may wel vrge amazement, in regard that the causes are vnknowne to vs, albeit neuer so good a rule or reason may therto induce vs: such secrets are only known to God, and such hath beene, and is his appointment. Of Accidents that haue hapned, and actions of notable successe (ensuing by one and the same meanes) both vnto the *Romaines* and *Graecians*, *Plutarch* hath Written a Treatise called his Paralelle, wherein hee alledgeth manie excellent examples, which the curious Searchers of Nouelties, may there reade more at large.

Secret causes are onely knowne to God.

CHAP. XIII.

That diuers men haue beene so really alike, both in shape and countenaunce, that they haue many times taken one for another.

A wonderfull secret in Nature.

Occasion doth heere freelie offer it selfe, to make mention of some perticuler persons, that haue (in figure & gesture) beene alike and semblable each to other. And indeed, it is one of the greatest secrets and wonders in Nature, to behold such an infinit number of men, the varietie of their gestures, and all hauing one kind of forme: ye t notwithstanding, it seemeth a matter of much more meruaile, when (in such a variable multitude) scarsly but two men can be culd out, that do truly resemble in all parts each other. Of which two seuerall matters, wee will relate the causes natural, after we haue first produced example of some, that haue held true and perfect resemblance vnto apparant Iudgement.

Plin. l. b. 4. Solinus in Polihist. Valerius Maximus.

First of all then, we will speake of one named *Arthemius*, who liued in the court of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, being (according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*) but of meane condition, albeit *Valerius Maximus* affirmeth, that hee was Kinsman vnto the King, and resembled him so truelie, that the Queen (hauing murtherd *Antiochus*) concealed her Wicked Act by the meanes of this *Arthemius*, whom the had acquainted with hir purpose diuerse dayes before: *Arthemius*, was laide in the Kings bed, as if he had beene the Queens sickly Husband, for so shee then called him, and so was he reputed to bee, being visited by all the Princes of the kingdom, euen as if it had beene the King himselfe. Thus vnder shew and supposition of the King, hee made a Will, and named (as heire to the Kingdom) such an one as the Queene had determined: wherein hee was obeyed, for euerie one tooke him to be the true King indeed, which was a verie straunge and admirable deceipt. But (to this purpose, the aduenture of Queen *Semiramis* is much more notorious, of whom so many commendable Authors haue Written memorable actions. *Iustine*, and diuers others say, that hir sonne *Ninus* resembled her so perfectly, both in speech, gesture and disposition of body, that after the death of the King her husband, she cloathed her selfe in the habite of a man, and representing the person of her Sonne, held and gouerned the kingdome for the space of forty yeares, with absolute beleefe generally, that shee was her sonne *Ninus*, whom she so neere resembled, that in this maner was the State abused. In the time of *Pompey*, there were two men in *Rome*, the one named *Biblius*, and the other *Publicius*, who wer both so like to *Pompey*, as if there had bin no other difference, then in the plain figure, it was very difficult (as *Pliny* reporteth) to know which of them was *Pompey* or no, and euery man supposed, that this resemblance cam from the father to the son by succession. In the time of *Pompeyes* father, there

The History of *Arthemius*.

Of the great Q. *Semiramis*, according to *Iustine*, l. b. 2.

Of *Biblius* and *Publicius*, that were like to *Pompey*.

Of *Menogenes* that resembled *Pompeyes* father.

was in *Rome* a Cooke, called *Menogenes*, that so liuely resembled him, as (for that very cause) the people imposed the name of the one vpon the other; and this is assured for trueth, both by *Pliny* and *Solinus*.

Two infant Slaues broght to *Rome*, and bought of *Turannius* by *Marke Anthony*.

There was one likewise, named *Turannius*, that brought two Infant Slaues to *Rome*, of equality in age, and they both (in gesture and all other thinges) were of such resemblaunce, that people went to see them as a matter of meruell. *Turannus* also saide, That they were Twin-brethren by birth, but it was false; for the one was of *Asia*, and the other of *Allemaigne*. In regard of their so neere likenesse to each other, *Marke Anthonie*, Cozen vnto the great *Octauius*, bought them. But after hee had intelligence of the Deceite, and that they were not Naturall borne-Brethren: hee sent for the seller of them, and tolde him, that hee must restore the monie backe (which was a great summe) because hee had beguiled him, in making him beleeue that the Slaues were Twin-borne Brethren. But *Turannius* (very cunningly) auoyded repayment of the Money, in replying, that (in this respect) hee ought to haue a farre greater summe paide him; considering, that it was a matter of more meruaile, that the two Infants (being borne in diuers Nations) shoulde haue such a perfect resemblance, as if they had beene borne vpon one selfe-same day, and of one Mother. Which defence, was well accepted by *Marke Anthony*, the reason appearing to be sound and good, and therfore he held himselfe well contented.

The cunning answere of *Turannius*.

A pleasant accident happening to the Emperour *Octauius*.

Concerning this case of so meere resemblance, a matter of pretty merriment happened vnto the Emperour *Octauius*. There chanced a young Ladde to come and dwell in *Rome*, who had the feature of his face and bodie; so absolute in likenesse vnto the Emperour *Octauius*, that no man in *Rome* could discerne anie difference. This being brought vnto the Emperours knowledge, hee foorthwith sent for the youth, and then the portrait of each other was more apparantly discouered. Which when the Emperour hadde well noted, hee being a man verie affable, pleasantly disposed, and mooued (with the least occasion) to mirth, he saide to the young man, *Tell me Brother, did thy Mother vse at anie time to come to Rome?* As inferring thereby, that then his Father might haue knowledge of hir. The youth perceiuing the facetious and pleasant humour of the Emperour, replyed to him in as merrie a Disposition, with these Wordes: *My LORDE, concerning my Mother, shee neuer came vnto Rome, but my Father resorted hither many times.*

A witty and merry answer made to the Emperour.

Plin Lib. 17. Of *Surras* the Proconsull, and a Fisherman.

Pliny writeth of a man, named *Surras*, Pro-Consull to *Sylla*, and borne in *Sicily*, to whom, there was a Fisherman of verie neere likenesse, both in speeche and behauiour, for they both stammered in equall manner, and fashioned all their actions in one forme: so that when they were cloathed alike, it was impossible to make any distinction, neither could anie man directly say, this is the Pro-consull, and this the Fisherman; which was no meane meruell to the people. And yet *Albertus Magnus*, in his booke of beasts, declareth a much stranger matter. Hee saith, that he both knewe and behelde in *Allemaigne*, two Infant Twinnes, who resembled each other so truly, that when they were seperated assunder, the one could not bee discerned from the other. Moreouer, beside their iesture and actions, they had such a conformitie in all things els, as the one could not liue without the other. So that when they were sometimes for triall sundered, they indured verie straunge Agonies. They spake both alike in sounde of voice, and when the one was sicke, so was the other likewise: whereby plainly appeard that they were two bodies formed of one Nature and complexion. For my iudgement in this case, I say, that this likenes must needs proceed, that they were both begotten in one instant, of one and the same matter strongly disposed: by reason whereof, all parts were equally and perfectly conditioned. S. *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Cittie of GOD, reporteth the verie like Story. And although these thinges doth seeme verie maruellous, yet may we not scornfully seeke to discredit them, in regard of Natures powerfull working, and vndoubted Authority of such as confirm them. For, we could speake of matters more lately happening, yea, euen in our times; as of the Lord Count *Iohn Giron*, who so absolutely resembled his brother, the Great Maister of *Calatraua*, that was slaine by the *Moores*, that by their owne

Albert. Mag in Lib. Animal.

Of two infant twinnes in *Allemaigne*.

The Authors opinion concerning these Twinnes.

S. August. in Lib. de Ciuit. Dei 9.

Like accidents happening in later dayes. *Counte Iohn Giron* in *Spaine*.

parents

rents and houshold seruants, they were equally taken the one for the other. I remember that I haue read in the Historie of the Dukes of *Millaine*, that *Fraunces Sforza* (of whom somwhat hath bin saide already) had among his warlicke troops, a Gentleman belonging to the company of his Light-horse-men, that was of such perfect resemblance vnto the Duke himselfe; as he was verie often both taken for him, and called by the name of Duke. I could alledge many other examples, which I am forced to forbeare, because I would not willingly offend anie Reader: wherefore, I will speake of the occasion of such neere resemblance, wherof I find three principall, that (according to their degrees and places) shall speak for themselues.

Of *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*.

Three occasions of neere resemblance.

The first is, that nature euermore trauaileth and striueth, to make the best Workemanship that possibly shee can; and this reason is helde by all Naturall Philosophers. Hence it proceedeth, that she essayeth to make the Male childe, rather then the female, and to fashion him more like the Father, then the Mother; in imitation of the Painter, that portraiteth one thing (according to Nature) by another. Now, if Nature be noted sometime to faile heerein, wholly, or in part, it is alwaies by defect and debilitie in the matter: For, when a man hath not sufficient perfection in him to procreat, then is he said to forme a female childe. Likewise, concerning the gesture and figure, when that Vertue which makes the form (which the Philosophers call the Vertue informatiue) is most strong and powerfull in the partes of man: the childe doth then more resemble the Father, then the Mother. But when (in this Vertue) there happeneth some indisposition and defailance in strength, and that the Vertue and power of the Woman prooueth to be the stronger, the Child dooth then resemble the Mother. There are some other causes beside, whereof wee shall speake heereafter; and principally (in this case) the good or euill disposition in the matter of the parties generatiue, is much auaileable.

The first reason of natures working, in male or female.

Concerning gesture and figure.

Of the parties patient and agent in their seuerall vertues.

In the first place, it behoooueth, that the Woman should be as the partie patient or suffering, and the man as the Agent which maketh the worke, because that (according to the disposition) nature busieth hir selfe in the similitude, and frameth not only the vertue of the Paternall or Maternall party, in the likenesse of gesture, and of the members: but likewise in the complexion, disposition, strength, and (beside) in some passions, diseases, & other things. As wee may and do manie times obserue, that the Sonnes of Baldeheaded men, doe likewise become balde themselues, & deaf mens sons, are deaf also.

Very often (in like manner) as *Galen* affirmeth, the Sonnes do becom heires to their diseases, as to the Gout, the dropsy, Palsie, falling sicknes, &c. *Aurcen* addeth Leprosie, Tisicke, and Melancholy also. And that which is yet much more admirable, Nature, in meer deceiuing hir self, doth giue sometimes to Children, such hurts and woundes, as their fathers haue formerly receiued; which is plainly to declare, that shee continually laboureth to make true likenes. *Columella* maintaineth the same argument, and so doth *Pliny* the yonger likewise, in an Epistle which hee wrote; where speaking of the wife to *Cornelius*, he saith; That she died of the gout, which was the disease of hir father, & of all his linage. This Author further saith, that infirmities discend from the father to the son, and oftentimes from children to children: as it happed to *Nicetus* the Poet, borne in *Constantinople*, of whō *Pliny* writeth, that his Father & Mother being white, yet he was borne blacke, because that his Grandfather (by the mothers side) was black. These accidents we daily behold by proofe, in horses & other creatures, that doe resemble their Sires most of al, not only in colour, but also in greatnes and disposition. This is the reason of *Aristotle*, and of *Empedocles*, as also of *Albertus Magnus*. In this maner is formed the variety of gestures in men, the disposition and shape of their members, according to them of father and mother, euen then in the generatiue action.

Sonnes do grow as Heires to their Fathers infirmities.

Natures endeauour in forming likenesse.

Columell. in Lib. 8. de Reb. Rust. Plin. secund. Lib. 1. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Plin. secund. Lib. 2.

Aristotle. Empedocles. Albertus Magnus.

The second reason, is likewise deriued from *Aristotle* and *Plinie*, and they say, *That it is the immagination of the Father, euen in the instant, and likewise the present affection or passion then wworking in the soule.* For, sight, or present immagination, is greatly auayling in this case, and is a most strong occasion, being ioyned to the former; because the Father or the mother then thinking on som beauty, it is a great ocasio of begetting a beautiful

The second reason. *Arist. in Lib. de Anim et Aegri. Plin. Lib. 7. c. 9*

Childe, and forming it anſwerable to the immagined ſubiect. And becauſe it many times hapneth, that Fathers haue diuers immaginations; they do likewiſe engender diuerſitie and difference of geſtures, ſo that the Infant will reſemble diuers perſons. And this matter is reputed of ſuch importance, that *Empedocles* ſaieth, *Some Women haue beene noted, that they haue conceiued, and beene deliuered of Children, that haue reſembled Statues, Figures, and Pictures, that hung in the chambers, at the time of their conception.* That this hath hapned in Beaſtes, is ſufficiently probable in the Hiſtory of *Iacob*, who layed the pilled rods (being White and Blacke) in thoſe places where the flockes conceyued, by meanes whereof, partie coloured Lambes were alſo engendered. And it is further to bee obſerued, that not onely this immagination hath power on the Corporall Members; but likewiſe on the Soules of Children. In regarde whereof, Naturall Phyloſophers haue aduiſed, that when a man is angry, or Melancholy, or Drunke, he ſhoulde not companie with his Wife: Becauſe (commonly) Children are of the ſame Complexion, wherein the Father was, at the generatiue action. And yet, it hath oftentimes come to paſſe, that a merrie-hearted Father, and deliberate of Nature, hath gotten a Melancholly Childe.

Emped recit. per Petrarch in lib de placitiſph Alb Mag in lib. 16. & 18. de Anim.

Gen. 30, 40.

Aduiſe of naturall Phyloſophers.

To this purpoſe, *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* declareth a verie notable thing; that (manie times) Baſtard Children, begotten in Adulterie, are wicked and vicious, in regard of the bad immagination, and fearefull terrour, wherein their Fathers were at the time of their begetting. From the verie ſame reaſon, may an anſwere be framed to the caſe following. For, if it bee demanded, whence commeth it, that among men onely, there is ſo great diuerſitie in figure? *Ariſtotle* replyeth, it is, becauſe that Beaſtes haue no Cares, Thoughtes, or Immaginations, but onely in their preſent Action: whereas (on the contrarie) men haue their thoughts in many places, and on diuerſitie of thinges; whereby enſueth, that manie children are borne, which neither reſemble the father or mother.

Alexan. Aphroſ. concerning Baſtard children.

Ariſtotle giueth (almoſt) the ſame anſwere vnto the Queſtion propounded: Wherefore are fooliſh Children begotten by Wiſe Fathers? Hee ſaith, That men which know little (as wee haue formerly ſpoken of Beaſtes) are very intentiue in the generatiue acte: by meanes whereof, the matter being diſpoſed, and without any alteration, children are then borne perfect, becauſe nature (in the verie ſame inſtant) was buſied about no other occaſions. But in wiſe and learned men, it doth not alwayes ſo fall out: becauſe they (commonly) hauing their ſpirits more ſubtle and penetratiue, haue alſo their thoughts otherwiſe buſied moſt part of the time, which is a great hinderance, when the power is not wholy imployed in the action. From whence it proceedeth, that the matter being not perfectly diſpoſed; Nature coulde not perfectly perfourme her Workemanſhip.

Ariſtotles anſwer why wiſe Fathers doe beget fooliſh Children.

The third reaſon, rendered for aunſwere to this doubt, is from Aſtrologye cauſed by influence of the Stars, according vnto the opinion deliuered by *Ptolomie*. For, by the diſpoſition of heauen, and the ſigne or Image aſcendant, & the Aſpects which the Planets haue, both in the Conception and Birth of man: the manners and Naturall diſpoſition are infuſed, rendering themſelues ſemblable or different to the Father, according to the proportion and conformitie of the Father, or of the Childe, at the time of Generation. Wee might heere rehearſe the Influences of theſe Plannets, by their ſeuerall proprieties, but it would require too long a time: Beſides, *Ptolomie* hath ſpoken thereof ſufficiently; ſo hath *Iulius Firmicus*, *Haly ben Raſel*, *Guy*, *Bonatus*, and others: And the reaſon is ſo ſtrong, as it cannot bee denied; Conſidering and perceyuing the Influxion and power, which the Superiour Bodies haue ouer the Inferiour, with their Effects.

The 3. reaſon deriued from Aſtrology.

Ptol. in Cetiloq.

Ptolo. in Quadripart.

Now, in regard that this enſueth by motion or agitation, which is the cauſe of generation and corruption, and is that which firſt diſpoſeth the matter, and afterwardes formeth it: it followeth, that as the motion of time dooth neuer ceaſe, and that there are diuers times, and diuers Motions. And beſides (as wee haue alreadie ſayde, that they haue diuers Natures; euen ſo, the matter diſpoſeth it ſelfe diuerſly: and cauſeth variable actions and diſpoſitions in the creatures, ſome-

Ariſtotles anſwer concerning diuerſity in figure.

The cauſe of generation & corruption.

ſometimes reſembling one another, according to the conformity that was in Heauen, and in the one time, and in the other. Likewiſe, ſometimes theſe cauſes and occaſions are occurrent all together. Sometimes, one, or two: And (very often) the one proueth contrary to the other, from whence enſueth ſuch diuers effectes, which daily offer themſelues to our view. By the very ſame occaſions, wee may eaſily diſcerne, whence it commeth, that goodly Children are begotten by deformed and vgly Fathers, and likewiſe the contrary: wherein there can nothing elſe bee alleadged, but the good or bad diſpoſition of the matter, and the imagination of the parties agent and ſuffrant, with the Celeſtiall influence at the inſtant, all which we haue deliuered to be doubtfull, according as other things are of the like nature.

These three cauſes concurring together

Goodly children proceeding from vnſightly fathers

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a very ſtrange and memorable fortune, which happened in one kinde, though at ſundry times, to two Knights of Rome.

THe chiefe men in the conſpiracy for the death of *Iulius Cæſar* (according as *Plutarch* and others haue declared) were *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who afterward (with their Adherents) were proſecuted, and proclaimed open Enemies to the people of *Rome*, by *Octauius*, *Lepidus*, and *Marke Anthonie*, that had gotten poſſeſſion of the Citty. Among the complices of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Marcus Varro* was a principall man, who (beeing preſent in the battaile, which *Octauius* and *Marke Anthonie* had againſt the conſpiratours, and when *Octauius* was the Conquerour) for ſafegard of his life, and eſcape of apprehenſion, chaunged his habite with a poore Souldier, and appearing as one of the common Priſoners, was rancked among them, and ſold (in confuſed manner) as the reſt were. It was his happe to be bought by a *Romaine* Knight, named *Barbulas*, who (within ſome while after) ſeeing his faire demeanor, and honeſt carriage of life, began to ſuſpect, that he was a *Romaine* borne; albeit, he conectured the ſame by no other relation. To be reſolued in this doubt, he tooke him (one daie) aſide, and inſtantly entreated him, to tell him of whence, and what he was, promiſing him withall, to purſue his pardon to *Octauius* and *Marke Anthonie*. But *Marcus Varro*, diſſembling ſtill his aduerſe fortune, by no meanes would diſcloſe himſelfe: ſo that *Barbulas* altered his former opinion, and perſwaded himſelfe, that he was no *Roman*, according as his iudgement had before imagined. Soone after, *Octauius* and *Marke Anthony* returned to *Rome*, and *Barbulas* alſo with his Slaue, who (perhaps) was a better man then himſelfe.

Marcus Varro a chiefe man in the action.

Marcus Varro ſold as a ſlaue

Marcus Varro not to be diſcouered.

It fortuned afterward, that *Marcus Varro* being at the Senate-doore, attending for his Maiſter, that ſtayed within vpon ſome vrgent buſines: was known by a *Romaine*, that preſently aduertiſed *Barbulas* thereof. *Barbulas*, not ſeeming to know any ſuch matter, and vſing no further ſpeech thereof; ſo labored with *Octauius* (who gouerned then in *Rome*) that he obtained his pardon, by meanes whereof, *Varro* enioyed his liberty, and being brought to *Octauius*, hee was honourable entertained, and thenceforward reſpected in the number of his friends.

Marcus diſcouered by a Romaine, and ſet at liberty.

Within a while after, *Octauius* and *Marke Anthony* fell at diſcord and variance, & *Barbulas* taking part with *Mark Anthonie* (who was vanquiſhed in the triall of fight) grew to bee doubtfull of *Octauius*, and made his recourſe to the ſame remedy, as formerly *Marcus Varro* was forced to vndergoe, by changing his habite, and feigning himſelfe to bee another. *Marcus Varro* not knowing him, by ſome length of time ſince laſt he ſaw him, but eſpecially by the pouerty of his habite; bought him in like manner as himſelfe had been. But comming afterward to knowledge of him, he wrought ſo with *Octauius*, that his offence was pardoned, and hee ſet at libertie. So that, in ſatisfying what he ſtood bound to doe, and repaying the kindneſſe which he had formerly receiued: hee left a liuely example to vs; of the inconſtancy of our liues beſt condition, with a rule and inſtruction to all men,

Barbulas in the like diſtreſſe as was *Marcus Varro*, aduentured the ſame fortune.

Courteſie equally requited.

men, that in what prosperous estate soeuer a man is, he should not forget to feare a fall; and in the greatest distresse likewise that can happen, not to dispair of helpe.

CHAP. XV.

The Ages of Man seuerally distinguished, according the enstructions of Astrologers.

BY common deuision of Astrologers, *Arabians*, *Chaldeans*, *Greekes*, and *Latines*, and perticularly by *Proclus*, a Greek Authour, *Ptolomie* and *Haly ben Razell*; the life time of man is diuided into seauen Ages, ouer each one of which Ages, one of the seauen Planets is said to rule and gouerne. The first Age is called Infancy, containing the space of foure yeares, during which time, the neereſt Planet to the Earth hath Dominion, that is the Moone, becauſe the qualities of Infancy hath vrged men to say; that the influence of this Planet is wholelie conformable to this Age, wherein the body is humide, tender, weake, moueable, and altogether like vnto the Moone. For the very leaſt matter causeth alteration, his members (by the ſmalleſt Trauaile) is weakned, and the body (in little time) encreaſeth, euen plainely to bee diſcerned by the eye. Theſe thinges doe happen generally in all perſons, by reaſon of the Moones gouernment, neuertheleſſe, more in ſome then in others, and not equally alike; in regard, that other particular qualities, which hold no ſubſiſtance of the Moone, doe receiue their originall, in manner as the Childe commeth into the World, according to the eſtate and diſpoſition of other Plannets.

Mans life time deuided into ſeauen Ages.

Infancy the firſt Age.

The Moone gouerneth the firſt Age of Infancy.

The ſecond Age continueth tenne yeares, vntill he attaine to the yeares of foureteene: this Age is called by the Latines *Pueritia*, or Child-hood, which giueth a ceſſation to Infancy, and proceedeth on toward adoloſencie. In this Age raigneth another Planet, named *Mercury*, ſeated in the ſecond Heauen. This is a Celeſtiall body, apt and eaſie to change, being good with the good, and bad by the aſpect of euill. During this time, nature compoſeth it ſelfe, according to the quality of this Planet. For then doe young Children declare ſome principles, whereby to make relation of their Spirits: bee it in reading, writing, or ſinging, then are they docible and tractable, and yet notwithſtanding, light in their ſpeeches, inconſtant and mutable.

The ſecond Age, is called Child-hood.

Mercury gouerneth the ſecond Age.

The third Age, conſiſteth of eyght yeares, being named by our Auncients *Adoleſcencie*, or Youth-hood, and it laſteth from foureteene, till two and twenty yeares be fully compleate: during which time, the third Planet, called *Venus* ruleth. For a man then beginneth to be prompt by Nature, powerfull, and able for procreation: as enclining to loue, to Women, and addicted to Muſicke, ſports, pleaſures, bankets, and other worldly delights. This is to be vnderſtood, of naturall prouocations in Man to any of theſe; for, hauing loſt the benefit of his own free will and election, hee leaueth or taketh ſuch inclinations by influences. And yet wee are to know, that neither the force of the Planets, nor power of the Starres, hath priuiledge on the liberty of the Soule; although they incline the ſenſitiue appetite, the members and Organs in the body of man.

The third age is cald youth-hood.

Venus gouerneth the third Age.

Naturall prouocations in man.

The fourth Age paceth on, vntill a Man haue accompliſhed two and fortie yeares, & is tearmed young man-hood, the courſe whereof continueth nineteene yeares; and hath *Soll* the Sunne for Gouernour and Commaunder, which is in the fourth Heauen, called by moſt ancient Aſtrologians, the fountaine of light, the principall eye of the whole World, King of the Planets, and hart of the wide vniuerſe. In like manner, this Age is Prince of all other, and the floure of life, during which time, the faculties and powers of the body & of the Spirit, doe acquire and attaine to their ſtrength, and man beeing then apprehenſiue, bold, and hardy; knoweth how to order and diſpoſe of his owne affaires. He then deſireth and purchaſeth Treaſures, he coueteth to be excellent, and well famed, and is ſtill enclined

The fourth is young Man hood.

Sol gouerneth the fourth age

The Prince of Ages, and floure of life.

enclined to well doing. Briefely, in all thinges generall, he delareth apparantly, that the Sunne raigneth ouer him.

The fift Age is ripe manhood.

The fift Age, named Mature Manhood, hath (according to the said Authours) fifteene yeares of continuance, and therefore makes his Prograce so farre as six and fifty yeares, being subiect to the Planet *Mars*, which (of it selfe) is euill, dangerous, and hot, enclining men to Auarice, and making them chollericke, sickly; yet temperate in eating and drinking, and constant in their actions.

Mars gouerneth the fift Age.

The sixt Age is Old Age.

Afterward, in adding twelue to fiftie sixe, you shall make vp sixty eight years, which reach to the end of the sixt Age, and is called Old Age, whereof *Iupiter* is the great Gouernour. This is a Noble Planet, the signifier of Equity, Religion, Piety, Temperance, and Chastitie; prouoking men to finish al pains and hazzards, and seeke quiet repose. In this time, men addict themselues to holy works, affecting Temperance and Charitie, desiring honour, accompanied with due praise; they are honest, fearefull of shame, disgrace, and reproach.

Iupiter ruleth the sixt Age.

The seauenth Age is decrepite Age.

The seauenth and last of these seuen Ages, is limitted from sixty eight years, so farre as fourescore and eight, and few there are that attaine thereto. It giueth a true and apt name to it selfe, being called, weake, declining, and decrepite Age, in regard whereof, *Saturn* commaundeth ouer it, as the most tardy and yet the very highest Planet, and which enuironeth all the other before named. His Complexion is cold, dry, and melancholly, wearisome, and troublesome. By this meanes, he cloatheth aged men with sollitude, choller, meagerneſſe, disdaine, and anger. He enfeebleth their memory and their strength, then doth he ouercharge their bodies with griefes, long sadneſſe, languishing diseases, endleſſe thoughtes, and with an earnest desire to enterprise secret & concealed matters; and, which is more, they will be alwaies Maisters, Superiours, and wholly obeyed. If any man chance to goe beyond this Age, which is more admired, then noted in many: you shall euidently perceiue, that hee will returne to his first condition of infancy againe, and haue a part of the Moone to bee his Gouernour, which was his first Planet (as I haue already declared) in his first Age of all. In regard whereof, they are then vsuallie dealt withall, euen as we doe to young Infants, according to their conditions and daily inclinations.

Saturn gouerneth the last Age.

Saturnes greatest kindneſſe to decrepite Age.

Old men become childrē againe.

The deuision of these seuerall Ages, in manner as formerly hath beene discourſed, was the inuention of Astrologers, whereto euery man may giue credit, as himselfe best pleaseth. Let vs now come to the deuision made by Philosophers, Phisitions, and Poets, who were of diuers opinions: yet because in this Argument there are some notable things, we wil enter into some part of their report, that young Spirits may exercise themselues a little. The great Philosopher *Pythagoras*, how long soeuer the life of man was; made but foure partes thereof, comparing it to the foure seasons or quarters of the yeare. He said, Infancy is the Spring-time, when al things are in their floure, beginning to encreaſe and augment themselues. Youth-hood, he compared to Summer, by the Ardour and strength that men haue in that Age. Manly Age is Autumne, because (in this time) a man hath experience, is ripe and apt for good counsell, with certaine knowledge of all thinges. Old Age he figured in winter, being a fruitleſſe time, cumberſome, and hauing no benefit of any blessings, but what haue proceeded from the former seasons.

The Astrologians deuision of Ages.

The deuision made by Philosophers, Phisitions, and Poets.

The deuision made by *Pythagoras*.

Spring-time.

Summer.

Autumne.

Winter.

Marcus Varro, a learned man among the *Romaines*, deuided the life of man into fiue partes, attributing the space of fifteene years to each one of them. The first fifteene he named *Puerttia*, Childehood, as being but an entrance into further growing. The second was *Adoleſcentia*; the springall or stripling estate of a youth, which hee tearmed the encreasing time, for then the body goeth on by encreasing. The third fifteene yeares, mounting vp to forty fiue years, he called *Iuuentus*, as comming of the Latine word *Iuuare*, to signifie the time of helping; becauſe men doe then serue as helpers to their Countrey, eyther in warlike occasions, or other affaires fit for the Common-wealth, and this Age is held for the stability or firmeneſſe of life.

The deuision made by *Marcus Varro*. *Puerttia*. *Adoleſcentia*.

Iuuentus.

life. After forty fiue, euen to threeſcore, the Age of man is called *Maturitas*, maturity, full of ripeneſſe, becauſe (in Latine) ſuch men are named *Seniores*, that is to ſay; Ancient men, or graue aged men, in reſpect of the precedent conditions. Alſo, in theſe times men doe begin to decline, and walke on toward Old Age, which accompliſheth the laſt fifteene yeares, after threeſcore, and containeth the reſt of mans life time. Behold how *Varro* deuided the life of man, according as *Cenſorinus* hath declared.

Maturitas.

Senectus.

Hippocrates the Philoſopher, he deuided it alſo into ſeauen Ages, the two firſt ſeauens, riſing to foureteene; The third, aſcending from foureteene, to eight and twenty. The ſeauens that make vp the fourth and fift, doe riſe to forty two: The ſixt, from forty two, to fifty ſixe; And the reſt of mans life, he attributeth to the ſeauenth Age. *Solon* the Philoſopher, as the ſame *Cenſorinus* relareth, brought theſe ſeauen parts into ſixe, deuiding the third, the ſixt and the ſeauenth in the midſt, ſo that each of the ſixe parts ſhould laſt ſeuen yeares; And the like deſcription is made by the other Philoſophers. But *Iſidore* hath diſtinguiſhed it into ſixe Ages, agreeing in the two firſt with *Hippocrates*, making euery one ſeauen; naming the firſt Infancy; the ſecond childhood. Afterward, from foureteene to eight and twenty, he tearmeth *Adoleſcentie*, or the encreaſing age. From twenty eight, to forty, he nameth it *Iuuentus*, or the helping time, which is the 4. in order. The fift, which he calleth declination, or the beginning of Olde-age he maketh to conſiſt of 20. yeares, and amount (in all) to ſixty. The remainder of life, he attributeth to Olde Age, and nameth it the ſixt Age.

Hippocrat. in L. de Diet. Nat. And his deuiſion.

The deuiſion made by *Solon*

Iſidor. lib. 11. de Etymol. And his deuiſion.

Horace, the excellent Poet, hath likewiſe made deuiſion of mans Ages; but it is into foure partes onely, according as *Pythagoras* did, to wit; Child-hood, Youth hood, Man-hood, and Old age: all which he hath elegantly deſcribed in his Art of Poeſie, with thoſe conditions belonging to men, in all thoſe ſeuerall times. Neuertheleſſe, according to the rule of naturall Philoſophy, the life time of man ſhould not be deuided, but into three Ages: The firſt, the encreaſing Age; The ſecond, the continuing Age, or, while a man remaineth in one eſtate; And the third, the Age of Diminution: For, according to *Ariſtotle*; *All thinges that doe procreate or engender, haue augmentation, retention of Eſſence, and diminution*: ſo, in like manner, three Ages ought to be aſſigned to Man. The Phiſitions of *Arabia* haue beene of the ſame opinion, and yet notwithſtanding, *Auicenne*, a very learned man, diſtinguiſheth our life into foure Ages, or principall partes. The firſt, which laſteth thirty yeares, hee calleth *Adoleſcenete*, becauſe, during this time, all things go on by encreaſing. The ſecond, from thirty, ſo farre as forty fiue, he calleth the ſtayed and ſetled Age, or of beauty and comelineſſe; for at this time, a man is in his beſt perfection. From thence onward, and ſo farre as to threeſcore yeares; he tearmeth, ſecret diminution, and the way to Old Age. The reſt that a man liueth afterward, as being his fourth and laſt eſtate; he nameth it, clearely diſcouered Old-Age, or falling, and downe-ſtooping Age. Now, notwithſtanding this opinion of his, it is to be noted, that albeit he haue made this principall deuiſion: yet hee forgetteth not, to deuide the firſt of theſe foure (which containeth thirtie yeares) and maketh three parts thereof. Whereby wee may well ſay, that hee conſenteth with ſuch, as deuided it into ſixe.

Deuiſion into three Ages onely.

Ariſt. in lib. 3. Animæ.

Auicen in part. 1. de Cap. 1. de Complex. And his deuiſion into four ages.

The firſt age deuided by *Auicenne* into three parts.

Now, after wee haue conſidered all theſe variable opinions, I cannot tell to which I ſhould betake my ſelfe, as beeing the trueſt; and, to ſpeake vprightly, no man knoweth how to giue an aſſured rule, or any certaine ayme; as well in regard of the diuers complexions & diſpoſitions of men, as alſo their dwelling in ſundry Landes and Prouinces, and their nouriſhing by good or bad foods, by meanes whereof, men arriue ſooner or later at the ſtate of Old Age. For which cauſe, *Galen* would haue no man to giue any limitted times to our ages: which being well conſidered, it maketh all theſe diſcordances of ſo many Authors, need no matter of ſtrange maruaile, conſidering that each man had a ſeuerall conſideration. According as *Seruius Tullius*, King of *Rome* had, who (according to *Aulus Gellius*)

Doubt, how to be reſolued in this caſe.

The deuiſion of *Galen. Gal. in lib 6. de Regim. Sanit.*

Seruius Tullius his deuiſion of the life of ma.

had

had no respect but to common benefit, when he deuided the people of *Rome* into fiue estates. And yet he distinguished the life of men, but into three parts, calling the first age (which he assigned to be seauenteene yeares) Childhood. From that estate to forty sixe; he declared them to bee men, able for the Warres, and so caused them to be set downe in writing. Lastly, from fortie sixe onward; he called them, ripe and mellow men, fit for graue imployment and counsell.

This deuision doth not contrary any of the other, because it is vniuersall, and includeth the meanest particulars in it, and it seemeth, that he grew conformable to the common deuisions, when it was vsually obserued, to separate (in diuers kinds) the Greene Age, Ripe-age, and Old-age. The Greene-age, from the time of our birth, euen to the ending of our youth, which goeth so farre as forty fiue yeares, little more, or little lesse; according as *Virgill* saith, *Viridisque iuuentus*, that is to say; *Green-youth*. The Ripe and Mellow Age, proceedeth on to threescore yeares, which time was attributed by *Seruius Tullius*, to men of Wisedome, meete for graue counsels and consultations. The rest is tearmed to be decrepite Old-age. These three parts, may likewise be deuided into other proportions; and (by that meanes) be answerable to the varietie, which appeareth to haue beene (by diuersitie of coniecture) among so many good Writers.

This deuision not contrarying the former.

Greene Age. Mellow Age. Old Age.

Viridisque iuuentus.

CHAP. XVI.

That there be certaine yeares in the life of Man, which our Ancients haue iudged to be more dangerous, then any other; And for what cause.

ANcient Philosophers & Astrologers haue obserued, that there are certaine yeares in out course of life, of much more perill and danger, then others be; which they named *Climacterical*, by reason of the Greeke word *Clima*, that is to say; a Ladder or forme of degrees, signifying thereby, that such yeares are limited, in the fashion of degrees or steps, but hard to passe, during the race of this mortall life. For, like as they maintaine in daies, that the seauenth, ninth, and fourteenth, are dangerous during mens sicknesses and infirmities: In like case, they haue especiall respect, that such a numberd limitation, taketh place also in the course and yeares of our fraile life; in regard of the members strength, whereof great account hath beene made by *Pythagoras*, *Themistius*, *Batus*, *Auerroes*, and many others. Also, in regard of the influences and domination of euill Planets; as I may alleadge of *Saturne*, who reigneth in diuersity of seasons, and sundry Ages. Whereby they gather iudicially (according as *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Censorinus*, & *Aulus Gellius* doe testifie) that all the Septenary yeares, or those comprised of seauens; doe portend great alterations, changes; & impossible (as it were) that such tearmes can bee passed, without mighty hazzard, alteration of life, estate, health, or complexion. Vpon this occasion, the yeare seauenth, fourteenth, twenty one, twenty eight, thirty fiue, forty two, forty nine, and so for euery seauenth yeare, is to bee feared.

Yeares called *Climacterical*, dangerous to mans life.

Daies maintained to be dangerous.

Pythagoras. Themistius. Batus. Auerroes.

Marsilius Ficinus. Censorinus. Aulus Gellius.

And because they defend the number Tenarie, or of three, to be likewise of great efficacy; they say, that three times seauen (which maketh one and twenty) is of maine importance. The like speech doe they make of the yeare forty nine, because it is composed of seauen times seuen. But the yeare (most of all other) to be feared, is that of sixty three. For, like as the number of one and twenty, ariseth out of three times seauen: so, likewise the number of sixty three, begetteth it selfe of three times one and twenty, or of nine times seauen, or of seauen times nine; which compleateth the number celebrated & recommended by the very wisest. When a man therefore commeth to the age, of entring into the yeare threescore and three; he ought to be carefull of his health and life, waiting (daie by day) for some change therein, or whatsoeuer else may happen vnto him; according

Of the number of three, in danger of yeares.

The dangerous yeare of threescore and three.

Iulius Firmicus in lib. Astrolog.

cording as *Iulius Firmicus* affirmeth in his Books of Astrology.

The Letter of *Octauius* to *Cassius.*

To this purpoſe, *Aulus Gellius* maketh mention of the Emperor *Octauius* his Letter, whereby he ſignified to his Nephew *Caſſius* (hauing eſcaped this yeare of ſo much danger) how carefull he ought to be of the yeare ſixty foure, becauſe he had preuented the yeare ſixty three; ſo that he declared a good intention, to celebrate his ſecond Natiuity. For theſe reaſons, our Elders made doubt of this yeare threeſcore and three, perceiuing many worthy men to die, euen at the arriuall thereof: for in the ſame yeare dyed *Ariſtotle*, and diuers other notable perſonages. And, as I haue formerly ſaid, the number of nine was alſo feared, becauſe they ſaid, that he which eſcaped the yeare ſixetie three, could not paſſe the boundes of foureſcore and one; in regard that this age was compoſed of nine times nine: at which age died diuine *Plato*, the great Geographer *Eratoſthenes*, *Zenocrates*, the Platonicall Prince of the auncient *Academie*, *Diogenes* the *Cinick*, and other famous perſons.

The death of *Ariſtotle.*

The death of Diuine *Plato*, &c.

Gentlemen, I was willing to make ſome obſeruation of theſe matters, more for curioſitie and exerciſe, then for any credence giuen to them: albeit they are not vtterly impertinent, nor voide of naturall reaſon. For, as wee may behold, that ſome ſickneſſes and humours doe end in a man, and, that in other Creatures, the change of teeth, encreaſe of Beard, the voyce augmenting, and nature worketh other effectes and notable changings, on ſuch complexions as are knowne by the tearmes of yeares: wherefore ſhould not wee credite, that (by the ſame meanes) limited times doe make other alterations and impreſſions? Why ſhould we not beleeue, that our humaine body hath communication with the Celeſtiall influences, as with humours; by ſome eſpeciall meanes, which is hidden from vs? Becauſe, man is ſubiect to the will and gouernment of God. And God, although he hath formed all things miraculouſly, and ſuper naturally: yet notwithſtanding, he will haue his works to be naturall; onely ſuch excepted, as were created by him againſt the Lawes of Nature, and according to his owne ſecret and inſcrutable iudgement.

The Authors defence for this argument

Man ſubiect to the will of God.

CHAP. XVII.

That Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, and other of the ancient Philoſophers and Poets, did read the Books of Moyſes, and haue taken many particuler points out of them.

IT is not to bee found, that any man (before *Moyſes*) hath left any thing written; except it were *Abraham* and *Enoch*, whoſe learning, *Moyſes* (as their lawfull Inheritor) hath comprehended in his Bookes, adding thereunto, thoſe things which he heard from the mouth of the liuing God, by Oracles daily receiued from him. At ſuch time as *Pythagoras* and *Plato* learned the Sciences in *Ægypt*; they would (firſt of all) ſtudy the Doctrine of *Moyſes*, whoſe name (in thoſe times) was in great admiration through all *Ægipt*, & out of his Bookes they conceiued the reaſon of God; to wit, of the firſt cauſe. After whom, *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*, wrote down in his Bookes, many thinges concerning Moyſaicall Doctrine, as *Baſile* the great witneſſeth; and the ſame *Numenius* ſaith, that *Plato* was no other then *Moyſes*, ſpeaking in the Greeke Language. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, doe both ſay, that the Gentiles receiued their very greateſt Myſteries from the *Iewes*, wrapping & enfolding them in their Fables. That of *Deucalion*, was taken from the Hiſtorie of the Deluge: The fixion of *Phaeton*, from the retrogradation and going back of the Sunne, which was in the time of *Ezechias.*

Whether any man wrote before *Moyſes.*

Pythagoras and *Plato.*

Numenius the *Pythagorian.*

Clemens Alexandrinus and *Euſebius.*

They that would behold the building of the Tower of *Babell*, which *Nimrod* and his partakers vndertooke, meaning (by Ladders) to climb vp into Heauen, and ſee what was done there: ſhall find it vnder certaine Allegories, amply deſcribed in *Homer*, vnder the Fable of the Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*, Sonnes to *Iphimedia*, where hee deſcribeth their height

The Tower of *Babel.*

The Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes.* *Homer Odyſſ. Lib.* 11.

height and wonderfull greatnesse, and how they would lay the Mountaine *Ossa*, vpon that of *Olympus*, and *Pelion* vpon *Ossa*. The Poet *Ouid*, borne in *Sulmo*, tooke that which hee singeth, of the beginning and Creation of the World (like as *Homer*, *Hesiodus*, and *Linus*, borrowed their Songs, of sanctifying the seauenth day) from none else but *Moyses*. Many haue sung the golden Age and raigne of *Saturne*, hauing gathered it from the most happy estate, wherein *Adam* was before hee sinned. Many more before them; as *Orpheus*, who learned diuers things from the doctrine of *Moyses*, especially in the Book which he made of the sacred word; he confesseth, that he took out of the Moysaicall Tables, that which hee singeth concerning God, knowne to the onely *Chaldean Moyses*, by these Verses, which *Frances George*, in his Hermony of the world, hath reduced into Latine.

Ouid, Homer, Hesiodus, Linus.

Saturnes golden Age.

Vnus perfectus Deus est, qui cuncta creauit
Cuncta fouens, atque ipse suecus super omnia in se:
Quo caetera mente tantum, qui mente videtur:
Qui nullum, ue malum mortalibus inuehit vnquam:
Quem preter non est alius: tu cuncta videto:
Hic ipsum in terris melius quo cernere possis.
Hic etenim video: ipsius vestigia sortem:
Hicque manum video: verum ipsum cernere, quis sit,
Nequaquam valeo, nam nubibus insidet altus.
Nemo illum nisi Chaldeo de sanguine quidam
Progenitus vidit: quem colorum aurea sedes
Sublimisque tenet: cuius se dextera tendit
Oceani ad fines: quem de radicibus imis
Concussique tremunt montes: nec pindere quamuis
Immenso sint, ferre queunt: qui culmina cuncta
Alta colens: terris nunquam tamen ille sit absens,
Ipse est principium, medium quoque, & exitus idem,
Priscorum nos haec docuerunt omnia voces:
Quae binis tabulis Deus olim tradidit illis.

Franc. Georg. in lib. de Harmo de Mund.

Some haue been of opinion, that *Orpheus* meant by this *Chaldean*, *Noah*, others, *Enoch*, and the *Platonists* tooke him for *Zoroastres*, who was the Sonne of *Cham*: but to none of them were the Tables of the Commaundements giuen, but to *Moyses* onely.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Mysticall signification, concerning the body of Eliseus, and of the dead man raised to life in the Prophets Graue.

IT is written in the * second Booke of the Kinges, and the thirteenth Chapter, that as they were burying a Man, they espyed the Souldiours of the *Moabites*: wherefore, they threw the dead man into the Graue of *Eliseus*, and the man beeing downe, and hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*; he reuiued, and stood vppe on his feete. This History containeth in it, the figure of our Lord Iesus Christ, and vnder the superficies thereof, is hidden a very great Mysterie. Dead *Eliseus*, is mysticallie vnderstood to be Iesus Christ, who died for vs; and the Souldiers or Theeues of *Moab*, doe represent wicked spirits, and the sinnes of the world.

*It is the fourth booke, in the vulgar edition.

The mysticall application of this History.

The Men that espied the *Moabites*, and threwe the dead bodie into the Graue of *Eliseus*; doe signifie the Apostles, who prouided for the peoples sauing health, against the mallice of wicked Demons, and against the burthen of sinnes: and therefore plunged mankinde (being dead) into the Sepulcher of Christ, that is to say, into the Water of Baptisme, because the Water of Baptisme is Christes Graue or Sepulcher, wherein wee are sanctified three times in the name of the blessed Trinitie, in regard that Iesus Christ continued three dayes and nights in the Sepulcher. Whereupon, Saint *Paule* saide to the *Romaines*: *We are buried with him in his death by Baptisme*. Concerning the dead man, that hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*, reuiued, and rose vpon his feete: read but the same Apostle, in his second Chapter to the *Colossians*, and there you shall finde him perfectlie described.

Rom. 7, 9.

CHAP. XIX.

The Interpretation, of the Dreame of the great King Nabuchodonosor.

NAbuzadnezzar, otherwise called *Nabuchodonosor*, King of *Babylon*, beheld

Dan. 2.

Nabuchodonosors Image.

beheld (in a Dream) a very great Image or ſtatue, the glory whereof was high, and it had a terrible regard. His head was of fine Gold; his Breaſt and armes of Siluer, his belley and Thighes of Braſſe; his Legges of Iron; and his Feete were partly of Iron, and partlie of Earth. He ſaw afterward, that a little ſtone (came of it ſelfe) out of a Mountaine, and deſcended from ſuch an height; as by the very blow of his fall, the Image was broken in all parts, and beaten into Powder. *Daniell* Interpreted this ſtatue, and gaue the ſignification thereof in the Kinges preſence, as is contained in the ſecond Chapter of his Booke: but heere it is more amply interpreted, and in a larger manner.

The ſignification of the Image, which *Nabuchodonoſor* ſaw in his Dreame.

The Image or Statue, denoted the Monarchies of the World; the head of Gold was the Kingdome of the *Aſſirians*; the Breaſt and Armes of Siluer, the Empire of the *Perſians*; the Belly & Thighes of Braſſe, the Monarchy of the *Grecians*; the reſt remaining (conſiſting of Iron and Earth) the State and Dominion of the Romaines. The ſtone is Ieſus Chriſt, who deſcending from the Celeſtiall Mountaine, hath humbled al theſe Kingdoms, & brought them to nothing. By this it appeareth, that we are in the laſt age, and that ſmal time of paſſing hence remaineth: becauſe, this world muſt be ouerthrowne and ruined, all the Kingdomes hauing already paſſed, and all Propheſies fullie accompliſhed. All which, if we were not able to coniecture; yet might wee eaſily comprehend by good reaſons.

Good reaſons to perſwade that we liue in the lateſt age.

In the firſt place, wee cannot deny, but that vertue is at her chiefeſt height, and all Vices at their pitch of extreamity. In the ſecond place, who euer beheld Diuinity and Learning more exalted, then it is at this day? Philoſophy, Muſicke, Armes, Caruing, Painting, and Eloquence more common, then now they are? very children neuer grew ſo ſoone to be perfect. We daily behold, that men do not now reach to the yeares of an hundred, or if they do, it is very ſildome; as in former times they did. And we may perceiue withal, that at the age of 18. yeares, a young Springall ſhewes himſelfe of as good ſhape, and prouided of as able ſtrength; as a young man at the age of thirty in elder daies. I cannot deliuer any reaſon, why men doe liue in this World ſo ſhort a while; except it be thorough their bad gouernment, and that diſſolutions and vices are the maine cauſe thereof; or rather, that God being willing to haſten the end of the World, would haue all theſe predictions, to be as warning pieces of his neere approach. We can deliuer another Allegory, or Expoſition of King *Nabuchodonoſors* Dreame. The Statue or Image, is this World, wherein we are Inhabitants, and where the more part of Mortall Men, are called Rich, Noble, and Mighty, vnder which Titles, we compriſe the head of Gold. The cleare ſhining Siluer, and of very good ſound; is the Learning of Men, tearmed wiſe, religious, and vertuous. By the Brazen part, wee vnderſtand inuented Artes, by which enſue the benefits of life and maintenance. As for the feete of Earth and Iron, wee may well admit them to be our bad actions, the very beſt whereof, will ſcarſe allow any boaſting: becauſe they are full of filthineſſe, ſoyled with hatreds, enmities, and rancours, that (too ſoone) get poſſeſſion of our harts. Our ſtupidity and vnaptneſſe to good workes, and our iniquity of life, which is all made of Earth; both gouerneth and ſupporteth this huge maſſe, this vaine corruption, deſpoiled of all this, euen by it ſelfe, by this ouer-burdening and loading it ſelfe. But our Lord will deſcend from Heauen, the little Stone, euen that (I ſay) which became ſo great; and at his ſecond comming, he ſhal caſt downe to the ground, all humaine Eſtates, and ſhall iudge (in the laſt day) the Gold, the Siluer, and all the reſt of the actions of our life.

Reaſons for the breuity of life.

Another expoſion of this Dreame.

Gold. Siluer. Braſſe.

Earth & Iron

The little ſtone.

Exaltation of the Arts and Sciences.

Shortneſſe of life.

Forwardneſſe in growth.

CHAP. XX.

When the ending of the world ſhall come, by the coniectures of diuers learned Doctors, and other great perſonages.

SOme haue deliuered their opinion, that the Worlde is to endure ſixe thou-

The world to continue 6000. yeares.

thousand yeares, to wit; two thousand without the Law; two thousand with the Law; and another two thousand after the first comming of the Sonne of God. This was not the Prophesie of *Helie* the *Thesbite*, but rather the inuention of another *Helie*, a *Rabbie* of the Iewes, vppon the *Talmud*; in the tract *Sanedrin*, Chapter *Helee*; in the tract of Idolatry, Chapter *Libne*; and in the Tract of the *Sabbath*. The coniectures of whom, are reported by *Rabbi Isaac*, vpon the first Chapter of *Genesis*, the principall whereof are these that follow.

Genebrad in Chron.

The coniectures deliuered by *Rabbi Isaac.*

The first Versicle of *Genesis*, containeth the Summary of the workes of God, expressing six times the Letter *N*. Now, *Aleph* signifieth a thousand. Moreouer, God perfected the World in sixe daies, the seauenth hee ceassed from his works, and sanctified the Sabboth: And, a thousand yeares are with God, euen as yesterday which is past, so saith the Psalmist. Finally, the sixe first Fathers, *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Caynam*, *Malaleel*, *Iared*, are dead; the seauenth, to wit; *Enoch*, was transported aline vp into Heauen. After sixe thousand yeares then, during which time, trauailes, and death wil be in their vigour: shal begin the seauenth thousand of repose, and of the life immortall.

The coniectures of *Nicholas de Cusa*, Cardinall.

Nicholas de Cusa, a very wise Cardinall, gaue many other coniectures of the last times, which I wil relate here at large. If wee desire (saith he) to haue knowledge of the time (how little soeuer it be) concerning the ending of the world, and the last daies: wee haue iust cause then to meditate on the trauailes, which our Sauior Iesus Christ endured in this World. For, as himselfe hath taught vs, if we will liue as Christians, we ought to follow, and learne of him. *Learne of me* (saith he) *for I am humble & meeke of heart.* In like manner, himselfe hath giuen vs example; to doe as hee did, if wee desire to bee his followers. Moreouer, hee assureth vs, that all the faithfull are his members, when hee saith; that which is done to the least of his, he reputeth it as done to himselfe. The Church then is his mysticall body, and shee, in her totall perigrination in this World; imitateth her head Iesus Christ, who opened Heauen by his ascension. He hath gone before, as her rule and example; his Church followeth after, as his Image and resemblance. *Moyses* beheld the truth, in the flaming Mountaine *Sinay*, by vision of the verity, and after the Vision was vanished, hee did according to the example which he had seene. Iesus Christ entred into this World, in the forme of a young Infant, he encreased in age and Wisedome, became a man, enstructing the truth, and walking in it; vntill such time, as (to bee a Testimonie thereof) he was taken from this world, by the mallice of the Iewes, who made him to suffer death vppon the Crosse. Neuertheless, hee hath left his seede, which is his Church, in whom he abideth, as *Adam* in *Eue*, his Wife formed of his Flesh, and brought forth of his side: to the ende, that his Spouse the Church (full of his Seede) should afterward be nourished in the House of his heauenly Father, by her glorious assumption vp into Heauen. The Church was regenerated from hir Infancy, euen like an Infant; shee hath encreased in yeares and diuine wisedome, and (by litle and little) she shall accomplish and finish the time of her Trauailes in this World.

Christ his entrance into this world.

The Church the Spouse of Christ.

The trauailes of our Sauior in this world.

Math. 7, 9.

Math. 25, 40.

The Church the mysticall body of christ

The time of Christs being on earth, figured by the militant Church

Now, if we would haue a liuely example, we may say by coniecture, that the time which Iesus Christ liued vpon the Earth; is represented and declared by his Militant Church. We know, that hee is called the Sonne of Man, and the Lord of the Sabbath. Likewise, in him was accomplished, that which was prophesied by *Esay*, to wit; *The yeare of the Lord*, which yeare of the Lorde, is the yeare of Iubilie and freedome. (For *Iobell* in *Hebrew*, is as much to say, as the fiftith yeare, at which time of Iubily in *Israell*, euery seller might (by right) recouer againe the things which he had sold, without restoring the price receiued.) All this time is reuolued by the septenary number, to wit; from seauen dayes, from seauen yeares, and from seauen times seauen yeares, which are fortie nine yeares. After which, the fiftith yeare following this laborious reuolution, is the yeare Iubilie, free and full of liberty, in which all seruitude ceasing, liberty returneth freely againe. And it is to

The yeare of Iubilie.

This Parenthesis is not set downe in *Nicholas de Cusa.*

be noted, that fifty yeares of common account by the Catholique Church, do make one yeare of Iubily of the Lord our God. And the Church, who (as his owne Image) followeth her Lord and Patrone; doth both demonstrate and explicate by the number of fiftie, onely one of the yeares of Iubily of her Spouse. So that, the reuolution of one yeare of the Lord, made in peregrination of his Church, is answerable to one sunny reuolution of Iesus Christ, the true Sun of righteousnesse. By which reasons, wee make coniecture, that the Church cannot trauaile in this World, aboue fifty Iubilies, which are 2500. whereof already we haue had 29. *which are past; considering, that since the ascention of our Sauiour, euen to this present, 1452. yeares haue runne their course. This is the alotted space, and very greatest continuance of the Church, after her Bridegroome, whereof there is much to be abridged.

* This is out of *Cusa*, who liued & spake this, in the yeare 1464. made Cardinall vnder Pope *Pius* the second. So that, in perfect account, the instant yeare, is the 31. Iubily, since Iesus Christ.

Now if we will consider further, the things which our Lord & Sauior hath done, and those which he suffered after the twenty ninth yeare of his age, vntill the day that he arose, triumphing ouer Sin, Death, and Hell, and then, if wee extend those yeares into Iubilies: wee may (by coniectures) foretell what shal happen to the Church. So that, in the foure and thirtith Iubily, after the resurrection of the Redeemer of al mankind; she may well hope (by the goodnesse of God) to be raised vp into the glorie, to the ruine of Antichrist. And this is thought, that it will happen, after the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ into the World, 1700. and before the yeare 1734. And as in the time of *Noah*, the consummation of sin came by the Deluge, the 34. Iubily after the first *Adam*, according as wise *Philo* the *Iew* hath written: we may also fore-tell by coniectures, that in the 34. Iubily after the second *Adam*, both sin and the World shall be consumed by the fire of the holy spirit. And then shall the Church be transferred out of this corruptible world, into the glory of the liuing, by the comming of her Spouse to Iudgemen. And yet the houre of his second comming will be vncertaine, for come he will, & when least doubt is made of him; like as a Thiefe commeth in the night, and as the deluge came vpon the earth. *Philo* the Iew declareth, that *Moyses* (at the houre of his death) desired God to reueale vnto him; how much of the time was passed, and how much (as then) remained: whereto God aunswered, that two had already passed, & two wer as yet to come. And so *Moyses* being full of vnderstanding, yeilded vp his Soule. Heerein then (saith he) God reuealed four times to *Moyses*, two past, and two to come: of which, from *Adam* to the Deluge or Floud, passed the first time. The second, after the floud, vntil *Moyses*. The third, from *Moyses* to Iesus Christ. And the fourth, from Iesus Christ, to the end and consummation of the world. Now, the last time took beginning at the Resurrection of the Son of God, and continueth to the ending of the world, vpon which good reason, the Saints (oftentimes) called them the latter daies, and the ends of the world.

Philo the *Iew*, of a reuelatiō made to *Moyses*, concerning the times.

Now, notwithstanding that these supputations of yeares are very diuers, according to the truth of the *Iewes*, according to the 70. *Greeke* Interpreters, as also according to *Iosephus* & *Philo*: I am of the minde (neuertheless) it is much more true, that there hath passed so many Iubilies from the death of *Moyses* to Iesus Christ; as from *Adam* to the time of *Noah*, and as many from the floud vnder *Noah*, vnto the death of *Moyses*. In like manner, as many Iubilies haue and shall run their course, from the resurrection of our Sauiour, to the end of the last times, and of 34. Iubilies. *Moyses* died (according to that diuine reuelation) in the midst of these 4. times, whereof two were finished, & two were then to come. * There are many other coniectures of the latter daies, which are found written, and yet are so diuers; as no one agreeth with another. And to speak truly, the ending of the world, and the generall iudgement is vncertaine to any creature: for it is onely in the hand and power of God, whose secrets are concealed to himselfe, and he being God reserued them to his owne peculiar knowledge. So that, if those auncient men would needs vndertake to write thereof som perticularities; yet they al deceiud themselues by abusing coniectures, far off from all verity. We then of these daies, who haue much lesse learning & iudge-

Concerning the supputations of these yeares.

* All hitherto is out of *Nicholas de Cusa*.

This is onely conceiued in opinion.

A comparison betweene the first and second *Adam*.

The ending of the world onely known to God.

1. Pet. 3, 10.

iudgement then they had, without any comparison, and enioy not a sparke of the like sanctity; ought to cease and desist, frō ouer-curious search into things to come, especially daies, houres, and moments, which God hath so restraind to his owne power, that the Angels in heauen do not know them. For so himselfe saith; *Of that day and houre, no Man knoweth, no not the Angels of Heauen, but my Father onely.* But sure and certain are we, that the world shall perish by an vniuersall flame, and shall bee renewed: which the Spirit of God deliuered by *Moyses*, in his Song in *Deutronomy*: *Fire is kindled in my wrath, and shal burne vnto the bottome of Hell, and shall consume the earth with her encrease, and set on fire the foundations of the Mountaines.*

Actes 1, 7.

Math. 24, 36.

Deut. 32, 22.

Sophocles related by *Iohn de Maulmont.*

Sophocles the Pagan Poet, seemed to touch with his finger (as it were) the ending of the World, in diuers verses, translated by *Iohn de Maulment*, the meaning whereof briefely folowes thus. *The Age shall come that will bring vs riches from the high Heauens, when they shall be filled, and round engirt with fire. All places on the earth the flames shall enclose, and burne all things, as well in the water, as in the Ayre. Not any thing in this world, vnder earth, or in the deepest Sea, shall scape from burning. When then, by so cruell a flames fury, all things shall be consumed: the springes of all waters shall be without course, like a bottomles gulfe. No fields shal produce any more fruits, nor the earth be inhabited: No ships shall floate vpon the Sea: No Birds fly in the Ayre. But a cruell tempest of fierie thunder, shall hurle Heauen and Earth into eternall ruine; burning the Earth and all things into Cinders. Then shall her great backe re-assume no other essence, or yeelde any nourishment, for all is brought into putrifaction.*

2 Pet 3, 12.

Saint *Peter* writeth; *That Heauen and Earth which is at this instant, are reserued for Fire at the day of Iudgement, and the Elments shall resolue themselues into fire.*

Augustin. in Lib. 20. de Ciuit. Dei.

Saint *Augustine* aunswered a demaund which might be made, as thus. When after the Iudgement is ended, this World shall bee burnt, before (instead thereof) a new Heauen be created, and a new Earth: in what place shall the Saints be, when this burning is performed? Considering, it followeth necessarily, that they should be in some corporeall place, because they all haue bodies. *They shall be* (saith he) *in high places, whereunto the flames can neuer mount, as likewise the Waters of the Deluge could not. For they shall then haue such bodies, as they may bee where they will be, without fearing the Fire of burning, beeing made immortall and incorruptible: as the corruptible and Mortall bodies of the three Men, Sidrach, Misaack, and Abednago liued, without being offended in the fiery furnace.*

Dan. 3, 24.

Now, if we will be Christians, wee ought to beleeue, that the Resurrection of the dead, is in Flesh, and that it will bee done in a moment, or in the twinckling of an eye, saith the Apostle: but our Faith heerein is not vnprofitable, although our vnderstanding doe not perfectly comprehend, howe, and in what manner it shal be done. Let vs leaue then to God, the causes and reasons whereby this is to bee done, and let not vs enquire (ouer busily) after his admirable secrets I could continue on this discourse, with diuers other Chapters, and handle in them this Resurrection, setting downe the solution and aunswers of Doctors in Diuinity, touching those high questions and demaunds, which may be made in this matter. But I will faile no further in so high a Sea, nor enter into an * *Euripus* of reasons, where the Billowes may cause the sincking of my poore Spirits ship; therefore here shall be my Hauen and landing.

1 Cor. 15, 23.

* A narrow sea betweene the hauen *Aulis* and *Euboa*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and so violently, that it carryeth (with it) ships with full saile against the winde.

CHAP. XXI.

The Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, by Charles the eight, King of France.

Phillip de Comines in Carolo 8.

Phillip de Comines, a worthy learned Gentleman, who was Counsellour to King *Charles*, and serued him in the action: giueth notable testimony thereof, and therefore I think it not amisse, to vse his own words, in regard of his grauity and authority. He relateth first, the cruelty & tyranny of *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, and of his Son *Alphonso*, in causing 24.

Noble-men (their Subiects) to be moſt cruelly murdered in Priſon: then, diſcourſing of their vices and wickednes, he afterward ſpeaketh of Gods iudgements vpon them, proceeding in this manner.

The Iudgement of *Phillip de Comines*, of the Conqueſt of *Naples*, for the ſinnes of the Kings thereof

No man (ſaith hee) was euer more cruell, more wicked, more vicious, nor a greater Glutton, then *Alphonſo*, though his Father *Ferdinando* was more daungerous then he: for, in making men faire weather (as we tearme it) and good cheare; he commonly betrayed them. As he dealt by Count *Iaques*, whom he murthered villainouſly, though hee were Ambaſſadour with him for *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, and ſo he dealt likewiſe with many other, neuer vſing mercy to any, no, not ſo much as to his owne Kinſ-man. Beſides, he neuer had any pitty or compaſſion on his poore people, for hee made a very merchandize of his Kingdome, inſomuch; that hee forced his Subiects to feede and fat his Hogges, and pay for them if they chanced to die. He bought vp all the Oyle and Graine in the Countrey, before it was ripe, and ſold it afterward extreamely deare, compelling them to take it at his price, and, while he ſold, no man elſe might ſell any. If any Noble-man or Gentleman were richer then the reſt; hee forced him to lend him great ſummes of Money. He tooke from his Nobility their races of horſes, or elſe made them keepe them for him, whereby he had many thouſands of Horſes, Mares, and Coltes. Both the Father and the Son tooke many Women by force. They neuer had reuerence or reſpect to the holy Church; but ſold Byſhoppricks, as for example, that of *Taranto*, which *Ferdinando* the Father ſold for 12000. Ducates, to a Iew for his Son, who (he ſaid) was a Chriſtian. He gaue Abbaies to Faulconers, with charge, to keepe him a certaine number of Haukes at their expences. *Alphonſo* the Sonne neuer kept any Lent, nor made ſo much as any ſhew to keepe it. He neuer made conſcience of any committed ſinne, nor euer communicated: and, to conclude, it is not poſſible to doe worſe, then they both did.

The tyranny, cruelte, and vicious life of the Kings of *Naples*.

Biſhoppricks and Abbaies ſold for mony

Thus ſaith this Authour, of the liues and manners of theſe two Kinges, and then hee further addeth, concerning Gods Iudgements vpon them. It may (ſaith he) ſeeme to the Readers, that I haue ſpoken this on ſome particular paſſion, or hatred towardes them. But (in good faith) I haue not ſaid it to any other end, then to continue the courſe of my Hiſtory, and that it may appeare, that this voyage to King *Charles* to *Naples*, proceeded onely of the will of Almighty GOD, who ordained, that ſo young a King, deſtitute of Councell, Mony, and all ſufficient meanes for ſuch an enterpriſe: ſhould be his Comiſſary (as it were) to chaſtice theſe Kinges, who were wiſe, potent, and rich, and had many wiſe Counſellours and graue perſonages about them; yea, many ſubiects, friends, and allies, abroad in *Italy*, whom it imported to conſerue and defend that Kingdome. And yet neuertheleſſe, though they fore-ſaw the ſtorm long before: they could not find meanes to auoid it, nor make reſiſtance any where. For, excepting onely the Caſtle of *Naples*, there was not any place, Town, or Fort, that ſtayed King *Charles* at one whole day. Inſomuch, that Pope *Alexander* ſaid very wel; *That the French-men came with Chalke in their hands, like Harbingers to make and take vp their lodgings wher they pleaſed*: For they had not occaſion, ſo much as to put on their Armour, in all the Voyage.

Phillip de Comes ibid.

Charles the 8. king of *France* the Comiſſary of God to chaſtiſe the kings of *Naples*

The admirable facility of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

Therefore I conclude, according to the opinion of very many good and religious men, and other ſorts of people (& the voyce of the people is the voice of God) that GOD did punniſh theſe Kings viſibly, and in ſuch euident manner; that it might ſerue for an example and admonition to all Kinges, to liue well, according to the commandement of God. For theſe Kinges whereof I haue ſpoken, loſt their Honours and Realme, great riches, and mooueables of al ſorts; yea, and their owne perſons in the ende, three of them in the ſpace of one yeare, or little more. And, as I haue vnderſtood of ſome (that were very neere them) they found (in pulling downe an olde Chappell) a Booke, whereof the Title was; *The Truth, with her ſecret counſell*; in which Booke, was contained all that had happened after vnto them: And when they three (onely) had read it, they burnt it.

The euident puniſhment of God vpon the Kings of *Naples*.

A Propheſie of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

Thus

Thus much I thought good to ſet down in the words of this wiſe and graue Authour, to the end, that not only the bad liues of theſe Kinges, but alſo his iudgement may appeare concerning Gods Iuſtice ſhewed vpon them and their whole Kingdome for the ſame. And this may alſo bee confirmed by other perticulers, which *Guicciardine* recounteth of them, and of the ſucceſſe of that warre, ſignifying, that *Ferdinando* the Father being verie wiſe, and vnderſtanding of that intention of King *Charles*, to come and inuade his Kingdome; he feared ſo greatlie the ſucceſſe (in reſpect of his owne bad life and his ſonnes) that hee laboured by all meanes poſſible, by Ambaſſadours and Friends to diuert him from his purpoſe, offering to pay him yearely Tribute, of 100000. Ducates, and to holde his Kingdom of him, by fealty and homage. And when hee ſaw that nothing woulde preuaile, hee fell ſicke with ſorrow, and died before King *Charles* entred into *Italy*.

Guic. lib. 1. hiſt.

King *Ferdinando* of Naples, died for ſorrow.

And *Alphonſo* his Sonne (who then ſucceeded him in the Kingdome) though he bragd long before that he woulde go ſo farre as to the Mountaines, to meete King *Charles* if he came forwards (which he ſaid, he would neuer beleeue he durſt do) yet afterward, when the *French* were in *Italy*, and came ſo farre as Rome, hee tooke ſuch a fright, that he cried out euery night, he heard the French-men comming, and that the verie trees and ſtones cried *France*. And, as *Guicciardine* affirmeth (who was not a man either eaſily to beleeue, or raſhly to Write Fables) it was credibly and conſtantly reported, that the ſpirit of *Ferdinando* his father, appeared to one that had beene his Phyſition, and bad him tell his ſonne *Alphonſo* from him, that he ſhould not bee able to reſiſt the Frenchmen. For God hadde ordained, that his progeny ſhould (after many great afflictions) bee depriued of their Kingdome, for the multitude and great enormity of their ſinnes. And eſpecially, for that which he had done (by the perſwaſion of *Alphonſo*) himſelfe, in the Church of S. *Leander*, in *Chaia* neere to *Naples*, whereof he told not the perticulers.

The idle bragging of King *Alphonſo*.

Guicciard. ibid.

The ſpirit of King *Ferdinand* apeared after his deth

The Kings of *Naples* depriued of their Kingdome.

Furthermore, the ſame Authour ſignifieth, that *Alphonſo* was exagitated with ſuſpitions and feares, whiles he was waking, and in his ſleepe, with the repreſentation of the Noblemen, whom hee had cauſed to be ſecretly murdered in priſon, (as I haue declared before) and that being in this miſerable perplexitie, he reſigned his Crowne vnto his ſonne (that was called *Ferdinando*, after his grand-fathers name) and ranne away into *Sicily*, in ſuch haſt, that his Mother in law (with whom only he communicated his intention) being deſirous to flie with him, coulde not perſwade him to ſtay for her ſo much as three dayes, which ſhe earneſtly deſired, to the end, ſhe might haue that comfort at leaſt, to be Queen of *Naples* a ful year. But he told her, that if ſhe would not go preſently with him, he would leaue her: proteſting (as *Phillip de Comines* teſtifieth) that if any ſought to ſtay him by force, hee would caſt himſelfe out at the Windowes. Asking hir further, if ſhe heard not euery one crie *France*, *France*. Thus being tormented with the horrour of his owne Conſcience, and the terrour of Gods Iudgements alreadie falne vppon him: he fled into *Sicily*, taking with him diuers ſortes of delicate Wines (which he had alwayes loued ouer-well) and ſom Garden ſeeds to ſowe, and a few Iewels, and a little mony, without taking any order in the Worlde, for his goodes and Moueables, which he left in great quantitie and aboundance, in the Caſtle of *Naples*.

Phillip de Comines in Carolo 8.

K *Alphonſo* being ſtrangely tormented with the horror of his own conſcience, fled into *Sicily*

But being arriued in *Sicily*, and touched with Gods grace, he fell into the account of his bad life paſt, and of Gods iuſtice executed vpon him, he becam verie penitent, gaue great almes, and entered into Religion, in which eſtate, hee dyed ſoone after of the ſtone, with the extreameſt torments that could be immagined, as ſome of the Religious, with whom he liued, tolde after to *Philip de Comines*, as himſelfe writeth. And to conclude the Tragicall Hiſtory of the Kings, his ſonne *Ferdinando*, to whome hee reſigned his Crowne, hauing aſſembled al his forces, durſt make no reſiſtance any where vnto the *French*, but fledde before them from place to place, vntill at length, almoſt all his ſubiectes forſooke him, and rebelled againſt him; whereupon, he fled alſo into *Sicily*, and within awhile dyed there. Loe heere the miſerable calamity which (for the ſinnes of theſe Kings) fell not only vpon them, but alſo vpon their whole Kingdome, ſerning for many yeares after,

King *Alphonſo* died in Sicily, very repentant.

Ibid. Cap. 15.

K *Ferdinando*, forſaken of his ſubiects, fled into *Sicily* and died there.

Guic. ibid. The torments of a guiltie Conſcience.

ter, for a prey and ſpoile to forrain Nations, vntill at length it inioyed the repoſe, which now it hath vnder the K. of *Spaine*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of a Courtier; And what manner of man he ought to be.

Popular opinion concerning a Courtier.

THe reaſon inducing mee to write of a Courtier, is to take away a falſe perſwaſion, imprinted in common and popular Iudgement, in thinking; that a Courtier is none other, thē an afronter of Merchants, a Diſſembler, a Flatterer, Inciuil, a Lyer, a ruffian, a Swaggerer, a troubleſome fellow: In briefe, a man made vp of all Vices, becauſe that in the Kings times, the Sonnes to late King *Henry* the ſecond, raigning in young yeares, many then were ſuch, which being well obſerued by that worthie and great man, the Lord *de Pybrack*, in his Poeſie of *Quatraines*, hee ſung thus:

Le Sieur de Pybrac in ſon Quatrains.

Go not to Reuelles, if thou loue no dancing,
Nor venter on the Sea, if thou feare danger:
Go not to Bankets if thou canſt not eate,
Nor to the Court, if thou ſpeake what thou thinkeſt.

The Authors determinate Propoſition.

Now at this preſent, liuing in ſuch a time, when wee haue a King of a conſiſtant age, of a ripe vnderſtanding, and Princes and Princeſſes, that will haue none in their Courts, but people of vertue; I purpoſe to propound, what manner of man a Courtier ought to bee, and his ends. To qualify this errour of the people, wherein they haue beene led ſul manie yeares. Moreouer, ſuch as would or elſe pretend themſelues to be Courtiers, may heerein marke and learne, by what meanes, and with what great facility, they ſ all attaine thereto.

A Courtier ought to be Noble by race

Firſt of all, he that deſireth to followe the Courts of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Dukes, Dutcheſſes, Marqueſſes, and Earles, or other illuſtrious perſons, ought to be a Gentleman by birth, and of a noble houſe of Antiquity: becauſe it is leſſe reproachfull for a Yeoman, to fail in the exerciſe of Vertuous actions, then for him that is Noble borne; who erring from thoſe ſteppes which his predeceſſors walkt in, ſoyleth the name & honor of his houſe and race. Before hee go to Court, he muſt be paſt the age of Adoleſcencie, which is about twentie or fiue and twenty yeares of his age: for beeing much older, he will not finde it to his liking. Hee muſt bee well featured and formed, both of his bodye and countenance, leaſt he be miſprized and ſcorned. He muſt bee of an indifferent ſtature, to wit; neither extreamly high nor low: for men of ſuch ſort, are lookt on like things of monſtrous ſhape. Beſide, men of ſo great ſtature, ouer and aboue their common addiction, to dull vnderſtanding are verie vnapt to all exerciſes of agility, matters verie commendable in a Courtier.

Of what yeares.

Of what forme

Of what ſtature.

He muſt be expert in all kind of arms, to helpe himſelfe, as neede ſhall require, both at all times, and in all places. He muſt be a good Horſeman, and actiue in managing him; that he may bee knowne (among others) to be hardie and valiant. He muſt be loyall and faithfull vnto him whom he ſerueth, and addicted to acord quarrels and contentions, his own honor ſafely kept, and his for whom hee maketh the agreement. Beſides, as hee ought to be skilfull in Wraſtling, Leaping, dancing, and playing on ſome or manie Inſtruments of Muſicke, ſo ſhould he likewiſe readily ſing any Poet or Hiſtorian. He muſt be exquiſite in ſpeaking diuers Languages: if he be French, Engliſh, or what elſe, he ought to ſpeake Latine, Italian, Spaniſh, yea the Germaine tongue tongue alſo, if it be poſsible. And for his better attaining thereto, before hee practiſe any of them, he muſt haue viſited the Countries where the Languages are naturally ſpoken. For, to learne them by Bookes, he ſhall neuer pronounce them truly. I meane the like of other Nations, in regard that the *Frenchmen*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Germaines*, do ordinarily conuerſe together.

Of skill in armes.

A good horſeman.

A loyall Seruant.

A Peace-maker.

Actiue in exerciſes.

A good Muſitian.

A ready ſpeaker of manie Languages, by viſiting Countries.

No learning of Languages by Bookes.

He muſt not vſe any ſottiſh preſumption, nor bee a reporter of wearieſome Nouelties, or ſo vnaduiſed, as to ſpeake Offenſiue ſpeeches, in ſteade of ſuch as may better pleaſe. Hee muſt not bee Opinitiue, or Contentious, as ſome doe ſeeme to haue no other delight, then in being

Concerning his goodparts

No troblesom person.

being crosse and troublesome, like Flies or Waspes, and make it their profession, to gainsay euery man despightfully, without any respect at all. He must bee no prater, Vaine-glorious Boaster, Lyer, Flatterer, or Knaue; but moderate and peaceable, vsing euermore (especially in publicke) reuerence and respect towards his Lorde, which is most commendable in a seruant. Fame and renowne do follow all good parts, if they appeare in action, both in due time and place, and he canot faile in these things, but to his own great dishonor. He must make no vants of himselfe, except he be truly valiant, & haue acted some great enterprizes, or done some memorable Stratagems. Neither must he vse any iests, that may offend his Prince, or others: except hee order his iests, and so sauor them, as the Prince may speake their woorth for wit and discretion, and not reproue them with want of Iudgement; but, insted of displeasure, thinke them to deserue both respect and recompence.

Bad and vndecent qualities.

Fame pursueth Vertue.

No vanter or iester.

Iests cõmended for wit & reading.

To this purpose, wee may alledge the Historie of a Marshal of *France*, tearmed of S. *Andrew*, who knowing that King *Henry*, second of that name, could hardly finde an Architect to his liking, to forme him a model for two bodies of lodgings, which he purposed to build at *Fontainebleau*, brought him a man of *Lymosine*, a Mason by his trade, yet ignorant. But hauing fitted him with sufficient habite, he made the King beleeue, that hee was a great Architect, verie deepely experienced in that Art, & that it was the same man, who had proiected al the buildings which *Charles* the fift, Emperor and king of *Spaine*, had caused to bee made. And indeed, this poore man had bin in *Spaine*, in his yonger years, to gaine some knowledge by Trauaile, for his best practise could not maintain him in his own countrey. And hauing gotten in *Spaine* (in the compasse of sixe or seauen yeares) some fiftie *Reals of siluer; thinking himselfe to be the richest man in his Countrey, hee returned home againe. Hauing spent a good part of his Money, he had married another Wife; for all *Lymosines*, or people of those parts, vsing Mechanical professions, when (for lucres sake) they trauaile into *Spaine*: they marrie there (for the most part) to weomen that doo but lend themselues (as it were) for that time, and comming into their owne Country, there they are at libertie againe to take other Wiues.

The Historie of a Mason of *Lymosine*.

Habit oftentimes makes the man.

*The Spanish pieces of sixe pence Value.

A kind of dealing scarse commendable.

This poore Mason came to dwell at *Orleance*, hauing spent well-neere all his Reals, and eaten vp his Wiues Dowrie beside, which might amount to twentie pounds; he heard there of som other Masons, that earned daily seauen or eight **Sols* or *Sous*, and in his Countrey, they had no more but two *Sols*, or six *Blanks. The Lorde Marshall meeting with this Mason by chance, as hee walked one day abroad in the Fieldes, to passe awaie the time pleasantly: he fell into Conference with him, and found that he had a verie proude and ouer-weening presumption of his owne sufficiency. So much the rather, because hee was a workeman at the building of the new Conuent of *Nostre Dame de Monserrat*. Wherein indeed he holpe to supply the Masons with Morter, which made him of opinion, that he was the verie best Architect of his time: Albeit hee vnderstood little or nothing, scarsly knowing howe to order or lay a stone in a wall in his right place.

*The French shilling, ten whereof doe make one English. *Halfe a *Sol* is a Blanke.

Presumption neuer wanted folly.

The King crediting the Lord Marshals wordes, spake a long time together in good French to the Mason, and yet vnderstood nothing backe again from him: for he stoode with his Hat on, without vsing any reuerence to the King, or respecting him any more, then if he had beene his daily companion. Sometime, hee called his maiesty *Mounsieur*, or my Lord the King, speaking one while *Limosine*, then again thrusting forth a word or two of *Spanish*: the King perceiuing nothing all this while, but continued his speeches earnestly to the Mason, that hee might at full vnderstand his mind.

The foolish impudence of the Mason.

At length, the King beholding that all the standers by smiled, and aboue all, the Lord Marshall, desired to knowe the reason of their Laughter; which beeing disclosed to him, himselfe fell into a verie mirthfull humour and laughed heartily, because he had no better noted the Language, the Crispe countenance and ignorance of the poore Mason. Nor did the King any way take the iest offensiuely; but contrarywise, was well pleased, & much commended the Lorde Marshall for it. The like maner of iesting, inuented by a quicke and apprehensiue spirite, with obseruation of time and place; may bee

The King seriously speaking, discerned not the Iest.

An aduertisement vnto a Courtier.

be permitted in a Courtier, not offending his Prince, but vſed with ſuch diſcretion, as may rather procure recompence, then any diſgrace.

Of mockes, girds, & tants

In theſe pleaſant behauiours, he muſt vſe no bitter or vnſauoury mocks, girds, or tants, neither towards poore or Rich, and eſpecially not to women, who (in regard of their imbecility) are to be reſpected.

of the Princes Chamber.

He muſt forbeare entrance into the Princes Chamber, except he be called, or commaunded thither.

Of Speeches to the Prince.

If the Prince haue retired himſelfe, to recreate his ſpirit, beware of vſing any ſpeeches to him, that may ſauour of irkeſomnes, but rather of Delectation.

Of Requeſts.

Let him not requeſt any thing for himſelf, that formerly hath beene mooued by another, and may be to his aduãtage, euermore ſhunning importunity in ſuch proceedinges.

Of Princes fauours.

Let him attend the fauors of his Prince, and not demand them; auoiding ſolitude leaſt either he be thought vain glorious, or weake ſpirited.

Of vndecent ſeruices, if they be vrged

By foule and vnfitting actions, neuer ſeeke to compaſſe fauour, as ſeruing in murderous or Bawdy employments: but if ſuch occaſions be offered, let a diſſembled deafeneſſe excuſe it, or ſome other priuate matter, cauſe preſent retirement, which may returne anſwere, without any other reply.

Of reprehenſions.

For a Courtier that falles into ſuch imployments for his Prince, vpon ouer-much preſsing, may well declare the caſe to be diſhoneſt: and if hee ſtill perſiſt, let wiſedome giue direction to withdraw from his Court.

For, reprehenſions may not bee giuen to Princes publickely, but priuate and apart, albeit he exceed his Prince in yeares.

A Courtiers aime and end

For, a Courtiers aime only ſhould be, to teach his Prince.

Of Garments

A Courtiers Garmentes ought to be of blacke colour, or of ſuch darke decencie, as may rather expreſſe grauity, then giddineſſe or glory. Except it be in Armes, Maskes, or Triumphes, where gay and goodly colours are more fitting, and Imbroideries, Iewelles, and Magnificent pompe.

Election of friends.

Let him entertaine one only Vertuous friend, and not two (for two will carrie themſelus better together then three) conformable to himſelfe in life and manners.

Companie keeping, and behauiour.

Neuertheleſſe, hee muſt loue, honor, and reſpect all other friends, according to their worth and merit. He muſt alſo endeuour daily, to conſort himſelfe with men of eſteeme, Noble by Nature and birth, and ſuch as are truely knowne to be men of Honor and Honeſty, rather then Villaines, or people of no credite.

His care likewiſe muſt be, to be beloued and honoured of them, which he cannot faile of, if he be courteous, humaine, liberall, affable, and kind in company; ready to pleaſure any, diligent in ſeruice, & carefull of his friends honor, eyther abſent or preſent; ſupporting their naturall and tollerable defects, without breach of amity betweene them, for ſmall matters, correcting ſuch errors in himſelf, as ſhall be louingly ſhewne him, without eſteeming himſelfe aboue others, or affecting the higheſt and moſt honourable places.

Not too much eſteem of him ſelfe, or Vilipending others.

And he muſt not imitate ſome humours, that ſeeme to deſpiſe the world, & ſtriue (by a kinde of troubleſome auſteritie) to preſcribe Lawes or directions to others: ſo that, beſides their molleſtuous and quarrelling condition, euen for the leaſt Trifles in the world; they will reprehend where they ſhould not, and ſeeke all occaſions to complaine of their verie beſt Friends, which is an odious and bad behauiour.

Auſtere life vndecent.

Of the *Duello* or ſingle combate.

If it happen that he bee called or challenged to the *Duello* or ſingle fight (as oftentimes it fals out in the courts of Princes) and by indiſcretion or raſhneſſe, he muſt not ouer-violently and vnaduiſedly preſent himſelfe thereto, but with a cool and temperate carriage, euen as compelled or enforced to his aunſwere. And if the buſineſſe can fall out no otherwiſe, but he muſt needs proceede to the acte: for ſafety of his honor, he may boldly vndergo it.

Of ſports and Paſtimes.

It is alſo abſurde and vnſightlie in a Courtier, to carry himſelfe extreamelie or enragedly in any ſport or recreation: for then hee reſembleth rather a furious Madman, then one of ciuill and ſetled condition.

Violence in ſports.

His conuerſation muſt be ſober, and (aboue all things) hee muſt auoid drunkenneſſe, and beware of thoſe trickes, which are too ordniarily vſed in Courtes, in ſtriuing who ſhall ſooneſt make a man drunke, onely to ſhame and diſgrace him.

Of Drunkenneſſe.

In being a man of ſuch behauiour, euery one will bee ſure to note and ſcorne him; and the Prince himſelfe will ſtande doubtfull of his honeſtye: or, how he ſhould truſt him with any caſe of Conſequence, for Drunkardes are vnapt per-

persons for State affaires.

Playing with the Prince.

If he bee inuited by his Prince to anie play or pastime; he may safely yeild thereto, not in hope to make gaine of him, but only to yeild him contentment. And let him be careful, that he be not too opinitiue in any accident against him: but giue way to him in all, and by al meanes, in regard of so great inconueniences that thereby do daily happen.

Too much delight in play or sport.

Likewise, let him not immitate some, who will spare no time (either daie or night) from playing, but thereby do lose many faire occasions, of performing som good Offices vnto their Prince, whence might be deriued great merit and fauors.

Extreamities to be auoided

Some haue beene noted so assiduate and earnest, that they would play away lands, houses, Garments, yea, their verie Horses and Armours: and afterwards, borrow (by importunitie of their Friendes) without any re-payment, whereuppon, haue ensued Contempts, Quarrels, and Bloud.

How to couer his ignorance and imperfection of bodie.

Let him not speak of any thing which he vnderstandeth not, wherein hee shall expresse more Wisedome to bee silent: for it is an honest shaddow and cloake to his ignorance. Likewise, if he haue anie imperfection in some part of his body, let him hide and conceale it by all possible meanes. As did *Ferrand* King of *Naples*, who would neuer plucke off his Gloues, because his hands were not white. *Iulius Cæsar* also did daily weare a Chaplet of Bayes, because he was bald.

Ferrand King of Naples.

Maintenance of credit.

He must keepe his credite with Merchants and others, not following the dealing of many, who are beholding to such as lend them: yet must be daily importuned to make repayment, euen vnto such enforcement, as their goodes and landes must be seazed on, yea, sometimes their bodies confined to prison. These behauiours, do rather relish of a man vtterly lost and forsaken, then of a Vertuous Courtier.

Report of nouelnes & lies.

In his talke and discoursing, hee must report no Myracles, that is to say, things that are not likely, nor neuer were. They that make profession of relating such nouelties, are euermore held for Lyers; and euery man that is a lyar, will cary the like credit of beleefe, when he speaketh truth. Laughter likewise, except it light vppon good ground, is no way commendable: For any man, that is subiect vnto long laughter, and without some founde subiect, deliuers no better vnderstanding of himselfe, then of a meere Foole.

Now, because no Court appeareth to be compleat, except it be accompanied with Ladies; let vs admit the case, that our instant described Courtier, bee in such a Court so worthily furnished, and where he may bee become an amorous seruant to some beauty, and to an honest end: for (otherwise) he will find his own perill. He must not immediatelie make knowne his passions by parlaunce, with furious gestures and obstinations, as many vnaduised Courtiers haue done. But the best bewrayer of his affections, are continence, a sigh, respect, fear, & humble meekenesse, which auaile more then a thousand fond words can do; and hee may so order his carriage, that his eyes may serue as his best messengers, & beare the true Embassie of his heart, to his dearest esteemed.

Particular in case of Ladies and loue.

The best Ornaments in an amorous Courtier.

Afterward, by equall degrees, he may attaine to speak with his Goddesse, when a touch, or kisse of the hand, and such like honest fauours, may ciuilly be deriued from any Ladie of respect, honourablie affected. Wherefore, hee that hath not lost the restraint of reason, will Gouerne himselfe wisely, obserue fit times and place; and (when neede requireth) will containe due regard verie diligently, although it bee in neuer so sweete a pasture, because publick and apparant loue, is a matter of great difficulty to order.

The respect of good Gouernement.

The ends then of a perfect Courtier, such an one as I cannot heere sufficiently describe; is (in mine Opinion) to win by the meanes of those qualities which I haue set downe to him, the fauour and affection of his Prince in such sort: that his seruice may bee alwaies commendable, and to tell him the truth in all things that are conuenient for him; to wit, without feare or danger of displeasing him, & so to order himselfe, that when he knowes his mind enclined to matters inconuenient for him, to bee so hardie as to gainsay them. Seruing him in gentle maner, and gaining fauour by the good parts in him; to the end, that he may preuent all bad intentions in him, and conduct him the pathes of Vertue. And so, our Courtier hauing nothing but goodnesse in him, accompanied with promptitude of spirit, chearefulnes, prouidence, wise-

The end and aime of a perfect Courtier is to make his Prince Vertuous.

The qualities of a compleat Courtier.

wiſedome, knowledge, in learning, and all other vertuous qualities: hee ſhall (in all occaſions) woorthily make apparaunt to his Prince, what profite and honour commeth to him and his, by meanes of Iuſtice, Liberality, Magnanimity, Affability, Familiarity, and all other Vertues which are conuenable for a good prince. And contrariwiſe, what infamy and loſſe proceedeth from thoſe Vices, which are ſworne enemies to theſe Vertues. And for a full concluſion, as manie times it happeneth, that a Vertuous Courtier maketh the Prince good; ſo a vicious Courtier maketh his Prince wicked and deteſtable. Of this mind were all ſuch, as haue medled in Writing of a Courtier; and among others, *Balthazar* the *Caſtillannois*.

A Vertuous Courtier maketh a good Prince.

CHAP. XXIII.

How a man may giue praiſe and commendation to himſelfe, without impeache or preiudice to others.

Cicero, in the third Booke of his Oratour ſaieth; *That no man can honeſtly commende himſelfe, but others will conceiue enuie thereat, and reproue him for it.* Concerning this ſaying, albeit it hath beene allowed by many; yet it is not generally receyued and warranted. For, a man may lawfullie commend himſelfe, without attraction of enuie vpon him: eſpecially, if hee be a worthy Soldier, or a man of ſuch merit, as can ſpeake of generous actions, or valiant employments, if they beene perfor-by him, and their Carracter apparant. *Iulius Cæſar* may ſerue for an example, who hath ſpoken great matters of himſelfe, and yet (for al that) no way diſcommendable therein. His Commentaries which diſcourſe of nothing, but his braue and generous exploits in the *Gauliſh* warres, were ſeene and read of all men in his time, yet no way blamed or deſpiſed, ſo farre as we know: but on the contrarie, were highly praiſed, both in regard of his eloquence, as alſo his ſingular expeditions.

The ſaying of *Cicero*, *in lib. 3. de Orat.*

An exceptiõ againſt the ſaying of *Cicero*.

Of *Cæſars* Cõmentaries.

But, if he had attributed to himſelfe, or made vaunt of more then was performed by him: hee could not haue ſtoode cleare from mallice, yea, in great men, who durſt and would haue boldly tolde him, that hee lyed. And all ſuch perſons as doe make vaunt of ſmall matters, or of any thing done by the meanes and helpe of others, attributing ſuch actions ſoly to themſelues: they cannot doe it, but with great ſhame and infamy.

Shamegotten in Coueting praiſe.

In men of good and worthy reſpecte, it hath beene, and is permitted (euen for the benefit of others) to ſpeake deſeruedly of themſelues, and to their owne aduantage. As, if in procuring to bee credited, we render a reaſon of an honeſt integritie, by ſome effects of our owne paſt before; to the end, that hauing the meanes to continue our Vertuous actions, for the profit of manie: we may imbrace their praiſe, in deſpight of their owne ſpleene (as we tearme it) and conſtraine them to receiue both profite and pleaſure from vs, euen ſuch as would elſe ſhun all like occaſions.

Of perſonnes permitted to praiſe and commende themſelues.

Themiſtocles vſe theſe wordes in the Counſell of the *Athenians*, euen when he ſawe them fully glutted with his good deedes. *O poore people* (quoth hee) *why doe you ſuffer your ſelus to receiue ſo manie benefits from one and the ſame perſon?* At another time hee vſed theſe Wotds to them. *In time of Raine and Tempeſtes, you make your recourſe to me, as vnder the ſpreading armes of a Tree. And when faire vveather comes againe, you teare downe each branch as you paſſe by.*

Themiſtocles to the *Athenians* in his own behalfe.

Homer maketh *Neſtor* to ſpeake his owne Valiant deedes, to encourage *Patroclus*, and nine other Knightes, in attempting the Combate (bodie to bodie) againſt *Hector*. In like maner, the words of exhortation, action of the hande, and example with the Spurre of æmulation; is liuely, and pierceth meruailouſly; yea, it bringeth (with courage and affection) hope to attaine vnto the heighth of anie thing, which otherwiſe woulde appeare impoſsible.

Homer of *Neſtor*.

The Vertue of words well deliuered.

A man may alſo commend himſelfe before an ingratefull perſon, to ſhewe him

Againſt ingratitude.

him his fault, in forgetting former benefits receiued. A straunger, to gaine the good opinion of Inhabitants, amongest whom he is newly arriued; may attribute some honourable Title vnto his present condition, and speake well of himselfe. As it is to bee noted in *Virgil*, that *Æneas* did, after the Destruction of *Troy* his natiue Countrey, wandering by Sea and Lande, to seeke a newe dwelling, vsing these Wordes (when Enquirie was made of him) *Sum pius Eneas*, that is to say; I am *Eneas* the *Troyan*, full of Pietie and Religion, shewing the Goddes his aged feeble Father, and his verie young sonne, whom (with great perrill) he had saued from the ruine and destruction of his Countrey; and this was not vnfitting in him.

A straunger may commēd himselfe, and the reason for it.

I haue many times beene amazed at *Cicero*, who Writes (as I haue sayde in the beginning of this Chapter) that a man in praising himselfe, dooth but attract Malice and Enuie on his own head. And yet notwithstanding, there is an Epistle of his owne, which (in verie vehement affection) he wrote to an Historiographer; wherein hee entreats him, not to bee vnmindfull of inserting in his Histories of memorable actions, what hee hadde written perticulerlie of himselfe. In mine opinion, there was neither manners nor Modesty, but excesse beyond al reason.

Cicero approued to be forgetful of himselfe.

There is nothing more vaine, or further off from equity, then for men to pursue the Quest of their owne praise & renowne. *Chrisippus* and *Diogenes* vvere the first Authors, and firmest of al other, in the contempt of glory; for they saide, *That among al desires, there is none more daungerous, or with greater care to be auoided, then that which commeth to vs from the approbation of others. And all the glorie of the world, is of no such merrit, as, that a man of vnderstanding, should so much as stretch foorth his finger, onely to gaine it.* There are manie men in these dayes, that will neuer aduenture in the perrilles of Warre, or where their duty most commandeth them: if they thought that they should not be seene, or it should not bee publickely reported, that they haue performed some perticuler deed of praise, beyonde the honour they pretended to enioy, only because they are couetous of glory and reputation.

Men shoulde not couet their owne praise.

Chrisippus and *Diogenes*.

The vanity of such as seeke after praise.

If this might be allowd for good, then men needed not to bee vertuous, but in publicke; and the operations of the soule (where is the true seate of Vertue) should serue vs to no other end, but to vse them as a rule and order, without any endeuor to attain the knowledge of them in other persons: Vertue then should bee a verie vaine and friuolous thing, if shee deriued her commendation from Glorie. For, what is more casuall and accidentall then reputation? To cause that our Actions should be seene and knowne, belongeth to the Handie-worke of Fortune. Oftentimes, the reputation of an action wel performed, continueth (it may bee) but three or foure dayes: Other-whiles, so long as hee and his liueth; and yet soone after, no more memorie remaineth of either.

The powerfull operations of the soule.

Not to be noted, is to do well continually.

Some there are, that will rashlie and willingly fall into daunger, to purchase false Honor; and dying so, he is neuer after so much as talkt of: whereby, both he and his renowne dooth perish together. It hath been meere hazard, that is reported of some Captaines, *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Persians*, *French*, *Germaines*, and others; as also of an hundered thousand men, that are dead, in execution of worthy enterprizes, or hindering of them, yet none spoken of, because all depended on Fortune. Wee reade, that *Cæsar* was neuer wounded; yet was he present in more then fiftie battailes, and at infinite Cities surprizing. Whereas others, vpon much lesse occasions, haue beene maimed and slaine: and what can be said of *Cæsar* heerein, but that it was his good Fortune?

False honour soone gotten.

Fortune much auaileth in purchasing commendation.

It hath beene, and yet is an ordinary Vice, that we are more desirous of great then of good Reputation: And it appeareth to be sufficient, that our names run thorowe other mens mouthes, as receyuing there both life and lasting, and must bee there kept, out of our owne possession. But Wise men do propose vnto themselues a more iust and certain end, in any important enterprizes, to wit; actions of Vertues, which are so Noble of themselus; as there needs no other praise or recompence to be sought for, but cuē their owne worth & value, and Namely, not to seeke for their esteeme, in the vanitie of humaine iudgements. And yet notwithstanding, this false opinion ser-

The common vice of these times.

The duty and endeauor of a vertuous man.

For women of what degree ſoeuer.

ueth to containe men in their deuoire, that it may bee executed with a certaine caution and modeſty. In this manner, Women of what degree ſoeuer, may be aduertiſed, when they are ſought after by laſciuious men; not to make refuſall, by ſaying, they holde their Honour in account: but rather to tell them, that it is their dutie to goueme themſelues chaſtly.

Of *Lyſander* the famous *Lacedemonian* Soldier.

Lyſander, the great *Lacedemonian* captaine, anſwered a certaine odde Fellow, who told him; That he would commend him euerie where, and counter-checke all his Diſpraiſers. *I haue two Oxen* (quoth he) *in the fielde that cannot ſpeake, and yet neuertheleſſe, I know that which is good for labour, from the other that is not.* Heereby he gaue to vnderſtand, that vertue ſtood in no neede of mens Commendations, conſidering ſhee carrieth with her ſelfe good renowne and honor: but ſuch men as do not performe any Vertuous acte, they (indeed) haue need of popular praiſes.

Of *Antiſthenes* the *Athenian*.

Antiſthenes the *Athenian*, made a mockerie of ſuch, as by ſumptuous buildings, Statues, Trophies, and compoſition of Books, promiſed vnto themſelues an immortall reputation: for he taught them, that the true and only means of compaſſing praiſe, was to liue iuſtly and Religiouſly. It was alſo one day told him, that certaine ſcelerous and bad perſons commended him: whereto he replyed, *If ſuch men praiſe me, I feare that I haue committed ſome foule offence:* perſwading himſelfe, that ſuch kind of people can neuer giue any good reputation.

Of *Erethrion* the Sophiſter.

Erethrion the Sophiſter, hearing that he was ordinarily commended by *Alexinus*, anſwered; *That is a great meruail, for I do nothing but detract and ſpeake euill of him in all places where I come.* Declaring by this anſwere, that he would not haue his renowne to be wronged and baffeld by ſuch an one as was worthy of nothing but reprehenſion. And to ſpeake the truth, this *Alexinus* was a man of no reckoning, or deſerued to haue anie good ſpeeches vſed of him. For, vpon a time, as hee was verie vehemently depraying *Stilpo* the *Megarian*, reputed in thoſe times for a great Phyloſopher, one ſuddenly told him, that it was not long ſince that *Stilpo* had ſpoken verie well of him, and with great reſpect, giuing him extraordinarie Commendations: *By Iupiter* (anſwered *Alexinus*) *I ſay at this preſent, that Stilpo is a very braue & excellent man.* Thus yee may diſcerne, what vanity and inconſtancy was (in an inſtant) apparantly diſcouered in *Alexinus*.

The praiſes of bad & wicked perſons, are worth nothing.

The Reader may gather by this Diſcourſe, that hee ſhould neuer giue anie praiſe of himſelfe, except hee haue done ſomething that commendeth it ſelfe, and may thereby incite others to Vertue, although thorough want of Modeſtie, he ſhall otherwiſe bee blameable. In like manner, not to deferre or keepe himſelfe from dooing well and Vertuouſly, when any occaſion ſhall aptly offer it ſelfe, and where his owne perticuler dutie both bindeth and commandeth him, albeit no Witneſſes, Beholders, or Scriueners ſtand by, to Regiſter or ſet downe his actions in Writing. So baniſhing from vs all ſuch vanity, wee ſhall well content our ſelues with that recompence, which Vertue draweth after her continually; becauſe it is immortall, and ſubiect vnto no perriſhing, as that Renowne is, which dependeth wholy on mens iudgements.

The Authors Concluſion on this Argument.

CHAP. XXIIII.

By what varietie of meanes, Frances Sforza, and Nicholas Pichiniue wonne the renowne, of being the moſt skilful men in the Art Military, that liued in their dayes.

IT appeareth, according to Naturall Reaſon, that he who hath attained to any degree, in anie Art or Faculty whatſoeuer it bee, ought whollie to accomodate himſelfe thereto, following his beginning, thereby to purchaſe his Fame and Reputation. Neuertheleſſe, we do daily ſee, that (by diuers meanes) men reach to one & the ſame end, wherof we haue infinite examples: Among which, it likes me to nominate *Fraunces Sforza*, who afterward was Duke of *Millaine*,

Purſute of Fame and reputation.

The time when they liued.

laine, and *Nicholas Pichinine* the *Italian*, men verie singuler and expert in Armes: who were in the time of King *Alphonsus*, of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and of *Lewes Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*. These two Captaines were very contrarie and enuious against each other, because they seuerally pretended, to beare chiefe honour in Armes aboue his competitor. In which respect, they both declared such courage and dexteritie of spirit; as for a long while it was vehemently doubted, whether of them merited most to be preferred. This equall contention so long continued; till after expence of many yeares, and sundry well fought battailes on both sides; *Pichinine* was Conquered: by meanes whereof, *Sforza* hauing the right apparantly on his part, got the glorie, was made Duke of *Millaine*, and was the sole Maister, or (at least) the more fortunate man.

long contention concluded at last.

The reason of *Pichinine* name.

These two Contenders, attained (by diuers meanes) to great esteeme and reputation. *Nicholas Pichinine*, was so litle of bodie, as for that cause only he was called *Pichinine*. But albeit he was of so litle stature, he was contrarie thereto, in greatnesse of heart, and vndantable resolution. He was a man of few Wordes, and them he vttred but badly too; yet he comprehended in them many great matters. With his Soldiers he was of a chear full and recreatiue spirit, and bountiful to his friends; but sharpe and furious to his enemies. In warre, he was euermore desirous to come to the point, and alwayes (as occasion gaue way) hee would giue present battaile, wherein he wanted neither wit or counsell, and was prouident in exposing himselfe to perils: euermore hating ease, and of such a prompt dispoposition, as many times he would take his enemies vnprouided. Hee much delighted in Watch-Towers, Beacons, and Ambuscadoes, affecting more to vse the seruice of Horsse, rather then Foote, in warre; coueting still to haue his followers Valiant, sharpe of Nature, & dreadfull. This Captaine was of so great spirit, that he could no way be daunted, or declare any signe of feare, albeit his enemies were neuer so many in number. He had a singuler grace and dexteritie, in causing his men to march faire, and guiding them safely: and to conclude, hee won so many excellent Victories in diuers parts of *Italy*, that he was renowned for a singuler good Captaine.

The description of *Pichinine*.

His martiall courage and disposition.

His maner of seruice.

His fortune & succession in warre.

Now, as concerning his Competitor, *Frances Sforza*, his qualities and dispositions were quite contrary to those of *Pichinine*. He was bigge of body, well proportioned, and strongly limbd of gentle countenance, a quicke stirring eye, bald-headed, a good presence, copious in discourse, and well ordered, a liuely spirite, and well aduised, desirous to reach high enterprises, and patient in aduersities. He alwayes auoided the meanes of breaking Warre, labouring more to vanquish by besiedging, or temporizing, then present fight. He would neuer giue battaile, except he were enforced thereto, or that he saw himselfe vpon a great aduenture. He would haue his men march in good Order; and by the best meanes to be valiant, and yet gracious: making more account of his Infanterie, then his Compleatest Horssemen, continually preferring them to the greatest stratagems, because hee placed best trust in them. He was firme and constant in all his enterprizes, quick and wise in beguiling his enemie, and discouering his Fallacies in all Brauadoes made vppon him. In Nouell inuentions, he would stand vpon his guard; being a man of readye counsell, and aptest spirit in all occasions.

Of *Francis Sforza* quite contrarie in manie respects to *Pichinine*.

His description.

His warre seruice, and marshaling his men.

His minde & resolution.

By which Rules and Obseruations (although they were so different from those in the other) he was esteemed as a woorthy Soldier, attaining (by diuers meanes and deuises) to the Dukedom of *Millain*, and to be one of the cheefest men in the world. Of these two men, so deseruedly famous, manie Moderne Historians haue largely written: especiallie *Æneas Syluius*, Pope, in his Cosmographie, and *Anthonius Sabellicus*, in his *Eneades*, wher such Readers, as are desirous to bee further informed, concerning these men, may read more amply their liues and actions; for in this place (according to our method in all obseruations, which barres vs from ful report, and bindes vs to breuitie) we are perswaded, that we haue spoken well and sufficiently.

Historians that haue written of these two worthy men.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke: with many other notable matters concerning the Lyon.

GOD hath not made any creature in this Worlde so strong and powerfull, but there abideth in him some cause of feare or terror, and something is ordained to offend him. In like maner, there is nothing in this world firme and assured, for one thing is destroyed by another; and the same also afterward, ruined by some other thing: so that we know not what may bee warranted, or which thing can bee kept from corrupting.

Nothing in this World of assurance.

Hence it ensueth, that oftentimes we shunne such thinges as are likely to hurt vs, and fall (some other way) into perils, which we least suspect or imagine. Moreouer, among Beastes and other thinges created, there is a kind of naturall Loue or Hatred, by a secret and conceald propriety; by meanes whereof, some seeke and pursue, and others shun and auoyde each other. What Beast is more strong then the Lyon, the Prince of Beasts? Not any, and therefore beares he that name, because (according to som Iudgements) the worde Lyon in *Greeke*, signifyeth a (King): Or, according to others (*Sight*) & that in regard of his perfection in seeing, he is so named. But bee it howsoeuer, this powerfull Beast which euerie one feareth, so soon as he espieth a Cock, he fearfully gets him gone: and that by a secret propertie in Nature, euen as the Hare shuns the Hound: and not onelie doth the sight of the Cocke cause this auoydance, but the verie smell, if he feele it far off; or hearing him Crow, it makes him maruailously affraid. Nor doth hee shun this creature only, but also the noise of a Charriot or Waggon running on the way: and by no meanes can hee bee compelled to stay, if he see a man bearing any light in his hand. Which seemeth to bee an incredible matter, that a Beast so furious, should stand in awe or dreade of so small a thing: and yet notwithstanding, it hath been noted by experience: Besides, that which is Written by *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the difference betweene Hate and Enuie: *Pliny*, Saint *Ambrose*, and *Albertus Magnus*, who sayeth and maintaineth, that if the Cock be of a White Colour, hee maketh the Lyon stande much more in feare of him. Nor can there any assured Reason bee yeelded in this case, but euen (as I formerly saide) that it commeth by a secret proppertie in Nature. And yet *Lucretius*, the Auncient Poet, sayth; That the Cocke and his Feathers haue a certaine propertie or qualitie, which the Lyon seeing, hee receiueth great terror thereby, and is not able by anie meanes to endure it.

Naturall loue or hatred among al creatures.

The Lyon dreadeth the sight, smel, or noise of a Cock, or any light in a mans hand.

Plut. in lib. de differen. Inuid. & c. Plin. lib. 8. S. Ambr. lib. 9. de Examer. Alb. Mag. in lib Animal.

Lucretius the old Poet.

Some others do attribute the cause of this feare, vnto the supreame and celestiall Influences, and not vnto the Beastes Sight, Smell, or the matter it selfe. For, (say they) these two Creatures are subiect vnto the Sunne, the Vertue whereof toucheth the Cocke more then the Lyon: and thence it ensueth, that the Inferiour and lesse Vertuous in this kinde (albeit the bigger and greater in strength) feareth and obeyeth his superiour. And they say moreouer, that in regarde the Cocke is of the Sunnes Nature, hee reioyceth and singeth in the morning at the comming and rising of the Sunne. But be it howsoeuer, we know that the Lyon is more strong, and of greater spirit then all other Beasts; also, extreame in fury & crueltie, against all other of the like Nature. Neuertheless, wee haue infinite plain and manifest examples, of his great Mildenesse and Clemencie, whereof it shall not bee amisse to alledge some, according as I finde them crediblie recorded.

The opinion of others in this case, concerning the Celestiall influences.

why the cock singeth at the Sunnes rising

Appion the *Greeke* writeth (according as *Aul. Gellius* declareth, of a matter seen by himselfe, & the same is likewise affirmd by *Ælianus* in his Book of Beasts) that in certaine feastes, solemnly obserued in the Citie of *Rome*, it was vsed as a custome in the great Theater (where diuers kinds of Saluage and cruell beastes were kept, as Lyons, Leopards, and others) men condemned to death were brought and put in, to the end that either they might bee deuourd of them, or to deserue life by valiant

Elian. in lib. Animal.

Men exposed to wild beasts in the Theater of Rome.

The history of *Androdus* & his Lyon.

liant defence of themselues, a Spectacle (indeede) verie cruell and inhumaine. It happened vpon a day, that among other offenders thus brought thither, a man named *Androdus*, Seruant to a Romaine Senator, was to take his Fortune, and amongst the other Beasts in the Theater there was a Lyon of insigne power and greatnesse, as also verie cruel, which had bin brought lately out of *Affrica*, and the eyes of all the Beholders were fixed on this Lyon. The Beast walking Maiestically about the place, beganne to looke aduisedly vpon *Androdus*; and seeming to consider, or take some acknowledgement of him; went steppe by step toward him verie gently, albeit, in opinion of all the By-standers, to rent and teare him in peeces. But their expectation was deceiued, for the Lyon bowing downe his head, came curteously to *Androdus*, who (trembling) awaited nothing else but immediat death; and walking along very louingly by him, stroked his bodie on the legges and thighes of *Androdus*, kissing and licking his hands and feete, Leaping famiarly & gently on him, euen as yong Whelpes, and other waiting Dogs are wont to doe, when they haue not seene their Maisters in a long time.

A wonderfull vertue in a Lyon to a mã in misery.

Androdus perceiuing the particular affability of the Lyon vnto himselfe, without any shew of the least kind to any of the other condemned persons: cheared his dismayed Spirits, and made much of the Lyon, smoothed his head & hayre with his hand, and looking aduisedly on him, came to former knowledge of him, deliuering manifest signes of ioy and gladnesse, conceyued by this notice taken. Whereat the people were not a litle amazed, & stricken with great astonishment, giuing forth straunge and variable speeches, according as each fancie made coniecture. By meanes whereof, the Emperor caused *Androdus* to be sent for thence, and beeing brought instantly before him; desired to vnderstand som reason for this priuate and familiar acquaintance, and where hee had formerly seene that Lyon. Whereto he answered, that hauing beene in *Affrica*, at such time as his Lord was Lieutenant Generall, and great Gouernour there and of that Prouince: in regard of some wrongs & outrages done to him by his saide Lord, hee was enforced to become a fugitiue, and

Androdus commeth to take knowledge of the Lyon.

The Emperor sendeth for *Androdus*, and vnderstandeth by him his former knowledge of the Lyon.

hauing no other place of shelter or safetie, went secretly into a great Forrest, where he tooke vp his lodging in a Caue or Den. Not long had he staid there, but this Lyon entered in vpon him, and not only abstained from doing any harm but lying downe before him, shewed him one of his pawes, which was wounded and bleeding, euen as if hee would haue desired helpe and remedie of him for his griefe. *Androdus* dreading no danger by this milde behauiour, tooke vp the Lions legge, and looking vppon the bleeding wound, found a great sharpe Thorn sticking in the foot; which plucking forth so gently as possibly he could, hee stenched the blood, so that the paine appeared to be indifferently appeased. This beeing done, the Lyon laying his head in the lap of *Androdus*, slept verie soundly; & from thence-forwardes, the Lyon walking abroad daily, would bring the best preyes he could get (by his hunting) to *Androdus*, who drest his food in the Mid-dayes Sun, because hee had no other fire, and was well contented with such prouision.

The first meeting of *Androdus* and the Lyon, and the curtesy done by him to the Lyon.

After hee had liued thus continually with the Lyon, for more then the space of three yeares; he grew to bee wearie of this kind of life. Wherefore vpon a day, when the Lyon was gone abroad about his wonted game; *Androdus* departed thence, to take such fortune as might befall him. Not farre had he trauailed from the Forrest, but he was met by some, that knew him to be a fugitiue seruaunt: and therefore brought him home to *Rome* to his Maister, who iudging him worthie of death, as others in the like case were vsually sentenced, sent him with the other offenders, to the publicke Theater, there to be torne in peeces by the wilde Beasts, and there the Lyon tooke knowledge of him, as formerly hath bin related. When the Emperour had heard this admyrable History, in his owne gracious Nature, & at the peoples importunity: *Androdus* was deliuered and set at liberty, so was the Lyon likewise, because he had extended such fauor to him. Thenceforward, and a long time after, the Lyon daily walked thorow the streetes of *Rome*, in the company of *Androdus* onely, without dooing harme to any body, which was the cause, that manie Romaine Cittizens affected *Androdus* greatly, and bestowed diuers liberall gifts on him, tearming him the

Androdus liu'd with the Lion more then 3. yeares.

Androdus is brought to his Master, and sent to death.

Androdus and his Lyon, are both set at liberty.

Lyons Phyſition, and the Lyon the hoſt to *Androdus*. Thus the Lyons misfortune, to bee wounded in the foote by a Thorne: inſtinct of Nature taught him, to make his recourſe to man for helpe. And this appeareth to be verie true, becauſe we haue manie more examples to the ſame effect, aledged by Authors worthy of credit.

The Lyon wounded, comes to man for remedie.

Plin. lib 8. Of *Mutor* the Syracuſane, that holp another wounded Lyon.

Plinv, in his Booke fore-named, ſpeaketh of a *Syracuſane* named *Mutor*, who being in *Syria*, mette with a Lyon, that preſented himſelfe gently before him, & couching downe on the grounde, made ſignes (as it were of entreaties) to him; but the *Syracuſane* beeing fearefull of his life, fled away from him, with all the haſt he could vſe. The Lyon ſtill followed, and got againe before him, fawning on him, and licking him verie kindely, till at length the *Syracuſan* perceiued the Lyon to bee wounded in the foote: which the Lyon lifting vp vnto him, euen as if hee deſired to be eaſed; *Mutor* tooke foorth a ſharpe ſplinter of Woode, which (by treading thereon) was runne farre into the Fleſh, and ſo the Lyon was releaſed. This Hiſtorie, being painted in a goodly Table by the ſame *Mutor* in *Syracuſa*, continued there long after, as a true Teſtimonie thereof.

Plin. lib. 9. *Elpis* of *Samos*, who cured another Lion wounded.

The ſame Authour ſpeaketh alſo of another man, named *Elpis*, borne in *Samos*, who being diſimbarqued in *Affrica*; eſpyed ſomewhat neere vnto the Hauen, a Lyon roaring, making towardes him, moaning and complaining verie greeuouſly. The man beeing fearefull, for ſafetie of his life got vppe into a Tree, at the foote whereof, lay the Lyon flat vpon his backe, deliuering manie cries and moanes, lifting vp and ſhewing his paw all bloody, euen as to mooue the man to commiſſeration.

Elpis looking more aduiſedly, with better courage deſcended from the Tree, and drew a great Thorne out of the Lyons foote. In acknowledgement of which good turne done vnto him, ſo long as the Shippe remained in that Hauen: the Lyon brought him and his men dayly, great ſtore of Fleſh, which hee hadde kild in hunting, in a neere neighbouring Forreſt, wherewith they were long time releeued.

These Hiſtories, are the better to be credited, by that which (in like manner) happened vnto Saint *Hierome*, who healed a Lyon, that hadde receiued the like hurt; in recompence whereof, the Lyon kept companie with Saint *Hieromes* Aſſe, that was Laden with Wood, euen till he brought him home vnto his Hermitage.

S. *Hierom* cured another wounded Lyon.

Wee read moreouer, that *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, after hee had Conquered the Holy Land, rode vppon a day on hunting in *Iudea*, where hee found a Lyon fighting with a Serpent: which Serpent had ſo writhed and knit his taile and body about the Lyon, that he was in verie great danger of death. But the Serpent beeing ſlaine by *Godfrey*, the Lyon in remuneration of this benefite, followed and accompanied him daily, without departing from his guard: and euer when he went on Hunting, the Lyon ſerued in ſtead of his Grey-hound.

The Hiſtorie of *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, and a Lyon ſuccoured by him.

It chaunced afterwardes, that *Godfrey* ſayling vpon the Sea, the Lyon was lefte behinde him, and his Maiſter returned not, to take him with him in the Shippe: yet ſuch was the Loue of the Lyon vnto his Maiſter, that he would needes ſwim after him in the Water, and was drowned before he could be ſuccored. Concerning thoſe Lyons of *Babylon*, that did no harme vnto the Prophet *Daniell*, and diuers other beſides, that (in the times of *Diocleſian* and *Numerian*, Emperours of *Rome*) not ſo much as touched thoſe Chriſtians, which were naked ly throwne vnto them, for foode and ſuſtenaunce: I ſet not them downe as examples of the Naturall loue or qualitie in Lyons, becauſe God had a woorking power in ſo high a buſineſſe; and thoſe bleſſed Fauours proceeded only from his appointment.

The ſtraunge loue of a Lion to his Maiſter

Amongeſt other notable thinges of Nobleneſſe in this Beaſt, one Writeth; That he will neuer do anie hurt to man, except hee be thereto conſtrained thorough great neceſsitie and Hunger. If hee then chaunce to meete a man and a Woman together, hee addreſſeth himſelfe rather vnto the Man, then vnto the Woman; and neuer (or verie ſeldome) doth he anie hurt to Children. It appeareth, that the Lyon (in immitation of man) hath ſome Audacitie in thinges that concerne honour, with a kinde of feare to derogate from it. For, if hee finde himſelfe to bee purſued, and knowe

Of noble nature in the Lyon.

The Lyon in ſome immitation with man regarding honor.

knowes that he is seene: he goes with a slow and tardy pace, to declare no want of courage in his flight. But if he know himselfe to bee in the thickest Woodes, and where no eye can catch hold of him: his flight is then to his vttermost power. It is further saide, that when hee flyeth in this manner, he neuer looketh behinde him, to declare thereby, how much hee contemneth them that follow.

Wonderfull knowledge in the Lyon by instinct of nature.

The Lyon, by meere instinct or motion of nature, is of such great and perfect knowledge, that if any man wound him with a Lance, or any other kind of Weapon: let him bee in the company of neuer so many men, yet length of time is no hindrance to him, but hee will select him out among them all, and be reuenged on him, if he can. To this purpose, *Ælianus* declareth the History of a young Infant, nourished and brought vp by *Iuba*, King of *Mauritania*, who growing further in years, and riding on hunting with the King; wounded a Lyon with his Launce. But the Lyon recouering his hurt, within some long while after, the King passed by the same Mountaine where the Lyon was wounded, accompanied with the same young Gentleman that did the deede, and a great many more in the same assembly. The Lyon knowing him that formerly had hurt him, came with great fury and animosity, and entring into the thickest of them; vsed his sight and sauour in such sort, as, if the young Gallant had not beene stronglie defended, the Lyon had torne him ther in pieces.

Aelianus in lib. de Animal.

A strange story of a wounded Lyon.

Of a Lion and his Lyonnesse

The same Authour, and sundry others beside doe assureys, of matter (in my mind) very marualous, to wit; that if a Lyonesse haue companied with another Lyon: her Male doth take knowledge of it by her smell, and then will beate and punnish her very grieuously. Likewise, when the Lyon waxeth so old, as he can fight no longer, neyther chase any other Beastes: his young Lyons, that are more strong and able, doe helpe to prouide for him, and killing their seuerall preyes, they bring it to him where he is, to feede thereon. The Authours to approue al these thinges; are *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Iulius Solinus*; who doe write many other matters, which now I speake not off. Onely I thought it good to set downe these examples, for to confound cruell and vnthankfull men; in shewing them, that among brute and sauage Beasts, clemency is not only found, but also acknowledgement of good turnes receiued.

Plin. in l. 8. Aristot. in lib. 8. & 9. de Anim. Albertus Magnus in lib. 22. de Animal. Solinus in Polihist.

CHAP. XXVI.

Who was the first Man that tamed the Lyon; And of Lysimachus, a Captaine to great Alexander, what hapned between him and a Lyon.

THe powerfull Beast, whereof we haue discoursed in our precedent Chapter, although he is so cruell & furious; yet notwithstanding, he hath beene tamed and made gentle, by diligence and dexterity in Man. The first that euer vndertook that labour, was a *Carthagenian* by birth, and named *Hanno*; but the reward he receiued therefore, was banishment from his Countrey. For they said, that this act of taming the Lyon, was a prefaging of such a Spirit in him; that hee would make himselfe Lord of the countrey. But *Plinie* saith, that the reason why the *Carthagenians* banished *Hanno*, was; because he hauing thus qualified the fierce Lyon; he might the more easily perswade the Cittizens, and worke with them what himselfe pleased. He maketh report also of *Marke Anthonie*, Cozin to *Octauius*, who caused Lyons in such sort to be tamed, and brought to gentleneesse: as hee would put their neckes into yokes, and make them draw his Chariot where soeuer he rode. We finde that the like was done by *Heliogabalus*, of whose prodigalities and lubricities, we shall finde fitter place to discourse. King *Iohn* of *Castile*, second of that name, had a Lyon so domestick and familiar; that at all times when he sate in his State, the Lyon would lye downe close at his feete. *Messire Iaques* of *Dessa*, Arch-bishop of *Senule*, had the like. *Lodouicus Cœlius* writeth, that hee read in a good and approued Authour,

Hanno of Carthage first tamed the Lyon

Plin. in Lib. 16

Marke Anthony caused Lyons to be made milde.

Heliogabalus.

King *Iohn* of *Castile.*

Lod. Cœlius in 7. lib. de Ant. Lect.

of

of an Ewe, which conceiued and eaned a Lyon, a matter very monstrous in Nature. We likewise read of men, that with their hands haue slaine Lyons, as *Sampson*, *Dauid*, *Hercules*, and others.

The Hiſtory of *Lyſimachus*, and *Caliſthenes* the Philoſopher.

I remember also, I haue read that *Lyſimachus*, one of the Captaines to *Alexander* the great, slew a Lyon in this manner following. *Alexander* had then in his company *Caliſthenes* the Philosopher, who was a man free, learned, and wise; and (according to the true quality of such a man) would oftentimes giue him good enstructions, and reprehensions also, when hee did not as became a King. Whereupon, *Alexander* growing into displeasure against him; caused him to bee put into a Cage among his Dogs. This was such a shame and ignominy, as so free and vertuous a Spirit as *Caliſthenes* had, was no way able to endure: but rather would voluntarily haue embraced death, and wherein he was holpen by his Scholler *Lyſimachus*, who grieued not a little, to see his Maister so dishonorably dealt withall. When *Alexander* was aduertised thereof, in a great rage; he caused him to be throwne before a Lyon, that the Beast furiously might deuour him. But *Lyſimachus*, beeing a Man of excellent courage, secretly armed his right arme and hand, afterward, when hee was exposed to the Lyon, and saw him come running (greedily gaping) to deuoure him with a bold and vndaunted Spirit: hee thrust his Arme into his throat, and held him by the root of the tongue so strongely, that albeit the Lyon did him much harm with his pawes, (whereof he was afterward in daunger of death) yet would he not let goe his hold, vntill the Lyon seemed as quite choaked and strangled, by keeping his Arme so long in his throat. *Alexander* hauing intelligence thereof, desisted from all further anger and rage against him, and commaunded him to be carefully recouered: holding him (thenceforward) for one of his very chiefest fauourites, yea, and in such account, as (after the death of *Alexander*) hee was one in the number of his Successors, & a most powerfull King. The Authours that doe auouch the truth heereof, are *Iuſtine*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Demetrius*.

Caliſthenes cast among Dogs.

Lyſimachus exposed to the fury of a Lion.

The admirable courage of *Lyſimachus*.

Lyſimachus killed the Lyon.

Iuſtine in lib. 15. Plutarc. in vit. Demetri.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the most and greatest part of people in the world, spake at the first but one language onely, which was giuen them by the will of God: And after the destruction of Babell, then it was changed.

PORphyrius, *Iulian* the Apostat Emperour, and other enimies to sacred letters, do confesse with the learned, that from the beginning of the Worldes Creation, as there was but one Man and one Woman: euen so there was likewise but one Language onely, which continued to all the people on Earth, vntill the Deluge; yea, till the destruction of *Babell*, for seruice of the people which made their abiding thereabout, and (by presumption) had made a Tower, or rather a high mounted causey, to warrant and defend themselues from another flood, if so be there should any other happen. But me-thinks, that the people of those times were very grossely conceited, in seeking to fortefie themselues by such cunning: becaus it had beene much better to hinder, then to whet on the anger of God.

One language proceeding from one man and one woman.

Grossenesse in men of the first Age.

There was neuer any man found, or heard of, how great an enemy soeuer he was to the holy Scriptures, that could euer render any reason of the variety of Languages, which are spoken in so many Nations: but onely that which *Moyses* alleadged; to wit, that it was done by the will of God, to the end, that the Earth might be wholly inhabited, as it was before the flood, and the great race of *Noah* (finding themselues dissemblable in tongues) might therefore disperse themselues abroad. For men deuided not the tongues, but the deuision of tongues deuided Men, neither was it any intention of men, vsed then, sufficiently by necessary knowledge of Nature, and by the inuention of Arres and Sciences; but a punishment of God inflicted on mankinde. It is a case very cleare and euident, that Languages are not profitable, but in their diuersity, and

Variety of languages the work of God.

The deuision of tongues deuided men.

and if there were but one onely vſed in the World, it would bee meere vanity to know many: for all the first tongues had diuers originals, and depending (in any thing) one vpon another.

Conquerours do giue language to the conquered.

Neuertheleſſe, after that Warres began to be moued through the world, the people that were brought into ſubiection, receiued the Language of the Conquerours. And it is a true marke of Soueraignty, to conſtraine the ſubdued to change their Language; which the *Romains* much better executed, then any Prince or people whatſoeuer: whereby they ſeeme (as yet) to commaund in the moſt part of Europe. Likewiſe, the laſt King of the *Hetrurians*, beeing vanquiſhed, did all that the *Romaines* pleaſed, but yet he would neuer receiue the Latine toong. And by the like reaſons, the *Gaules*, who ſpake as the *Heluetians* (as *Glareanus* and many other Authours thinke) in the time of *Cæſar*, as by coniecture may bee gathered in the Commentaries of the ſaide *Cæſar*: did afterward learne the Latine Tongue, becauſe they wereconquered by the *Romaines*. After that againe, they ſpake the language of the *Franconians*, a people of *Allemaigne*, who were mingled among them, by their victories gotten ouer the *Romaines*. In following time, the *Gothes*, *Vandals*, *Hunnes*, and other people, that ranged thorow the world; left them alſo their tongues. In briefe, of all theſe ſeuerall languages, the *Gauls* (at this inſtant called the *French*) builded and framed one perticuler tongue, euen that which to this day they enioy. So that all the fore-ſaid tongues, haue had their variant changes, in leſſe then fifteene hundred yeares, very neere three times each ſeuerall tongue: for at this day, and ſo hence-forward, it will bee impoſſible to vnderſtand the language, that hath beene ſpoken for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares in *France*.

Glareanus concerning the *Gaules* and *Heluetians*.

Whence the language of *France* had originall.

This hath happened in the very ſame manner at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, ſince the time of *Cicero* and before, for he ſaith; that no man can vnderſtand thoſe Hymnes, which the Prieſts called *Salij*, or *Saliens* ſung in their proceſſions, which were compoſed in Latine, that Language-being then there ſpoken; and very ſoone after the foundation of *Rome*: As alſo the *Sibyls* Verſes, and many other ancient bookes of thoſe times, that contained very ſacred things. But being fearefull to offend the Gods, or to induce any nouelty in Religion, a matter which draweth after it daily too many calamities: the Senate would haue no other Hymnes to be made, nor that any one ſhould mingle other matter among them, or comment or correct thoſe Bookes of the *Sibylles*.

Italy, hath alſo changed her language.

Salij, the Prieſts of *Mars*.

It is generally knowne, that the auncient Language which *Rome* vſed firſt of all, was pure, delicate, and moſt eloquent Latine: and now at this day, there is hardly any one word thereof truely retained. The *Italian* tongue now ſpoken, declareth in plaine apparance, to haue taken originall and encreaſing from Strangers, vpon the Empires declination; eſpecially from ſuch as did moſt harme to *Italy* it ſelfe; to wit, the *Gaules*, *Prouincials*, *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous people, all voyde of humanity; who inſtead of Trophees, haue left them nothing but words and names, euen the moſt excellent that they had. It is not vnknowne to vs alſo, that the *Arabians* had planted their Language throughout *Aſia* and *Affrica*; and yet within few yeares, *Philip* King of *Spaine*, hath conſtrained the *Moores* of *Granada*, to change both their habite and Language. *Peru*, commonly tearmed the golden *Caſtile*, a very great Prouince, now ſpeaketh no more her naturall Language: for the *Spaniard* hauing conquered it, hath there planted his Language, although it bee diſtance thence the ſpace of a thouſand and fiue hundred leagues; euen as hee hath done the like, in all his other conquered Countries, in thoſe Prouinces tearmed the new World.

By what people the Latine tongue became to be changed.

The new conquered *Indians* haue changed their language.

In the Iſle of *Malta*, they were wont to ſpeak the *Punick* tongue; to wit, that vſed by the *Carthagemans*, when they would needes hold ſuperiority ouer the *Romaines*: and now at this day, the *Greek* tongue is ſpoken there, but very corruptly, mingled alſo with *Sicilian*. That they had no other Language but the *Punick*, is eaſie to be prooued, becauſe it is not aboue thirty yeares, ſince there was found engrauen in olde Marble, this which followeth, written in Greek Letters, and yet notwithſtanding, the Language ſeemeth for to bee Hebrew.

Of the Iſle of *Malta*.

ELOI.

Antiquities found in the Isle of *Malta*, vpon graue stones.

ELOI. EFFETHA CVMI, and many other auncient Epitaphes. Also, as the Foundation of Castle *Angelo* was laying, there was found vpon an olde Stone of Marble-Iasper, these words engrauen; IEHIEW IEPHDAIA, and others, which (by the iniury of time) were quite defaced. And these latter wordes, were written (for the more part) in Hebrew Letters, and hardly was there found any one, were he *Arabe* or *Iew* (who doe surpasse all other Nations in the vnderstanding of Languages) that could deliuer the interpretation thereof.

Arabes and *Iewes* best vnderstanders of tongues.

The language of Egypt changed.

Ægypt, from the time of *Mercurius Trismegistus* (Author of that worthy booke tituled *Pimander*,) that was before *Abraham* and *Moyses*, had a perticular Language: a thing yet to this day to be seene, by Bookes written in the Ægyptian hand, and in many places of *Palestine*, in the tongue vsed in those dayes, which (I say) was in the time of the first Kinges that were named *Pharaohs*, wherein nothing is to be comprehended, neither reade, albeit the Letters are very visible, and not defaced.

The *Arabian* tongue a perfect language

Neuertheless, at this day they doe not speake that Language, but the *Arabian* Tongue, without retaining any one word of her auncient tongue: which is saide to bee graue, briefe, accompanied with goodly tearmes, and proper to comprehend all Sciences, as all the Easterne partes (well neere) are, and apt to discourse of Diuine matters; much more then the Greeke, full of ostentation and vanity. Which being well perceiued by that worthy *Æsculapius*, the fore-named *Trismegistus*: he desired of GOD and the King, that his Bookes and Writings might not passe through the *Grecians* handes, neyther bee translated or commented by them.

Sellio 11. de vit. Lib. The request of *Mercurius Trismegistus*

Heere we are to note, that if (at this day) wee haue any Bookes of the ancient Ægyptians; they came from the *Greekes* and *Iewes*, who traduced them into their Language, when they kept their Schooles, where they taught all Sciences: witnesse *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Xenophon*, *Philostratus*, *Iamblicus*, *Apollonius*, and diuers other great personages, who went purposely thither, to be instructed in good Sciences, whereof great account was made in those times. And let vs not forget *Moses*, the great Law-giuer, who was learned in all the wisedome of the Ægyptians: as we may gather by the words of Saint *Stephen*, in the seuenth Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles.

Moses was learned in the Egyptians sciences Acts 7. 21.

In *Palestine*, and in *Ierusalem*, they were wont to speake the *Syriake* toong now a dayes they speake the *Arabian*. *Belonius*, in his second booke of Singularities, hath noted, that at this day there are spoken twelue seueral toongs in *Ierusalem*; and yet notwithstanding, as I haue formerly saide, the *Arabian* tongue is the most common. *Greece* hath lost her auncient Language, for in the Cities and Townes, the Primitiue tongue is now not spoken: but a new kinde of Language, which the *Turkes* (since they began to bee Gouernours there) brought thither with them. And yet neuertheless, in some perticuler places, they speake *Greeke* verie vsuallie. But by little and little, as the naturall borne Greekes, by reason of their Princes tyranny, became Vagabonds, and went to seeke out other Countries: euen so they (for the more part) hoping there to meet with better entertainement, made themselues Mahumetists, that is to say; they forsooke Christian Religion, and (by the same meanes also) left their Mother tongue, enclining wholly to the *Turkish* and *Arabian*; and therfore, before an hundred years can be expired, they wil not speak any more Greeke.

Palestine and *Ierusalem* haue changed their language. *Belon. in lib. 2. Singular. cap.* 84.

The alteratiō of *Greece*, and vpon what occasion.

In the Kingdome of *Tremissem*, otherwise called *Telesin*, seated on the Coast of *Barbarie*, in the *Mediterranean* Sea, they were wont to speake the *Phœnician* tongue: now-adaies they doe not retaine any one word thereof, but speake the *Morisco* Language, because they had beene formerly subdued by the great King *Mansor*. The cause why this people spake the *Phœnician* tongue (although they were distant from the Countrey of *Phœnicia*, verie neere foure hundred Leagues) I will briefely declare, according as *Procopius* setteth it downe in the Historie of the *Vandales*, leauing a verie notable marke thereof, in these wordes. *All this Countrey* (saith he) *which reacheth from Sidon*,

The reason why the kingdome of *Telesin* changed her language.

Procopius in Hist. Vandal. The scituatiō of Phœnicia.

Sidon, so farre as Ægypt, was heretofore cald Phœnicia, and such as haue written the History of the Phœnicians, do declare; that sometime one King onely raigned there. In these Countries dwelt the Gergesites, Iebusites, and others, who when they beheld Iosuahs great Army comming against them: they passed into Ægipt, but soone after, that Countrey being not able to support thē, they went thence into Affrica, wher they builded many Townes and Villages, and peopled the Countrey, euen so farre as the Pillars of Hercules, and their language was Phœnician. In Numidia likewise they builded, and (among other Citties) that most strong and firmely seated Citty of Tingitana, where two Collomnes of white stone are to bee seene, neere the great Fountaine, whereon (in the Phœnician tongue) are engrauen these wordes. We are they, who were before that great Brigande Iosuah, the Son of Nun. Such (saith he) was the originall of these people, who are (at this day) called *Mauruſians*, or *Mauritanians*. Their Languages then became wholly changed, by the comming in of other people.

The ancient strong Cittie of *Tingitana* in *Numidia*.

England was wont to haue a particular Language by her selfe, according as *Cæsar* testifieth: but beeing afterward conquered by the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, they long time kept the *Saxon* tongue. In following time also, growing frequent with the *French*, hoping to ouer-rule them: they well neere quite changed the *Saxon* tongue, begetting one Language, consisting partly of *French*, *Danish*, *Saxon*, and *Pictish*. So that out of all these tongues, they forged one intirely new, and that little aboue three hundred years since. Which hath ...ene well obserued by venerable *Bede*, a great Diuine, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, sometime Lord Chancellour, and a very learned Gentleman, and both these Men of the English Nation.

The Conquests of *England*.

Venerable *Bede*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*.

The *Polanders*, *Vandales*, *Bulgarians*, *Seruians*, *Dalmatians*, *Croatians*, *Bosnians*, *Russians*, *Valachians*, *Bohemians*, *Lituanians*, *Moscouites*, &c. spake the *Germaine* or *Tentonicke* tongue: but at this day, they speak the *Sclauonian* language, that is to say, *Illyrian*, witnesse *Ladislaus* King of *Lituania*, who about the yeare 1599. hauing espoused a Virgine, named *Anne*, the Heire of *Poland*, that could speak no other Language but the *Allemaigne*, as then in those times it was spoken in *Poland*: would neuer leaue her company, vntill she had learned the *Lithuanian* tongue, which shee easily attained vnto in eight months space. The *Allemaignes* also say, that the language which by them is now vsed, is not their auncient tongue; but is very diuers, and hath borrowed great store of wordes, from people by whom they haue hitherto beene foyled, or ranaged, or by beeing imployed in Warres, as among the *Gaules* in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, and the Easterne Countries. Neuer should I growe to any conclusion, if I were to set downe those seuerall people, that haue changed their Language since the Deluge: or proone, that there is not any Nation at this day, which speaketh the Language of our first Father *Adam* and *Noah*. All haue changed, and yet will change, so long as the World endureth; for such is the Nature of vicissitude, in thinges of this world.

Great nations speake the *Illyrian* tongue.

The *Allemaign* language changed.

The Authors conclusion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Graning or Caruing, and of Painting: which of them is most ancient and excellent.

IN these times I haue heard of very many different opinions, concerning these two Arts of Statuary or Stone-cutting, and Painting; to wit, which of them is most commendable, and best worthy of praise. Very pertinent reasons are alleadged both for the one and other, for in the Statue or Sculpture, there is discerned an artificiall imitation of Nature, representing therein the members wholly, round, well formed, and fully measured, euen as if Nature her selfe had shaped them, and much better imitated then in a Table; where we but behold the superficies and colours, which beguile the eye. For the substance is much neerer to truth, then the resemblance. Beside, Sculpture or engraning, is more difficult, because if a fault be therin committed, very hard-

lie

Variety of opinions in Caruing and Painting.

The commendation of Caruing.

ly can bee amended: in regard, that the Marble or other matter is not to bee pieced or patched, but another figure must of necessity be made. Which falleth not out so in painting, for it may be altered a thousand times, adding thereto, or diminishing, by daily amending. Statues were (in elder times, & yet are to this day) esteemed sacred things, to beautifie Temples or publike places, for the commemoration of famous persons, and such actions of theirs as were heroycall: especially such as we see in the Porches of Temples, and diuers within; which are placed to no other end, but for a remembrance of holy Men or women, that performed many pious deedes, and stood for plantation of the Faith. And for the great respect then made of them, it was permitted (by Emperiall Edictes) to Offenders, and Slaues badly vsed by their Maisters; to haue their enfranchisement, and ease from further persecutions, by holding fast vpon some of those Statues, till audience might bee graunted to their oppressions.

Statues esteemed in ancient times, and for good occasions.

An ancient custome for offenders and Bond-slaues.

Such as do hold Painting to be more excellent, make their allegations; that thereby is imitated much more truely, the very Nature of the thing so represented, then it can be by the Statue. And that it must needes be so, they produce (for example) that which is written by *Plinie*, concerning one *Xenxis*, a Painter of *Heraclea*, who presented a Table, wherein hee had painted bunches of Grapes so naturally: that Sparrowes flying by it, stroue to rest on them, and pecked at them, as taking them to bee true Grapes indeede, so that his workemanship was reputed to bee both famous and singuler. At another time, the same *Zeuxis* painted a young Man in a Table, carrying like bunches of Raisine Grapes in a Dish, which were so liuely made: as the Birds were thereby againe deceiued, the Birds likewise descending from the ayre, to peck at them as if they had beene very Raizins, without any feare at all of the young man.

The commendation of painting.

Plin. in lib. 12.

Histories concerning Painting.

They say moreouer, that *Parrhasius*, a Painter likewise, and an emulatour of the foresaid *Zeuxis*, painting a Partridge vpon a Collomne in *Rhodes*, drew it so naturally according to life: that (in the iudgment of euery beholder) it seemed to be aliue indeed. Nay more, the perfection of painting this Foule was such, and so compleate, that bringing other Partridges before it (such as now adaies are kept in Cages:) they would call vnto it, flutter their Winges before it, and vse their kinde of singing, taking it for a liuely Bird indeede. They yet goe further, saying, that *Apelles* painted a Horse according to life, and other Painters making proofe in their skill of the like; would needes vrge tryall of the most ablest workmanship. Whereupon, it was thought fit to bring liuing Horses before him, for better approbation of the experiment, and beeing brought before those figures painted by the other Painters; they stood still, without any shew of account or motion. But when that which *Apelles* drewe was presented before them; they began to stirre, tread, and whinnow, which they did not at the sight of any of the other: whereby, the greatest honour and aduantage in Art, was adiudged to *Apelles*, and he reputed to bee the most excellent Painter.

Parrhasius a cunning painter of *Ephesus*.

Apelles a famous Painter of the Isle *Coos*

Now to speake mine opinion heerein, I say, that (for all these Fables, lesse seeming true, then *Pliny* writes them) Painting cannot be accounted to be the more excellent Art: For all Creatures that fly in the Ayre, or feede on the earth, or liue in the Water, do nourish themselues, and are more mooued by the sence of smelling, then by sight. To approoue the truth hereof, let any man paint a Rat, and draw it neuer so artificially according to life: then let it bee presented before a Cat, to try if she wil stirre, or offer to take it. Let any man also set a Table before Fowles, with painted Capons, Hennes, Cockes, Pigeons, or such like; let there be likewise painted in the Table, Barly, Oates, or any other Corne fit for them to feede on; and try if they moone or come to touch it. Let any Painter portraite a Ginne or Snare, with either a Goose, Lambe, or any other prey surprised in the Snare, counterfeited by Art most naturally; and then make triall, if a Wolfe or Foxe will offer to lay holde on it, which indeede they would doe, if they had life.

The Authors refutation of the former Histories.

In like manner, let there be painted in a Table a goodly Mare, formed with all

Similitudes cannot peruert or alter nature in liuing Creatures.

all features neereſt to life, then bring a Stallion before it, and try if he will offer to couer her. Let there be alſo in the ſame Table a goodly fieide, with diuers Horſes feeding at paſture; and try if he will beare them company. Shew to any Horſe painted Prouender, and try if he will whinnow to haue it: which naturally he will do, if he be in his Stable, although there be none at all offered to his ſight. By theſe Allegations I would plainly ſhew, that Creatures (of theſe kinds) do not ſo much moue themſelues by ſight, as by ſence of ſmelling; and that all which *Pliny* hath ſaide of theſe Paintings, are meere fables, for theſe Creatures haue no knowledge of Paintings.

Painters of ancient times did not ſurpaſſe the men of theſe daies

It ſerueth to no purpoſe, to ſay, that the Painters of theſe daies, are not ſo ſufficiēt, neither do make ſuch exquiſite workes, as thoſe in former times did. I anſwer, that there are men as excellent euery way, & that wil not giue ground in any iot, to the very beſt before them. For, there are yet to bee ſeene in theſe daies, both Paintings and Statues of ancient *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Ægyptians*, and other *Leuantines*; which come nothing neere (by much) in perfection, to things done by Painters and Statuaries of our time. I dare make them my Iudges, who, being curious in the ſight of ſuch thinges, and trauailing thorow lower *Germany*; haue viſited the Chambers and cabinets of many famous houſes, as alſo in *France* and *Italy*, and what elſe is to be ſeene in Churches.

Another Hiſtory of *Parrhaſius* and *Zeuxis*.

There is another Hiſtory alleadged, borrowed likewiſe out of the ſame *Plinies* ſhop, that *Parrhaſius* deceiued *Zeuxis* by a Table, whereon nothing elſe was painted but a Curtaine, and it beeing preſented to *Zeuxis*, to yeeld his iudgement of the workmanſhip; he offered to draw the Curtaine, to behold what was figured vnder it. The Authors anſwer by apt comparisons. I anſwer, that this Hiſtory, how true ſoeuer it be, & whether it ſo hapned or no, may make painting to bee much more commendable, then all the other Fables formerly deliuered from *Plinie*. For as man is the leaſt of all creatures, in exquiſite perfection of ſenſe, and that often deceiueth himſelfe, in the ſenſes of ſight, touching, taſt, and ſmell; yea, euen in iudgement, eſpecially when he is detained by a precipitation, or paſſion of Spirit, and then apprehendeth one thing for another: euen ſo might it then fall out with *Zeuxis*, in regard of the enuy he bare to *Parrhaſius*.

Hauing confuted theſe fables alleadged by *Pliny*, which ſerue onely for the praiſe of Painting: I will now ſet down ſome reaſons of mine owne, whereby I wil approue Painting, beyond Caruing or Grauing. In Statues or Carued Figures, there are many thinges defectiue, which cannot faile in Painting, and principally day light and ſhaddow; becauſe fleſh yeildeth a different light, from that which Marble or ſtone affordeth, and that the Painter imitateth, with clearneſſe or obſcurity, more or leſſe, according as the thing requireth, which the Image-maker cannot performe. And yet notwithſtanding, though painting doth not make the Figure round: yet it ſheweth the muſcles and members in rounded ſhape, ſo that they are diſcerned, as ioyned to thoſe parts which cannot be ſeene, & by ſuch apt meanes; as it is eaſily knowne, that the Painter vnderſtands and perfectlie knowes them. And heerein is required another artifice more great, in forming the members that lengthen or ſhorten, according to the proportion of ſight, by reaſon of perſpectiue; which by the power of lines and meaſure of colours, day-light and ſhaddowes, doe ſhew in their ſuperficies on a plaine wall, neere or farre off, more or leſſe, as himſelfe pleaſeth.

The Authors reaſons, why Painting precedeth Caruing.

For forming the true proportion of the members.

Nor is the true imitation of naturall colours, a matter of ſuch ſmal moment as ſome do imagine, in counterfeiting fleſh, ſhape of Garments, and all other thinges requiring colours. And yet the Caruer cannot doe this; much leſſe expreſſe and repreſent the gratious ſight of the eye, black, green, or otherwiſe, with the ſplendour of amourous beames, or in Colour full of reuenge. The Caruer alſo knowes not how to diſcouer the beames of the Sunne, Lightning, Thunders, and other ſuch like thinges; as faire Lockes of Haire, nor the goodly troopes of armed forces, nor a darkeſome night, nor a tempeſt on the Sea, nor a flaſh of Lightning, nor ſtormie Windes, nor the beſiedging of a Citty, nor the Suns riſing

Of the variable handling of colours in their true Nature.

Admirable imitation in Painting.

in the morning, or *Aurora* her selfe, (bringing bright day) in her colours like Roses, disparkled with radiances of gold and purple. Briefely, he cannot represent Heauen, Earth, Seas, Mountaines, Forrests, Fields, Gardens, Riuers, Cities, nor Houses, all which the Painter can perfectly shew. It is also wel known, that if a Painter apply his colours vpon a carued statue, whatsoeuer it be; it wil appeare so much the more commendable. In this respect, me thinks that painting is a more Noble Science, and of much greater artifice, then Caruing or Grauing, and I think that our ancients held it in great reputation, & as highly as other things: albeit, both these Arts do seeme to issue out of one & the same fountaine, because that in both the one and other; Geometry is very requisite, for the vnderstanding of perspectiue. This Science appeares to me, not to be mechanicall, because it is very conuenable, & may well be vsed by any Gentleman. I remember I haue read, that our auncient predecessours, especially throughout all *Greece*, would haue Noble mens children enstructed in schools in the art of painting, as a Science most honest, and very necessary. It was admitted in the first degree of the liberall Arts, and soone after defended by publike Edict, that it should not be taught to Slaues or Seruants.

Painting a more Noble Science then Caruing.

Painting no mechanicall Science.

Noblemen vsed the Art of Painting.

Amrong the *Romaines*, Painting was held in great honor, and thence it deriued a most Noble sir-name, euen from the House of the *Fabij*; for the first *Fabius* was sir-named the Painter, because he was (indeede) a very excellent Painter. And so much was he addicted to painting, that hauing painted the wals of *Templum Salutis*; he placed there his owne name; as thinking, that although he was deriued of a noble house, honored with many Titles, Consulships, triumphes, and other dignities; albeit he he was learned, well read in the lawes, & numbred amongst the best Orators: yet he was of the mind, that hereby he might (neuertheless) encrease his renowne, by such an especiall splendour and ornament, and left it to memory, that he was a Painter.

Fabius a Noble man of *Rome* a skilfull Painter.

Moreouer, many other are recorded of noble houses, that haue bin famous in this art, in which, beside the Nobility & Dignity therof; many commodities are thence deriued. Especially in the time of wars, for designing and portraiing Countries, scituations of Riuers, Bridges, Castles, Fortes, and such like thinges: which thus may be described to others, euen as if they were exactlie imprinted in memory, which otherwise were a difficult thing to do. I conclude then by this discourse, that the Art of sculpture or caruing, is much inferiour to painting: yea, and it will be of much longer continuance, if it bee kept in a dry place, and wel sheltred from winds and raine, and the longer it lasteth, so much the more pleasing it is to behold.

Painting not onely Noble, but pleasing & profitable, especially for for warre.

CHAP. XXIX.

Against such aged persons, as think nothing to be well done, but what was performed by themselues in their youth; blaming extreamely the present times, and what is now done, in respect of the former; And what is the cause thereof.

HAuing many times considered, (and not without great admiration) whence such an error ensueth, which verily may be beleeued, to be proper and naturall to aged people; because it is commonly noted in them, that they doe wholly (as it were) commend times past, condemning the present, and blaming our maners, actions, & whatsoeuer else they themselues did not in their younger daies; Affirming also, that all good customes, behauior of life, all vertue, and all thinges grow worse and worse: Truely, it seemeth to me a matter farre off from reason; nay more, very maruailous, that mature and ripe age should wander so strangely. For long experience begetteth custome, & (in sollemne allowance) presumeth to iudge perfectly of men. And yet herein their iudgments were so much corrupted, as they neuer perceiued, how the world began daily to impaire, and that the Fathers were better then their children; a very long time remaining, to ariue at the vttermost degree of wickednes, times still declining from better to worse. And yet notwithstanding all this, we behold it daily, a vice proper and

Aged people do oftentimes loose both reason and iudgement.

Our fore-fathers more happy then their children

and peculiar to age, euen as it hath bin in former daies; so to continue still among vs liuing. Which hath beene knowne and made manifest, by the writings of many very ancient Authours, and especially by the Comicks, who (much better then any other) expressed the true Image of humaine life. Therefore I conceiue, that aged people hold this false opinion, because our yeares poasting away so swiftly, as they carry hence many other commodities; so (among others) they rob vs of our blood, and a great part of our vitall Spirits. In regard wherof, our complexion changeth it selfe, and the bodies Organes become feeble, that should exercise the vertues of the Soule.

A reason for the inconueniences before alleaged.

The cause of our generall instant discontentment.

And this is the cause, that in these our instant daies, the delicate and sweet floures of contentment doe fall from our heartes, as Leaues doe from the Trees in Autumne, and, in stead of clear and free thoughts; obscure, troubled, melancholly, and sad conceits get entrance, accompanied with a thousand calamities. So that, not onely the Body, but the Spirit also becommeth sick; which retaineth not any iot of our passed Spirits, except a long remembrance, and Image of that acceptable time of youth: which wee perswading our selues to finde againe, it appeareth then to vs, that Heauen, Earth, and all things else are glad therof, and do smile at them (verily) in our sight; resoluing our thoughts, that in them (as in a faire and goodly Garden) the sweet Spring time of ioyfulnesse still flourisheth. In which respect, perhaps it would proue profitable, when (already) in a cold and backward season, the Sunne of our life beginneth to decline towardes the West, in despoyling vs of our pleasures: that we would also (there-with) loose the remembrance of them, and finde (as *Themistocles* said) *A Science enstructing how to forget them.* Because the sences of our body are so fallacious; that oftentimes themselues do beguile the iudgement of the spirit.

The wise saying of *Themistocles*.

A similitude answerable to the argument of aged people.

And therefore it seemeth to me, that aged people are of their condition, who setting forth from any Port or Hauen, doe still fixe their eies vpon the Land: whereby they conceit, that the Shippe moueth not, but that the land & houses are in motion, which neuertheless is quite contrary. For the Hauen, as also the time, and former or present pleasures, continue still in their wonted estate, and we (with the Ship of mortality) saile away; we poast on one after another, thorow this impetuous Sea, that deuoureth all things. Nor are we euer permitted to take landing againe; but beeing continually tossed by contrary winds, our vessell runs and breaks it selfe against one Rocke or other.

The Spirit (then) of a man waxing old, a subiect contrary to all kind of pleasures; it cannot apprehend any taste of them. And, as all sorts of Wines, although they be neuer so good, seeme bitter to such as are troubled with a Feuer, in regard that the taste is changed, onely by the meanes of corrupted humors: euen so in aged people, by reason of their indisposition (albeit there is no defect in desire) all pleasures seeme vnsauory, cold, and far differing from such as they remember once to haue essaied; and yet those pleasures (in themselues) are the very same which they wer wont to be. And because they finde themselues to be depriued of those pleasures; they complaine and blame the pretime, as if it were naught, neuer considering, that this mutation proceedeth from themselues, and not from the time.

The Spirit growing aged, loatheth pleasures.

Another excellent comparison.

No defect in the time, but in our selues.

On the contrary, when they sit down, & call to memory their passed delights; they then likewise remember the time wherin they enioyed them; and (in that respect) repute them to bee good, because it appeared then, and so doth yet, that they brought a sweete rellish with them, which they (yet) remember to haue felt when they had them. For, in effect, our thoughts doe hatefully condemne all things, that haue bin companions with our displeasures; and loue al them that haue suted with their likings. In which regard, it happens sometime, that we see an amourous Fellow, take great delight to behold a Window, although it be shut against him: yet hee conceiueth a liking thereof, because (in former time) he had the fauour there to gaze on his Lady, or loues Mistris. In like manner, to see a Iewell, a Letter, a Garden, or any other thing whatsoeuer; that seemeth (as yet) to be a testimony, to former effected pleasures: where-

Pleasures appeare to be good, according as we tast them.

Comparisons not vnfitting the present purpose.

whereas on the contrary, a goodly, faire, and rich adorned Chamber, will appeare hatefull to him, that hath been imprisoned therein, or that there hath suffered any disliking.

Strange humors in some Men and women.

I haue knowne some, who (by no meanes) would drinke in a Cup that resembled some other Cup, wherein (being sick) they receiued a medicine. For, as the window, or the Ring, or the Letter, representeth to the one party, a sweete remembrance, which to him is the more acceptable, by how much it appeareth still a partaker of his former enioied pleasure: euen such is the other parties conceit, that the Chamber, or the Cup, are still fresh Ensignes of his imprisonment, or sickneſſe. I think, that for the very same reason men (in years)

The reason of aged peoples reprouing present times.

are mooued to commend passed times, and throw blamefull aspertions on the present. By means whereof, in speaking of Warres, Courts of Iustice, or those belonging to Princes, & such like, they affirme: that those in their time, and wherof they do yet bear remembrance; were much more excellent, and filled with more singuler men, then they are which at this instant they daily behold.

The prayses giuen by aged people to former times.

So soone as such cases doe come in question, they presently begin to exalt infinitely, the people that liued in their former times, and declare, that (in those elder daies) it could not bee found, but very rarely, that a man committed a murder; that then were any combats or fights, ambushes or treacheries: but an assured honesty and faithfulnes, an amiable and loyall iustneſſe among al Men. That in Courts (in those times) reigned so many good manners, & such a perfect honesty: that all Courtiers were then religious, and Saintes; that they would not take part with any man, who had offered a bad word to another, or had vsed any signe of dishonesty to a Woman of Honour.

The cõplaint of aged people on these instant times.

On the contrary, they say, that now in these daies, they behold all things to bee quite opposite to the former, and that not onely among Courtiers, men of warre, and young people, brotherly affection is lost, and al laudable manner of liuing: but also in Courts and Cities, now raigneth nothing but enuies, euill will, wicked manners, and a life most dissolute, abounding in all kindes of vices. That Women are lasciuious, haue lost all shame, and men (for the more part) are become effeminate. Moreouer, they blazon their garments to be dishoneſt, and ouer pompous. In breefe, they reprehend a number of things, among which (truely) there are some that weldeserue reprehension, because it cannot be denied; but that there are (among vs) many bad and wicked men, by whose meanes, this present world must needs be fuller of errours, then that which these good people so highly commend.

Some faults that merit reprehension.

It appeareth to me, that they doe ill discerne the cause of this difference, and declare themselues to be meere fooles; in that they would now haue the world to be wholly good, without any euill remaining in it, which is a matter vtterly impossible. For, euill being contrary to goodneſſe, and goodneſſe to euill: it appeareth euen necessary (as it were) that by a certaine kinde of repugnancie and contrariety; yea, by a manner of counterpoise; the one should sustaine and strengthen the other. In such sort, that the one failing, or encreasing; the other likewise should encrease, or run to ruine, because there is no contrarie, without another.

An answere made to these complaints.

No contrary, but it hath another.

Who doth not know, that no Iustice could be found in the world, if ther were not grieuances, iniuries, & oppressions? No magnanimity, if there were not pusillanimity? No continence, if there were not incontinency? No health, if sickneſſe had not his course? No truth, if ther were not lying & falshood? Nor any felicity or happineſſe, if there were not fals and misfortunes? For this cause *Socrates* said well with *Plato*; *He meruailed very much, that Æsope had not made a Fable, feigning therein, why God did not vnite pleasure and greefe togethor, tying them to such extreamities, as the beginning of the one, might be the ending of the other.* For we doe euidentlie behold, that no pleasure would at any time be acceptable, if sorrow had not gone before it.

A reason for the present annoyances.

The saying of *Socrates* and *Plato*.

What is he that could discerne, how precious quiet rest and repose is, if first he haue not felt the pain of trauaile and wearineſſe? Who could tell, what the benefit is of eating, drinking, and sleeping, if first he had not endured hunger, thirst, and watchings? Let mee tell yee then,

The goodnes of al things is approued by the harme of their contraries.

then, that paſſions and diſeaſes are giuen to men by nature, not principally to make them ſubiect thereto; for it would ſeeme very inconuenient, that ſhe who is the Mother of all, ſhould (by her counſell and wiſedome) ſend vs many harms; But nature hauing made health, pleaſure, and other good things: ſends after them ſickneſſe, diſpleaſure, and other annoyances. For all vertues being firſt graunted to the world, by the free gift and fauour of Nature: afterward immediatly, all vices, by a contrary concathenation or combination, follow as their companions or attendants. So that the one encreaſing, or decaying; ſhe is compelled to grant (in this manner) that the other alſo ſhall encreaſe, or grow to defaylance.

Vices doe alwaies attend the Vertues.

Wherefore, when old men do extol the paſſed times, affirming, that no men were then ſo vicious, as now they are in theſe daies: they may alſo alledge their ignorance, whether then ſuch vertuous men were to be found, as many are well approoued to bee at this day. Nor is there any matter of marualle heerein, becauſe there is no euill ſo great; as that which ſpringeth from the ſeede of corrupted goodnes. And for this cauſe, Nature producing now great ſtore of Spirits, of much better temper then before they were, as ſuch who of themſelues haue turned to goodneſſe: hath performed a better workmanſhip, then in thoſe times (ſhee did) whereof they talke ſo much, euen as they that turne to euill, doe ſo much the worſe. We may not then ſay, that ſuch as ceaſe to doe euill (becauſe they know it not) do in this caſe deſerue any praiſe: for although they haue ſildome committed any harme, yet (notwithſtanding) they would haue done much more if they could.

No euill ſo great, as that which groweth out of goodneſſe.

Former ſpirits inferior to the of theſe daies.

Now, that the Spirits of thoſe precedent times in generall, were much inferiour to them lately or now liuing: may ſufficiently be knowne, by all matters obſerued of them: as well in learning, as in Painting, Statues, Buildings, and in all other things. And yet Men of yeares, doe reproue and blame many thinges in vs, which are not (of themſelues) eyther good or euill, onely becauſe that they (in thoſe daies) did them not. They ſay, it is not fit for a young man, to ride on his Foot-cloath Nagge thorow the Cittie, but eſpecially not on a Mule; or to weare any skinnes of Furres in Winter; or a long Gown in the Spring time; or any bonnet, vnleſſe the Man haue attained to the age of eighteene yeares. And other ſuch like things, wherein (truely) they greatly diſcontent themſelues, becauſe that ſuch Cuſtomes (beſide the commodity and benefit they affoord) haue been brought in by vſe, and are as pleaſing now to euery one, as then men delighted to goe in Caſſockes or Iackets, with open ſhooes, and cloſe Breeches. And for a man to ſhew himſelfe a Gallant, he muſt carry a Hawke on his Fiſt all day to no purpoſe; daunce, without holding his Miſtreſſe by the hand, and vſe many other faſhions, which were then much eſteemed: but now doe appeare to bee groſſe and vnbefitting. Theſe are moſt of their ſoundeſt reaſons, why the cuſtomes of theſe times ſhould not bee obſerued, but remaine ſtill to the calumnies of aged folke, extolling themſelues, by ſaying: Twenty yeares and more were paſt with mee, and yet I ſlept with my Mother and Siſters, and knew not (in long time after) what a Woman was. But now, Boyes, almoſt as ſoone as they be borne, know more naughtineſſe, then the tauleſt Men could reach vnto in thoſe dayes. When they vtter theſe ſpeeches, they doe not perceiue, how ſtrongly they confirme, that the very Children of our time, haue much more ſpirit, then aged Men had in thoſe daies. And that was well noted by *Horace* the Poet, in his time, ſpeaking of our auncients, to this effect: *They commend whatſoeuer themſelues did in their youth; And will haue young people to forme their liues by their Age.* But I purpoſe to ſhew more perticularly in the following Chapter, the groſſeneſſe of people in thoſe forepaſſed times, and the ſubtilty of braue Spirits in young men of theſe daies.

The inuectiues of aged people againſt younger.

Ancient bracuery in a Gallant.

Obiections vſed by the aged.

The ſaying of *Horace*.

CHAP. XXX.

¶ *A compariſon betweene the Buildings, Feaſtes, Garments of Men and Women, Armes, and manner of making warre, in the daies of our fore-fathers, and thoſe that are vſed in theſe our times.*

Our predeceſſors forme of building, very groſſe & rude

WE will begin, without vſing any other preamble, with thoſe Buildinges, which were made in the daies of our fore-fathers; conſiſting of nothing but very thicke wals, bad Windows, continually beaten with winds and ſtormes; chambers ſubiected one to another; the vaults or houſes of Office, euermore in the moſt eminent places of the Houſe, which ought to be much further off, both from the noſe & eies: imitating nature, who hath placed thoſe partes in our bodyes, through which our vncleanneſſe is to be auoyded, farre enough off from the eyes and Noſe. Of this faſhion, and in ſuch manner of building, it is no long time ſince, that the more part of Maſons and Worke-men ſhaped Caſtles, being places of pleaſure, and Countrey houſes of pleaſure, in no other kinde of conſtructure. But within an hundred yeares, or there-about, a great part of them are demoliſhed: and (in ſtead of them) others erected, after our Moderne manner, much more commodious, and of leſſe coſt, in regard of the time.

The Feaſts & Banquets of our elders.

Some-what let vs ſay, concerning their Feaſts and Banquets, and obſerue in what manner they were ordered. The meate ſerued into the Table, was alwaies in great Chargers, filled with Peaſe and Bacon; Gammons of Bacon; huge Neats toongs ſalted; great pieces of Beefe, boyled Poultry, with pottage about them; boyled Mutton, Veale, & other groſſe food, common (almoſt) in euery ordinary family; and they gorged in theſe Victuals, ſo long as they could cram any more into their bellies. Afterward, they brought in other meats, anſwerable to the former, but roaſted and larded (oftentimes) with vnſauory lard, but it would ſerue for Pigs and Hares. After this ſecond ſeruice had ſtood awhile on the Table, well-neere to no effect: then came in more dainty meats of Foules; as Mallards, wilde Duckes, Ringdoues, young Pigeons, Partridges, woodcocks, Quailes, Pheaſants, woodhennes, Plouers, Turtles, and others of like kinde: which are carried away (like the ſecond ſeruice) almoſt neuer toucht, for they (good men) had filled their ſtomackes with the firſt courſe meates, feeding hungerly on them, and drinking ſower wines, ſuch as Summer marreth, ſo they left the beſt and daintieſt meats indeede, for their Varlets and baſe Seruants to feede on. Was not this a verie lourdery and blockiſhneſſe, to vſe their meates in this groſſe manner? The Maiſters eate nothing but the very heavieſt meates of all, and their Knaues did feede on the lighteſt, moſt exquiſite, and beſt for digeſtion. Let it then be helde no matter of maruaile, if thoſe men had groſſe and heauy Spirits, becauſe, according to the opinion of *Plato*: *Our manners do follow the temperature and quality of the Chylus, or white iuyce, of the digeſted meates which we vſe to eate.*

The firſt ſeruice.

The ſecond ſeruice.

The third and beſt ſeruice comes laſt of al, and ſerueth for none but baſe groomes to feede on.

The ſaying of *Plato*.

Feaſts vſed now adaies.

But in theſe daies, this manner of furniſhing the Table at Feaſtes and meetings, is no more vſed: for in well gouerned houſes, they ſerue in both boyld and roaſted meates, groſſe and delicate together, that each man may eat according to his appetite, or what he beſt liketh vpon the boord. For (vnder ſubmiſſion to better iudgement) I thinke it no way fitting, that the ſeruant ſhould feed on the fineſt, and his Maiſter on the courſeſt; the Knaue ſerued like a Lord, and his commaunder like a Buffone.

Bonnets vſed in auncient time, of very heauy weight

Proceed we now to mens garments. Firſt, the head, hauing buſh naturall (as they tearme it) a huge deale of haire on it; muſt haue as big a Bonnet to couer it, which (in thoſe daies) were cald *Spaniſh* Bonnets, hauing a turning vp behind, double fringed with red, and this turning vp contained halfe an Elle of woollen-cloath. I haue ſeene one of thē in *Paris*, that weighed foure pound and ſixe ounces. Another faſhion they had, more honeſt and lighter, tearmed the Croſſe-Bow-Cap; yet with ſeauen or eight Elles of Riband about it: This ponderous wearing (in my minde) did nothing

nothing els but dull the braine.

Their wearing Doublets and the fashion of them.

Their Doublets (I meane for the better sort of men) were of leather or course Linnen Cloath behind; and before, of Woosted, or Serge of Arras, which serued halfe the Breast, and so on the armes likewise; yet some (from the Elbowe to the Wrist) vsed to weare Veluet or Sattin. This kinde of Doubtlet, the *Frenchmen* tearmed *Nichil-au-dos*, *Nothing Behinde*, and it was cut according vnto the fashion of Weomens Gownes nowe adayes, that shewes their Breastes naked.

Womens Collers.

The Weomen also in those dayes, had their plaited Collors, wrought with silk, either Blacke or Red, and they were fastened behinde the necke and Shoulders with Silke-Laces: so that they hidde and kept close that which was faireſt, & wold haue made them most gracefull.

Mens Hose or Breeches close to the body.

Mens Hose or Breeches, answered in length to their short skirted Doublets, being made close to their limbes, wherein they had no meanes for Pockets.

Hard meanes for Pockets.

But in stead thereof, they hadde a large and ample Cod-piece, which came vppe with two wings, and so were fastned to eyther side with two Pointes. In this wide roome, they had Linnen bagges, tied with like Points to the inside, betweene the Shirte and Cod-piece. This serued as the receipt for Purse, Hand-kerchers, Apples, Plummes, Peares, Orenges, and other fruits. But did it not seeme verie Inciuill, that sitting at the Table, hee should make a present of such, preserud (for some time) in so sweet a Closset, euen as now adaies, some (as mannerly) vse the like out of their Pockets? As for papers, Letters, and such like, which they ordinarilie receiued, they were to put them in their Hat-bandes, or weare them at their Girdles, like Gloues: wher hung also a great Pouch, made fast with a Ring and Locke of iron, waighing three or foure pound waight, and oftentimes no money at all in it. Surely, in my poore opinion, the fashion of Pockets made in the Doublet Sleene, or in the hose, is much more honest and commendable.

Wearing of Letters.

A great Leather Pouch.

Leauing their high and vnhandsom Shooes, let vs speake a little of weomens habits then vsed wherein I meane not to be tedious. The Attire on the Head, was of great broad Wollen Cloath, of Red or Violet colour, set out with stickes of Woode, and made in the forme of a Suger-loafe. Her Go-vne was verie large and plaited; and the Sleeues thereof so wide, that a Lambe might easilie leape into them. A Traine also was fastned to this Gowne, which com monly contain'd six paces in length. At assemblies and meetings of Weomen, as the rest, so did shee let fall her Traine, dragging it after her in Halles, Churches, perhaps ouer Dunghils, and other vnsauoury filthines. Preparing to Daunce, or some other delight, it was taken vp againe, thogh it serued to no purpose; and then made fast behind, either with a Tach-hooke of Siluer, or a Button of Golde, or of Iuorie. This Garment was not made without great charge, and was verie painfull also to her that did weare it. For, I haue heard aged Weomen (of very honorable houses, that liued in those times, and vsed the same habite) credibly report; that they haue knowne and seene some weomen, who were meerely stifled vnder such long traind Gownes.

What Garments women vsed to wear.

Long trained Gownes.

A painfull pride.

Furred Garments worne at all times.

Moreouer, were it Winter or Summer, in regard of honour, they also were furred with Ermins, Martines, or Sables. I forbeare to speake of their heauie Vardingales, worne vnder those long & waighty Gownes; the Fore-part whereof, was couered with Silke, or Cloth of gold or Siluer, & all the rest was course Buckram or Cantras. At Night, when they haue gone to bed, their bellies and thighs haue beene greeuously chafed and flaid, by reason of so heauie a waight, and extreamity of heate.

Great Vardingales.

As for the defensiue Armes then vsed, which was Harnesse; were they not (beyonde comparison) more massie and heauie, then those that now adayes wee warre withall? Neuertheleſſe, they were commonly pierced with Arrows, Darts, and Quarries of Crosse-bowes, which in those times were their best weapons. But in these daies, they are so well made and yet not (by three parts) so waighty, that they will resist a Musket shotte. The like is to be vnderstood of their Swords, and other Weapons of Defence: for, in one Sword of their vse, there was more stuffe, then now we haue in three; & yet they will performe as much, nay more, then theirs then did.

The Armour then vsed Harnesse and Cuiraſſes.

Swordes and weapons of defence.

It hapned manie times, that in their Sword-fight, the one man stepping aside for aduantage, the other smiting at him; the

The harme enſuing by a heuy weapon

the verie waight of the Swords fall, hath ſmote it into the ground, ſo that he could not eaſily recouer it, but ſtoode vnto the mercy of his enemy. If we trauel yet thorow ſome partes, in auncient Caſtles or Fortreſſes, or Armories of long continued Cities; ſome of theſe vnwealdie weapons are daily to be ſeene.

Their time when they warred.

They neuer made Warre but foure moneths in the yeare, or ſixe at the moſt: after which time, both the one ſide and other withdrewe themſelues till Winter was paſt and gone. This courſe is quite contrarie vnto that which is to bee done in the time of Warre: For, in Winter is the fitteſt ſeaſon, and then doe our beſt warlicke ſpirits performe the beſt exploites of Warre. Then are ſurprizals apteſt, in regard of long Nights, when Riuers and Ditches (being filled with Waters) are ſtrongly frozen. Then dooth a good Captaine take occaſion, to make his attempt vppon ſome place, either to ſurprize it by ſcaling, or otherwiſe. For, then the Spies, Sentinelles, and Watch, are more ſubiect to ſleepe, then at other times. And ſo much the rather, becauſe (vſually) that mens Bellies are better fed in this ſeaſon; then other-whiles they are, in regard of the plentie of Victualls, which makes the bodie ſleepie and ſlothfull. Likewiſe, by the fauour of Long Nightes, a great deale of Ground is eaſily ridden, and the Enemie ſet vppon, when himſelfe leaſt ſurmizeth it, without much effuſion of Bloode, with leſſe Companie of Men, and weakeſt Charges.

Winter is the fitteſt time for warre, and ſome reaſons therefore alledged.

A fault to enforce the enimy to the fight, ſuch was the opinion of our fore-fathers.

In thoſe Elder dayes, they thought it a great offence and diſhonor, to ſurprize an Enemy vnprouided: but he muſt haue a day aſſigned him, when hee pleaſed to accept the Battaile: and this was the reaſon, why wars continued ſo long a time. But we ſee quite contrarie, that Warre now commeth ſooner to an end, by compelling the Enemy to come to fight, and prouiding polliticke Ambuſcadoes for him: in imitation of Hunters & Woodmen, when they chaſe wilde and vnruely Beaſts, that will neuer yeild, except they be enforced thereto. For if they eſcape, they wil continually returne to their firſt bad Nature.

The cuſtome of battailes in old time.

It was a Cuſtome helde in thoſe former Battailes, and verie often obſerued, that when men were wearie with Fighting (beeing oppreſſed with the heauie load of troubleſome Harneſſe, Goates of Maile and Brigandines, where-with their bodies were couered, beſides their maſsie and waightie Swords) they ſhould go repoſe themſelues to take breath, yea, (many times) to eate and drink, and then returne to the fight again. As the *French men* did on the day of battell, before the Citty of *Alexandria*, about the yeare one thouſand three hundred ninety one, whiche day they then loſt, with Count *Iohn Iohn d'Armignac* their chiefe.

Long continuing in fight no way beneficiall.

In thoſe times, battails continued the ſpace of a day; and if they were not then concluded, they went to it again the next morning, to know who then ſhould bee Superior. This was more for honor many times, then any profit enſuing therby, and to haue Songs afterwardes made of their ſloth and negligence. But in theſe dayes, within two or three houres (commonly) the battell is won or loſt, as I my ſelf haue obſerued in fiue fought battels, where I ſtood not as an ydle ſpectator: & the like haue I heard in other places, performed by the beſt and moſt approoued Captaines of theſe times.

Ancient ſingle fight or combate betweene man and man.

What ſhall wee ſay of their *Duello*, Combate, or ſingle fight, betweene man and man? It was commonly performed with Swordes, tearmed two-hand ſwordes, without ſtanding vppon anie warrantable Guard; but both parts meeting reſoluedly on foote; the one receyuing a ſtroake, while his Enemie ſtood waiting for another, without any couerture. For, euen like two Smiths beating vppon an Anuile, euen ſuch was their behauiour, ſmiting alternatiuely; vſing then nothing but cut and ſlaſh, without any foine or thruſt.

In our daies, this kinde of fight endureth but a moment of time, for nothing is vſed but Eſtoccadoes: ſo that within three or foure thruſts, the deadly combat is concluded. For Breuities ſake, I omit many other remarkeable thinges: as that they would eat no kind of fleſh, except it had ſome ſtrange ſauor, like Veniſon and wild beaſts. Now albeit theſe viands were dangerous to health, yet I refer it to all mens iudgments: for it is moſt certaine, that vſe of ſuch foode infecteth the heart, and is the cauſe of diſſenterie. Wherefore ſuch as entend to haue and keep an honeſt table, and to cloth or arm them-

Eating of ſtrange ſmelling fleſh.

themselues respectiuely: must Learne much better directions, and imitate the worthy inuentions of these daies, leauing those grose absurdities (for the most part vnprofitable) of our Elders, which themselues approued and esteemed, but verie slenderly to any purpose.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Fellowships, Societies, or Companies: And to what end they were at first instituted.

The reason of instituting the first fraternities.

THE first Princes and Law-makers, that had not as yet discouered the difficulties, how to maintain their subiects by iustice; permitted fraternities, Colledges, & Cõmunities, the end, that the partes and members of one body (in a Common-wealth) beeing at Vnity, the whole Common-wealth it selfe might be the more easily gouerned. As wee may perceiue *Numa* did, a King and Law-maker amongst the first, who estabiished Fraternities and Colledges, of all Trades and Occupations, and to each Brother-hood, he appointed certain Patrons, Priests, and perticular Sacrifices, after the *Sabines* name was abolished, that deuided it selfe somewhat from the *Romaines*.

Numa Pompilius the second King of *Rome*.

Lycurgus gaue both approbation and Institution.

Lycurgus also, not only gaue the same permission, but likewise strictly commanded the good entertainment of such Cõmunities, aswell generall as perticuler, & that all the Subiects should take their refection in those Colledges, from fifteene dayes, to fifteene dayes: and he cald such Assemblies in Greek, φιτια or φιδιτια, a *Parsimonia*, that is to say, of liuing Frugally, in regard of the amity they hadde sworne one to another, as also in all the Cities of *Greece*.

The *Sodalitia* in Italy.

There were likewise of the like Fraternities, which were called ἑταιρίας. As in *Italy*, the selfsame Colledges were called *Sodalitia*, for Vnion, Frequentation, and Amity, which they helde together, eating and drinking (in one Assembly) the most part of their time: and hauing no other Iudges but themselues. If there grew any difference among these Companions in Society: they knew that amity was the sole foundation of all Societies, and to be much more requisite amongst men, then Iustice. For, Iustice who is neuer pittifull, but holdes on her direct course oftentimes maketh friendes enemies, and Amity giuing way to her Seuerity, establisheth true naturall Iustice. Considering, that the sole aime of all lawes Diuine and Humain, is to maintain loue amongst men, and the loue of men towardes GOD, which could neuer be compassed, but by frequent and sociable Conuersation, and ordinary vnity.

Amity is much more worth then Iustice.

The verie same we may see in the law of God, the Feast of Easter to be recommended in the company of ten, to tenne persons; beside the Feast of Tabernacles and ordinary bankets of sacrifices, which God commanded to be solemnized with all ioy and gladnesse, which were entertained in the Primitiue Church of Christians, who oftentimes made such Feasts, which they called ἀγάπας, for the Kisses of Piety and Charitable embracements, which one gaue vnto another: besides the fraction, and ordinarie Communicating.

Con-fraternall Feasles commaunded in the law of God.

Brotherhoods in the Primitiue Church.

This Order is yet better kept in *Swetia*, then in any place of the world: For, in all Cities and Townes, Fraternities and Occupations haue their Common Houses, where they keepe their Feastes and Banquets; and there is no Village so little, but it hath a Common house only for this purpose, wher (continually) suits, Quarrels, and Contentions, are louingly concluded; and the sentence is Written downe with White Chalke, vppon the Table where they haue Banketted, in token of a white & pure ending of al strifes whatsouer. It were very necessary, that such an honest Custome should be euery where vsed: for it woulde prevent great expences and charges, bestowed in friuolous and idle pleadings, whereby infinite persons are vtterly vndone.

Kind Brotherhoods kept amongst the Switzers.

An honest deuise deserueth furtherance.

And euen in like manner as at Rome, according to the Institution of *Numa*, artificers, Merchants, Priests, Bythops, & all sorts of men had their Fraternities, and certaine Gods for their Patrons (as *Mercury* was assigned to the Merchantes, *Apollo* to Priests, and the like to others, af-

At *Rome*, and in *Greece*, euery Company of Artezanes hadthen brother-hood.

ter

Fellowships and Brotherhoods of Philosophers.

ter the example of *Solon*, who ordained by his Lawe, that all Communities and Brotherhoods should be permitted, with power to make such Statutes as they plesed.) Euen so in like maner, Phylosophers had Fraternities among them, especially the *Pythagorians* who assembled together ordinarily, and liued (for the most part) in common.

Brotherhoods of whippers.

Herodotus (who liued before *Rome* was builded) writeth, that there were certain Societies of men in Egypt, who woulde beate and whip themselues so long as the Sacrifice endured, when they immolated a Cowe to their God *Apis*. *Romulus* hauing entered into alliance with *Tatius*, K. of the *Sabines*, instituted a number of Priests, which were cald the *Tatian* Fraternity. The said *Romulus* made himselfe one of a Brother-hood, which was called *Amaux*, that is to say, belonging vnto the Fielde, whereof hee was the Twelfte man.

Cornel. Tacitus.

About the time of *Romes* first foundation, because manie VVolues liued then thereabout, which destroyed the Cattle, so that great losses were dayly receyued: the *Romaines*, who were onely but sillie warlicke Shepheards, instituted a fraternitie, and associated many men togither, electing God *Pan* to be the chief Patron, to the end, that vnanimately, and with one consent (when occasion required) they might oppose themselus against the VVolues; this was their first foundation. Not long after, neere vnto Mount *Palatine*, they founde a Litter of younge VVolues, which hauing destroyed: they afterward builded there a field Temple, dedicated to their God and Patron *Pan*, according as then their power and ability serued them. This Fraternity kept ther Celebration anually, and the Brothers went naked, running thorow the Cittie, holding long strappes of Goates skinnes in their handes, wherewith they vsed to lash their bodies. The women among them, such as were barren, would (in like manner) strike themselues on the palmes of their hands; and verily beleeued, that these superstitious Ceremonies woulde cause them to become fruitfull. As may be noted in *Iuvenall*, thus mocking a woman:

Plin. in Lib. 17

The Lupercal Fraternity of Shepheards.

The yearely celebration of this Brother-hood.

The idle opinion of Wemen.

Iuvenall.

Nec prodest agili palmas præbere Luperco.

VVhich is as much to say, as, *It serues thee to no purpose, to present thy handes thus to the Lupercall Brother-hoode, to bee made fruitful.* *Marke Anthony* the Emperor, he was one of this fraternity, in the yeare, 700. after it was instituted, & ran starke naked through the Citty, as the other did. *Iulius Capitolinus* saith, that many Brotherhoods were made at *Rome*, after the decease of Emperors, whom the Senate (in a manner) deifyed. As, in regard of *Augustus*, the Fraternities were called *Augustales*, and *Flauiales*, after the Family of the *Flauians*. *Aurelians* and *Anthonians*, in respect of *Aurelius* and *Anthonius*, Emperors.

Marke Anthony a Lupercal Brother.

Plut. in vit. de Cæsar.

Tertullian, Byshop of *Carthage*, in the time of great persecutions and of Paganisme, beholding certain Brother-hoods to be made among the Pagans, carrying meats into the Temples, performing of Sacrifices, eating together, and giuing to the poore: hee admonished the Christians to doe the like, but not to meddle with any reuerence to the Gentiles gods, only they should continue firme in the Christian Faith. And it is verie likelie, that Popes, Byshoppes, and other holy men, haue perswaded the Christians to immitate those Assemblies and Fellowships: for continuance of praier to God, and censuring and separating one from another, when it should truly be known, that some one among them, had doone an acte vnbeseeming the name of a christian. Also, to conferre amiably amongst themselues, if any strifes or contentions had happened in the Company: then to accord such differences by their Pietie and Loue, rather then to plead those distastfull matters before Iudges; keeping purposely an Informer among them, only to accuse such delinquentes. They would conclude amongst themselues, to redeeme prisoners for debts, and pursue the deliueraunce of prisoners for their Faith; leuying a Collection of such sums of money, as should easily compasse this businesse. Also to giue aide and assistance to Christians, being in persecution, and forced from place to place: contributing for relieue of the poor, comforting helpless VViddowes and Orphanes, giuing them food, cloathing, and maintenance. To marry and lend helpe to poor maids, in some competent and reasonable dowries; prouiding for the Funerals of needy people, dying in necessity, or beeing martyred, not hauing any thing leste to burie

Tertul. in Apol. Cap. 39.

Good examples are worthy imitation.

Holy and Religious care in our Ancestors, for auoyding of bad and scandalous inconueniences.

burie them withall, but onely referred to their care and mercy.

Some Brother-hoods learned of those saide Pagan *Ægyptians*, to whippe themselues; and do practise yet to this day, yea euen to effusion of bloud, to subdue their bodies (as they say) enclined to voluptuousnesse; and this they do twice or thrice weekely: Others more rarely, according to their Deuotion. These Fraternities haue stiled themselues *Niniuites*, because they finde in the Sacred Scripture, that the Inhabitants of *Niniuy*, being warned by the Prophet *Ionas*, that they should be destroyed for their sinnes: heereon they became verie penitent, put on sackcloth and ashes, and chastised their bodies, to appease the wrath of God.

Christians learned of Pagans to whip themselues.

Where the first Fraternity of Christians was made

The first Society or Fraternitie made among Christians (so farre as my iudgement reacheth) was in *Ierusalem*, where the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, the Mother of Iesus, all the Apostles, and many other, as well weomen as men, Disciples of Iesus Christ, met together, and were in number about sixe score, after he was exalted vp into Heauen; where they receyued the Holy-Ghost, and afterwards, remaind long time in their Brotherhood and assembly.

Acts 1, 9.

The factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*.

I will not say, that both Holy and vertuous assemblies haue not beene abused, vnder pretence of Piety and religion, because it is long since, that it hath bin too well noted in *Italy*, when the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* were vnder sail, labouring with one consent (vnder the pretence of fraternity) quite to exterminat one another. As much is found to be done in *Germany*, especialy in the Dioceses of *Treues*, *Cologne*, *Liege*, *Mayence* and elsewhere, during the troubles of their Countreyes.

The harms in Germany and *France*.

This miserie also made way into *France*, gathering vp Monopolies, in sted of congregating like louing Brethren; yea, bandying and elenating themselues against their King, and against the Catholicke Church, which succeeded to nothing els, but multiplicity of seditions, only to support the part they had taken. But such vnlawfull assemblies are reprooued by the Church, and no such Fraternities should be permitted in Communion of the Sacrament, prophaning holy things, & the peace of the Church. For, they ought not to intrude into such matters as appertaine only to the Prince, vnder colour of reforming, but they should bee taken as seditious, factious, and scelerates; yea, to be quite cut off from the bodie of the militant Church.

Vnlawful fraternities prohibited & accounted as no members of the Commonwealth.

Thus you see, what I thought good to discourse, concerning the Antiquity and Vtility of Fraternities or Brother-hoods. And that they were not instituted by the first Christians, for Sporting, Dancing, and Drinking, as many ignorant and detracting persons haue thought, and so laboured to perswade the simple people.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Polybius the Romaine Ambassador, and his opinion of the Iewish Commonwealth, when hee was at Alexandria in Egypt.

Polybius the great Historian, a most elegant orator, and learned Philosopher, School-maister, or (as some will haue it) companion vnto *Scipio* the *African*, being sent by a Senat on an Embassie, to *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, hauing heard of the ciuill warres that then were in *Iudea*, made a mockery of the Iewes, and such as held opinion that the church and Doctrine of God, should bee constituted by the Iewish people. For then, all that Nation was full of troubles and intestine broiles, the great sacrificing Priest being violently dispossessed of his estate by another, and this man slain or murdered by another. Euen as *Iason* did, who expulsed his Brother *Menelaus*: & then, his Fellow afterward caused his Brother *Onias* to bee murthered. In briefe, by Ambition of the Sacrificers, who raised ciuill warres, they prophaned the bloud of their Fellow-Cittizens, the Dead bodies of their elders were scattered in the streets, yea, hurled into the Porch of the Temple.

Sedition in *Ierusalem*, who should be the Sacrificer.

During which time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, called thether by one of the factious, exercised cruell theeueries in euerie

Antiochus knew how to Fish in troubled streames

ry City. He placed his Garrison in the Temple, celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus* in the City; in which City only, stoode the Temple of the true God. Circumcision was interdicted, and because two Women had caused their Children to be circumcised, they were led naked thorough the City, bearing their strangled Infants at their Breasts; and (at length) themselues were throwne ouer the wals. Another, who had seauen Children, was flayed, dismembred, and fried in a burning Caldron, because shee would not eate Swines flesh, contrary to the Ordinance of the Law.

Cruelties vsed towardes women, and their Children.

Besides this, during these Calamities, there were risen three different Sects, of the *Essees*, *Saduces*, and *Pharisees*; who more tormented the Church, and her true Doctrine, then all the massacres cõmitted by the Iewes. In the end, *Polybius* to behold this so much deformed estate, thought then, that the *Romain* Senate (where there was a *Scipio*, a *Lelius*, a *Scaeuola*, a *Cato*, a *Fannius*, and others, that gouerned in the World wisely) was the place where God delighted most to be; & that he fauoured the *Romans* most. For, they prospered more in all their conquests, then all other Princes or people of the world did: and hee iudged the affaires and condition of the world, according as hee saw people in their good or bad estate.

Three contrary Sects in *Ierusalem*.

Happinesse of the Romans.

Now, albeit it was verie strange to see the Church in such a dissipation and deformity, yet notwithstanding, there were (euen then) some good members that cleaued fast to her: Such were *Simeon*, *Zachary*, and many others, both Maisters and Disciples in her Diuine School; and after them, the *Asmonees* or *Machabees*. I alledge these things for many Reasons: First, to the end, that we should hold this Consolation, that God hath euermore his Church truely permanent, especially in this mortall life: to the end, that alwayes some part of mankind should truly know God, call vpon him, and celebrate his name, and that part need not doubt, but that they are preserued, counter-garded, and heard of God.

The Church of God can neuer lose hir seate.

Gods church alwayes permanent in this life.

If *Polybius* had seen some hundreds of yeares afterward, when the Popes were expelled out of *Rome*, and persecuted, he would haue said as much of the Catholicke Church. As we read of Pope *Alexander*, third of that name, molested so many wayes by the most potent Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, finding no place in all Christendome for safety of his life: that (in the end) hee was constrained to retire himselfe to *Venice*, in the habite of a poor Priest, hiding himself in the church of *La Charita*, where he was receiued as a poore Chaplaine, and relieued for the loue of God. But at length, being known for the man he was indeed, hee found assistance, and was re-seated in his place. Pope *Clement* fift of that name, in regard of the factions in *Italy*, durst not abide at *Rome*, but was compelled to hold his See at *Auignon*, where (after him) it was continued by his successours, the space of threescore yeares and more. Likewise, because there happened about three and twenty Schismes in the Church, some whereof, lasted seauenteene yeares and more: sometimes three Popes were elected at one time, who made most cruell Warre one vpon another; One, defending Emperors; Others, som other Princes. I cannot expresse the Cruelties, Insolencies, Diforders, and Wickednesses, which (during these troubles) were committed in the Church. And yet neuertheless, in these hot times of Molestations, there were many good people, full of Piety, aswell women as men, among whom Gods true Church was stil preserued and manifested.

Pope *Alexander* the third banished out of Rome.

Pope *Clement* the fift forced to flie Rome.

Three Popes elected at one time.

For proofe whereof, while these three Popes were thus in contention, to wit; *Symmachus*, *Laurentius*, and *Petrus Altinus*; there flourished great store of worthy personages, that were of Holie and vertuous life, of whom I wil name some. *Fulgentius* Bishop of *Hispalis*, a Monke; *Theodoret* a Græcian Priest; *Isidore*, Bishop of *Auuergne*; *Eusebius* of *Carthage*; *Dionisius* the Abbot; *Auitus Vniencis*; *Senerinus*, Bishop of *Trenes*; *Ægisippus* the Diuine; *S. Patrick* of *Ireland*; *Pommerius* and *Honoratus*; *Cassiodorus* the Monke; *Fridolin* of *Basile*, and many others. If an hundred yeares after *Polybius* liued, he could haue seene the *Romain* Commonwealth wholly dissipated by the factions of *Pompey*, of *Cæsar*; then of the *Triumuiri*, all the World being filled with Ciuill Wars; to attribute that which those famous *Romaines* (in his time) had conquered, by so great prouidence and discreet preseruation, hee would then haue said,

A number of holy persons in the time of the Schismes.

The Common-wealth of Rome dissipated.

said, that God did not respect *Rome* more then he did any other nation. He should also then haue well noted the Pagans, among whom, Vertue, true Doctrine, and Honesty, was daily persecuted and despised: for then, if a man did but faigne to haue the truth, he was sure his Throate should be cut.

Polybius knew not God, but was a Pagan.

But *Polybius* is excuseable, for he had no knowledge of God, but was a Pagan. He could not comprehend, that the passage to the Kingdome of heauen, is thorow infinite Tribulations. He beleeued, that there was no other Paradise, but only to liue happily in this world. Hee was an *Arcadian*, borne in the Cittie of *Megalopolis*, a great Phylosopher and Historiographer, verie wel skilled in militarie Discipline. He wrote fortie Bookes in the Greeke tongue, containing the gests and pollicies of the *Romains*. Of all which Bookes, at this day, hardly is any more to be found, then fiue: the rest were lost and burnt by his Maid-seruant, being ignorant what they were. But a yong man, that sometime attended on him, knowing the merit of his writings, hindred the Maids follie, and preserued those which wee haue, from hurling them into the fire.

His Countrey and place of birth.

Polybius his Bookes lost & burned.

Titus Liuius hath beene much beholding to him, for it plainly appeareth, that he followed him (word by word) in many of his passages, without altering anie thing: and yet it was the space of an hundered years, or thereabout, between him and the saide *Titus Liuius*. He was not so superstitious as some other Historiographers, who mingled false miracles of their Gods among their woorkes: as apparitions of Gods, Goddesses speaking with Captaines, or heads of armies; that they rained downe Blood, Milke, Stones, and such like; that Beasts did speake, Riuers conuert their Naturall colour into Blood, and other thinges meerely incredible. Nor did he write the Orations of Ambassadors, Captaines, and Kinges, wholly at large, without forgetting any iot, as many other Historians (both before and after him) haue done, laboring to perswade their Readers, that those affaires whereof they discourse, passed according as they are set downe, which is not easily to be credited.

Titus Liuius beholding to *Polybius*.

Polybius was a true Historian, not subiect to the folly of some other writers

Now, as concerning the cause why he went into *Egypt*, it was not to learne there what God was, or any of his workes: as did *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Chrisippies*, *Anaxagoras* and others; for he had read what those Phylosophers had written, and many more beside. But the *Romaine* Senat well knowing him, although a stranger, and that he had done very much seruice to *Scipio*, in giuing him good aduise and Counsel, for his conduct in the wars of *Affrica*, and of *Carthage*; deputed him their Ambassador, to negotiate and accord some matter of peace, between *Ptolomy Euergetes*, King of *Egipt*; and *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and of manie other great Prouinces, who formerly had ranged ouer the Egyptian Territories, and *Polybius* accorded them verie worthilie. Hauing ended his Legation, he returned to *Rome*, where (it is said) he died, deeply charged with yeares.

The cause of *Polybius* his Embassie into Egypt.

He taught and instructed that Noble *Scipio*, in many Vertues, and among other precepts which he left him: that he should neuer remoone from the place, whereto occasion called him, vntill hee had won himselfe a friend there. In brief, euerie man of good iudgement, will not iudge rashly, of good or euill persons, by outward apparance, beholding them to be fortunate, rich, or poore, nor seeing them afflicted; but rather, by their good actions, vprightnes of life, and pureneſſe of Doctrine.

The death of *Polybius*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of a strange conceit or opinion, in the Weemen of Moscouia, *to wit; That if they be not beaten by their Husbands, they thinke that they are not loued of them.*

IImagined (for a long time) that that which is reported of the Weomen of *Moscouia*, should bee a meere Fable, to wit; that if they were not very often beaten by their husbands, they presently supposed that they did not Loue them; although it is vsed as a common Prouerbe: *Hee that loueth*

Few women I thinke) of this minde.

moſt, correcteth moſt. But ſuch as are ſubiect to Diſcipline, Correction, and Chaſtiſement, as are Slaues, Seruaunts, and Children of a Family, beeing vnder the power of Maiſters, Tutors, or Parents, they will hardly confeſſe themſelues, to be beloued more then any other, becauſe they are beaten more then other. Neuertheleſſe, the Weomen of *Moſcouia* doo hold this opinion quite contrary vnto all other elſe-where, that if they be not beaten, they are deſpiſed, and no way eſteemed.

Weomen in our countries hold this to be erroniour.

I am well aſſured, that no man can perſwade this for allowable, to the weomen of *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, *England*, no nor to the *Germain* weomen, or that they would accept, and let it paſſe for currant Doctrine: although, if it happen that they ſhould bee beaten, euen when they haue verie iuſtly deſerued it; yet notwithſtanding, they will ſtriue to cry firſt, yea, and to beate their Husbands too, if they could; or otherwiſe iniurie and abuſe them. And Weomen-Neighbours to impeach the entraunce of ſo bad a Cuſtome, would helpe ſuch women as complained, both in their maledictions and imprications, againſt ſuch as (deſeruedly) do ſtrike their Wiues, aledging Saint *Paules* ſaying; *That no man ſhould hate his owne Fleſh.* The Weomen of *Moſcouia*, do neuer go out of their owne Houſes, not ſo much as to the Churches, and do nothing elſe but ſpin. And to giue aſſurance of what I haue alreadie ſaid, I will declare three Hiſtories, which very good Authors haue left Written, and which I my ſelfe haue heard credibly auouched by men of worth, that haue bin in thoſe parts.

Weomen are eaſily moued to helpe one another in reuenge.

Laurentius Surius, a Religious Chartreux of *Cologne* in *Germany*, Writes in his Booke of memorable matters, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Secular: how it happened (in his time) that a *Germaine* trauailed into thoſe parts, and married with a Woman of that Countrey, and his wife made a great complaint to him, that hee did not loue her, neither bare her anie kinde of affection, becauſe he did not at any time beate her. The *Germaine* hearing this, made anſwere; that hee loued her entirely; and perſwaded himſelfe, that blowes could bee no true ſignes of Loue. Afterward, he vſed to beate her ſo extreamly, and ſo often, that he found (by good proofe) his Wife did loue him much better then ſhe did before. But his beating was ſuch, and ſo immeaſurably, as (at length) the Hangman brake both his legs and necke.

Laurent. Sur. in Lib. de Rab. Mem. tot. Eccleſ. qua Secular.

I was verie familiar with a Germaine of *Lunebourg*, whoſe father was Ambaſſador for *Ferdinando*, Emperour, firſt of that Name, not long ſince deceaſed, deputed to *Baſilius*, Duke and King of *Moſcouia*; and hee aſſured me, that this Opinion was a Cuſtome, and ſtill in vſe with the Weomen of that Country, & heard his Father faithfully report it. For he being lodged in the houſe of an honorable Burgeſſe in the City *Moſchua*, about the buſineſſe then referred to his truſt, ſawe his hoſte oftentimes beate his wife vpon no occaſion, and yet notwithſtanding, ſhee left not to loue him, and they ſpake ſtill kindly each to other, without the verie leaſt ſhew of diſcontent: and yet the ſaid woman was very often beaten, ſometimes with his dagger, or a ſtaffe, or kickt with his feete. He ſaid moreouer, that there a was Gold-Smith in the ſame Citie, with whō this Ambaſſador often frequented, becauſe he knew him before in the Towne of *Lunebourg*. This Woman ſent word by one of her young Children to her husband, that hee had not beaten his mother (ſo much as once) al that week time: but if he would not beate her, ſhe would neuer loue him, neither would ſhe prouide any more diet for him. The Goldſmith beeing very buſily imployed about his worke, regarded not his ſonnes words, neither remembred this cuſtome ſo generally in vſe, as thoſe (Naturally borne in the Country) had great reſpect vnto it for their owne quiet. For hee was a man humaine enough (for a *Germaine*) and allowed not this barbarous behauiour, to ſmite his deareſt friend and wife, or ſo much as to ſhew her any vnkinde countenance: yet afterward, vppon her importunity, and to diſcharge his dutie, hee gaue her halfe a dozen blowes with a Cudgell on the backe and ſhoulders, & puld off her Head-attire, wherewith ſhe was well contented, and called him preſently to an excellent prepared Dinner. Otherwiſe, if a whole week ſhould paſſe, and he not beate her, there could be no quietneſſe in the houſe, nor ſhould he get one good looke of her. This is an ordinary cuſtome among the VVeomen in the great

Another Hiſtory for further confirmation of this cuſtome.

Another Hiſtory of a Gold ſmith & his wife.

great Prouince of *Moscouia*.

Whence this Barbarous custome grew

In briefe, this manner and custome of men beating their Wiues, could not arise but out of Sathans shoppe; for the Christian Church hath euermore condemned it. There are none in these parts, but Knaues, Fooles, Iealous Coxcombs, Drunkards, or men voide of vnderstanding, that will exercise such Barbarous behauiour on their Wiues: yet let mee not be mistaken, for I do not excuse som Weomen, that deserue to bee beaten for their vices and badnesse, and wil giue extraordinary occasion to be sharply handled by their Husbands. But my meaning is, of vertuous, discreet, and well aduised women, whose merits are not meanly to be cherrished, but highly respected by their Husbands.

Somd women do deserue beating.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

¶ *That those things, which some Authors haue left written, concerning the Destruction and ruine of great Troy, performed by the Greekes, are true.*

I Cannot choose but meruel very much, at the wilful pertinacity of some men, who rashly haue esteemed, that those things written by many good Authors, deseruing credite and faithfull opinion of the warre and ruine of *Troy* in *Phrygia*, should be meere Fables, and ydle vanities This error happeneth, because they haue not read some Bookes, Written by parties present at the Warre on either side, as well *Greekes* as *Troyans*: as *Dictys* of *Creet*, and *Dares Phrygius*, and others, who collected also their Writings out of sound Authority, liuing not long after the time when those things happened. As *Herodotus* and others, that heard them reported by Captaines & Commanders, who had charge in the said Warres: among whom, was *Philistus* the Greeke, and some others beside, that selected them out of verie auncient Authors, As namely, *Quintus Septimius* the *Romain*; *Damascenus Sigierus*; *Æmilius Macer* the Poet; *Euclide* the *Megarian* Phylosopher; and *Homer*, who was about eight score yeares after.

Authors that haue written of the warr of Troy.

Many Monarkes, Kinges, and other Princes, took the paines, comming from farre Countries, to see the City of *Troy*: as *Alexander* the Great, that found it ruined by the *Persians*, who likewise destroied all that part of *Asia*, wherein it was seated. But *Penthylus*, Nephew to *Agamemnon*, builded it againe, after that the Greekes had sacked it: raigning there, & his successors (as is affirmed) vntill such time as the *Persians* ouerthrew it. *Alexander* the Great, then hauing read manie Heroicall actions, performed at the besiedging of this Cittie, and finding it laid desert, caused it to be re-edified, & gaue great immunities and Priuiledges to the inhabitants, whom hee exempted from ordinary tributes; instituting there Free-Fayre, Martes, and Markets, for all such as would dwell there, or Negotiate with them: in regard whereof, it was named *Alexandria*. *M. Aurelius*, *Diocletian*, & *Claudius*, Romaine Emperours, potent and mighty, tooke paines to trauell thether from *Rome*, not without much cost and labour. And to leaue a memorie to posterity, of their beeing there, they caused a goodly Columbe to be erected, (which is yet (at this day) to be seene) of white Marble, very great, and placed in it being called *Troy*: but in regard of the great Antiquity thereof, it standeth not directly vpright, but leaneth some-what towards the Sea; and thereon is engrauen these words following.

Alexander and other *Romaine* Emperours went to see Troy.

The name of *Troy* changed and called *Alexandria*.

Imperator Cæsar. Mar. Antonius pius, Fœlix, Parthicus, Maximus, Trib. Pl. Imp. P. XV. Cons. III. Provinciam Asiam, per viam, & flumina, pontibus subiugauit.

Inscription vpon a Pillar in Troy.

And on the other side of the said Piller, was likewise written:

Imperator Cæsar Augustus, *Diocletiano*, P. Cos. II. *regnante Tribunicia vicit potestate.* M. F. T. *et Claudius*, C. VIII. P. R.

In the time of the Warre which the Romans had against *Mithridates*, this City was again destroyed to the verie foundation by a *Roman* Captain, named *Fimbria*, because *Mithridates* was possessed thereof, and had planted there his Garrison, which did much harme to the Romaines. Yet it was new builded againe,

Another destruction of Troy.

(but I know not by whom) because in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperour, there was an excellent Vniuersitie in the same place, of all Sciences, and *Galen* the Physitian was then a Student there.

Galen a Student in Troy.

Likewise, Saint *Luke* testifieth, that Saint *Paule* passed thorough it, and that he raised vp there, a young man, named *Eutichus*, that fell downe deade out at a Window, from the third Loft of the house: Also, that he preached there, and celebrated the holy Communion, where there remained a great number of Iewes.

Acts 20, 12.

Troy again destroied by the *Gothes*.

Three hundered yeares after, or thereabout, this Cittie was once again destroied by the *Gothes*.

I thinke it was yet againe re-builded afterward, and that the Inhabitants were Christians, because (at this day) manie crosses may be seen Engrauen on stones, enclosed in the walles of diuers temples therein, that stand (as yet) most part of them, being not wholly destroyed.

The ruines of *Troy* which are at this day to be seene.

At this present, no person dwelleth there, nor within a Leagues compasse round about it; I know not whence this dissertion should proceed. The neere Neighboring Inhabitants do say, that before the Turkes got their enterance into *Greece*, it was then to be seen in the same condition. The six ancient Gates, are yet there (almost) intire, with their Posternes. The Towers about the walles in many places are yet standing vpright; and the height of the VValles are (verie neere) firmely standing; against which, are erected strong Piles and Spurres of two Fadomes breadth, to sustaine them vpright.

The greatnes and circuit of *Troy*.

The wals were builded of Free-stone, blacke like Iet; hard, but spungy; asking a large time to goe about them: and the Ditches are not (as yet) filled vp. There are two Castelles, verie ancient, within the circuite of the Cittie, builded vpon the pendant of a Mountaine: one of the which, being much higher then the Cittie, as hauing command thereof, and was called *Ilion* Castle. The other beeing much lower, had command of the Sea; both of them beeing builded of bright Marble; and so excellent in their construcsture, as it is impossible for anie man in the world, wholly to demolish them.

Ilion Castle.

Concerning matters within the City, there are yet to be discerned the marks and tracts of such goodly buildinges, as exceed my capacity to expresse. There are yet to be seene strong Conduits and Cesternes, without any water belonging to them. The streets are verie confused, by reason of the houses ouerthrow which (for the most part) was flat forward. Of Welles or Fountaines, there is no more but one now to be seene, and that is neer to the Sea side. Naturall Baths are there yet to be noted, holding their nature dry and hot, builded by excellent Art, and Artificially couered with fine Bricke. But be it howsoeuer, it must be much greater matter, then as yet I haue heard of, that shall or can cause mee to beleeue those things for Fables, that are written and reported of the greatnesse, wealth, and power of this Citty.

The markes of goodly buildings in *Troy*.

One onely Well as yet remaining.

Naturall Bathes yet to be seene.

There are yet many Sepulchres to be seen, both within and without the Citie, of Captains and Princes, aswell *Troians* as *Greeks*, that were slaine during the warre, made (in Anticke maner) of Marble, all in one peece, after the fashion of a Chest, the couers whereof are whole & sound. Halfe a League or a mile from *Troy*, is the Isle of *Tenedos*, where are the most part of the Greekes Sepulchers. As that of *Achilles*, who was the terror of the *Troyans*, yet slaine by *Paris*. He was so highly esteemed, that many of his blood were afterward carried thither, to lye by him in his Tombe, so much did they admire his memory.

Tombes and Sepulchers yet to be seen

The Isle of *Tenedos*.

The Tombe of *Achilles*, & many more, visited by *Alexander*.

This was the Tombe that *Alexander* went to visit, weeping ouer it, and much complaining, because he was not so happie, as to haue a man that could so well publish his praises, as *Homer* had doone those of *Achilles*; it remaineth yet entirely whole, with diuers *Greeke* Verses thereon engrauen. And about the yeare of Iesus Christ, 1379. when *Baiazeth* the son of *Selim* raigned ouer the Turkes, there was found in the saide Isle of *Tenedos*, the Sepulcher of an *Amazon* Queen, named *Marpesia*, who after many booties, being richly laden with spoiles, made hir return to this Island, verie sore hurt and wounded, and there ended her dayes. This Tombe is yet to be seene, betweene two hilles of indifferent height; and a litle before one of them, there is a Greeke Epitaph on the couer of the Marble Chest, and there her name is comprized in faire Carracters.

The Tombe of *Marpesia*, an Amazone Queene.

At

The Tombe of valiant *Aiax.*

At any time, with opening verie little ground, or passing not aboue a foote in depth, many other famous tombs might be easily discouered. As the Tombe of *Aiax* was, in that quarter where *Achilles* encamped his man. About this Isle of *Tenedos*, there are many other little Islands, of as good ground as that of *Tenedos*, but vn-inhabited, except by some poore Fisher-men, that make their retirement thither sometimes. And it hath beene immagined, to be hanted with spirites, which speake to men: in regard whereof, the men that resort thither, and abide there any time, do say, that the spirit of *Homer* wanders in those Islandes, where he did (in former dayes) Philosophize; and that he shewed himselfe to certaine Shepherds, as they passed that way to feed their Cattle. This you may heare the opinion of such as doo now dwell about *Troy*, and neere the Isle of *Tenedos*, touching visions and spirits that appeare in those Islands.

The Spirit of *Homer* said to walke yet in the Islands about *Tenedos.*

The Riuers of *Simois* and *Xanthus.*

As for the Riuers of *Simois* and *Xanthus*, so much renowned by many Poets which watered the fields of *Troy*, we can now say no otherwise of them, but that they are small Brookes or Gullets, scarse able to nourish a Loach or Minnow: for they are dried vp in Summer, and in the deepest of Winter, a Duck cannot swim there. But our Poets haue published so many Fables of these Riuers, as they should seeme to haue beene much greater, then now they are. Yet must we not (for all this) say, that the History is not true, because Painters and Poets are Licensed to embellish their woorkes with more then their instant subiect requireth; and we must likewise vnderstand, that vnder Poeticall Fables, there is vsually a morrall sense conuayed.

Thevets description is to be doubted.

As concerning the Scituation of this Citty, *Theuet* maketh a quite contrarie description thereof, and saith; That these two fore-named, are great Riuers: and that it is seated in a good soile. I would be loth to contradict such a person, but that which I write, I haue gathered from *Bellonius* a Physitian of *Mans*, in the second Booke of his Obseruations: and I my selfe haue heard him often report, being at *Paris*, at *Postell*, that foure years he frequented that Country. Afterward, a man of *Rohan*, named *Albert le bon*, declared that he had bin in those parts, and

Bellon. in Lib. 2 de Obseruat.

remained there a whole Winter, agreeing in all things which *Belonius* had written. I thinke verily, that *Theuet* was neuer there, but what hee hath recorded, was onely by heare-say.

Matters that cause distrust of the destruction of Troy

That which hath giuen occasion to some, not to credite the destruction of *Troy*, is (as I haue heard) the iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the beautie of the three Goddesses *Dares Phrygius* writeth, that it was nothing but a Dreame which *Paris* had as he slept vnder a Tree, being wearied with Hunting in the Forrest of *Ida*: and Poets making vse of this dream, haue aduised young Princes, not to imitate the folly of *Paris*. For hee refused Riches, which *Iuno* presented him; and wisedome and vnderstanding in all things, offered him to *Pallas*, if to eyther of them he would haue giuen the Golden Ball. But suffering himselfe to be swayed by voluptuous desires, hee chose rather to giue it to *Venus*, the Goddesse of loose and mis-gouerned affections, that hee might liue (alwaies after) in such licentious liberty. And, as an especiall note of his skilfull progression, hee made a Rape of faire *Helena*, wife to *Menelaus*, King of *Lacedemon*, that entertained him in his Court as a kind friend. A matter, which caused the ruine of all his family, and of all the *Troyan* Kingdome beside.

The iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the three Goddesses.

Secondly, they alledge also as a fable, that *Priam* commaunded his son *Paris* to be slaine, because *Hecuba* (his Queen) being great with childe, had a dreame that she should be deliuered of a Fire-brand. And hauing conferred with interpreters of dreames, the King was informed, that the infant then in her womb, should be the cause of his ruine, and of the whole kingdom. This dreame might very likely bee dreamed by *Hecuba*, in regard, that verie often, Princes and Princesses are (by especial grace) forewarned of God, both in dreames and otherwise, concerning diuers things which are to happen, to the end, that they might preuent them. For, accidents good or euil do not only touch them, but all the people likewise. In brief, *Paris* from his infancy was so vicious, as his father could neuer afford him a good looke. And when he was in his youthfull dayes, without any aduise of his Parents, he married a Nimph of the Fields, but yet shee was verie faire and vertuous, Named *Oenone*; and afterwardes forsooke

A second reason the dreame of *Hecuba.*

Princes haue many admonishments in Dreames.

Paris made a clandestine marriage.

A third reason for the plague in the Grecians Campe.

ſooke her, when he had enioyed her virginity.

Thirdly, they affirme for a fable, that which *Dictys Cretenſis*, *Homer*, and other Authours haue Written, of the Plague diſperſed in the Campe of the Græcians, when they aſſembled to plant their ſiege before *Troy*, the Armie conſiſting then of no leſſe, then twelue hundered thouſand able men. Euery man knoweth, that contagious Diſeaſes doo ſeldome ceaſe from purſuing great Armies, becauſe men liue there vnwholeſomely, in regard of Corruptions by dead Bodies, and other annoyances amongeſt Men: Beſides, Welles and Waters abuſed or corrupted; for men and beaſts drinke all together, whereby the ayre becommeth infected.

Diana cauſe of the plague and wherefore.

The people then perceyuing ſo great a Mortality, without finding any Remedie for it, had re-courſe to their Goddes, and conſulted with Oracles. The Prieſts being then verie ſubtle and craftie, made aunſwere; That this Peſtilence enſued by the anger of *Diana*, and this was the reaſon thereof. *Agamemnon*, Brother to *Menelaus*, elected Chiefe Leader of the Armie, had ſlaine a goodly Hinde, which was Priuate and Sacred, and was kept by the Sacrificing Prieſts (for pleaſure) in ſome Fielde or Forreſt, Dedicated to the ſaide Goddeſſe. They made them alſo beleeue, that they had oftentimes ſeene *Diana*, to take great delight in ſporting and playing with that Hinde. Wherefore, if they would haue the plague to ceaſe, they muſt Sacrifice the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycæna*, who was the onely cauſe of all the euill.

A meere practiſe or Conſpiracy againſt *Agamemnon*.

Now, it is well knowne, that this ydle practiſe or Gullerie, was expreſſely prepared againſt *Agamemnon*, by ſome of the other Kinges, who were malicious and enuious (eſteeming themſelues aboue him) becauſe he was choſen chiefe Soueraigne, and commaunded ouer ſo great an Armie, wherein were no leſſe then thirtie nine Kings. And this was deuiſed onely to diſcontent him, and giue him occaſion for to depart home againe: yea, and the Oracle being enſtructed to this Cooſenage, returned that anſwere.

Beeing on the verie point of conſtraining him to deliuer his Daughter to bee Sacrificed, *Achilles* and ſome other of his Friends, who had Credite ſufficient with the other Kings, found the meanes to redreſſe this extreamitie. For, they being aſsiſted by ſome of the Prieſts and Sacrificers, that re-conſulted with the Oracle, hauing receyued a good ſumme of Money, returned a report, that *Diana* would be contented with the ſacrifice of another Hinde, and of a Bull, which accordingly was performed.

A remedie found againſt ſo great an inconuenience, by retracting of the Oracle.

Then the Græcian Armie entered into their prepared Shippes, which amounted to the number of eleauen hundered and fortie Saile, or there-aboutes: and diſlodging thence, chaunged the Ayre. So, by Naturall Reaſon, that Contagious infection ceaſed: and thus ſhould that part of the Hiſtorie bee vnderſtoode.

A fourth reaſon, the *Palladium* or image of *Pallas* in Troy.

For the *Palladium*, which was an Image of Woodde, repreſenting *Pallas* ſalne from Heauen, with a mighty thunder, into a Temple newly made, which the *Troyans* had builded in the Cittie; which being finiſhed, and they not knowing to what God or Goddeſſe they ſhold make their Vowes, or elect as their Patron, this happening in the Night time, the Gates of the ſaide Temple being faſt ſhut. This was nothing elſe, but onely a meere inuention of men, and principally of the Sacrificers, and Couetous Idolatrous Prieſtes, who found the meanes (one Night) when there was great lightning, Thunder, and Raine, to bring the ſaide Image thither ſecretly. And comming the next morning to open the temple Gates, in the preſence of manie people; they made them beleeue, that in this terrible time of night, the Image was deſcended from Heauen. Whereuppon, the *Troians* admyring this deceitful wonder, ſent ſome of their Nobleſt Cittizens (with the Sacrificers) to *Delphos*, there to conſult what was to be done with this ſtatue deſcended from heauen. The Prieſts of *Delphos*, vnderſtanding the drift of the ſubtle *Troyans*, conſpired one with another, to aunſwere by the Oracle (which was a Virgine cloſely concealed in the Vault, and well inſtructed in hir anſwer:) That the Image of *Pallas* had not beene ſent from Heauen, but for the more aſſurance and preſeruation of the *Troyans* eſtate; and that ſo long as ſhee remayned within the Temple, the Cittie of

Simple people are ſooneſt deceiued, eſpecially vnder the cloud of Holineſſe.

Troy

Both sides abused by a false Oracle.

Troy could not be surprized by Warre. The *Troyan* people tooke this Oracle for an Article of Faith, and so did the *Grecians* also: for it brought them into dispaire of euer taking the Citty, and gaue the other side vndoubted assurance, that they should neuer be surprized or vanquished; and the better to countenance their perswasion, the *Troyans* placed strong Guards (ordinarily well payed) about the *Palladium*.

Troy brought into wofull extreamity.

Now, it fortuned, that by long delay of time, many rough battailes and skirmishes, and all places of entrance into the Citty so strongly besiedged; that *Troy* could no way bee supplyed with victuals. But being thus seuerelie beleagerd, the more part of the best men of warre; yea, euen the most resolued and valianteſt *Troyans*, dyed with hunger: and none remained, but tyred weake men, wearied with sustaining so long a siedge, and voide of any hope of succour. Some Princes, and other men of marke, fore-seeing that the *Palladium* could not bee preserued; without speaking to *Priam* their King, (who was then very old and feeble) or *Hecuba* the Queene: conferred closelie with the *Greekes*, (who were as much weary and tyred as they, desiring nothing more, but to raise their siedge, & returne home to their owne Countrey) yet made an outward bold shew, of stil continuing the siedge. When they met to capitulate, among others were *Anthenor*, *Æneas*, and some else, who promised, if they might haue their liues and goods saued, they would admit the Enemy benefit of entrance. Promises past on both sides by sollemne oath, in a place very secret and free for the purpose; the people (in meane while) supposing, that they treated of a truce among themselues, of the reddition of Prisoners, and recouery of worthy mens bodies, slaine in the skirmishes. But aboue all thinges else, the Greekes strictly held, that the *Palladium* should bee deliuered to them: for they were perswaded, that they should neuer get entrance into *Troy*, so long as the Image continued there, so farre did the deuill (then) preuaile with men. This sottish light beleefe, S. *Augustine* verie exceeding wel mocked, when he said: *The Troyans were keepers of the Palladium, but not the Palladium of the Troyans.* The Guards were wun with Mony, and the *Vestales* that were there destined; contrary to their Oath and Vow, suffered their *Palladium* to bee lost, and another Image put into the place, very neerelie resembling it, couered with the same ornaments and Iewels, whereof none was then mindfull.

Conspirators in *Troy* against themselues.

August. lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

The *Palladium* stolne, & how.

The *Palladium* being now in the besiedgers power, they were highly contented, and sent great presents to the Traytors, with reiteration of their Oathes. Whereupon, in the dead time of night, the Traytours opened the Gate called *Scea*, whereon was emboss'd the head of a Horse, and by a flaming Torch, gaue signall to the *Greekes* for entring the Cittie, which they did, hauing yet the Traytours Children in their hands as hostages. Thus was the Citty taken, King *Priam* slaine, his wife and Children led away Captiues, and such as remained of the Royall Issue, were murdred, and almost all the people massacred: Faith was kept with the betrayers, but yet with great difficulty: neuertheless, after the reduction, they were exempted from spoile. To wit, *Anchises*, Father to *Æneas*, *Anthenor*, neere Kinsman to King *Priam*, *Polydamas*, *Vcalegon*, *Amphidamas*, *Dolon*, and diuers other; to whom Ships were giuen, for conueighing thence their wiues, children, & whatsoeuer else they could carry away. After the sacke had continued the space of eight daies, the Citty was wholy burned, but they had great difficulty to destroy it: for the buildings were all of Marble, or of free Stone, strongly couered and tarrassed. But the *Greeks* were very great in spleen against it, because the most part of them (in this long siedge) had lost many of their Kinred and deere Friends, beside their owne hard sufferance in the warre. There dyed in this besiedging, eight hundred, eighty and sixe thousand *Greekes*, vntill the reddition of the Citty; and sixe hundred, seauenty, sixe thousand, as well of the Citty, as such succours as was sent them, by Kinges, Queenes, and their Allies abroad, without making any account of both Men and Women, that were led thence captiues.

Troy betraied, surprized, and destroyed

The betraiers of *Troy* saued, and their names.

The number that dyed in this warre.

As concerning the Horse of wood, which

A fift reaſon, the fable of the Greekes horſe of wood

which is ſaid to be made by the *Greekes*, within whoſe belly men were hidden, and whereof they made an offering to *Pallas*, to compaſſe the meanes of breaking the wals thereby, and ſo to ouercome their enemies: theſe (truely) are Poeticall Fables. But yet we are to obſerue, that the Citty was ſurprized at that gate, whereon there was the head of a Horſe (very bigly) emboſſed, and of blacke Marble, as before wee haue ſaid, and it remaineth yet to be ſeene.

A ſixt reaſon, the Fables of the *Amazones*.

Next, for the *Amazones*, which are ſaid to come to the ſuccour of *Troy*, conducted by their Queene *Pentheſilea*; this is a Fable too. But yet we muſt credit that this Woman was a Queen, and commaunded ouer many Countries; a Friend and neere Ally to King *Priam*, in whoſe aide ſhe came: bringing with her eight or ten thouſand men, and not Women, that were ſlaine in ſeuerall fights; and ſhe her ſelfe (at laſt) in a ſingle combate with *Achilles*. For, there was neuer any Countrey, inhabited onely by Women, nor is at this preſent, which I purpoſe elſe-where to ſhew.

A ſeauenth reaſon, the tenne yeares fiedge of *Troy*.

It is alſo held for a Fable, that the *Greekes* ſhould abide at the fiedge of *Troy*, the ſpace of ten yeares: this is not altogether incredible, becauſe as much hath beene done in our time. The fiedge which *Baiazeth* brought before *Conſtantinople*, laſted eight yeares and ſome moneths, in the yeare 1373. and yet (for all that) was not taken. That which I haue written, concerning the ſubtilties of the Prieſtes in thoſe daies: I proteſt, I ſaw them in the hand of *Monſieur Pelerin*, a *Pariſian*, Schoolemaiſter to the children of the late Lord *De l'Aubeſpine*, in a Booke being a Manuſcript, & in the *Greeke* tongue, which a man of the Church had giuen him, who was a follower of *Monſieur de Fumell*, Ambaſſadour in the Eaſt. This man had the Booke of a *Caloere*, or religious *Greeke* at Mount *Athos*; and therin is the Interpretation of the Fables, which I haue alledged in this Chapter, and many more beſide. The Authour thereof was one *Temiſon*, a *Smyrnian*, who (I thinke) was a Sacrificer, and afterward became a Chriſtian.

Whence the Author tooke his interpretation of the Poeticall Fables.

There is a certaine Booke, intitled, *Troy not taken*, it is in the *Greeke* toong, and tranſlated likewiſe into *Latine*, which is ſaide to be compoſed by one named *Dion* the Sophiſter, that liued in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, and neuer vſed any other Garment, then the skinne of a Lyon. But he alleadgeth ſuch poore reaſons, to proue that *Troy* was neuer taken, nor beſieged by the *Greekes*: that a Childe of tenne yeares olde would ſet downe better. Therefore, ſuch as doe yet hold that error, and are perſwaded, that what hath beene written by many oculary Authours, and others beſide of good credit, concerning the *Troyan* Hiſtory, is no way veritable: let them ſee (to their ſhame) the ruines of that famous Cittie, which yet (to this day) doe make ſhew of themſelues, as I haue deſcribed them in this Chapter. The round neighbouring places, ports of the Sea, which doe (yet) retaine the very ſame names, that then they had. The Toombes of ſuch famous men (with their inſcriptions) that died as well on the one ſide, as the other; being all of Marble, with the couertures whole, but no bones in them: for neuer was any thing put into them, but the aſhes of the dead, becauſe (in thoſe times) the bodies were all burned.

Dion the Sophiſter deceiued in his writings.

CHAP. XXXV.

How a Man may eaſily know, what kinde of drinke will ſooneſt make one drunke: As with Wine, Beere, Ale, Cider, Perry, and other drinkes.

WIne is not the only drinke that cauſeth drunkennes, when it is immeaſurablie taken, or when it is receiued by Men or Women, whoſe braines are weake and feeble. For, there are many other artificiall Beuerages, made in thoſe Regions, where no Wine hath encreaſe or growth; as in *Normandy*, *Brittaigne*, in the more part of *Piccardie*, the lower *Germany*, and other Northerly Countries. But they make vſe of Cider, Perrie, Beere, Ale, Raſſis, and other drinks, which procure drunkennes more then Wine

Wine onelie doth not procure drunkenneſſe.

Countries that yeild no Wine.

Turkes prohibited from drinking wine

Wine doth. In *Turky*, it is forbidden to ſuch as are of the *Mohometane* Law, to drinke Wine vpon paine of life; and there are likewiſe Drinkes arteficiallie made.

The drinke of the *Caribes* & *Anthropophages*

The *Caribes* and *Anthropophages*, people that feed on the fleſh of Men, make a kind of drinke, which they call *Canonin*: it is made of certaine roots called *Aypie*, and groſſe Millet, champed in the mouths of Women, and then boyled in ſome quantitie of Water. Of this drinke they make vſe after their repaſt, for they drink not at all in the time of their feeding, as wee doe in theſe partes: but rather imitate nature, as other Creatures do. This *Canonin* cauſeth drunkenneſſe, more then Wine doth here, if too much be taken thereof.

A kinde of drinke iſſuing out of a tree.

In the Kingdome of *Narſingua*, *Taranganor*, *Calecut* and *Peru*, they drinke a kind of liquor which commeth forth of a Tree, that is therefore purpoſelie cut in the Spring time, like vnto the Palme; and it inciteth drunkenneſſe alſo. Many Countries in the *Aſian Indiaes*, do make diuers drinkes of Rice and ſpiceries, which will procure drunkenneſſe likewiſe. In *Turky* they make a certaine *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, which troubleth the braine much more then Wine. In breefe, there is not any Nation that will content it ſelfe with drinking Water onely: but haue deuiſed one or other arteficiall beuarage to pleaſe the Pallet, and delight their taſt. I my ſelfe hauing frequented thoſe Countries, where no Wine at all is made, but other arteficiall drinkes dailie vſed, as hath before beene declared: I haue apparantly perceiued, that ſuch as receiue their drunkenneſſe by wine, haue quite contrary behauiour to others, that are ouercome with Beuerages; as of Beere, Cider, Perry, and the reſt.

Metheglin made in *Turky*

Arteficiall drinkes hurt more then wine.

Diuerſity of actions and behauiour in drunkenneſſe

And although thoſe men that are drunke with Wine, do commit a thouſand follies, and counterfeit diuers anticke fopperies: yet it is moſt certaine, that none can declare the like ſottiſhneſſe, and yeelde more argument of ridiculous laughter (when wee behold their faces, eyes, and geſture;) then ſuch as are drunke with made drinkes, and (among the reſt) with Beere. For they neither reele or ſtagger on any ſide; but onely backeward, and fall downe flat on their backes: but ſuch as are drunke with Wine, reele forward, and alwaies fall or lye vpon their face and noſe; whereas the other do bruiſe their ſhoulders, and breake their heads behind. As likewiſe may be diſcerned when they are ouercome with ſleepe in drinking, for they that are drunke with Beere, Ale, Cider, and other drinkes arteficiall; doe ſleepe on their backes, with their boſomes open. I haue beene credibly aſſured, that euen ſuch is their behauiour in *Turky*, the *Indiaes*, *America*, and other Regions, when they are in like caſe.

The differẽce in drinking wine and other beuerages.

Where men doe become drunke with Wine, they ſleepe vpon their faces, the Chinne enclining into the boſome. The reaſon is, becauſe the fumes and vapours proceeding from Wine; do gaine poſſeſſion in the heads formoſt part, and the anterior parts of the body alſo. But thoſe fumes which mount aloft by other drinkes; doe incline to the head behind, and the poſterior parts alſo: which is a reaſon, that they are very obliuious, euermore ſleepy, and no great praters or brablers.

Wine ſeazeth on the foremoſt part of the braine.

French Souldiers are apt at all occaſions.

The *French*, that (during the States Warres in the Lowe-Countries) trauailed thither as Souldiers, would make their boaſts: that they had familiaritie with many Women there, when they found them to bee made drunk with Beere: for then they would fall downe backeward, at which time, their pudicity might eaſilie be attempted, finding them in ſuch vnwomanlie readineſſe. Let them (therefore) that haue care of their Chaſtity, take heede how they become drunke. And as for men, ouer and beſide, that many doe then diſcloſe their owne ſecrets: they enter alſo (oftentimes) into quarrels, deſtroying their health, and vndoing themſelues. Our Lawes do hold them for infamous perſons, that are addicted to drunkenneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Against the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, by what sustenance soeuer it be; But of Bread most pernicious.

I Could neuer vnderstand the reason, although I haue enquired of many learned Phisitions, who (neuertheless) haue published the same also: that Repletion of bread, is more dangerous and pernicious, then all other nourishments beside. For not onely it seemeth to me voyd of all reason; but it hath beene so accounted, by all them that I haue conferred withall. Because all other foods, as the flesh of Oxen, Kine, Mutton, Veale, Goat, Hare, Hart, Hinde, Boare, Swine, of Fowles, and also of all Fishes which we vse, and any Fruit whatsoeuer; doe corrupt easily of themselues, if they remaine any while in the stomacke and be not digested: the like doth Egges, and all things prepared with Milke, except Cheese, which is saide to be (almost) indigestible. All such as vse these meates without Bread, haue neuer any good colour, but are much subiect to vnsauoury breath, and sometimes (of their owne bodies) a smell scant pleasing: neither are they so wel nourished, nor so strong; as they that eate more Bread, then any other meat beside.

Great vse of flesh without Bread, causeth stinch.

Bread maketh men strong and robust.

To prooue that it must needs be so, we may behold, that the most of other Viandes, how acceptable soeuer they seeme to the taste, well prepared and seasoned with good Sauces: they doe yet (very often) bring a dislike and contempt of themselues. Bread only neuer distateth, be it in health or in sickenesse; it it is the last appetite lost, and the first recouered in sickenesse. In health, it is alwaies the first and last eaten, pleasing and most agreeable to nature, beyond all other kindes of repast. Againe, it is most certaine, that Bread (by a wonderfull blessing in Nature) is endued with all those fauours; which perticularly doe incite and allure each meates to bee fed on: pleasing some in their sweetnesse, others in their sharpnesse or tartnesse; some in their saltnesse; others in their sowrenesse, and all in their due apprehension. Bread containeth in it, whatsoeuer any Man can taste, or is acceptable in other meats. For, albeit other foodes haue neuer so good rellish of themselues: yet can they not bee sutable, or profitable to feede on for health, except they be accompanied with Bread. To speake all in a word, Bread, by his goodnesse correcteth the vices of other meates, and helpeth their vertues; whereon it is vsed as a common Prouerbe: *That all meats are good and beneficiall, when Bread is their companion.*

Bread comprehendeth in it all kinds of tasts.

Without Bread no food auaileth

Some *Spagirickes*, *Alchymists*, and Extractors of Quintessences, haue told and assured me, that hauing put Bread into their Limbecks or vessels of glasse, as meaning to deriue an Essence from him: they haue diuers times found the Bread conuerted into Flesh. We doe daily note (as already I haue said) that the most part of them, which doe eate their meate without Bread, be it Flesh or otherwise, they haue continuallie stincking breath. The *Athletes* or stout Wrastlers (as I finde recorded in the Bookes of *Galen*) such as were esteemed the very best, and strongest in habitude among other men: had neuer any other nourishment but Bread, accompanied with a little Hogs Flesh.

A lye proceeding from the Extractors of Quintessences.

Athletes or Wrastlers their breeding.

When the *Scots* vsed to warre out of their owne limits, as in England and other places, if they thought to finde the Country ruined where they should passe: they droue with them a great number of Beasts for slaughter, and liued (by the way) vpon those Beastes. And because they had liued sometime by Flesh alone, their stomackes a long while would be sickely, by not hauing had the vse of any Bread. For remedie of which stomachall disease, each man perticularly carried a Sachell of Meale, weighing about some pound & a halfe at the most, and a little Iron Plate, thin and slender. Then mingling a little of the Meale, in a woodden dish with water, and driuing it into a Past: they laid it

An inuention of the *Scots*, to make Bread in warre.

Bread exceedeth all other meats in tast.

Imitation of our Wafer-Bakers.

it on the Plate ouer a ſmall fire; and in this manner (immediatly) they made Bread. This doth in ſome manner) reſemble our Waferers making of Wafers. The *Scots* hauing eaten of this Bread; found their ſtomackes well refreſhed, and their bodily ſtrength ſufficiently reſtored; after which, they would begin againe to vſe fleſh onelie, according to their wonted cuſtome.

An argument to approue the power of good Bread.

I alleadge this Hiſtory, to demonſtrate, that if ſo little bad made Bread, neither leauened nor kneaded, could reſtore the languiſhing ſtrength of men: what then is good Bread able to do, being kneaded and baked to full perfection? This benefit of baking Bread vpon a Plate of Iron, brought much commodity to that Nation: for they needed little ſearch after Brakes or Mils, which commonly are beaten downe and deſtroyed (before all thinges elſe) that in the degaſtes of warre, the enemy may haue no benefit by them.

Arabes and *Moores* becom Theeues for Bread.

The Lord of *Villamond* declareth, that being gone forth of his Ship, and likewiſe all thoſe in his company, at the Port of *Ioffa*, and putting themſelues on the way, to trauaile by Land to *Ieruſalem*: the *Moores* and *Arabes* entred vpon their veſſell lying at Anker, and robbed them of nothing elſe but Bread. Other Theeues alſo, of the ſame ſect and kinde of men, meeting with the ſame company the day following: tooke alſo nothing from them but Bread. All Nations haue not Bread, nor the vſe thereof, and ſuch as neuer had (as many Countries but lately diſcouered) when Chriſtians giue it them to eate, although it be but a Biſket, and of the very courſeſt: they make great account of it, they finde it ſo ſauourie.

Sauages doe highly eſteem Bread.

I am of the minde, that he which ſaith, ſatietie and Repletion of Bread, is more dangerous then all other nouriſhments: his meaning is of ſuch bread as is not faſt kneaded, and well baked, or without Leauen, becauſe it is the more hard to digeſt. As for my ſelfe, my meaning is of ſuch Bread, as is made of good and pure graine, wel cleanſed, kneaded, raiſed, baked, and freſh. I ſpeake not heere of Fiſh-bread, which is made in *Hirland*, among the people which dwell on the Lake of *Barcena*, & that in the Iſles of *Imangla*, *Inebila*, and and an infinite of Countries on the red Sea, and elſe-where. Nor alſo of that which is made of the barke of Trees, vſed in the Country of *Vendenao*, which is called *Sagu*, and is ſaide to be very ſauoury; being reduced into Meale, and afterward into Bread; As fruite alſo of the ſame Tree is, in the Iſles of *Moluquoiſes*. By the reaſons fore-alleadged, I would perſwade all perſons, not to forſake the vſe of Bread, for fond or lickoriſh deſire after other meats: if they couet to haue good ſtrength, a chearefull complexion, and health.

Bread made of the barke of Trees.

Concerning the inuention of Bread, ſince what length of time it hath continued, and who was the firſt Inuentor thereof; there is not any thing found for certaine. In the Eaſt Countries, the vſe of Bread is very ancient, for we finde, that it was vſed in the times of *Abraham*, and of *Iacob*, when his Sons deſcended into *Ægypt*, onely to buy Corne, to make Bread. But neerer vs, the vſe thereof is not found ſo ancient; becauſe the *Romaines* vſed no kinde of Bread, but onely Corne boiled (as likewiſe the *Gaules* and *Germaines* did) till they brought it a perfect riſting in ſunder, and then they did eate it among their other meates, euen as at this preſent as we do our bread. This continued thus till the *Perſian* Warres, which was in the yeare (after the Cities foundation) 580. And then came Bread-makers, or Bakers of Bread, out of *Aſia* to *Rome*; who gaue inſtruction, how to multure or grinde Corne, then to knead it with Leauen; and laſtly, to bake it in Loaues.

The vſe of Bread very ancient in the Eaſt parts.

In *Italy* a long time after.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the excellent and profitable properties of the Swallow; And the Nature of the Bird.

BEcauſe the Swallow neuer neſtleth in Cities, nor on their Walles; which are ſubiect to be taken and retaken by war; becauſe by her comming and preſence, ſhe aſſureth thoſe places where ſhe is, not to be ſubiect

The Swallow fore-telleth many excellent things.

iect to the rigour of Warre; as also the House or Wall where she buildeth her nest, not to be threatned by any neere ruine: Because, that by her comming, she resolueth winter to be past, and the Spring time beginning; because (likewise) she hath in her many especial properties, by diuers benefits and other things arising to man, whereof we shal discourse hereafter: it seemed meet (in my iudgement) that this Bird well deserued to haue a perticular Chapter written of her, in her iust defence against such as labour to depraue her.

The Swallow knoweth the seasons and temperature of Climates.

The Swallow abideth ordinarily, in Regions temperately hot, shunning the extreamity of heat, and of cold likewise. *Pliny* saith, that this Bird, feeling the extreame heat of *Affricke* approaching; she flyeth thence in the prime, to delight her selfe in a temperate ayre: And when she perceiueth Winter ensuing, which is about the midst of September; she then returneth to the Countries extreamely hot, where winter is in the same manner, as Summer is here with vs. This Bird hath such an absolute memory, that hauing re-passed the Sea, and many other Regions, which are two thousand miles off, at the least: yet shee well knoweth to returne to the place or lodging, where (in the precedent yeare) she made her Nest, and where shee had young ones. This I haue seene, and made proofe of by one Swalow, hauing tied a red Silk twine about her Claw; and she fayled not the yeare following, to returne and build her nest, where she had done the yeare before, bringing the Silke fast tyed at her foote. She neuer lodgeth two yeares together, in one and the same nest.

The great memory of the Swallow.

The Swallow cleanseth the ayre of Flies.

She is not affraid of a man, and (willingly) buildeth not her nest in Houses. It is saide, that God hath done this in his great prouidence, to the ende, that such Creatures, as haue no other feeding but on Flyes, which doe so much mollestation to men all Summer, and in the beginning of Autumne; might thus be deuoured. It is the onely Bird which feedeth in the Ayre, and there catcheth a prey, to carry to her young ones. But some people, not knowing what they do; will breake downe their Nests, shut their windowes and doores of their Chambers, to the ende, they may not enter in or out, to carry feeding to their young. Nay, they do them all the iniuries they can, breaking their Egges; yea, sometimes they kill both He and She. But if a man knew the good and commoditie, which these pretty Birdes doe bring vnto vs; they would be more milde, and let them liue in peace.

The barbarousnesse of some people, in abusing this poor bird

I know very wel, there are some who will alleadge, that the Dung of these Birds is so pernicious, as if it fall into a Mans eyes (as it did to *Tobias*) it will then, without all question, make him blind. But they that haue alleaged this History, were not skilful in the tongs; albeit *Mathio'us*, a man learned, hath auouched the same, following their opinion. For the Iewish Theologian Doctors, wel skild in the *Syrian* and *Hebrew* Languages, say: that it was not Swallowes that dunged on the eyes of *Tobias*, but Sparrowes, which is confirmed by *Dioscorides*, when he saith, *Swallowes being eaten, doe cleare the sight, like as the Becficus, or Gnat-snapper*. The Ashes of them, as well of the great as smal (their bodies being burned in an earthen pot, and Hony applyed to them) doe take away al impeachments that trouble the sight. It may then well be discerned hereby, that the dung of the Bird which tooke away the sight of *Tobias*, was not that of the Swallow, according to their iudgement. And *Galen* is of the same mind with *Dioscorides*: I refer it then to better censure.

By not vnderstanding the Hebrew, this fault was committed.

The Iaarned *Iewes* write in their Bookes, that *Tobias* became blind not by Swallowes, but by Sparrowes.

The Swallow builds with Morter as man doth, and prouideth for her yonng.

She hath enstructed man, how hee ought to builde, for with Straw and Morter she buildeth her Nest, and with such cunning; that hardly can any Man make the like. When she desireth propagation, the Male medleth with his Female; but not in mounting, or treading vpon her, but by ioyning both their hinder parts together, for which to yeilde a reason, *Ælianus* saith, that he neuer knew any rendred. They fly abroad in the fields, to seeke for Wooll, which they plucke from the backs of Sheepe with their clawes, and carry into their Nests, whereon they lay their Egges, to preserue them from breaking, as also the enclosed young ones from hurting.

The Male and Female, supplying the place

The manner of feeding their young Birds.

place of Father and Mother, giue feeding to their little Birdes, beginning at the first which is hatched, and first breaking forth of the shell. Then they seeke another feeding, & giue to the second, and so to the rest following, euen to the fift and last: for they lay and sit no more but fiue Egges at each brood. Thus we may see, how this Bird instructeth man, how to carry himselfe in nourishing, exalting and distribution of his goodes to his Children, aduancing alwaies the first borne or eldest. They daily cleanse their nests of al ordure and dung found therein, and are very skilfull in defending themselues from vermine, which are enemies to their Egges, and will bite them. But nature hath endued them with so much knowledge, as they can well preserue their Egges from harmefull vermine: for they seeke out the Hearbe called Smallage, in Latine called *Apium*, and bring it into their Nests, and by the strong sent or bitternesse thereof, the vermine dye.

Cleansing their nests, and defending their Egges.

Their young Birdes doe resemble whelps, that continue for a time blind: but the Male flieth abroad, and findeth a certaine Hearbe, by meanes whereof their sight quickly commeth. Very long and diligent inquisition hath been made after this Hearbe, and the Birdes very narrowly watcht for it; yet could it neuer bee knowne what Hearbe it is. If a man open the eyes of the young Birds, they recouer their sight without any other help: but some do assure vs, that (by meanes of that Hearbe) their sight is the clearer. Which being known to men, the Plant would serue to make their sight more perfect: and therefore (guessing at the true Hearb) they call it *Chelidonia*, or *Hirundinaria*.

Swallowes are hatched blind like our Whelpes.

Celandine, or Swallowort.

For so many benefits, which men receiue by means of this Bird, beside those recited in the beginning of this Chapter; enstructing how to build, keep our Houses cleane, delighting vs by her singing, preseruing sight by that kinde of Hearbe, and destroying hurtfull vermine: me-thinkes no man should molest her, but rather peaceably conuerse with her, as a guest or friend that commeth but to see him. She eateth not any thing of ours, but she frees vs from a multitude of flyes, as she flyeth in the Ayre: and she should bee entertained, (as *Homer* saith) chearfully, like a good guest at her comming, and when she is willing to depart, not to with-hold her.

Swallowes are no way hurtful to men.

The Ashes and Flesh of this Bird, as we haue formerly said, doth not onelie serue to cleare the sight, and recouer it if it bee lost: but it is a remedy also for many much greater euils. For, if wee take the Swallowes first young ones, in the Moones encreasing, and cleaue them: we shal finde diuers little stones in their bellies, whereof two are to bee taken; to wit, one that is of many colours, and another which is but of one colour onely. These stones, wrapt in the skin of a young Hart, or Heifer (before it haue toucht the ground) and tyed about the necke or arme: is much auaileable for such as haue the falling sickenesse, and maketh them very chearfull. *Galen* giueth assurance, that Swallowes ashes, incorporated with Hony; doe helpe the Squinancy, and all other defects or Impostumes in the throat, as also the Almondes, or Pallat or Vuula.

The Ashes & flesh of the Swallow.

Stones found in young Swallowes, good against the falling sickenesse.

Plinie saith, that there are three kinds of Swallowes, whereof, one buildeth her Nest vnder Houses; the second, in old ruined buildings, in holes and Cauernes of Rockes and clifts on the Sea side; and the third, buildeth in the bankes of Riuers. In the Isle of *Samos*, there are Swallowes naturally all white. Behold what I haue gathered out of good and approoued Authours, concerning the properties of this Bird; in whose imitation we may well order our Oeconomy or Houshold gouernment.

Plin. in lib. 14. Three kindes of Swallowes.

I cannot sufficiently wonder at some Men, who haue compared these friendly Swallowes, to scarse faithfull and dissembling Friendes; who are no Friendes, but so long as there are meanes remaining, to deriue any commodities from them. For they haue imagined, that these Birdes doe liue on the Seedes, Graine, and Fruites of the fielde: and that so soone as they are lockt vp, they flye away into some other Countrey. But it is a matter most certaine, that these kinde Birdes doe not liue vpon any kind of Graine or Fruites: but on Flyes, which (by very great agility) they take in the Ayre, being very molestuous to men,

Impertinent comparations made of Swallowes.

and our houſhold creatures. And therefore many men are deceiued, by the ſaings of ſome fabulous Authors, ſlenderly experimented in naturall things.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradoxe in defence of Hard-Lodging, approouing it to be more healthfull and commendable; then thoſe in great Pallaces, and houſes of pleaſure.

ALready we haue diſcourſed of poore and meane deſcent, now come we to ſpeak of the humble cottage, the dwelling wherein I haue and will maintaine. The building of ſuch honeſt houſes of harbour, doe require little expences and charge, in leſſe time are they erected, more eaſily furniſhed, and with far greater commodity kept and frequented, then ſtately Pallaces, and houſes of pleaſure. The proportion of a handſome little houſe, carrieth good correſpondency, and no outward wanton appearance. It is leſſe ſubiect to the danger of Theeues, then is the large and ſpacious Pallace, compaſſed about with rare deckings, great & baſe Courts, Offices, Stables, Dog-kennels, Hearnries, Haukſ-mewes, and other ſuch ſuperfluous delights.

The benefit of poore and homely buildings.

Heauen no enemy to humble dwellings.

The poore and ſimple houſe, is not eaſily toucht with lightning and tempeſts from Heauen, and a man may dwell there more quietly, then in the faireſt proſpected Lordſhip: garniſhed with ſo many Gardens, Arbours, Turrets, Vaults, Mountainelike wals, and other curioſities, which doe nothing elſe but tire and weary men. The poore houſe is ſooner prouided, and with leſſe coſt then the greater. It excuſeth the Maiſter from making Feaſts, to ſuch as (commonly) returne but mockes when they are inuited. The ſmal houſe is free from the Harbingers marke, or the Marſhals of Princes, Cardinalles, and Lords, that cannot be entertained but in pompous d welings. Let vs but conſider, where ſuch States haue made but the leaſt ſoiourning; how many things haue need of new mending? And their paſſage that way, reſembled a ſtorme and tempeſt of raine, waſhing all good order for a long while after. See if your Seruants become the better inſtructed thereby, your Houſhold in any more ciuill manners, or your houſe furniture in ſuch good ſort as it ought to be. I had almoſt forgot, that (many times) they put their Hoſt to the perill of borrowing, inciting great Lords to affect his Liuing. So that, if they can cunningly compaſſe the meanes in recompence of their kinde entertainement: the Hoſt is brought to the hazzard of confiſcation, for the very leaſt word inconſiderately ſpoken, eyther againſt the Prince or Religion.

Great perſons are but ſorrie gueſtes in meane houſes

Mean houſes are no harbors for great gueſtes.

This is the reaſon, why I cannot ſufficiently meruaile, at the great follie and poore iudgement of ſome Men, who couet huge Pallaces, and ſumptuous Houſes for their abiding and lodging; beeing much grieued and offended, if they ſhould take but one nights reſt in a meane, poore, and populer houſe. As if our Soule (full of all excellent nobleneſſe, and endued with infinite priuiledges, which God hath thereto aſſigned;) ſhould imagine the body too ſtraite and narrow a roome, for hir to abide in. Or as if (in how ſhort time God beſt knoweth, whether wee be willing or no) we ſhould not render the bodie into a much leſſe Lodging, to finde out one farre more excellent and magnificent for the Soule. Can a meane Houſe, a hard Bed, or a narrow roome bee any hindrance: but that our Spirit (freely, and at her owne eaſe) may make diſcourſe thorow all Celeſtiall pleaſures, much better delights then can bee wiſhed for in this world? It need not (there) ſtand bound to ſo many inconueniences; as the dwellers in faire and Lordly places, are euermore ſubiect vnto.

The ſpirit is at liberty in the leaſt Cottage.

Great houſes are fitteſt for great perſons

When Warre had his beginning, and entred into conſultation, to burne and deſtroy the Countrey on all ſides, as it prooued moſt to yeelde diſaduantage: the Soldiours, and men appointed for ſpoyle, receiued no charge to meddle with little Hamlets, or poore Shepheardes Houſes; but the moſt magnificent and beautifull habitations of

Souldiers can make but ſmal booty of poor places, their aime is at greater benefit.

of great Lordes and Princes. Beside, if neede required to make a Fielde assembly, in what place soeuer it were: the fayrest Castels & costliest buildings were sure to bee first taken vp and vsed.

But let vs admit, that a poore mans Cottage suffers spoyle among the rest: yet the Man hath this comfort left him (a priuiledge beyond the large capacity of Castles) that his House will (well-nere) be as soone builded againe, as a Captaine can commaund and set his fielde in order. But when a great Pallace becommeth ruined, many years are required to erect it againe; beside, it serueth (a long while after) as a receptacle for Rascals and Field Run-awaies, or as a warren for Toads and Serpents, or as a Garden for Fresh-water Souldiers.

Great houses ruined, aske long time to rebuild.

I cannot chuse, but take pitty and compassion on such mens affections, that place their whole felicity on such thinges, whereby they can receiue no praise or honour. For it oftentimes commeth to passe, that the glorie of a goodly building, beareth not his name that caused it to bee made; but of the new Purchaser, or the cunning Architect, who deseruedly is styled Maister of the worke. But say, that the party himselfe, who was at the charge of the building, doe carry Name and Title thereof: what a sillie glorie is it (but farre greater vanitie) to couet honour by beeing a Lord ouer Stones, which are thinges senceleſse and voide of life? To be Maister of a peece of Wood? Or, when all is said, a Lord of Chalke and Dust? Were it not much more famous for him, to bee entitled a Lord of many faire Artes and Sciences? Or to win honour by some heroycal, worthy, and vertuous actions.

One man easily purchaseth anothers honour.

The Titles of vertue are truelie famous.

That it ought to be so, ancient Princes and potent Lords, who more esteemed valour and vertue, then matters earthly & transitory; were neuer wont to set their affections on sumptuous buildings: but were altogether studious, and addicted to the excellencie of vertue and prowesse. Was not the house of great *Euander*, little, mean, & poorely built? And yet notwithstanding, the fame of the vertuous Maister thereof, made it esteemed of no lesse value, then other great & royall Pallaces, and deserued to entertaine the famous & highly renowned *Hercules*. *In ius Cæsar*, neuer builded but a little house; because he would not be hindred from so many singuler vertues, as brought him (at length) to gouern the great *Romaine* Empire. Mighty *Scipio*, that conquered most stubborne *Affrica*, had neuer any perticuler Lodging: but aboad in one poore village, then in another; to shake off wearinesse, and with-draw himselfe from the molestation of great affaires.

Great persons haue lodged in poor mens houses.

Diogenes, the graue Philosopher, that was of such an excellent Spirit, as euer any man was in his time: made his dwelling in a poor Tub, to defend himselfe from the raine, and heate of the Sunne. *Hillarion*, that good and deuout man, lay very hardly in the Easterne Deserts, in a poore little Cell, which he had (as Saint *Hierome* reporteth) more truely made as a Sepulcher, then any House to dwell in. *Caius* lodged in a House so rent and torne on all sides, & open aboue in so many places, that being (one day) desired by a friend of his, to lend him his Mantle: he answered that hee could not spare it, because it serued to counter-guard his poor lodging. This he spake, beholding a great hole in the roofe ouer his head, which had been lately broken; and perceiuing a darke cloud not farre off, that threatned a present shewer of raine. *Iulius Drusus Publicola*, had (in like manner) a house so broken and shiuered: as whosoeuer was without, might easilie discerne and count the moueables within, and behold what the good man did in his house.

The poueritie of dwelling doth not disparage the vertue of the mind.

To speake truely, me-thinkes they haue a great portion of folly and ambition, that couet to dwell in goodly Pallaces, holding little Cottages & meane Houses in contempt and scorne: as if those gaudy places, and built with such beauty, were more defensiue then the other, from meeting with the assaults of death, and infinite mishaps and diseases that befall vs in the World. Such as are read in Histories, or conceiue in the any pleasure, can say with me, that when *Tullius Hostilius* was smitten with thunder, he was then most merry in his Pallace royall. When *Tarquinius Priscus* was slaine, he was in his most mag-

A great Pallace is no safe Bulwarke against death or sickneſse, for the mightiest persons in the world.

nificent Lodging. How many other Lords may we speake of, both Ancient and Moderne, that haue beene slaine in their braue Castles, by diuers accidents and misfortunes? The Duke of *Vrbine*, who builded a Pallace most faire and rich: did it defend him from danger, or being the most wofull example of calamity to euery eye, that happened in his time? The goodly Pallace of *Trent*, said to be without comparison, for the infinite Roomes contained in the round: was it any priuiledge to the Builder thereof, in exempting him from as many miseries and mishaps, as the wretchedst Varlet in the World could haue no more? To what end serued so many and excellent rare Buildings, erected by *Lucullus* and *Metellus*? wherein were *Caligula* or *Nero* more happy then others, though they had houses of such spacious circuit, as comprehended (wel neere) the whole Citty? The braue worke-man that builded the Pallace at *Paris*; could he warrant himselfe from stretching on Mount *Falcon*, which hee likewise made for Malefactors?

A little Cottage (with content) is a poore mans Kingdome.

We wil conclude then, that he is to be accounted a meere Foole, that disdaines to dwell in a poore or meane house, or take quiet rest in a good hard bed: couering with heat and greedy desire, to make his aboad in stately places, wherein (for the most part) lurketh all misfortune, fraud, dissimulation, slander, treason, and misery. He that is loth to credit what I say; let him make but one moneths experience, and he will finde it too true to his cost. For assuredly, these are the places, where commonly hapneth most secret mischiefes; either by broaths or drinkes, seasoned otherwise then they should bee, or by the power of too keene a Weapon; or other Stratagems of like nature. They are safe shelters also, for wanton and libidinous pleasures: where a false friend may soonest graft hornes on his companions head, and where fire is soone kindled, but slowly quenched.

Great Houses are the places subiect to most dangers.

Loue is a lord in gay buildings.

Let vs then shunne them so diligently, as (with our best meanes) we may, and let vs delight in simple habitations, fit and aptly furnished with all peace and tranquility. In so doing, we shall not stand obliged, or be any way beholding to cunning Builders, highly praised and esteemed by their Worke-Maisters; and yet can purchase good Liuings out of their vanities, where afterward they sit and floute at their follies. Rather let vs content our selues to imitate the workes and Buildings of *Doxius*, Sonne to *Cælius*; who first found out the inuention, to erect his House after the manner of Swallowes. Then will wee remember, to frame our Houses, according as Mortall men ought to doe, not as if wee should continue in them perpetuallie: but as hoping (one day) after our short voyage in this world, to inherit & haue part in another manner of dwelling, builded after a much better fashion and compasse; then those that are framed, by the fraile and earthlie hands of men.

The Authors conclusion of this Paradox.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of some that haue beene punished, for hauing done better then they were commaunded: And others, because they did well, without commaund.

HE that dependeth on another mans will, ought to be careful of himself, not onely in well-doing; but also in doing better then he is commaunded. For, I will declare by some Histories in this Chapter, that of these two sorts, of doing well, and better then well; there haue been some seuerely punished. As it happened to an ingenious Maister of *Athens*, to whom *Publius Crassus*, a *Mutian* (being Proconsull in *Asia* for the *Romaines*, and being ready to besiedge a Citty) gaue charge, to seeke for two Shippe Masts, which he had seene in *Athens*, to make an Engine for battery of the wall, telling him, that he would haue the greatest. The skilfull Maister, beeing a Man of great vnderstanding, well knew, that a Mast of such greatnesse, would not be apt for any such effect: in regard wherof, because a meaner was much more conuenient for the battery, and easier for

The History of *Publius Crassus* a *Mutian*, Proconsull in *Asia*.

for carriage; he sent such a one to *Crassus*. When he perceiued his purpose to be thwarted, hee caused the ingenious man to be brought before him, and demaunded of him, why hee had not obeyed as he was commanded? And being willing to hear no reason or excuse; gaue charge to strip him naked, and to be whipt with Rods, as he was, and so long, till he dyed. For it appeared to *Crassus*, that in stead of obeying, hee fought to counsell him. So, it was not without cause, that there arose a common Prouerbe; *A Man shall haue worke enough to gouerne himselfe well in this World.*

A cruell act in *Publius Crassus*

The History of *Papyrius* the Romaine Dictator.

Long time before this *Mutian* dealt so hardly with this skilfull man, one *Papyrius*, a Romaine Dictatour, did no lesse: but rather proceeded further, of more rigorously, (in regard of quaitie among persons) towards a Noble Romaine, Colonell of the Romaine Cauelery. This man gaue battaile to the *Samnites*, without his expresse commaund, and slew twenty thousand of the enemies. Neuertheless, though he had done well and valiantly: yet hee was condemned to death (beeing named *Quintus Fabius Rutilianus*) without any respect of his merit, or race. And, as the custome then was, before the stroke of death, the condemned person must be seuerely beaten, which while the miserable *Rutilianus* endured: the most Honourable Lords in the Armie, entreated *Papyrius*, to deferre his death till the next morning, which (with much ado) at length he granted. In meane while, night granting means to the condemned man to saue himself, he fled to *Rome*, and implored the ayde of the Senate, for safetie of his life: but it was in vaine, for *Papyrius* still stood resolute for his death. Whereupon, the condemned parties Father (who had formerly beene Dictatour, and three times Consull) was constrained to make his recourse to the people, and (by way of supplication) to sollicite the Tribunes of the people for his Son; all which could not diuert the rigor of *Papyrius*. Finally, he was entreated of all the people, and by the Tribunes of the people, protesting, that he should not pardon *Fabius* the punishment hee had deserued: but to deliuer to the Romaine people, and the Tribunes, the power of his correction.

Miserable correction before death.

The cruell constancy of *Papyrius* against *Rutilian.*

The people of *Carthage* would not haue laboured so much, to saue the life of any Man, that had committed such an Act as *Rutilianus* did: For, the Captaine or Generall, that had giuen battaile to the Enemy, without expresse commaundement of the Senate, although he had won the day; was sure to be hanged. And to speake truth, it hath euermore beene obserued, in all Militarie discipline; yea, from all antiquitie; that the Souldier or Captaine, that fought or gaue battell, against prohibition made vnto him deserued death.

Obedience is the chiefe in Military discipline.

In like maner, *Cæsar* speaking of one of his Captaines, named *Syllanus*, said: He did well and wisely, not to giue battaile, albeit he was sure to haue had the victorie. *Because* (saith hee) *it is not in the Captaine, to goe beyonde the prohibitions giuen him.* For it is most certaine, that nothing should be done in matter of warre, contrary to commands: nor a Captaine or Liuetenant ought not to giue battaile, except he bee expressely commaunded. And this was the cause, that the Counte of *Aignemont* was in danger, and had at length (by especiall fauour) onely as punishment, a reprehension publikely giuen him, by *Charls* the fift, Emp. for gaining battaile to the Marshall *de Termes*, although hee had the victory, because the danger of al the Low Country lay at the stake, if he had lost the day.

The iudgement of *Cæsar* in this case.

The Counte of *Aignemont* censured.

But this last point is to be vnderstood of Captaines, that haue no charge of command in title of offices, for the Officer, as the Consull, Constable, the Captaine erected in Title of Office, to haue ful command ouer the Army, and make the warr: may by vertue of his office) without attending especiall commaund, giue warr to a published enemie, pursue him, bid battaile, besiedge, and (if he can) take Fortes, and dispose the Army at his discretion; if hee haue not perticular prohibition from his Soueraigne, by whō his power is appointed. But hauing taken strong holdes, or the chiefe of the enemies; he canot re-deliuer them without especiall commaund. True it is, that in the populer Cōmonweales, these points are not obserued,

How far, and to whom this limitation extendeth.

Concerning populer common-weales.

neither can they bee kept with rigour: but often it happeneth, that Captaines doe diſpoſe the very greateſt affaires, which they cannot doe in a Monarchy, for the difference of aduiſe and will of a Prince, or the people, of one man, or thirty thouſand.

Of *Helyodorus* the *Mytilenian* and his banquet.

We read in the *Greeke* Hiſtories, that one *Heliodorus* a *Mitylenian*, made a banquet, in midſt whereof, deliuering demonſtration, that his gueſts ſhould not make ſpare of any thing: he cõmanded two of his Slaues to goe buy two Septiers of Wine, of a Man that ſold wine neere to his houſe. The Slaues finding the Wine to be bad, went and bought elſe-where, ſuch as was excellent good, and liked all the company; ſaying, they neuer dranke better. Whereon the Slaues ſaid, that it was not of the wine which their Lord ſent them for, for it beeing naught, they were faine to buy in another place. Whereat *Heliodorus* grew offended, becauſe they brought not according to his commaund, although the wine was better: when the company was departed, he ſo tormented the poore Slaues that they dyed. Thus you ſee what ill fortuue it is, to be in ſubiection to people ouer ſeuere, and without any temperance: puniſhing ſuch as they haue command ouer, rather for doing well, then ill.

The end of the fourth Booke.

The Fift Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Emperour of Æthyopia, called Prete-Ian, *or* Prester-Iohn: *Of his Originall, and Customes of his people.*

THe Great Emperor of *Æthyopia*, vnto whom we corruptlie giue the Name of *Pres-biter-Ian*, is neither Priest or sacrificer, though he be (by some) called PRETE-IAN, and (by his owne people) named *Belaugian*, that is to say, *Ioy of incompareable excellencie*, or of most value; and by others of them, he is also called *Ian*, which (in their Language) signifieth *Mightie*. He commandeth ouer seauenty and two Kingdomes, which are all of different languages, hauing their diuersity of Customs, and the colour or complexion of their Faces, are much disagreeing. He is able to leuy in preparation for warre, a Million of fighting men; fiue hundered Elephants with their Armour and Munition for encounter, with an infinite number of Horsses and Camels. His Knights or Warlick Soldiers, enter armed to the battell, each wearing a long Coat of Maile, stretching downe closely to their Thighes, a Sallet or Head-piece on the head, a croo'ed Fauchion by their side and a Lance with two Steele points or Pikes. Such as haue no Sallets or Head-pieces, do wear thick quilted Caps on their heads, plaited after the manner of *Mameluke* Soldiers. The yonger sort, carry Darts, Arrowes, and Slings, obseruing the same Discipline, & be as obedient or well-gouerned, in ranging their battaile, as wee are. They vse Drummes of Brasse, and Trumpets also, to encourage their Soldiers to the fight, which is performd with great hardiment, appointing also, sundry honours, and respective rewards, to such as declare themselues to be of highest merit. They doo daily pay the families of their Warriors, and marke the Children that are born of them, with a Crosse, which they imprint suddenly in the flesh with an hot Iron, so that the signe remaineth, as if it were naturall vnto them.

Sabel. in lib 8. de Suppl. chron.

The power of *Prester-Iohn.*

His soldiers armour for their defence, and such as

the Knightes belonging to *Prete Ian* haue in fight.

Their Ceremony to their Children.

The King himselfe (most commonly called *Prete-Ian*) after he hath bestowed some houres about State-affaires, when he perceiueth that he is indifferently eased of them: he employeth almost all the remainder of his time, in the study of holy Readings and Histories; which being done, he vseth a little exercise of the body; and then entering into his Bath, hee taketh (afterward) his refection alone by himselfe (as most of our Kings vse to do) vpon a little Table of Cold, without any cloath or Napkin; and it is set in such a place as there are diuers degrees or steps in ascending to it. He is serued by Pages, who are of Noble birth; and they bring him his meate (ready cut and prepared) in little Baskets or Panniers. He drinketh

The exercise of the King *Prete-Ian.*

The order of his table-seruice, his diet and maner of life.

Wine

Wine in a Cup of Golde; but he hath another kinde of drinke, made of fower Apples, and mingled with Sugar, which he receiueth in a cup of Christal. While hee feedeth, three hundred lustie young men (chosen out of the seuerall kingdoms vnder his Dominion, hauing the place of Archers, and of his Guard) doo stand about the Tent-royall. For, by an auncient custome it hath been kept, that the King liueth continually out of any City, wherein he neuer abideth but two dayes only; and those Tents are erected in such manner, that the back-part is euer placed to the East, and the doore opening is opposite to the West.

An Ancient custome still obserued.

The attendants vppon the Emperor

The vsual Armes or weapons of these Guards, are Swords, Daggers, and Iauelins, their neckes and shoulders beeing gorgetted with thicke skinnes of Beasts. Foure Kings, who (by commandement) do attend the Court, follow (each after other) the Table-seruice, accompanied with many Barons, and meaner Officers, euen from the Kitchen, vnto the Tent of *Prete-Ian*, all cloathed in Silke, Seudale, and Scarlet: and there they deliuer it to the Pages, who come forth purposely to receiue it. The King and al his Court fare deliciously, with Fowle, Fish, and al kind of Venison. So soone as he hath dined (for hee neuer supps, but in Feastiuall dayes) his Eunuchs goe to fetch diuers Queenes (according vnto their seuerall quarters) being Wiues of the forenamed Kings, to waite on the Queene and wife to *Prete-Ian*, conducting her vnto his Tent, to giue him pleasure and contentment, and there they sing and Dance in his presence. He hath foure Wiues, who are the Daughters of his neighbor-kings, yet he lodgeth but with one of them, to whom he is solemnly maried with many Ceremonies: but if it chaunce that hee haue no Children by her, then he cals to his bed one of the other.

The King fareth delicately.

The wiues of the Emperor

His manner of shewing himselfe in publicke.

When he purposeth to shew himselfe in publicke, his face is couered with a vail of Taffata, which hee lifteth vp, and pulleth downe, that hardly can his face bee wholly discerned: but if it bee, it is verie quickly couered againe. Hee vseth to shew himself vnto the people three times in the yeare, that is to say, on the daies of Christmas, Faster, and the holy Crosse in September; and (for this purpose) is a goodly high Scaffold duly prepared. The cause of this Ceremony, receiued Originall from *Dauid Prete-Ian*, sir-named *Alexander*, whose death was three whole yeares concealed by his chiefe Seruants, that gouerned the Kingdome in his time. Therefore to auoide all the like succeeding inconueniences, the Father of *Dauid Prete-Ian*, at the earnest entreatie of his people, began first to shew himselfe on these ordained daies, which hath continually (euer since) been obserued, euen to *Panuscius Prete-Ian*, now raigning in *Æthyopia*, only excepted when he goeth in warre, for then he marcheth daily discouered. He is crowned with a precious Diadem; the one part whereof is Gold, and the other Siluer, and carrieth (instead of a Scepter) a Crosse of Siluer in his hand: All his Seruants are marked with a Crosse, in the verie flesh on the right shoulder. He is cloathed with rich Garments of frizeled Cloath of Golde, wearing a shirt of Silke, with verie large and wide sleeues, as Dukes in elder times were wont to doe. And from the Girdle downward, he weareth a wide Kirtle of Silke and Cloath of Gold, with a Linnen couerture, after a Byshops manner. On either side of him, goe two Pages, each holding a Crosse of Siluer in the one hand, and a naked Sword in the other.

The Original of the Ceremony of shewing himself.

The Emperors Crowne, Scepter, and habite.

His Lords, who are as Kings, and carry that Title, do pay him tribute of Gold and other Mettals; of Horsses, and great Cattell of diuers kinds: likewise of cloath of Golde, and of Wooll, according to the quality & best Nature of those countries vnder their Gouernment: Which rights and Tributes they haue from their Subiects, although they be Vassailes (indeed) to none but *Prete-Ian* himselfe, and to whom they yeilde the greater part of their substance. Some do pay him large quantities of Corne, and of Salt, for the maintaining of his Armies. Others do bring him Pepper, which is a rare Commodity in that Countrey; and some do pay him Slaues.

The Emperors Tribute paid him by his kings.

Tributes in generall of his people, duly paid him

The Rustickes, and Country Boores, who liue in the wild and field-frequented Forrests, do bring vnto the Court great store of Lyons, Tygers, and other liuing sauage Beasts, which are afterward shut vp into apt appointed places, to yeelde pleasure and delight to him and his Princes. As for such as dwell further off from the Court, it is sufficient for them to bring

Wild Beasts kept for the Emperours pleasure.

bring the skinnes of such Beastes onely, wherewith the *Abyssines* do (in a brauery) cloath themselues when they goe to warre.

The Emperors Subiects are very rich.

Prete-Ian, is greatly honoured and loued of his people, who are verie rich in Gold, not Coined, and other Mettalles: and his Landes being well peopled and inhabited, he deriueth from them verie great Reuennewes. They cloath themselues with Linnen, Wollen, and Silke: addicting their minds much to Husbandry, and Tilling the ground.

*Or Xoa, as some call it.

In the Realme of * *Sceua*, where the King most abideth, they haue two crops or Haruests each yeare, for they haue also two Summers. They gather al things necessary for the maintenance of life, and in great abundance; especially, the grain of Barley, and all kinds of Pulse, Pease, and Beanes, &c. Millet and Panicke, or *Indian* Oat-meale, groweth there so hie, as it ouer-toppeth a man riding on horse backe. The Vines do yeelde an infinitie of Grapes or Raisins, whereof they make great plentie of Wine: but beside, they do ordinarily make Beuerages of Beere, and other of Peares & Apples well compounded with Barley, Millet, or Wallwort, whereof the verie meanest of the people do daily drinke. They vse to set foorth their Bankets yearely, with greene Figges, and Apples that are very sauoury. They haue great store of Wood, called *Ibonie*, and diuers kindes thereof. They vse to hunt Lyons, Leopards, Rhinocerots, and Elephants. They haue great store of Cattle, goodly Horses, and gallant Mules, which they sell (at great price) to Barons of the Court.

Two harueſts euerie yeare, and great plentie of all things.

Their Wine and other drinkes.

Their Bankets.

Their woods.

Their Hunting.

Their Cattel.

The first dignity among them, is that of the Priest: the second, of prudent and wisemen, whom they call *Ealsanats* and *Tenquats*; Bounty and good Conuersation is highly esteemed amongst them: The third degree is of Noblemen, and then that of Soldiers. Such as are established to render right and reason to euery man, do punish greeuously the delinquements. They plucke out the eyes of Theeues, and then afterward, giue them a publick Slaue to keep them company, and lead them thorow far remote Countries and Kingdomes, getting their liuing by playing on the Harpe; to the sound whereof, they accord their voices, and so go singing from doore to doore: and if they chaunce to stay in one place more then a day, they are both put to death, the Theefe and the Slaue. They deliuer a Murtherer, into the handes of his Kindred whom he hath slaine, to the end, that they may take such vengeance as to them seemeth good, for the outrage committed on their blood. If anie deale with Children, in the abhominable sinne of Sodomy, the offender is iudged (by them) to be worthy of death. And whosoeuer doth rashly reuolt from his Religion, is stoned to death before al the people. Also, hee that transgresseth the Ceremonies and Commandements of Religion, wickedly blaspheming God, the glorious Virgin, or the Saints, is burned aliue in a publicke place. Other delicts of lesser Nature, are iudged according to the will and Arbitrage of the Interpreters of the Lawes.

Their order of Dignities obserued among them.

Their punishment of Theeues.

How they deale with murderers.

For the sinne of Sodomy.

For reuolt from Religion, and for Blasphemers.

The *Abyssines* haue a perticular Language, and Carracters of Letters proper to themselues, wherein the New Testament was imprinted at *Rome*. The Holy Scripture hath also beene translated into their *Abissine* tongue; and * I my selfe (being then a young Lad at *Rome*) began to learne the Language, of one Frier *Peter*, an *Abyssine*, and of the order of Saint *Francis*, a man of excellent guifts, good life, and greatly beloued by Pope *Paule* the third, and all his Court. This Fryer dwelt behind the Tribunall of S. *Peter*, in the house and Church dedicated to the *Abyssines*, where they celebrated after their maner, and were maintained at the Popes charges.

Of the *Abyssines*.

*This is spoken by *Hieron Gigli* an *Italian*, from whō I translated this whole Chapter.

The *Abyssines* do not stamp anie money, but make vse of that which commeth from others; which is of gold marked with *Strabesque* Letters, and they cal those pieces of mony, *Fardals* & *Syraphs*. They pay their Soldiers in certain pieces of Gold and Siluer, of diuers waightes; and with them also, they buy such things as are sold in the Markets. They celebrate their weddings with meats very solemnly, and if the man or woman be taken in Adultery, they doo repudiate both the one and the other. They are baptised, and yet notwithstanding that, they adde some marke vpon the fore-head, with a hot Iron, and will not wholy leaue the *Hebrue* vse; for they cut the Prepuce, and take a little flesh also from womens secrets. The children most in yeares, are heirs to their Fathers

Coine vsed by the *Abyssines*.

Their Celebration of marriage.

Their Baptisme and circumcision.

Fathers, thorow the Kingdome; and by want of Males, one of the Kinred, being the most vertuous, doth next succeede. This *Prete-Ian* gouerneth many Countreyes, and boundlesse Seas.

The error of some Cosmographers, in situation of his kingdom.

They haue greatly erred, that in their Maps and Tables, haue placed his seate in *Asia*, beeing ignorant that there is a double *India*; the one in *Asia*, and the other in *Ethyopia*. His Kingdome confineth (on the Leuant or East-side) the Red and Barbarian Sea: And on the South, the Sea called *Agisimbe*; and on this side, the Region goeth like a Promontorie towards the South, to the Cape called *De bona Speranza*. Almost at the end of *Prete-Ians* Land, in one of his Kingdomes called *Goyaume*, is the sourse of *Nilus*, a Riuer that runnes bathing all *Ethyopia*; and hauing made a long course, trauersing many Islands (whereof *Meroe* is the greatest) it passeth swelling along *Egypt*. It confineth on the North side, *Egypt* & *Lybia*; and on the West, the lower *Lybia*, and the *Moores*. But the Father of *Prete-Ian*, being a warlicke man, and expert in Armes; amplified and enlarged his Empire; and among other difficult and perrillous Wars, he vanquished the* *Troglodites*, who vsing poysoned Arrowes, he tooke (by the way) King *Casant*, conquered in battell, and smote off his head, as an infamous and cruell Traitor. This man raigned also in that countrey, which looketh plainely Southward to the Sea, called *Magambizique*, and is face to face with the great Isle of Saint *Laurence*. He ouercame likewise the King of *Manicongoso*, who afterward became a Christian: and *Thermeda* Prince of the Blacke-people. He vanquished also King *Selan*, Lord of the *Mahometan Moors*, whose passage was a long time out of *Arabia Fœlix*, by the strait of the Red sea, into the firme Land, neighboring on *Ethyopia*.

The head or spring of the Riuer *Nilus*.

The Father of *Prete-Ian*.

*People in the farthest part of *Affrica* beyond *Ethyopia*.

The cõquests of *Prete-Ians* Father.

These *Abyssines* (for so are they called of all *Prete-Ians* subiects) haue a Patriark, whom they name *Abuna*, that is to say, [*Father*;] hee hath the gouernment of spirituall things, and soueraigne Authority ouer the Priests, which are infinit in number, and distinguished by their churches and Monasteries. To persons badly complexioned in manners, contumations, and corrupted in the right rules of Discipline: hee exerciseth a seuere Censure, and excommunication; so that being expelled and abandoned of all men, they wander and dye miserably starued. This Patriarke maketh residence (with his Senate) in the Cittie of *Borrara*, situate in a Mountaine verie austere and full of Woodes, enuironed with perpetuall umbrages, for his better recreation: and there the braunches of the broad-leafed Trees are so plyant, & twine themselues in manner of an Arch, that though the Countrey be most hot, yet in the midday Sun, little or no heate at all is there felt: for their continuall dewing with healthfull and liuely springes, compleateth the grace of their freshnes and verdure. This Patriark receiueth a great leuy of tenths; as also the Reuennues of the King *Prete-Ian*, who is greatly giuen and affected to Religion, as appeareth by his liberall pietie and deuotion.

The Patriark of the *Abyssines*, and his Authority.

The Patriarches place of abiding with his Senate.

The Patriarkes maintenance and liberalitie to the poore.

He distributeth these Treasures to the poore, and to Hospitals, maintaining infinite Monasteries of Friers of diuers orders: of Saint *Anthony*, of Saint *Frances*, of Saint *Augustine*, of Saint *Dominick*, of the *Calagurritains*, and of the *Macharians*, many whereof he sendeth yearly to *Ierusalem*, to visit the Sepulcher of our Lord Iesus Christ. When the Patriarke dyeth, such Riches of his as is found remaining, returneth to the Exchequer Royall: and then they proceed to new election of another, that shall be iudged to be the most vertuous. Hee liueth chastly, although it bee lawfull for a Priest to take a Wife in Marriage; and yet he may haue no more but one.

Order when the Patriarke deceaseth.

Marriage lawfull to Priests

The only glories of *Prete-Ian* and his *Ethyopians*, are, that they do repute themselues to be the verie ancientest Nation among men, because they haue alwayes liued in their innated libertie, and were neuer conquered, either by *Semyramis*, nor *Hercules*, nor *Dyonisius*, nor the Romaines; but they themselues vanquished King *Cambyses*, and ouer-threw his potent armie. Heereto they adde a more true and eminent glorie indeede, which is, that they were one of the first nations, in receipt of the christian Faith, wel-neer from the verie beginning thereof. By meanes of the Eunuch, vnto the famous Queene *Candace*, who was baptized by Saint *Phillip*. And that since their Conuersion, they haue constantly kept the same Religion, for so many hundreds of yeares. Albeit, that during this time, they haue

The glories of *Prete-Ian* & his Nation.

King *Cambises* conquered by this Nation.

A famous note of Antiquity.

haue beene generally (euen as yet they are at this day) molleſted, aſſaulted, and enuironed with *Moores*, *Sarazins*, & the Idolatrous Worſhippers of *Mahomet*. And yet, notwithſtanding all thoſe cruel Tempeſts (which heeretofore deſtroyed the *Romaine* Empire, and the very greateſt part of Chriſtendom, *Ethyopia* could neuer hitherto be ſpoyled, either of their Dominion or Religion, albeit ſome Idolatrous mixture hath crept thereinto: which is the leſſe to bee maruelled at, if we may credit their own ſaying, in alledging their conſtancie and Antiquity, becauſe they deriue their Noble Originall and continuance, from the royall Kings, *Dauid* and *Salomon*; of whome, the bleſſed Virgin *Marie* (Mother to our Sauiour) deſcended, and he himſelfe, according to the fleſh.

Ethyopia could neuer be conquered.

Whence the Ethyopians do deriue their antiquitie.

The people of this Nation, doo hold our Lord God in great reuerence, & the Redeemer of the world; Next, the moſt Bleſſed Virgin, and Saint *Thomas* the Apoſtle more then any other of the Saints. Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundered and forty, ſent an Ambaſſadour vnto the *Prete-Ian* then liuing. And afterward, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie three, Pope *Clement* the ſeauenth, and the Emperour *Charles* the fift, being met together at *Bologna*, an Ambaſſador came to them, from valiant *Dauid* King of *Ethyopia*, being named *Don Frances Aluarez*, a *Portugnais*, to whom audience was giuen in the publicke Conſiſtory, the 29. day of Ianuary. There hee preſented the Letter (enſuing) to his Holineſſe, & (in name of his King) he gaue the obedience obſerued from Antiquity, and likewiſe in his name, preſented a Croſſe of Golde, waighing a pound; hauing firſt kiſſed his foot, hand, and mouth. The Letter was written in the *Ethyopian* Language, afterward tranſlated into the *Portugall* tongue, then into *Latine*, and againe into *Italian*, and it was read by the Secretary to his Holineſſe, in the publick preſence.

The Religion of this Nation.

Ambaſſadors ſent to *Prete-Ian*.

Letters ſent from *Prete-Ian* to the Pope.

A Letter ſent from the moſt Mighty Dauid, *King of* Æthyopia, *to the moſt Holy Father*, *Pope* Clement *the ſeauenth.*

MOſt Happy and Holie Father, ordained of God to be the Conſecrator of men, and to ſit in the ſeat of Saint *Peter*; to whom the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen was giuen, and whatſoeuer he bound or looſed on earth, the like ſhould be done in Heauen, as Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe ſpake, and Saint *Mathew* hath written in his Goſpell: The King to whoſe name Lyons doo reuerence, and (by the grace of God) named in Baptiſm, *Atanatingil*, that is to ſay, *Inſpired by the Virgin*; but after I tooke the royall Scepter, was named *Dauid*, Beloued of God, a Piller of the Faith, of the Line of *Iuda*; the ſonne of *Dauid*, the ſonne of *Salomon*, ſonne to the Piller of *Sion*, ſonne of the ſeed of *Iacob*, ſonne to the hands of *Mary*, by carnall ſucceſſion, and ſon of *Nahu*, Emperor of high *Ethyopia*, of manie great Kingdomes, Iuriſdictions, and Lands; King of *Xoa*, of *Caffata*, of *Fatigar*, of *Angota*, of *Baru*, of *Bellenguangna*, of *Adeor*, of *Vangua*, of *Gazama*, whence iſſueth *Nilus*, of *Amara*, of *Burgnamedi*, of *Ambea*, of *Tigremalion*, of *Sabata*, where raigned the Queen of *Saba*, of *Bernagaes*, and Lord ſo farre as to *Egipt*. All theſe Landes are vnder my power, and manie others, great and ſmall, which I neyther number or expreſſe by their names, as induced thereto by any pride: but onely to the end, that the ſoueraigne God may be praiſed, who hath beſtowed Chriſtian Religion on ſo many great Kingdomes, and hath enlarged to me ſo great a grace as continually I may do him ſeruice, hauing made me a Capitall enemie to the Moores, and ſuch as worſhip Idolles. I ſend to kiſſe the feete of your Holineſſe, as other Chriſtian Princes vſe to doo, to whom I am not the meaneſt both in po-

Or *Gojarina*

wer

wer and Religion. I am in my Realmes, a ſtrong Collumb of the Faith, and haue no neede of any other, but put in God my whole hope and ſuccour, he hauing alwaies ſuſtained and gouerned me ſince ſuch time as the Angell of God ſpake to Saint *Phillip*, when hee taught the true & ſincere Faith vnto the Eunuch, belonging to the potent Queene *Candace*, Qu. of *Ethyopia*, when hee returned from *Ieruſalem* to *Gaza*, where Saint *Phillip* baptized the ſaid Eunuch; by whom likewiſe the Queen was afterward baptized, with a great part of her houſe and people. The ſucceſſors of which famous Queene, did neuer ſince faile in true Chriſtianity, but haue continued euermore firme & conſtant in the faith, ſo that my predeceſſors haue not beene holpen by any but God, and haue extended the Chriſtian Faith, as I haue laboured to do the like.

I keepe my ſelfe impaled within mine own limits, like a Lyon compaſſed with: in a thicke Forreſt, ſtrong againſt the Moores, and other Nations enemies to Chriſt, that will not heare the worde of God, nor my faithfull exhortations. I haue purſued them with my ſword in my hand, and (by little and litle) chaſed them from their Neſtes, by the helpe of God, who neuer failed mee; which hath not happened in like manner to other Chriſtian Kings; for when they wold extend their limits, they went not againſt Infidelles, as eaſily they might haue done, by meanes of aſsiſting one another, beſides their further aid of your Holineſſe Benediction, wherein I alſo claime a part. For among my Charters, there is found the Letter of Pope *Eugenius*, which he ſent heeretofore (with his benediction) to the King of the ſeed of *Iacob*; of which benediction, I haue iouiſſance, and highly delight in it.

Beſide this, I holde the Temple of *Ieruſalem* in great honor, and thither I ſend goodly offeringes by my Pilgrims, and much more rich and coſtly ſhould they bee, if the wayes were aſſured from Infidelles, who beſide their robbing the meſſengers of their preſents, do hinder them alſo from free paſſage. And if the voyage to *Rome* were free and open, I wold com in familiarity and company of the *Roman* Church, as other Chriſtian Princes do, to whom I am not inferiour. For, euen as they do, I confeſſe one direct faith, and one Catholicke Church, I beleeue ſincerely in the holy Trinity, one only God, and I beleeue the virginity of our bleſſed Lady. I hold and keepe the Articles of the Faith, as they were written by the Apoſtles.

At this preſent, the Lord God by the hand of the moſt puiſſant King * *Emanuel*, hath opened the way, to the end that we may viſit one another by Embaſsies, and (ioyntly in faith) ſerue one God. But it ſo pleaſed God, that his Ambaſſadors being in our Court, they told vs tydings of his death, and the ſucceſsion of his ſon (my Brother *Iohn*) in the Crown. So that the death of the Father, brought me not more griefe and diſcontent, then the happy comming of his ſon to the Kingdom, cauſed ioy and gladneſſe.

Aed ſuch is my hope, that ioyning our forces and Armies together, we may run thorough the Prouinces of the Moores, and vtterly deſtroy them. By which meanes, Chriſtians may (more commodiouſlie) go and returne from the Temple of *Ieruſalem*. And as I earneſtly deſire, that I may be made pertaker of the loue of God, in the Temples of the holy Apoſtles *Paule* and *Peter*, ſo do I wiſh to haue the Benediction of the Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, which (without any doubt) I repute you to be.

I heare manie things alſo of your ſanctitie to Pilgrimes, which go from our Regions vnto *Ieruſalem*, and thence to *Rome*, returning backe miraculouſlie, which hath beene to mee vnſpeakeable pleaſure. But indeed, I ſhould receiue much greater contentment, if my Ambaſſadors could vſe a ſhorter way, and bring me (at all times) tidings from you, which I hope they will doo heereafter, ſometime before I die, God aſsiſting, whō I pray maintaine you in health and holineſſe. So be it. I kiſſe your Holie feete, and humblie pray your Holineſſe to ſend me your bleſſing.

* This was the K. of *Portugal*.

An other Letter ſent from the ſame Prete-Ian, to the fore-named Holy Father.

IN the name of God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heauen and of earth, and of all thinges viſible and inuiſible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Ieſus Chriſt, who is one and the ſame with him, from the beginning of the world, Light of Lights, verie God of very God. In the name of God the holy ſpirit, liuing God, proceeding from God the Father: [I] the King, to whoſe Name Lyons doo reuerence, ſend you theſe Letters, and by the Grace of God, am called *Athani-Tinghil*, that is to ſay, *Incenſe of the Virgin*, the ſonne of King *Dauid*, the ſonne of *Salomon*, ſon of the King of the hand of *Mary*, the ſon of *Nahum* by carnall ſucceſſion, ſonne of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* by grace; Peace bee with you iuſt Lord, Holy Father, Mightie, pure and conſecrate, that is the chief of all Byſhops, not fearing any, nor anie one being, that may ſpeake malediction of you; who is vigilant ouer ſoules, the friend of Pilgrims, a Holy Maiſter, Preacher of faith, and capitall enemie vnto all things that offend conſcience, a louer of good manners, a holy man, lauded and bleſſed of all.

O happy holy Father, I render ye obedience with great reuerence; you beeing the peace of all, deſeruing all goodneſſe, procuring (by duty) that al ſhould render ye obeyſance, as the holie Apoſtles commanded, next vnto God. It is truly ſaide of you, and the ſame Apoſtles commanded vs, to do reuerence to Byſhops, Archbyſhops and Prelates. Alſo to loue you in place of a Father, reuerencing ye in place of a King, and to haue Faith in you as in God. For this reaſon, I bowing my Knees humbly to the earth, doo acknowledge you with a pure and ſincere heart for my Father, and that I am your Sonne.

O moſt Holie and mightie father, why haue you not ſent ſome one hither to vs, to the end, that you might bee informed of my life and helth, you being the ſhepheard and I your theepe? For the good Shepheard neuer forgetteth his flocke. I ſhould not ſeem to be too far from your Regions, but that your Meſſengers may haue the meanes to come hither, conſidering that the King of *Portugal Emanuel*, your Son, hath verie commodiouſlie, and from much farther Regions of land, ſent me his Ambaſſadors. And if God had deferred a little longer his calling to heauen, doubtles thoſe matters that then were in diſcuſsion betweene vs, wold haue ſucceeded to an happie end. But my deſire is at this preſent (euen ſo much as can be) to heare good, wholeſome and proſperous things of your holineſſe, by meſſengers truſty and faithful, & ſent expreſly: becauſe I haue neuer receiued anie word from your Holineſſe, but heard only ſome ſmal matters, by ſuch as haue gon on pilgrimage in my name, and yet neuer broght me any of your letters. But in our interogations, they haue anſwerd (vncertainly enough) that hauing paide their vowes and deuotions at *Ieruſalem*, they went afterward to *Rome*, to viſit the ports of the Holy Apoſtles, hauing firſt of all vnderſtood, that it was eaſie enough for them to abide in thoſe Countries, and to be accounted as Chriſtians. And ſurelie, it pleaſed mee highly to heare their diſcourſe, by meanes whereof (in a ſweete conceiued immagination) me thought I beheld and contemplated the figure of your Holy face, which ſeemed to me like that of an Angell; and I confeſſe to loue and honor it as Angellicall. But aſſuredly, it would be more ſweet and acceptable to mee, deuoutly to contemplate your words and Letters. Wherefore, I praie you at this preſent, that it would pleaſe you to ſend me your *Nuntio*, with your benediction to reioyce my hart.

For ſeeing we are both of one faith & Religion, me thinkes that (aboue all thinges elſe) I ſhould require you to do this. Moſt humbly praying you alſo, that as you put the Gold Ring vpon your Finger, and the Chaine of Gold about your necke: euen ſo, you wold place my amitie in the depth of your heart, that the memorie thereof may neuer bee loſt. For, by kinde Wordes, and Graci-

ous Letters, amity encreaſeth ſtronglie; eſpecially when it is embraced by holy peace, from whence (doubtleſſe) all humaine ioy proceedeth. And like as the man that is extream thirſty, deſireth earneſtly freſh water, as is to be found in the ſacred Writings; euen ſo my heart longeth, to haue Newes by Meſſengers and Letters from farre-off Countries, wherein I take incredible pleaſure. And not only if I might hear ſome matter of your Holineſſe: but alſo, if ſuch Newes bee certaine, which haue been reported to me, concerning Chriſtian Princes, which ioy would be anſwereable to that, which Conquerors get by rich ſpoiles and purchaſes.

Which now at this time may the more eaſily be done, becauſe the King of *Portugall* hath opened the paſſage, which long time hath beene vſed, ſending mee his Ambaſſadours, accompanied with many valiant Knights, in the time of his Father *Emanuel*, & while he liued. Since when, I haue receiued neither Embaſſie nor Letters from any Chriſtian King, much leſſe from any Pope. Albeit in our Rolles, or Treaſury of Charters, which belonged ſometime to our great Grandfather, is preſerued the memorie of Letters from a Pope of *Rome*, named *Eugenius*, ſent into theſe parts, when the ſeed of *Iacob* raigned, the King of Kinges thoroughout all *Ethyopia*, & the ſuperſcription of the ſaide Letters was in this manner: *Eugenius Pope of Rome, to our Well-beloued Sonne, the King of the ſeede of Iacob, King of Kings throughout all Ethyopia, worthy to be reuerenced.* And by the ſummary of the ſaide Letters, hee declared, that his Sonne *Iohn Paleologus*, who was as forgotten two yeares before, K. of the *Romanes*, was called from *Conſtantinople*, to celebrat the ſacred Counſel, and with him went *Ioſeph* the Patriarke of *Conſtantinople*, accompanied with a great number of Arch-byſhops, Byſhops, and Prelates of all ſorts; and among them alſo aſſiſted the Procuraters of the Patriarkes of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, and of *Ieruſalem*, all aſſembled with him in loue of the holy faith and religion. By meanes whereof the vnity of the Church was confirmed, with grace of the Lord, and al difficulties of the paſſed times (which appeared to be erroneous, and contrary to Chriſtian religion) taken away: which things, being by good order eſtabliſhed and confirmd, the ſame Pope had giuen to all the world occaſion of reioicing, as to each one perticulerly.

Now at this time, wee ſend you this Book of pope *Eugenius*, that hath alwaies bin kept by vs without corruption. We would alſo in like maner haue ſent ye, the tract of the order and power of the pontificall benediction, had not the Volume bin ouer-great, for truly it is as big as the Booke of S. *Paul* to the Gentiles. And the Legates which brought theſe things hither on the Popes behalfe, were *Theodorus*, *Petrus Dydimus*, and *George*, ſeruants of Ieſus Chriſt. But you (moſt holie Father, ſhall do well to command that the Bookes of your Rols may be turned ouer and peruſed, where I think you ſhall find ſome memory of this which I haue written vnto ye, that if any thing be reſerued on our behalfe, it may be diligently regiſtred among our Bookes, that perpetuall memory thereof may remaine to our poſterity & ſucceſſors. And truly, I account him moſt happy, whoſe memory is in letters preſerued in the holy City of Rome, the ſeat of *S. Peter* and S. *Paule*, who are Lords in Heauen, & Iudges of the whole world. And becauſe my beleefe is ſuch, I ſend yee theſe preſents, to the end, that I may win grace with your holineſſe, and with your moſt ſacred Colledge, hoping that from thence will come holy benediction, with encreaſe of all goodneſſe.

Moreouer, I do intreat your Holineſſe to ſend me ſome Images of the Saints, & principally of the virgin *Mary* to the end that the name of hir and of your holines, may be often in my mouth and memory, and that I may continualy take delight in your preſents. I alſo require ye to ſend me ſome Artezans and workmen, that know how to make thoſe Images, and ſwordes and armor of all kinds, to fight withal; as alſo ſuch as can engraue in Gold and Siluer, Maiſter-Carpenters, Architects, and Maſons, to make houſes of ſtone. And men that are skilfull in Caſting of Lead, Copper and Braſſe, to couer the tops of thoſe houſes. Beſide theſe men, we ſhall highly eſteeme ſuch worke in Glaſſe, or ſuch as are Falconers, & ſuch as can make Inſtruments of Muſicke; as alſo ſuch as can play on Flutes & trompets. Al which workemen, I deſire that may bee of your houſe; or if you bee not ſo ſufficiently prouided,

prouided, your Holineſſe may eaſily win ſuch from other Chriſtian Kinges your children, who are all obedient vnto your command: aſſuring yee, that no ſooner ſhall thoſe workemen heere arriue, but they ſhall be held in great honour, according to the ſeuerall merit of euerie man, and ſhall receiue of my liberality, ample courteſie, reward, and wages: with this condition, that if any one heereafter, be deſirous to returne into his owne Country, hee ſhall depart from my Court ſo well recompenced, as ſhall giue him cauſe to reſt contented, carrying hence with him, ſuch thinges as himſelfe ſhall pleaſe, for I wil not keep any man againſt his mind, when I haue receiued ſom benefit of his Art.

Now am I to ſpeake of other things, and would gladly demand of you Holie Father, why you doe not admoniſh the Chriſtian Kings your Children, to agree among themſelues, as it becommeth brethren, conſidering they are of your flock and you their Shepheard? And wel doth your Holineſſe know that which is commanded in the Goſpell, where it is ſaide; *Euery Kingdome diuided in it ſelfe ſhall bee deſolate.* For, if the kings of Chriſtendom were vnited and leagued together, eaſilie might they deſtroy the Mahometans, & all other Infidelles, and all their actions wold ſucceed to their wish; ruinating the Sepulchre of that falſe Prophet, which is in the Citty of *Mecha.* Wherefore I pray ye, to labour a firme league of amitie among them, exhorting them to lend me fauour and ſuccor. For, on all the Confines of my Kingdomes, I am enuironed with Moores, Mahometans, and wicked people, who (neuertheleſſe) do hold ſuch fidelity together, as wee ſee not the like. They interchangeably aide one another, making alliance Kings with Kinges, and Lords with Lords, in great Loyaltie and conſtancie, and all againſt vs. There is a King *Moore* my Neighbor, whom al the other *Moare*-Kings (his Neighbours) do furniſh with Armes, horſes, and all other Inſtruments for warre. Theſe men, are the Kings of *India*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and *Egipt*, by whom I daily receiue much grieuance, beholding the enimies of Chriſtianity ioyned together in brotherly charity, enioying peace: & chriſtian Kings my Brethren, not according togither in any maner, nor are moued at their outrages, or any way giuing mee ſuccour, as is the duty of al chriſtians. And ſo much the rather, becauſe the moſt filthy ſons of *Mahomet* ſo aid one another. Not that (in this reſpect) I would haue you think that I deſire any forces for ſuch an enterpriſe, for I haue ſufficient of mine owne, and more then I need. But I intreat only your Prayers and Oriſons to God, and couet to find grace with your holineſſe, & with all other Kings my Brethren.

This is the reaſon why I ſeeke amitie with you and them, to the end, of beeing furniſhed abundantly, with ſuch things as are before required, to the feare and aſtoniſhment of the *Moores*, and that my neighbours (enemies vnto the Chriſtians name) may know, that Chriſtian Kinges (my Brethren) can giue me fauor and aſſiſtance, which truly appertaineth to our common honor, ſince we agree in vnitie of Faith and true religion. We are reſolued to continue firme in this counſell & deliberation, which ſeemeth to Vs, moſt aſſured, perfect, and profitable. God fulfill your deſires to the praiſe of Ieſus Chriſt, and of God our Father, whoſe name be praiſed of al, in al ages. And you holie Father, embrace mee with all the Saints of Ieſus Chriſt, which are at *Rome*: and in the ſame imbracement, I pray yee to receiue al the inhabitants of my kingdomes, and they that remaine in *Ethyopia*. Thankes be rendred to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, by your ſpirit.

Your Holineſſe ſhall receiue theſe Letters, by the helpe of my Brother King Iohn, ſon to the moſt potent King Emanuell, by the handes of Frances Aluarez our Ambaſſador.

CHAP. II.

Of the ouergreat Superſtition of the Queen of Maugy, *who loſt her mighty Eſtate, by putting too much confidence in the predictions of Aſtrologers.*

THat Superſtition is a verie great Vice, bringing manie diſcommodities and daungers, vnto ſuch as are thereto inclined, may Ordinarily bee ſeene, As for example:

Note the vain opinion of this world, in meeting ſome accidents on the way.

If a man (returning from ſome iourney, or ſetting forth vpon it, his buſineſſe being ſerious and importent, if hee chance to meet an old Woman on the way, or perceiueth a Hare to croſſe the paſſage before him, he preſently takes it for an euill encounter, and to preſage ſome perill towards him.

Some Huntſmen alſo are of opinion, that if they meete a Prieſt or a Frier vpon the way, as they ride on Hunting, they ſhall ſurely (that day) not take any thing. Some others, if they but heare a Pie to chatter, they ſhall ſhortly vnderſtand of euill tidinges. There are ſome alſo, ſo ſtrangely incenſed, that they verilie beleeue, if they meete a Serpent or Snake: that day no inconuenience can betide them; with diuers other vanities beſide, which ſauour much more of Paganiſme, then of any Chriſtianity. Such ſuperſtitions were deepely grounded among the *Romaine* people, yea, much more then in any other, witneſſe their *Auſpices*, that is; their Conſultations which they wold make, before they began any war or expedition, by the obſeruation of Birds, beholding their flight, liſtening their ſongs, and whether they fed wel or ill; in regard whereof, they loſt many commodities in their warres. And it is not to be doubted, but that euerie ſuperſtitious Captain, wil hardly do any thing of deſert; which *Cicero* well noted in his Bookes of Diuination, and maketh a mockery thereat.

The Romains were greatly addicted vnto ſuperſtitions.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

This follie is diſperſed thorough the world, but yet in ſome Countries more then other. As among the *Aſian Tartars* who are ſo much addicted to iudicial Aſtrologie, and therein ſo ſuperſtitious, as they will neither build a Houſe, Village, Cittie, Temple, or any other building whatſoeuer, but at laying the firſt ſtone, they will ſet downe in Writing, the day, the houre, the moneth, and the ſeaſon. The like they do at the Natiuitie of their Children, then they conſult with Aſtrologers and **Genethliaques*, who then doo fore-tell what pleaſeth themſelues. And theſe people are now (at this day) more ſuperſtitious in theſe affaires, then euer they were. And this is the matter which I am now to ſpeake of, in ſhewing that a woman (being too much ouer-ſwaied by theſe ſuperſtitions, loſt one of the verie faireſt Eſtates in the worlde, and how it hapned, I ſhall briefely relate.

The *Tartarres* of Aſia very ſuperſtitious.

* Caſters of mens fortune by the day & houre of their birth.

Of *Iada* the King of *Maugie*, and his hunting.

The *Tartarian* Annales do declare, that there was a King of *Maugy*, named *Iada*, who beeing on Hunting, eſpyed a great Lake of Freſh-Water, thorough the middeſt whereof, paſſed ſo ſtrong a Riuer, as was able to beare a Boat, which came from the Eaſt *Indiaes*, a rich countrey. Heereon he conſidered, that for Commerce and good of his Kingdome, the Territorie round about it was fruitfull, and the Lakes Water nouriſhed great ſtore of Fiſh, a faire Hauen alſo, being not farre off thence, ſtanding for the benefit of all Windes, being on the Ocean Sea, which is (almoſt) continually calme, and in that quarter it would be verie conuenient to build a Citie. Haüing had Communication in this caſe with his Counſell, and they allowing the goodneſſe of his conceit, hee gaue order to them, for further proceeding in the purpoſe: this hapned in the yeare of the worlde, according to their ſupputation, fiue thouſand, ſixe hundred. This Citie was founded vpon piles, and (according to their Cuſtome) they conſulted with their *Genethliaques*, to know if this Cittie ſhould flouriſh and continue for any length of time. Whereto they anſwered, that it ſhould neuer fall into anie others power, but only of them as ſhould be of the Lignage of *Iada*, firſt founder thereof, vntill ſuch time, as a man (who ſhould haue an hundered eies, all clearly ſeeing) came to beſiege it. The Cittie was named *Quinſay*, a worde corrupted of *Kynſin*, or *Checin*, in the *Iauian* tongue, which ſignifieth a Happy Cittie, and whereof, the whole Prouince where it is ſeated, tooke the Name of *Quinzi*. There are two Caſtles, which command on the Sea, and are adioyning vnto the Lake before named: and there doo the Waters of the Riuer of *Babala*, yeelde ſurrender of themſelues, as they make their paſſage ouer the Lake.

Determination, for building a Citty.

The foundation of the Citty of *Quinſay*.

It is ſeated about forty fiue degrees on this ſide the Tropicke, in the ſixt climate, and the tenth Paralell. This goodly Cittie containeth (as ſuch as haue Voyaged thither ſay) fiue good Leagues or thereabout in circuit: which is verie likely to be true, by reaſon it is erected in the water; and the ſtreetes are verie large, the Pallace great, and forced Garden-plots: the whole bodie being planted at eaſe, & ſo well diſpoſed, as a man may goe thorough

The ſcituation of *Quinſay*

The greatnes and commodiouſneſſe of the Citty.

rough all the Cittie on Land, and in the Channels alſo, which are large, eaſie, & great, becauſe the Barkes may the ſooner paſſe them. Horſes alſo may eaſily paſſe through the ſtreets, to bring ſuch things as are neceſſarie for them of the Citty: And there is no encloſed City in the whole Vniuerſe, either on this ſide, or beyond the Equator, of ſuch wonderfull greatneſſe. In regard of the goodlie Scituation, it required no long time of peopling, & frequentation of Merchant-ſtrangers, comming from many Countries: as from the rich Eaſterne *Indiaes*, by the Riuer of *Babala*; and by Sea, the *Ethyopians*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and others. Hereupon the King failed not to graunt good ſtore of immunities, to draw inhabitants thither: which ſorting to his expectation, hee builded a verie beautifull Pallace, that ſtandeth yet intirely whole.

The Traffick and reſort to *Maugy*.

Now, it came to paſſe, fiue hundered yeares after, that there raigned a King, very rich, named *Facfur*; by whom, the Kingdomes were ſeated in the great Prouince of *Maugy*, which is ſaid to be one of the verie greateſt in the world; and by whom, the Lands and Seigneuries were ſo well fortified, as they were thought to be inuincible. By means whereof, none durſt aſſaile or meddle with them; and this was the cauſe, that both the King and his people left off, and ſuffered the exerciſe of Armes to grow quite out of vſe. For euerie Cittie was circled and engirt with great and deepe ditches (brim-full of Water) as alſo with huge walles, verie ſtrongly flanked with goodlie Towers & vnder-props. And in thoſe times, he had (at the leaſt) the number of one thouſand and fiue hundred, but now they can reckon no more then eleauen hundred; and yet hee had no Horſes for warre, or anie other ſeruice; and this aſſurance occaſioned, that the King made no vſe of time, but continually tooke his delight & pleaſure. He had ordinarily in his Court a thouſand Gentlemen, beſide his traine of Seruants and Officers, which was great and honourable. Neuertheleſſe, hee held Iuſtice in higheſt eſteeme, affecting peace and tranquility, and he was verie mercifull. No man durſt offend, or do wrong to his Neighbor, but he was ſure of ſeuere punniſhment. In breefe, his Kingdome was of ſuch freedome and aſ-

Facfur the rich King of *Maugy*.

Opinion of ſtrength, breeds neglect of martiall Diſcipline and is the cauſe of too much ſecuritie.

The Royaltie of the Kings Court, & his Vertues.

ſurance, that (many times) Tradeſmen left their ſhops wide open in the Night, yet none durſt be ſo bolde, as enter into them.

Strangers and Trauailers paſſing thorough the Countrey, might goe both night and day in ſafe ſecuritie, without feare of any man. In like manner, the King was verie kind and charitable to the poore, and neuer ſuffered ſuch as were in extreame pouerty, to complaine of their want and indigence. Moreouer, euerie yeare (by diligent ſearch) he aſſembled togither a great number of children, expoſed as Orphans, and forſaken of their Parents (whereof ſometimes there were twentie thouſand) and them he cauſed to be kept & brought vp at his own charge, beſide many other Charities which wold require much time to reherſe, and which is not vſed by chriſtian Princes elſwhere. And although he was a Pagan and Idolater, yet hee ſuffered Iewes and Chriſtians (whereof ſome were *Neſtorians*) to liue in all his Kingdoms; and theſe things were in the yeare of Grace, 1268.

This would do well in all parts of the world.

Great charitie to poore Children.

Cublay, King of the *Tartars*, was then accounted one of the greateſt Princes in the world; for he had (as ſome haue left in writings) thirty or fortie great Kingdomes. Such as make any doubt heerof, let them read *M. Paulus*, who was (at that time) in thoſe parts, a verie true Author, and they ſhall find much more then I can heere ſpeake of. His Captaines gaue him to vnderſtand, that they could not find any more lands to conquer: for the Sea, and verie huge deſerts had ſet a period at their Conqueſts, only this Kingdome of *Maugy* excepted, which confined on ſom lands of the great *Cham Cublay*. Now, albeit *Facfur* was a frend, and had giuen no occaſion of making warre vpon him, only becauſe he was almoſt as powerfull as the ſaid *Cublay*, yet *Cublay* was now aduiſed to contend for ſuperioritie, and to make his great neighbor tributary vnto him. So minding to vſe his men of war, he found them at variance among themſelues, and that a great buſineſſe was firſt to be ended, touching his two nephewes, whereof I haue formerly ſpoken. Hereupon, *Neſtordin* a neere Kinſman to *Cublay*, was choſen for this expedition, albeit hee was not then in the Court; but the Commiſſions beeing directed to his abiding, the king had newes ſent him, that

Cublay king of the *Tartars* and his number of Kingdomes.

The euer-great ambition in *Cublay*.

The extraction of *Baiam Chinſan*, a valiant Baſtard.

he died two dayes before of a ſtraunge ſickneſſe. Wherefore, the charge of this buſineſſe, was tranſ-ferred to *Baiam Chinſan*, the Sonne of a publicke poore Woman, not auouched by anie Father, and he was borne with many ſpottes on his bodie, verie neere reſembling the eies of a man; whereby hee had the ſirname giuen him of *Baiam Chinſan*, which ſignifieth in their Language, the ſight of an hundred eyes.

The education of *Baiam*.

This poore Boy was brought vp by his Mother, ſo well as her pouerty would permit, not hauing any man that would auouch her to be his wife. As he grew in ſtature, he addicted his minde to follow one of the Emperors Armies, beeing at firſt but as a Lackey or Drudge, that carried a Soldiers furniture after him. Afterward, hauing attained to more yeares and ſtrength, he was entertained as a Soldier, becomming firſt a Corporall: next Enſigne, Lieutenant, Captaine, or Chiefe, then a Colonell: at length, being knowne a man of vnderſtanding, valiant, and fortunate, he had the charge of an Army, which hee guided ſo ſucceſſefully, that he annexed to the Crowne of *Cublay*, Emperour of *Tartaria*, and his Maiſter, ten great Prouinces or Kingdomes, to wit; *Miena*, *Caraiena*, *Beugala*, *Canguigu*, *Amu*, *Tholomana*, *Gnigui*, *Cacanſu*, *Ciangli*, and *Tadiuſu*: and he neuer attempted any matter, but he brought it to full effect, except the conqueſt of *Piamſu*, whereof I am to ſpeake elſwhere.

The famous Conqueſts of *Baiam Chinſan*.

Baiam entred with a great Armie into the Prouince of *Maugy*, and ſummoned the King to render himſelfe tributary, or elſe he would warre vpon him, for and in the name of his Prince *Cublay*: but the King made anſwere, that he had no ſuch intention. Wherefore, at his firſt arriuall, he beſiedged the Cittie of *Coniganguy*, and ſummoned the Cittizens thereof to yeelde themſelues: as alſo, to take an Oath of fidelity and obedience to the Emperor *Cublay*, which they likewiſe refuſed to do. By meanes whereof, hauing heard their anſwere, he raiſed his ſiege, and departed thence, without offering them anie other harme or molleſtation. Afterward, hee did as much to the next Citty, which alſo made the like refuſall.

Baiam entred into *Maugy*, and ſummoned the King and diuers Citties.

Paſsing on, he ſummoned four or fiue other Citties, all which refuſed yeilding: but comming to the ſixt, he aſſailed it in great furie, and tooke it by aſſault: which being done, he returned backe vpon the other Citties, which he took and ruined; ſo that in very ſhort time, he ſubdued & tooke twelue Cities. For, he had in his Army verie braue and valiaunt men, all pickt or choiſe Soldiers, bold and courragious. And the Great *Cham*, ſent him another Armie, as a freſh ſupply of as great power as the firſt, which gaue great terror to them of *Maugy*, cauſing them to wax deſperate, and their hearts to faile them. And King *Facfur* himſelfe, hauing had ſuch deare experience of the corage and valour of the *Tartars*, and perceiuing how they proceeded on ſtill in their vndanted fury, became ſo much amazed, that he betooke himſelfe to ſea, with ſo many people as hee could muſter togither, withdrawing into an impregnable Iſland, hauing with him aboue a thouſand ſhips; and leauing the guard of the Citie of *Quinſay*, to the diſpoſition of his wife, there to haue her beſt ſupport & defence. In this extreamity the Queen contained very manly courage: and caried her ſelfe ſo prouidently, as nothing wanted whatſoeuer, that was iudged neceſſary for ayd and defence of the Cittie. For ſhee had fiftie thouſand men of warre, both Inhabitants and ſtrangers, and twelue or fifteene thouſand Diuers, men that coulde abide long time vnder water, and pierce the bottomes of the enemies ſhips to ſink them in the Riuer. The Cittie was well furniſhed with Victuals, and all needfull Munition, to endure a long ſiege, impeaching (euerie way) the entrance into the Hauen, by the Sea. Neuertheleſſe, the Queene and the chiefe Commaunders were poſſeſſed with ouer-great ſuperſtition, till they heard, that he who maintained the ſiege, was named *Baiam Chinſan*, that is (as we haue formerly ſaid) the ſight of an hundred eies. This made both her and them to tremble with feare, remembring both the Father and ſon: and alſo, becauſe it was regiſtred in the books which were kept in the publick treaſurie, that neuer ſhould the Citty be ſurprized, but by a man that had an hundered eyes; and therefore they reſolued to yeelde it, though it ſeemed a matter wholly impoſſible, yea quite againſt nature, that a man ſhould haue an hundred eyes. As they were vppon the point of ſurrendering the

Twelue Cities ſubdued by *Baiam*.

King *Facfur* leaueth *Quinſay*, and goeth to a ſtrong Iſland.

The defence of the Cittie of *Quinſay*.

The Queene and her people too ſuperſtitious.

The Christians opposed themselues against the reddition of *Quinsay* to the Enemy.

the Cittie by composition; the Christians, who had liued in all quietnesse in those Countries; by the meanes of their Bishop *Gaspar*, declared in the full Senate, where the Queen also was present: that no regard was to be made of such Prognostickes, as proceeded from lying Mathematicians, and Genethliaques, to whom if the Mans Name appeared for to haue the sight of an hundred eyes; yet notwithstanding, the man himselfe had onely but two, as other men haue, and these were but the illusions of Sathan, the Father of lying. heereupon, some in the Senate-house alledged many Histories, which happened in their time; to shew how vaine these friuolous predictions were. Neuertheleſſe, the Cowardise of diuers, that neuer vnderstood the nature of warre, or what honour attended on bold hardiment, they being of the greatest in authority, and relying on these fooliſh superstitions; concluded to surrender the Citty. Wherefore, hauing made (by consent of the Queene) an honest capitulation: they suffered the Enemy to enter, that kept faith exactly with them. Whereat *Baiam* was not a little amazed, for hee imagined his strength neuer able to surprize it. *Cublay* being aduertised thereof, caused generall processions to be made, and solemne sacrifices performed to the Sun; mocking at the superstition of the *Quinsayans*, and admiring the vnmatchable fortune attending on *Baiam*. As for the Queene, she retyred her selfe to the Court of the great *Cham*, who receiued and vsed her very honourably: and concerning the King of *Maugy* her Husband, he continued his aboade in the Island, where he ended his daies.

Quinsay yeelded vp to *Baiam* and his power.

The capitall Citty being taken, the lesser yeilded.

At that instant also, the nine Kingdoms contained in that Prouince, yeilded themselues: except the Citty of *Stanfu*, which out-held the *Tartars* Army three whole yeares. And it had neuer beene taken, but that *M. Paulus*, and his Father and Vnckle (by permission of the *Tartarian* Emperour) made Engines of Wood, which hurled great Stones into the Citty, and did such harme to the so long besiedged; as they were constrained to yeilde themselues. Thus you may perceiue, that superstition is the cause of much euill, for doubtlesse, if the Queene and the besieged had stil kept *Quinsay*, and the other Cities: an hundred years labour could not haue conquered the Kingdomes of *Maugy*.

These Kingdomes could not haue been conquered in an hundred yeares.

And heere I would entreat the gentle Readers, not to conceiue amisse of me, for not following the writing of *M. Paulus*, in his description of *Quinsay*, for hee saith: That there is in the midst thereof a lake, which containeth ten miles in circuit, and that the Cittie is 34. miles in compasse, and hath sixe hundred thousand Houses in it. I rather thought fit, to follow what I finde written in a Dialogue, made by *Garcias Orta*, a Portugall Philitian, who saith: That it is not aboue thirty fiue yeares since he wrote, that it contained not aboue foure or fiue leagues in compasse, beeing seated wholly in a Lake, and hath not aboue threescore thousand Houses in it. I know not whether it be diminished, since the said *Venetian* came thence. It valued in reuennewes, fifteene Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, to the King yearely, in regard of his right (by way of leuey) vpon merchandises; and yet not counting the Toule laide on Salt, and this was but the ninth part of the great Prouince of *Maugy*. At this day, as I heard by a Iesuite of *Chalons* in *Champaigne*, named *Gobert*, who told me, that he remained there aboue two yeares: and he saith, that the valuation is much more now at this instant.

What the state of *Quinsay* is in these dayes.

The great Reuennues of *Quinsay* yearly to the king

Augustus Cæsar made better vse of his superstition, then the men of *Quinsay*, or their Queene did; for, a little before the last battaile, which hee had against his Competitor *Anthonie*: as he went from his Land-Army, to that on the Sea, hee met a Sutler or Victualer to the Campe, driuing an Asse laden before him, of whom he demaunded, how hee was called: the Sutler made answer, that his owne name was *Eutichus*, and his Asses *Nicanta*: which two Greeke Names signified nothing else, but *Fortunate victorie*. Heereupon, the said *Cæsar*, presaged by this encounter, that he should be victorious ouer *Anthony*, who contended for the Empire of the World, and that the Gods had designed it vnto him. On this assurance, he forth-with gaue battell by Sea to *Anthony*,

A good kinde of superstition in *Augustus Cæsar*.

Anthony, wherein he preuailed, and so (by consequent) got the Empire.

Pompey neuer tooke any thing in good sort, or successefully.

Pompey, quite contrary, through a great distrust, that he could neuer saue himselfe, nor finde any ayde or assured retreat, after he lost the battaile at *Pharsalia* against *Iulius Cæsar*; grounded his folly on this occasion. In his flight, passing by the Isle of *Cyprus*, to the end hee might breath a while; with-drew into Ægypt. And being entertained (by the Gouernour) into the Citty of *Paphos*, where his lodging was prepared in a Pallace, builded in a very pleasant plot vpon the Sea, he desired to know who builded it, and how it was named. Answere was returned, that the place was called *Cacobasilæa*, which is as much to say, as *Bad Harbour*. In regard of which name, it appearing to him to be an euill presage: hee would not enter into it, but passed on farther, and tooke Shipping very suddenly. Being verilie perswaded, that this accident to him at this Pallace, did presage; that he should soone enough meete with a bad lodging to last all his life time. Being landed in Ægypt, to deriue some succour from the King, whose Father he had reseated in his Kingdome: he caused him to be trayterously slaine, as thinking to doe a great fauour to victorious *Iulius Cæsar*.

Sylla, by not being superstitious won the battaile.

But *Sylla* did better, who perceiuing his Army ready for to giue battaile to the power of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*; yet all being out of hart, as holding that the day would be lost, because both the Priests and Soothsayers had obserued, that the like day had been alwaies vnfortunate to the *Romaines*. For it was registred in their Calender, that (as on the very same day) three hundred and sixe Noble Gentlemen, al of the *Fabij*, were slaine in the Warre, by secret Ambushes of the *Veientines*, who had long time warred against thē, hard by * *Cremera*; and many worthy Captaines beside, had receiued great mischances on the same day. But *Sylla*, who was no way superstitious, encouraged his Army, saying. *Let vs shew our selues so valiant this day, that although it hath beene infortunate heeretofore: yet it may prooue happy to vs.* So, suddenly giuing battaile, they won the day. Some other would not haue done it, but rather would haue giuen credit to the dissemblings of Wizzards and Sacrificers. But to punish such men, for weakning the courage of Souldiours prepared to fight: some of them haue beene put into the front of the battaile, where they haue beene slaine, and very few others. In breefe, superstition neuer caused any goodnesse; but hath procured many great losses.

* A Riuer in *Tuscia*, where the noble *Fabij* were slain.

The Noble saying of *Sylla*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Order and Knight-hood of the Templers; and how long it continued.

A congregation of Christian Princes, and the cause.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, ninety six, some Christian Princes (of diuers Nations) made a Congregation, by the counsell of an Hermit named *Peter*, a man of honest and holy life. It was then determined, to goe for the Conquest of the Holy Land, which was in the power of prophane Infidels, who had kept it foure hundred and ninety years. Among the chiefe in this action; was *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, Duke of *Lorraine*, the most apparant of them all, and he that carried the greatest merit. It pleased God, that after many battailes, which lasted for the space of three yeares: the Citty of *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities in *Syria* and *Iudea* were conquered, beside diuers other neighbouring Prouinces. Afterward, all the Christian Princes hauing regard to the high deserts of *Godfrey*; elected him King of *Ierusalem*: and *Arnulphus*, Arch-bishop of *Pisa*, was likewise created Patriarch, by Pope *Calixtus* the second.

The Conquest of *Ierusalem* by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*.

Godfrey of Buillon remaining King of *Ierusalem*, there also continued in his company, many great and worthy Christians, who daily made warre vpon the Infidels; as well round about *Ierusalem*, as in other neighbouring Countries. Which being vnderstood by diuers faithful Christians in the westerne parts, and on what tearmes the affaires stood

stood beyond the Seas: great numbers of people went continually thither, some (in meere zeale) to assist Gods seruice, and regaine the vsurped Landes; and others on voyages, to visite the Holy Sepulcher. Now, about a yeare after his Coronation, *Godfrey of Buillon* dyed, and his Brother, named *Baldwine* (a man equall euery way to the others merits) was crowned King in his stead. During whose raigne, among many other that resorted daily thither: were nine Gentlemen, intimate friends and great companions, of whom we finde the names but of two; who (it may be) were the chiefest, to wit: *Hugues de Paganis*, and *Gaufrede de Saint Adelman*. These men being come to *Ierusalem*, and hauing well contemplated the Countrey, and all the neighbouring places: they found, that at the Port of *Iapha*, and other places of their passage, there were many busie spies vpon the waies, that daily both robbed and kild Pilgrimes and Passengers. In regard whereof, after good and mature deliberation, they concluded, with the helpe of many more (for it is to be presumed, that they leagued themselues with other people of the same mind) to make a vow, for doing some seruice acceptable to God, and to imploy their whole life time, in making the waies secure & passable, or else to loose their liues in the enterprise; while the other Christians were busied in other places, fighting with the Infidels. Persseuering in this religious purpose, they tooke (as an assigned place for their retreate) a Church, called, *The Holy Temple*, by permission of the Abbot there abiding: and in that respect, they were cald *Templers*, a name which alwaies after remained to them.

The death of *Godfrey* of *Buillon* & the instaulment of *Baldwine*.

Hugues de Paganis, and *Gaufrede de* Saint *Adelman*.

How they first attained to the name of Templers.

When the King and the Patriarch had intelligence thereof, and perceiued their paines to bee holy and commendable: they administred all thinges necessary vnto them, so that they liued (after this manner) in the Temple, both very religiously and chastly, and (which is more) their number multiplyed, and encreased day by day. Notwithstanding, albeit there were now a great number of them, yet had they neyther habite, or any rules designed them, but liued together in common, obseruing their vow, and so they continued for the space of nine yeares. During which time, for the great seruice they did to Christendome, their credite and renowne highly encreased, beside the meanes of so worthy an example. By reason of their encrease in number, Pope *Honorius* the second, at the request of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; deuised a rule and manner of life for them: appointing, that they should be cloathed in white. Afterward, Pope *Eugenius* the third, added a Badge, or Armoury of a red Crosse, to be worne on their breasts: which they promised by a sollemne vow to obserue for euer, according as other religious Knightes did. And therefore they were honored, to haue it brought them by the hand of Saint *Bernard*, a reuerend and holy Doctour, whom they elected as chiefe and first Maister of their Order, according as other religious Knightes had the like obseruation.

Pope *Honorius* the second iustituted the Order of the Templers.

S. *Bernard* was the first Maister of the Knights Templers.

The King and Patriarch, allow their proceeding.

In short time after, such was the multiplication of their Order, and honour of their deedes in Armes; as not onely they kept the wayes of the holie voyage, safe from Theeues and Murderers: but also (both by Sea and Land) they made great incursions and strong warres vpon the Infidels. So that their fame and worth spreading it selfe throughout Christendome, the Kinges and Princes (in many partes) ordained and allowed them great Rents and Reuenues, which they imploied in those warres, like true Knights, attending on the seruice of Iesus Christ. And by succesſe of time, growing on in strength and ability of wealth: in all Countries and Prouinces, they had abiding in the cheefest Cities and strongest places; but most especially in the Holy Land, where ordinarily the great Maister of the Order made his aboad, with the greater number of them, keeping an Army cotinually there, as also in other places, where most necessity required. It happened afterward, that for the sins of men, discord mooued among the Christians, and the great negligence in Princes: not onely the Citty of *Ierusalem*, but other places also formerlie conquered (as we haue before declared) were regained by the Infidels; ninetie yeares after the conquest made by *Godfrey*

The Great Maister of the Order stayed in the Holy Land.

The Knightes Templers expelled out of the holy land.

frey of Buillon. All which notwithstanding, this Order of the Knights Templers left not their holy labour: but being expulsed thence, they assembled their forces to other places, performing still worthy deedes of Armes against the enemies to our Faith, and continued sixscore years (after the losse of *Ierusalem*) preseruing that which was left them in the East parts.

The Order of the Templers destroyed by Pope *Clement* the fift.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred and ten, or thereabout, the Order of the Templers, which had continued more then two hundred yeares: was vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowne by Pope *Clement* the fift, who then remained and kept his Court in the Citty of *Poitiers*, in the Kingdome of *France*: And (as some report) he did it at the request of King *Phillip le Bell*. This happened, either thorough their prosperity, or ouer-great abounding in welth, by meanes whereof they grew to wickednesse, and were the ruine of themselues. Or, it may be, King *Phillip* then raigning, was abused by false reportes made of them: Or peraduenture, to get the riches of this Order, he perswaded the Pope to doe such a thing, for there are variable opinions written thereof. Neuertheless, it sufficeth to say, that they were condemned, and all their goods confiscated. And to compasse the matter the more easily (because they were growne very powerfull) a secret Inquisition was made against them, true or false: after which, the King tooke such order in all parts of his Kingdome, that vpon a certaine daie, purposely appointed, all the Templers that could be found, were taken, their goods seazed, and deliuered into the hands of Iustice, which beeing done, processe proceeded against them, and iudgement executed, according as wee meane to declare.

A secret Inquisition against the Templers.

The offences where-with the Templers were charged

As concerning the crimes imposed on them, they were these. That their Predecessors were the cause of loosing the holy Land; That they elected their Great Maister in secret; That they vsed wicked superstitions; That they helde some hereticall propositions; That they made their profession before a Statue or Image, cloathed in the skin of a Man; That they dranke the blood of Men; that they had made a secret coniuration, by their ayde and assistance, to betray all Christendome to the *Turk*; That they were guilty of the most abhominable sin against nature, *Sodomie*; and all these matters directly prooued against them. For which causes, processe was directed against their Great Maister, named Fryer *Iaques*, a native of *Bourgougne*, descended of a very worthy House: and consequent (after him) the like proceeding passed against all the other.

F. Iaques great Maister of the Templers first arested.

Finally, the Popes sentence condemned them all to the fire, and accordingly they were executed, and their goods made confiscate; the greater part wherof, was giuen to the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, who, about this time, or a little before, had conquered the Isle of *Rhodes* from the Infidels. Another part of their goods was bestowed on other Orders; and a third part (by permission of the Pope, or otherwise) remained in the hands of Princes, who tooke possession thereof, euen so soone as the sentence went out against them. This sentence was published thorough all Christendome, and allowed for good and iust by the Chronicles of *France*; as also by *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Clement* the fift; likewise by *Raphaell Volateranus*, and *Polidore Virgill*.

The Knightes of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* had part of the Templers goods.

Some authors against the Popes sentence.

Neuertheless, there are some that doe maintaine the contrarie, affirming the sentence to be vniust, and giuen vpon false Testimonies, charging King *Philip* principally with the fault, saying; That for desire of their goods, he purchased their destruction: saying moreouer, that at the time when they were iusticed, the common people reputed them for Saints and Martyrs, and kept peeces of their Garments as Reliques. Of this latter opinion was Saint *Iaques de Magonce*, *Nauclerus*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in their Histories; and *Iohn Boccace*, in his Booke of the fall of Princes, affirming, that hee heard it spoken by his owne Father, who was present at the execution of the sentence.

S. *Anton. in 3. par. de Histor.* How he reporteth the History.

It appeareth also, that Saint *Anthonie*, Arch-byshop of *Florence* was of the same minde, and reciteth the case as it happened, in manner following. Pope *Clement* (saith he) and his *Romain* Court being in *France*, whereas then he made his abiding, seeing himselfe much

prouo-

prouoked by *Philip* King of *France*, to keepe his promise made him, when he created him chiefe Bishop; which was, to condemne Pope *Boniface*, and cause his bones to bee burned; and the Pope deferring to doe it, because it seemed difficult to effect: It fortuned, that a Knight of the Templers Order, a Prior in one of the Commanderies, named *Monfaucon*, in the Citty of *Toulouse*, was taken and brought as Prisoner to *Paris*, by appointment of the great Maister; in regard of some crimes by him committed, and (as some doe testifie) for Heresie. At the same time, another Natiue of *Florence*, and Knight of the same Order, was sent to the same Prison, by commaund of the Great Maister, for many other foule delictes.

Two Knights Templers imprisoned in *Paris*.

These two together, knowing that their misdemeanor had beene such, as admitted no hope of their deliuerie: concluded, to free themselues from imprisonment, and to be spleenefullie & maliciously reuenged on their Great Maisters, accusing their Religion, and charging thē with such crimes as haue formerly beene spoken off. To effect it the better, they called some other to counsell, and practised with the Kinges Officers, accusing the Great Maister and the other Knightes, that they were worthy of death, and vtter destruction of their Order. Affirming also, that the King, being a Man good and iust, ought to labour it, considering the great benefit that thereby would redound vnto him, in confiscation of so many goodly houses. This being reuealed to the King, he quickely lent an eare thereto, and gaue order, for more ample conference with both the Prisoners. Afterward, he made it speedily knowne to the Pope; declaring, that such an Order deserued vtter spoile and ruine.

King *Philip* made acquainted with the businesse, reuealeth it to the Pope.

The Pope, after he had heard the Prisoners, or the relation made to him by others; or rather, to free himselfe from the Kinges importunity, against Pope *Boniface*: without vsing any more sufficient inquisition, or processe against them, but onely led by these informations: wrote secretly thorow all Christendome, that a certaine day should bee appointed for the Knightes Templers, to apprehend their bodies, and seaze all their goods. On the same day as these Letters were expedited, the Great Maister (who then made his residence in *Paris*) was taken, with threescore Knights of the chiefest, and after proofe made, beeing brought to confronting: they stoutly denyed, and with great boldnesse, that euer they committed any such offences, no, not so much as in thought, but liued as good and faithfull Christians ought to doe. Neuertheless, the processe was concluded against them, and all the threescore persons (except the Great Maister, and foure other, who were reserued till another time) were drawne forth of *Paris*, and brought vpon a scaffold purposely prouided, where (before all the people) they were each after other throwne into a fire, to the ende, that if any one had confessed the offences, or any part of them, his life might haue beene saued. But although they were exhorted by their Kured and Friendes, to confesse the faultes, albeit they were not guiltie, onely to saue their liues: yet did they still make deny-all, calling God and the Virgine *Marie* to witnesse their innocency, and were all burned, without confessing any thing.

One day generally appointed for destruction of the Templers

Execution began at the citty of *Paris* on the Knights Templers.

This being done, the Great Maister, with one named *F. Danfin*, and one *F. Huguet*, and some others that had been Officers in the Kinges Court, were brought before the Emperour and the Pope (by whom great promises were made vnto them, if they would confesse the crimes where-with they were charged. By meanes of such importunity, they confessed some part of them, and other thinges beside: but after that they had made this confession, they were led away to punishment, where their processe was publikely read, and the sentence ratified, whereby the Pope had condemned the Great Maister, and all the rest of his Order. While thus they proceeded, the great Maister started vp on his feet, saying, that they ought to heare him; adding further, that he had iustly deserued death, by so many offences which he committed against God. Notwithstanding, the crimes where-with both he & the Knights were burdened in the Processe; both he and they were innocent

The crimes confessed by the Great Maister and others.

cent of them; and whatsoeuer he had confessed: he did it in feare, and at the Popes perswasion, speaking now nothing else but truth. The like saide *F. Dansin*, and thinking to proceede on in more speeches; they were exposed to the fire, and burned. But *F. Hugues*, and his companions, saued their liues by confessing their guiltinesse, according as it was obiected against them in the processe: yet liued they not long after, but dyed (as is reported) miserably, as likewise the two imprisoned Knights did, who were their first accusers; the one, being saide to be hanged or strangled, and the other slaine, which seemed to the people as a great worke of God. In regard whereof, diuers great personages, and of good knowledge, were partly perswaded, that the sentence was vniustly giuen, and ill executed vpon the Templers. Al these thinges are thus alleadged by S. *Anthony*, in the place fore-named, beside the other Authors. Wherefore, I stand doubtfull how to resolue herein, because it is hardly to be credited, that the Pope would faile in a case of such importance. On the other side, it seemeth as incredible, that such an Order, wherein were so many and great diuersitie of Knights; would wholly bee so wicked. But this secret, and many other, must be referred to the day, when the faults of all men will truely be reuealed.

F. Hugues and others by confession of their facts, saued their liues.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *By what meanes the Holie Apostolicall Chaire or Seate, was transferred into France: How long it continued there; And how it returned to Rome againe.*

SEeing wee haue declared the History of the Knights Templers, me thinkes it fitteth well our purpose (in this next place) to make some mention: for what cause, in the time of the very same Pope *Clement* the fift, the Holy Chaire Apostolique was transported into *France*. It is then to be vnderstood, that Pope *Bennet*, or *Benedict*, eleauenth of that name, being dead, who was an excellent and holy Byshop, and whose body was said to worke miracles after his death: the Romaine Church was thirteene months without a Chiefe Bishop, by reason of the Schisme and discord among the Cardinals Electours, who (during this time) neuer came forth of the Conclaue, and yet could not agree vpon any election. For there was growne two factions or contentions among them; one side holding voice for the *French* Nation; and therefore they laboured to elect a man, that might agree with the appetite of their King. The other faction consisted of *Italian* Cardinals, that stroue to haue a Pope of their nation, and because both partes were equall in power and number; they continued in this long suspence, yet neither of them reaching to their intention.

The death of Pope Bennet, the eleuenth, & the schisme then in the Church.

Two Factions among the Cardinall Electors.

When the *French* Cardinals perceiued this impertinent losse of time, they be-thought themselues of a subtiltie, whereby they might beguile and ouerreach the other. For, they would make a party for them; to wit, they would name three *Italians*; one of which three, should be chosen by the *Italians* to bee Pope. If they would not agree on that partie; then themselues should name three *French-men*, such as they had best opinion of, and one of them should be elected by the *French*, with their liking. The *Italians* (thinking the matter firmely in their power, purposed to nominate three *French* men, great Enemies to their owne Crowne, and that the meanest of them should bee elected Pope) accepted the part of nomination, and gaue in the names of three men, who were mightie Enemies to their King. For the King was then but slenderly esteemed by the Romain Church, in regard of the great difference, that had beene betweene him and Pope *Boniface*, Predecessour to *Bennet* the eleauenth, and one of the 3. was the Arch-Byshop of *Bourdeaux*, named *Bertrend*. The *French* Cardinals aduertised their King of this nomination, to the end; that he might compasse the meanes to reconcile himselfe with the other two, which beeing done, to let them haue know-

A French subtilty to deceiue the Italians in election of the Pope

The Italians accepted the nomination of three French-men.

knowledge thereof with all possible speede.

The King desired kinde conference with the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*.

Heereupon, the King wrote a verie kind Letter, entreating the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to meet him immediatly at a certaine place, about a matter of great importance, & highly concerning his honor and profit: assuring him, that he was very desirous to hold loue and friendship with him. The Arch-bishop (vpon this gracious motion) made no delay, but came presently to the place appointed by the King, where being met together: The King plainely told him, that he would make him Pope, vnder condition of promises to be passed between them. Which when the Arch-byshop heard, he made no difficulty of promising what the King should desire, prouided, that he might attaine to so high a dignity. Finally, by meanes of many promises, signed, sealed, and sollemnly sworne between them: the King gaue him his royal word, that he should bee elected before the other two likewise named. Then, with the greatest diligence that possibly could be made, he wrote back to the Cardinals, who fauored and made good his cause: that they should nominate the Arch-byshop of *Bourdeaux*. So that, although he was then absent, hee was elected the Soueraigne Byshop, in the year of our Lord (according to *Platina*) 1205. and was named *Clement* the fift. And he hauing intelligence of his election, at the instance and request of the King: went to the Citty of *Lyons*, whether hee caused the Cardinals, and the whole Court of *Rome* to come; for it was one of the promises which hee had made to the King. By meanes whereof, the *Italian* Cardinals found themselues deceiued, and constrained (greatly against their wils) to come into *France*, to satisfie the pleasure of the Pope.

Platina would be perused, for according this presage of time, with that in the precedent Chapter.

Thus came the Court of *Rome* into *France*, where it stayed and continued with great honor, but to the endamagement of all *Italy*. And in this Citty was performed, the sacring and crowning of Pope *Clement* the fift, with no meane sollemnity. But as they were in this serious businesse, and the whole World (as it were) attentiue and beholding the ceremonies: a great part of a wal, in the place where the royalty was performed, fell suddenly downe, and killed aboue a thousand men, among whom dyed the Duke of *Bretaigne*, & diuers other worthy persons. And it happened in such maner, that the hug crowd of people, which thronged (for their owne safety) from the place of this mishap: ouerthrew the Pope from his Horse, where he was in great danger of his life. The King also was in meruailous great perplexity, being carried out of the crowd, sore wounded and trampled vpon. This businesse being somewhat more quietly ouer-blowne; the Pope created many new Cardinals, who were all on the part of *France*. He sent also three Cardinals to *Rome*, to gouerne there the State of the Church for *Italy*; hee determining to dye in *France*, where hee held the Seat eight yeares and eleauen months.

A thousand men & more slain accidentally at the Popes consecration.

The King and Pope in perill of their liues.

After him succeeded Pope *Iohn*, the three and twentith of that name, who liued likewise in France, bringing his Court to *Auignon*, a part of *Prouence*: which was saide to appertaine to the Church, because it had beene bought (as diuers doe maintaine) by Pope *Clement* the sixt, of Madame *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, and of *Prouence*. There were sixe Popes, which liued and dyed there each after other, the seat remaining there the space of threescore yeares: whereby some *Italians* tooke occasion, to name it the transmigration of *Babylon*, and so it continued to the time of *Gregorie* the eleauenth, a learned Man, & of holy life, in whose gouerment this exile ceased, and the Seate was restored backe againe in this manner.

Pope *Iohn* 23. Successour to *Clement* translated his seat to *Auignon*.

The Transmigration of *Babylon*.

Vpon a time, as a Byshop of his Court passed by before him, the Pope demaunded of him; wherefore hee went not to the gouernment of his owne Byshoppricke, for it was not conuenient, to see a Flocke without a Shepheard? whereto the Bishop made this answere. Holy Father, why do you vse these speeches to me? Considering, that your selfe, who ought to giue vs example: doe not goe to abide at your owne Byshoppricke, which hath beene so long time without a Shepheard.

The manner of the Chairs reduction to *Rome*.

These words did not a little moue the Pope, knowing well, what mischiefes

had happened in *Italy*, in the abſence of the Prelacy: and therefore he determined to returne to *Rome*, beeing thereto alſo incited (as ſome write) by Letters and admonitions from *S. Katherine* of *Sienna*. And for his better attaining thereto, he cauſed ſecretly to be prepared one and twenty Gallies: pretending to vſe them about ſome other buſines, and bringing them on the Riuer of *Roſne*, furniſhed with all things neceſſary belonging to them. Going aboord at an appointed time, they launched forth into the Sea, and within few daies after arriued at *Genes*, and from *Genes*, at *Cornetta*: where taking Land, they went directly to *Rome*, in the yeare 1364. where he was receiued with great magnificence, and vnſpeakable pleaſures, as a Father earneſtly deſired by his Children. Soone after, like a good Paſtour, he re-edified Churches and Buildings in *Rome*, which were falne into ruine by age and negligence of men. In which workes, and other holy exerciſes, hee ſpent the remainder of his life; which he finiſhed in the yeare, one thouſand three hundred, ſixty and eight, and was buried with as many moanes and tears, as any other that died before him. But after his death, neither Schiſmes, or any other diſcordes happening in the Church; could cauſe his Succeſſours to forſake their continuall abiding at *Rome*.

The Pope prepared 22 gallies for his returne to *Rome*

The death of *Gregory*, eleauenth Byſhop of that name.

The Authours for affirmation of theſe things, are *Platina*, and *Martine* in the liues of the Popes: *Sabellicus*, *Volsteranus*, *Antoninus*, and *Nauclerus*, in their Hiſtories: Beſide diuers other of latter daies, who haue Commented vpon their paines, and enlarged this diſcourſe in more ample manner, then this little roome would admit their labour; but for truth and certainety, enough is contained in this breuity.

CHAP. V.

How dangerous a thing it is, to Murmure againſt Princes; With praiſe and commendation of their clemency.

IT hath beene a ſaying of great Antiquity, and deriued out of our Elders graue Prouerbes. *That Kinges haue verie long Armes, and as wide Eares.* Inferring thereby, that Kinges and mightie men, may (a farre off) be reuenged on ſuch as offend them, and vnderſtand likewiſe, whatſoeuer is ſpoken in ſecret of them: for there are ſo many, that contend for affection in ſuch as beare command, as nothing can well be hidden from them. For this cauſe was it, that wiſe men aduiſed; *To ſpeak nothing of the King in ſecret*, becauſe (in ſuch caſes) meere wals are ſaid both to heare and ſpeake. And *Plutarch* ſaith; *The Birdes can carry our wordes through the Ayre.* If then, for ſpeaking truelie and freely, men haue falne into great dangers: what ſhall we iudge of ſuch as dare murmure againſt the mightie? Examples which might be alleaged in this caſe, are infinite. Among which, we read in the Hiſtories, both Greeke and Latine, that *Antigonus*, one of the Captaines and Succeſſors to *Alexander* the Great, his Armie being in the field, and he couched in his Pauillion one night: heard ſome of his Souldiours talking without, murmuring greatly againſt him, not thinking that he was ſo neere to heare them. Neuertheleſſe, he would make no ſhew thereof, but altring his voyce (as if it had been ſome other that heard them) ſaide ſoftly to them: *That if they meant to vſe ſuch language, they ſhould get them further off from the Kinges Tent, or elſe himſelfe might hap to heare them.*

The great power of Princes.

Care of the tongue.

Of *Antigonus* the Captaine to Great *Alexander*.

At another time, the ſame King *Antigonus*, guiding his Army (in the night time) through a way which was verie foule and dirty, the men finding themſelues to be much wearied: murmured againſt him as they went along; ſpeaking very bad words of him, imagining him to be far behind, & heard nothing. Notwithſtanding, he beeing preſent in diſguiſe among thē, hauing heard their iniurious and diſcontented ſpeeches, & perceiuing what a priuiledge the darke night allowed him: hee fell ſtoutly to work among the reſt, laboring (ſo much as lay in him) to releeue them thence. And

Another notable example of the ſame *Antigonus*.

And when his intent was compassed, he came among the Murmurers, that had well obserued his paines, and wrought the harder with him for company: to whō he said in like change of his voice; *Speak against the King what you please, for bringing ye into such a filthy passage: But yet I hold it fit and reasonable, that you should make much of me, for helping yee so quickly to be released out of it.*

Of Pyrrhus K. of Epire, warring in Italy.

The patience of *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, may well be said to be no lesse. For when he made war in *Italy* against the *Romaines*, he and his men being lodged in the Citty of *Tarentum*: there were some of his younger Souldiours, who, after they had supped together, began to talke iniuriously of him at the Table. He hauing intelligence thereof, sent for them before him, and demaunded whether it were true or no, that they had deliuered such language of him: whereunto, one of them boldlie thus replyed. *Sir, most true it is, that all these speeches which wee haue vsed of you; and be you well assured, that if wine had not failed vs at the Table, our tongues had walked much more liberally.* Heereby hee strouue to shew (in his own excuse) that wine had induced them to speake euill of him. *Pyrrhus* was no way displeased with this answer, but falling into a pleasant laughter; sent them backe to their lodgings, without any other checke or punishment.

Of Tiberius, Emperor of Rome.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, although he was a cruell Tyrant; yet among other things, and fit for this purpose, he left a very memorable example. For, knowing that some body had made a diffamatory Libell against him, and that many people murmured at his cruelties: hee was perswaded by some, to do Iustice and correction vpon the offender. But he answered courageously; *That Mens tongues ought to be free in the Citty.* Being yet further incited by some of the Senate, to find out (by enquiry) the inuenter of the Libell: hee would (by no meanes) yeilde thereto, but said, *He was not voide of other businesse, which required more due care, then such idle matter as a vaine libell.* The great mildnesse of *Dyonisius*, the Tyrant of *Sicily* (albeit hee was most cruell) to an aged Woman, may not be forgotten. For he being aduertised, that this old Woman prayed deuoutly to the Gods, for continuance of his prosperity; sent to seek for her, & caused her to bee brought before him. Then he demaunded of her, for what cause shee prayed so earnestly for him; considering, that al the rest of the people desired his death? Whereunto the aged woman made this answere. *Know Sir, that when I was young, we had here in this Country a most cruell Tyrant, of a stern nature and wicked complexion: wherefore, I prayed to the Gods deuoutly for his death, and I found my desire to bee accomplished. Next to that man succeeded another, who tyrannized in the kingdom much more cruelly then the first; and I prayed in like manner for his death. So that by continuall praiers and requests, made with such instancy to the Gods: as they heard me for the first, so did they for the second, because soone after his death ensued. In his place now art thou come, a more bloody man then both the others; and because (I feare, that (after thee) another will come, worse then all the three: I pray continually to the Gods, that they would send thee long life and happinesse.* This free and audacious answer of the old Woman, vrged no indignation or displeasure in him, who disdained all others that durst reprone him: but he suffered her to depart freely and pleasantly.

Of Dyonisius the Tyrant of Sicily.

The old Womans answere to the Tyrant

Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, who had long time continued with this Tyrant *Dyonisius*; craued fauour of him, that he might returne to *Athens*, & his suite was granted him. But at his departing thence, *Dyonisius* demanded of him, what report he would make of him at *Athens*, in the Academy of so many famous Philosophers, whereto *Plato* (boldly) thus replyed. *The that liue in Athens, are not so idle, neither can they find so much leysure, as to question of thee or thy actions.* I remember two other aged women, that (with no lesse libertie of soule) spake to their Kinges, and both were patiently endured: the one was of *Macedon*, and spoke vnto *Demetrius*, Son to King *Antigonus*, before named; the other was a *Romain*, & vttered her mind to the Emp. *Adrian*. For both of them had the like kind of answer, when they required to haue Iustice done them; *Demetrius* & *Adrian* both replying, that they could not intend them. The Women made answere, *That if they had no leisure to intend them, they should leaue the*

Of graue Plato, the Prince of Philosophers.

Of two aged women, the one a *Macedonian*, the other a *Romaine*.

Empire to such as cou'd do it. Neuertheleſſe neither of the Princes were offended with their words, but patiently admitted audience, and granted them Iuſtice.

Of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, & the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors.

Phillip, K. of *Macedon*, bidding Adieu to the Ambaſſadours of the *Athenians*, and making them goodly offers, as (in like caſes) it had been a long continued cuſtome; demaunded of them: If he ſhould doe any thing elſe for them? Whereunto one of the Ambaſſadors, named *Democrates* (who well knew, that King *Philip* greatly hated the *Athenians*) being not able to conceale his fury, anſwered: *Wee would haue thee to hang thy ſelfe by the necke.* At this anſwere, all his companions were much diſpleaſed, as alſo all the reſt in preſence, doubting leaſt the King would doe ſome harme vnto them. But in his wonted naturall clemency (or diſſembling his ſpleene) he made no other ſemblance, but turning himſelfe to the other Ambaſſadors, ſaid. *You may ſay to the Athenians, that he that can endure ſuch wordes, is much more modeſt then the wiſe Men of Athens, that haue not diſcretiō to be ſilent.*

Another example concerning the ſame *Macedonian* K.

Domorates the *Cornician*, went to ſee this King *Phillip*, at ſuch time as he was highly offended with his Queene, and his Sonne *Alexander*. Among other ſpeeches paſſing betweene them, King *Phillip* asked of him; If he had peace and vnitie with the Cities of *Greece*? *Domorates*, who knew very well, that the King took delight to ſee his Commonweales in diſcord; made anſwere, and truely (in my iudgement) very freely, conſidering how it behooued him to anſwere ſuch a Prince. *Truely King* (quoth he) *becauſe thou art at diſcord in thine owne houſe, thou enquireſt after the diſſentions of our Cities: But if thou were at peace with thine owne, it would appeare more commendable in thee, then to ſeek after the afflictions of others.* And yet notwithſtanding, the King was not moued a iot heereat; but conſidered, that hee iuſtly deſerued to be taxed, & therefore became friends with his wife and Son.

Of *Alexander* and *Diogenes*.

As concerning the freedome and boldneſſe, where with *Diogenes* ſpake to *Alexander*, and with what royall modeſty hee endured it; is ample mention made of in the Chapter of the life of *Diogenes*.

But if we would haue ſome examples among Chriſtians, that of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, a religious man of the order of S. *Frances*, may well fit the purpoſe. He hauing attained to the Papacy, one of his religious Brethren, a very ancient man, went to ſee him in his Cordelier habit. To whō the Pope hauing ſhewn ſome Iewels and precious Stones, which were very rich; he ſaide withall. *I cannot now ſay as ſometime S. Peter did, I haue neither Gold or Siluer. It is true* (anſweted the Fryer boldly) *nor can you ſay (as he did) to the paſſie, lame and impotent people, Ariſe and walk.* Giuing him hereby to vnderſtand, that the chiefe Byſhops were now become more carefull of Riches, then of holineſſe: and the Pope, who knew very well, that his poore Brother had reaſon to ſpeake it, endured his words patiently.

Of Pope Sixtus the fourth, and a Gray Fryer.

Of the Arch-Byſhop of *Colongne*, and a poore Huſband-man.

It happened (well neere) in the ſame manner, to an Archbiſhop of *Colongne*, conferring with a Husband-man in the fields. For, as the poore man was at his labour in the fielde, the Arch-Byſhop chanced to paſſe by ſome-what neere him, hauing a Guard of men waiting on him, after the order in *Germany*. As the Arch-biſhop went by, the poore Country-man laughed ſomwhat loudly; which beeing perceiued, the Arch-byſhop demanded, what mooued him to laugh? Whereto the Husband-man preſently anſwered. *I laugh* (quoth he) *at S. Peter, who is teatmed the Prince of Prelates, that hee ſhould liue and dye in ſo great powerty, and his Succeſſours to bee ſo rich.* The Arch-biſhop feeling himſelfe ſomewhat toucht; to iuſtifie himſelfe, thus replied. *My friend, I go with this fair traine of attendants, becauſe I am a Duke, as wel as an Archbiſhop.* Which when the Husbandman heard, he laughed more extreamely then he did before; and the occaſion being requeſted of this great laughter, the Country-man ſpake verie boldly. *I would* (quoth he) *my Lord gladly haue you tell me, that if the Duke (which you name your ſelfe to be) were in hell, where do you think the Arch-byſhop ſhould be?* Inferring heereby, that two profeſſions can neuer agree in one man: for, ſinning in the one, he cannot iuſtifie himſelfe by the other. At this anſwere, the Arch-biſhop holding downe his head, not making any reply, or offering any diſplea-

Two profeſſions hardly agree in one man.

displeasure or iniury to the poore man, in a strange confusion, rode on his iourney.

Of *Artaxerxes* the King of *Persia*, and his Captaine *Aclides*.

To speak of *Gentiles*. *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, had knowledge giuen him, that a Captaine, named *Aclides*, whom he had brought vp frō his youth, Murmured greatly against him. For which offence, he gaue him no other chastisement, but sent him word by the same man that brought the accusation: *Tell him* (quoth *Artaxerxes*) *that he may speak what hee pleaseth of his King; because his King may as well talke of him, and doe also what he listeth to him.*

Of K. *Phillip* and *Nicanor*.

Phillip, the Father of *Alexander*, hearing that *Nicanor* spake euil of him publikely, was counselled by some, to send forth an especiall processe for him. To whom he answered. *Nicanor is not the worst Man in my Kingdome; but I would fayne know if he stand in need of any thing, for it may bee, that this necessity requireth our assistance.* Presently he vnderstood, that *Nicanor* suffered great pouerty, and therefore, in stead of punishing his reprochful words; he sent him a rich present. Which being receiued, he that formerly had accused him, came and reported to the King: That *Nicanor* went vp and down the streets, speaking most honorably of the King. *Why then* (quoth the King to *Simicius*, for so was the tell-tale named) *I see that it is in mine owne power, to make men speake well or ill of me.*

Of a rayler & depraver of his Prince.

This *Phillip* was once more aduised, to banish out of all his Countries, a bad tongued man, one that did very much scandalize him; whereto he answered. *In any case I wil not yeild to his banishment; for seeing he can slander a Man in his owne Country: I will not haue him doe as much in other strange places.* Giuing hereby to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer hee did in clemency and magnanimity, proceeded from a Princes good aduise and discretion. He saide moreouer, that hee was much bound in thankfulnesse, to the Gouernours and principall men of *Athens*. *Because* (quoth he) *by the means of their continuall euill, speaking of mee and mine actions: to make them lyers, I may the more commodiously amend & correct mine owne bad gouernment.*

Of the Gouernors of Athens.

A memorable example in a Prince.

He would neuer punnish any, that spake euill of him; but rather stroue to take away the occasion of any such defaming. If such rules might be in these daies obserued, they would bee two waies very beneficiall to vs: The one, in amendment of our bad liues; the other, that there would not be such store of deprauers. For truely, it is a great vertue, to make no account of euil spoken in our absence: But yet there is much greater temperance, when wee are not mooued or iniuriously prouoked, at offences vrged in our presence.

CHAP. VI.

That Imagination is one of the most principall inward powers, approued by true examples, and very notable Histories.

Like as the exteriour sences are fiue in number, as is generally well knowne to all men (to wit; Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Feeling, and Smelling:) So are there likewise fiue inward sences and powers in man. Now, albeit some doe reduce them to foure; yet the first is vulgar and common opinion, as namely: The sence common, Imagination (whereof wee are now to speake) Iudgement, Fantasie, and Memorie. Concerning the office and vertue of these seuerall sences, we purpose not to discourse at this time: but our intent only is of Imagination, the charge and property whereof, is; to retaine the Images and figures, which the common sence receiueth first from the outward sense, and afterward she sends them to Iudgment, from whence they proceed on to the Fantasie, and thence are conuayed into the Coffer, commonly called Memory. Imagination hath power to change it selfe, by the representation of thinges, although they bee no more presented: which the sense common cannot doe, except shee haue them in presence; wherein is demonstrated the greatnesse, and wonderfull power of Imagination. For we plainly perceiue, that a man being asleepe, and his senses at rest: yet his Imagination ceaseth not from labour, but still representeth all things, euen as if they were personallie present, and the man wide waking.

Fiue senses inward, as well as outward.

The admirable power of Imagination.

The strange and violent effects of Imagination.

Imagination is able to moue the passions and affections of the Soule, and it can (diuersly) prouoke the body, alter accidents, turning the Spirits topsie-turuy, and the in-side outward, producing likewise diuers qualities in the mẽbers. Imagination can make a man sick or sound, and worke many other admirable effects. When Imagination conceiueth any matter delightfull; ioy brings the Spirits outward: But if it be of feare or terror, then they fly inward; becauſe that the motion or conceipt of ioy, entranceth the hart, and sadneſſe or ſorrow ſhuts it vp in reſtraint. The imagination of feare begetteth coldneſſe, makes the heart to tremble, expulſeth heat, and cauſeth a kind of quiuering in ſpeech. Mercy being cauſed and incited by Imagination, in ſeeing the ſufferings of ſome other body: doth (oftentimes) much more moue and change the party ſo conceited, then the patient himſelfe. As may euidently bee noted in ſome, that will quickly ſwowne or fall into a trance; by beholding another perſon let blood, or his wounds handled and dreſt by the Chirurgion; yea, & in more violent manner, then the party that endureth the paine. Strong Imagination hath moreouer the vertue, to make a tranſmutatiõ of things, though they be true when we behold them: as when we heare or ſee a man eate ſuch things as are ſharp or eager, it makes vs preſently to feele a ſtrange eagernes in the mouth. And contrariwiſe, beholding ſweet and ſauory things eaten; the very ſight and apprehenſion thereof, ſendeth the like ſweet Imagination into the mouth, euen as in bitter things it hath the like working.

The power of compaſſion cauſed by Imagination.

The vertue of ſtrong Imagination.

If we would haue examples of ſtrange Imaginations; we may eaſily heare many. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, he knew a Man, that at al times when himſelf pleaſed, would ſweate very aboundantlie, exciting the expulſiue vertue by meere Imagination. He declareth alſo in the ſame Booke, that another man whom he knew, when he heard a mournefull ſong, or dolorous ſounding voyce, or of one weeping or ſobbing: he would apprehend the ſame with ſo ſtrange an Imagination, as hee fell downe in a ſwoune, lying ſtone-ſtill without any feeling. And whatſoeuer men did vnto him, pricking him with pinnes, or burning his fingers; yet he appeared not to feele any thing. Neuertheleſſe, hee would reuiue, and come to himſelfe againe, when ſome ioyfull or pleaſing ſound came neere him, euen as if hee heard it a great way off. *Pliny* reporteth (well-neere) the very ſame, of a Man named *Hermotimus*, who when he conceiued an Imagination: he ſeemed ſo ſtrangely tranſported, as if the Spirit were gone out of his body, and when he returned to his former condition, he would report what wonders hee had ſeene. *Monſieur Guillaume de Paris* ſaith, he knew a man, who onely by ſeeing a Phiſition, without taſting any dram or Potion: yet ſuch was the violence of his Imagination, that he would fall to purging, as if he had miniſtred Phiſicke to him. It fareth in like caſe with ſuch as are ſubiect to dreaming; for, let vs admit, that it is Imagination which worketh heerein: yet it hath maniſeſtly bin knowne, that in dreaming they haue beene burned, or killed; they haue felt pain and torment, though neither weapon or fire touched them, & they haue declared it by loud ſhrikes and cries.

Examples of ſtrange Imaginations. *Auguſt. in lib. 4 de Ciuit. Dei.*

Of hearing a ſad or mournfull ſound.

Plin. in lib. 9.

Of meere ſeeing a Phiſition

Of Dreaming

Imagination hath ſuch a powerfull Soueraignty, in the inward apprehenſiue parts: that it imprinteth in it ſelfe the liuely figure of imagined thinges; and then ſetteth them on worke in the blood; yea, this a matter of ſuch power, as it extendeth it ſelfe to the members of a ſecond perſon. As we may diſcerne in a Woman great with Childe, who, only through the preheminence of Imagination, which ſhe faſtens on ſome food whereof ſhe deſireth to eate; imprinteth on the Infant in her whomb diuers ſtrange ſignes or Markes; yea, ſometimes it extendeth to the death both of Child and Mother. It hapneth ſometimes, that he which is bitten by a mad Dog; by his neere imagination conceiued of the Dog, hath the figure of a Dog imprinted in his Vrine. To this purpoſe, it is recorded by ſome Authours, that a King, named *Cyphus*, hauing (with great attention) noted a fight betweene two Bulles, falling (on a day afterward) into a very ſound ſleepe: the ſame Imagination preſented it ſelfe before his thoughts. But when he awaked, he found the young Hornes

The impreſſion of imagined things.

Of byting by a mad Dog.

Of a fight betweene two Buls.

Hornes of a Bull growing vppon his head. If this were true, it proceeded from this cause, that the Vegatiue Vertue, giuing aide and impulsion to the immagination: it raised such Humors in the head, as were apt to engender and bring forth hornes. According to this which we haue declared, the imaginatiue Vertue hath such Dominion, ouer the bodies of second and third persons; that *Marcus Damascenus* reporteth, that on the Confines of *Pisa* in *Elis*, in a place named Saint *Peter*, a Woman was brought to bed of a sauage child, hauing the skin in forme and semblance like vnto a Camels, which happened in this maner, by reason that at the instant of this childs conception, the Mother (ouer earnestly) contemplated the picture of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, which hung on the Wall in the Chamber. And therefore, as we haue formerly spoken of Infants, that imagination hath such powerfull prehemiinence, as it can cause Children to resemble persons, imagined by the Fathers and Mothers.

Of the immaginatiue Vertue on the bodies of second or third persons.

What power Imagination worketh on Infants.

Auicenne is of the minde, that imagination may bee so strong, as (when it listeth) it will take and benumb a man in his members, prostrating him on the ground, and tormenting him with the paines of madnesse. Moreouer, saith he, the charming or enchaunting which is made by the eie, passeth ouer from one person to another, by immagination of him that worketh the Sorcerie. Likewise *Thomas Aquinas*, speaking after *Auicenne* saith, *What is that which can most subuert the body it selfe, either the melancholy imagination, or the most pleasing?* answereth; *The violence of the one and other. For, the chaseth all the spirits outward, and leaueth a man (as it were) liueless. The other locketh them vp so strongly within, as it groweth to a violent suffocation.* It was well obserued in *Seuil*, that *Iaques Orosius* (who was surprized as prisoner by the Catholick king) apprehended so strong an imagination of feare, as in one night onely, hee became white and aged, being the day before verie blacke and youthfull. Againe, it hath oftentimes beene noted, that imagination hath made men to become Fooles: And other-whiles so extreamly sick, that the power of imagination can neuer be sufficiently admired.

Auicenne concerning Immagination.

Thom: Aquinas in lib 3 de Sū. cont. Gent.

Of *Iaques Osius* taken prisoner.

CHAP. VII.

Of what Countrey Pilate was: How hee died: Of the Lake named Pilates Lake, and the property thereof. As also of the Den or Cauerne in Dalmatia.

Pilate the most Wicked and sinfull Iudge that euer was, or shall bee, according to the most and common opinion, was a Natiue of *Lyons* in *France*. Neuertheless, some of that Nation, who take the matter scarse pleasing, do say, that the name *Pontius* came from an house in *Italy*, and from *Pontius Ireneus*, Captaine of the *Samnites*, who vanquished the *Romaines* at the *Caudine Fourca*. But bee it howsoeuer, this *Pilate*, either whether it were in respect of his person, or for his parentage, became one of the most eminent men in Rome. And being well knowne by *Tiberius*, the successor to *Octauius* (according to *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*) he was sent by him, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, to gouerne *Ierusalem*, and named himselfe in his dignitie, Deputie of the Empire. In this maner then did *Pilate* gouerne the Holie Cittie, and the whole Prouince of *Iudea*, which was named *Palestine*, and his Office endured the space of ten years. In the seauenth whereof (which was the eighteenth of *Tiberius* his Empire, according to *Eusebius*, and venerable *Beda*) he gaue sentence of death, against the Sauiour & Redeemer of all mankind, our Lord Iesus Christ, God and man. At which time happened those things, which the holie Euangelists declared of his death & passion, and his resurrection was euident & publicke in *Ierusalem*, albeit they greatly laboured to conceale it. Which being reported to *Pilate* (although hee was wicked) he conceiued, that such a resurrection and myracles of Christ, could not be done by any humain power, but by God. In regard whereof (according as it is recited by *Paulus Orosius*, *Eusebius* & *Tertullian* in his Apologies) hee aduertised the

Pontius Ireneus Captaine of the *Samnites*.

Ioseph in lib de Ant quit. 1. Eusb. in lib. 1. de Hist. Eccles.

Eusb. in lib. 1. de Temp. Beda in Lib. de Temp.

Paulus Orosius. Eusb. Lib. 1 Total. in Apol.

the Emperor *Tiberius* in the matter: for it was a custome, that the Consulles and Pro-consuls should send to the Emperor or Senate, to acquaint them with such occasions as happened in their Prouinces.

Pilate writeth to *Tiberius*, concerning Christ & his Myracles.

These meanes appeared verie meruailous to the Emperor, and he referd them to the Senate in Counsell, there to consult, whether they thought it fit, or no, that this Prophet by his memorable actions, should be honoured as a God. For without authoritie of the Senate, they could cause no new God to bee adored in Rome, other and beside the vanitie of their owne ydle Gods. But as the Godhead had not any neede, neither would confirme it self by the probation of men only: euen so God permitted, that the Senatours should not agree vppon anie thing, but rather (as some Authors say) they were greatly discontented, that *Pilate* had not written as well to them, as he did to the Emperour *Tiberius*. Notwithstanding, *Tiberius* prohibited the persecution of the Christians. After these occasions thus happening, *Pilate* made his abiding at *Rome*, and beeing confirmed by the Deuill for his faithfull seruant; he neuer did any thing afterward in his Office, but such things as were most vniust and wicked. Whereof being accused before *Caius Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius*, as also because hee had prophaned the Temples, placing Statues & Images therein; and somtime had stolne monies out of the common Treasurie, beside other great crimes and vile actions: he was banished thence to the Cittie of *Lyons*; others say, to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*. And because this was the assigned place of his exile, some haue thought it also to be the place of his birth, where hee found such entertainment and welcome, that he slue himselfe with his own hands; which questionlesse could not happen, but by Gods diuine permission, and that his life should not be taken away, but by the most wicked man in the whole world, and that was himselfe.

Persecution of the Christians prohibited by *Tiberius*.

Pilate accused before the Emperor.

Pontius Pilate his own murtherer.

Venerab. Beda in Lib. de Temp. & in Hist. Eccl. sup. Act. Apo.

They that haue written heereof, are the fore-alledged Authors, and *Beda* in his Booke of Times, and likewise in his Ecclesiastical History on the Acts of the Apostles. *Eusebius* farther saith, that his death hapned eight yeares after our blessed Sauiours suffering: from whence this wicked *Pilate* could not deriue any benefit, because he died desperately. For so great is the goodnesse of God, that although he condemned his innocent Son to death; yet if hee had repented him of his sin; euen he whom he had adiudged to death, would haue granted him eternall life.

Hauing spoke thus much of *Pilate*, I may not forget a Lake cald *Pilats* lake, which Lake is in *Swetia*, neere to a City named *Lucerna*, on a plaine enuironed with very high Mountains. From the top of one of them (as some good Writers testifie) *Pilate* (in his desperate mood) threw himself into the water. And it is a common voice of the people to this day, that euery yeare he there sheweth himselfe in the habit of a Iudge: but whosoeuer seeth him, be it man or woman, is sure to die within that years compasse. Beside this, and the common fame bruited of this Lake, I must alledge the testimony of *Ioachimus Vadianus*, a man very learned, who Commenting vpon *Pomponius Mela*, writeth another notable thing of this Lake, which is both certaine and meruailous. He saith, that if any one throw a stone, stick, or any thing else whatsoeuer it be into the Water; the Lake containeth such a straunge propertie, that it swell, rise, and moue with so impetuous a Tempest, that it ouerfloweth and drowneth a great part of the Countrey, whereby ensueth great losse and domages, aswell on the seeds in the grounds, as to Trees and beasts. And yet notwithstanding, if no such things be throwne into it, it standeth still without any motion. This *Ioachimus* further saith, (being a Natiue of *Swetia*) that there are very seuere ordinances made, prohibiting on paine of death, from casting anie thing into this Lake, and that such as break these prohibitions, haue bin put to death. Whither this do proceed naturally, or by miracle, I am not able to say, albeit some waters haue very great and admirable properties; for part whereof, reasons may be deliuerd, but for others not.

Of a Lake in *Swetia*, called *Pilats Lake*

Ioach. Vadian. in Comment. sup. Pomp. Mela.

A strange property of *Pilates* Lake in *Swetia*.

Pliny reporteth a matter like to this, & saith, that in *Dalmatia*, ther is a deep hole or caue, wherinto if any man cast a stone, or any waighty thing, there sodenly issueth forth a furious aire so violently, as it procureth a daungerous Tempest, to all the neere dwellers. It well may be (which yet I will not stand to auouch) that the body

Plin. in lib. 2. de Reb. Nat.

Of a strange Caue in *Dalmatia*.

body of *Pilate* was throwne thereinto; and that the Deuill (by diuine permissi-on, and for his much greater infamy) doeth performe such horrid and vncoth accidents in this place. Howsoeuer the cause proceedeth, certaine it is, that such a Caue is there to be seene, and such affrightments issuing thence, vppon the hurling of any heauie thing into it: For the rest, I refer it to the Learneds iudgement.

CHAP. VIII.

Of negligence, in the execution of Iustice vpon Offenders, and for the sins of the flesh.

Plut. in Romulo

A great plague & famine in the Cities of *Rome* and *Laurentum*.

WE read in *Plutark*, that when *Romulus* King of *Rome*, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, had made their compositiō to gouerne the *Romains* and *Sabines* ioyntly, there fell a strange kinde of plague and famine in the Cities of *Rome* and *Laurentum*, for two murthers committed by the *Romaines* and *Laurentines*. The one was done by the Kinsmen of *Tatius*, vpon certaine Ambassadors of *Laurentum*; which murder, *Tatius* neglected to punnish. And the other, by the frends of the said Ambassadors vpon *Tatius*, in reuenge of the Iniustice done by his Kinsmen, and suffered by him, which also, *Romulus* let passe vnpunished: whereupon, it being noted that the plague and famine encreased strangely in both Cities, and a common opinion conceiued, that it was a punishment of God vppon them, for those murders committed, and not punnished: they resolued to doo Iustice vpon the offenders; which beeing done, the plague ceased presently in both places.

Plut. in Camillo

Rome sacked and spoyled by the *Gaules*, in punnishment of two iniuries committed by the Romaines.

The same Authour also ascribeth the sacke of *Rome* by the *Gaules*, vnto the iust iudgement of God vppon the *Romaines*, for two Iniustices by them committed. The one, was the banishment of *Camillus*. The second, their refusall to punish certaine Ambassadors of their own, who being sent to treate peaceably with the *Gaules*, in behalfe of the *Clusians*, committed acts of hostility against them, contrarie to the Law of Armes. And when the *Gaules* sent to Rome, to demaund reparation of the iniurie, the *Romaines* not onely refused to giue them satisfaction; but also made their Ambassadors, (who had done the iniurie) Generals of an armie, to assist the *Clusians* against them: notwithstanding, that the *Fecia'es* (who were certaine Officers ordained by *Numa Pompilius*, to determine of the iust & lawfull causes, either for warre or peace) made great instance to the Senate, that the Ambassadors might be punnished, least the penaltie of their fault, might otherwise fall vpon the Common-wealth, as indeed it did. For, the *Gaules* giuing battell to the Ambassadors, easily ouerthrew them, and prosecuting their victorie, spoiled and sacked Rome.

The *Feciales*, Officers for war or peace.

Heerein I wish to be noted, how grieuous a sinne it is, in the opinion of the verie Paynims themselues, and how dangerous to the Commonwealth, to neglect and omit the punishment of wrongs and iniuries done them; whereby the offences of perticular men, are made the sinnes and transgressions of the whole state, and draw the wrath and punnishment of God vpon the same. Whereof another example may also bee gathered, out of the same Authour and history, concerning the cause and manner of the first comming of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and of the great spoile they made in *Tuscane*; which seemed to proceede from the iust iudgement of God, for like negligence in the execution of Iustice. For one of the Countrey of *Tuscane*, called *Arruntius*, hauing his Wife taken from him, and kept (perforce) by a Nobleman, called *Lucumo*, and finding no remedie by Iustice (by reason that his Aduersarie was supported by the Magistrates) was so incensed therewith against the whole state, that he went into *France*, and caried with him some of the Grapes, and other commodities of the Countrey, to inuite the *Gaules* to attempt the inuasion of *Tuscane*. Whereto he easily perswaded them, and ferried them for their guide: God so disposing his Iustice, that hee to whom the State had done the wrong, should be the meanes and Instrument of the punnishment due to the same.

The Paynims obseruers of Iustice in punishing iniuries.

Plut. Ibid.

The cause why the *Gaules* came into Italy.

Heereto I will adde another notable example (in the same kinde) of the ouerthrow of the *Lacedemonians*, & their losse of

The *Lacedemonians* greeuously punnished, for

omission of Iustice, & for the sinnes of the flesh. *Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 15. cap. 14. Plut. in Tract. de Narrationes amatoriæ. Cicero de diuinat. lib. 1.*

of the Empire of *Greece*, by the iust iudgment of God for the like offence, as both *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, and others affirme, and the euent made it selfe manifest: the Story is thus.

Two *Lacedemonians* passing ouer the plaine of *Leuctra*, were lodged, and curteously entertained in the house of one *Scedasius*, who had two handsome Women to his Daughters. And returning that way againe shortly after, finding the two Women at home, and their father absent, they first rauished, and afterward killed them both.

The Father at his returne, finding his Daughters slain, and vnderstanding who had beene the doers of it, went to *Lacedemonia*, to craue Iustice against the Malefactors. But so potent were both they & their friends there, that hee could by no meanes obtaine it. Whereupon, after infinite maledictions, powred forth (in the sorrow of his heart) against them & their whole state, he went home, and desperatly killed himselfe on the graue of his two Daughters. Not long after, wars growing betwixt the *Thebanes* and *Lacedemonians*, the soule or ghost of *Scedasius* appeared to *Pelopidas* (one of the chief captaines of the *Thebanes*) and encouraged him to giue battaile to the *Lacedemonians* on the plaine of *Leuctra*, where he & his Daughters were buried; telling him, that their death should bee reuenged, and so afterward it fell out. For there the *Lacedemonians* lost not only the battel, but also the Empire of *Greece*, which they had many yeares before possessed. Wherein may also be noted, how God executed his Iustice vpon them in another respect. For, whereas the sinne of the Flesh was growne in *Lacedemonia* to such excesse, as that no part of Greece was therewith so much infected, it seemed conuenient to the diuine Iustice, that the same shold be a meane to draw his further wrath vpon their whole State, that so they might bee punnished, by the meanes of that sin wherein they had most offended.

Rape & murther do seldom escape without deserued punishment.

Examples of Gods seuere iudgements, vpon whole Common-weals, for the sinnes of the Flesh.

Genes. 19, 24

And truly, though many sinnes are counted more hainous, and are more seuerely chastised by humaine lawes, then the sinnes of the flesh, yet almighty God hath not more rigorously punished any, in whole Countries and States, then the same. As, to omit the exemplary plague that fell vpon *Sodome* and *Gomor* by fire from Heauen, for the detestable sinne against Nature (which in that respect is called *Sodomy*:) We read in the Holie Scriptures, that all the whole Tribe of *Beniamin* (excepting only sixe hundred) was slaine by the Children of *Israell*, by the commandement of Almightie God, for a rape which those of the Towne of *Gabaa* committed on the wife of a *Leuit*, whom they abused in such excesse, that she presently died. Whereupon, the other Tribes assembled themselues, and first demaunded to haue the Malefactors deliuered vnto them; and then vpon the refusall thereof, they consulted with Almightie God, whether they shoulde inuade them or no, which God commanded them to do, and appointed them a Captaine. And although in two battailes the children of *Israel* had the worst, yet in the third battaile, *Percussit eos Dominus* (saith the Scripture) *in conspectu filiorum Israell, &c. Our Lord God strooke those of the Tribe of Beniamin, in the sight of the children of Israell, who killed of them 25000. men, that bare Armes.* Whereby we may see no lesse, then by the former example, as well the enormitie of the sin of the flesh: as also, that refusal to do Iustice on a few Offenders of the Towne of *Gabaa*, drew al the Tribe of *Beniamin* into participation of the Offence, which was therefore punnished in them all alike.

Iudges 20, 47

Iudges 20, 45

The whole Tribe punished for the sinne of few.

But to omit the later consideration, to wit, of omission to do Iustice vppon Offenders, and to say somewhat more concerning the punishment of God for this fleshly sinne, we haue a notable & fearefull example thereof in the kingdome of *Spaine*, conquered by the *Moores*, and possessed by them seauen hundred yeares for that Offence. For, when the Kingdome had flourished both in Religion & power, from the time of King *Reccared*, the first Catholicke King thereof, the space of an hundered and twentie yeares: the wicked King *Witiza* (being a man whollie giuen to Lust and Carnality) infected and corrupted all *Spain*, not only with the bad example of his owne dissolute life (hauing manie Wiues at once, beside diuers Concubines;) but also with abhominable Lawes, whereby he gaue leaue to all sorts of men, to haue as manie Wiues & Concubines as they listed; enforcing Priests, & such as would haue

Spaine conquered by the *Moores* for the sinne of the flesh.

Roderic Toletan. in lib. de rebus Hispan. cap. 14, 15, 16, 17, & 18.

haue liued chastly, to marry. By which meanes, all *Spaine* becam within a while, to bee no better then a common Stewes or Brothel. And althogh almighty God, (according to his accustomed mercy) expected their conuersion and amendment all the time of his raigne, and laide only the penalty thereof vpon him, depriuing him both of his Crowne and eye-sight, by the meanes of *Rodericke*, who succeeded him in the kingdome: yet when the saide *Rodericke* followed his steps, aswell in his vicious life, as maintenance of his abhominable Lawes, it pleased God in his Iustice to permit him, to giue the occasion both of his owne ruin, & likewise of the ouerthrow of all *Spaine*, by this sin of the flesh, wherewith the whole Kingdome ouer-flowed. For, whereas King *Roderick* had sent a Kinsman of his own, called Count *Iulian*, Ambassadour into *Affricke*, and (in the meane time) rauished his Daughter, or (as some Write) his Wife: the Count vnderstanding it at his returne, was so incensed there-with against the King, that in reuenge thereof, he practised with the Moors, to bring them into *Spaine*, who with his assistance so speedily conquered it, and with such destruction of the people, that the punishment of God was most euident therin. For, hauing first ouerthrowne K. *Roderick* (whose body could neuer after the battell be found) they subdued almost all *Spaine* in eight months, or (as * some say) 14. and slew 700000. of all sorts of people; beside great numbers of Captiues, which they sent prisoners into *Barbarie*. And from that time forward, they remained in possession of that kingdome, or of some great part thereof, for the space of 700 yeares.

Idem Ibidem. Ioan. Vasæus. Chron. An. 711

Almost all *Spain* conquered by the Moores in 8. months.

**Ioan. Vasæus in Chron. An. 714.*

The subuersion of Spaine by the *Moors*, attributed by wise and holy men (in the same Age) to Gods Iustice, for the sins of the flesh. *Baron. An. 745*

This example of the Conquest and subuersion of *Spaine*, for the sinnes of the flesh, was so famous, and so much obserued by godly and Wisemen, at the same time when it hapned: that S. *Bonifacius*, borne in *England*, and Byshop of *Mentz* in *Germany*, (who liued in the same age, and holpe to conuert the *Saxons* and *Frisons* from Paganisme to the Christian Faith) proposed it to one of the English Kings, called *Ethelbald*, K. of the *Mercians*, to withdraw him from his dissolute life. And forasmuch as his Epistle to him containeth verie notable matter, I will alledge heere some part thereof, translated out of Latine, thus.

A notable Epistle of S. *Bonifacius* an Englishman, Bish. of *Mentz* to *Ethelbald*, K. of *Mercia*. *Baron. tom. An.*

I beseech thee deere Son in our Lord, that if this bee true which is reported of you, you will repent and amend your life, remembering how vnfit it is for you, who haue the Image of God created in you, to conuert the same into the Image of the Deuill by Licentiousnesse. And that you, whom no merrits or deserts of your owne, but the bountiful goodnesse of Almightie God, hath made a Prince and King to gouerne many, shoulde make your selfe slaue vnto the Deuill, by the sinnes of the flesh. For, as the Apostle sayth, What sinne soeuer a man commits, hee makes himselfe Slaue thereof. *And the Paynims themselues, who know not the true God, do obserue in this point, that which God ordained from the beginning, liuing in all true loue and loyaltie with their wiues, and punnishing Adulterie and fornication. For, if in olde Saxony (where there is no knowledge of Christ) either Maid or Wife do commit Adultery or Fornication, shee is first strangled, and after burnt. And he that corrupted her, is hanged ouer her. Or else, shee is stripped naked to the middle, and whipped by chast Matrons from Towne to Town, & prickt with sharpe Kniues, vntill shee dye therewith.*

How rigorously the *Saxons* in Germanie (being Paynims) punished adulterie and fornication.

If therefore the Gentiles (who knew not God) haue such a zeale and loue to Chastity, what shold you do that are a Christian king? Therefore haue pittie vpon your owne soule, & vpon the multitude of your people which perish by your example: and for whose soules you are to yeeld account. Consider also this, that if the English Nations (as the very Painims in France & Italy do cast in our teeth) do contemne marriage, and giue themselues ouer to vnlawful Lust, it must needs follow that the Children which shal proceed of thē, wil degenerate, and become (at last) Cowardly and weake in warre, vnstable in faith, shameful, and reproachfull among men, & hateful to God. As it hath alreadie chaunced to the Prouensales, Burgundians, & Spaniards, *who falling from GOD by the same meanes, are now (by his iust iudgement) seuerely punished for the same by the Sarazins with losse of the Christian faith.*

The hurt that followeth to a Commonweale, by vnlawful procreation.

Thus wrote this worthy Byshop a few yeares after *Spaine* was conquered by the *Moores*; and further added certaine examples of Gods Iustice, extended vpon some English Kings for their Licentious life, and other offences. As vpon King *Ceolred*, predecessour of *Ethelbald*, who (saith

The vnfortunate ends of the Kings, *Ceolred*, *Ofred*, & *Ethelbald*, in punishment of their licentious liues.

(saith he) was not only a deflourer of Religious Women, but also a breaker of ecclesiasticall priuiledges. And therefore it is said, that God suffered a wicked Spirit to take and possesse him, as hee was banketting with his Nobility, and to kill him, after that hee had blasphemed Almighty God, by his procurement. And to the same cause he also attributeth the vnfortunate end of *Ofred*, King of *Northumberland*, who he saith, was *Earundē culparū reus*, *Guilty of the same faults*; and that therefore God suffered him to bee miserably killed. Thus this holy man admonished King *Ethelbald*, who as it may be presumed, contemned his Counsell; and therefore receiued at Gods handes, the punnishment due to such great neglect: for he was afterward cruelly murdered, as appeareth in the English histories.

Polidor. lib. 4. et Supplement. Epicomes Hist. Bede.

CHAP. IX.

Of the inuention of Belles, with the vse of them, and what benefite ensueth by them. Also, who were the first that coniured Deuils.

ALthough this may seeme to bee a meane subiect, to speake of such a common thing as Belles: yet so it is, that considering how necessary they are for Diuine seruice, and conuocation of Christian people together, with other effects, whereof we are to discourse, it may (vnder fauor) be presumed, that the inuention & vse of them (in Gods Church) proceeded doubtlesse from inspiration of the blessed spirit. The Lord commanded in the old Testament, that two Trompets of Siluer should bee made, which the Priests should sounde, to the end that all people might bee called to the Diuine Sacrifices. And our Lord, speaking of his comming in the day of Iudgement, saith amongst other things; *That he wil send his Angels with Trompets, to assemble and congregate the elect.* Now following this goodexample, Christian people comming to increase in some number, to assemble so great a multitude together at one time, to make Prayers, and offer sacrifices in the Temples, neither Trompets which had bin formerly sanctimoniously instituted for this businesse, nor the voices of men could be sufficient; but it was thē thoght fit, to inuent some strong Instrument: by meanes whereof, an assembly might the sooner be made. And to compasse this, among all other that men could dreame on, the vse of a Bell was found to be the best & apteſt; as being of loudest sound, and to be heard the furthest off.

Bels necessary for Diuine Seruice.

Numb. 10, 2.

Math. 24, 31.

The encrease of Christian people in the world.

This inuention then must needs be reputed verie meruailous, and woorthy the name of so excellent a man, as was *Paulinus* Byshop of *Nola*, of equal standing in time with S. *Augustine*, and with *S. Ierom*: who wrote many letters vnto him, which yet at this day are to be read. He then was the first, that (in his Church and Byshoppricke) brought vp the vse of Bels; which afterward was continued through Christendome, as a thing most necessary: and hence it commeth, that *Nola* being a Latine word, signifieth a Bell. Now, it is further to bee noted, that Belles are not good only in the cases fore-named, but they are said also to haue a wonderful effect, which is; that the Deuils or Spirits houering in the aire, do flie the sound of a Bell, and hold it in horrour, as a thing found out and instituted, for giuing honor and worship to the true God. And so much the rather, because as they delight themselues in Musicke, which inciteth & prouoketh men to euill; euen so, the sound of Bels they shun and are offended at, as being most hurtfull and contrary to them. And yet they cause a christian man to reuiue his spirits, putting him in mind of God, and such times as befit his Prayers and Sacrifices: for being dedicated to those vses, they moue a man inwardly, & exalt his soule with chearefulnesse to deuotion.

Paulinus Byshop of *Nola*, the first Inuenter of Belles.

Nola signifieth a Bell.

The sound of Bels displeasing to deuils.

Belles are cheerfull to a Christian man.

They are said also to haue another verie profitable propertie, to wit; That the sound of them doth breake the ayre, and driue on the Clouds, diuiding thunders, and verie euidently resisting Tempestes: because, that by the power and promptitude of such sounds, tempestuous clouds do breake and scatter themselus: by which meanes their force and furie ceaseth. As daily may be noted by experience, that when there is any great wind or tempest, by

Great vertue in the sound of Belles.

by ringing a multitude of Belles, the extreamity presently beginneth to growe calme. Notwithstanding all this, I deny not, but that the deuout Praiers of faithfull Christians, in such perrillous seasons haue much greater Vertue and efficacie: yet neuertheleſſe (as I haue saide) it is a matter most certaine and naturall: and whereof wee haue had good apparance, by a great troope of people walking in the Fieldes; for, as they shout or exalt their voyces, the ayre (by little and litle) doth deuide it selfe, so that if any Bird (by chance) be flying aboue them, she falles downe to the grounde for want of Ayre to support her. And it must needes be so, because (to speake truly) Voices and sounds in this manner formed, doo penetrate and cleaue the aire, euen so farre as the place of their power extendeth; and where they are to finish their strength.

Prayer is of great efficacy in times of trouble.

Now, in regard it may seeme strange to some, that I haue saide Deuilles do fly away at the sound of Belles, because they haue no bodies or vnderstanding to hear or else to bee handled and felt, but that (simply) their intelligence is incorporeal. To such I answer, that those things which are not by bodily sense to be comprehended, which they want, they attaine vnto it by intellectuall knowledge; in which manner, wicked spirites are tormented by fire.

Whither Deuils do auoid the ringing of Bels, or no.

Ephes. 4, 7. In like case, we read that Saint *Paul* commanded Women beeing in Churches, they should be silent, and vailed on their heads, for the presence & reuerence of the Angels, albeit they haue neyther eyes or eares. Also it is most certain, that the Angell *Raphaell* saide to *Tobias*, that he offered to God the Prayers which he made. According to this example, it is written in the 6. Chapter of *Tobias*, that the Angell *Raphael* going with yong *Tobias*, after he had kild the fish in the flood of *Tigris*, hee bad him keepe the Liuer, saying; That throwing it into the fire, the fume arising from it, had the power and Vertue to expell Deuilles from the place perfumed therewith, and they neuer to returne thither againe. Afterward, in the eight Chapter, wee read, that hee laid the Liuer vpon the burning Coales; and with the perfume arising from it, he chased away the Deuill, that had bin the death of *Sarras* seauen Husbandes; and she freely deliuered from all affliction.

Tobias 12, 12

Tobias 6, 7.

Tobias 8, 3.

Concerning the expelling of Deuils and Coniuring them by Holie words, & other meanes, as now adayes is vsed: it is a case so ancient, that *Iosephus* writeth in his Antiquities, that *Salomon* was the inuenter thereof; and the first that (by his speeches) chased them away, being therin illumined and enstructed of God. He declareth also, that he knew an *Hebrew*, named *Eleazar*, who in the presence of the Emperour *Vespasian*, and the whole band of armed men, healed such as were possessed with Deuils; and in dooing it he would hold a Ring against the parties Nose that was possest, whereto was fastned the roote of a certaine hearb, which (he said) was taught him by *Salomon*; and while the heatbe continued his smel, and it was applied to the Patients power, the Deuill could not preuaile, but fled away from him. Returne we againe to Belles, whose sound is generally affirmed to afflict, torment, and expell Deuils or euill spirits. And for this cause, to despight the Deuill, and for his confusion, there is no Sect, nor Religion of Faith, or of any Law whatsoeuer, that dooth make vse of Bels for Diuine Seruice, but the Christian Catholicke Church only.

Salomon did first inuent the expelling of Deuils.

Of *Eleazar* the Hebrue.

The conclusion concerning Belles.

CHAP. X.

Of a Combate fought between two Knights of Castille, in triall whereof happened very memorable accidents.

Diuers times haue chanced great aduentures in the triall of *Duelles* & single Combats; which (in iust reason) haue deserued especiall memory. Neuertheleſſe, being matters so manifest, I shal speake but of one onely; because therein hapned very strange fortune. In the time of *Alphonsus* King of *Castille*, who was father to the King *Don Peter*; there grew a quarrell betweene two Knightes of his Court; the one, beeing named *Ruipaez de Viedma*, and the other *Per Rodriguez d'Auvila*. The quarrell grewe from hence, that *Ruipaez* saide in presence of the King; hee beeing then at *Valladolid*,

A Quarrell betwixt two Knights of Castille, and the cause thereof

that *Pay* was a Traitor, because hee neyther being of *Castile*, or a subiect to the King, came thither with the Armie of *Portugall*, to the preiudice of *Castille*, and against his owne King, except he had bin drawne thereto by duty.

This he offered to approue by Testimonies, and by Armes, or any other maner of proofe, whereto hee might stand bound: and heereupon he defied *Pay Rodiguez*, who was then absent. But beeing aduertised thereof, he wrote to the King, that hee stoode not obliged to make any answere, because *Ruypaez* was a Traitor, and would haue slaine his owne King *Alphonsus*; whereof he would make proofe by Armes, and on that accusation he defied him. And because the proofe which he purposed to make, concerned no lesse then Capitall Treason, a case farre aboue his Aduersaries imputation to him, hee required the King to grant him safe conduct, whereby he might safely come to his Court, there to approoue his words by Combate.

An answer returned to the Challenge. & the accuser further charged.

The k. doubtfull in the accusation.

When the King was made acquainted heerwith, he stood in some doubt, which of these two Knights was the Accuser or Defender; considering, that the first man had first accused, and the other much more aggrauated the matter. Wherefore, he aduised with his counsell in this case; & concluded, to giue safe conduct to the accuser of High-treason, by means whereof, he came to the Court, & made his accusation in the Kinges presence, where the partie accused gaue him the lye: and therefore, the field was granted by the King, but the day somewhat prolonged, for the space of ninetie dayes, as is recorded, because *Ruypaez* was then sickly.

The Combat granted.

The day being come, they both apeared in the fielde, where the accustomed solemnities being performd, they entred Combat, and some wounds being giuen on either side, the night preuenting anie further proceeding, they were parted, without victory to the one or other. The next day they were brought againe into the field, where like bold and hardie Knights, each did his best endeuour to vanquish the other: and albeit they fought verie manfully, with many wounds, both giuen and receiued, yet neither of them failed a iot in strength or courage, but wasted all that day likewise, without anie

The first daies fight.

The second dayes fight.

discerning, which of them had the better aduantage. Whereupon, vnder equall tearmes of victory, they were once more commaunded from the field, both with great meruaile and compasion in the Beholders, that two such worthy Knights should thus hazard their liues. Vpon the third day, they were in like maner brought into the field, with the very same vndaunted spirit in either, as formerly hath been witnessed, though not in such strong ability of body, yet thus they there continued againe till night came, neither beeing more aduantaged then the other.

The 3. dayes fight.

When the King had well considered heereon, hee greatly pitied the losse of two so valiant Knights; wherefore, hee caused them to bee parted, determining to imploy them both in his wars against the Moores, and heereupon their Weapons were taken from them. And the King saide (out of his Iudgement) seeing *Pay Rodiguez* had done his woorst to kill *Ruypaez*, & yet could not conquer him, he was verily perswaded, that he had not conspired his death, but held him to be a loyall and true Knight. In like manner, hee absolued *Pay Rodiguez*, of the crime attributed to him by the other: because, hauing continued three daies in such sharpe triall, God surely woulde haue shewne the innocence of the one or other in both their quarrels. And therefore reputing them both to be good and worthy Knights, they were conducted from the field with great honor.

The King ceaseth the combate.

The Kings opinion of the Combattants.

CHAP. IX.

Of manie admirable things, hapning in diuers parts of the world.

ALthough the works of Nature are very wonderfull; and an argument of the infinit power of the Creator of all things: yet such thinges as heeretofore haue beene ordinary, and which the wise and learned haue well vnderstoode, do raise in me much more admiration; as the birth of men, Beasts, Plantes, and production of their Fruits, with all other ordinary semblable things. There are some other beside, not so

Concerning the admirable workes of Nature.

so vulgar, which neuertheleſſe (in their Nature) do much amazevs: Howbeit, we wonder to behold things, which ſeem repugnant to the common eſſence and order of things, as ſuch bee, which are reported and affirmd by men of great authority.

Fontanus, of an hie rockie Mountaine, neere to *Naples*, & a tree growing out of it.

Iacobus Fontanus, a verie famous and moſt lerned man, by reaſon of his great reading, ſaith, that he and manie more, haue ſeen an high Mountaine, in the Sea neere to *Naples*, being an huge part of a Rocke, or mighty maſſe of Flint, fallen down therinto by fortune. Within which flinty Rocke grew a great Tree, ſo faſt knit and combined within the ſtone, as it ſeemed that Nature had there produced it, and made it meerely grow out of the ſtone or Rocke, euen as if they were both but one bodie, albeit it was truelie Wood. Which apeard to proceed from nothing elſe, or anie other place then the earth, where the Water made a mixture of it ſelfe with the Tree, and ſo conuerted and knit it into the Rocke, locking it faſt on all ſides. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe it was in ſuch a place, where (it may bee) men very ſildome reſorted, and it a matter of ſuch rarity, it ſeemed the harder to bee comprehended.

Alexandrinus of *Alexandria*, concerning a Marble ſtone.

Another thing is declared by *Alexandrinus* of *Alexandria*, in like manner very merualous, which happened at *Naples*, where he then dwelt; to wit, that in cutting Marble ſtone, hewne formerly out of a Rocke, and preparing for building: as they Sawed thorough the middle, they found (within it) a Diamond of great Value, which had been cut and poliſhed by the hand of man.

The ſame *Alexandrinus* further releateth, that as they prepared another Marble ſtone, ſtriuing to diuide it in the middeſt, it was of ſuch extreame hardneſſe, that they were faine to break it with pickaxes. And in the middeſt of the ſtone, they found a great quantitie of Oyle encloſed, euen as if it had beene in a Glaſſe or Bottle; and the Oyle was very cleare, faire, and of an exceeding ſweete ſauour.

Oyle found in a Marble ſtone.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo, in the firſt Booke of his Collections, certifieth and ſaith, that hee had ſeene a Mountaine very farre off from the Sea, where was found (aboue an hundred fadome deepe in the earth) a Shippe ouer-turned, and euen as conſumed: yet not ſo much, but that the form thereof might well be diſcerned, and perfectly knowne. They founde likewiſe Anchors of Iron, Maſtes and Sail-yards, yet broken and halfe conſumed. But that which is moſt to be admired, they found there the bones and heads of ſortie perſons; and theſe things were ſeene in the yeare, 1460.

Baptiſta Fulgoſus lib. 2 de Cel.

A Ship, Anchors, Maſts, and Sail-yardes found an hundred Fadome deep in a Mountaine.

Some of them that ſaw theſe things, were perſwaded, that they had been thus couered with earth, from the time of the Vniuerſall Deluge (if before that time any Shippes were vſed, or men ſayled on the Seas in thoſe times) which may eaſily be beleeued, in regard that before the Flood, almoſt all Arts were founde out. Others were of opinion, that this might be ſome Ship, which had been ſubmerged in the Sea, and that by the interiour concauitie of the earth, the waters had driuē it in ſo farre; where, ſince the mutation of times, the earth remaining dried vp, it ſtayed there as immured vp in a Vault: but howſoeuer it came hether, the aduenture was admirable.

All arts found out before the flood.

The ſame Author declareth moreouer, that he ſaw an hard ſtone; which being broken thorowe the middeſt, a liue Worme was there founde within it: to whom it was impoſſible there ſhoulde come any nourithment; but what the ſtone it ſelfe affoorded her. A Serpent alſo was preſented to Pope *Martin* the fift, that liued in the middeſt of a ſtone likewiſe: and it ſeemed, that Nature had thus created her within; and that (without any other nouriture) ſhe receiued ſuſtenance by the onely Vertue and propriety of the ſtone.

A Worme found liuing in an harde ſtone.

A Serpent liuing in a ſtone.

CHAP. XII.

The variable opinion of Phyloſophers, concerning Humaine Language: And of the Originall of Marriage.

GOd created Man, after hee had created all other thinges, whereof hee made him Lorde: this is verie true, and wee ought to beleeue it as an Article of our Faith. But this Light and Truth failed, and was

PAGINATION INCORRECT

The Philosophers ignorant in the worlds creation.

vtterly vnknowne to the auncient Philophers, when they beganne to immagine and to search out the Originall and beginning of the world, and of all thinges else whatsoeuer.

Diodorus Siculus reciteth the opinions to this purpose, and saith; Some were of the minde, that the world and men had both a beginning. Others, out of more vaine fantasie, saide; that all things were eternall, and that not any thing had a beginning. Now, among the former of these two Opinions, there were great differences.

Diader. Sicul. in Lib. 2.

Epicurus and his Sect.

Epicurus, and some other of his Sect, (who mannaged the Diuine prouidence by ignorance) affirmed men to bee casually created and granted their beginning by the Attomies; to whom he vsually attributed the Originall of all things. The Poet *Lucretius* also followed him in this vanity: VVhereat *Lactantius Firmianus* smiled, and elegantly mocked him. *Anaximander* found out a matter well deseruing laughter, to wit; that of Water and Earth, and by the heate of the Sun, man was first producted; as if there belonged no more to a man, then vnto a Fly.

Attomies, little Moats in the sun, hardly to be discerned.

Lactan Firm. in lib. de Oper. dei lib. 7. de Institut Anaximander.

Empedocles.

Empedocles was almost of the very same opinion, intermedling the matter of man with Water and Fire, and saide; That euery member was first created by it selfe, and then conioyning themselus (at a venter) together, they formed and Organized the body of man.

Democritus.

Democritus was not wholly of the same minde, saying; That man was made of Water, and the slime of the earth. The *Stoicks* were of a more sound iudgment, for they confessed, that all thinges were made by Diuine prouidence. They further held, that God had created man, & all other creatures: *Lactantius* also speaketh as much. Diuine *Plato* was of this opinion, and of him (according to *Lactantius*) the *Stoicks* Learned. But much more clearely *Cicero*, in the first Booke of his Lawes, where (commending man) hee saith: *This Creature, full of reason and Counsell, among all the other, was created by the Lorde God his Maister, in more great perfection then anie other animate thing.*

The Stoicks.

Lactan. Firm. in lib. 2. & li. 7

Cic. in lib. 1. de Legib.

Of the other and second opinion, to wit; that men are eternall, and without beginning, and to endure continuallie, was *Aristotle* alwayes, of whom *Lactantius* speaketh in his second Booke, that to draw himselfe from other opinions, hee held this: which also was obserued by the Sect of the *Peripatetians*, of whom hee was Prince. *Pliny* was of the same opinion, which *Lactantius Firmianus* reproued, and destroyed as false. The like (most learnedly) did *Tho: Aquinas*, in his Summary against the *Gentiles*.

Arist. Prince of the Peripatetians.

Lact Firm. in lib 2.

Plin. in lib. 1. Lact. Fir. lib. 2.

Tho: Aquinas, in Sum. cont. Gent.

But leauing these opinions of Men without Faith, wee ought to beleeue for truth, that Man was formed by God, the Creator of all thinges, and that to multiplie this humaine progeny, it was conuenient to create the Woman: which hee did, and tooke her out of the side of the first man. And to the end, that he should not indiscreetly keepe companie with her, as other vnreasonable Creatures doo together, hee instituted Holie Marriage betweene them, saying vnto them; *Encrease, Multiply, fill the Earth, and possesse it.* As it is testified by *Moises* in Genesis, and by *Iosephus*, in the first Booke of his Antiquities. Notwithstanding, the Gentiles being depriued of this Holie Historie, do attribute the inuention thereof to others. Among a great number of whom, *Trogus Pompeius* saieth; that *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, inuented marriage. Finally, the Redeemer of all mankind being come into the world, he approued it, and instituted it as a blessed Sacrament, reprooving the repudiation permitted by the Iewes, to take away the rigour of their seueritie, as Saint *Mathew* declareth in his nineteenth Chapter: as also, Saint *Marke*, and Saint *Paule*.

The necessity of the Womans creatiō

The Institution of marriage

Genes. 1, 13.

Ioseph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit.

Cecrops King of *Athens* said to inuent Marriage.

Math. 19, 7.

Marriage then was thus instituted, ioyning one Man with one Woman, and not with manie, neither one Woman with manie Men; which was most iustly done, because the contrarie dooth wholly contradict Natural reason. Moreouer, it was appointed by Diuine Lawe and Ordinance. Besides, what thing could bee more conformable to Naturall rule (albeit, neyther the Lawe, nor Faith commaunded it) then to haue one sole Companion, and not confusion of two or manie VVomen? In which confusion, when as a VVoman will not liue and abide with her Husband, but withdraw her selfe to others, it is against the Lawe of Nature, which forbiddeth that

One man and one Woman, ioined in marriage.

The rule of Nature, and how to be obserued betweene man and woman.

that to be done to another, that the partie would not haue done to himselfe, for amitie consisteth in paritie of personnes. How can it be then, that loue and amitie should be perfect, where there is so great inequalitie? And where a man is at libertie with manie Weomen, when the woman is combinde and made subiect vnto one man only?

Loue consisteth in paritie of persons.

It is not possible, that true and perfect amitie shoulde diuide and extend it selfe vnto manie, as *Aristotle* hath well maintained it. It would rather seeme a kind of seruitude, as wee may well note among barbarous people, who haue manie Weomen, and with whom they deal in the Nature of Seruants, rather then as Wiues, Friends, and Louers; besides, the multitude of Wiues doth hinder all good order, which ought to be obserued in Domestick affaires.

Arist. in lib. 8. de Ethic.

Moreouer, wee see Naturally, that in all kinds of Beasts, the Sires or Fathers (as we tearme them) haue a great sollicitude and respect to their young ones, as well for teaching as nourishing them, & they are euermore (or most commonly) paired. For, the Male hath no more but one Female, as we may behold in all Birds, and in the most sorts of foure-footed Beasts. Whereby may bee gathered, how a man ought to behaue himselfe, and how he should carrie his Loue and affection vnto his children, and that no man ought to haue more then one Wife onely.

Example of the care in bruite beasts, of their Females.

Seeing then, it standeth thus on the behalfe of men, by the verie same reasons it is prooued, that the Woman ought to haue no more then one Husband. For, if she should haue more, there would arise thereby verie great inconueniences, because the Children borne of a woman which is married to manie Husbandes, cannot be saide to haue any certaine Father: by meanes whereof, and in a case so doubtfull, all loue and paternall care, eyther for education or nourishing, perrisheth presently. Nay, besides this, the difference of Linage and Kindered cannot bee discerned or considered, whereon ensueth vnlawfull and damnable Copulations.

One law bindeth both men and women, to haue but one wife, and one Husband

The first man that presumed (against the Law of Nature) to haue two Wiues, was *Lamech* the seauenth man, accounting from *Adam*, in descending by the line of the peruerse and wicked *Caine*, as it is found in the fift Chapter of *Genesis*. By the example of which *Lamech*, many Iewes, and other bestiall barbarous Nations, accustomed themselues to take manie Wiues, wherein they erred and sinned greatly.

The first man that dared to haue 2. wiues.

But if *Iacob*, *Dauid*, and other Saintes of the Law, had more then one wife: It was because they were dispensed withall by the holy spirit, and for some perticuler occasions. But the other Iewes, that tooke manie Wiues without perticuler allowance from God; sinned hainously, and with them also haue failed many barbarous Nations, as being a matter conformable to their brutish inclinations, & carnall appetites. Among whom were the *Numidians*, *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Tharsians*, and some others, who entertained as manie wiues as they were able to keepe.

Holy men dispensed withal by God.

The Nations that had many Wiues.

VVicked *Mahomet* also in his false Law, both allowed and permitted the same sinne; to the end, hee might draw the more Iewes to him, and all other carnall-minded men. But the *Romaines* and *Grecians*, with diuers Nations, that had better Lawes and Customes, neuer allowed any man to haue more then one VVife, nor a wife more then one Husband.

Mahomet allowed plurality of wiues.

CHAP. XIII.

Of what estate, and at what yeares or Age, a man should be married vnto a Woman.

THe ancient Morrall Philosophers, held diuers Opinions concerning the age & yeares that men and VVomen should be married together, to the end, that they might bee proportionable in abilitie one to another. *Aristotle* deriuing his argument (it may bee) from hence; That VVeomen conceiue and beare Children vnto the yeares of fiftie, and men are able to beget vntill the yeares of seauenty, saith; *That they ought to Marrie at such an Age in either; that (at one and the same time)*

Aristotles opinion of Man and Womans procreation of Children.

time) they may both ceasse begetting & conceiuing. So that by *Aristotles* rule, the husband ought to be twentie years (or thereabout) more aged then the wife. *Hesiodus* the Greeke Poet, and *Xenophon* the Philosopher, doo graunt them a little lesser time, saying; *That when they marrie, the woman should be fourteene yeares olde, and the man thirtie.* *Licurgus* the Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, conformeth himselfe almost with *Aristotle*: For, by his Law, he prohibited any man to marrie sooner then at thirty seauen years, and the Woman at seauenteene.

Hesiodus and *Xenophon* for the years for marriage.

Lycurgus his Law for marriage.

This Law of *Lycurgus* hath beene approoued by diuers, to the end, that (the more facillie) the woman might invre hir selfe to the maners of her husband, comming then into his power from her yonger yeares. For, as *Aristotle* saith in his Oeconomie: *The diuersity of manners & conditions, do hinder amitie and true Loue.* Neuertheless I do not alow this Law of *Aristotle*, that grants a man twenty years more then a Woman (vnder reuerence and authoritie due to so worthy a Man) and my reason is, because wee see, that when a man attaineth to threescore years of age, albeit he can then beget: yet so it is (and that most commonly) if hee passe on further, the rest of his daies are so laden with diseases and passions, that if the Woman bee then at the yeares of Fortie, he is then to her, rather a burdenous paine and trouble, then as a Husband of consolation.

Arist. in Oecon.

The Authors reason against *Aristotles* yeares of marriage.

Therefore, when there is a lesse difference in their yeares, their affections do mortifie themselues (as it were) both together at one time, and their willes and intentions grow to more conformitie, then when there is such great inequalitie in their ages. I denie not, but that the man ought to bee the eldest; but it sufficeth, if it be by the space of eight or ten yeares, and the Woman sixeteene, seauenteene, or more, hauing respect vnto the Ages and Liues of these our present dayes.

The man should be eldest then the Woman.

Also, I dare maintaine, that a man ought to take a Wife which is yong, welfeatured, and a Maide, rather then a widowe, or one in yeares, formerly moulded vnto anothers manners and humors: because it is most certaine, that in soft & tender youth, much better and easily may be imprinted, euen such maners and conditions as the Husband would wish, (with absolute priuiledge of Obedience) then in rugged, stubborne, or aged sullen Nature.

A Maide in yong yeares is fitter for a man then a Widdow.

To this purpose we haue a notable example, in *Timotheus* the cunning & excellent Flute-player; and who for mony made no spare of his skill, for the instruction of youth in his singuler qualitie. He obserued it as a custome, before he wold accept of any Scholler; to know, if formerly he had practised any beginning of the Art, for he wold take more then halfe the price doubled of such, then of them that knewe nothing therein. And his reason was, because he should take more paines to briole such a one, of an euil apprehension alreadie learned, then hee could any way doo, by direct teaching such as formerly knew not a note. This example serueth well for widdowes, that formerly haue beene taught and enstructed by others: and therefore, do require the more difficult labour, to chaunge the bad Tunes, and strange conceits, learned or practised in their first Husbands daies. In which respect (and verie iustly) I preferre the Marriage of Maids, before that of Widdowes; because, beside what els hath beene, and yet further may bee alledged, womē do contain a singuler loue and memory of them, with whome they had their first acquaintance.

Of *Timotheus* the skilfull player on Flutes.

An euill Custome once learnd, is not easily cured.

A note for Widdowes.

Marriage of maids, preferred before that of Widdowes.

Now, as concerning Parentage and a wealthie Dowrie with a VVoman, I read, that a yong Grecian went to *Pittacus*, one of the seuen Sages of Greece, to craue his Counsell in the case of marriage, vsing these wordes; *I am offered my choise of two women in marriage; the one is equal to me in goods & parentage, the other exceedeth mee very farre, which of them is fittest for mee to elect?* *Pittacus* returned him this answere: *See yonder are two children, practising to play at defence with Cudgels, go vnto them, and they will giue thee Counsell.* He did so: and as he approched neere the Boyes, who were laying their heads together, concerning their owne play: When they saw the young man come, that exceeded them so much in strength and stature, imagining he came to play with them, they laide downe the weapons, saying; *Euerie man shoulde play with his equall.* By which childish precept or admonition, hee perceiued that hee ought to marrie his equall.

Of a Wiues parentage & riches in marriage, the case aduised by wise *Pittacus*.

Equality is the fittest thing in marriage.

Plutarch

Plutarch, his graue aduise concerning marriage.

Plutarch, in his Treatise of nursing Children, saith: *A man ought not to marry his Sonne to a Woman richer then himselfe, neither of any greater condition. For* (saith he) *he that allies himselfe, where he is exceeded in wealth; in stead of begetting Kinred, purchaseth Maisters and Commanders. And when a rich Woman marries herselfe to a poore Man; pride alwaies will haue the supremacy in her braine, liuing altogether vnruly and incompatible, only by the contempt she hath of her Husband.* The Philosopher *Menander* saide: *A poore Man that matcheth himselfe with a rich Wife, giues himselfe in marriage to the woman, and not she to him.*

Lycurgus his Law against dowries in Marriage.

Lycurgus appointed a Law to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should marry their Daughters without any dowries; to the end, that each one should endow themselues with vertues, and onely (therefore) to be required in marriage. Now, albeit this Law seemed rigorous to some, yet (for all that) it was very allowable; being kept in one body, as well as in another. And then, if the Father had no Mony or other goods in marriage with his Wife: hee was the lesse obliged to giue any with his Daughter; and hereby it was the better knowne, that when a Man sought to be married, whether he did it in respect of riches, or no. But

A hard matter to be perswaded in these dayes.

it were a great deale of lost labour, in seeking now to perswade this among vs: considering, that men are so well acquainted with this abuse, as marriage (in these daies) is procured for nothing else.

Notwithstanding, I will still maintaine, that when a rich Man desireth Marriage; he should not greedily gape after riches, but rather to enioy a noble and vertuous Wife. Taking example by *Alexander* the Great, who although he was a mighty King, as is wel enough knowne: yet he tooke to Wife *Barsina*, the Daughter of *Arbassus*, without any riches; but she was young, vertuous, and of royall descent, and hee that is most rich, should most seeke after this vtility. So shall he be sure to auoyd al discontentment, for, by setting Monies aside, which couer many vices: such strange deformities would appear naked and manifest, which else cannot be seene, men being blinded with Auarice; for they are so cunningly dissembled, that though they are apparant, yet they will not be discerned. I mislike not, that in equall nobleness, a man should make his best election, & please his affections to his own contentment: euen as I vtterly condemne him, that (for Wealth) can be content to take a vile and infamous Wife.

Example of great *Alexanders* marriage

Mony couers many foule imperfections.

I shall not need to labour my selfe in this matter, because the very earth herein is a Schoole-maister to vs, for, if we sow in a sharpe ground, and not prepared: it will bring forth fruit that hath no sauour, although our Seede be neuer so good and delicate. On the contrary, sow Seede (of lesse reliishable) in a well husbanded ground, and it will yeelde fruit most perfect and excellent. In like manner, to haue good and absolute Horses, we must make our election in a well tride breede or race; much more then should we haue care of our Children and Successours. Truelie, in my iudgement, a man makes very slender account of himselfe, and badly satisfieth his owne Obligation for which he was borne: if hee leaue not to his Children as Noble a Linage, as he was Heire to by his Father; which he cannot doe, in giuing them a Mother of worse condition then himselfe. Moreouer, if he haue any care of his owne honor and reputation, he will encrease more Wealth and Dignity to his Children, then he receiued from his Father. How highly then doth a man stand charged, and greatly indebted; to leaue a good Issue behinde him, and of true borne blood? Yea, much greater then was left to himselfe, for auoyding al occasion, of giuing his Children cause to complaine of him.

An example deriued from the earth.

Example of Horses.

How carefull a man ought to be in choise of his wife.

Paulus Æmilius declareth, that *Manesteus* the *Athenian*, Sonne to *Iphicrates*, the excellent Captaine, whose Mother was of mean condition and poor birth, which the saide *Iphicrates* had taken in marriage, was demaunded; which hee loued best, either his Father or Mother? He answered: My Mother. They that mooued the question, wondring heereat, desired to vnderstand his reason. *Because* (quoth he) *my Father, in regard of himselfe, hath made me a Native of Thrace, and the Sonne of a poore Mother: but she hath made mee an Athenian borne, and the Sonne of a famous Captaine.*

Of *Manesteus* the *Athenian*, Sonne to *Iphicrates*, and his worthy answere.

As

Of beauty & blackneſſe, a meane betweene both

As concerning beauty, ſetting aſide their opinions, who ſay, that choyſe ſhould be made of one neither foule or faire, but a meane betweene both: I ſay, that euermore (to our vttermoſt power) make a faire Wife our eye-marke, prouided ſhe be vertuous, as we haue formerly ſaid. For otherwiſe, my aduiſe is, rather to take a vertuous homely one, then a faire one, of proud and bad Nature. And the reaſon of chuſing a faire Wife, onely is this; in regard of generation and poſterity, and to haue beautifull Children. *Virgill* declareth, that the Goddeſſe *Iuno*, making great promiſes to *Æolus*, ſaid: She would giue him one of her goodlieſt Nimphs, becauſe ſhe might bring him beautifull Children. *Archidamus*, King of *Athens*, was condemned in a great amercement of Money, becauſe he had married a Woman of little ſtature, the Iudges ſaying; that he would leaue thē a race of little Kings, and of no conſtitution. This which I haue ſaid, is not by way of commaund, but of councell, which may be accepted and done, without any difficulty, or exception of perſons. For marriage vnited with a homely Wife, is as holy as that of the faireſt, and with the poore, as with the rich, with a Widdow, as with a Maide: becauſe vniuerſally, where nature and charity is, all different thinges haue equality, and good conformity.

Iuno her promiſe to *Aeolus*

The Authors intent in this caſe.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the cordiall loue and amity, which ought to be in Marriage: With ſome examples of loue among the married.

Marriage where, and to what end inſtituted.

LOue and Charity betweene two vnited bodies, deſerueth to be commended, becauſe Marriage is ſo excellent a thing: as well in reſpect of him, that inſtituted it, which was GOD, as the place of inſtitution, which was Paradiſe, and that proceeding from it; to wit, the propagation and perpetuity of mankind, with remedy againſt all ſenſuall appetites, and wicked concupiſences. All other loues in this humaine life, with what men ſoeuer they be; are meere improper loues: but this is Diuine, and (in truth) it is that, which makes vnion both of Soule and Body, for ſo is it ſealed and confirmed, by power of ſupreame prerogatiue. And there is nothing elſe, that betweene two thus conioyned, can be ſo particularly proper; becauſe both heart and body are common, betweene a good and loyall married couple. Which cannot bee ſo in other amities, that ſmall thinges can ſoone deſtroy, and ſlender triſles ſeparate; nay, which is much worſe, the longeſt continuance therof is but for little time. The proofe heereof hath daily beene ſeene, for few haue continued to death, becauſe the will of man is ſo mutable: as a new friend can eaſily thruſt an old one out of his place. But true and intire loue betweene Man and Wife, cannot bee ſundred, neyther by infirmity, pouerty, misfortune, or diſfauour, for nothing but death only can be the deuider. Nay, it ſeemeth alſo to continue after death, as hath beene noted in ſome worthy widdowed perſons, whoſe examples are infinite.

The body and Soule is vnited together in marriage.

Coniugall loue hath continued after death.

Among whom, and deſeruing beſt conſideration of all other, the loue of *Adam* and *Eua* hath moſt eminence: conſidering, that the fruit of life being forbidden them, *Adam* notwithſtanding, to pleaſe his Wife, expoſed and ſubmitted himſelfe to all perrill. When *Paulina*, Wife to the wiſe and learned *Seneca* of *Cardona*, heard that cruell *Nero* had put her Husband to death, and that he had choſen his owne death, by making inciſion into his veines: ſhee would not onely beare him company in death, but alſo in the very ſame manner of dying, and therefore ſliced her veines, according as it was done vnto *Seneca*. When *Nero* had intelligence therof, and knew that this enſued from inuiolable loue: he cauſed great ſpeede to be made, to ſaue her in the perill of death. For, being euen vpon expiring, he cauſed her veines to be bound vp, & kept her that ſhee could not dye: by meanes whereof, the good Lady liued all the reſt of her time in great affliction, and colourleſſe, in ſigne of the loyall loue ſhe bare to her Husband. We read in the liues of the Emperors, that *Lucius*

The incomparable loue of *Adam* and *Eua*.

The rare loue of *Paulina*, wife to learned *Seneca*.

The loue of *Triata* to her Husband *Lucius Vitellius*.

Lucius Vitellius, Brother to the Emperour *Vitellius*, being benighted in a dangerous battaile: his Wife, named *Triata*, loued him so perfectly, as she entred disguised among the Souldiers, to beare her Husband company, and to assist him in life or death, fighting more valiantly then any of the rest. Thus did her intire loue make her forget feminin weakenesse, life and safety.

The loue of King *Darius* to his faire Q. *Roxana*.

Quintus Curtius reporteth, that King *Darius* being conquered by *Alexander*, and spoiled of a great part of his Kingdome: endured it with stout courage and patiently, without trouble, or shewing the least signe of sadnesse. But when newes was brought him, that his Queene and Wife was dead: to shew that hee loued her more then his royal dignitie; he wrong his hands, and could not containe, but wept bitterly. *Ouid*, *Iuuinall*, *Martiall*, and others, speaking of the worthy Wife to King *Admetus*, doe say: That shee (to giue life to her sickely Husband) slew her selfe, hauing heard answere from the Oracle, that his life should bee saued, if one of his dearest friends would dye for him. Notwithstanding, in the small credit giuen to Poets: I should haue spared this example, if holy Saint *Hierome* had not made mention thereof. The younger *Pliny* writeth in a Letter of his, that a Fisher-man was sicke of a grieuous and incurable disease, whereby he endured daily extreame Agonies. Which his Wife beholding with great compassion, louing him sincerely, seeing all hope of helpe vtterlie lost, & no remedy to be found, though all meanes possible had beene sought for: she councelled her Husband, not to liue any longer in this tormenting paine, but saide vnto him; that seeing he must needes dye, he should bid death welcome, and so end all grieuance. The Husband liked well of her aduise, and yeelded thereto, and they both getting vp on a high Rocke, the Wife bound her selfe fast to her Husband, and throwing themselues head-long downe, were bruised in many peeces.

The loue of queen *Alcesta* to her Husband *Admetus*

The loue of a poore Fisher-man and his wife, euen to the death.

Of a poore labouring man and his wife in the Kingdome of *Naples*.

Baptista Fulgosa declareth, that a poore labouring man in the Kingdome of *Naples*, trauailing along by the Sea side with his Wife: she chaunced to stay a while behind him, about some vrgent businesse. In which time of tarriance there arriued a Foist of *Moores*, who bearing her aboard: the poore man had no more sight of her, but onely of the Foyst, which launched off into the Sea, whereby hee conceiued, that the *Moores* had carried his Wife away with them. Hereupon, confounded with greefe, he threw himselfe into the Sea, and swum after the Foist, crying vnto them which were within it, that seeing they had taken his Wife from him; they would be pleased to take him also. Which made them take him vp into the Gally, to the no little amazement of the *Moores*, and great comfort, (though in floods of teare) of the woman. Afterward, they were both brought before the King of *Thunis*, to whom the Vessell belonged, and the whole Story beeing related to him, which mooued his mind to such great compassion: as he not onely deliuered them, but also sent them home againe.

The loue of *Artemisia* to her Husband *Mausolus*.

To speake likewise of the loue which *Artemisia* bare to her Husband *Mausolus*: wee must then consider, what a glorious Sepulcher shee builded for him, calling it *Mausoleo*, after his name, and rancked among the 7. wonders of the world, only for the costly workmanship thereof. The loue of *Tiberius Graechus* to his Wife, was likewise very admirable, and although the example bee stale and common, recited at large by *Valerius Maximus*, yet may we not well spare to speake thereof. He hauing found two Serpents, in the Bed Chamber where hee vsed to take his rest: desired to know the augury thereof, whereto he had answere. That he must needes kill one of them, yet with this caution: that if he killed the Male-Serpent, then he should dye before his Wife; but if the Female, then his wife should dye, and he remaine aliue. Whereupon, he louing his wife much better then himselfe, made effectuall demonstration thereof; when he chose rather to dye, then to behold the death of his Wife: for he slew the Male-Serpent, and dyed himselfe, leauing her to suruiue a widdow. But it is to be doubted, whether she was the most happie of both, in hauing such a Husband, or infortunate in the losse of him. Now, as concerning a two-fold Argument, where-

The loue of *Tiberius Graechus* to his wife.

A double Argument of loue.

whereby to approoue the ſinceritie of loue, to wit: a woman to kill her ſelfe, for greefe and feare of her Husbands death, or elſe, to mourne in ſuch contriſting manner, as death to enſue vpon meere ſorrow.

Concerning the firſt of theſe, wee haue already related in the ſtory of fair *Alceſta*; and for the other, we haue a notable example in *Iulia*, the Daughter to *Iulius Cæſar*, and Wife to *Pompey*. The garment of her husband being brought vnto her, gaſhed and all bloody with a wound which he had receiued: ſhe imagining her Husband to be ſlaine, before ſhe had leyſure to heare the cauſe thereof, fell into ſuch a ſtrange conceipt and alteration; as her vnderſtanding was quite loſt, and being immediatly deliuered of a Childe (where-with ſhe had long gone great) inſtantly died. And her death ended the worlds peace, which (by her meanes) was preſerued in the kinred of *Iulius Cæſar* the Father, and *Pompey* her Husband. The loyalty of *Lucretia* towards her Husband, is ſo notable, as now it were needleſſe to report it: for, loathing to liue defamed, after her chaſt body was adulterated, ſhe reſoluedly ſlew her ſelfe. The loue of the wife to Count *Fernand Gonçales*, is alſo very memorable, & likewiſe the meanes whereby ſhe deceiued the king: for ſhe remained Priſoner in the habite of a man, while her Husband fled, and ſaued his life in her womans garments. There are infinit examples to this purpoſe, which (for auoyding prolixitie) I forbeare to ſet down, and although (by our lawes) none are allowed to kill themſelues: yet are theſe examples worthy to be noted & conſidered, conſidering they were performed by Paganes and *Gentiles*, not hauing any light or knowledge of our Faith.

The loue of *Iulia*, daughter to *Cæſar*, and Wife to *Pompey*.

The loue of the *Romaine Lucretia*.

The Wife of Count *Fernand Gonſales*.

CHAP. XV.

Of diuers cuſtomes, which our ancient forefathers obſerued in their Marriages.

MArriage contracteth it ſelfe, with the ſole conſent of the man and woman: but to the end, that this conſent might be the better authoriſed, and remaine in intire perfection; it was thought requiſite, to ſhew the ſame by wordes and outward ſignes, becauſe none but God onely knoweth and vnderſtandeth our harts, & hence it proceeded, that men inſtituted many ceremonies and ſollemne wordes. As for thoſe which are obſerued among Chriſtians; they are ſo euident and notorious, as there is no need to ſpeak of thē. Wherefore, I will onely diſcourſe of ſome cuſtomes, which barbarous nations, and the *Romaines* alſo vſed in their marriages, the diuerſity whereof (it may be) will yeild ſome pleaſure.

Single conſent is the act of Marriage.

The ancient *Romaines*, according to *Cicero*, were married in two kinds, and they had two manner of wiues or women, anſwerable to the diuers ceremonies of their marriages: the one was more common then the other, and ſhe named her ſelfe Matrone; the other was ſtiled Mother of the family. Of this latter kind, it ſeemeth that they were maried, as (well-neere) Chriſtians now adaies are. For the Husband would demaund of the woman, if ſhe would bee Mother & Miſtreſſe of his Family; and ſhe anſwering, yea; gaue her conſent. She likewiſe then demanded of him, if he would be Father of the Family, and he anſwering alſo, yea: then they took and ioyned their hands together, and this form of marriage was held for lawfull. By this meanes, the wife attained to ſuch place in her husbands houſe & family, as ſhe ſhould haue had, if ſhe had bin a Daughter of the ſame houſe: for now ſhe was ranked in the number of the ſame linage, & (as a daughter) came to ſucceed in hir husbands inheritance. Hereof *Boetius* ſpeaketh more amply, in the ſecond of *Ciceroes Topicks*. The other ceremonie was more common, & by ordinary words: and ſuch weomen were not accepted as mothers of families, albeit they were termed Matrones.

Cicero in Topic. Two kinds of Marriage among the *Romaines*.

The firſt kind of Marriage.

Boetius in ſecund. Topic. Cicero. The ſecond kind of Marriage.

The *Romaines* had alſo this cuſtome, that bringing the new married wife to her Husbands dwelling; ſhe muſt ſtay at the doore, and not enter, vntill ſhee were (perforce) drawn in. Giuing therby to vnderſtand, that ſhe went by conſtraint to the place, where ſhee was to looſe her virginity. When they gaue the wife into her husbands power, they firſt cauſed her to ſit downe in her mothers lap; frō whence the husband muſt forcibly

Another cuſtome of the *Romaines*.

forcibly fetch her, while the Daughter held faſt her Mother with ſtrong embracings. This they obſerued as an auncient memory of the *Romaines*, when they forcibly fetcht the *Sabine* Virgines from their mothers: by means of which rapture, it ſucceeded well to *Rome*, and greatly encreaſed their people. And yet before they proceeded thus farre, it was an order eſtabliſhed; that the Bride ſhould touch both Fire and Water, which Ceremony they vſed (according to *Plutarch* and *Lactantius*) as ſignifying generation by theſe two Elements, becauſe they are the two principall generatiue cauſes of all thinges. Others ſay, it was done to the end, to ſhew the wife ſincerity of heart, and loyalty by her to be kept: becauſe water waſheth away all vncleanneſſe, and bad mixions are purged by fire, as wee may diſcerne in Mettals. They held likewiſe (as a very euill preſage or augury) any marriages made in the month of May; in regard of ſome vanities and ſuperſtitions remaining among them, which are largely reported by *Ouid* and *Plutarch*.

The *Sabine* virgins brought perforce from their mothers

Plutar in Prob. Lact. in lib. 1. de Inſtit. Diuin.

Ouid de Faſt. Plutar. in Prob.

They had alſo another Cuſtome, that when the Bride entred the doore of her Husbands houſe: he ſhould ſay (with a loude voyce) *Caia Cecilia*, and ſhe, *Caio Cecilio*. This they obſerued, becauſe *Tarquinius Priſcus*, ſeauenth K. of the *Romaines*, had a wife moſt chaſt, wiſe, and endued with many vertues, who was named *Caia Cecilia*, but before ſhe came to *Rome*, ſhee was called *Tanaquill*: and therefore the Husband pronounced theſe wordes, to put his Wife in minde of that vertuous Woman, that was a Crowne and honour to her Husband. There went one alſo before the Bride, home to the doore of her Husbands dwelling, carrying a diſtaffe laden with Flaxe, and a Spindle hanging by; to put her in minde, that ſhe ſhould exerciſe ſpinning: *Pliny* is the Authour that ſpeaketh theſe things.

Caia Cecilia. Caio Cecilio.

Huſwifely inſtruction.

Plin. in lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Theſe *Romaines* had yet another cuſtome, that when a man married a widdow; the ſollemnity was kept on a feaſtiuall day; but if he wedded a Maide; then it was kept on an ordinary working day. *Macrobius* and *Plutarch* are the Authors hereof; and *Plutarch* ſaith, that the nuptiall celebration made on the Feaſt-day, was expreſſely ſo done: becauſe the people beeing then buſied at playes and recreations, ſhould take no knowledge when Widdowes were ſecondly married. Contrariwiſe, the weddings of Maides were ſolemnized on working daies, becauſe they ſhould be ſeene and knowne generally. But *Macrobius* affirmeth, that Maides nuptials were not performed on feaſtiuall daies; becauſe (as we haue already ſaide) of the Ceremonie, of forcibly fetching them from their mothers laps, which could not be done vpon any feaſt day.

Of Marriage and what daies

Macrob. lib. 4. Plutar. in Prob.

I forbeare to ſpeake of other ſollemnities and Ceremonies among the *Romaines*, to come to them of the *Babylonians*, whoſe forme of marrying their Maids was thus. On a certaine daie in the yeare, the Maides were brought into a publike place of the Citie, where marriage was graunted to them that were the faireſt: but not any dowrie to be giuen with the Maide, for thee was then deliuered to him that would giue moſt Mony for her. The ſame order they obſerued in the ſecond degree of beautie, and ſo in all other degrees, to the very meaneſt and ſimpleſt: who if they could not bee married without Mony, they then muſt giue it, that had the faireſt Wiues, by which meanes, ſome vnſightly and hard fauoured Maides, were as well married as the brighteſt beauty, without bringing any Mony with them. *Marcus Antonius Sabellicus* ſaith, that this was alſo a Cuſtome among the ancient *Venetians*: but then you muſt vnderſtand, that ſuch as were of meaneſt handſomnes, brought no dowries with them, neither did they receiue any, or bought them, but took them freely.

Of marriages amongſt the *Babylonians*.

Wiues had for the moſt Mony.

Marcus Antonius Sabellicus.

The ancient French-men, becauſe their Daughters ſhould not complaine of beeing married againſt their wils, they had a Cuſtome, that at ſuch time as their Daughters were fit for marriage; they would inuite a great number of young men to a Banquet: but they were men of ſuch qualitie, as might each way be anſwerable to their owne condition. In this Banquet time, the maid had free leaue to elect a Husband among the inuited: and, for a publique ſigne, where, and on whom her affecti-

An ancient Cuſtome among the *French*, for marrying their Daughters.

on

A marriage Custome in *Affrica*.

on was placed, shee brought him a Bason of Water to wash his hands. In a Citty of *Affrica*, called *Leptina*, they had a Custome, that the first day of a Brides comming to her Husbands house; she should send to borrow an earthen pot of her Mother in Law, and she would returne answere of lending her none. This was done to no other end, but to teach her obedience to her Husbands Mother: and having so hard an answere at the first motion, to expect no better, but on good desert. The * *Massagetæ* tooke each Man a Wife in Marriage; and yet notwithstanding, one Woman was common to all, and all the Weomen common to any one. *Eusebius* saith, that the ancient *Bretons* had the like Custome. The *Arabians* of *Arabia Felix*, had an ancient wont, that a married Woman was common to al her Husbands kinred. And *Strabo* saith, that when any of them went to her, he would leaue a Ring or Iewell at the entrance of her doore; that if any other should come, he might know the place was already taken vp, and he not enter, for this was especially respected among them: beside, he was punnished with death, that made vse of any Woman not of his owne kinred.

* People of Scythia in Asia beyond the Caspian Sea.

Eusseb de Euan prep. lib. 5.

Strabo concerning the *Arabians*.

It fortuned, that a Woman highlie endued with beauty, was often visited (in that kind) by her Husbands kinred, and she beeing importuned by so frequent visitation: left a Ring at her doore, that whosoeuer should come, might suppose the place to be alreadie supplied. This honest deceipt endured many daies together, & no man could get entrance, till at the last, all her husbands kinred being (one day) assembled in a certaine place: one of them closely slipt away, intending to visite her, in such an assurance of any other. But finding the Ring at the doore, and remembring that hee had left all the kinred else (but himselfe) together: hee supposed some Adulterer to haue intruded; whereupon he ran to aduertise her Husband and the rest. But they being entred, found her alone at her worke, and she confessed to them, the cause of thus deceiuing them, and keeping her selfe onely to her Husband. When they had well considered thereon, and found her intention to bee grounded on vertue, for auoyding of dishonest conuersation, arising by such number of her Husbands kinred, to liue in the greater temperance and chastity, sworne enemie to the brutall vsage and Custome of the Countrey: their own reason confirmed her honorable minde, and in stead of condemning, they highly commended her.

A pretty Story incident to the purpose.

An admirable vertue in an Heathen woman, for loue to her Husband.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ *Who were the first Inuenters of Letters, and of Latine Syllables.*

IT is not to bee doubted, but (among all the Inuentions of Men) that of Letters was the best and chiefest: for, to present iudgement, they deliuer things long since past, and communicate businesses which are furthest off; nay more, they make a Man (almost) immortall, so that, if it were not for Letters, there had neuer beene so many wise men in the World. Therefore the Latines are highly beholding to *Nicostrata*, Daughter to *Ionius*, King of *Arcadia*, who after the death of her Husband (by whom shee had her Sonne *Euander*) leauing *Arcadia*; came into *Italie*, and made her stay on the Mount called *Pallatine*, or *Palatium*, neer to the Riuer of *Tyber*, where now *Rome* standeth. There she builded a Castle, whereof she made her Sonne *Euander* Lord, and then shee married with *Faunus*, King of the *Laurentines*. She being excellent and skilful, in foretelling matters to ensue; most learned in the Greeke Carracters; and endued with an extraordinary ingenious spirit: inuented nineteene newe Carracters of Letters, which she her selfe taught to the grosse and vulgar people.

Letters the best of all other inuentions.

Nicostrata the first Inuentresse of Letters.

After her, one named *Syluius*, Maister of the Plaies or sportes, found out the Letters H. K. and Q. albeit they are no Letters, but Aspirations. The Greekes afterward, in the time of Saint *Augustine*, found and receiued the two Letters X and Z. And so they all were ranked

Syluius the Maister of the Sports.

ranked together, euen in such manner, as now we haue them. The people wondring at the wisedome of their Lady *Nicostrata*, named her a Goddesse while she liued, and began to render honours to her, as to a Diuinity. After her death, they erected a Temple to her in *Rome*, neere the Capitall, and dedicated it to her name.

Dyonisius Lycinius the Romaine, a man very ingenious, found and deuised (afterward) the order of Syllables. For which inuention, they made him a Statue, and exalted it in meete place, and for his honour.

Dyonisius Lycinius the Inuenter of Syllables.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Valasca, a Lady of Bohemia, who hauing procured all the Ladies in the kingdome, to kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethren and Children; gouerned Bohemia the space of seauen yeares.

LEt me quicken your memory, with some-thing spoken in the two and twentith Chapter of our first Booke, where speaking of the *Amazones*. *Æneas Syluius* (who was Pope *Pius* the second) is remembred, concerning his Historie of the *Bohemians*, and the Women of that Countrey. Among whom *Valasca*, a Lady of incomparable Spirit, deserueth to haue her Historie not vtterly forgotten: because it is very memorable, and why shee conceiued such great hatred against the *Bohemians*.

Valasca, a worthy Ladie of *Bohemia*.

You must know then, that *Crocus*, second Duke of the *Bohemians*, dying without issue Male: his Daughter *Libussa* (accounted for one of the *Sybilles*) with fauour and applauses of the common people, was established in the royall seate of her Father, and gouerned the Prouince for many yeares, to the generall liking of euery one. At length, hauing giuen a very vpright sentence, of some possession belonging to a powerful Lord: the (growing much displeased with the iudgement) mooued the people against her, saying: That it was a very vnworthy case, and the people greatly to be blamed, being of such a great and Noble Nation, that they should be subiected to the gouernment of a woman. *Libussa* obtaining silence of those hot seditious Vp-starts, told them; that she knew well enough their new desseigne and continued deliberation: yet they took her ouer-thwtt in satisfying their will. Wherefore, she prayed them to meet together the day following, and shee would labour to content them in all things, for she desired their contentment aboue all things else. The morrow being come, the popularity flocked together in mightie troops, and being (from all parts) congregated in a principall place, and they all attentiue to heare *Libussa*, the Princesse began to speake in this manner.

Libussa heire to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*.

The people mooued against *Libussa*, in regard of her sexe.

You know (*Bohemians*) that (to this day) I haue bin to you a milde & peaceable Lady and Mistresse, without offending any one of you, much lesse vsurping vpon your goods: whereby you iustly conceiue, that you had not me as a Dutchesse, but rather as a Mother. Neuertheleese, for ought I can perceiue, mine administration hath beene scarce pleasing to ye, whereat I do not much meruaile: for herein you imitate all other men, who neuer are satisfied, but can rather wish for a milde and iust Gouernour, then they know how to keepe him when they haue him. For mine owne part, very gladlie doe I (at this instant) set yee at libertie: and as you desire a man, to rule and awe ye after his manner; so am I contented that you shall haue such a one. Wherefore, take my white Palfray, and bridling and adorning him in his best furniture, bring him forth on this plaine, whence he may take his way whether he will alone. But cease not you to follow him, till you see him stay before a man, feeding vpon a table of Iron; whom bring hither with you, and he shall bee your Prince, and my Husband.

The Oration of *Libussa* before all the people.

These words were pleasing to them all, and furnishing the Horsse; as *Libussa* had directed, so they suffered him to wander loose, and they following after. The Horsse hauing gone the distance of tenne Miles, stayed at a River called *Biell*, and there hee stood gazing on a Country Boore; named * *Primislaus*, to whom hee shewed many

* Of this *Primislaus*, the

[illegible] Duke of [illegible], mention is made by Baptiſta Fulgoſius, in his 2. booke of Memorable actions.

many Horſe-trickes, whinnowing and leaping before him, as if he would haue made open notice, that he knew him to be his Maiſter. The *Bohemians*, as well Nobles as Plebeians, ranne quickly to the place, and hauing ſaluted the plaine Villager, ſaid vnto him: Mount vpon this Horſe, and goe with vs to the Princeſſe *Libuſſa*, for thee requireth you as her Husband, and the *Bohemians* will accept ye as their Prince. *Primiſlaus*, although he was ruſtical, yet notwithſtanding (as it is a generall deſire to rule, and no man but will conceite himſelfe worthy enough of it:) vſed them very courteouſly, and ſaide; hee was ready to obey them, in whatſoeuer they would commaund him. And hauing heard he muſt goe viſite *Libuſſa*, it beeing a long iourney (as he ſuppoſed) to her, and not hauing broken his faſt that day: hee turned his Ploughſhare or Coulter, where-with hee had laboured in the fielde, and ſetting Bread and Cheeſe thereon, fell hartilie to feeding. This was an euident Teſtimony to the *Bohemians*, of the words vſed by *Libuſſa* to them: whereat beeing ſomewhat amazed, they dutifullie attended vntill he had dined. When he had ended, hee mounted vpon the Horſe, and they conducted him to the Citty; where he martied the Dutcheſſe *Libuſſa*, who ſo long as ſhee liued, was partly gouerned by the aduiſe of her Husband. But ſhe beeing dead, the Kingdome remained to *Primiſlaus*, and and ſo the authority of women ceaſed, which (till that time) was made very famous by *Libuſſa*.

This meketh me to remember Q. *Cincinnatus*, who from the Plough, was called to the Office of Dictator.

But then *Valaſca*, a young Lady, and of high courage, equalling any of the *Amazones*, who had ſerued *Libuſſa* as Secretarie to her cloſeſt counſels: ſhee could not endure that the power of Weomen ſhould thus bee dejected, but aſſembling her company on a daie in ſecret, ſhe vttered theſe, or the like ſpeeches.

The Oration of *Valaſca* to all her Noble Sisters.

My deare Siſters, we haue left our great and royall Miſtreſſe, who alwaies maintained the ſubiection of Men, and neuer could endure that they ſhould be Maiſters: but liued like an Empreſſe, & we (with her) as if we were Queens. But now we ſee (miſerable that we are) how wee muſt be curbed all the reſt of our dayes, vnder the ſlauiſh yoake of Males; whereby we ſhall be in a much worſe condition then Slaues, except wee can regaine our former freedome. Whereof if you conſidered as deepely as I doe, and that all your harts were like to mine: I would not doubt, but that eaſily wee might recouer our firſt condition. I haue beene (as you all well know) of moſt priuate counſell with *Libuſſa*, and haue learned her beſt knowledge, both in Enchantments, and compounding Druggeries, fit and conuenient for our purpoſe. If then you will yeelde to follow me; without faile we will haue a new regency ouer Men. All the Weomen hauing heard *Valaſca*, thought well of her ſprightlie motion, and conſenting to her aduiſe, the conſpiracy was inſtantly plotted againſt the men.

Valaſcaes counſell fully allowed.

While theſe affaires were thus working, one night *Primiſlaus* had a dream, that a virgine gaue him blood to drink, and he (hauing learned of *Libuſſa*, as alſo by others inſtructions, ſundry ſecrets of diuination) growing fearefull of this dreame: was carefull to foreſee, and remedy al harms before hand, that might prelage any future perill. And calling al the greateſt Lords of his land to conſultation, his maine intention was; to repreſſe the ouer-bold liberty of Women, and to reſtraine them within ſtricter bounds. For the Ladies of the countrey had a cuſtome to ride great horſes, to run, louſt, draw the Bow, hunt, and throw Darts: in breefe, they made vſe of all exerciſes, that were conuenient for Men onelie. Which made the Gentlemen generally, to deſpiſe the humor of their baſe minded Prince: telling him: that women, by their ſoupleneſſe of body, and gallantry of ſpirit, were much more worthy to be cheriſhed & loued, then men of ſottiſh and idle diſpoſition. *Valaſca* (all this while) ceaſed not day and night, ſtill to harten on the coniured Siſter-hood, and effectually prepared the Tragicall act, threatned againſt the Mens liues: giuing them diuers Beuarages and Enchantments, to diuert their affecting thoughts from mē, winning (day by day) many married wiues, to ranke themſelues in this band and faction.

The Dreame of *Primiſlaus*.

A Cuſtome obſerued by the women of *Bohemia*.

The care and endeuour of *Valaſca*, in proſecutiō of her purpoſe.

And at length, when they had leuied a good

The bloody Stratagem of *Valasca*.

good and sufficient number, as well of married as vnmarried: the Stratagem was this, that in one night, Women shold kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethren, & Male Children, as they lay sleeping in their Beds, by potions purposely prepared for thē. Which being accordingly performed, the women were all in Armes, and mustering at a place appointed by *Valasca*, which was not far from the Citty of *Praga*, where conquering some that made resistance; they went on to *Vissagrada*, for *Primislaus* made there his abiding, and there they purposed to entrap him. But perceiuing they could not surprize the Fortresse, they with-drew to a Mountain (a place naturally very strong) and there they builded a Castle, that they named *Dieuize*, to wit; *The Mountaine of Virgins*, for (in their language) Virgines are termed *Dieuize*. To all such as escaped this bloody massacre, this exploit seemed strange and abhominable: for they saw how their number daily encreased, and feared that all the rest would flocke vnto them. Whereupon, they made it knowne to *Primislaus*, that they were readie, and likewise resolued, to giue battell to these new vpstart *Amazones*: willing him to march forth with his Army, and they would ioyne their forces with him. The Prince gaue them to vnderstand, that (as then) he could not goe foorth; because the Gods had aduertised him, that all such should dye, as instantly offended the Women, and therefore the busines must be referred to some other apter time. But they (making no account of this answere) hauing prouided a powerfull Army of their owne; went directly to *Dieuize*, where comming to handy-strokes with *Valasca*, all the men were discomfited, not without great losse and slaughter of the most part of them. The Ladies that carried themselues worthily in this daies seruice, wer named *Malada*, *Nodea*, *Suata*, *Verasta*, *Radzca*, *Zastana*, and *Trastana*, and to each of them was giuen (as a deserued guerdon of their valour) rich Chaines and Bracelets of Gold; and of the great booties won by them, they were all recompenced according to their merites. *Valasca* slew in this conflict seuen of the very chiefest enemies, beside many other of meaner quality, and euery one supposed her to be a Goddesse.

The Mount of Virgins.

War purposed against the women.

A happy and fauorable day for the women, preuailing valiantly against the men.

After this ouerthrow of the *Bohemians*, they had not the boldnesse to molest the women any way. For the bold on in their valiant resolution, making daily fallies out vpon the borders, spoiling and burning in such wise, that they were dreaded ech day more then other. And being become Mistresses (as cleere) of all *Bohemia*, they were enforced to haue Commerce, Traffike and communication with men, or else their estate would grow to nothing. Whereupon, they were contented to marry, notwithstanding a law made among the to the contrary. Adding to this law, that their Daughters should be nurtured and instructed among themselues: but the sons should be kept by their fathers, hauing first their right eies put out, and those fingers cut off, which wee call Thumbes; because (if they should be men, they should not be able to shoot in a Bow, or manage any other Armes against their Mothers. Indeed, *Valasca* hauing vexed *Bohemia* the space of 7. yeares, and brought it (almost) wholly tributary to her: was beguiled by *Primislaus*. For he wrote Letters vnto her, wherein he signified, that those Lordes and Gentlemen which had moued war against her; did it without his consent, and to his great disliking, which made him the better pleased, with such their punishment as they had iustly receiued. Moreouer, that he held her as his deare daughter, not enuying her gouernment of *Bohemia*: because she had bin secretary to his Wife, and had (with such wisedome and courage) maintained her rule fully seuen yeares. That he felt himselfe now aged, and was become vnable to sway his people, and his Son not being of conuenient age, for gouernment of so weighty a charge: hee entreated her to come to *Vissagrade*, and he would surrender the Fortes into her power, by meanes whereof she should wholly subdue *Bohemia*. Prouided, that she would (afterward) allow such a part or portion to his Sonne, as her selfe should thinke fit of, and as hee himselfe (at first) had allowed, by *Libussa* her Princesse & Mistris, which he referred to her owne trust only. As for himselfe, he was well pleased to return to his first

The Bohemians driue not out the women.

Pp 2 con-

condition, to dwell againe in the Village, from whence hee came much against his mind. For he accounted it very reasonable, and an act of duty; that as hee had receiued his Scepter from a Woman; so he should render it againe to a woman.

Valasca was deceiued by the false Letter from *Primislaus*.

This Letter beeing sealed and sent, was not a little pleasing to *Valasca*, for she beleeuing ouer-lightly (according to the Nature of her sexe) sent a Squadron of her armed Ladies, to take possession of those impregnable places: whereinto being entred, they were entertained with dances, feasts, and plaies. *Primislaus* inuited them to a Banquet in his Pallace, and in the meane while, as they sate at the Tables; a great troop of well armed Gallants (which hadde beene closely ambushed for the purpose) rushed into the Hall, where the vnfortunate Ladies were all slaine by them: which beeing done, the power of *Primislaus* (being a very potent Army) marched foorth-with to *Diuuize*.

All the Ladies slain by treason.

Valasca hauing notice of this strange mishap, stood as one confounded with amazement, and putting on her Armour presently; issued forth of her Castle, mounted on a Courser, that seemed to breath Fire, hee was so full of Spirit. Many of her worthiest Ladies followed her; but she was the first that encountred the Army: where discouering more valiancy then I am able to expresse, beeing ouerthrowne in the thickest crowd of enemies, shee there ended her daies. Her famous followers, hearing the death of their peereleſſe Queene and Mistresse: fought stoutlie and courageously, not in any hope of conquest, but rather to be reuenged on the false treason of men, so that the conflict was very furious and cruell. But loosing the day, they were put to flight, and the *Vissagradians* pursuing them: got into the Castle as soone as they, where closing fast the gates, they made a mercileſſe slaughter of the Weomen.

Valasca slaine in the midst of her enemies, and all her Ladies quite vanquished.

Thus was *Behemia* deliuered from the Dominion of Weomen, and *Valasca* (worthy to be ranked among the most illustrous Weomen) was allowed no buriall, but left as foode to the beastes and Fowles of the Ayre.

Behemia deliuered from womens gouernment

CHAP. XVIII.

Who were the first Inuenters and deuisers of Hospitals; At what time, and vpon what occasion.

IT is not found recorded in any Histories, either *Iewish*, *Ægyptian*, *Grecian*, *Romaine*, or of other Nation, that at any time they founded or builded any Hospitals, for entertainment and releefe of poor needy people, sicke, lame, impotent, past labour, and for the nourishing of children, exposed and forsaken of Father and Mother: but since the Christian Faith was receiued among men. For, in former times, such as were lame and maimed; slew themselues, despairing to find any charity among men. Such as were weake and sickly, hauing no meanes to helpe themselues: did make a publike sale of their liues, to share in some part of the price, and being recouered; both they and their posterity were made Slaues. As for Orphane Children, they (by Ciuill Lawes) were slaues to such as paid for their education: And these were Pagans Hospitals in ancient daies. The world was then flint-harted, beholding what men suffered, without any pitty or compassion.

Pagans without Charitie, and no Hospitals of releef, but since Christianity began.

Paganes Hospitals.

No man would then know the diuersity of torments, wherwith poor Christians were continually afflicted. And because some imagined, that death was such a punnishment, as gaue end to all the calamities of this world: to preuent such pittie, they would plucke forth an eie, or break a bone in the thigh, of such as were Christians, And, though the bone tooke no hold againe, but easilie might be heard by crackling: yet must they be sent into the Mines to dig in the earth, and performe other labours that were insupportable. These persecutions ceased, when *Constantine* the great had attained to the *Romaine* Empire (by his valour and magnanimity) who was a Christian, and he reuoked all Edictes against

Cruell Edicts made against Christians.

Constantine the Great.

By what meanes Christians were discouered.

against the Christians, and then Charity began to be publikely exercised. For in former times, Christians were noted by their good liues (and Charity which they extended to the poore) whereof there was then great store: in regard of the confiscation of their goods, and the forenamed mutilations, that Countries were (in a manner) couered with people, and Almes would not stretch to help so many.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 10.

Heere you must consider, that scarsly the sixt part of the people (at the most) were then Christians: for the Paganes (that hated them) would giue them nothing, and there were none else but Christians to relieue them; the distribution of whose meanes became so shortned, as they had labour enough to prouide for themselues. And that which most augmented the poore in number, was the preseruation of Christians frō persecution, who durst make shew of themselues, after the Coronation of Great *Constantine*, and had expressed their Charity, by buying the liberty of slaues, that were become Christians, and being expulsed by their Maisters, had no releese, but what they got by begging.

Toto titul. de Episc. & Cler.

Hereupon, the Christians (to continue their charitable disposition) at the instance of their Bishops, entreated the Emperor, that care and respect might be had of the poore, and Hospitals to be builded, wherein the aged, poore, maimed, Orphanes, Weomen, Widdowes, and people eyther past, or vnable to labor, might be relieued. Whereto he condiscended, himselfe first beginning to build many, & gaue command, that the like should be done thoroughout his Empire: which yet was not performed, but in those places where the Christians most abounded. Thirty yeares after, his Nephew *Iulian* cōming to the Empire, albeit he was no Christian, but an *Apostata*: yet notwithstanding, he continued on the building and erection of Hospitals. As may be found in his Epistles, which he wrote to Byshops and Proconsuls, and to the Cities of *Asia*, saying. They might be ashamed, in not following the example of Christians, who founded Temples and Hospitals for them of their Religion; but in them was found no Charity, but all Couetousnesse. After the death of this *Iulian*, who raigned but two years; Idolatry began to shrinke by little and little, so that there was hardly any place in our Hemisphere, but it became well stored with Christians, by which means (the Christians being no more persecuted) they had opportunity to found many Hospitals, according to their Countries and dwellings. Bishops and Popes builded some in *Rome*, and prouided great reuennues for them. The Emperors in the East, in *Italy*, and an infinite number of other Princes in diuers Prouinces, as at this day is to be seene.

Emperours & Bishops, charitable in building hospitals

In the end, by course of time, those Hospitals sufficed not, to entertaine so many as were brought thither, and the Children forsaken of their Parents. Which *Gratian* the Emperour perceiuing (who raigned the yeare of Christ, 380.) He made ordenances, whereby was appointed, that euery Orphane-Childe, should remaine as a Slaue to his Fosterer, and Nourisher. Within a while after, the Emperor *Valens* gaue generall authoritie, to take vp all begging Vagabonds, that were not sicke or impotent; and to make them serue as Slaues. Prohibiting also, that none should goe into Woods or Forrestes, to liue there as Hermits: for he caused a great number to suffer death, that were retired thither, and he would haue no one liue idly, but all to take paines. In imitation (then) of this good Emperour *Valens*, such as haue the charge of Hospitals, and admitting poore people into them, for their releefe and gouernment ought to be carefull, that if they be sick and vnable to labour; then to entertaine them, or else to send them backe. For otherwise, they feede on goods giuen, against the will of the Founder, and contrary (indeede) to all equity: because they must allow of none, but the poore and needy, incapable of labour; and such are to be enquired after, whose modesty wronges their misery, and conceales them from open knowledge, while loytering wretches (by friendship) eate vp their right.

Orphane Children appointed to be Slaues.

Young and healthfull Beggers and Hermits made Slaues.

Now, as there are many inhumanities and rude behauiours, acknowledged to be done among the Turkes, and others that pertake in the Mahometane Law; yet most true it is, that they are amners;

The Emperor *Constantine*, first began the building of Hospitals.

Iulian the Apostata ordained Hospitals

The care of Hospitallers.

and willingly giue to the poore of their owne Sect, and haue founded, and yet doe builde many Hoſpitals of great Reuenewes: becauſe they are nothing ſo carefull, to leaue their Heires ſuch extremity of wealth, as we are in theſe parts of the world. For (well-neere) all of them, that eyther know how to manage Armes, or exerciſe any eſtate or condition, haue wages of the Prince. Such as are duputed to gouerne the goods of their Hoſpitals, are commonly Hermits, who ſtay not till any come to offer them themſelues: but goe to meete trauailers on the way, entreating them to come and accept a lodging, with promiſe of kinde entertainment, which accordingly is performed. And if they be lame, vnable, or ſick; they remaine there ſo long as they pleaſe. When they paſſe on farther, free leaue is granted them; & all the recompence required of them, is to pray to God for the founders ſoule. Their Hoſpitals are commonly builded on the chiefe and greateſt waies of Citties, and in places where Villages are moſt remote, and where water can hardly be found, preſuming vpon their larger merit. Beſide, many of the common people will feed dumb creatures, as wild Birds & beaſts; yea, Fiſhes in the Riuers, throwing in Bread or Corne, to ſuſtaine them for mans vſe.

The *Turks* are charitable, & not careful to leaue their heires rich.

Entertainmẽt in the *Turkiſh* Hoſpitals.

Of the *Turkiſh* Hoſpitals, there is one at the entrance of *Mare Maiore*, comming from *Boſphorus*, which a Daughter to the Emperour *Solyman*, the wife to *Ruſtane Baſcha* builded, and hath more then eight thouſand Ducates of annual rent. There is another, founded by a *Baſcha*, in the Iſle of *Phermena*, not far from *Delos* in *Greece*; which was in the time of *Mahomet* the ſecond, that conquered *Conſtantinople*. This Hoſpitall hath the reuennues of twelue thouſand ducates, and there are receiued all diſeaſed perſons, and others, without any exception of religion, poor or rich: They go to waſh themſelues in the hot Baths, which are ſulphurous, and neere adioyning to the Hoſpitall. But rarelie or ſildome in any other Hoſpitals within the *Turkes* Dominions, and founded by them; are any other entertained, then of their owne Religion. As concerning ſuch, as (in Antiquity) were

A verie rich Hoſpitall of the Turkes.

An Hoſpitall of free acceſſe of all, ſicke or ſound.

founded by Chriſtians, and are in theſe Lands ſubiected to the *Turkes*: all ſorts of people are there receiued and welcomed: and where any ſuch are, commonly a *Moſque* or Temple for *Turkes* is builded neere vnto it; as is to be ſeen on Mount *Sinai*, and elſe-where.

Hoſpitals erected by Chriſtians, in lands conquered by Turkes.

There is one in *Conſtantinople*, begun by *Mahomet* the ſecond, and finiſhed by *Baiazeth* his Sonne: which hath the reuennues of threeſcore thouſand Ducates. Another is in the ſame Cittie, of twelue thouſand Ducates annuall rent, founded by *Solyman*. *Oreanes*, the Son of *Othoman*, ſecond Emp. of the Turkes, builded another, in the yeare 1335. in a Towne named *Plagiary*, not farre from *Callipolis*, whoſe rentage is thirtie thouſand Ducates: Onely to this end, that poore people may there be entertained and lodged, and all other paſſengers; praying to God for his Fathers Soule, and ſixe of his Brethren, put to death by him, that hee might raigne alone in the more ſafe aſſurance.

The hoſpitals in *Conſtantinople*.

Oreanes, the Murderer of his ſixe Brethren.

A *Perſian* King, about the yeare 1550. cauſed a *Moſquee* to be builded in *Armenia*, with an Hoſpitall, endowing it with forty thouſand Ducates rent, at the Mountaine, on the top whereof *Noahs* Arke ſtayed. All ſuch as come to this Hoſpitall, going for deuotion to the ſaid Mountaine, be they Chriſtians (for there they haue a Chappell) *Turkes*, *Moores*, *Arabes*, or *Scythians*, of what Nation or Religion ſoeuer they be, ſicke or ſound; there they are entertained after the *Armenian* manner, three dayes and three nights, without payment for any thing. In *Fez*, the Capitall Citty of the Kingdome (the people beeing great obſeruers of the *Mahometane* Law) there are fiue faire Hoſpitals, endued with great reuenues, not onely for releefe of the poore: but alſo to teach and nouriſh (freely) yong poore Children in good Letters, or in Diuinity.

A rich Hoſpitall in *Armenia*, of moſt free and liberall entertainment for all commers.

Fiue goodly Hoſpitals in the Citty of *Fez*.

Theuet writeth (as likewiſe I haue vnderſtood by others, that haue beene in *Quinſay*, a Citty whereof we haue formerly related) that there is an Hoſpital of more then an hundred thouſand Ducates Reuennues, truely yearely paid. There, all perſons, of what Nation, religion, or ſexe ſoeuer they be, are enter-

Theuet. in Lib. 12. Cap. 18.

entertained; prouided that they be diſeaſed, or impotent; and there they are releeued with all thinges neceſſary, vntill ſuch time as they ſhal be able to trauaile. I neuer read or heard, that Idolatrous people had any Hoſpitals except this: but there needeth little admiration thereat, becauſe they are a people ful of great humanity and courteſie. Let not the *Turkes* then, and others, make their vaunt, that they were the firſt which inuented and builded Hoſpitals: for the honour is only due to the Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church.

An Hoſpitall in an Idolaterous Country

CHAP. XIX.

Of an Embaſſage, which was ſent to Hippocrates *the Phyſitian, by the Cõmonwealth of the Abderites, to come and ſuccour their Law-maker & King* Democritus, *whom they imagined to be a Foole, and out of his wit.*

BEfore the *Romaines* hadde made *Greece* tributary there were great ſtore of Common-weals, Iſlands, Cities, & People, that liued according to their owne Lawes, without depending on any other, then ſuch as they elected to commaund ouer them: who (for the moſt part) were Phyloſophers, men of good life, renowned, & of great erudition. Theſe men were called Law-Makers or Kings, as *Lycurgus* who commanded ouer the *Lacedemonians*; *Demetrius Phalereus*, ouer the *Athenians*; *Epaminondas* ouer the *Thebanes*, and the like of many others. During this good pollicie among the *Græcians*, ther was a great and goodly Cittie and Commonwealth in *Thrace*, ſcituate on the Sea, called *Abdera*, the Prince and Ruler whereof, was deceaſed. Whilet they remained in ſuſpence, who ſhould bee elected into his place, that might be an honeſt man, not auaricious, carrying himſelfe with Princes, and neighbouring people louingly, and no affecter of warres: they did ſet downe their reſolution, that a Law-maker muſt bee endued with ſuch perfections, and ſuch a one would be moſt beneficiall to their Comm onwealth. For, albeit *Cicero* ſaith, that the *Abderites* had not ouer-much vnderſtanding: yet it appeared, that in the election of this Law-maker, they ſhewed themſelues to haue more wit then the Romaines had. For among ſo many braue and valiaunt men, as aſpired to this high eſtate, they made choiſe of one, named *Democritus*, one of the moſt Learned men in his time, vertuous, little caring for worldly goods, and had far trauailed; yea, he ſurpaſſed *Plato*, who then liued, and bare him great enuy.

The great freedome and libertie of *Greece*, vnder the gouernement of Phyloſophers

Abdera of *Thrace*.

Cicer. in lib. de Natu. Deorum.

Democritus his Nature & life

This *Democritus* was not choſen for his Wealth, becauſe he was poore; nor yet by fauour, as hauing any Kindred in this great Common-wealth: for hee was a *Myleſian*, Sonne to a verie famous and rich man, named *Anthenocritus*, who had ſuch ſubſtantiall meanes, that hee maintained a whole day the Army of *Xerxes*, when it came into *Greece*, and the number of men in the ſaide Armie, was tenne times ſeauenteene hundered thouſande men.

Anthenocritus, Father to *Democritus*.

Diog. Laert. de Democrit.

This *Anthenocritus*, left many Children, the youngeſt whereof, was *Democritus*, who would haue nothing but money (& no other worldly poſſeſsions) but not to put to Vſurie, or ſpend fooliſhly, but to ſerue his trauailes in the Worlde, in Countries where he knew were Learned men, that taught good Sciences and Vertues, and he obtained this degree among the *Abderites*, onely by his good Fame, as formerly hath bin ſaid.

He had trauailed thorow the very chiefeſt parts of the world; as into *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Perſia*, and into the *Indiaes*, to heare the *Gymnoſophiſts*. And hauing Learned ſo much as hee could, hee returned home into his owne Country very poor; and hauing conſumed all his Patrimony; a Brother of his, named *Damaſes*, in charity receiued him, and maintained him for ſome ſmall time: but it was not long (after his returne but his wiſedome and great Knowledge began to bee knowne. For, hee had Learned that there was a God; that there was a Creation, & ſhold be an ending of the World; and he wanted very little of the ſame beleefe, which the true Church of God hath. Hee publiſhed many Bookes, which diſcourſed of things Naturall and Morrall. In briefe; he wrote of all the Sciences, and ſo Learnedly, that his Fame flew into many pla-

The trauailes of *Democritus*.

The great wiſedom and Learning of *Democritus*.

ces.

ces. So that the *Abderites* (with good aduiſe and counſell) ſent for him to their Cittie, to be commanded by him. He finding the Cittie wholly deuided, and embrouilled with factions, proceeded ſo dexterioufly, that he brought them al to vnity, and made them good friends. He found alſo the Common-wealth full of vices, and abounding in Luxury, which (by good Lawes) he reformed, and exerciſed Iuſtice as well on the rich as poore. He found the meanes likewiſe to accord certaine Neighboring Prouinces, which warred on the *Abderites*. He inſtituted Gouernors in all places on the frontiers; as alſo on the Seacoaſts, ſuch as were honeſt minded men, and not Ambitious. Which being done, hee liued with the Cittizens ſome yeares; and perceyuing them to be well reformed, and that they had no more need of his lawes, hee made his retirement to a ſollitarie place, to attend on his Phyloſophy, highly contemning all matters of the worlde, which are nothing but true vanities; well knowing, that they deſerued not to be ſorrowd for, becauſe *Heraclitus* did nothing elſe; and daily therfore he laughed them to ſcorn.

The cõming of *Democritus* to the *Abderites*.

The pollicie of *Democritus*.

The retreate of *Democritus* from the *Abderites*.

Without the City, and verie neere vnto the wals, there was a tree, which wee commonly call a Plane-tree, ſomewhat low, yet extending his branches very amply: vnder which, he ſat vpon a ſtone continually alone, hauing no other garment but a long gowne of courſe ſtuffe, barefooted, his viſage pale, with a long beard, & his body very meager. Somwhat neer vnto him, there ran a riuer diſcending out of a neighboring little hill, wheron ſtood a temple dedicated to the nimphs, round enuironed with wild Vines, hauing good ſtore of Bookes by him, and diuerſitie of creatures, whereof he diſſected ſome, ſetting inſtantly downe what his experience taught him. At other times, he wold ruminate and confer with his vnderſtãding, things that he had both ſeen and read: & when he was weary with Anatomizing, hee would walke abroad; and returning home again, quietly ſet him down. Now as this place, was not farre off from the chiefe Lady gate of the Cittie, & Hauen of the Sea: ſo could he both heare & ſee the weeping and wraſtling of the thicke leafed trees, being round planted about his field Cabinet, as alſo of people ſuffering Shipwrack, mourning for their Parents, Kindred, Merchandizes, or other loſſes. If contentions happened among any men, ſome being preſently ſlain in the place, greeuouſly wounded, or ſuch like dangerous accidents: others looſing goods, either by proceſſe in Law, or inconuenience of fire, or mortality of cattle, or ſome contagious diſeaſe hapning among men; at all theſe caſualties and accidents he made a mockery and laughter. He would do the like, when he ſaw a man heartily reioyce, that his Shippe (richly Laden) was ſafely arriued in the Hauen, and made a good aduenture. To be ſhort, all humain actions which came to his knowledge, whither they had good or euill ſucceſſe, he would laugh at them.

The place where he made his abiding.

How he ſpent his time daily

What ſights he dayly beheld.

Democritus laughed at all accidents whatſoeuer.

This hauing many times bin obſerued by the *Abderites*, and ſuppoſing him to be trobled in his vnderſtanding, they began (by little and little) to wax weary of him, and the whole Country to be offended at him. Whereupon, they entred into conſultation, to vnderſtand their beſt maner of proceeding in this caſe, and the more part of the beſt aduiſed, were deſirous of remedy, imagining that it was but ſome diſeaſe in the braine, which procured his extraordinary laughters. In which reſpect it was thought conuenient, to craue the iudgement of ſome skilful Phiſition, ſuch as was *Hippocrates* of *Coos*, who dwelt an 150. miles from thence, and had doone many verie famous cures. Among which (not long before) he recouered *Perdiccas* King of *Macedon*, who was falne into an extreame meagerneſſe of al his bodie; & (withall) was become ſo melancholy, that he would not ſee any body, but ſate penſiuely alone, void of all appetite for food or reſt, ſo that his diſeaſe was reputed incureable. Neuertheleſſe, *Hippocrates* (by his induſtry) found out the cauſe of his ſickneſſe, to wit; That hee was amorous of one of his Fathers Concubines formerly deceaſed, named *Phylas*, and in regard of naturall ſhame or baſhfulneſſe, he would not diſcouer it to any one. Yet it being at length perceiued by ſom neer about him; by the learned skill of *Hippocrates*, he was quickly cured. Moreouer, he had deliuered the whole Countrey of *Selauonia* frõ a peſtilence, after he vnderſtood by the Ambaſſadors, which the K. of that Land ſent vnto him, what windes blew there with greateſt power. Manie other excellẽt cures (almoſt diuine) are further

Democritus was ſuppoſed by the *Abderites* to be mad

Perdiccas, K. of *Macedon*, extreamlie diſeaſed.

The Peſtilence cured by *Hippocrates*

Ambassadors from the *Abderites* conferring with *Hippocrates*.

ther alledged to bee performed by him: which caused the *Abderites*, without procrastinating any longer time to send their Ambassadors to him, entreating him to come and helpe their Law-Maker *Democritus*.

Amelesseagoras being the chief in this Legation, a woorthy Orator, and most intirely affecting his Countrey: spake in few words to *Hippocrates*, according as followeth, to wit; the Common-wealth of the *Abderites* wished him all prosperitie, and humbly entreated him to take so much paine, as to come to their Cittie to visit *Democritus* their Law-maker, whom they immagined to be sicke in spirit; and that except some present remedie might be had, they expected nothing more thē their generall ruine. But especially, they stood in feare of loosing him, because he made no account of any thing in the world, nor of himselfe; watching both night and day, laughing and mocking at all things whatsoeuer, not any thing appearing to be acceptable to him. If men were addicted to Merchandize, or were maried, or preached, or taught in schoole; If any commanded, or obeyed, or deliuered any message, or were constituted in dignities, or deposed from them; If anie were sicke, whole, wounded, cured, dead, or any such like accidents, still he made a scorn of them, and laughed at them. The like would he doo, when he saw men reioice at any good occasiō, or sit in peace, or fight, or lament. Hee would talke of Hell, and what was done there, setting the same downe in writing. Hee taught also, that the aire was full of Attomies, which he tearmed to be such bodies, as the Sunne doth represent by his beames, passing thorough any Glasse windowes: and that there were many worlds all corruptible. He was verie attentiue in listening to the songs of Birds, rising very often in the night time, singing songes in a bigge and Bace voice. He said also, that wisedome did sometime slie to many hie and loftie matters, and that there were infinite *Democrites*, who held the same opinion with him.

All things alike to *Democritus*.

What Attomies are, according to *Democritus*, and some other of his opinion.

Now, in consideration of all these thinges, and by this his daily manner of behauiour, waiting and consuming both his body and spirit, the *Abderites* conceiued, that hee was transported from his right sences, and that by his recouerie, he should

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acquire great fame and reputation, accompanied also with as ample a recompence, as himselfe should deeme to bee conuenient, because they made more esteeme of *Democritus* his health, then if all the Houses and Walles of their Citie were couered with pure Gold. And the more to prouoke him to this iourney, he added, that hee should not come thither as a Physitian, but as a New-founder of so great a Cittie and Common-wealth, & that he should not heale one priuat man only, but a whole Cittie. And withall, he should bee receiued as their Law-maker, conseruer and Iudge, all things being reputed and ordered, as effected by his Art and singuler experience. Neither was it a Cittie onely, that made this humble requeste vnto him, but all *Greece*, the Princesse of Prouinces, of all Vertues, and of all Sciences in the wide Vniuerse, to cure and recouer him, in whom Wisedome her selfe consisted.

How highly the *Abderites* accounted of *Democritus*.

Great perswasions in *Amelesseagoras*.

Proceeding further in perswasions, he told him, that he was neere allied to the said *Democritus*; because, that they both tooke Originall from the race of the Goddes. For *Democritus* was descended of *Hercules*, and *Hippocrates* of *Æsculapius*, sonne to *Apollo*. Moreouer, that *Philopoemenes*, a famous Cittizen and Captaine of the *Abderites*, had already prepared a lodging for his entertainement, though not equall to his high deserning, yet with heart and good will: and they stood charged to prese t him ten talents, which valewed then (according to the supputation of *Budæus*) fiue thousand *Escues Couronnez*, at thirty sixe Sols to the Crowne, which only was to defray the charges of his iourney.

Democritus & *Hippocrates* descended in race from the Gods.

Ten Talents prepared for *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates hauing attentiuely heard all that *Amelesseagoras* had said, was very pensiue, not knowing what to do. For on the one side, hee had (but fewe dayes before) married a faire and sweete young Ladie, whom he was loath to leaue, as fearing least she should do him some displeasure for parting from her so soone, & in the Nonage of their marriage. Another reason withheld him, which was the performing of certaine Sacrifices, which were vowed (from time to time of al Antiquitie) by them of the Ile of *Coos*, to the Goddes of their Countrey, wherein he had promised his assistance, as beeing a man that held the place of most emi-

Hippocrates Iealous of his wife but lately married.

in

nence in the Isle, and was verie especially beloued.

Pre meditations of *Hippocrates.*

Besides, daily and continually arriued in this Island, great store of people, of all qualities and sexes; some for recouery of their health, being sent thither by others, that had formerly found good successe; & others, as Deputies from diuers great Kings and Monarches, to fetch him to their Courts: as (not long before) hee was to *Artaxerxes*, King of all the East, and many more. In briefe, hee referred it till the next morning, to aunswere the request of the *Abderites*: for now it waxed somewhat late, and towards Sun-setting, wherefore the Ambassadors went to their rest.

The Resolution of *Hippocrates.*

Hippocrates considered a great part of the Night, what best became him to do in this case. For, he held it fit and reasonable; yea, and appertaining to his Honor, to go and see *Democritus*, a man of so great authority in *Greece*: whom if his skill could recouer, hee should win as a friend, and no meane reputation beside. As for his faire wife by him so lately maried, he referred her to the trust of a faith full and intimate friend, named *Dionisius*. Then, taking order for all his Domestick affaires, and assisting in the Sacrifices, for his safer sayling to the *Abderites*, and not knowing how long he should stay in this Voyage, he resolued to accept their earnest request. So on the morrow, hee sent for *Amelesseagoras*, and the other Ambassadors, to whom he said: He did not a little meruaile, that so great a commonweale as that of the *Abderites*, was so much troubled about the sickenesse of one onely man, as if a man were their whole Cittie. Neuertheless, hee did truly account them to be most happie, who knew and vnderstood, that men of Vertue were found Ramparts, Bulwarks, and Defences. His opinion also was, that Arts and Sciences were perticuler guifts of the Goddes, and men were but the Workemanship of Nature, neyther was it the Cittie of the *Abderites*, that called him to this iourney, but Nature, to help her worke, which now was falne into very great daunger, to the end, that shee should not perish by so greeuous a disease.

Hippocrates his answer to the Ambassadors.

Nature calleth for the Physitions helpe, & not men.

As for the ten Talents, which should be presented to him, he desired the Legates to bestow them elsewhere: because he would do as much without Money, as with it, being neuer subiect to such a pernitious sickenesse, as Auarice is. For, (quoth he) the Art of Physicke sets not it selfe to sale for money; and such men as do receiue salarie, do make Slaues of the Sciences, which (of themselues) are free and liberall.

Hippocrates no way couetous

Moreouer, hee gaue them to vnderstand (to shew how little he esteemed riches) that it was not long since, when he made refusall to the mighty King *Xerxes*, for visiting his Court, Country, & great Armies, which were afflicted with certaine popular and deadly Diseases: for which, there could not any remedie bee found; notwithstanding, the Kinges abounding in wealth and pomp, & whereof no meane offers were made, whereby both he and his might haue been rich for euer, if hee had pleased to make acceptance of them. Cities, Townes, and Prouinces, wherein are heaped & hoorded more riches then can bee imagined, they are to me (quoth he) trifles, and of no Value: for I euer preferred Vertue before vice, to wit; the loue of my countrey, and all *Greece*. Hereupon, he promised, that within verie few dayes hee would set to Sea, and visite *Democritus*; but he could not now depart with the ambassadours, instantly to vndergo so great a voyage, as was 150. miles by Sea, till he had don his duty in the Sacrifices, which were to be performed to their Countrey Gods; the solemnity and Feast whereof, would be ended in few daies.

King Xerxes refused by *Hippocrates.*

Hippocrates his promise to the Ambassadors.

In like manner, he would take Order for the publicke affaires, and some priuate occasions of his owne. So the Ambassadors tooke their leaue, returning backe with great contentment, and leauing the ten Talents with *Hippocrates*, notwithstanding his many and often refusals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Hippocrates founde Democritus continually laughing: and of the Conference they had together.

HIppocrates beeing willing to keep his promise, tooke order for al his owne businesse; but aboue all, for the care and gouernement of his new married Wife, whome he left with his friend *Dionisius*, and in whom he reposed great confidence. For this opinion was crept into his brain, that no Woman in the world could be chast: which was found expressely set downe in one of his Letters that he somtime wrote to the same friend *Dionisius*. He wrote also to his friend *Damagetus*, a *Rhodian*, entreating him to lend him a Shippe, that safely might bring him to the *Abderites*, aduising him (but by way of mockery) to tel the *Rhodians*, that they should heedefully keepe themselues from laughing indifferently either at good or euill, least they should be imagined mad and foolish, as *Democritus* was. Also, that they should not be sad or weepe, without very great occasion: for (in common opinion) they would thereby fall into the disease, called Melancholy, which procureth alienation of iudgment, with a certain kind of feare. Therefore, they should obserue a Mediocritie, aswell in laughing as in weeping, as hee himselfe both had done, and would do.

Id est, In deede, or will.

A mockage giuen by *Hippocrates*.

Damagetus sent him a Ship, wherein he sailed so prosperously, that (without any hinderance) hee arriued in the Port of *Abdera*, in few dayes sayling; where hee was expected with earnest affection, and entertained with as great honor and reuerence, as if he had beene a God. Afterward, he was conducted to the place, where *Democritus* made his abode out of the Cittie, and found him in the same estate, as *Anaxagoras* hadde formerly told him. He would not suddenly intrude into his presence, but through the boughes and branches of Trees, that rounde

Hippocrates saileth to *Abdera*, and there arriueth.

Hippocrates obserued the behauiour of *Democritus*.

inuironed his Cabinet, obserued his actions with good iudgement, considering duly what he did. One while, he saw him writing, another while reading, & afterward walking: when, entering into his lodging, *Hippocrates* (so reuerently as might be) saluted him. So soone as *Democritus* perceiued him, he sayde; God saue you mine Hoste. *Hippocrates* answered, And you Sir also, being a most wise and worthy man, which he performed with very humble reuerence. *Democritus* was somewhat ashamed, that hee could not tearme him by his name; and therefore entreated that he would tell it him. *Hippocrates* replied, that hee was called a Physition. Then *Democritus* doubted that he was *Hippocrates*, although he had neuer till then seene him, and saide: Hee was the Flower of the *Æsculapians*, and his great renowne had reached vnto his poore abiding.

The flutterions betweene the two Philosophers.

Growing on to further questionings, he enquired, what occasion had brought him thither? Shewing him his seat to sit downe by him, and all his roome, which was couered with greene braunches of Trees, affirming, that he esteemed it better then a Royal Pallace, subiect vnto the instability of Fortune.

Their further interlocutions.

When they had sitten a while togither, he desired him to tell him in trueth: if he were come to him about any perticuler businesse, or for some publicke cause? Wishing him to conceale nothing from him, for he would assist him to his vttermost. *Hippocrates* answered, that (in trueth) he had no other errand to that place but only to see and conferre with a most Wiseman, according as his country had giuen him in charge. Then *Democritus* offered to prepare him a lodging, to entertaine and Feast him as his good guest. But *Hippocrates* told him, that he had alreadie taken vp his lodging with *Philopœmenes*, and demaunded if he knew him? *Democritus* replied, that he knew him verie well, and that he was the sonne of *Damon*, and his dwelling was neere vnto the Fountaine *Hermandra*; he hauing beene a friend to his predecessours, as also hee continued so still to himselfe. All this while *Hippocrates* heedfully noted, whither his spirit did any way wander, or no; and to know assuredly the state of his vnderstanding, he desired him to tell him what the Argument was, which hee had

Philopœmenes, the Sonne of *Damon*.

written

A Discourse of folly, written by *Democritus*.

written in a Booke lying open before him? *Democritus* hauing paused a little space, answered; That it was of Follie. Is it then against the City, replied *Hippocrates*? Against what Cittie answered *Democritus*? By which words, *Hippocrates* wel perceiued, that he had waded too farre in speech, and offended the whole Common-wealth of the *Abderites*, and had also discouered the cause wherefore hee was come to see him. Wherefore, concealing what he thought, he sayde to *Democritus*, that he would be loath to offend him, but prayed to resolue him what he could write concerning Follie? *Democritus* answered; that hee had written what Folly is, and what hee conceyued, concerning the engendering thereof in the spirits of men, and how it was to be auoyded. Then shewing him diuers creatures by him, which he had dissected in forme of Anatomies, hee tolde him; That he had not so done, as to correct or contemne the workes of God, but onely to finde out the seate, and the Nature of anger or choller. For he was not ignorant, that when this humour redounded (neuer so little) in the bodie, it caused furious actions, and that al creatures had it; but in some lesse, and in others more: and when it attained to superabundance, it begot diseases in the spirit.

How Folly is begotten in the body of man.

Then *Hippocrates* lifting vp his eyes to Heauen, was much better confirmed then before, only by the Wisedome of *Democritus*, admyring his happinesse, and telling him that hee might boast of the chiefest felicity among men, rendering him a reason for his words. Because (quoth he) that we cannot compasse the meanes, to obtain the like leysure as you haue. And why (quoth *Democritus*) cannot you haue the like leysure? Because (replied *Hippocrates*) domesticall affaires care for worldly goods, which are necessarie to be had and kept, for our Children, expences, diseases, frailties, and mortalities which happen, with multitude of seruants, women, and other such like matters, do deprriue vs of those leisurable times, to pursue occasions of benefit and profit.

Hippocrates confirmed in knowledg by *Democritus*.

Sollicitude for worldlie goods, is a Phylosophers hinderance.

So soone as *Democritus* had heard these words, he fell into an extraordinary Laughter, leauing al other actions whatsoeuer. And *Hippocrates* demanded of him, the reason of his laughter, and whither he had spoken wel or ill, which made him Laugh much more vehemently; and many of the chiefest Cittizens, both hearing and seeing it, greeuing that so great a man should in this manner be scorned, they verily beleeued, that *Democritus* was mad, and no further doubt was now to be made thereof. And therefore, in affliction of mind, some rent their haire, others wept, and some smote themselues vpon their faces.

Hippocrates would know the cause of *Democritus* his laughter.

Hippocrates pursuing still his purpose, desired *Democritus* once more to yeelde him a reason for his ouer-abounding Laughter, and whether any thing done by him, might occasion the same? to the end (quoth he) that I may correct my selfe, from giuing you any such offence heereafter. *Democritus* replied, swearing by *Hercules*, that if he would take occasion to make him forbeare, or to reproue him for laughing, he protested, that hee should performe the best cure that euer he had done.

The laughing of *Democritus* not to be cured.

Why (quoth *Hippocrates*) are you not to be reprehended, when you Laugh at the death of a man? Or when you see him sicke, or acting folly, or in choller, rauing, murthering, and such like most miserable accidents committed by him? The like also you do, in his very best fortunes, or what felicities of the Worlde soeuer befall him: so that (in you) there appeareth no difference betweene good and euill.

You haue sayde verie true, answered *Democritus*, and yet you seeme to be ignorant in the true cause of my laughing. But if you knew, or could discern it, you would finde, that the cure thereof extendeth not onely to them of your Countrey, but euen to your owne selfe; and you would gaine much more profite thereby, then you can do by your sending for hither. And when I giue you to vnderstand, that my laughing proceedeth from those vanities, wherein men spend all their life time, yea, more then ridiculous: methinkes (in recompence thereof) you should enstruct mee in the Art of Physicke.

The true cause of *Democritus* his laughing.

And let mee now tell yee (Learned *Hippocrates*) that I Laugh and mocke, when I see a man filled with Follies, and emptie of all Vertuous actions, carrying himselfe foolishly in all his courses, seeking for Golde and Siluer in all quarters of

A Discourse concerning search after gold & siluer.

of the World, hauing no end in his Ambition, but is mollested with daylie Trauailes, to the end, that hee may be esteemed more in reputation, and fauoured of fortune.

Hee delueth into the earth, making deep Trenches and waies vnder ground, beeing daily in great perrill and daunger of the earthes falling vppon him, continuing in this drudging exercise all his life time, euen like a Laborious Journyman, searching and following the veines of the Mettalles, which manie times hee cannot finde: or, if hee finde them, they are oftentimes verie short, or so difficult to followe, that the cost is tenne times more, then the profite ensuing thereby.

More cost then profit

And dooth not this deserue Laughter? For, when they dare so much hurt the earth (which they call their common Mother) and vse her as a despightfull Enemie, whom they should hold in great admiration and reuerence, for suffering them to walke vp and downe vppon her bosome, I thinke it a matter well beseeming Laughter, to affect what is closelie hidden in her intrailes, and yet to do her such manifest iniury.

The Earth, the common Mother of all men.

Some do loue Dogges, others Horses: Some desire to command and be obeyed in manie Prouinces: and yet themselues will knowe no Obedience: Some marrie Wiues, hauing long time before verie dearely loued them: & yet (in a short while after) forsake and hate them; begetting Children, with much care and cost for their education; yet when they grow great, and past Correction, they despise them, wil not see them, but leaue them Naked vnto the Worlds mercie. Doo not these behauiours expresse their intollerable follies? When men liue in peace, then they couet war, detesting all quietnesse; Deposing their Kinges, and aduancing others in their sted; murdering some men, to begette Children of their Wiues, seeking in the ground for Gold and Siluer, and hauing found them, buy them of the earth; and with the fruites thereof, striue to make mony againe. How many strange varieties of humors are men in? When they are poore and needie, then they seeke for riches; and when they haue them, they hide them vnder ground, to burie them in the place from whence they first cam, or else wastfully spend them. O wise *Hippocrates*! I Laugh at these things, beeing done to such ill purpose: but much more when no good euent succeedeth of thē. Ther is no truth or Iustice found among them for they plead daily one against another: the Son against the Father and Mother, Brother against Brother, Kindred and Friendes of the same qualitie. And al these things they do, to compasse Riches, whereof (after death) they can be no possessors. And yet notwithstanding, they will kill one another dailie for wealth, commit all vnlawfull Actions; contemning both the poor, their frends, and Countrey.

Variable contrarieties in the affections of men.

The malice of men one against another.

The deformity of mans life.

They make great account of manie senseleese things, esteeming them to bee part of their treasure; as Statues, Picturs, painted Tables, and other moueables of like matter, which they buy at deer rates, being so dexteriously wrought, as nothing but speech wanteth in them; & yet they hate liuing persons that do speake to them. Others, do affect laborious and difficult things: for such as dwel on firme Land, desire to remoue thence to Watry Iflands, and hauing remained there but a while; then they must needs returne to their first abiding, being no way constant or stable in their desires. They commend courage and strength in warlicke actions, yet are daily conquered themselues by Auarice and wickednesse, at euerie change hapning in their bodies, or sickenesse of minde. In briefe, they are as deformed in their liues, as *Thersites* the *Greeke* was in his body. And for conclusion (worthy *Hippocrates*) me thinkes you should not reprehend my laughing, perceiuing so many vanities in men; for no man will mocke his owne follie, but at that which hee discerneth in another, and so they do iustly mock one another. The Drunkard calles him a Glutton, whom he knowes to be sober. Many men loue the Sea; others Husbandry: briefely they cannot agree in their Trades and professions, much lesse in their liues and actions.

Senseleese things esteemed aboue liuing men.

No estate or condition liuing contentedly.

Hippocrates hauing heard *Democritus* to speake in this maner, without anie pre-meditation: but readily deliuered from his Mouth: and as no man could better vtter his minde, to declare the Vanitie of humaine condition, full of so manie ridiculous contrarieties, made

anſwere: That the neceſsitie of thinges, compelled men to many of theſe actions and variant willes in one another: the principall cauſe enſuing from the diuine permiſsion, to the end, that men might not bee ydle, becauſe there is not anie thing more odious to the Goddes, then ſloath and neglect. And as in Nature there is not any thing ſtable or firme; euen ſo, the vnderſtanding of man (which is round circkled and ſhut vp with naturall thinges) is not ſo certaine and immoueable, as daily to fore-ſee future inconueniences. What would a man do, ioyning in Marriage where he dearly affecteth, if hee foreſaw death to bee the cauſe of their ſeparation? Or the Father and Mother, Nurſing their Children tenderly, knewe the houre of their Mortalitie and ſubiection to death? Would a Husbandman beſtow his ſeed in the ground, if he could fore-tell that it woulde yeelde him no encreaſe? Or a Merchant vndertake Nauigation, if hee ſaw his owne Shippe-wracke before his eyes? Woulde a King accept of Regall Authority, if he were ſure of depoſing, and caſting out from his dignitie? Or a Magiſtrate ſeated in honor afterward reiected, and toſſed vp and downe (like a Tennis Ball) at the peoples pleaſure? Alas, woorthy *Democritus*, each man thinketh, that whatſoeuer hee enterprizeth, ſhall ſucceede to happie and fortunate ſucceſſe. Neither is there any need of ſuch apprehenſion, or any ſtrong imagination, that pernicious accidents muſt neede waite on mens enterprizes: For, then no man would aduenture on anie thing, but euery one would ſtand ſtupid, confounded with fearefulneſſe. Why do ye not now (quoth he to *Democritus*) mocke and laugh at theſe words of mine, as you did before, and ſtill doo at all things?

Democritus hauing heard Diuine *Hippocrates*, excuſed himſelfe thus; That his vnderſtanding was but groſſe and rough hammered, and could not well comprehend what hee had formerlie declared, concerning the perturbations & tranquilitie of the minde. Inſomuch, that if men would gouerne their actions by diſcretion and prouidence; they wold not declare themſelues to be fooles, neither ſhoulde hee haue any further cauſe of laughter. But (quoth he) they ſwell proudly, and ſo glorie in their doings, as if (in this life) they were immortall, onlie through defect of vnderſtanding, beeing harde to bee enſtructed in ſuch difficult points. It were ſufficient to make them wiſe and well-gouerned, if they woulde but ſet before their own eyes, the change or viciſsitude of all worldly thinges, finding nothing firme and ſtable, the whole world dooing nothing elſe, but gire and wheele about: ſo that he which is aloſte to day, on the morrow following is remoued lower: and hee that ſate on one ſide, is hurled to another. And not conſidering this ſlippery buſineſſe, they fall eaſily into verie great inconueniences & troubles: coueting things of no profite, and by greedie thirſting after them, tumble headlong into manie miſerable Calamities.

So that, if no man would attempt more, then what his ſtrength could ablie ſtand vnder, and he beare awaie without perrill, he would lead a much better contented life; and men hauing learned to know themſelues, would limit a mediocrity, not an infinitie to their ambition. Then they woulde conſider, that nature hath ſufficient to adminiſter what is neceſſarie for this life, without ſeeking ouer-painfully, after ſuperfluities and vnprofitable thinges, which bring nothing with them, but great greefe and molleſtation.

Like as a bodie that is growne groſſe, fat, and well fed, is ſooneſt ſuſpected to fall into ſome grieuous diſeaſe: euen ſo, fareth it with great riches, which are ſubiect to ſtore of trauerſes and mutations. There are many, who take no heede of that which happeneth to others, only by bad conuerſation; and therefore, do ouerthrow themſelues in the ſame maner, thorough their owne fault, not fore-ſeeing daungers manifeſt, and not hidden; dreaming otherwiſe on length of life by them. Theſe are the thinges (O men more then mad, quoth he) that yeilds me matter of laughter, by ſueffring the pains of your Impieties; as of your Auarices, inſatiable deſires, enmities, conſpiracies, deceits, enuies, and other Vices; which (in regard of their multiplicitie) are impoſsible to be declared; beſides your diſſimulations and fallacies, in conuerſing together, bearing deadly hatred one to another, yet ſhaddowing it with lies, flying

S'oth & carelesneſſe hateſull to the Gods.

Excellent reaſons alleadged by *Hippocrates*.

The euent of things cannot be auoyded.

The anſwere of *Democritus* to *Hippocrates*.

The infinite ambition in men, the cauſe of all euils.

The beneſite of knowing our ſelues.

A familiar compariſon betweene the body & riches

Vices ordinary and common among men.

ing out into all voluptuous turpitude of life, and transgressing all Lawes, both of nature and ciuility.

Many things are pleasing to them, and when they are forborne but a while, they returne againe afresh vnto them. As oftentimes they doe, who shun and despise Nauigation, yet afterwardes doo vndertake it againe, leauing off Husbandrie, which at the first was their only exercise. When they are young, they thinke it long till they attaine vnto age; and when they are arriued to it, then they lament, and finde many irkesom discommodities in it.

No man truly satisfied with his own condition.

Princes commend a priuate life, and a priuate man hath an itching humor after Royaltie. The Magistrate praiseth the Handi-crafts mans condition: and the other would gladly be in his Office, to be reuerenced and obeyed as the Magistrat is. And what is the reason of all these disturbances, but that no man will take knowledge of himselfe, as hee ought to doo? Some take delight in destroying Townes and Cities, to erect other in contrary places, spoiling one country vnreasonably, to inrich themselues in another immeasurably. In all these things, they differ very little from Children; in whom there is neither counsell or iudgement, and resemble brutish creatures, only this excepted, that they can containe themselues within the Lawes of nature, which men either cannot, or wil not do.

A delight deseruing little cõmendation

When shal we see a Lyon hiding gold in the ground? Or a Bull contending for a fatter pasture? When the wilde Boare is thirsty, hee will drinke no more then sufficeth nature. When the woolfe hath fild his belly, to get him a stomack again, hee walketh about from place to place; but man eateth and drinketh both night and day, neuer satisfied with too much repletion. These creatures couet no carnall coniunction, but at certain times and seasons in the yeare: but man at all times and all houres, giuing license to his owne voluptuous fleshlinesse, ruinating thereby the health of his body. And is it not a matter deseruing laughter, to see an Amorous foole writh his arms, weep, houl, and torment himselfe, for a mishapen slut, foule, hard fauoured, and vnsightly, forsaking bright beauty in her sweetest delicacy? And yet for al these grosse imperfections, I thinke Physicke affordeth not any remedie.

Brute beastes do behaue themselues better then men.

Affection, is a blinded Folly.

You cannot note such mallice in me, as daily you may discerne in others; for they kil one another, and I do but dissect and Anatomize poore Beastes, to seeke the cause of these distempers, Vanities, and worldly follies: yet such proofe were better made on mens bodies, if my kind Nature could endure it; and but that I am a louer of man, and of his good. You may easily obserue, how the world it selfe is hatefull to men, compacting so manie calamities in him, as with them he is continually vexed. For man, from the houre of his birth is weake and sickly. When he sucks for his nourishment, hee is vnprofitable, and vnable to gouerne himselfe. Growing greater, he practiseth vnhappinesse, and then, hath neede of a Ruler. Comming to manly yeares, hee waxeth bolde and sturdy; and descending into Old age, he declareth his owne miserie, remembering his labours and calamities passed, all which, hee brought with him from the wombe of his Mother. Heere their Conference was interrupted, by the comming in of one, that broght certaine Bookes; but a signe being giuen him to lay downe the Bookes, and depart; they fell againe to their former discourse. But *Democritus* fearing, lest he had already wearied *Hippocrates*, with so long and diuers causes of his Laughter, entreated his fauourable patience yet a little longer, and then he should iudge if he were mad, acording as many others imagined.

The wretched and miserable estate of men.

Democritus proceedeth his discourse.

To approue my former speeches (qd. he) let vs cast our eies into diuers Courts and priuat houses, where dangerous actions are committed, that are not brought to open euidence. In many Courts, Iudges giue sentence according to their own pleasure, offering too much wrong to innocents, & poor despised soules. Notaries and Scriueners on the other side, they alter the Iudges sentences, or (for money) lose their deeds. Som make false monies; others forge counterfet waights & measures. Some abuse their parents, yea, corrupt their owne Sisters; & others, frame lying Pasquils and rimes, disgracing men & women of vertuous life, & extolling such as are lewd and vicious. Some rob in the night time, breaking Doores and Windowes: And Magistrates ordaine Lawes against stealing, yet are the greatest Theeues themselues. Some hang

Concerning Iudges.

Notaries and Scriueners.

Coynes and Waights.

False Libels.

Robbing and Thieuing.

Desperation

Great inconstancy in the actions of mé

Proud nakednesse.

False witnes.

Pride in women, to see & be seene.

Of Physick & Physitians.

Ignoraunce, Enuie, and Ingrautude.

The end of the Conference, between Democritus & Hippocrates.

themselues, or otherwise woorke their owne deathes, for not obtaining what they would haue, or else in meer despair. Among men, there are many that affect Dauncing, Singing, Laughing, and frequenting of Feasts and Bankets, while others sit Sighing, Mourning, & lamenting, hauing neither meate or drinke to fill their hungry bellies.

There are some, that haue no other delight, but to bee cloathed in rich and sumptuous Garments, neuer caring to couer and adorne their minds, but only with wicked and execrable vices. Some run, trot about, seeke and call into their houses, Knights of the Post (aswe terme them, with false witnesse to ouer-throwe an honest meaning man: and albeit the Iudges knowe it well enough, yet (for bribes) they winke at it, and suffer false contracts, to preuaile against right and equity.

The most part of Weomen, if they bee desirous of walking abroad, manie houres are too few, in decking and adorning themselues, only to appeare beautifull in the eyes of other men: but while they abide within doores, they care not how vnhandsome and sluttish they bee, where rather they should be in their best brauery, only to be liking and acceptable in the eyes of their Husbands.

Seeing then (quoth hee) that the Spirits of men are so variable, and full of intemperance, why shoulde not I Laugh? Surely, I am of the minde, that Physicke is offensiue to them, and in regarde of their ill Temper, euery thing is irkesom, and folly seemeth to be Wisedome vnto them.

There are many parts in your Art of Physicke, which suffer blame openly, either thorough ignorance, enuie, or ingratitude. Some sicke men, recouering their health, most commonly do attribute their cure to those Goddes vnto whom they haue deuoted themselues; or to fortune, or to their owne naturall disposition: neuer minding the Physition, who tooke great paines in purging Humors of dangerous quality, and bringing them to a more milde constitution. But you know these things much better then I do, because you haue made iudicious experience of them.

Many other speeches passed betweene them, to approue that his Laughter was to good purpose: but because the Reader may gesse them by former relation, I spare further proceeding in them. In pronouncing his words, hee seemed rather a God then a man, and his desire was to be heard, without molestation. It waxed now somewhat late, and it appeared, that time had tutord either to allow of seperation. Wherefore, *Hippocrates* most humbly thanking *Democritus*, for instructing him in the causes of his Laughter, and what else he had learned by his wittie discourse, wished, that he were as free as he, without charge of a wife and family, on condition hee might liue like another *Democritus*.

Hippocrates with-drawing into the Citie, to his kinde Hoste *Philopoemenes*, was no sooner there arriued, but the greater part of the Honourablest persons came to visit him, to vnderstand the estate and health of their Law maker. In few Wordes he told them, that in the body of *Democritus* he could find no infirmity, albeit he made too slight account of his own person, either in order of diet, garments, and other necessaries. Much lesse defect was to be found in his minde: for he was verily perswaded, that the whole worlde contained not a man more wise, learned, and honest, then hee. And the Commonwealth was badly informed, to immagine him mad, or out of his senses, because he laughed (ordinarily) as well at good as euill: for his Laughter proceeded from iust occasion, to witte; The vanity and presumption of men, promising themselues (for the most part) eternity in this world. Howbeit, the life of man (as euery one well knoweth) is but a dreame, soone passing away. Hee recited also to them, his sententious sayings, in such rare method, and excellent Order, as all the hearers confessed their great errour, in holding the wisest man in the world for a foole.

The Noblemen resorted to *Hippocrates*.

The report of *Hippocrates*, concerning his iudgment of *Democritus*.

On the morrow, Sacrifices were offered to the Goddesse *Pallas*, in thankefull manner, because shee had pleased to preserue the helth of *Democritus*; presenting (beside) great & rich gifts to *Hippocrates*, for the great paines and trauel he had taken. After many refusalles, he said vnto them, that he remained verie highlie obliged vnto them, for causing him to conferre with the Wisest man in the worlde: for he had many infirmities in his spirit, where-

Sacrifices to the Goddesse *Pallas*.

whereof he was vtterly ignorant, till hee talked with him; and they might haue caused verie manie pernitious accidents, but that his graue Counsell had giuen them remedy; and therefore, hee rather ought to reward *Democritus*, as a gracious Benefector. So, being brought aboord his Shippe by the *Abderites*, he set saile, and returned home vnto the Isle of *Coos*.

The departure of *Hippocrates* from the *Abderites*.

This *Hippocrates* liued afterward like a Woorthie man, and in great reputation, hauing written threescore and seauen Bookes of the Art of Physick, which yet to this day are holde in great estimation, as beeing most learnedly composed; yea, such hath beene their Authoritie, that all cases pleaded before Iudges, if they were determined by *Hippocrates*, al Lawyers allowd them as a denifitiue sentence, without informing themselues by any other naturall reason.

The authority of *Hippocrates* his workes and writings.

The whole Art of Physicke is grounded vpon that which hee hath written; and is the onely reason, why that Science was reduced into an Art. Not onely was he in great credite and estimation during his life time in *Greece*, but likewise in many remote Nations where that credite liueth still: For his Workes are read not onely in *Asia* and *Europe*, but likewise in *Affrica*, amongest the *Moores*, *Iewes*, *Arabes*, and *Indians*, where Commentaries are daily made on his Bookes.

The life and vertues of *Hippocrates*.

Hee was neuer seene to be in Choller, neither more sadde or ioyfull at one time then another. Hee was very charitable to the poore, Benigne, Affable, Liberall, and Laborious. Hee was so beloued in many Prouinces, that (on a time) the *Athenians* being prouoked by vniust Ambition, denounced Warre against the Isle of *Coos*: but (for his sake only) the *Thessalians* and other people, sent their Ambassadours to succor them with men, and all meanes else. And also in respect of him, the *Athenians* would not come to Handie-blowes: but calling to minde, that hee had once deliuered their Cittie from the Pestilence, graunted them peace, and accepted him amongst the number of their Cittizens, to enioy the same priuiledges, allowing him besides, a great pension yearely, out of the publicke Treasury. Hee died in the hundred and eleauenth yeare of his age, leauing two Sonnes behinde him, verie famous Physitions, to wit, *Thessalus* and *Draco*.

The death & children of *Hippocrates*.

He had a great number of Schollers, whom he wold neuer license to practise, or graunt them his Letters, till they had first taken their Oaths in the Temple, before the Altar of *Apollo*, to abbreuiate diseases to their vttermost power; to giue no counsell, neither to suffer any to poyson any bodie, or cause women to be deliuered of abortiue children. To be secret in infirmities, as wel concerning women as men, without lusting after women, or young Maids, being vnder their cure: nor to report any thing spoken by them, or done in their houses, after their entrance. Also, that they should teach their Arte freely, and without reward to others, according as he had taught it them; and aboue all things else, that they should feare God. It is not aboue fortie years since, that his Sepulchre was found in the Isle of *Coos*, his Natiue Countrey, which the Emperour *Theodosius* had builded in his honor, betweene two Hilles, in a verie deepe Quagmyre, which was 860. yeares after his decease. Whereby wee may well perceiue, that *Soranus* is a lyer, who would haue his Tombe to be in *Macedonia*. He is alwaies pictured with his head couered, as a signe of his Nobility.

The Oath giuen by *Hippocrates* to his Schollers.

The Sepulcher of *Hippocrates*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the two most excellent Painters in those times, Apelles *and* Protogenes.

HAuing formerly spoken of the woorthy Art of Painting, it may seeme absurd, that two Chapters should bee inserted, concerning one and the same subiect. But in mine owne excuse, I must alledge the mens dignitie of whom I am nowe to speake, deseruing well a Chapter by themselues, for better impression in the Readers minds: *Apelles*, who was tearmed the chiefe or Prince in the Art of Painting, learned this Science vnder a Woorthie man, named *Pamphilius*, whose cunning

The Authors excuse for this chapter.

Pamphilius the Maister of *Apelles*.

was so absolute, as hee would accept of no Scholler, at lesse rate then an *Attique* Talent by the yeare, which valewed sixe hundred Crownes of our Money nowe. In the time of this *Apelles*, there was another most famous Painter, named *Protogenes*, so prompt and skilful in this Art, as supremacy in excellency could not be discerned in either. In regard whereof, and *Apelles* hauing credible intelligence of his great renowne, he resolued to goe see him, & sayled thence to *Rhodes*, wher *Protogenes* made his abiding. Being there arriued (with purpose not to be knowne, no not to *Protogenes* himselfe) he cam to the doore of his dwelling, at such time as *Protogenes* was gone abroad. Entring into his Worke-house, he demanded of an aged woman where he was, saying, hee would haue spoken with him. Who shal I say (quoth the old woman) inquired for him? Then *Apelles* tooke a Pensil, which he found lying by an vnwrought Table, and said to the old woman. Thou mayst tell *Protogenes* when hee commeth, that he which did this in this Table, came hither to see him. And as he spake the wordes, he drew a strait line so curious and elaborate, as the like could not haue been done by the hand of any other Workeman, and so departed.

Protogenes being returned home vnto his house, and told by the Olde woman as she was commaunded; hee looked on the Table, and perceiuing the rare perfection of the Line, he presently said, *Apelles* hath done this, for no other mã could do it. Then tooke he another Pensill, and vpon the Line which *Apelles* made, he drew one of another colour, so delicate small, thinne, and slender, and with such true proportion, as none but himselfe could performe the like, commaunding the Old woman, that when *Apelles* returned thither, she should shew it him and tell him, that this was his workmanship whom he came to see. Soone after, *Apelles* came againe to the shop, *Protogenes* being absent; and the Olde-woman shewed him the Table as her Maister had giuen him in charge. *Apelles* being much ashamed to see such an aduantage aboue him, tooke a Pensill, and on the chiefe subtilty of the line, which *Protogenes* had made vppon his (although it seemed inuisible to the eie, it was so ouercuriously drawne) yet notwithstanding, by the dexterious skill of his hand, in a third colour, he formed another Line, so subtle and ingenious, that it deuided the two formost thorow the midst; and was also set downe with such exceeding perfection, as no space was left to draw another. *Protogenes* comming home againe, and beholding what was done, confessed himselfe conquered, and ran suddenly to the Port to finde *Apelles*, to honour and giue him entertainment. Afterward, this Table, with the three lines onely, was reputed as a myracle, and long time kept in Rome, being (for the admirable Art expressed therein) brought thither, and it remained there in *Cæsars* time, when by casualty of fire it was burned.

Apelles had this custome, when he had finished any rare piece of Worke, to set it in open sight at his doore, for al by-passengers to behold it: then would he hide himselfe aptly behinde it, to hear if (with reason) any one could reproue it, so to vnderstand the peoples iudgement. Once it happened, that his cunning was controlled by a Shoo maker, because the Latchet of a shoo was not well painted. Alwayes he wrote vnder his Tables, these especiall words; *Appelles did this, and yet did it not*, giuing thereby to vnderstande, that he held not his work for perfect and compleate.

This excellent man, liued in the time of *Alexander*, the greatest King that euer was, by whom he was so commended, & held in such high honor, that he prohibited by publicke Edict, no Painter should draw his picture but *Apelles* onely. Nor did he hold it any disgrace to his maiesty, oftentimes to go and sit by him, as hee was painting in his Shop, which is a notable Argument, that this Arte was in great reputation in those times, and that *Apelles* was most excellent, & not meanly esteemed and loued by *Alexander*. For *Apelles* hauing (by his commaund) drawne to the life, and naked; one of his fauorits, a choise Lady, named *Campaspe*, found her to be so faire, and of such perfection, that he grew extraordinarily inamored of hir. Which comming vnto the knowledge of *Alexander*, though he loued the Lady dearly, & aboue the rest of his Concubins, yet he concluded to take hir from himselfe, & giue hir in marriage to *Apelles*. Nor is this act vnworthie to be ranked in the number of his greatest victories,

Protogenes another famous Painter.

Apelles cam to see *Protogenes*.

Protogenes knew *Apelles* by his line.

Apelles his second visitatiõ of *Protogenes*.

The curious Table vnfortunately burned.

A custom obserued by *Apelles*.

Apelles reproued by a shoo maker.

Apelles liued in *Alexanders* time.

The loue of *Alexander* to *Apelles*.

tories: considering, that, conquering his owne affections (which euermore is the worthyest triumph) he could rob himselfe of a faire friend, to bestow her vpon another. Some say, that by this *Campaspe*, *Apelles* painted the Picture of *Venus*.

Ptolomy King of Egypt, an enemy to *Apelles*.

He was so skilfull in naturall portraiture, that *Ptolomie*, King of *Ægypt*, and one of the Successours to *Alexander*, enuying the fame and vertues of *Apelles*; made a sumptuous Feast, whereto, treacherously, and in the Kings name, *Apelles* was inuited, and came. *Ptolomy* being highly offended, angerly demaunded of him; Who had beene the cause of his presence there? Which when *Apelles* heard; suddenly he tooke a coale out of the fire, and, without returning any other answere: presently drew the figure of a face, which euery one (there present) knew to resemble a follower of the Kinges, named *Planus*. Many other meruailous thinges in Painting, were performed by him, which would aske ouer-long time to recount. For Histories doe relate, that he painted such things, as were not to be painted: as the beames of the Sun, Lightning, Thunder, and such like impossibilities. His workes were so rare and singuler, that a Table, wherin *Venus* was figured, rising out of the Sea, and which was placed in *Iulius Cæsars* Temple by *Octauius*, happening afterward to be defaced in some perticuler part; no man durst attempt to amend what was mard, knowing no meanes to conforme it to the first perfection.

Admirable things painted by *Apelles*.

Works of *Apelles* left imperfect, no man could finish them.

About the ending of his daies, he began to draw another peece of *Venus*, so faire and curiously proportioned: that dying before he had finished it, no man could be found, that would enterprise to perfect it, according to the beginning. At another time, he had painted a Horse, so neere to the life; that other Painters (hauing drawne the like Figures, and desirous to make experience of the most perfect) would take liuing Horses out of the Stable, and set them before their owne handye worke, for comparison. But when they brought them before that done by *Apelles*: they would beginne to stirre, whinnow and snuffle, as if the other had been a liuing Horse indeede, whereby *Apelles* carried the excellence from all the other Painters. Nor was his worthinesse of spirit discerned by his Painting onely; but also in his good discoursing. For *Protogenes*, praising and extolling him beyond all other Painters; *Apelles* answered. *You are as skilfull a Maister in the Art as I am; but you haue one fault, that ye will tire your selfe with Painting.* Declaring heereby, that ouer great diligence and continuall labour (exceeding duty) is hurtfull: because it wasteth, oppresseth, and confoundeth the Spirit, when a man shall so assiduately continue at his worke, and giue the minde no breathing time, in some other pleasing exercises. A Painter shewed him one of his pieces, & vaunted, that he had done it in such a short named time; whereto *Apelles* answered: *I saw that by thy workmanship, though thou hadst not told me.*

Apelles apt & ready in discourse.

Ouer much labour dulleth the Spirit.

We may speake somewhat of *Protogenes*, and of his cunning skil in Painting, albeit it were matter enough to his glory, to declare no more then that which *Demetrius* did, at his siedge before *Rhodes*. For he might very easilie haue entred the Citty, if he would haue fiered it in a certaine place: but hee would by no meanes yeild thereto, or that any fire should be put in that place; because he well knew, that in the very same part of the Citty, was a Table wrought by the hand of *Protogenes*. And he rather chose, to faile in surprisall of the Citty; then to burne that Table, such was his great esteeme and loue to it. The day before the Citty was besiedged, *Protogenes* beeing in a Garden (at his worke) without the Wals, was taken by the Souldiers of *Demetrius*: for though hee knew the Armies comming, yet would hee not giue ouer his businesse begun. Being brought before *Demetrius*, the King demanded of him; with what assurance he durst so securely trust himselfe without the Cittie? *I am certaine* (quoth *Protogenes*) *that thy Warre is against the Rhodians, and not against the Arts.* Whereupon, *Demetrius* gaue him in guard to diuers of his trustiest Souldiours, that no man might wrong him in perfecting his worke, and oftentimes went himselfe to see him.

Concerning the worthy skill of *Protogenes*.

Rhodes besieged by *Demetrius*.

There haue beene in this Art, many choise and singuler Work men, exceeding

The names of many verie rare and singuler Painters.

ding possibility to name them all, and therefore we will but glaunce at some: As *Aristides*, of *Thebes*; *Asclepiadorus*, of *Alexandria*, very skilfull also in the Mathematiques; *Nichomachus*, of *Athens*, Sonne to *Aristodemus*; *Paneus*, Brother to *Phidias*, and many other, of whom *Pliny* speaketh in his fiue & thirtith Booke. And because that men only shall not boast of their figularity in this Art; we can alledge some women likewise, very famous therein, and that haue exceeded extraordinarily: as *Thimaretta*, Daughter to *Myeon* of *Athens*; shee painted the Figure of *Dyana* in a Table, which was long time preserued in *Ephesus*. We may not forget *Irene*, *Calypso*, and a Virgine named *Lala Cyzicena*, as also *Olympia*, and others. True it is, that in our time there are very excellent men: but I must be silent therein, least in speaking of some one or two; I should doe iniury to the

Women very skilfull in Painting.

CHAP. XXII.

Of what forme a Man ought to bee, to appeare thereby in his best shape and proportion.

SEeing we haue spoken in diuers kinds, of Painters excelling in their Art: me-thinkes it cannot varry farre from our purpose, to speak of the great and chiefest Painter, euen the former and Creator of all things, who obserued a rule and true proportion of Art, in the composition of Man. Among other mernailes, which we are to consider in mans composing; we must first know that he is framed of so perfect a measure, and each part so well compassed (as we shal instantly declare) that our ancient Architects and Builders, had especiall regard, to the proportion obserued by God, in the creation of Man, whereby they shaped their order and composition, for building Houses, Churches, Castles, Towers, Shippes, and Instruments for Warre, and from thence deriued their first proportions. And in contemplating, and well considering the measures of Mans stature, each member after other: they found out such a compasse, as they could thereby direct their labour, and forme the order of wonderfull buildings. Which I must confesse, as well in our Moderne, as in our Ancients, discoursing hereof, and deliuered by their owne writings: especially *Vitruuius*, albeit experience doth herein best teach vs.

The true rule & proportion in composition of man, obserued as a method for al other matters.

Now, part of this proportion by them found and considered, was, that in the stature of man there is no certain measure or arrest, because some are greater then other. Neuertheless, our elders iudged, that to forme a man of apt and perfect greatnesse; it required but sixe foote in length, or else not to exceede seauen: because such as haue surpassed this rule, went contrary to the naturall course.

No certaine measure in the stature of man.

In like manner, *Vegetius*, speaking of what stature men should be elected for War-seruice, saith: That the Consull *Marius* would chuse his *Tyrons*, (which were new or Fresh-water Souldiours, as we tearme them) of six foot in height, or (at the least) fiue foot and ten inches, which are the ten partes of twelue portions in a foot. And for conformitie in these thinges, *Vitruuius* further saith; That the foote of a man maketh the sixt part of his length. Neuertheless, this rule taken by the common foot, is vncertain: for I haue seen Men & womē more great, then seuen times the length of their feet would reach to. To agree then with *Vitruuius* and *Vegetius* together; we must know, that *Vitruuius* meant Geometricall feet, which contained foure hand-breadths, or handfuls, each handfull to haue foure fingers breadth, and each finger foure Barley graines in length. For all Authours, both Auncient and Moderne, writing on this Argument, doe assure vs, that the measuring foote, consisteth of the greatnesse of twelue points, which we tearme inches. Of these feete then a man ought to haue sixe, to be of good height, and he that reacheth to seauen, is very taule, and whosoeuer exceedeth seauen foote, should be called a Gyant, and monstrous: according to the rule of the most wise *Marcus Varro*, recited by *Aulus Gellius*. Whereun-

The Consull *Marius* in election of his Souldiers.

The agreement of *Vitruuius* and *Vegetius*.

The allowed height of a Man.

to

to *Suetonius* conſenteth in the life of *Octauius*, ſpeaking of his forme, where he ſaith, that he was of little ſtature: yet notwithſtanding, it could not be perceiued, in regard of equall proportion in his members; but when he was neer another of tauler ſtature thē he. Yet he ſaith, that his meaſure was fiue foote and nine inches, and by reaſon of this want in the ſixt foote, he was called little.

The proportion of the mēbers in their due length.

Let vs come now to the proportion of the members, and how much (one with another) ought to haue in their length. In the firſt place, the auncient Philoſophers found out, that the round & circular figure (as being the moſt abſolute of all other) is perfectly in man. For a man lying on the ground, his face towards Heauen, his armes and handes extended ſo wide as can bee, and likewiſe his legges and feete: open then a compaſſe of ſixe foote in breadth, and ſet one of the points directly on his nauell, as in a Center, and turne the compaſſe round about by his furtheſt reach; and it will make a round and perfect circle, taking iuſt meaſure by the endes of the feete and hands. This is a rule certaine, and common in all men, by a good and well commenſured proportion. *Vitruuius* ſpeaketh it in the place before alleadged, and the like doe many other Authours beſide. *Pliny* writeth, that the figure or forme of a man, is angulare and quadrangulare, becauſe in opening his armes, and extending his fingers, the largeneſſe is found, according to the meſure of the mā in length. Hence enſueth it, that holding his feete together, and his Armes abroad extended; he is a quadrangle of foure equall lines. For one paſſeth in him by the Crowne of the head; a ſecond, by the Soles of his feete; a third, by one of his hands; and the fourth, by the other.

Plin. in Lib. 22 Cap 3.

The figure of a man Angulare and Quadrangulare.

The members meaſured with the whole body together.

But comming to the members proportion ioyntly together, and likewiſe of all the body with them; there is found ſome difference, betweene our Authours Ancient and Moderne. *Vitruuius* ſaith, that the face of a Man, meaſuring it from the neather part of the Chin, to the firſt roote of Haire towardes the fore-head; ſhould containe the length of a tenth part of the whole bodie. And that the length of the hand, from the Wriſt to the top of the middle Finger; is likewiſe the tenth part of a Man. And from the top of the fore-head, to the beginning of the Breaſt; containeth a ſixt part. Alſo from the Crowne of the head, to the ſame vpper part of the breaſt; is a fourth part. They deuided alſo the face, into three equall portions; one to begin at the tip of the Chin, and mounting vp ſo farre as the Noſthrils; then from thence, vp to the eye-browes the ſecond; the third and laſt, is from the Eye-browes, vp to the roote of the haire. The foote (as we haue ſaid) is reputed to be the ſixt part of the whole body. The Cubite (which reacheth from the Elbow, to the top of the middle Finger) is the fourth part; And likewiſe the Breaſt another fourth part. Behold what auncient Writers haue held as a rule, which they deriued from *Vitruuius*, according to his Countrey.

The face of man deuided into three equall proportions.

Now, this rule ought to be in a man, to haue good proportion and diſpoſition in all his members. I ſpeake this, becauſe there is not any other rule, bee it neuer ſo great, but it hath ſome exception. Wherefore, this here named, is not found alike in all men, but yet in the greater part of them; ſo that, he which ſhall be found moſt conformable to this rule, hath euer the beſt ſhape and diſpoſition. There are many other proportions among the members of man, and from one to another, all which would be too tedious to declare. Neuertheleſſe (according to my wonted order) I will ſpeake of ſome of them briefelie. Among theſe, obſerue this, that the very greateſt ioynt of the biggeſt Finger or Thomb, termed an inch; is the meaſure of the mouthes height, when it is fully open, I meane in ſuch as can eaſily, and without any grieuance, open their mouths. Againe, the ſame ioynt, is the perfect meaſure from the tippe of the Chin, iuſt to the Iawes or Chaps, when the mouth is ſhut. The other leſſer ioynt of this inch or Thomb, that is to ſay; where the naile is, is the diſtance betweene the vpper Lippe, and the tip of the Noſe. The great ioynt of the other next Finger, which the *Latines* called *Index*, the pointing Finger, or fore-finger; containeth the length of the fore-head or front, taking meaſure

The beſt allowance for good proportion in a man.

Many proportions among the members of man, by ample diſcription.

Of the meaſures in the fingers.

from

frō the height of the eye-browes, to the first root of haire. That which remaineth of this *Index*, or fore-finger, to the tippe of the Naile, where are two other ioyntes; is the iust length of the Nose, from the end to the eye-browes. The great ioynt of the bigge or middle finger, which is that in the midst of the hand; is the distance from the tippe of the Chin, to the beginning of the nose. And the whole intire hand, is equall to the greatnesse of the face. All the lesser ioynts in the Fingers, hold like measure to the greatnesse of the Naile, which is the moity of all those lesser ioynts: Wherefore, it is a wonderfull thing, to behold, and obserue the proportions which are in man, and the reasons of them. Moreouer, the height of the fore-head, the length of the nose, as also of the lippes, are euermore equall: And the distance which is between the heele and the Instup; is also equall to that betweene the Instup, and the top of the toes.

The true length of the Nose.

The greatnes of the face.

The for-head, nose, and lips.

The heele & Instup.

We haue already said, that the face ought to be the tenth part of the body, so that the whole stature be deuided into tenne partes, or faces, becausе our auncients made this obseruation. For, from the height or crowne of the head, so farre as the Nosthrils; is one tenth part. From the toppe of the Nose, to the height of the Breast; is a second. From thence, to the mouth of the stomacke; is a third. From the stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fourth. From the Nauell, to the secrets; is a fist; and there is the halfe moity of a Mans true stature. From which place also, to the sole of the foote, are fiue other partes. One beginneth in the middest of the Thighes chiefest greatnesse; the second, descendeth thence to the top of the knee: and the rest going downeward, deuide themselues into three other parts. The grossenesse of a man at his wast or girdle; should be the halfe of his height or length. Notwithstanding, as we haue formerly said, although this proportion bee not found alike in all men: yet it is infallible, that he who is equall to this iust measure in all parts, shall be the comliest and most compleat man. For in former times, those auncient Sculptures, Image-makers, Caruers, and others skilfull in the like Artes, duely weighing and considering these rules: made Statues of many pieces, & of diuers proportions, which when they were ioyned together: they appeared as conforme and agreeable, as if they had bin made all in one piece. The Moderne men of our times, haue taken another rule in this diuision of man: for they haue deuided him into nine parts or faces, and the third part of a face. The principall among them, is *Phillip de Bourgongne*, a singuler Caruer, who maketh his diuision thus. From the top or Crowne of the head, so farre as the Front; he maketh a third part of the face. A second third part, is from the beginning of the Front, so farre as the tip of the Chinne. From thence, to the height of the Breast, is a third part. From the Breast, to the Stomacke; is a fourth. From the Stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fist. From the Nauell, to the secret parts, is a sixt. From thence, the length of the Thigh to the knee, containeth two other third partes, which make seauen and eight. From the ioynt of the knee downeward, to the sole of the foote, are reputed two other third parts: which make (in all) nine faces, and one other third part. This may be seene and well considered, according to truth, to satisfie some for their further contentment: and this is the rule, obserued and helde by our Moderne men. It is further to be noted and considered, that in the composition and quantity of the members; a very seemely and conuenable proportion is obserued, euen as in a most wonderfull Hermony.

The rules of ancient Artists.

Modern men differing from our ancients.

Phillip of *Burgundy*, his diuision of man.

The measure of the body into ten parts equally obserued.

The fiue parts vpward.

The fiue parts downeward.

The girdle or wast of a man

Let indifferēt iudgement make triall of both.

Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossenesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, beeing answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melancholie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 7.

Of growing in height and grossenesse.

The weight of the humors in man.

The Authors Concluſion.

it ſelfe vpon the other, euen from the meaneſt to the greateſt. To conclude, this admirable piece of workemanſhip, contemplating and duely conſidering it ſelfe, ought to moone a man, to loue and praiſe the Worke-man which is God himſelfe. And ſeeing wee haue ſo faire a preparation in our bodily Fabricke or ſtructure: reaſon iuſtly requireth, that we ſhold order our manners, according to the perfection of our Soule, to make her appeare the more faire, beeing lodged in a perfect, compleate, and well porportioned body.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three Princes in our time, and not long ſince, who ended their daies very miſerably, for diſobeying, and euill entreating their Fathers.

THere needeth no doubt to be made, but many diſorderly perſons doe liue in this World, that dare exalt thẽſelues againſt their Parents, and others Superiours, to whom they owe obedience. Which queſtionleſſe enſueth not, but by the ſollicitation of the Deuill, couetous to make many of his faction, and to weare his Liuery, willingly yeelding themſelues to partake in his torments. I ſpeake this, becauſe I purpoſe to handle in this Chapter, the Hiſtories of three wicked Children; the one of thẽ being a Chriſtian, and the other two of *Mahomets* Religion, that carried themſelues towardes their Fathers and other Kinred, ſo inhumainly, and without cauſe, as can ſcarcely (with modeſty) bee expreſſed, procuring thereby, their owne miſerable ending, which happened not about a thouſand or twelue hundred yeares ſince; but euen in our time: To ſhew the Reader, that this Age of ours is as full of wickednеſſe and ingratitude, (deedes onely proceeding from the Deuill) as any in former times was euer heard of; wherefore I will begin with the Chriſtian.

The Deuill is the Authour and Father of Parricides.

This Age as wicked as any of the former.

The firſt Hiſtory.

Such as haue read the Hiſtories of *Phillip de Commines*, who wrote the actions of King *Lewes* the eleauenth, and of his Capitall Enemy, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*: do finde, that a Duke of *Gueldres*, a man of vertue, entreating his Subiects benignely, and enriched with the feare of God; had a Sonne named *Adolphe*, who was newly married to the Duke of *Bourbons* Daughter. He behaued himſelfe fiercely to her, albeit thee was of the blood Royall of *France*, and allied to the moſt potent Duke of *Bourgongne*. Moreouer, grieuing that his Father liued ſo long, his ambition ſtretched ſo farre, as to be Duke of *Gueldres* in ſtead of his Father. And that hee might the ſooner attaine thereto, this deteſtable Sonne, one night when his Father would haue gone to his reſt; ſurprized him, and cauſed him to be led fiue miles thence, bare-foote and bare-legde, locking him vp in the Tower of a Caſtle, which was buildee in a Marſhy place, round engirt with Waters, and ſubiect to little or no light at all. Sixe months he kept him there in this eſtate, very baſely lodged, and not ſeeing any fire in all that weary time.

Adolphe, Son to the Duke of *Gueldres*.

Adolphe ſurpriſed his father, and made him priſoner.

The Duke of *Cleues* hauing heard of this monſtrous dealing; in amity would aduenture for the Priſoners deliuerance: in regard, that the Duke of *Gueldres* (in his ſecond Nuptials) had married the Siſter to the ſaid Duke of *Cleues*. *Adolphe* would heare no friendly perſwaſions; whereuppon, theſe two Lords entred into cruell Warres, but all in vaine. The Duke of *Bourgongne* alſo imployed his paines, to make an agreement betweene the Sonne and Father: but he could ſpeede no better then the other: When the Duke of *Bourgongne* perceiued the young foole to be ſo head-ſtrong, accepting of no remonſtrances, which both the Pope and he had ſent vnto him: he made preparation of warre againſt him. *Adolphe* well knowing, that hee was to deale with one more terrible and powerfull then himſelfe: withdrew his Father frõ Priſon, and led him to the ſaide Duke, who yet againe endeuoured to accord them. The grieuances beeing heard on either ſide; the Father, as hauing loſt al iudgement, by the inſolencies of his Sonne: prouoked, and dared the proud youth to ſingle Combate, vntill ſilence was inpoſed on him.

The Duke of *Cleues* ſeeke th to reſtore the wronged priſoner.

The Duke of *Bourgongne* prepared warre.

The Father called the [illegible] to ſingle Combate.

In

PAGINATION INCORRECT

An agreement betweene the Father and Sonne.

In the end, the Duke of *Bourgongne* appointed (fauouring the Sonne, as his neere Kinſ-man) that the Dutchy of *Gueldres* ſhould remaine ſoly to him: a ſmall Citty excepted, named *Graue*, ioyning to the Countrey of *Brabrant*, which valued the Reuennue of three thouſand Florins. Other three thouſand ſhould bee leuied on the Dutchy, making (in all) ſixe thouſand Florins, which the Father ſhould haue paid him yearely, and the Sonne to enioy al the reſt: with this condition, that he ſhold be inſtituted Gouernor of *Bourgongne*, with the accuſtomed gages. *Phillip de Commines*, who hath written this Hiſtory, was deputed (with the other Lords) to make knowne to *Adolphe* the Sonne, what was determined by the Duke of *Bourgongne*. But the Sonne, liſtning to euill counſell, ſaid: That hee would no way accept of theſe conditions, but had rather throw his Father into a Well, with his head forward, and then to caſt in himſelfe after. Moreouer, (quoth he) my Father hath beene Duke foure and twenty yeares, and it is now high time that I ſhould be Duke. Willinglie I will giue him three thouſand Florins yearely, vpon condition, that neyther he nor his Wife, ſhall at any time hereafter enter into the ſaide Dutchy: but liue in ſome place ſo ſecured, as neuer to budge thence, or to be made impoſſible for their euer leauing it.

Strange and vile ſpeeches of a Sonne.

While theſe matters were thus in mannaging, the people of *Amiens*, and other Townes ſeated on the Riuer of *Somme*, reuolted from obedience to the Duke of *Bourgongne*: for the morgaged Mony which he had on the ſaid places, had beene conſigned by King *Lewes* the eleauenth, who would not take, but laboured daily to keepe thoſe Townes, as beſt beſeemed both him and them.

Adolphe the Sonne taken Priſoner.

The Duke of *Bourgongne*, aduertiſed of thoſe Cities reuolt, being then at *Orlans*; with-drew to *Hedin*, and commanded a Guard to lay hold on *Adolphe*, and Meaſures were immediatly appointed for the purpoſe. Afterward, the Duke of *Bourgongne* being buſied about theſe affaires; forgot the agreement. But ſo did not the young *Gueldrois*, for he left his *Allemaigne* habite, & took one after the French faſhion, wherein he fled away ſecretly, to get into his own country. But as he was to paſſe a Port neere to *Namures*, hee payed a Florin for his paſſage, and a Prieſt eſpying him; was ſuſpitious of him, and demaunding of a Marriner, came more neer him. When knowing him, he was carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Namures*: where he remained till the Duke of *Bourgongnes* death, ſuffering many ſhamefull ignominies. His Father dyed a yeare after his taking Priſoner, and inſtituted the Duke of *Bourgongne* his heire, quite diſinheriting his owne Sonne.

Adolphe eſcapeth by flight.

Adolphe taken Priſoner againe.

The men of *Gaunte*, touched with the ſame vice, reuolted (after the ſaid Duke of *Bourgongnes* death) againſt their Lady and Inheritrixe *Marie*: taking the young ingratefull Lord out of Priſon, and allowing him to bee their Chiefe. But iuſt vengeance made no long delay, for within a while after, beeing bad accompanied, hee was ſlaine before the Towne of *Tornay*. Wherein God accompliſhed his owne words, ſaying: *The diſobedient to their Parents, ſhall neuer finiſh halfe their years.* Behold, the end of this wicked youth, who liued in litle eaſe, after the perſecution of his father, and finiſhed his daies vnfortunately; not leauing any heire to his great Wealth, but the man that was his Capitall Enemy. For afterward, they of the houſe of *Bourgongne*, did continually enioy the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and other Seigneuries, euen as they do to this preſent day.

Adolphe ſlaine before *Tornay*.

The ſecond Hiſtory.

This manner of miſuſing Fathers, was as cuſtommarie (and more) among the *Mahumatiſts*, as among Chriſtians, and they no more exempted from Diuine puniſhment, then Chriſtians. For they haue knowledge of the old Teſtament, as well as Chriſtians; where they ſee the Commaundements which God made, concerning the obedience due to Parents, and what threatnings doe depend vpon the contrary. Wherfore, thirty two yeares after our firſt Hiſtory, *Baiazeth* raigned in *Turky*, who, after he had won the victory againſt the *Polonians* and *Venetians*, raigned then thirty yeares. Being then old and decrepite, hauing made peace with all his Neighbours, and enioying countleſſe Riches: he was poyſoned, by the procurement of his Sonne, named *Selim*, in the Citty of *Dumatecha*, ſeituate in the

Baiazeth poyſoned by the meanes of his Sonne *Sthm*.

the Countrey of *Thrace*, whether hee had retyred himselfe, there to finish the remainder of his daies. This detestable deede, was committed by a Iew, his Phisition, named *Hamon*, whom *Baizeth* most confidently trusted for his health.

His Father being dead, and he possessed of his Treasures: he gaue Money in great aboundance to his men of war, that had enstaulled him in the Throne Royall: for his elder Brother *Zizim*, beeing voyd of any meanes to make head against him, was then fledde to *Rhodes*. He caused two other of his Brethren to be cruelly massacred, and fiue of his Nephewes. Moreouer, *Mustapha*, a Man of great authoritie, who wrought all that he could doe to his vttermost, for exalting him to the Empire, he made no spare of him also. In briefe, his cruelties were so great and horrible, that all men waxing generally fearefull of him: for a long space together, few or none durst appeare in his presence. At length, this wicked Parricide, hauing raigned nine yeares, ended his dayes at *Ciurle*, (which is a Village in *Thrace*) by a Pestilentiall Vlcer that bred in his reines: as a manifest vengeance, which plagued him with vnspeakable torments, for the space of a whole yeare together. Where-with beeing enraged, and put out of his senses, he dyed, cursing both God and Mahomet: to the no little ioy of all the East parts, which he had resolued whollie to ruinate. He dyed in the same place, where (some few yeares before) hee came with bold resistance against his Father: as well worthy (doubtlesse) to end his dayes there, where hee entred into disobedience against his Father.

The massacre which *Selim* made of his Brethren and Kinred.

The miserable death of *Selim*, as a iust iudgement of God.

The third History.

Muleasses king of *Thunis*, a man very learned.

Fiue and twenty yeares after this our second Historie, another, named *Muleasses*, King of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, an especially obseruer of *Mahomets* Law, and a great Philosopher, following the Religion of *Auerroes*, fearing least *Barbarossa* (Admiral to *Sultan Soliman*, Emperour of the *Turkes*) that couered the Sea with a mightie Nauall Army, would come and deiect him from his kingdome (as once before he had done, and was re-seated therein againe, by the Emperour *Charles* the fift, great Grand-Father to the King of *Spaine*, now raigning) sailed thence into *Sicilie*, to meete the saide Emperour *Charles* at *Gennes*, and to craue succour of him. To guard his Kingdome, while hee was imployed in this vrgent businesse; hee left the most faithfull men he could then thinke on; to wit, one named *Mahomet*, as Gouernour of the Cittie, and another, called *Corsegua*, otherwise *Phares*, whom he constituted Captaine of the Castle, and appointed his Sonne *Amydas*, as chiefe Commaunder of all his forces, to defend *Thunis* against the *Turkes* and *Numidians*. Being on the Sea, to craue ayde of the Imperiall Maiesty; hee was repulsed by contrarie Windes, and driuen into *Naples*, where the Vice-Roy feasted him very honourably. There, was *Muleasses* not a little wondred at, in regard of his curious diet, fashion of Apparrell, with such strange and exquisite perfumes, as wee haue already else-where related.

The care of *Muleasses* for his kingdome in his absence.

The strange curiosity of *Muleasses*.

While he was thus at *Naples*, where the Emperour had commaunded his soiourning, after that *Barbarossa* had (in vaine) besiedged the Castle of *Nice*; he receiued certaine newes out of *Affrica*, that his Sonne *Amydas* had cut the throates of his Friendes and fauorites, and possessed himselfe of the Cittie. This matter so hammered in his head, that he bethought himselfe of leuying an Army of Men, and (in short time) he got together som eighteen hundred, which he caused to be embarqued, and to prepare for the *Goulette*. For hee was perswaded, that (as yet) he might ouer-maister his Sonne, because hee could not yet enable all his Forces: moreouer, this forwardnesse was well liked by the Vice-Roy, *Don Pedro de Toledo*.

Amydas proueth false to his Father.

The reason why his Sonne *Amydas* thus possessed himselfe of the Kingdome, was thorough a false report, (which some enemies to *Muleasses* had spread abroad) that he was so sicke at *Naples*; as death ensued thereon, and that before he dyed, hee was become a Christian, and had receiued Baptisme. And this was the cause, that *Amydas* beeing presented to them of *Thunis*, was receiued as their King, and at his entrance, he caused some to bee slain and massacred, for opposing themselues

False reports are very dangereus.

The entrance of the King in blood.

ſelues againſt him, by vncertaintie of theſe tydings of his Fathers death. But *Muleaſſes* made what haſt he could on the Sea, with his fore-named ſlender troupe of men, and paſſed by the *Goulette*: where he was aduiſed by the Emperours Lieutenant, named *Thoarre*, not (too raſhlie) to put himſelfe into the handes of the *Affricanes* and *Numidians*, till firſt he was aſſured of their good will towards him.

Neuertheleſſe, he ſuffered himſelfe to bee led by ſome Traytours about him, who perſwaded him; that euerie one would embrace him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw him, and very ioyfullie bid him welcome, and that *Amydas* his Sonne (confounded with ſhame) would take himſelfe to flight. Herevpon, he went directly to *Thunis*, where ſome number of the people met him, with Knives about their neckes, hanging ready at their throats (as it is a cuſtome among thoſe *Affricanes*, euen to this day) declaring by their humiliation, and proffered ſeruice, that they deſired pardon.

Muleaſſes leaueth good counſell, and followeth bad

Thus, by deſpiſing the counſell of *Tooarre*, and others that had an honeſt care of him, to miſtruſt Ambuſcadoes that might be laid for him, and (doubtleſſe) were already prepared: he went on to the Cittie, where he was no ſooner arriued; but the *Affricanes* ſet vpon him, ſlew aboue fifteene hundred of his Men, putting the reſt to flight, and *Muleaſſes* among them. But by the extreame ſweete ſmell of his vnguents and Perfumes, he was diſcouered; and beeing taken, was brought to his Sonne *Amydas*, who cauſed his eyes to be put out with an hot burning Iron, and kept him blinde in Priſon moſt miſerably.

An vnkinde welcome to *Muleaſſes*.

Amydas cauſed his fathers eyes to be cruelly put out, and kept him priſoner.

The like did he to his two Brethren, *Nahahell* and *Abdelas*, who were taken with *Muleaſſes*. In ſome ſhort while after, there hapned a ſedition in *Thunis*, during which troubles, *Muleaſſes* chanced to eſcape thence, by the meanes of a Woman, who had kept him certaine daies in a Ditch, couered with Straw. From thence hee got ſafely into *Sitilie*, where he liued blinde long time, at the charges of the *Sicilians*, by commandement of the Emperor: All theſe things happened in the yeare 1547.

Muleaſſes eſcaped out of Priſon.

As concerning *Amydas*, he liued but 4. years after he had committed this deteſtable Act: in all which time, hee was continually moleſted with warres, by the *Vice-Roy* of *Argier*, aſſiſted with the Turkiſh forces; and enforced to yeilde himſelfe tributary, paying well-neere as much as his Kingdome valued. From the day that hee cauſed his Fathers eyes to bee put out, he felt himſelfe continually afflicted, with an extreame head-ake, and Impoſtumations in his eyes: whereby he loſt all ioy, and became blind of one of his eyes, whereof he dyed. All which thinges ſucceeded to him by Diuine permiſſion, in iuſt vengeance of theſe cruelties, which he had exerciſed on his owne Father. Thus was the ending of theſe three Parricides.

The wretched and miſerable end of *Amydas*

CHAP. XXIIII.

From whence it enſueth, that ſome dreams are ſad and ſorrowfull; And others ioyfull and pleaſing.

A Dream, is that which appeareth to vs as we are ſleeping, not by the function of the eyes; but by imagination. Some of thoſe Dreames doe make vs contented and ioyfull, leauing the body iocond, and well diſpoſed at waking. Contrariwiſe, there are others ſad, and offenſiue, that for diuers daies (after ſuch dreams) procureth a melancholie languiſhment, both in the Soule and Body, making men vncapable of receiuing any delight.

The deſinitiõ of Dreames.

Many haue preſaged by theſe dreams, both of good lucke or bad, which ſoone after ſhould happen vnto them. Some ignorant people haue not ſpared to ſay, that they are the Soules of deceaſed perſons; or Angelles, which doe aduertiſe Men, of ſuch thinges as ſhall enſue vnto them. My purpoſe is not to diſcuſſe, if the Soules of the deceaſed haue (at any time)

The opinion of ignorance, concerning Dreames.

time) returned againe into this world; for I leaue that to bee diſcided by learned Diuines: though ſome would approoue by Text of holie Scripture, that ſome Soules haue returned into their Bodies, and appeared to others. But becauſe theſe are extraordinarie matters, and muſt needes enſue miraculouſlie; I forbeare to ſpeake of them; and will not trouble my ſelfe any longer, but to diſcourſe of the cauſes naturall, both concerning pleaſing Dreames, and ſuch as are turbulent and offenſiue.

Diuers meats that are the cauſe of melancholie dreames.

Dioſcorides, *Plinie*, and *Galen* doe ſay, that there are diuers kindes of Meates, which doe engender and cauſe ſorrowfull Dreames: As Beanes, Long-Peaſon, Lentilles, Colewortes, Garlike, Onions, Leekes, Cheſ-nuts, and all opening Rootes; as Raddiſh, Carrets, Skirrets and Parſnips. The Fleſh of a Hart, Boare, old Hare, and Beefe; alſo, of a Crane, Gooſe, Drake, Ducke, Buſtard, and diuers other Water-Fowles, as well wilde as tame; and all troubled Wines. Nor is there any doubt to bee made, but that commonly, according to ſuch meates as we vſe in our feeding (raiſing fumes anſwerable to their ſeuerall qualities) that Dreames are begotten of the ſame Nature.

The cauſes of ſad Dreames, or thoſe of other nature.

All theſe meates before mentioned, with many other which I haue omitted; doe engender euill humours, and are Chollericke, Melancholicke, and Phlegmaticke. It is neceſſarie then, that the Bodie of that man, who hath long time vſed theſe Viandes; ſhould be of the temper of the ſaide humours, and that the manners and actions of the Soule, ſhould follow the temperature of the bodie.

Galen is of this opinion, and hath written a Booke thereof expreſly. Likewiſe, ſuch men, as haue ſuſtained ſome notable loſſe, eyther in their Honour, Body, Goods, Parents, Kinred, or Friendes: and oftentimes (in their Dreames) they haue verie fearefull and mournefull Apparitions. For many times it comes to paſſe, that men dreame in the night time, ſeeming to ſpeake, ſee, vnderſtand, negotiate in the precedent dayes affaires: or elſe on ſome thing whereto they bear great affection, or which they deſire for to ſhunne.

Diuerſity of Dreames in the night time.

Now, wee are to vnderſtand the contrary, in ſuch as vſe good and wholſome ſuſtentation, for by thoſe ſound & ſweete vapours, which doe aſcend vp into the braine, proceeding from meates of facile and ſubtile digeſtion; ioyfull and pleaſing Dreames are engendred. As we may note in ſuch as are drunke with drinking good Wine, how pleaſant and facetious they are. Whereas on the contrarie, they that are in like caſe by drinking bad Wine; doe diſpleaſing actions, and hatefull to be ſeene. In like manner, they that are troubled with no cares, but are addicted to delights, without apprehenſion of harmes, and enioying all things that they can wiſh for: they haue no dreams at all, or if they chance to dreame; it is of ioyfull and pleaſing thinges, as all merrie diſpoſed perſons vſe to doe, that are in good health.

By feeding on good meates, good dreams are occaſioned.

Obſeruations concerning Anny-ſeede, Saffron, &c.

They that eate Anny-ſeede after ſupper, or when they are going to bed; or haue fed on Saffron, or drinke with Baulme, Bourage or Bugloſe in their drinke: not onely will haue a ſharpe and ſubtile Spirit, but alſo will dreame on very acceptable thinges. There is a certaine vnguent, found commonly readie prepared by Apothecaries, which is called *Populeon*, or *Pampilion*, in regard of the luyce of Poplar leaues or buddes mingled therein; if the temples be rubbed there-with and chafed, the Liuer-veines, the branches of the great Artery, and the ſoles of the feet: it is not only the prouocation of ſound ſleepe, but it cauſeth facetious and delightfull Dreames alſo. As the like doe all meates of greene colour, and Hearbes, exeept Cole-worts: As Morell, or Night-ſhade, commonly called *Solanum*; the Thorne-Apple, called *Seramonia*. Some ſay, that the teeth of a Horſe, vngueldeed, hung about a mans Necke, or his right Arme; is a preſent remedie, if he bee vſed to dreame euill dreames.

An oyntment called *Pepueon*, or *Pampilion*.

Cardanus ſaith, that himſelfe made an Oyntment, compounded in this maner. The fat of young Infants, taken out of their Graue; the luyce of Parſely; of *Reagall* or *Aconitum*; of Cinckfoyle, called *Pentaphyllon*: wherewith if

A ſtrange Oyntment made by *Cardanus*.

Strange sights and apparitions.

Morbus Gallicus.

Of Dreames that doe presage and foretell diseases.

Of Fire.

Of Smoake, Mists, and Darkenesse.

Of Raine.

Of Snow, Haile & Ices.

The Ayre is the cause of Dreames sometimes.

Of Dreames that haue happened in successe.

Of Bloud.

Of Bathes.

Of Thirst.

Of Hunger.

Of the soules sickenesse.

Of great weight.

Dreames that declare good or euill health

some Weomen and weake persons had chaft the Braine-pan; it is almost incredible to speake, what, and how many thinges they did perswade themselues to see. One while, matters of delight, as Theaters, Gardens, Fish-pondes, Garments, Ornaments, Daunces, goodly young Children, and lying with him or her, of whom they were most desirous. Other-whiles, they seemed to see Kinges and Magistrates, with their Guardes and Attendants; yea, all the glory and pompe of mankind, with many other excellent things, such as we see in Paintings, farre greater then euer Nature made them. Contrariwise, at other times they did see verie heauie sighes; as Rauens, Scritch-owles, Prisons, Deserts, and Torments. In all which is no wonder, although the vnguent bee poysonous; for the like may bee done by naturall thinges. I am well assured, that in a disease (knowen to bee too frequent) when the parties haue beene persecuted with knots and bunches; yet being annointed with the Fat or Grease of man, they haue found their nightly affliction to be greatly qualified, and by reason of pleasing Dreames, haue awaked with ioy and contentment.

Hauing spoken concerning the qualitie of Dreames, occasioned and proceeding from sustentation, as also some other thinges exteriourly applied: I will now speake of such, as doe predestinate sickenesse and diseases, and that by naturall causes. *Hippocrates* himselfe giueth admonishment to a Phisition, to be heerein very carefull. For, if a Man doe Dreame, that hee seeth Fire: it denoteth the Dreamer to be abounding in Choller, or of a chollerick humour and disposition; whereby hee is very apt to fall into hot and burning diseases. He that dreameth hee seeth Smoake, Mists, or profound darkenesse; is much disposed to Melancholly sicknesses. To dreame of Raine, and moysture; betokeneth the abounding of cold humours. To dreame of Snow, Haile, and Ices; signifieth the redundance of Phlegme to be most cold. How beit (many times) when men do dream of such things; the season is apt and disposed thereto. For the constitution of the ayre, hath such power ouer our humaine bodies: that it impresseth both in the body and soule, the present qualities and dispositions thereof.

Galen, in his Booke of Dreames, declareth diuers Histories, and (among others) one of a Man; who dreamed, that his left thigh was transformed into a Marble-stone: and within short while after (by a dead Palsie) he lost vtterly the vse of that member. An *Athlete* or wrastler, dreaming that he was a in vessell full of Blood, and so deepe therein, that scarcely the top of his head could be seene: *Galen* gathered by this dream, that he had great neede of taking some blood from him; by meanes whereof, he was cured of a great and deadly disease. Others dreamed, that they were bathing themselues in Baths of hot water: the Phisition Prognosticated vpon this Dreame, that the patient must bee freed from this disease, by indicatorie Sweatings, which thereon followed, and whereby he won great reputation. In like manner, it happeneth to such as are very thirsty, who dreame that they drink insatiably: and hungry men, that they eate, but neuer be satisfied. It appeareth by these thinges, that during this time of sleep, the Soule should and doth enter into the deepest parts of the body, and hauing neglected the externall sense; it tasteth the Coporall sicknesse, and attributes to it selfe full possession therof, by imagination of those thinges which are instantly desired. Wherefore, whosoeuer dreameth that hee is pressed and charged with a great burden: there is no doubt, but that his animall faculties are oppressed, by a great multitude of humours. Contrariwise, such as dreame they fly in the Ayre, Runne, Leape, and Dance disposedly: denoteth a light body, exempt from the superaboundaunce of vicious humours. Such as dreame that they see, and are in Dunghilles, Sinckes, and such like filthy places: they must needs bee possessed with putride, foule, and noysome humours. But they, to whom it appeares, that they are conuersant in Pleasaunt, Sweete, and delightfull places: good humours doe abounde in them, and it is a signe of health.

Beside these forenamed dreames, I will not heere inferre, that there are none

Dreames grounded on naturall causes,

none but such as are grounded on some naturall causes; but on the Grace of GOD especially, who graunteth aduise to some Men, to expresse such thinges for the benefit and good of others. As happened to *Galen* the Phisition, who had a Man in cure, that had an Artery in his ankle-bone halfe cut in sunder, whereby hee lost all his blood, before any remedy could bee applyed to him. He writeth, that he was aduertised in his sleepe (by some God or Angell) that he should cut the Arterie quite in sunder, and the ends would retire to each side, and so locke together againe. When he awaked, he executed what his dream had represented to him, and by that meanes cured the man. Hauing spoken sufficiently on Dreames, founded on naturall reasons; in the ensuing Chapter I will alleadge some, which haue hapned to diuers Princes, by the speciall Grace of God, and altogether against the order of Nature.

A Dreame that *Galen* had

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *Histories of the Dreames of some Princes, which Dreames afterward came to purpose.*

PRinces, great Lords, Prelats, and others, which had charges by Grace especiall and diuine; haue often been admonished in matters that they should doe. As we read of an Angell, or Dæmon, that appeared (in the forme of the Goddesse *Pallas*) to *Antonius*, Phisition to *Augustus*, admonishing him; that although *Augustus* was sicke, yet he should not faile to be present in the battell, which was on the morrow to be giuen by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and that he should there abide in his Tent. Which he would haue done, but by the Phisitions deepe perswasions to the contrary. For it came to passe, that the Enemies Souldies won the Tents, where (questionlesse) they had slaine *Augustus*, if he had beene present there. So by this dreame hee preuented his death, won the day, and remained Sole-Monarch of the *Romeine* Empire: and, vnder his raigne, was borne the Redeemer of the world.

The dreame of *Antonius*, Phisition to *Augustus Cæsar*

Quintus Curtius declareth in the life of *Alexander*, that when he maintained his siedge before the Citty of *Tyre*, he being entred for succour of the *Carthagenians*, who saide they were descended of the *Tyrians*: concluded to raise his siedge, as despairing of euer surprizing it. But in a Dreame, a Satyre appeared to him, after whom hee followed, as he fled before him into a Chamber. His Interpreters tolde him; that this was a certaine fore-warning, to continue his siedge for longer dayes before the Citty, and that hee should surely take it. Which fell out to bee true; and this successe had long time beene foretold by an holy Prophet; who said, that a Greeke should gouerne in that Countrey.

The Dreame of *Alexander*.

The holy Scriptures are full of Dreames, whereby diuers Princes haue beene admonished, both for their own and their peoples Welfare. As *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, who was possessed of *Abrahams* Wife, supposing she had beene his Sister onely. But he was fore-warned sleeping, that he shold attempt nothing against her modestie, least hee incurred the indignation of God, and he obeyed. Another *Ægyptian* King, by Dreames which *Ioseph* interpreted to him, while he was kept as a Slaue and Prisoner in his land: found neuertheless the assistance of God, to shunne his owne ruine, and death of his people, by a barrennesse in his kingdome, which should continue for seauen yeares, after as many yeares of plenty. By meanes whereof, he made such prouision of Graine: as hee had sufficient to feede his people, during those fore-told seauen yeares, whereas else he had wanted prouision for his people.

The Dreame of *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*.

The dreames of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*.

Katherine de Medicis, Queene of *Fraunce*, and Wife to King *Henrie* the second, dreamed (the day before the said King was wounded to death) that shee saw him very sickely, holding downe his head, as hee walked a-long the streetes of *Paris*, beeing followed by infinite number of his people, that lamented for him. Hereupon, most earnestly shee entreated him, and (as

The Dreame of *Katherine de Medicis* Q. of *France*.

is ſaid) with wringing handes, vppon her knees; not to aduenture in the rank of Tilters on that day. But he, giuing no credit to her wordes, the laſt day of the Feaſting, for the marriage of Madame *Margaret* his Siſter, to *Emanuell Phillibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*; entred into the Liſtes for her Honour. And running to breake a Launce againſt a bold and worthy Knight, to wit; the Count of *Montgomerie*: happened to bee wounded; for in the Launces breaking on both ſides, a ſhiuer or ſplinter entred by the ſight of his Helmet, and ſtrucke very farre into his head. The King dyed ſoone after of this wound, aged about fortie yeares, leauing his Kingdome wofullie mourning for him.

We may note the Dreame of this great Princeſſe, and how it happened; whereof (doubtleſſe) God gaue premonition by his good Angell, both for her good, and the whole Realme of *France*. But the King beeing opinitiue, would rather follow the vanities of the World, then the good aduertiſements of his Wife; and by his deceaſe, the people of *France* ſuffered many calamities.

The Dreame of *Henry* the third, King of *France*.

His Sonne, King *Henrie* the third, three dayes before he was murdered at Saint *Clou*; beheld (in a Dreame) all his Royall Ornaments, to wit; his Linnen Veſture, Sandales, *Dalmatian* roab, Mantle of Azure Sattin, the great and leſſer Crownes, Scepter and Hand of Iuſtice, Sword and guilt Spurres; all bloody, and made foule with the feete of religious Men, and other people, and that hee himſelfe was very angry with the Sexton, of the Abbey of Saint *Denis*. And albeit good aduiſe was giuen him (according to the daunger of his Dreame) to ſtand ſecurelie vpon his Guard; yet ſo it fell out, as a thing permitted by Heauen, that hee could not auoide the fatall chance, but was ſlaine, whatſoeuer ſtrong Guard was then about him.

Calphurnia her Dreame, concerning *Cæſars* death.

Calphurnia, Wife to the adopted Father of *Cæſar*, hauing dreamed, that ſhe beheld *Cæſar* ſlaine and maſſacred; gaue him notice thereof. But he, in ſtead of conuerting it to his benefit, deſpiſed the dreame; and went iocondly to the Senate the day following, where the Dreame ſorted to wofull effect. To conclude, good or euill Dreames, doe oftenеſt proceede by our vſe of good or bad meates, and ſuch affection as we imprint in our vnderſtanding, as alſo euill humours that poſſeſſe our bodies; and we neede not enquire (ouer curiouſly) what they may ſeeme to ſignifie: except it be of Phiſitions, who thereby doe gather ſome coniecture of the parties health. As for the Dreames of Kinges, Princes, Monarches, Magiſtrates, and ſuch like perſons, that hold ſome degree ouer the people, and in the Church, on whom (often-times) dependeth the good or euill, that any Realme or Prouince is to ſuffer: they are not alwayes to bee contemned; but with great diſcretion and iudgement to bee conſidered. For I am of opinion, with learned *Volatteranus*, who hath left the ſame written, that (many times) any perſon going to his reſt, not cloyed with bad affections, nor ſuperfluitie of foode, but beeing vertuouſly minded, and healthfully diſpoſed: his Soule (in ſleeping) many fore-ſee many thinges to come. For the Soule, which (of it ſelfe) is Diuine and Celeſtiall, beeing not offended with any wicked cogitations, or ouer bad meates: is at free liberty, and beſt of all performeth her actions when the body ſleepeth, and not being buſied with any other matters.

The Authors Concluſion and opinion of Dreames.

CHAP. XXVI.

Strange Hiſtories, of three ſeuerall perſons, that by one diſeaſe, called Melancholie, fell into admirable imaginations.

IN this Chapter, I muſt preſent a Melancholie ſickneſſe to ye, hapning to two men; the one being deſcribed by *Ætius*, a Greeke Phiſition, and the other of an Aduocate of *Paris*, whoſe name I muſt conceale, as *Houllier* hath done. The one, ſo farre loſt his iudgement, as hee verily beleeued and affirmed, that he had no head. The other imagi-

Aetius and *Houllier* both Phiſitions.

imagined himselfe to be dead; and therefore would not eat any thing. How they were both healed, not by Medicaments, but contrarie perswasions, is the charge that I haue vndertaken; and therefore, I will begin with him, that was perswaded he had no head.

A man that supposed him selfe to haue no head.

I am not ignorant, that many wil hardly credit such accidents to happen, to wit, that a man (by length of time) thoulde suppose himselfe to haue no head; albeit by the very Organs of the head, he saw, heard, spake, dranke, and fed euen then as all other men do. But we doo not see daily, how this trabilious, or Melancholy matter worketh in som men; y a, with more pernitious and false imaginations, then these two. As he who not long since thoght he had a Sance-bel in his head or braine. Another, who verily beleeued, that he was King of the *Gaules*. And a *Bourguignon* Scholler, remaining at *Paris* neere to the Church of Saint *Iulian*, who desired the Physitions, not to hinder his soule, from flying out of Purgatorie into heauen, because he said he was dead. And another, who said, to preuent beeing a Cuckold, he must needes kill himselfe; and thereupon, hangde himselfe about two yeares since, beside diuers other examples of the like Nature.

Aetius Serm 1. Tetrab. 2. cap. 9

Now concerning this man, who was of this headlesse opinion, to thinke that he had no head on his bodie, he was seene and visited by great store of verie famous Physitions, who could find out no remedie for him. Notwithstanding, one among the rest, named *Photinus*, deuised this helpe, to make him weare a Cask or Head-piece, of Lead, which was of great waight, yet fit for his head. This deuise was accordingly performed; and when they did put it on his head, it was done by two men, without any other Cap or lining; yet warily preseruing the Leade from doing any harme, and fastned verie strongly vnder his chinne. Hereupon, he would say many times that his Heade did ake: and so long they continued this waight on his head, that he became to be perswaded he had a head. For, they vsed to say vnto him, that seeing hee sayd his head did ake, it must needes follow, that hee had a Head. Thus the inuention of *Photinus*, had happie successe.

A head-piece of Lead, to helpe a Melancholy man

In the yeare, 1550. the month of August, a man of good quality & means, by profession an Aduocate, fell into such a Melancholly alienation of his vnderstanding, that he saide and beleeued himselfe to be dead. In regard whereof, he woulde neither speake, eate, laugh, nor walke any whether, but still kept his bed. His wife requested many Physitions to his cure: but no one could perswade him to receiue any thing, no, not to eate or drinke any sustentation, wherby to maintaine life, hee yeelding no other reason, but that he was dead, and dead Folkes vsed not to eate any thing.

An Aduocate that perswaded himselfe to be dead.

At length, he grew to be so faint and weake, as each houre after other, his expiration was expected. But as manie times it commeth to passe, that God sendeth succour, when (to men) there appeares no meanes of remedie or hope; euen so now it fortuned, that a Nephewe to the sicke mans Wife, suddenly there arriued, that newly came from *Bourges*, where he studied the Lawes, in hope to haue some money of his Aunt (which he greatly wanted) but hee found her much perplexed, and his Vnckle in weak estate of his vnderstanding. But ye must first consider, that hauing beene at *Paris* with his Father, who was a worthy Attorney at the *Chastelet*, hee droue him out of doores, and would not entertaine him; because (by much straining himselfe) he had not aboue three weekes before) sent him his quarterly exhibition, which hee had wasted and consumed. His retirement was now to his Vnckle by the Mothers side, whom he found in such estate, as hath formerly bin declared.

A yong Lawyer of *Bourges*.

After he had labored to perswade his Vnckle (by Learned, witty, & eloquent Orations) to fall to feeding, and coulde not preuaile, hee concluded to vse some cunning, whereby he might help him to his health. And being well skild in naturall causes, he thought it more fitting to ease this immaginary Malady by familiar perswasion, then any other course beside. And as merry-minded Schollers haue alwayes a readinesse in wit, ioyfull without care, and a louiall humour: so hee goes and hides himselfe in a Chamber neere to his sicke Vnckle, where putting on a Winding sheet, after the manner of dead men, readye for interment, (only his face discouered) he was broght forth, and laid vpon a Table in his vncles Chamber, so as the sicke man might very con-

The young Lawier taketh in hande to cure his Melancholy Vnkle.

The young schollers witty deuice.

conueniently see him. Foure Tapers of wax were set lighted about him; and all the Children and Seruants of the house stood weeping by him, where both Father and Maister might easily beholde them. In briefe, euerie thing was so Artificially acted, as not any bodie which beheld this deceit, could hardly contain himselfe from Laughing, no not the wife of the sicke man, albeit shee was so extreamly afflicted; or the Scholler himselfe, inuenter of the stratagem, perceyuing euery one about him, to make such strange and counterfet faces.

Approbation of the Scholler to be dead

The pacient or sicke person, wondring what this matter might meane, demaunded of his Wife, who it was that lay vpon the Table? Whereto she answered, that it was her deceased Nephewe, who comming (ouer-hastily) from his studies to see him; and grieuing at his dangerous disease, was dead with griefe; and partly a Pluriſie, which tooke him by the way; therefore, she had thus prepared his bodie, and stayed but for the Bearers to fetch him to Church for buriall. But Wife (quoth the sicke-man) how can he be dead, considering I see him nowe to laugh, and his eyes are wide open? Husband (quoth she) dead men vse to laugh, euen as you see my poore Nephew doth. The sicke man would beleeue nothing, till he had wrought experience on himselfe. Wherefore, calling for a Glasse to beholde his owne face, hee therewith forced himselfe to Laugh, and Laughing, both acknowledged, and was fullie perswaded, that dead men did Laugh: and this was the first steppe to his recouerie.

The Scholler taught the sicke man how to eate.

This first Scene thus acted by our Comedian Scholler, hee felt his stomacke to waxe hungry, and verie desirous hee was both of meate and drinke, for he had lien three houres in this manner extended on the Table, and called for some good thing to eate. And indeede, he had good reason for it, for hee came fasting from *Bourges*, without any Foode, not hauing either purſe or pennie, for his whole quarterage was spent and gone. There was not any thing readie in the house, because euerie one was in greefe and mourning; but sending forth to the Cookes, a roasted Capon was presently brought him, which hee quickly deuoured with a pint of Wine, sitting vp (for the time) as men vse to do. This beeing well noted by the sicke man, that a dead man shut vp in a Winding sheet, should feed with so good a stomacke, hee asked his wife whither dead men did eat or no? Yes Husband (quoth she) with excellent appetite, and they do also see verie plainly. Which made him forthwith to call for victuals, to try if he being dead, could eate as his fellow dead men did. One ran quickly to the Cookes againe, and bringing good meat, it was cut readily for him and put into his mouth, so that feeding gently, drinking, and doing all other actions of a mā with good iudgment, thence forward he made no more refusall of his meate, whereby this Melancholy Cogitation, by little and little, left him. But most certaine is it, that had not this Inuention of the Scholler preuayled, want of food, and suppoſition of death, would haue brought immagination, to too true a conclusion.

The sicke man eating by imitation found recouery of health.

The Scholler (by his Vnckle Aduocate) was reconciled to his offended Father, and obtained Licenſe for his pleading: so that comming to the bar, in the Court of *Le petit Chaſtelet* (a Court of very ancient Record) he prooued one of the best, and most esteemed of his profeſſion. This History being reduced into a quaint Comedie, was acted one Night (by Gentlemen) before King *Charles* the ninth, my selfe being then there present.

A young Gentleman, of good & noble diſcent, in the higher parts of *Lymoſine*, hadde tydinges brought him, that a Wilde Boare haunted neere to his abyding, which made him suddenly steppe forth, with diuers of his fathers seruants, himselfe carrying an halfe Pike in his hand; and the rest, such Weapons as they could sooneſt lay holde on, in hope to kill the sauage Boare. Hauing got good knowledge where hee lurked, he & his followers prepared thither, and the Boare perceiuing his immediate danger, made directly toward the young Gentleman. that scarsely knewe how to defend himselfe with his halfe Pike; & (by great chance) ran betweene his legges, and ouerthrew him, offering afterward for to wound him with his tusks. But one of his fathers men, a Baker by profeſsion, & indued with good corage, hauing a Lance in his hand, ranne therewith so directlie into

The third History of a yong Gentleman of *Lymoſine* and his hunting of a wilde Boare.

into the Boares throat, that he ſtirred no further, but lay there quite dead. The young Gentleman, in his fall giuen him by the Boar, had conceiued a very ſtrãge and vnheard of apprehenſion, to wit; that the Boare had deuoured one of his legs, albeit, he ſuſtained no harme but his fall: and this conceite continued in him for the ſpace of two yeares. In all his other actions, he was of very good iudgement, this onely excepted for naturally he was addicted to deuotion, not ſuffering a day to paſſe him, without hearing Maſſe, faſting all the ordinary daies appointed by the Church; highly affecting Religious Men, eſpecially, thoſe of the *Franciſcan* Order. And verie deſirous hee was, to make himſelf one in their profeſsion: but hee had heard, that they would receiue none borne with any deformity of body, as Crooke backt, Cripple, Lame, or that wanted any member. This perſwaſion ouer-ruled him, ran entering into that Order; becauſe he ſuppoſed himſelfe to haue but one Legge, although he walked vp and downe as well as other men; yet ſtill this falſe immagination preuayled in him, that the Boare had eaten vp one of his legges.

A ſtrange immegination in the young Gentleman.

It happened afterwards verie luckily, that two Friers of the *Franciſcane* Order, trauailing thorow the Country, vpon a day, when the Sunne was neere ſetting, came vnto his Fathers gate, where they deſired both Almes and lodging for that Night: which was graunted them; and they ſupped with the young Gentleman, as one who was verie gladde to ſee them.

How the yong Gentleman was cured of his melancholy conceit

After Supper, each man betook himſelfe to his Chamber, both the religious Friers remaining ſtill in the roome, by a good fire; and thether came the young Gentleman againe ſecretly, not willing to be eſpied by any of the houſe. He fell into Communication with the Fryers, of his long continued Deuotion, and intent to be one of their Order: but he was depriued of all meanes, becauſe hee had but one legge; and the other was deuoured by the Boare. The holy men, looking earneſtly on him, demanded, if either of his Legges was Artificiall, which ſuſtained his bodie, and deſired him to ſhew them which was it. Then perceyuing immediatly the error of his imagination, they perſwaded him to beleeue no ſuch falſhood; for this was but an illuſion of Sathan, to hinder him in the way to ſaluation. So, with many other goodly remonſtrances, which they had with him for the ſpace of two houres, and the delight he receiued therein, without the leaſt omiſsion, he began to fall from his melancholy opinion; ſo that on the morrow, he told euery one that now he had two Legges. At length, notwithſtanding the Counſell and perſwaſion, both of his Father, Kindred, and Friendes, to the contrary, he entred into Religion, & within the yeare of his approbation, died in the Conuent: for I am perſwaded, that his ſoft Nature could not endure the ſtrict Rules of that Order, which are too ſeuere.

The Authour both ſaw, and perfectly knew the gentleman, and this Hiſtorie to be true.

There is nothing more certaine, then that for theſe melancholy diſeaſes, wherein immagination and reaſon are any way wounded, all remedies Phyſicall do profit nothing, but onely contrary perſwaſions, oppoſite to the conceite falſely imagined, as may bee gathered by the three Hiſtories fore-mentioned. Nor need we heere alledge, that if irkeſome remedies had beene applied to the young Gentlemans Legge, they might (perhaps) haue made him to finde his follie, as I haue knowne ſome in like caſe, which proued in vaine: but I am of the minde, that the Religious men tooke the beſt courſe In like manner, when the common people are mooued by ſedition (which is a beaſt with manie heades) and touched with a melancholy furie: nothing can ſooner reduce them to good ſence and vnderſtanding, then the Vertuous power of perſwaſions and Orations. By which meanes alſo, the alienation of iudgment is quickliеſt cured: and *Cicero* is of the ſame opinion.

Concerning the nature of theſe melancholy diſeaſes

To appeaſe a diſcontented multitude.

CHAP.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

CHAP. XXVII.

Of a strange manner of Bannishment, vsed by the Athenians, *by vertue whereof, manie of the verie cheefest men among them, were likewise sometimes banished, although they had committed no offence.*

THE Common-wealth and Gouernment of *Athens* (according as we haue already described) was one of the most potent and famous in the Would. For after, they wold accept of no more Kings, but reduced all to Libertie: they yeelded a great number of men, excellent both in Learning and Armes, where-with all Histories are plentifully stored.

Kinges suppresst damōg the *Athenians*.

Amongst all other commendable Lawes and Customes, which they kept for their owne conseruation, and maintenance of their rule and libertie, there was one very strange, which yet appeared to them proper and necessary, to reproue and chastise the ambition & ouergreat boldnesse, in some of their chiefest Commanders, who made themselues so great, that meaner men might not withstand them, or attaine vnto the like Authority.

The people might banish whomsoeuer they pleased for the space of ten yeares.

At a certaine time, the people (vnder whom, all estates and conditions of the Cittie were comprized) had power and faculties to banish (although it were without cause) for the space of ten yeares, any one of their principall heads, euen such as they pleased, or stoode most in doubt of, that he would possesse himself of their Dominion, or becom a Tyrant vnto the Common-weale; or if a common Hatred were conceiued against him, which they performed in this manner.

The order & manner obserued in their banishment.

The Magistrats, to whom this Negotiation was deliuered by Commission; making a conuocation of the people, gaue to euerie one of them a little stone, or small Tile-slate; and his name whome they would haue to bee banished, each man must write vpon the Tile, and then deliuer it backe to the Magistrates. These little stones or Tiles (but some tearme them shelles) were by the *Greeks* termed *Ostraci*; and thereon, this kinde of exile or banishment, was called *Ostracismus*. When all these stones were laid togither with the peoples Inscriptions on them, they made an account of them: and if it chanced, that they amounted not to the number of sixe thousand (for in such assemblies, no man stood bound to deliuer in his bulletine except himselfe pleased) for that yeare there was no banishment graunted. But if they rose to sixe thousand and more, then they counted aside, the names of them that were written on the Tiles; and hee that had the most voyces (although he were the verie honestest man, or of greatest Wealth and Honor in the Cittie) he was immediately banished for ten years space, without any remission. Neuertheless, no man might do him any wrong in his goodes or possesions: but his Seruants might gouern and order all things, according to his direction.

Ostracismus, the *Athenians* banishment.

No repect of persons in this order of exile.

Now, albeit this Law was induced, to correct and punish not only the vicious, but to appease popular enuy against the mightiest, and to take away all ambition: yet it might so come to passe, that the people enioying this priuiledge and Authority, should banish such, from whom most profit and honor had come to their Common-weale whereby they shoulde fall into the sinne of ingratitude. And indeed it prooued true, for (by the same means *Themistocles* was banished, a most excellent Captaine, by whose Counsell and dilligence, *Xerxes* was vanquished, expelled out of *Greece*, and his nauall armie quite defeated: not only *Athens* being set at libertie by him, but all Greece likewise. With the same Wages also was *Simon* the *Athenian* rewarded, liuing at the same time, who so many times had fought for the freedome of his countrey. Especially, he did such an acte of honour and vertue, as no man (before him) had done the like. For, hee won the battaile by Sea against the *Persians*; wherein hee tooke two hundred Gallies. Afterward, and the same day, hee had no sooner atchieued this victorie: but bringing his Armie on Land, and Marshalling them in good order, he fought against the rest of the *Persians*, that had landed before in great

The reason of this Lawes first institution.

Themistocles banished by this Law.

Simon the *Athenian* so banished.

Simons victories both by Sea & Land, and his admirable Liberality.

great number, and foyling them likewise, was conquered both by Sea and Lande. Beside these deeds of Vertue, he was verie liberall of his goods, wherewith Fortune had greatly enriched him. For hee laid open his great Farmes and Gardens, that euery man might pertake of such blessing as were there: giuing also (but verie secretly) great Almes to poor people of the Citty. Hee gaue an expresse charge to all his seruants, that if they met (on the way) any people more aged then themselues, and not well Cloathed, to despoile themselues of their better Garments, and to chaunge for their woorse. Moreouer, each Feast day (allowed by Order) he feasted all the poore Beggers of the Cittie: and in this maner, he spent all the wealth left him by his Father *Miltiades*. Neuertheless, all these Liberalities and worthy deeds, could not defend and saue him from this exile, and ingratitude of his Countrey, as is testified by *Cratinus* the Commicall Poet, and *Georgias Leontinus*.

His noble Charity.

Cratinus, and *Georgias Leontinus*.

In like manner, *Aristides*, the Sonne of *Lysimachus*, was most vniustly banished; which *Aristides*, for his Vertues and sanctitie of life, was called *Iustus*: yet could not hee liue without the peoples feare and suspition. But in this case there happened a very notable and worthy accident; for, at the time when the people gaue their opinion for his banishment, according vnto their wonted Custome: one of the Cittizens, that neither could write, or knew *Aristides*, but only by his fame, came to *Aristides* himselfe, to entreat him to write the name of *Aristides* on the stone, because he would giue his voice for his banishment. *Aristides* wondering at this matter (for he dreampt not on any such vnkindnesse towardes him) saide vnto him; *Tell mee good man, hath Aristides done thee any displeasure?* *No*, (quoth the Cittizen) *but only it offendeth me, that I heare him euerie where tearmed* [*Aristides the Iust.*] Thus doth *Plutarch* set it downe; but *Paulus Æmilius* sayeth; that the Cittizen answered him; *I know not* Aristides; *and yet methinkes I cannot endure him, because (with such dilligence) he hath got the honor, to be called Iust.* All which notwithstanding, *Aristides* made him no answere, but wrote his own name vppon the stone; and though the people were thus leagued against him, hee was not a iot offended at his Countrey, but willingly went forth in banishment, saying; *I desire of the Goddes, that the Athenians may neuer know any such necessitie, as (at any time) to stand in neede of Aristides.* But the *Athenians* well declared their owne errour, in exiling such a woorthie man: for before, the ten yeares were expired, yea, within six yeares, by will and consent of the people, hee was reuoked from exile. After which repeale, he did many admirable deeds of Armes, being present at the batteil on the Sea, neer *Salamina*, where *Xerxes* was foyled; and likewise at that place, where hee conquered *Mardonius*. Thus this exile (as I haue formerly saide) happened euermore to the best and most eminent men. Neuertheless, albeit the harme was great; yet it carried with it a certaine kinde of honor and dignity, in regard of the fear and enuie generally conceyued, least they should become Tyraunts, as *Pisistratus* was.

A notable accident concerning *Aristides*, surnamed *Iustus*, by an ignoraunt Cittizen.

Difference between *Plutarch*, and *Paulus Emilius*.

The words of *Aristides* at his banishing.

Aristides repealed from banishment.

Mardonius a Captaine belonging to Xerxes.

Plutarch reporteth, that while *Athens* flourished in power, wealth, and military exercise, there were two great men; the one, named *Nicias*, and the other *Alcibiades*, who were in all things curious and ambitious after glory, enuying greatlie one another. When the fore-mentioned time of *Ostraciſme* drewe neere, and the people prepared for their woonted custome, each of these great men grewe fearefull of himselfe, and laboured with their vtmost dilligent endeuour, to hinder their fal into such an inconuenience. At the same time liued in *Athens*, one named *Hyperbolus*, a man of base condition yet very proud, but much more seditious. He perceiuing the humors of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, essayed by all means possible, to sow discord and contentions between them, hoping thereby to winne himselfe reputation; and pre-supposing also, that (by reason of their enmity) one of them should be banished by the *Ostraciſme*, & he (in meane time) attaine to the place of his greatnesse, to haue eminency & command in the Citty.

Plutarch concerning *Nicias* & *Alcibiades*.

Hyperbolus, a man of meane quality.

But this intent comming to the others knowledge, and each of them accounting it shame, that a man of such base quality should equall himselfe with them, pacified their spleenes secretly, and became louing friends; choosing rather to bridle their owne rancor, then to suffer such

Nicias and *Alcibiades* make themselues Friends.

such a scandall vnto the state in generall. They further contriued, to woorke with the people in such manner, that *Hyperbolus* should be banished by the *Ostracism*, and followed their intent so dilligentlie, that they preuailed therin, requiting him with the same measure, which he meated to others.

Hyperbolus banished from Athens.

The people were not a litle well pleased heerewith, to see so vile a person excluded, after so many worthy and excellent men. But at length, these pleasures turned to anger and discontentment, & that in such sort, as the Law of *Ostracism* for euer after, found imbarment.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of many worthy and famous men, that by the ingratitude of their Countries, endured Banishment.

Histories are well filled with ingratitudes, which ancient and memorable Cities haue returned to such mē, as haue done them notable Seruices, and holpen them in their greatest necessities. Wherefore, we wil shew some examples, to the studious affecters of Histories, how frequent a thing this hath bin in former times.

Ingratitude of famous Cities.

The great Father of the *Latin* toong, and Soueraigne Orator therein, that deliuered *Rome* from the perillous coniuration of *Cataline*, was yet notwithstanding banished, at the instance & procurement of *Clodius* his sworne enemie: whose exile was so much bemoaned in *Rome*, that there were aboue twenty thousande persons, which chaunged their habites into mourning Garments, and thereby, caused his restoring to his former Liberrie, to their great ioy, and his high Honour. *Demosthenes* likewise, the Prince of Greek eloquence, and Defender of his Country *Athens*, was banished by the *Athenians*, who albeit they had founde iust occasion for o do, yet it could pleade no sufficiency, to depriue themselues of so worthy a mans presence.

M. Tul. Cicero, banished by the means of his enemie *Clodius*.

Demosthenes banished by the *Athenians*.

He was excessiuely grieued, to see himselfe banished from his Countrey, & that in such sort, as he departed in wonderfull Melancholy. And meeting some *Athenians* at his issuing forth, that were his capital enimies, he stood greatly in doubt of them: yet did they offer him no offence, but rather ayded and comforted him, with all such thinges as were needefull for him. Which when he had duelie considered, and saw himselfe reproued, because he had grieued so much for parting from his Countrey, he saide vnto them: *Wou'd'ye not haue me lament, seeing my selfe banished from my Countrey, where a mans enemies are such, as he may account himself happy, when (forsaking his friends) he trusteth most to them.*

The words of *Demosthenes* to his Countrymen.

Metellus, sur-named *Numidicus*, in recompence of his victorie obtaind against *Jugurth*, King of the *Numidians*, was banished out of *Rome*, because he wold not accord vnto a Law, wherof a proffer was made him. *Hannball*, after he had performed as much, as a good Citizen possibly could do for the good of his Country, & albeit he was the most excellent Captain of his time, yet could he not be permitted to liue securely in his Country, but being banished thence, was constraind to wander thorow the world. Renowned *Camillus* was vniustly banished from the Citty of *Rome*, euen then when the *Gaules* surprized it, and had besieged the Capitoll. Wherefore, during his exile, hee was made Dictatour, and chiefest Captaine of his Country, whither being returned, hee deliuered them from imprisonment, that had banished him.

Metellus Numidicus banished from Rome.

Hannibal banished by his native Country *Carthage*.

Camillus banished from Rome.

Seruillius Hala, after hee had preserued the Liberties of *Rome*, from the ambition of *Spurius Emilius*, Maister of the Knights that wold haue made him King, and whom he woorthily slew, was banished for his recompence, and sent into exile.

Seruilius Hala banished out of Rome.

I neuer knew anie Common-weale, more beholding vnto a man, then *Lacedemon* was to *Lycurgus*, for the good Lawes he gaue them, whereby to order their course of life. And albeit, he was a man of Holie life, and commendable manners, and of whom (according vnto *Valerius Maximus*) the Oracle of *Apollo*

Lycurgus most vnkindly vsed and banished by the Lacedemonians.

lo Pytheam, made answere; *That it was doubtfull, whether hee should bee ranked among Men, or the Goddes*: yet notwithstanding, hee was manie times pursued by the Cittizens, at the stones triall, and expulsed from their Cittie. Finallie, hauing one of his eyes pulled foorth, hee was afterward banished out of the countrey.

The selfesame courtesie did the *Athenians* extend to *Solon*, who had instituted so many good and Vertuous Lawes for them, and of whom, if they would haue continued due vse, their Empire (it might haue beene) had perpetually endured. Neuertheless, because he conquered & recouered for them the Cittie of *Salamina*, and likewise aduertised them of *Pisistratus* his attempts, seeking to make him selfe a King, and to Tyranize ouer them: euen in his old decrepit age, they rewarded him with banishment; and he could not preuaile so much with them, as to graunt him any poor place in their countrey, where he might conclude the small remnant of his dayes, but needes they would exile him into the Isle of *Cyprus*.

Solon banished by the *Athenians*.

Scipio Nasica, who was knowne to be the Woorthiest man in Rome, and deserued no lesse honour, for administration and gouernement in the Common-wealth, then the other *Scipioes* (with their armies) in the field: Neuertheless, after hee had freed Rome from the Tiranny and subiection of the Greekes (wel knowing the enuie of some Cittizens, and their hatred conceiued against his Vertues) dissembling an employment in an Embassie, he voluntarily retired himselfe to *Pergamum* in *Asia*, where (without seeking anie Reuenge on his Countries ingratitude) he ended the rest of his daies.

Scipio Nasica banished him self from his Countrey.

Publius Lentulus, in like manner, after hee had vertuously defended the Common-wealth, and represted the furious attempts of the Greekes, his best recompence was banishment from Rome. But before he went to his confination in *Scicily*, he desired of the Gods in all the peoples presence, that hee might neuer returne againe, vnto so ingratefull a Nation.

Publius Lentulus banished from Rome.

Boetius Seuerinus, a very famous and Vertuous man, was banished by *Theodoricke*, that vsurped in Rome: only vpon a conceited suspition, that the sayde *Boetius* sought the freedom of his Countrey. For the same cause, the Tyrant *Dionysius* banished *Dion* the Syracusane, an excellent Captaine, who by the meanes of his banishment, became afterward so powerfull, that he restored his Countrey vnto her wonted libertie, and banished *Dyonistus* from his gouernment, & wholly depriued him. In like maner hapned it to *Thrasibulus* the *Athenian* Captaine, who being banished from *Athens* by the power of thirtie Tyrants, which held it in subiection, he mustred together other banished men; and with the helpe of *Lysander*, a Captaine of *Lacedemon*, returned to *Athens*, and deliuerd it from their slauish seruitude. *Publius Rutilius*, Consul of *Rome*, being banished by them that tooke part with *Silla*, albeit he was afterward repealed from exile, yet would hee not yeeld thereto, but saide: *I had rather do shame to my Countrey, that causelesse banished mee, then to liue among them that consented to my exile.* *Tarquin* the proud, though by no ingratitude, but rather for his wickednes, was banished out of *Rome*, and lost his kingdome, for the rape which his Sonne had committed on chaste *Lucresse*, a verie worthie *Romain* Lady. *Milo*, the *Romaine Patrician*, by reason of the death of *Clodius*, albeit he was descended of *Cicero*, was relegated to *Marseilles*.

Dion banished by *Dionisius*.

Thrasibulus banished by 30. Tyrants.

Publius Rutilius banished from Rome.

Tarquinius Superbus banished Rome.

Milo the Patritian banished Rome.

I read, that *Clisthenes* was the first that deuised the Law of *Ostracisme* or banishment in *Athens*, and was himself the first man, that by the same law was banished. Also *Eusitachius Pamphilius*, a Prelate of *Antioche*, was banished, because he contradicted the *Arrian* Heretickes, in the time of *Constantine* the great. *Paulus Diaconus*, a great Historiographer, and of especiall Authoritie, saith; that Pope *Bennet* the fift was banished out of *Rome* by the Emperor *Anthenius*: for this *Anthenius* hauing vanquished the Emperor *Berengarius*, and *Albert* his Sonne, sent them also into perpetuall exile.

Plutarch in his Epistles.

Eustachius Pamphilus banished.

Pope Bennet banished.

Berengarius & his son *Albert* sent into perpetuall exile.

Thus you see, that manie woorthy persons haue beene banished, and yet exile was accounted in Rome so great a punishment, as no one could there bee banished, till first hee had consulted thereon with all the people. For in trueth, the loue tha a man beareth vnto his nation is so great, as hee cannot bee excluded thence, but to his extreame greefe and affliction. For, the consolation of banished men, *Plutarch* wrote a singuler

Boetius Seuerinus banished by *Theodoricke*.

Treatise, and *Erasmus* a very learned Epistle. *Seneca* also, in his Book of Comfort, directed to *Paulinus*, writeth woorthily thereon.

Plutarch. Erasmus. Seneca in lib. de Consolat.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of two seuerall men, who being apprehended for Homicides, were neuertheless made Kings, and by those meanes which they supposed, would be the losse of their liues.

THe meanes whereby God ordereth and woorketh all things, are so secret to the immagination of men, as when they suspect the losse of some perticuler matter by one way, euen then they sooneſt finde and recouer it. So that, in whatsoeuer high estate a man is, let him make no certaine assurance thereof, nor yet distrust or fall into despair, if his aduersity be neuer so mighty, as may appeare plainely by two notable examples.

The weaknesse of mans imaginations.

At what time *Ladislaus* raigned King in *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*, hee being the Sonne to King *Aubert*, young, and newly come to the Gouernment of the kingdom, he was constrained (in that regard) to rule by the opinion of some of his chiefest Barons, amongst whome, there happened contention and discords, especially, in the Sons to *John Huniades Vayuod* (Tutor to the King, who died a little before, and had held the most power or sway in the Realme) on the one side, and *Henrie* Count of *Celia*, neere Kinsman to the King, on the other. This enmity was so great, that on a day when the Count of *Celia* was in a Church, in one of the Citties of *Hungary*, hee was there slaine by the hands of those Sons, to the Lord *John Huniades Vayuode*, which is a name of great dignitie in that Kingdom. For the instant, the King made no shew of discontentment, because he knew him selfe not strong enough to chastice this presumption: but afterwardes, being returned to the Cittie of *Buda*, hee caused the Sonnes of *Vayuode* to bee apprehended; and the eldest of them being named *Ladislaus*, had his head smitten off. As for the other called *Matthias*, because he was verie young in yeares, hee spared to execute Iustice on him: Neuertheless, hee was committed vnto prison, vnder good and sure guard, in the Realm of *Bohemia*.

Ladislaus King of Hungaria and Bohemia.

Ladislaus, son to Vaiuode, beheaded.

The Count of Celia slaine in a Church.

The youth being thus detained prisoner, without any hope of life, or to see anie end of his imprisonment, it hapned, that in the same Cittie, where hee was prisoner, named *Prage* in *Bohemia*, the King *Ladislaus* dyed; by meanes whereof, the people of *Bohemia*, elected a King called *George Pogibrachio*. The *Hungarians* (on the other side) beeing aduertised of their Kings death, and much mooued with pittie to young *Matthias*, especially because of his Fathers former great Authoritie in the Kingdome, they proclaymed *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, althogh he was in the power of *George*, the newe King of *Bohemia*. When *George* had intelligence of their election, hee foorthwith deliuered him; and vsing many royall kindnesses towards him, gaue him also his daughter in Marriage. Thus the poore despairing young Lorde, became in an instant a most potent King; & questionlesse, if he had not falne into this aduersitie, he had neuer attained vnto such greatnesse of State. Because some other then he, might haue beene elected; or his Brother *Ladislaus* (beeing the Elder, and not put to death) had preceeded him; or else, the Count of *Celia* (hauing escaped his murther) had hindered him, being so neere in Kindered to the King; onely respect and pittie of his imprisonment, was the sole cause of his aduancement.

The death of King Ladislaus.

Matthias being in prison, was proclaimed King of Hungary.

Where Fortune fauoureth, no contrary meanes preuenteth.

Thus hourely expecting death, hee came to a Crown, and by the same meanes as such as haue it, do sooneſt loose it: proouing afterward, one of the worthiest Kinges in his time, obtaining manie famous victories, and performing admyrable actions in Armes, especially against the Turkes.

The like fortuned to *Iaques de Lusignam*, Vnckle to *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*: For, during the Feasting and solemnitie made for the Kings Corronation, a controuersie happened betweene the *Geneways* and the *Venetians* there present, concerning their preferrance, because each

The second History of Iaques de Lusignam.

The Venetians and Genewaies at contention

each of them contended about the chiefeſt place. And the matter was ſo obſtinately debated on either ſide, that *Iaques de Luſignam* (who fauoured the *Venetians*) cauſed ſome of the *Geneweyes* to bee ſlaine. Whereof the reſt being aduertiſed that were at *Gennes*, they were ſo offended; that to reuenge this wrong, they raiſed a great Army, vnder the charge of a Captaine, named *Pedro Fregoſo*, an excellent Warrior on the Sea. Hee ordered the matter in ſuch ſort, that beeing come to the Iſland, he tooke the City by force of Armes, wherein was *Iaques de Luſignam*, who was alſo ſurprized & led to *Gennes*, where (by appointment of the Senat) he was ſhut vp in a ſtrong Tower, with full purpoſe, that there hee ſhoulde finiſh his daies. In this ſtate, he there continued for the ſpace of nine years, not hoping of liberty, or any fauour elſe. But in the end, Fortune turning hir wheele, it chanced that K. *Peter* died without anie heire: by meanes whereof, they of the Iſland (ſorrowing for the long detention of this *Iaques* in priſon, & regarding that he was neere Kinſman to their deceaſed Lord) elected him for their King, althogh he was priſoner. Without which means of impriſonment, it may be, that hee had neuer come to ſuch dignity, although he had got it by being at liberty, ſuch are the wils and inclinations of men. After this election made by the *Cypriots*, they ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Gennes*, to the end, that with al the beſt cõditions that might be, they ſhould compaſſe the libertie of their King. Compoſitions being propounded, and his ranſom paid, with great pompe and feaſting hee was freed from captiuity; & being magnificently broght to his ſhips, they ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, where he was welcommed as their king, crowned, obeyed, and raigned diuers yeares.

Iaques de Luſignam ſhut vp in priſon.

Iaques de Luſignam elected King being then a priſoner at *Gennes*.

Iaques cõuaied from *Gennes* to *Cyprus*.

CHAP. XXX.

A Paradox in defence of Hurts & Wounds, maintaining that the wounded man is in more happy eſtate, then hee which is whole and ſound.

ICannot well conceiue any reaſon, that ſhould incite vs to ſuch tender and delicate care of our bodies, ſeeing wee pretend to haue courage more hard then Iron, and leſſe ſenſible then ſtones. Nor do I ſee any iuſt cauſe, why we ſhould be ſo fearefull of wounds and ſtabs, ſeeing they can but pierce the Corſlet or falſe Coat of Defence, and no way hurt or offend the ſoule, which is the moſt Noble part of all, and can no way be iniuried or wounded, but by our ſelues only in wicked cogitations, which are the blowes (indeede) that brings the greateſt greefe, and moſt of all tormenteth a quiet ſetled ſpirit.

The ſoule is the moſt Noble part in man.

I haue many times ſmiled to my ſelfe, in noting ſuch men, as haue wondered and complained verie greeuouſly, when any of their friends and Kindered, were mortally woundedin diuers parts of their bodie: Neuer conſidering, that amongſt all thoſe wounds, but one only was fatall and deadly, for one bodie cannot indure many mortall wounds. So that if there be but one wound, that maketh the way open to death: it followeth of neceſsitie, that the other muſt be of leſſe force, ordinarie harme; or (at the vttermoſt) void of any danger.

One mortall wound, is enough to expire life.

Iulius Cæſar, had three and twentie woundes; notwithſtanding, hee had but one onely, that tooke his life from him. I could gladly wiſh, that as manie men, as haue their members weakened or diſabled, by hurts and Wounds, their pride of minde might thereby bee abated, and their ſwelling glorie made more coole and humble. The Princely Prophet (in the Song of the bleſſed Virgin, and elſe-where of himſelfe) ſingeth woonderfull ſweetely: *Thou Lorde, haſt Humiliated the Proude*, euen as wee ſee him humbled, that hath beene well beaten or wounded.

Iulius Cæſar had three & twenty woundes.

Luke 1,52.

For my part, whenſoeuer I ſee anie one, that hath his Noſe cut off, his head broken, or his body otherwiſe wounded, I neuer conſider the wounde, but eſpecially regard the matter and occaſion thereof. For, as wee behold the faces of Valiant Soldiers and Captains commended, when in wars (for their Countries cauſe) they are cut, ſlaſht, and mangled; which hurts are to them, as ſo many rich Diamonds or Rubies to adorn them withall. So on the contrary, they that are wounded in any baſe or bad quarrel, or diſſoneſt enterpriſe, thoſe hurts are thẽ, as ſo many

Wounds the honourable badges of ſoldiers.

filthy ſpots, or ſtaines of dirt vpon their faces.

Marcus Sergius mained in Warre.

Marcus Sergius, fighting valiantly, and as became a man of worth; loſt one of his handes. And when hee had cauſed another to bee fordged of ſteele for him: hee was rather a more famous Champion then before, no way appearing defectiue by his handes loſſe. This hath beene euermore, and yet may bee obſerued, in men of greateſt dilligence and knowledge, that where Fortune granteth licence to hurt & wound; there Vertue her ſelfe is moſt pained and tormented. For we ſee it ordinarily happen to men, as it dooth to precious odours and the pureſt ſpices, which the more they are beaten and bruiſed; the ſweeter ſent and ſauour they ſende abroade, thereby expreſſing their more piercing and gracious power. And not to trouble yee with the Wal-nut, and other Trees; that by blowes and ſtrokes do become the more fruitfull, as in like manner our wearing Garments, by bruſhing and beating are the better preſerued. Euen ſo, when we ſee any man maimed, cut, or wounded, it giueth ample teſtimonie of his hearts greatneſſe, as alſo of his vndoubted proweſſe and Valiancy.

Vertue expreſſeth it ſelf beſt by opreſſion.

Let vs confeſſe then, that it is not euill to bee hurt or mangled, in cauſes of Vertue & true honor: but let vs be heedfull of ſuch cuttes and wounds, as come thorow our owne follies, or thoſe badde ſtroakes, which proceed of wicked occaſions; for they are much more daungerous to the ſoule, then thoſe exteriour hurts that happen vnto the body, by courage of heart, and valour of the minde. Becauſe the inward wounds which enſue or are cauſed by our owne defectes, are truely ſuch, as the Emplaiſters and Medicines of the beſt Phyſitians and Chirurgions in the world, being applied to them, can neuer helpe, or ſoundly recure.

To bee hurt through our owne wickedneſſe, is the greateſt harm of all other.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Crocodile, with a refutation of ſundry Fables, which are found written, concerning the ſame Beaſt.

I Know very well, that many men among vs, haue ſeene the ſtuffed skins of Crocodiles, & of great hugeneſſe, though not liuing. Of which Beaſt, I find ſome ſtore of Fables to be written, which people (very peeuiſhly) haue beleeued: wherefore, to take away thoſe errors, I purpoſe in this chapter to confute them, according as I haue beene enſtructed by many woorthy perſons that haue made ſome long ſtay in thoſe parts, wher the Beaſt it ſelfe abideth, who all (with one conſent) haue confirmed what I finde faithfully Written of the Crocodile.

Many Fables credited of the Crocodile.

This Beaſt is tearmed *Amphibium*, that implieth to liue partly in the Water, and partly on land. It is commonly credited, that *Nilus* onley, the Riuer of Egypt, is the perticuler breeding place of this great and dreadfull creature. But how far this is from all truth, hath well beene obſerued, ſince the Spaniards effected their long Nauigations. For the Riuer *Ganges* breedeth ſtore of them; & many of them haue beene found in diuers partes of *India*, eſpecially in thoſe Iſlands, which are about the Cittie of *Honorath*, & in great *Ethyopia*, in the Lake of *Zembera*, and in the riuer of *Darath*, in the dition of great *Negus* or *Necos*: in which Lake and Riuer, the Crocodiles are much more cruel then thoſe of Egypt; for if they can ouer-reach ſuch as com to bath themſelus there, they hale them forthw th into the bottom of the water, and there deuoure them. As hapned (not long ſince) to a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had two of his ſeruants deuoured, as they were bathing themſelues in that Lake.

Amphibium what it ſignifieth.

Crocodiles bred elſwhere then in *Nilus*.

Crocodiles more cruell then thoſe in Egypt.

Leirus Writeth, in his Hiſtorie of *America*, that hee hath ſeene ſome little Crocodiles, onely of the length of two or three foote, and about the bigneſſe of a mans Thighe, which are no way cruell

Of another kind of Crocodiles.

Lerius. in Hist. de Americ.

cruell or hurtfull; but so soon as the *Brasilians* haue taken them in the Riuer of *Genebra*, they giue them to their children to play withall, and they will do them no harme, albeit they haue Teeth, and can bite.

There are also of another kinde in the same Countrey, which keepe themselues in the Rockes, and will rush forth vppon Passengers, as well men as Beastes, and deuoure them: but if they stande vppon their owne defence, many times they flie away from them. He that hath written the generall Historie of the *Indians*, saith; That he hath seene some, neere or about *Panama*, containing an hundred foote in length.

The Crocodile is like to the Lizard.

The Crocodile doth euerie way resemble (as well in his exteriour, as inward parts) the Lizards liuing amongest vs. Many are found, to containe the length of sixe great strides of a man, and larger then three foote vpon the backe; beside others of lesser quantity. It is an horrible and fearefull sight, to beholde this monstrous Creature; for the passage of his throate is so wide, that the head of a man may easily enter it. Hee hath Teeth, great, sharpe, and cleare, both aboue and beneath in his Iawes; and hee is onely saide (amongst all other Beastes, as yet euer hearde of) to moouе the vpper-chap or Iaw.

The fight of a Crocodile very dreadfull.

An errour in *Aristotle*.

Aristotle sayth, that he hath no tongue: but I my selfe haue seene both great and little Crocodiles, dead, and dried, in all which I found seuerally a tongue, but very short, flat, and large. There are no scales vpon his skinne, but it is like to the barke of a Tree, rising as embossed in many places; and it is so hard, that the point of a Pike, or Iron head of an Arrowe, cannot enter it; nay, it is saide, to be Harquebush proofe. He is armed with verie sharpe and crooked Nails, his fore feete beeing very short; and yet runneth with great swiftnesse, when hee flyeth from such as stande not in feare of him.

The Crocodiles skin of Harquebush proofe.

The Crocodile is fearful.

It is not true, which some Authors haue Written, that this Beast keepeth himselfe in the day on the Land, & in the night in the water: For, it is quite contrary, and customarily he commeth forth of the Water, so soone as the Moone beginneth to shine, as is continuallie noted by them that dwell in those partes, as in Egypt, which is the neareſt place of their being to vs.

Of the Crocodiles keeping in the water.

Plinie, and *Munster*, the Germaine Cosmographer, following him, doo record another Ieſt, to wit: That there is an Island in *Nilus*, where men do mount on these Beasts, and ride them in like maner as on Horsse-backe. For, when the Beast openeth his mouth to bite, the man clappes a Clubbe of Woodde in it thwart-wise, and holdeth fast by eyther end of the saide Club, and so doth guide this furious Beast, whether himselfe pleaseth, euen as they ride a Horse for seruice in *Spaine*, with a Bridle: by which means, he is compelled to cast vppe such bodies as hee hath deuoured, to giue them better buriall: woulde any man wish for a more notable fable?

The error of *Plinie* & *Munster*.

I cannot bee otherwise perswaded, but that if an hundered men stoode in a ranke, and were well armed in the Riuer of *Nile* vp to the belly, or in anie other Riuer elsе-where, and did beholde but two such Crocodiles comming towards them, as I haue seene deade and dried; they woulde verie gladly betake themselues to flight, so exceeding hiddeous and dreadfull, are they to be seene in the Water.

The Authors opinion of the Crocodile.

It is certaine, that there is an Island, not farre off from *Meroe*, called (at this day) *Cleomeny* in *Ethyopia*, whereby *Nilus* passeth; and the people of this Isle, doo oppose themselues against the Crocodiles, with such wonderous boldnesse and courage, as they dare not (by anie meanes) tarrie their comming: but senting them by the smell (for this Beast hath that sense as subtle as a Dog) they flye speedily thereon, and will no longer abide.

People of whom Crocodiles stand in feare.

Aristotle sayeth, that this Beast may be made tame, like vnto anie other beast of prey, for the benefite of eating his flesh: but I take this to bee meant of such as are young. As it happened in a part of Egypt, where Sacrifices were offered neere vnto *Nile*, & whereinto the Priests vsed to cast manie Bones, and other peeces of Flesh (which serued for no vse at all in their Sacrifices) and the Crocodiles woulde come to feede on them, not fearing anie men, and so became tame.

Crocodiles made tame.

Strabo sayeth, that in the Cittie of *Arsinoe*, which is the Cittie of Crocodiles,

The Egyptians verie superstitious, taking Crocodiles to be Gods.

on *Nile*: there were some tame, and hallowed; to whome the Pilgrimes (which came in deuotion thither) would bring flesh, Bread, and Wine. One Priest, must open the Crocodiles mouth, and another put the foode into it; which being done, they afterward threw them into a Lake, which *Nile* had made neere to the Temple. The *Egyptians* (by perswasion of their Priests) beleeued these beastes to be Goddes, and diuers times suffered their Children to bee deuoured of them; not a little reioycing, that they did serue for food to their Gods.

A braue inuention of a Soldier, wher by to get mone of the Egypuans.

Vpon a time, *Demetrius* the *Macedonian*, returning from pursuite of the *Persians*, his Armie being much disabled and destitute of meanes and money, passing thorough *Egypt*, after he had a while refreshed his men; he bethought himselfe, that seeing he had no money, hee would procure some from the *Egyptians* by a sleight. For, he well knowing, howe superstitious they had continued till then, in honouring those monstrous Crocodiles; he began to reproue them for it, assuring them, that they did great wrong to *Iupiter* and his Court, in honouring such horrid things. Wherfore, he had made a Vow to *Iupiter*, to reuenge this high iniury doone vnto him; and commanded his Souldiors to war vpon those Crocodile Gods.

Heereuppon, the fond and fooliſh *Egyptians*, made a generall and humble requeſt to him, not to offer any wrong to their Goddes; and they would giue him Garments and Money, wherewith to prouide his whole Armie. Whereto, he condiſcended, & limited them a time for paiment of the Money. In the mean while his Army was well refreſhed; and the promiſe being performed, he departed from them on his iourney. That they may be made tame, being young taken, is very credible; conſidring, that Serpents and Lizards are daily tamed, as may bee ſeene in many places.

Proofe for taming Crocodiles.

The Crocodile is ſubtile and craftie in compaſsing his prey; for he ruſheth on a man at vnawares, if he walk about *Nilus*, or any other place where hee ſwimmeth or haunteth. Some haue ouerthrowne Boats with their tailes (wherin they haue incredible ſtrength) and ſo catching at men thus ouer turned in the Water, do there deuoure them. This they doo in the day time, & at night they com forth of the water, frequenting ſtill thoſe paſſages, wher they know any beaſts to feed, be they wilde or domeſticke; or men trauailing thorow the Countrey, ſeazing on their feet with his teeth, and not with his clawes, becauſe his ſtrength in them will ſcarſely hold any thing. Thus hath Nature prouided for the life of this Beaſt, permitting him to moue his vpper Iawe, and not the neather, as no beaſt els doth the like: not any Fiſh or Beaſt can eſcape him, if either his pawes or teeth doe take hold on him.

The craft and ſubtilty of the Crocodile for his prey.

The Crocodile mooueth his vpper iaw as no Beaſt els doth.

There is not any Beaſt that I haue read of, which becommeth ſo great, of ſo ſmal a beginning, as the Crocodile: and al his actions are performed by the number of ſixtie, for he hath ſixtie teeth, and ſixtie turning ioynts. At one time in the year, he continueth threeſcore dayes without feeding, and liueth no longer then ſixtie yeares. The Female Crocodile layeth threeſcore Egges, in threeſcore dayes; and hatcheth them in other threeſcore dayes; by which time, they are hatched either on the banks of *Nile*, or any other Riuers where they reſort, and her Egges are not greater then a Gooſe Egge. The *Egyptians* do affirme to this day, that a little before *Selim* (firſt of that name) beſieged the great Cittie of *Cayre*, and tooke *Egypt*; for the ſpace of eight daies together, a great number of theſe Crocodiles were ſeene, in all parts on the Bankes of *Nile*, and ſo thickely diſperſed abroad in the fields, that whatſoeuer preyes they lighted on, they rent and tore with their long ſharp teeth, as a preſage of the miſchiefe which befell to *Egypt*.

The number of ſixtie remarkeable in the Crocodile

The Egyptians preſage of the Crocodile

Ælianus, and ſome other Authors do write, that the Crocodile filleth his Belly with the water of *Nile*; & hauing kept it ſo for ſome time, he caſteth it vp again on ſome broad High way, and then goeth to hide himſelfe not far off, breathing foorth a lamentable voice or noiſe, as if it were the murthering of ſome man. But if any one (mooued with pittie and compaſsion) come to ſee and lend ſuccour, paſsing ouer that lubricke and ſlippery place where he vomitted the water, he falleth downe; and the ſubtle beaſt iſſuing forth of his ambuſhment, eaſily deuoureth him thus falne vpon the ground. How far this is eſtranged from any truth, is quickly diſcerned, becauſe the Crocodile

Elianus, and other Authors concerning the Crocodils

dile hath no voyce at all. As also they write, that a man, beeing but toucht with a Feather of *Ibis*, a Bird belonging perticularly to Egypt; he remaineth immoueable, which euen is as false as the other. Thus hauing refuted these Fables, spread abroad of this monstrous Beast: I will end this Chapter, least the length thereof should proue offensiue to the Reader; to write another, concerning mens endeuour, to rid the World of Crocodiles; as also to discourse of another Creature, vtter enemy to the Crocodile, and of his properties.

Aelianus and those Authors refuted.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of some meanes obserued by Men, both to take and kill Crocodiles. And of Ichneumon, or the Rat of India, called Pharaohs Rat, deadly enemy to the Crocodile; And of his properties.

GOD, our Almighty Creator and Preseruer, by his great and wonted prouidence fore-seeing, that this monstrous Beast laboured to vnfurnish the Riuers of Fishes, and the Land of Men and Cattle: gaue him an Enemy, to the end, that his multitude shall not so super-abound (beside the industry of men) but that great store of them might be destroied. For the *Ægiptians* goe in the day time, (well armed and defenced) along the bancks of *Nile*, and seeke for the Egges of the Female; which they breake in peeces. They take also many of the young ones; especially Females, which then are not aboue the length of two foote, or sometimes lesse; and flaying off their skins, doe eate them, because they are very delicate meate. As for the greater Crocodiles, which are of more terrour; they can take them also without much labour, after any invndation, or when the *Arabes* and *Ægiptians* perceiue the Water of *Nile* to decrease, as after an ouer-flow, and remaineth troubled, by reason of immundicities, and washing the Land, couered with vncleanesse. They then cast forth a long Cord, at the end whereof is fastned a hooke of Iron, large and strong, weighing about three poundes weight, and baited with a peece of Cammels flesh, or of any other Beast. When the Monster beholdeth the prey, immediatly he leapeth at it, and swalloweth it, and the Morsell (with the Hook) sticking fast in his throat: it would moue much delight, to see what mountings he makes aboue Water. When the Beast is then taken, these barbarous people (by little and little) doe draw him to the Riuers side, and fastning the Cord about a Palme, or some other Tree; they hang him vp in the Ayre, as fearing least hee should yet deuour them. Then with a Wooden Leauer they giue him many blowes on the belly, because it is the most soft and tender place about the Beast. Which being done, they flay off his skinne, and make sale of his flesh: for it is excellent meat, and I my selfe haue eaten of it salted. As for the skinne, great sale of them is made to the Christian *Maronites*, *Greekes*, and *Iewes*, that dwell in *Ægipt*: And beeing wrought or curried, they re-sell them to the Christian-*Latines*, that come thither for them, and bring them among vs.

An enemy giuen by God to the Crocodile.

Crocodiles very good meat to eate.

The *Egyptians* cunning to take great Crocodiles.

Sale made of the flesh and skins of Crocodiles.

As for the Beast before named, which God hath sent as an enemy to the Crocodile, and is no longer then a Cat, and as low, tearmed by our Elders *Ichneumon*: now a-daies, that name is forgotten in *Ægypt*, and it is called *Pharaohs* Rat, feeding on Serpents and Rats, killing all Dogges and Cats that it can attaine vnto. The *Ægyptians* (by nourishing) haue made some of them tame, and it is one of the strongest and boldest beasts that is to be found, and sufficiently prouided of vnderstanding. When this Beast is in the fields, he ceaseth not to sente, runne, and seeke about, where he can find the Crocodiles Egges, to eate them. After his long quest, and finding them, hee eateth his fill of them, and breaketh all the rest in small pieces, that not any Crocodile may be hatched of them.

The description of *Pharaohs* Rat and how he seeketh for the Crocodiles Egges.

Sometimes hee lyes in waite, and watcheth so long, til he can espy a Crocodile lying along in the Sunne, with his belly vpward: for he obserueth his behauiour, as an vsuall custome, onely while

How *Pharaohs* rat surprizeth the Crocodile

while he sleepeth on the bankes of *Nile*, with his mouth wide open; to the end, that the Bird *Trochilus* (which is a very little Bird, and almost like to that which we call a Wren) may cleanse his teeth from the flesh sticking in them, or the knotted blood lying about thē. Which the *Trochilus* pecketh forth with his bill, hauing no other sustenance while hee liueth, and in this manner the Crocodile often sleepeth. This *Ichneumon* perceiuing, he steppeth vp on his belly, and byting and piercing it in three or 4. places; he enters in at those wounds, and so killeth him. This Beast hath such subtiltie in his doing it, and hideth himselfe so cunningly; that (albeit the Bird *Trochilus* hath a continuall watchfull eye, to giue warning to the Crocodile, least he should be hurt in his sleep, and therefore pecketh at the lids of his eyes to wake him:) yet notwithstanding this great care and loue, he is thus slaine before he can awake, and many of them are found dead in this manner vpon the shoares.

Ichneumon killeth the Crocodile cunningly.

The kind loue of the Bird *Trochilus* to the crocodile.

Herodotus writeth, that this Rat of *Pharaoh*, enters in at the throat into the Crocodiles body, at such time as hee sleepeth, as hath formerly beene saide; where byting his entrailes, and tearing the skinne of his belly, hee commeth foorth thereat. But these are meere dreames, for I haue conferred with credible persons, that haue remained a long while in Ægypt; and they condemne this to be vtterly false. Yet it is supposed by some, that because this little beast byteth the other by the belly, and will not let go his hold, vntill hee be dead: that he enters in at the mouth, and issueth forth at the place of his byting, as being the tenderest part of all his body; neuertheless, the better iudgements doe hold this for a Fable.

The false imagination of *Herodotus*.

Pliny, *Appian*, and *Pausanias* write, that the Dolphine hath certaine little wings or Finnes on his backe, as keene cutting as any Razor; where-with hee cutteth the Crocodiles belly in swimming, being soft and tender, and so killeth him. But these Allegations are fabulous likewise; for the Winges or Finnes on the Dolphines backe, are no way offensiue, because I can assure ye, that I haue both seene and felt them. Beside, there are no Dolphines, or euer could any bee seene, where the Crocodile haunteth. And although this Beast be so cruell and horrible, not onely towards other earthly and watery Creatures, but also to man: yet notwithstanding, in diuers and sundry parts of his body, are found many good remedies for especiall diseases. For beside that his flesh is verie nutritiue, and engendreth good blood: they that ordinarily vse it, shall neuer be tormented with the Gout, or Sciatica in the Hippes; and if they haue them before they vse it, yet it forthwith helpeth them. His Gaule put into the eyes, without all doubt, taketh away any Webbe or Cataract growing in them. His Grease or Fat is an especiall and singuler remedy, against all Ioynt-Agues, or other paines in the ioynts. The teeth of his right Iaw, bound about the Arme, dooth greatly prouoke the Act of Venerie; which the *Ægyptians* (to this day) make vse of, because they are much addicted thereto, and therefore do sell them at a deare rate. When any member of the body, is (for some defect) to be cut off; if it be annointed with the Ashes of his skinne in vineger, it so deadeth the sense, that the Pacient shall not feele any paine. His Blood also greatly sharpneth the sight, and therefore the people of that Country, vnderstanding when any Crocodile is taken; doe speedily hast thither (I mean such as are bad sighted) to haue of it when he is newly kild, which they buy at a certaine appointed price, and bathing their eyes there with, doe finde marueilous ease. The Hart of the Crodile, wrapped in blacke Wooll pluckt from a blacke Sheepe, that was the first of his Dammes eaning, cureth all Quartane Feauers. *Iuell*, a most famous Iew-Phisition, hath left written al these recited properties of the Crocodile; his dwelling was at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the World beareth record of him, that he was a Man very deepely experienced in Phisicke, and performed many singuler cures.

Many parts of the crocodile very soueraigne for diuers diseases.

For the Gout and Sciatica.

For sore eies.

For Ioynt-Agues.

For Venery.

For dissection of some member.

For the eye-sight.

For the Feuer Quartane.

A meere fixion of the *Dolphines* killing the crocodile.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of strange accidents, which happened to a Prisoner, and by what meanes he was set at liberty.

MAtters of admiration shold not be ouer-lightly reported, nor haue I set downe any, which hath not beene certified by some faithfull Authour: as this now whereof I am to speake, recorded by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, a man well skilled in the Sciences (as I haue formerly approued) who writeth this History for a certainety. He saith, that a in well knowne place of *Italy* (which he spareth to name, a Gouernour ruled (whose name also he silenceth) that was a cruell Tyrant, and of fierce Nature. It fortuned, that one of his people, had (by mischance) slaine a Grey-hound, which he highly esteemed, for which vnwilling offence, the Tyrant was so enraged against him; as he committed him to a strong and vnsauoury Prison, lockt vp vnder many keies, and in very sure and safe custody. Some few daies after, he that had charge from the Gouernour, to bring him his appointed allowance of sustenance, as daily he vsed to do; found all the doors fast and firme, as before he had left thē: but looking in the place where the Prisoner vsed to sit, hee found him not there, yet all the Chaines and Bolts where-with he was charged, were whole, sound, and not broken. This act being reputed a Miracle, was reported to the Gouernour of the Cittie, who commanded al possible dilligence, with priuy searches from house to house, and yet no tydings could bee heard of him. And the case was accounted so much the more strange, because his Irons were neyther filed nor broken: but remained intire in the Prison, euen as if the Prisoner had still worne them, the Prison and doores also not a iot impaired.

Alexander of *Alexandria* Authour of this discourse

A Prisoner strangely freed out of Prison.

The Prisoner found againe in the prison.

Three daies after, the doores remaining fast closed, euen as when the Prisoner was there, and the Keepers little thinking thereon: they heard one cry in the same place, where the Prisoner was wont to be kept, and running in all hast thither, to see who it was that cryed, they found it to bee the Prisoner, who called for foode, and was as fast in his Irons as he had beene before; his face appearing very dreadfull, discoloured and wrinkled, his eyes sunke into his head, staring and wandring, and wholly resembling rather a dead Man, then one aliue. The Iaylers being not a little amazed heereat, demaunded where he had been; but he would make them no answere, except he might immediatly be brought before the Gouernour: for he had much matter to say to him, and which concerned him very importantly. When the Gouernour was acquainted there-with, hee caused him to bee brought before him, in the presence of many others, before whom he would deliuer his charge. And recounting many wonderfull things, told thē, that being in the obscure Prison, he fell into such despaire, that he called to the Deuill to helpe him, onely to deliuer him thence out of his misery. The Deuill came to him, in an euill fauoured and dreadfull shape, with whom hee made a complot, to be deliuered out of Prison: and no sooner had hee condiscended thereto, but he found himselfe presently to be in the Ayre, not knowing how, or by what meanes hee came thither. Suddenly he descended thence, thorough certaine horrible, tempestuous, obscure and tenebrous places, where he saw millions of millions of people, that suffred grieuous torments, both by fire, and otherwise, beeing tormented by an infinite number of Deuils. There did he see all sorts of people, both Kings, Popes, Dukes, Prelats, and many Men which hee perfectly knew. Hee gaue the Tyrant also particularly to vnderstand, that in those frightfull Low-Countries, he saw a great Friend and companion of his, who demaunded tidings of him, concerning his life and manners, and whether he continued as cruell yet, as he was wont to bee. To whom the Prisoner said, he made answere, that the Gouernour had not left his old behauiour, but rather fell from bad to worse. Whereon this friend

The speeches of the Prisoner to the gouernour.

The fearefull visions which the Prisoner beheld.

The prisoners words concerning the Gouernor.

friend requested the Prisoner, that when he should see the Gouernour next: hee would admonish him, to amend his life, not oppressing and vexing his subiects any more, with tributes and taxations, because (quoth this friend) I know full well that his place is already prepared in Hell, where he must be very grieuously tormented, except he do quickly conuert to amendment. And because he may the better credit my words, tell him from mee, that by vertue of this watch-word, which oftentime (in war) passed between him and me (and which Watch-word hee deliuered to the Prisoner) I wish him to beleeue thee, and not to procrastinate his amendment.

A priuate watch-word sent to the Gouernor.

All these thinges beeing heard, the Gouernour fell into a suddaine terrour and astonishment: for he was well assured, that none but God, his Friend, and himselfe onely, did know that Watch-word. Then demaunded he of the Prisoner, in what forme and habite hee found the Gentleman in that place? The Prisoner made answer, that he was in the same Garments, which he vsed to weare in this World, of Crimosine Sattin, and albeit his habite appeared to be such; yet was it laced and guarded with a terrible burning fire, and as I thought (quoth he) to touch it with my hand, to try whether it were fire or no: it burned my hand, as heere ye may behold. He spake of many other very fearfull thinges; to the great amazement and terrour of the Gouernour; who gaue the Prisoner present libertie, and sent him home to his house, where his Wife hardly knew him, or his Kinred eyther, by reason he looked so pale and meager. He liued some short while after, much troubled in his sences, weak, bare and poore, spending the remainder of his daies, in care for his Soules saluation, and true contrition for his sinnes. But what good this admonition wrought on the Gouernor; *Alexander* declareth not: but onely affirmeth the Historie to be true.

The Gentlemans apparell.

The Prisoner set at liberty by the Gouernour.

(*.*)

CHAP. XXXIIII.

That the Blood of a Bull, is death to such as drinke thereof; And who it was, that first tamed the Bull.

SEeing that the Bull is such a Domestick Creature, as his Flesh is fed on, and the Beeues engendred by him, doe sustaine and nourish more then any other meates: me-thinkes it is quite contrary to nature, that his blood, separated from the flesh, and drunke when it is hot, should haue the power to procure a mans death. To approoue this true, *Dioscorides* and *Pliny* doe both say; that the fresh blood of a Bull is venomous, and killeth him that drinketh it. *Plutarch* writing of *Mydas* (euen hee of whom so many Historie and Fables doe make mention) saith; that beeing sicke of some fearefull imaginations, and waxing daily worse and worse, without finding any amendment: he determined to drink the blood of a chased Bull, wherof he dyed. It is written, that *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, a worthy Captaine, who defended *Greece* frō the inuasions of *Xerxes*; being banished from his Countrey, went to the Court of King *Artaxerxes*, to whom (in anger and indignation conceiued against his Countrey) hee made promise, to enstruct him in the meanes of conquering all *Greece*. But when he was summoned by the King to keep his word: he chose rather to die, and in feigning a Sacrifice to the Goddesse *Dyana*; hee dranke the blood of a Bull, wherof he dyed instantlie, as is credibly affirmed by *Plutarch*.

Dioscor. in lib. 6 Plin. in lib. 28. Plutar in lib. de Superstit.

Plutar. in vit. de Themist.

The naturall reason which can be giuen, why the hot Blood of a Bull causeth the death of him that drinkes it; is deliuered by *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and *Dioscorides*, who say: That death ensueth thereby, because the blood of a Bull doth curdle, coagulate, and waxe hard immediatly; yea, much more sooner then the blood of any other Beast. So that attaining to some quantitie in the stomacke, it there congealeth, and procureth

Arist. in lib. de Animal. Plin. in lib. 11. Dioscor. in lib. 6

cureth swoundings and suffocations, stopping the passages aspiratiue and sensitiue, by reason whereof sudden death ensueth. *Pliny* further saith, that Colewortes sodden in the blood of a Bull; doe preuent all opilations or obstructions. Thus we may perceiue, that the blood of a Bull, is venomous of it selfe: but beeing in composition with some other thing, it is very medicinable.

Plin. in lib. 22.

Man, to whom God hath subiected all thinges, deriueth great benefit and seruice from the Bull, and Cattle of his kinde: which is the cause, that *Collumella* preferreth him before al other beasts. Beside, in former times it was great offence to kill a Bull; and *Pliny* reporteth, that a man was banished, because hee had kild one. The first Man that tooke in hand to tame a Bull, and make him doe seruice in the yoake; according to *Diodorus*, was named *Denis*, or *Dionisius*, the Sonne of *Iupiter* and *Proserpina*: but according to *Pliny*, in his seuenth book, hee was named *Briges*, and a Natiue of *Athens*. Others doe maintaine, that it was *Triptolemus*, of whom it appeareth that *Virgile* spake, saying: *The Infant Maister and inuenter of the curbed flesh.* *Seruius* saith, that this to be vnderstood of *Triptolemus*, or of *Osirus*. I am of opinion, that *Virgile* couered the name of the inuenter of a labour so good and profitable: because (to speake vprightly) it could not be the inuention of one man onely; but contrariwise, the spirit of humaine necessity found it out, so that some men inuented one part thereof, and others the rest.

Columella in his *Agriculture*

Plin. in lib. 22.

The first man that tamed the Bull.

Diodor. Sic. in lib. 4, &c.

Plin in lib. 7.

Vir. in Georgi.

The first Inuenter of husbandry.

In like manner, *Trogus Pompeius* saith, that *Auidis*, King of *Spaine*, was the first that tamed Bulles, and brought them to labour: but whosoeuer was the inuenter and actor, it was done very wel & profitably, for the life of Man. This Beast feedeth on the Grasse, contrary to all other, for hee continually draweth his food backward as he feedeth, and the other forward. *Aristotle* speaketh of certaine Bulles in *Phrigia*, whose Hornes doe not containe any strength of bone, neither grow but in the skinne onely, and are as easily moued by them, as they doe their eares; *Ælianus* maintaineth as much. The first that ranne with Buls in *Rome*, and kild them; was *Iulius Cæsar*, whereof *Pliny* giueth testimony. This Beast hath another naturall qualitie: for he knoweth and Prognosticateth when it will raine, by smelling and bellowing vp in the Ayre, and hyding himselfe more couertly then is accustomed.

Auidis King of *Spaine.*

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Animal.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

The Bull a wizzard for weather.

CHAP. XXXV.

Who was the first that established Religion in Rome, and ordained chiefe Byshoppes, Priests, and Vestall Virgines. In what manner they were put to death, when they were taken in Adulterie. Also, of their Vestiments, Vessels, and other Instruments, made for vse of the Sacrifices.

IN a former Chapter of old *Rome*, part of this Argument hath beene alreadie handled, according to the description of *M. Francesco Sansouino*; what now further is to be said in this case, proceedeth from *Anthony du Verdier*, the Lord of *Vauprivaz*, not disallowing or finding fault with any thing before alledged: but rather as a supplement of some things wanting, and found more at large recorded in other Authours. For all Histories are filled with the reuerence, which the ancient *Romaines* gaue to their prophane Gods, to whom they erected very sumptuous Temples, with institution of chiefe Byshops, and diuers Sacrifices. *Numa Pompilius*, second King of the *Romaines*, was the first that established Religion in *Rome*; with adoration of the Gods, and ordained many and sundrie Ceremonies for the honour of them. Himselfe would needs be the first high Byshop, which dignity was afterward referred to foure other persons; then to eyght, and at last to fifteene, which number was called the Colledge of Byshops. Ouer whom, as in place of greatest eminence, was appointed one of more notable race and authoritie then the rest, who was styled the great and chiefe Byshop, to whom all the other, and the King himselfe in the sacrifices,

The reason for this chapters addition.

Read *Titus Liuius* in his first Booke, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Numa Pompilius.*

A chiefe Byshop appointed ouer the rest in *Rome*, and what his Office was.

fices, the *Augures*, *Flamines*, and *Vestall* Virgines, gaue obedience. He had super-intendencie ouer the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and his Office was, to make new sollemne Prayers; to declare the daies of Feastes, and to what God ech day was dedicated: to keep registred in writing, the Annals or Histories of all notable thinges, which happened yearely; to iudge of matters concerning Religion; to punish the *Vestall* Virgines for any notorious delict; to repaire the Bridge, cald *Sublicius*, when it was broken, which Bridge was made of Wood, without any Iron or other Mettall, and accounted sacred; and this last charge gaue way to the name of *Pontifex*, as composed of these two Latine words, *Pons & Facio*.

Forty yeares after the building of *Rome*, *Numa Pompilius* erected a Temple to the Godd. sse *Vesta*, forming it round, & men were forbidden entrance thereinto: onely, choise was made of a number of Virgines, for seruice of the Goddesse *Vesta*. This word *Vesta* came from the *Greekes*, and was taken for fire, as *Ouid* saith in his sixt Booke *ad Fast.* and because the fire was called Virgin, these Virgines were appointed to the seruice of *Vesta*. And in regard also, that Fire engendreth nothing of it selse: but no Image or Statue of her was placed in the Temple; because our Ancients tooke *Vesta* to be nothing else, but a Spirit and Diuine Fire, which could not be seene, but onely was to be conceiued in the vnderstanding. In this Temple was kept a perpetuall Fire, as they did the like at *Athens*, in the * *Prytaneum*. And if thorow want of care, or negligence in any of the Virgines, the fire happened to be extinct; the cheefe Bishop caused the Virgine to be whipped with Rods: as did *P. Licinius Crassus*, being chiefe Byshop, according as *Valerius Maximus* writeth. And the fire being quenched, it was accounted prodigious, causing feare and terrour in the whole Senate and people of *Rome*: so that before they durst attempt any matter of consequence, they must needes expiate and appease their Goddesse, and to re-kindle the fire, it was done in this manner. The *Vestall* Nunne or Sister, tooke a Vessel of Copper, hauing three corners, and clearely shining, which she did set directly against the Sun beames, vntill the reuerberation of his mightie heat, should kindle the dry matter which was in the Vessell: and this beeing done, then she must carry the sacred fire, to the verie inner-most place of the Temple, and in this manner they vsed to kindle the Fire againe (beeing quenched) each yeare on the first day of March, in which Moneth they alwaies began the yeare among the *Romanes*.

Some are of opinion, that these sacred matters of *Vesta*, was transported from *Troy* into the Land of the *Latines*, and from thence to *Rome* by *Romulus*. For which reason, some Authors docal *Vesta Iliaca*: but yet *Numa Pompilius* builded the Temple, in her honor, as I haue already saide. It was appointed, that these Virgines must be the Daughters of Free-men, not Slaues, Seruants, or of vile condition, perfect in all members of their bodies, and without any defect, light braind, or giddy headed. They were receiued into this Religion, from the age of sixe yeares, to ten, and aboue (as *Labeo Antistius* and *Aulus Gellius* writeth) and after that they were become *Vestalles*; they must continue thirty yeares in virginity. In the ten latter yeares, they instructed young Sister-Nouices in the Sacrifices and Ceremonies. Neuertheless, after they had remained thirty years in the Temple: it was lawfull for them to depart thence, and marrie. But because it was perceiued, that much misfortune ensued to such as married: the most part of them remained in the Religion, to the ending of their daies. They were maintained by the publique Treasurie, and were chosen by the chiefe Byshop, onelie for their modesty, vertue, and exemption from any imperfection of body: by which chiefe Bishoppe they were admitted into the Religion, although it were without consent of their Fathers, if they themselues onelie consented: except they were the daughters of a high Byshop, of an *Augure*, of a *Flamine*, *Dialis*, or *Quindecimuir*; or a sounder on the Flutes to the Sacrifices; or one of the seauen *Epulones*, who were exempted, if they made refusall. As also no Maid could be compelled, whose Father had not three children, or more, or

10 20 30 40 50

This Temple is at this day to be seene in *Rome*, neere vnto that of *Ianus* heard by *Tiber*.

Ouid in lib. 6. ad Fast. Dion. Halicar. in Lib. 2. Diodor. in Antiquit.

*The councel house at Athens.

Valerius Maximus. Strabo in Geograph.

How the Virgines re-kindled the *Vestall* fire when it was quenched.

The opinion of some Authors concerning *Troy*.

Labeo Antistius. Aulus Gellius. lib. 1. cap. 1

When the *Vestals* might marry.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

or ſhe whoſe Siſter had formerlie been a *Veſtall*. Theſe *Veſtals* could not ſucceed or inherit any goods, of him that dyed inteſtate, or had not made his Teſtament. In like maner, if they themſelues deceaſed inteſtate, no man might plead to be their heire, but their goods went to publike vſe.

Amata the firſt Veſtal virgin.

The firſt Virgine that was admitted into this Myſtery, was named *Amata*; which gaue occaſion, that all the reſt ſucceeding after her in that profeſſion, were ſo called. For *Aulus Gellius* ſaith, when the chiefe Byſhoppe receiued the Veſtall Virgine from her Fathers hand: he would call her *Amata*, becauſe the firſt Veſtall Nunne had that name. She that was chiefe and principall among them, was tearmed *Great Miſtreſſe*, and theſe Virgines were in great honour and reputation among the *Romaines*.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

The wordes which the Biſhop vſed, at the entertainement of any Veſtall, are written in the firſt Booke of *Fabius Pictor*. To approoue this, *Albinus*, a *Plebeian* (as *Titus Liuius* recordeth) meeting ſome of theſe Virgines, which had walked foorth of *Rome* on foote: deſcended both himſelfe, his Wife, and Children from his Coach, to mount the Veſtall Virgines therein, becauſe they kept the perpetuall Fire in the Temple, the *Palladium*, and other holie thinges. The *Palladium*, was the Image of *Minerua*, which *Æneas* ſaued at the ſacke of *Troy*, carrying it to *Ilion*, the chiefeſt Fortreſſe in *Troy*: from whence hee brought it, with the great Goddes *Penates*, into *Italie*, and after the deſtruction of *Alba* the long, King *Hoſtillius* placed it in the Temple of *Veſta*.

Titus Liuius, in lib. 10.

Of the *Palladium* Read *Dionyſius, Halicarnaſſeus, Plutarch*, and *Ouid.*

When any of theſe Veſtalles behaued themſelues vnchaſtlie, or were taken in inceſtuous Whoredome, as were *Porphiria*, *Minutia*, *Sextilia*, *Æmilia*, with their other Companions, and many more: they were put to death in this manner. Firſt ſhe was degraded, by taking off her Robes, and veile on hir head, and then laid on a Beere, whereto ſhe was faſt bound, with her face couered, and ſo carried (with wonderfull ſilence) through the midſt of the Cittie, (which all the whole day was full of mourning) to the Port or Gate, called

The order obſerued by the *Romanes*, in puniſhing the Veſtalles, when they committed whoredome.

* *Salaria*, neere to which Gate was a place, called, *The wicked Fielde*, where (expreſly) a Sepulcher was made, vaulted in manner of a Caue vnder ground, hauing a little doore, and two little Windowes belonging to it: in the one of them ſtood a burning Lampe, and in the other, Water, Milke, and Hony. Being come to this place, the chiefe Biſhop ſaid ſome Prayers, with his hands heaued vp to Heauen, and afterward, they went in with the Beere at the little doore; while the people (then preſent) turned their faces a contrary way, not willing to behold ſo wofull a ſpectacle, whereof euery one had much compaſſion. So leauing the offender there entombed aliue, they returned with the empty Beere, and a great ſtone beeing rouled againſt the Graue doore, the people couered it ouer with earth, ſpending the reſt of the day in griefe and mourning.

* From the *Sabines* to *Rome*.

Seruius ſup. lib. 2. de Aeneis.

Veſtal virgins buried aliue for whoredome.

The Temple of *Veſta* (by chance) afterward fell on fire, and *L. Cecilius Metellus* being chiefe Biſhoppe, twice Conſull, Dictatour, and Maiſter of the Horſe, entred into it, and brought forth the *Palladium*, after it was halfe burned, with the loſſe of his owne eyes. *Numa Pompilius* created alſo three Prieſts, called *Flamines*: one in the honour of *Iupiter*; the ſecond, of *Mars*; & the third, of *Romulus Quirinus*, wearing verie ſignal Robes, made much like to the Coapes, which Prieſts vſe to wear in Churches; and round white Cappes vpon their heads, wherein ſtucke a branch of Oliſe, with a flock of wooll on the top thereof, and the Cappe muſt neceſſarilie be made of the Wooll of a Sheep, which was offered vnto *Iupiter*; and called *Alba-Galera*. Hee inſtituted alſo twelue other *Sacerdotes* or Prieſtes, called *Salij*, in honour of *Mars* the Conquerour, Propugnatour, Reuenger, and pacifier of all ſtrifes. They were clothed with certaine ſleeueleſſe Iackets, or painted Robes, and wore on their Breaſts, Targets of Copper, enriched with Gold, Siluer, and precious ſtones. Religion ſo encreaſed among the *Romaines* afterward, and adoration of their Gods, that they exceeded thirty thouſand in the number of them.

Feneſtel. cap. 3.

The *Flamines*.

Prieſts called *Salij*. Prieſts of *Mars*.

Pompilius did further augment the num-

Pater-Patratus Fecialis. Epulones. Augures.

ber of Priests; to wit, the *Pater-Patratus*; the *Fecialis*; the *Epulones*, or Banqueters, and the *Augures*; who had such authoritie, as the Senate could not bee assembled without their permission. And they were clothed with diuers vestiments, except when they performed the sacrifices: for then they all wore a like habite, which was a * Gowne or Albe of Linnen, large and long, which they girded to them with a Girdle, and this manner of Garment was called *Cinctus Gabinus*.

* The *Latines* named it *Alba Vestis*.

Moreouer, they had many Instruments and Vessels made for vse in the Sacrifices, to wit; The *Præfericulum*, which was a Vessell of Brasse or Copper, without any handle, and broad as a Bason. The *Patina*, or *Patera*, was another Vessell, wherin the victimary emptied the blood of the Beast. The *Achama* was another little Vessell, in fashion of a Cup, and therein they tasted the wine of the Sacrifices. The *Infula*, was a veile of Linnen, which the Priestes and Sacrificers did weare on their heads. The *Acerrea*, or *Acerra*, was a little Chest or Coffer, wherein the Incense was kept. That which had the name of *Enclabris*, was the Table where the sacred things remained: whereby the Vessels seruing for Sacrifice, were called *Enclabria*. Thereon they laide the Sacrifice wide open, curiously to peruse his inward parts (to wit; the Hart, Lungs, and Liuer) with a Knife of Steele somewhat long, hauing a round Haft, made of Iuory, and obseruing the inward partes very diligently, to deriue from thence some diuination, as the *Gretians* also obserued, according to the affirmation of *Pausanias*. The *Secespita*, was the fornamed knife, with a rosid haft of Iuory, and a Pommell garnished with Gold and Siluer, and nayled with Nailes of Copper, and there-with the Sacrificer did cut the beasts throat, the Knife beeing so named, *à secando*. *Struppi*, were certaine bundles of Hearbes, tearmed *Verbenes*; as Laurell, Myrrhe, & Oliffe, accounted (by them) happy in all Sacrifices: which Hearbes they would wreath in Garlands, placing them on their Gods heads, and putting them in their eares. *Aspergillum*, was a braunch of Hisop, which they dipped in water, that stood in a vessell of Marble, named *Labrum*, placed at the entrance of their Temples; as the holy Water-pots now adaies vsed, & where-with they sprinkled all the people present. *Suffibulum*, or *Subsibulum*, was a white Veile, foure square and long, which the *Vestall* Vergines did weare on their heads, when they sacrificed. The ancient *Romaines* had many other Ceremonies, which I omit for breuities sake.

Read *Festus Pompeius. Præfericulum.*

Patina, or *Patera.* *Achama.*

Infula.

Acerrea.

Enclabris.

Enclabria.

Pausanias. Secespita.

Struppi Verbenes.

Aspergillum.

Labrum.

Suffibulum, or *Subsibulum.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Auncient manner of Marriages, as well among the Romains, as diuers other Nations. What course the Romaines obserued in the repudiation of their wiues; And who was the first that diuorced his Wife.

THe very same honest excuse, which we pleaded in the beginning of our precedent chapter, must serue as our best buckler for this ensuing; because many points heerein, haue been before declared, as they were set down by *Loys Guyon*, Lord of *Nauche*. And surely, I cannot hold it any offence to the Reader, to put him twice or thrice in minde of one and the same Argument; when worthy Authours doe enlarge the same, for his more ample satisfaction. List then what *Pedro Mexia* writes of ancient Marriages, and accept my pains, that (willingly) would not displease any man.

The cause why this chapter is inserted.

The ancient *Romaines* obserued a custome, to decke the Woman when she married her Husband, in this manner. First, they gaue her a Key in her hand, when she entred the House of her spouse: to signifie (saith *Sextus Pompeius*) the facility of child-bearing. Or, which beareth a better vnderstanding, to let her know heereby; that the keeping and care of all Houshold matters, contained vnder that Key (as the house, administration and dispensation of all things thereto belonging) were familiarly to her trust referred. Ouer the mans head, they held a Launce, quite pierced through the body with a Fencers Sword:

At a Maides marrying her Husband.

Sextus Pompeius.

Sword: as signifying thereby, a readie punishment for violation of Marriage. *Blondus* saith, that she was girded with a Girdle, wouen of Lambes Wooll, which her Husband taketh from her on the Marriage Bed. Vpon the Veile on her head (which they called *Flammeum*, and she did weare in signe of good lucke, and that she should neuer be diuorced) was placed a garland of *Verueine* and other Hearbes intermingled, and this they crowned her withall, sitting on a Lamb or Sheeps skin: for no other cause (as I conceiue) but to set before her eyes, that she should alwayes haue Wooll neere her, to spinne her owne Garments. *Festus Pompeius* writeth, that when the Bride should goe to bee married, three Children (whose Fathers and Mothers were liuing) did beare her company. One carried a lighted Torch before her, made of the Hearb called *Alba-Spina*, vulgarlie tearmed our Ladies Thistle (for they were married in the night time, as *Plutarch* saith in his Problemes:) and the other two Children went with her, one on the one side, and the other on the other. The Torch was carried lighted before her, in honor of *Ceres*, for as *Ceres* (who is held to be Mother of the Earth, and the Creator of all Fruites) nourisheth all mankind: euen so in like manner, the new marryed Bride, becomming Mother of the Familie; must haue care for nourishing of her Children. The like manner is yet obserued in many places, especially in England, that two Children (like *Paranymphes*) doe conduct the Bride to Church, and receiue (with her) holy Prayers and blessings among the Congregation. From thence, two Men do conduct her home againe, and the third youth (in stead of a flaming Torch) caryeth a Bride Cuppe of Gold or Siluer.

Moreouer, in the time of Marriage, the Romaines vsed oftentimes to name *Thalassius*, as the defender of Virginity. Some hold it to be the Nuptiall Verse or Song, or else the God that gouerneth in marriage, called by the *Greekes* ὑμέναιον. But many speake diuersly, of the reason why they make such acclamations in their Nuptials. *Titus Liuius* and *Plutarch*, in the life of *Romulus*, saith, that among them which made stealth of the Virgins from the *Sabines*; some were found of slender quality, and yet they would be sure to seaze on such as surpasse the rest in wonder of beauty. And meeting some principall men of the Cittie by chance, they would haue taken the Virgines from them forcibly; and they had preuailed therein, had they not cryed out aloude (as they led them) to *Thalasia*, or *Thalassius*, who was a young man, much beloued and esteemed by euerie one. And when the other men heard, that it was for him whom they cryed; they were verie glad and ioyfull, commending them for expressing such affection towardes him: so that as they accompanied them on the way, they would often-times turne backe, onely for the loue of *Thalassius*, with loud repetitiõs of his name. And thereon grew the Custome, that the *Romaines* sung at Weddings, the name of *Thalassius*, euen as the *Greekes* sung *Hymeneus*, as accounting it a happinesse to meet with a Wife.

Notwithstanding, there are others, of whom *Varro* is one, who alleageth, that this name was induced at Marriages to no other end: but to aduertise the new married couple, how they should thinke on labour and trauaile, especially the Woman to spinne. For they tearmed the little Pannier or Basket of Osiers, which held their Wool, *Talassio*, and the *Latines* called it by another name, as *Calathus* and *Quasillus*. *Plutarch*, in his Problemes, maketh this Vocable to descend from the *Greekes*, who tearme Wooll τάλασσον. Moreouer, the new espoused Woman hath three peeces of Money, which they call * *Asses*, one whereof, she holdeth in her hand, and as if shee bought a man, shee giueth it to her Husband. Wherein may be noted the miserable condition of the Feminine Sexe, tyed to this hard Law, to bring great Riches with her, in getting a Husband. Wee giue good Wages to Varlets and Seruants, beside our large expences on their bellies: And Women, how faire soeuer they be, must bring to their husbands (whom wee may tearme their Maisters) a great Dowrie, which sometime exceedeth an hundred fold more, then the expences for their dyet and

Blond. in lib. 8. de Triumph. Rom.

Verueine tearmed holie Hearbe, or *Iunoes* teares.

Alba Spina, Our Ladies Thistle. *Plut. in Proble. Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 18.* Where he speaketh of those torches

Thalassius the nuptiall song.

Fol. 84 *A. Ferd Tit. Liuius in 1 lib. lib. 2rb. cont Plutar. in vit. Romul.*

Thalassius vsed among the *Romaines*, as Hymeneus with the *Greekes*.

Marcus Varro.

Plutar in Prob.

Fol. 86 *A. Ferd*

Budæus saith, that *As* was a piece of Mony of Copper, cõtaining the weight of a pound, & the value of oure dimers or pence among vs, or little more. It was taken also for another thing. See his learned Booke *de Asses*.

maintenance, can amount vnto al their life time. Vpon which occasion, *Euripides* speaketh in his *Medea*, to this effect. *Of all things produced by the Earth, that hath a vegetant and sensible Soule; there is nothing which surmounteth a woman in misery. She must haue great goods, wherewith to buy her a Husband, that must be the Master of her body.*

Euripides in Medea.

If the Maiden be poore, though of neuer so good and vertuous behauiour, small account is made of her, except to purchase her honour at a cheap rate: for shee may tarry a long time before she be maryed, vnlesse it be with one as poore as her selfe. Because Auarice reigneth so commaundingly; that rich Men couet to haue Wiues richer then themselues. Which Saint *Iohn Chrysostome* seemeth to touch, saying. *He that purposeth to marrie a Wife, doth hee enquire of her good manners, or education of the Maide he seeketh after? Truelie no, but rather soundly to informe himselfe, what plentie of Gold and Siluer shee hath, and the bottome of her Inheritances, and valuation of her mooueables. He questioneth very curiously after these thinges, euen as if hee would make a bargaine or exchange.*

Poore vertue is poorely prized in these daies.

S. Ioan. Chrisost. in Homil. 74. sup. Math.

The new married Wife carryeth another peece of the fore-named Mony in hir stocking (*Festus Pompeius* saith, in her shoe) and then layes it on the Chimny-harth, where the *Lares* and familiar Gods doe resort. The third, she putteth in a Purse hanging by her side, opening and shutting it at euery streets corner. This was obserued as an ancient Law among the *Romaines*, and *Boetius Seuerinus*, in his Commentarie on the *Topickes* of *Cicero*, declareth another sollemnity of ciuill Law, vsed by them also, and whereby both the Man and Woman did interchangeably buy and purchase the others affection, which was tearmed *Coemptio*, and performed in this manner. The Man and Woman did interogate together, hee demanding of her; *If she would bee Mother of his Family?* Whereto shee answered, *Yes*, and then further demanded of him: *Will you be Father of the Family?* He replied; *He would*. This done, they ioyned their right handes together, and kissed each the other. * And then the new troth-plighted Husband, gaue a Ring of Gold to his new elected wife, in signe of earnest, and as a testimony of mutuall dilection, or else, that by this gadge, their harts might be conioyned. This Ring, *Tertullian* in his Booke of womens ornaments, tearmeth *Pronubus*: And it was put by her Husband on her fourth finger, meaning the next to her little finger, on her left hand. Because, saith *Isidore*, in regard of the Diuine Offices therein contained, there is in that finger a veine or nerue of blood, extraordinarily tender, which goeth and extendeth directly to the hart. The selfe-same reason is giuen by *Aulus Gellius*, following the opinion of *Appian*, and *Atteius Capito*: wherefore both the ancient *Greeks* and *Romaines*, in wearing the Ring on that finger of the left hand, did account it to be Phisicall. *Pliny* also testifieth, that (in his time) they had a custome, to send a Ring of Iron to the intended Bride, without any stone therein enchased. The *Assirians* took their daughters (which were marriageable) with thē to the Markets, where men bought them, to enioy them in marriage. The *Babylonians* did the like. And the people of *Thrace* (as *Herodotus* writeth in his *Terpsichore*) did by their wiues (as a great price) of their Parents.

Of the other two peeces of Money.

Boetius Seuerinus in Comment sup. Topic. Cicer.

* Read *Tertullian*, in his Booke of veiling virgines. And in his Apologies, Chap. 6.

Pronubus annulus.

Isidor in lib. 2. cap. 15.

Aulus Gellius. Appian. Atteius Capito.

Plin. in lib. 3. Cap. 2.

Elianus in li. 4 Stobeus Ser. 42 Herodot. in Terpsico.

The *Greekes* in elder times, did buy their wiues together; and the same did the *Indians*. *Iphidamas*, the Son of *Antenor* (according as *Homer* writeth in the second Book of his *Iliads*) gaue an hundred Oxen to his Father in Law, vpon condition, that he would giue him his Daughter in marriage. The ancient *Allemaignes*, saith *Petrus Crinitus*, brought dowries with them to their wiues; but their wiues not any to them. We haue Women now adaies, that cause themselues to be well bought, for before their affianced friend can enioy her to his mind, or the first nights nuptials be nere hand; there is more spent in iewels, toyes, habits, and feastes, then halfe a good dowry amounteth vnto. So that, if restitution should take place, by death of the husband; the sum of the dowrie would be augmented aboue the moity, yea, to a third part (as we tearme it) in right of the wiues suruiuing; for so it hath been couenanted in marriage contracts: Thus we see a woman to be wel bought. The people of * *Taxila* in *India*, could

Strabo in li. 15. Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 6.

Homer. in Lib. 2. de Iliad.

Pet. Crinit. in Lib. 12. cap. 3.

* A great City in *India*, betweene the Riuer *Indus* and *Hydaspes*.

could neuer enioy any such happinesse as these men, to receiue Money with such Wiues as they tooke in marriage: but contrariwise, they were glad, and feigne to furnish them. If pouerty be the hindrance of any maid, and no man will accept or giue her entertainement: then, in the floure of her youth, shee is brought into an open Market (as Horses to a common Faire) with sound of Trumpets and Clarions, and the people beeing assembled about the Maide, her backe partes are discouered vp to high as her Shoulders, and afterward, the like is done before. And if shee be found to be comely, well featured in all her members, and fit to content a Man; immediatlie shee shall haue a Husband. The like we haue formerly declared in the Custome of *Carthage*.

Strabo in li. 15 de Geograph.

Plato in lib. 6. de Legib.

For auoiding ot all ignorance on eyther side in marriage.

Plato, in the sixt Booke of his lawes, would haue none to bee deceiued in marriage: but that all ignorance being auoided, each Man might know, on whom he bestoweth his Daughter, and of what honest race eyther side is descended. For which cause, hee thought it conuenient, that sports and assemblies of young Boyes and Girles should bee permitted, hauing their bodies naked so farre, as modest shame might suffer: to the end, that by conuenable reason of that age, they should see each other, and bee seene in imperfection, or comlinesse of stature. For my part, I doe not allow of this opinion, neyther would I councell young Maides or Weomen, to suffer themselues be nakedly seene of Men. For, as K. *Gyges*, the Son of *Dasylus*, speaketh in *Herodot.* ἄμα δὲ χιτῶνι ἐκὼν ἐμοίως συνέδυνε τῆς καὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς γυνὴ, That is to say; *The Woman that puts off her Smock, doth in like manner put off all shame and modesty.* Which saying S. *Hierome* approueth, against *Iouinian*, and likewise *Clemeus Alexandrinus*, in the second Book of *Pedagogie*; and Saint *Cyprian* consenteth with them, in his Booke of Virgines Habites, saying. *The honour and shame of the bodie, are both together in the Garments couerture.* And in another place of the same Booke, he findes himselfe much offended with women, that putting off their Garments, would goe naked into the Bathes and

Herodot. in lib. Fol.38. A. Verd

S Hierom. in li. 1. cont Iouinian

Clem. Alexand. in Pedag. Lib. 2 Cap. 9.

S. Ciprian in lib de Hab Virg.

S. oues. *Blondus* writeth in his first chapter; *That the feare of shame, may wel proue sufficient to cut off a Contract, although there be no feare of death, or torment: As if a man should despoile a woman, threatning to cast her forth starke naked.*

Baldus sup. Leg. interpositas C. de transact.

But let vs leaue this, and pursue our purpose, concerning Customes in marriages of diuers Nations: and then returne againe to our *Romaine* Spouse, whom we haue left (I feare) too long. The *Namasones*, a people of *Lybia*, had a strange Custome, to cause the Bride (the first night of her Nuptials) to lye with all the Guestes, and thence forward, to keepe perpetuall chastity. The *Anthropophages*, *Medes*, and some of the *Æthiopians*, resort to their Mothers and Sisters when they are marryed. The *Arabes* make a Wife common to all the Kinred. The *Numidians*, *Moores*, *Ægyptians*, *Hebrues*, *Persians*, *Garamants*, *Parthyans*, and almost all the *Barbarians*, haue each Man as many Wiues, as hee is able to maintaine; some ten, and others more. The *Athenians* made their Wiues and Children common, and (like brute beasts) wallowed in all kinds of luxuries.

Hero. in Lib. 4.

Strabo in Lib. 16 de Geograph

Herod in lib. 6.

In *Scotland* it was sometime obserued as a Custome, that the Lord of the Soyle should haue the Brides Maiden head, before her Husband: which vnworthy dealing in any Christian Man, was abolished by *Malcolme* the third, King of *Scotland*, a very famous Prince, and deceased in the yeare 1090. And he ordained, that the new marryed couple, for redemption of their pudicitie, should pay to the Lords of the places, a peny of Gold, which (I heare) is yet to this day obserued. I should forbeare to say, it is no long time since, that diuers Lords; yea, some of Ecclesiasticall order, held aright by auncient Custome, to lay one Legge naked in the Bed, on the first night of the Brides marriage; but some say, that the Leg was armed. And there was one man, who would needes exceede the limits of his duty, & abuse his priuiledge through his vnbrideled lubricity, so that (with the price of his life) the custome was lost: But returne wee now to our first intention.

Strabo in lib. 15 de Geograph A custome obserued in *Scotland.*

A Custome among some Ecclesiasticall persons.

Before the new married Bride entred into her Husbands house, shee annoin-

ted the doore thereof with a kinde of Lard: *Pliny* saith, the Grease of a wolfe; but *Seruius* saith, it was a certaine Oyle; to signifie thereby, that she chased away all annoyances. *Donatus* saith, that the name of *Vxor*, came first *Ab vngendis postibus*. And *Polydore Virgill* saith: *Vnde ab vngendo Vxor dicta, quasi Vuxor.* Afterward, the new Bride was presented at the doore, with Water and Fire, and she must touch both of them; according as the Lawyer *Scenola* maketh mention.

Plin in lib. 28. cap. 9.
Seruius in lib. 4 de Aeneid.
Donatus sup. Scen. 2. Com. Terent. vocat. Hecyra
Polyd. Virgil.
Isidor Etymolog. Lib 9 cap. vlt.
Scenola lib penult. ff de donat. int. vir.

Sextus Pompeius giueth a reason, wherefore this Ceremonie was thus performed. *The new married Wife*, (saith he) *was washed with Water, to shew, that she came pure and chast to her Husband. Or else, that she participated with him in Fire and Water, two principall Elements, without which, the Creation of Man could not consist.* I should inferre heereby, that the reason of this fire and water so presented to the Bride, implied thus much: Fire was to mooue the carnall appetite of her Husband, and water to quench it. I will set downe the words of *Varro*, in his fourth Booke of the Lattine tongue, where he giueth another very good reason, as followeth. *Igitur causa ascendi, duplex, aqua & ignis: Ideo ea in nuptijs in limine adhibebantur, quod coniungit. Hinc & mos ignis, quod ibi semen: aqua fœmina, quod fœtus ab eius humore & eorum coniunctione suwit Venus.* Assuredly, when moysture and heat are tempered together, all thinges doe receiue original by the. For although fire be repugnant to water; yet the humide and moyst vapour createth all things, and their discordant agreement is proper to all generation: for one of them is as the Masculine Element, and the other Feminine; the one the actiue, the other the passiue. Hereupon, in Antiquity, when nuptiall alliances were instituted; they were approued by oaths sollemnely made on fire and water, because all creatures do receiue body and soule, by heat and moisture in their generation, and liue by them. For euerie beast is formed of a soule and body: the matter of the body consisting in moysture, and that of the soule in heat. As appeareth by the Egges of Fowles, which by reason of grosse humours, (whereof they are full) cannot be reduced into a body; and the body can haue no soule, if heat do not work his operation.

Sext. Pompeius

Varro in lib. de lingu. Lat.

Of the Elements Fire and Water.

Oaths made vpon fire and water.

Moreouer, the Bride did not enter on her feete into her Husbands house; but was carried in: as declaring, that shee went not willinglie, but by constraint, to the place where she was to loose her virginity. The *Romaines* also would not marry in the Month of May, reputing it to bee vnfortunate for marriage, whereon there arose an auncient Prouerb; *Mense Maio nubunt malæ: Bad people marry in the Month of May.* Whereon *Ouid*, in the fift of his *Fastus*, saith; *Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.* There are some, that now in these daies do superstitiously make scruple, to marry in that Month, and only (as they say) to be free from iealousie, whereon I see no reason grounded. But happily it may be, that they haue heard by their predecessours, that the most part of Men and Women then obserued (by such as were married in the moneth of May) to agree badly together, and came (in the end) to diuorce or repudiation, which was in vse among the *Romaines*.

The Bride carried into her husbands house.

Fraſm. Chiliz. 1. Centur. 4.

The moneth of May vnfortunate for Marriage.

The *Romaines* had three seuerall kinds of separation in mariage. The first they called Repudiation; which was done by the Man, against the will of the Woman. And the first Man that thus repudiated his wife, was *Spurius Caruilius*, in the yeare after the building of *Rome*, fiue hundred twenty three, because she was barren, and bare him no Children. *Caius Sulpitius* repudiated his wife, because she went out of his house, with her haire about her eares, and no veile on her head. *Quintus Antisthius* did the like to his wife; because she had beene seene to conferre secretly, with a woman a Libertine. *P. Sempronius* took offence; because his Wife was seene at publique spectacles, without his knowledge. And *C. Cæsar* repudiated *Pompeia*, onely thorow fume suspition he had of *Clodius*, who was found in the habite of a woman among Ladies, at the Celebration of the sollemnitie for *Bona Dea*.

Three kindes of separation among the *Romaines*.
Dion. Halicar in lib. 2.
Plutar. in vit. de Numa, cit. in An. 230.
The first that repudiated their Wiues.

The second manner, was called Diuorce, and this was done with the consent of them both and to either of the it was permitted to require it. But among the *Hebrues*, it was not lawful for a man

The second kind of separation called Diuorce.

man to leaue his wife. *Moyſes*, who was the firſt Author of Diuorce, appointed it ſo, for the reaſon deliuered by S. *Hierom*. *Moyſes* (ſaith he) *ſeeing many of the Iewes mooued to Auarice: ſome for Domeſticke diſquietneſſe, and others for Whoredom tormented their wiues, yea, oftentimes did put them to death, with intent to take other newe wiues; either richer, fairer, or younger then they. To remedy which euill, power was giuen them, to be diuorced from their firſt Wiues; with condition, that the Husband ſhoulde giue his wife a Bill of Diuorce, to ſtand for hir warrant and ſecurity. To which Bill* (ſaith Ioſephus) *the husband was then to write theſe wordes following:* I PROMISE NEVER TO TAKE THEE MORE. And this was thus doone, becauſe the Woman might marrie with another and hee haue like power to ſeeke another Wife, for otherwiſe Diuorce might not bee graunted.

Deut. 24, 1.

S Hierom vpon the matter of Diuorce.

Ioſeph. in lib de Antiq. 4 chap. 8

Thus you ſee, that by the permiſsion of *Moyſes*, and not his expreſſe commandement, Diuorce began at firſt amongſt the Iewes. Ieſus Chriſt giueth Teſtimony both of the one and other, in the nineteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthewe*, ſpeaking thus to the Phariſes: *What God hath conioyned, let no man ſeperat*; adding a little after, *Moyſes, becauſe of the hardnes of your heart, ſuffered to put away your wiues, but from the beginning it was not ſo.* He ſaith, for their hardneſſe of heart, becauſe they were cruell to their wiues, whom not to loue, was moſt hard & inhumaine. Neuertheleſſe, Ieſus Chriſt did not reiect Diuorce, ſo it were doone only for the cauſe of Whoredome and Adultery.

Math. 19, 5, 8.

The third manner, was tearmed Direption; for which, there was allowed ſeperation in Marriage; and this was done according to the Princes will: whereof I purpoſe to ſpeake more amply elſwhere, for I doubt I haue ſtoode to long on this matter of marriages.

The thirde kinde, called Direption.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How manie Armies the Romain Emperours kept, and in what places.

IT cannot varrie much from our purpoſe, to ſpeake in this Chapter, of the *Romain* Armies, and the places of their abiding: as alſo of their name and number: to the end, that al the World may know the powerful ſtrength of the Romaine Empire, while thee feaſted in hir Royall Triumphs, which was from the time of *Auguſtus*, till *Conſtantine* tranſported the empire into the Eaſt. Whoſoeuer ſhall duely conſider Romes ſtrength, and how many Prouinces were ſubiected to her, will account it no wonder, that the Romains had two and twentie compleate Armies, and great ſtore of people belonging to each one of them. *For it requireth* (ſaith *Vlpian*) *a great number of armed men, if we intend to giue it the name of an Armie, becauſe one or two Companies, make not an Army, but a great many conioyned together.*

The time of Romes Triumphs.

The neme of *Exercitus*, cam of exercising a mans ſelfe. *Quia exercēdo ſe meliorē faciūt Varro* and *Vegetius lib. 1. ca. 28. Ab exercitio Exercitus nomen accepit.*

The firſt that was ſaide to be a double Armie, remained in the lower *Myſia*. That which was tearmed the *Auguſtane* Armie, abode in *Scotia*: The *Galatian*, in *Phoenitia*, now called *Caramania*. The *Cyrenaicone*, in *Arabia*; and another *Auguſtane* Armie in *Numidia*. The *Flauian* and *Scithian* in *Soria*, otherwiſe cald *Numantia*, in *Spaine*. The *Macedonian* in *Valachia*. The conquering and victorious armie, in *England*. The *Claudians*, in *Seruia* and *Boſsina*. The Iron or rough Armie, being called the tenth, in *Iudea*. Another tenth, in *Allemaigne* or *Germanie*. Another *Claudian*, in *Tranſyluanie*. Another double Armie in *Dacia*: and the Twines in *Pannonia*. The dreadfull and Thundering Armie, in Egypt. The *Apollonian* in *Cappadocia*. The *Valerian* and ſecond vanquiſhing Armie, in *Bretaine*. There was alſo another armie alwayes at Rome, for guard of the Emperour. And theſe were the two and twentie Armies, which the Romaines kept continually, for the Defence of their Prouinces: to the end, that they

The places of the Romains ſeuerall Armies.

they might be ready at all seasons for the appeasing of tumults & seditions whensoeuer they happened.

The number of men, Elephants, and Chariots, in the Romaine Armies

The Romaines had also in the forenamed Armies (acording as *Appian* writeth) two hundered thousand foot-men, and fortie thousand Horse-men, three hundred Elephants made apt for warre, and two thousand ready-furnished Chariots, beside three hundred thousand Armors for store prouision. And their armie by Sea, consisted of two thousande Shippes, and fifteene hundered Gallies, from two to fiue Oares on a side. And beside these, they had eight hūdred great ships, called *Thalamegos*, only for pomp, and to carrie the Emperors Golden and rich furnitures, in their prowes & pompes. They had likely sundrie military ensignes; as the Wolfe, the Minotaur, the little Horse, the wilde Boare, with many other beside: But the Eagle was the proper and principall Ensigne of the Romaines.

Their Armie by Sea.

Their Ensignes or Standards.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether the Romaines did generally speake Latine, or no; Or whither they hadde two seueral Languages.

TO the end, that we may not stand in doubt of the thing, which (in my iudgement) is plaine and euident enough, we will deliuer the testimonie of *Cicero*, who in the thirde Booke of his Orator, saith; *The Romaines had a certaine, proper, & singuler Language in their Citty.* Which he prooueth by the example of *Lelia* his Mother in law, who spake in such maner, as they that heard hir, imagined that they vnderstoode *Plautus*, or *Neuius* speaking, her phrase seemed so like vnto theirs. But, because no man should thinke, that *Lelia* had learned another Language, to wit, *Latine*; and yet knew a contrary, to wit, her Mother tongue, which she had (from her Cradle) naturally learned in the house, he saith a little after; *There was no man maruelled, that an Oratour spake Latine. For, if he did otherwise, they wold haue mockt him.* And in the first Booke of his *Tusculanes*. *The frequent assembly* (saith he) *in the Theater where were Women and Children, were moued, hearing so rich a phrase.* Whereby it appeareth, that one only Language, & namely Latine, had beene, and was then common to all the Romaines, considering that Children and Women knewe the Latine tongue.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Orat.

Lelia Ciceroes Mother in Law.

Cicero vbi sup.

Cicero in lib. 2 ad Tuscul.

Neuertheless, he was expert in learning, that knew how to chuse his words, and waigh them by direct Iudgement of hearing, which no man could do, without Learning. For, all the Romaines speake Latine, but all knew it not by letters and Learning, as is manifest by Testimony of the saide *Cicero*, introducing *Titus Pomponius*, who (in his *Brutus*) hee maketh to speake thus: *Thou seest the Latine tongue corrected, whereof such as haue beene commended, neuer had knowledge, by reason or science, but as it were by Custome.* And a little after he addeth, *I being a young Childe, haue seen* Titus Flaminius, *who was Consul with* Q. Metellus *to bee thought to speake Latine well: and yet notwithstanding he knew not the letters.* Any man then may be freed from doubt heerein, considering that the Prince of Eloquence speaketh it.

Concerning Iudgement & Learning.

Cicero in Tit. Pomp ad Brut.

And there was no other diffrence, but that which is likewise amongest vs at this day, to wit; that the Inhabitants of *Rome* spake more eloquently, then those that dwelt abroad. And in regard, that the Language is nowe otherwise in Rome, then in times past (speaking *Italian*, insted of Latine, and yet not so good vulgar as at *Florence*) it was occasioned by barbarous people and Nations, as the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, and others; who gayning heeretofore ouermuch dominion in *Italy*, did likewise corrupt the language whiche then was in vse. So that by little and little, and by course of time, Antiquitie (by the frequentation of straungers, and corruption of manners) hath bin quite peruerted and changed, and noueltie induced. But most true it is, that it is easy to discerne their Originall of the Latine. The like peruertion and alteration, few Nations in the World, but haue as well felt, retaining very little, or none at all, of their prime Tongue and Language, which

The reason for the difference and alteration of the language.

Other countries Languages altered.

which they then enioyed: and therefore, Romes change deserueth the lesse meruaile.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How necessarie Water is for the life of man: Of the excellency of this Element: and the meanes how to know good & wholsome Waters.

Water, the chiefe thing for support of life.

IT plainly appeareth that there is not anie thing more necessary for the life of mã, then Water. For sometimes, when bread wanteth, a man may nourish himselfe with fleth, and other Viands. If fire faile him, hee findeth so many other thinges to feede on raw, as he may wel liue diuers years without fire. But let there be no water to be had, and then neither man, or anie creature elfe, is able to liue. There is no herb, or any kinde of plant which can produce seed or fruite, without water: for al thinges haue neede of it, and must receyue moisture. This is so true, that *Thales Milesius*, and likewise *Hesiodus* conceyued; that water was the beginning of all thinges, and the most ancient of all the Elements, as also the most potent. For, as *Plinie* and *Isidore* (in like manner) do say; Water both moisteneth and ruinateth great Mountaines, gouerneth the earth, quencheth fire, and conuerting it self into vapors, passeth thorough the ayres regions, whence afterwards it descendeth, to engender and product all things in the earth.

Plinius lib. 2. cap. 4. Isidor. de Etym. lib. 3.

The regeneration of man by Water.

Likewise, God made such especiall esteeme of Water, that hauing resolued to regenerate man by Baptisme, hee ordained it to be done by the means of this Element. And when he diuided the waters in the beginning of the worlde, hee held it in such acount, that the text saith, *He placed the Waters aboue the Firmament of Heauen, without comprehending them that circuited the Earth.* The verie greatest torment which the Romans inflicted on condemned persons, was interdiction from water and fire, preferring Water before Fire, as worthy of the highest degree and eminencie.

Genesis. 7.

The Romans deemed water to condemned people.

Seeing then, that water is so needful for the life of man, we ought (with heedfull care) to seeke out the best: to which purpose, I will set downe some especiall properties thereof, alledged as wel by *Vitruuius*; as *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and *Dioscorides*, with diuers other, that write of the election of waters.

Vitruuius in li. 8. Architect. Aristot. in Problē.

The first instruction is, that if a man trauaile into straunge Countreyes, and would knowe, if the Waters there bee good and wholesome for him, and to carie with him elsewhere according to his necessitie, let him obserue and note the rounde Neighbouring places, vnto the Welles, Springs, or Riuers; as also what the life and disposition is, of the people there inhabiting. Whether they be helthfull strong, and well coloured in their faces, without any defects in their eies and legges; for such men do testifie the goodnesse of the water, and also the contrary if it be bad. But if the water bee newlie or lately found, whereby this experiment must needes faile, then there are other proofes to be made.

Seuerall experiments to be made of Water

Let him take a Brazen Bason, verie cleanly scoured, and sprinkle some drops of the water (whereof he would make triall) therein: if after the water droppes be dried, no blemith appeare in the Bason by those droppes, it is a manifest signe of the waters goodnesse and puritie. This is also another good proofe; to boil som of the water in the same Bason, and then suffer it quietly to stand and coole; then when it is emptied foorth, if there appear no slime or sand in the bottome, it may be called excellent good; and of both the waters, that which hath the least slime is the better. In those Vesselles or other things, where any Graine is sodden, to make Brothes or Pottages, as Oatemeale, Pease, or any other Pulse, the best VVater is that which seetheth them sooneft.

Water good: es approued by boyling.

To deliuer a sound and certain iudgment in waters, there must be good consideration vsed, concerning the places whence they haue their sourse; whether the ground be sandie, neate, and cleare, or whither it be muddy, trobled, & foule: likewise, if Rushes, or other bad and pestifferous Herbes, doo grow thereabout.

For sound and infallible iudgment in Waters.

But

But the beſt and ſureſt way, and to auoid drinking of an vncertain water, or where any doubt is made, is to ſeeth it with a ſoft fire, and then let it coole.

Plin. in Lib. 4. Cap. 2. *Plin.* ſaith, that the Emperor *Nero* cauſed Water to be ſo boyled and then cooled it in Snow, glorifying himſelf for finding out ſuch an inuention. Now, the reaſon why boiled water is moſt holſom, is, becauſe the water which we drinke is not ſimple in his own Nature, but is mingled with the Earth and Aire. And by the fire, the windy part is exhaled, and reſulteth into ſmoake. The earthy part alſo, by Nature of the fire (which is to refine and ſeperate diuerſity of natures) deſcendeth to the inferiour place, and there abideth; by meanes whereof, ſodden water is the leſſe enflating or ſwelling, becauſe the windy part (which it hadde in the beginning) is wholly enaporated. It is alſo more light and ſubtle, by being purified from his earthy part, and therefore, the more eaſie to bee kept and preſerued: ſo that it cooleth & moiſteneth competently, without any obſtructing or alteration. Whereby is perfectly knowne, that the water of Welles is not ſo good as other water, becauſe it pertaketh moſt of the earth, and is no way purified, by the ſuns warme viſitation, which makes it the apter for corruption. Notwithſtanding, the more water we draw forth of the Well, the leſſe hurtfull it is, becauſe the continuall motion hindereth the ordinary corruption, which commeth to encloſed waters, and that haue no courſe. And then Nature ſendeth new and freſh water in ſuch meaſure, as preſent draught is made of that ſo lately ſent. For this cauſe, the waters of ſtanding Lakes and Ponds, is the worſt of al other: for through want of courſe & current, it corrupteth it ſelf, engendering euill things, and oftentimes infecting the ayre, cauſing diuers diſeaſes thereabout.

The reaſon for drinking boyled water.

Soddenwater is not windie or ſwelling.

Well-water, not ſo wholeſome as other water.

Lakes and Pondes haue the worſt water.

The South-waters worſe then them of the North.

It is further to be conſidered, that waters that haue their courſe towardes the South, are not ſo good as they that run towards the North; becauſe in the Southerne quarter, the Ayre is much mingled with Vapors and Humidities which hurt the waters, and greatly endamage them. But in the Northern parts, the aire is more ſubtle, and leſſe moiſt, whereby it ſwelles not the Waters, neither troubles them ſo much. In regard whereof, the water which is cleareſt, lighteſt, ſubtileſt, and moſt purified, is the beſt; becauſe (as we haue already ſaid) it is leſſe intermedled with other Elements; and beſide, being neere to the fire, it rather heateth it then the other.

An experimentall proof of two waters

It is alſo a ſinguler proofe of two waters, to obſerue which of them wil be the ſooneſt warmed by one & the ſame fire, & in like ſpace of time: for they are both arguments of the moſt ſubtle and penetrating ſubſtance. And becauſe the mixture of the earth among the water, dooth argue his waightines, it is good to make election of the lighteſt Water, which may bee experimented in this manner. Take two pieces of Linnen cloath, which are of equall poiſe, and ſteepe the one in the one water, and the other in the other, till they bee thorowly ſoaked; then take them forth, and hang them in the Ayre, where the Sun (by no means) may come to them; and when they are drie, weigh them againe, and the piece which waigheth heauieſt, wil declare which is the heavieſt water. Some vſe to waigh theſe waters, in veſſelles verie cleane and neat, & that are of an equall waight.

A triall of the lightneſſe or waight of water.

Ariſtotle and *Pliny* doo ſay, that the greateſt cauſe which diuerſifieth the qualitie of waters, proceedeth from the ſubſtance of the earth, from ſtones, trees, and Mitherals, and Mettals; thorow which, Riuers and ſtreames make their paſſage. In regard whereof, ſome do becom hot, others cold; ſom ſweet, and others ſalt: for it is a moſt certaine rule, that the water which hath neither ſauour nor odor, is alwayes knowne to be the beſt VVater. All ſuch as haue written on this Argument, doo maintaine; that that VVater which paſſeth thorow Mines of Gold, is the beſt water. And to approoue this, the moſt notable and excellent Riuers in the world, are ſuch as engender and conſerue Gold in their thin and fine ſands. But becauſe we are elſewhere to diſcourſe perticulerly of the properties of ſome riuers and other waters, I meane now to wade into no further examples.

Ariſt. in Lib. 3. de Animal. *Plin.* in Lib. 12.

Waters paſſing through Mines of gold

Seeing then, that we haue ſpoken of the waters of Riuers, VVelles, and Fountaines; reaſon requireth, that we ſhould ſay ſomewhat concerning Raine-water, which is praiſed by ſome, and blamed by others. *Vitruuius*, *Columella*, and ſome Phyſitions, doo highly commend Raine-water

Of Rain-water.

water, when it falleth pure and clear. For (say they) it is light and not mixtured, because it commeth from the vapor, which by his great subtilty, is mounted into the Ayres Region; and therefore, it is to bee credited, that heauie and waighty water remaineth in the earth. And albeit some say, that the water descending from heauen, corrupteth immediately, as wee behold in Fishponds, that engender a thousand filthes: yet it is not therefore to bee saide, that this ensueth by defect in the water; but rather, because it is stayed in such a place, where Muddes, Infections, and other Vncleanlinesses are met together. And partly, by some filthinesse which it bringeth with it selfe, washing the ground as it passeth along, when as it raigneth in great abundance. Therefore, the cause of his sudden corruption proceedeth from hence, that it is subtle and delicate; and by meanes of the Sunnes heate, and humiditie of the water, being commixed with many Ordures. Neuertheless, if this water being subtle, purged and cleared, were gathered as it falleth from the couerture of verie clean houses, or else as it falleth from Heauen, passing thorow the ayre, without touching anie thing, and so conueyed into as clean vesselles, it would be better then the other, and coulde preserue it selfe for longer time.

Vitruuius in li. de Architect. Columella in Agricul.

The reason of raine-waters corruption.

Raine-water purelie taken and kept, lasteth lõg time

There are some other Authors, who hold a contrarie opinion, and namelie, *Pliny*. He saith, *It is so vnwholsom that no man should drinke of it, because the vapors from whence it commeth, do proceed of many things, and by diuers wayes; whereby, it receiueth store of different qualities, as wel such as are euil, as them that be good.* And in deliuering other reasons, he answereth to them which we haue aledged, & saith: *That the proofe is not sufficient to say it is good, in shewing it to be the more light, by being drawne from the Region of the Aire: for such euaporations are exhaled aloft, by a secret violence of the Sun. And that also, by the same reason, it is a vapour likewise, wherby hard Hail-stones are formed in the Ayre: which water is pestifferous; and so is Snow water.* Hee saith moreouer, *That Raine water (beside his other defects) infecteth it selfe by the heate and vapour of the earth, euen then when it raineth: & to encrease his impuritie, it sufficeth to see, how quickly it putrifieth and corrupteth; where-of true experiment is made on the Sea, wher such water cannot be conserued: and therefore Wels and Cesternes are reproued.* Vpon all these opinions, euerie man deliuereth his owne, according as appeareth best to his owne iudgement. But as for mee, I affect Rain-water lesse then the other, although it be more necessarie. And *Pliny* who blames it, yet saith; *That Fishes doo fatten in Pondes, Lakes, and Riuers; and when it raineth, they are then best, because they haue need of the water of heauen.* Theophrastus saith, *That Garden Herbes, and all other beside, beeing watered by neuer so much aboundance of water, do not so plentifully encrease, as by Raine-water.* In the like manner, *Plinie* speaketh of Reedes, that neede the water of heauen for their encrease. And *Aristotle* also, speaking on the abounding and encrease of Fishes.

Plin in lib. 32. cap. 3.

Answeres made by *Pliny* to the former reasons.

Against the impuritie of Raine-water.

Theophrastus.

CHAP. XL.

By what meanes a good quantitie of sweete and fresh Water, may be had out of the Sea. Why cold Water maketh a greater noise in his fall, then hot Water. And whither a Ship be of heauier weight on Salt water, then on fresh water.

Aristotle and *Plinie* do both aduise vs, for to make sundrie vesselles of waxe, hollow within; binding them so strongly, as possiblie may be, and free from any cracke, hole, or vent. So putting them into Nettes, or some such like matter, well fastened with long Cords, let them down into the sea, and keepe them there the space of a whol day. This being done, to draw them vp againe; and when yee open each of the Vessels, ye shall find a good quantitie of fresh water, in each one of them, as sweet as anie in the riuer. The reason why salt water thus becommeth fresh & sweet entering thorow these vesselles of wax, is rendered by *Aristotle*, for hee saith; *That wax being sweet and delicate, the Water penetrateth it, and the subtle part of the Sea water passing through it, sweetneth it self, leauing the earthie part which it hadde, in the superficies of the Wax.*

Arist. In Lib. de Animal. Pl. Lib. 32 cap. 4

Arist. bis supra

In

vessels of wax make salt water fresh and sweet.

In verie truth, if this be true (I say if it be true, because I my self neuer yet made experiment of this secret) it may do great seruice, in diuers necessities, which doo ordinarily happen. Notwithstanding, methinkes, that if salt water will become sweet, by entering into vessels of waxe, it should likewise become sweete, by softe trilling or gliding into wax, wherof such Vesselles may bee made, like vnto those which we haue of stone, to take away the saltnesse of the water. For, by the same reason, these things doe tend to one and the selfesame effect, although there may appeare some difference, by entering into empty vessels, and comming forth of full vessels, because there is an apparance of much greater force and violence, in comming forth of a full Vessell; neuertheless, the curious quetionist may trie both the one and other.

An experiment of hot water & cold.

Yet, in kinde affection to such, as are delighted in like singuler experiences, I will disclose another thing wel worth the knowledge. Take two Bottelles, which are of equall opening and measure, and fill them with water, the one boyling, & the other cold: afterwards, emptie them both together, and the colde water will issue forth sooner then the hot, and make the more lowde and greater noise in his fall, then the hot water, which fals more deafely, and with lesse strength. The reason is, because hote water is lighter then the cold, for that by the heate of the fire, it is more euapored. Likewise, at the beginning of the cold waters issuing foorth of the vessell, the hindmost part striueth to be formost, so that waightinesse is the cause, that cold water issueth forth sooner then hot, & maketh the greater noise in his fall, then the other can do.

Hot water lighter then cold.

A ship beareth a waightier burden on the Sea, then on anie fresh Riuer.

This is the reason deliuered by *Aristotle*, who likewise telleth vs another thing, which wee beholde daily, to wit; that a Ship beareth much heauier charging on the Sea, then on fresh Water, because the water of the Sea is more grosse and thicke, and beareth on her bosome anie thing whatsoeuer, in much greater weight, then any fresh Water is able to do, which is more subtle. To approue the truth heereof, experience maketh daily demonstration. For, if a man cast an Egge into a fresh Water Riuer, imediately it sinketh vnto the bottome: but, throwe it into Salte Water, or the Sea, and it floateth aloft thereof, and cannot sinke.

CHAP. XLI.

The Reason why all Creatures haue as many feete on the one side, as on the other: And on which side they first beginne to go, and for what cause.

All creatures haue their feet by pairs.

WHosoeuer hath duely considered, the order of Gate or going in al kind of creatures; hath also obserued, that their feete are numbered by paires, as well in those of two feet, as of foure, and more. It is likewise to be further noted, that they are in such manner diuided to them, as the one halfe is on the one side, and the rest on the other. The reason whereof, seemeth to proceed from some secret in Nature, and whereof I purpose to discourse, according to the opinion of the most sprightly, & best iudging Philosophers. Among all which graue men, *Aristotle* handleth the manner of their common going, and maketh a disputation therof in his Problems. But for our better vnderstãding, we must presuppose, that the motion of all creatures, is composed of rest and trauaile: for to moue one part, requireth to haue the other firme and in quiet, and afterwards it mooueth also; so that our motion in gate or going, appeareth to bee the one footes rest, while other marcheth: which is a rule most certaine and necessarie, except in leaping, which is formed by the whole body, without requiring the managing of the feet, ech after other. Why then it followeth necessarily, that when one part or side of the feet do repose and rest themselues, the other mooueth; and afterward rest againe, while the other do aduance their march; and by this course the feete haue their motion alternatiuely.

Arist. in Probl.

The order of motion in all creatures.

Of Leaping.

One foote is not sufficient in any creature, neither a third foote.

To performe then this motion, there is necessarily required more then one foote; and beside, that they must be alike in number, that is to say, either two, or foure, or more, because in hauing three feete, the gate or going had not well bin ordered,

ordered, or equall; for when two hadde mooued themselues, the third (of necessitie) must haue carried the whole burthen. And for the very same reason, all creatures, howe many feete soeuer they haue, either two, foure, or more; are numbered by paires; and they haue the one halfe on the one side of the body, & the other on the other side; to the ende, that the more orderly all the two partes may moue themselues in equal number, and in the manner of their trauaile. As we may obserue in Bees, Flies, & Beetles, which haue sixe feete: and likewise in other Vermine, some that haue forty, and others an hundred, yet are equally deuided by halues on either side. And albeit, that in these creatures hauing so many feete, inequality would appear insupportable: yet by auoyding of such confusion, Nature thus appointed them, for the more perfection.

Bees, Flies, & Beetles haue sixe feet.

Arist. in Probl.

It is also a matter most notable and memorable, which learned *Aristotle* hath determined in those Books before alledged. Hee saith, *That Men, and all other kinde of Beasts or Creatures, doo euermore begin their motion on the right side*, whereof wee haue verie euident experience in all things that we do. He that prepareth himselfe to runne a race, dooth alwayes set his left foot formost, to the end, that he may beginne to runne with the right foote, and so to proceed on in his course. If a man do beare any weightie thing, ordinarily he carrieth it on the left arme, or on the left side; because the right part of the bodie may be at libertie, to go on the more lightly. Whereby we discern, that when a man would moue himselfe to do any thing, except it be for some expresse cause, or by reason of a known inconuenience and hinderaunce, the first part of the bodie directed forward, is the lefte, but the right hath the rule and prehemi-nence.

Motion in mē and Beastes, beginneth on the right side.

Likewise, we may behold, when a man would go about anie thing, hee turneth alwayes to the left side, to haue his right arme at full scope and libertie. If he be Dauncing, he turneth with his right arm toward the left. And in mounting on Horse-back, or on any other thing, wherein vse is required of the hands helpe: the right part is still the readiest, both in any mannuall work or motion. in mounting aloft, although a man do put his left foot into the stirrop, and hold by the left hand on the Saddles Pommell, to cast himself into the Saddle. So then wee perceyue, that these kinds of motion are in the left hand; but the right hand is the only chiefe guide and conducter.

The End of the Fift Booke.

The Sixt Booke.

CHAP. I.

¶ *Of the Kingdome of* Fez: *Of the Lawes, Customes, and Manners therein obserued, with a true Description of the Common wealth.*

BEcause the kingdome of *Fez* is great, as being the chiefest in all *Barbarie*, and the Cittie verie notable in hir lawes and orders: I am the more willing to make a perticuler Description therof, not thinking that it can be vnthankefully taken: because it is the true food of man, to hear and know the most famous thinges which are in the world.

A description of *Fez*.

1. FEZ, is a verie great Citty, engirt with high and goodly wals, and is (as it were) wholy Mountainy and Hilly, so that the middest onely of the Cittie is plain, but the fourth part therof (as I haue saide) is all hillie. By two wayes the Water enters into the Cittie, because the Riuer deuideth it selfe into two partes: the one passeth besides new *Fez*, which is on the South part, and the other runneth vnto the West. As the Water makes his entrance into the Cittie, it parteth it selfe into manie Channelles, which runne (for the most part) to the Cittizens Houses, and Courtiers Dwellings belonging to the King, and to diuers other Houses; as also, to all the temples, euery Oratory hauing his part of the Water, as the Innes, Hospitalles, and Colledges haue the like.

Of the Waters entrance into the City.

Houses of office in the open Citty.

Neere to the Temples or Churches, are certain Houses of necessary vse, made after a foure-square manner, with little Chambers built rounde about in them, each hauing his seuerall doore for entrance: And in euerie one of them, is a Well-spring; which water issuing from the walles, falleth into certaine Channels of Marble, making an indifferent noyse with the fal; and running thence thorow those needfull houses, conuayeth all the filthinesse of the Cittie into the Riuer. In the middest of these Houses is a lowe VVell spring, about some three yardes in depth, foure in bredth, and twelue in length; about which, are diuers Channelles, wherein the water runneth, and passeth along vnder the houses; the whol number of these houses are an hundered and fiftie.

The manner of building their houses in the Cittie.

The houses of dwelling in the Citie, are of Bricke and Stone, verie formallie builded, and the most part of them verie goodlie, beeing beautifyed with Stone-woorke of variable Colours. The doores in like manner, are paued with Bricke, and the Porches with Anticke Tyles of diuers Colours, like vnto the Dishes of *China*.

The toppes of the houses are painted with curious VVorkmanship, and costly Colours, as with Golde and Azure; the

The height of their houses.

roofes being made flat like Tables, and plaine, for more commodious couering the whole house, with faire extended painted cloaths, and to sleepe in during the Summer season. Almost al the houses do consist of two Stories of height, & some of three, with sundrie Tarrasses curiously framed, which do greatly adorne them, and serue as passages from Chamber to chamber vnder the roofe, because the midst of the house is wide open, and the Lodgings are deuided, some on the one side, and some on the other. The Doors of the Chambers are made large and high, and men of what quality soeuer, haue their Chambers entrance formed of costly Woodde, verie curiouslie Carued.

The Porches and Portals of their houses.

Each Chamber hath his Presse or Cupbord, verie fair and cunningly painted, of conuenient length to the Chambers largenesse, which serue as VVardrobes for their best and costliest things. All the Portals of these houses, are made vppon Collumbes of pauing stone, and beautified (well-neere half) with painted earth, like to that of *China*. Some also are mounted on Pillers of Marble, made with Arches, raised from one Collumbe to another, all couered with artificiall Checkie Stone-woorke: and the Transomes that are aloft on the Pillers, and do support (as it were) the seuerall Stories, are of VVood, Carued with ingenious labour, and colours of most curious painting.

Houses for preseruation of Water.

There are also great store of Houses, made purposely for the pure preseruation of water, much like vnto our Conduites, made foure square, containing six or seauen yards in bredth, tenne in length, and about twelue in depth, all couered and bricked verie artificially. In the length of some of them, diuers pretty low fountaines are made, appearing verie fayre to sight, and composed of the foresaid *China* stuffe: in the midst whereof, are large Vessels of Marble, such as wee see in our Fountaines of *Europe*. As these Fountaines do fill themselues, the ouer-flowe of water is conuaied to the houses of preseruing water, couertly: and when those houses are full, it is likewise thence-carried by other priuate Water-courses, that neighbor to those preseruing houses, and haue their fall by little made wayes; and passing vnder the Houses of necessarie vse, runne with quicke streame into the Riuer.

Well springs & Fountaines

For conueyance of water thorough the Citty.

On their houses, they haue Turrets or Towers, wherein are diuers apte and well adorned Chambers: in which Turrets, the women do most bestowe themselues, when they are wearied with their Houshold affaires, for out of those Turrets, they may suruey the whole City. Of Temples and *Moschaes*, there are about seauen hundred, and these are their places of Prayer. Fiftie of those Temples are very great, very well built, and beautified with Pillers of Marble, and other seemly Ornaments. Each of them hath a goodly fountaine, made of pure Marble, and other faire stones, not seene in *Italy*; and all the Collumbes haue curious Tribunes of Checky woorke vppon them, or Tables very ingeniously ingraued. The tops of the Temples are like to them in *Europe*, and couered accordingly, and the pauements in the Temples, are all couered with Mats, artificially made, and so cunningly ioyned together, as not a iot of the Floore can bee seen. The wals are likewise couered with such Mats, but of no more heighth then the stature of a man. In each of these temples there is a Turret, wherinto such men go, as haue the charge to cry & proclaim the houre appointed for ordinary praier. There is no more but one Priest belonging to each Temple, to whome appertaineth the Office of Prayer, and care of entrance into the Temple, to wit; Dilligently to keepe the accounts, to dispense to the Ministers of the said Temple, such as do light the Lampes by night, and the Porters of the doors; also, those Officers that haue the charge to cry (in the night time) on the Tower or Turret, and declare the houres of Prayer: because they that cry in the day time, haue not any wages, but is freed from all tenths and payments whatsoeuer.

Turrets of pleasure in the houses.

Temples and *Moschaes*.

Fountains belonging to the Temples.

The Pauements & wals of the Temples.

Turrets in the Temples.

The Priest of the Temple.

The Crier in the Tower or Turret.

In the Citty, there is a principal Temple, which is called the Temple of *Caruen*, and it is a very great Temple, containing in circuit a mile and a halfe, and it hath one and thirtie gates each one verie high: the couerture is an hundered & fifty *Tuscane* yardes in length, and little lesse in bredth then fourescore. The Towet wherin the Crier standeth, is likewise very hie; and the couering or seeling in length, is sustained vpon 38. Arches, and in

The great Temple of *Caruen*, & the Tower therof

in bredth vpon twenty. Round about it, to wit, Eastward, Westward, & Northward, are certaine Porches, each beeing thirty cubits wide, and fortie in length. Vnder these Porches, are diuers Storehouses, wherein are kept the Oyle, Lampes, and Mats, with al other things of necessarie vse for the Temple: wherein are nine hundred Lamps nightly lighted, because euery Arch hath his Lampe, especially those Arches in order, which passe through the bodie of the Temple; and they only haue an hundred & fifty lamps; in which rank also are diuers other great Luminaries, all made of brasse. There are places for a thousand and fiue hundered Lamps, all which were made of Bels, wonne from diuers Cities of the Christians, by the Kings of *Fez*.

Store-houses for the Oyle, Lampes, and Mats.

In the Temple, and as fixed to the walles, are Pulpits of all qualities, wherin many Learned Masters do read to the people, matters concerning their Faith, and of the spirituall Lawes. They begin a little after the breake of day, and finish at the first houre in the day. In the Summer time they read not, but after the four and twenty houre, and their Readinges do continue for an houre and an halfe in the night. And they read not only the faculties and Morrall Sciences, but those spirituall also, according to the Lawe of *Mahomet*. The Readings in Summer, are perfourmed by none but by certaine priuate men, and none may reade, but such men as are expert in the Lawes, and euerie one hath good and ample Wages for his Lectures, beside their Bookes and Lights freely brought them. The Priest of this Temple, hath no other charge but to say Prayers: yet hee may take care of the mony and prouision which is offered in the Temple for young Children, and be Steward of such guiftes, as are left at the Gates entrances for the poor; as mony and Corne, which at euerie Feast is imparted vnto all the poore of the Cittie; to some more, and to some lesse, according to the quallitie of their Family.

The Pulpits and Readings in the temple

The Summer Readings.

The Priestes charge of the Temple.

He that taketh the Office on him, as Collector or Receiuer for the entraunce Money of the Temple, hath a seperate office, and for his owne prouision, hath a Ducate each day allowed him, and sixe men to attend him, that gather the Rent Money of the Houses, Shoppes, and other profite, and each of these is allowed fiue in the hundred. He hath also about som twentie Factors, whose charge is to goe abroad, to make prouision for daily Labourers, such as Delue in the grounds, looke to the Vines, and woorke in Gardens, and such like offices, whose wages may amount vnto three Ducates, each man (monthly) of those twenty. About a mile out of the Cittie, are some twenty Furnaces, where Lime is made, and as many more, for Bricke and other necessary furniture, for the buildings and possessions of the Temple, as also of the Temple it selfe, whose allowance is two hundred Ducats daily, but more is spent (by the halfe) in the fore-named occasions. Beside, those Temples and *Moschaes* that haue no reuennewes, are furnished from this Temple in manie things. And if any ouer-plus of benefits doo remaine, they are spent to common vtilitie of the Cittie, because many poore Commoners haue little other benefit. And most true it is, that lately in our daies, the king caused great summes of money, to bee lent to the Priest of the Temple for these vses, which as yet were neuer repayed backe againe.

The collector or Receiuer of Temple-mony

Twentie Factors and their wages.

Furnaces and Killes out of the Cittie.

The great Temples daily allowance.

In this Cittie, are two Colledges of Scholliers, verie fairely builded, with manie Ornaments of embossed workes, and Carued Transomes, couered with fine Slates, and supported with goodlye Marble Pillers. In each of these Colledges, are manie Chambers, amounting to an hundered and more, all builte by diuers Kinges of the House of *Marino*.

One of them is (in trueth) verie admyrable, both for Greatnesse and beautie, which was caused to bee builded by the King *Abu Henon*, hauing a verie rare and goodly Fountaine in it of Marble, the Bowle beeing able to containe two Tunnes of Water; and when it ouerfloweth, it passeth like a little Riuer in a faire Channell, the bottome whereof, is Paued with Marble, and diuers other Checky coloured stones.

In this Colledge, are three faire Galleries, with Beddes in them, verie costly couered, and round encompassed with pillers, fashioned into eight Cantons of diuers Colours, and so made fast vnto the Walles. And on the heade of euerie Collumbe, are Arches bowing

Colledges in the Cittie of Schollers.

One Colledg builded by K. *Abu-Henon*.

from one to another, adorned with Pinacles of strange moduling, embellished with Balles of Gold and Azure. The walles about the Colledge are no higher, then a man (standing close by) may reach with his hand, and thoroughout made al of Checquerd stone. And round about on the Walles, are Verses written, containing the yeare when the Colledge was built, and praises of the place and Founder, who was the King *Abu Henon*: the Letters being grossely engraued, and in Blacke Carracters on a White Field, for the better sight and reading farre off. The Colledge Gates are of Brasse, verie artificially and ingeniously Wrought, and each Chamber doore, of costly carued wood.

The height of the Colledge wals.

The Colledg Gates.

In the great Hall, where Orations are made, is a Pulpit, hauing nine steps or staires vp to it, made of Iuory and Ebonie, almost myraculous to beholde. When the Colledge was finished, the King would see the Booke of his charges; and hauing not ouer-viewed the left part of the Booke, which arose to forty thousand Ducates, without any further inquisition, he tooke the Booke, tore it in pieces, and threw it into a little Riuer running by the Colledge; alledging two verses of a verie worthy Author among the *Arabians*, to this effect.

The Kinges viewe of the Colledg building.

Things deer & faire, can neuer be too deer,
And if they please, no man can pay too deer.

But there was a Treasurer, Named *Hibnulagi*, who seeking to find out a certaine account, although hee came much short thereof, yet he could alledg the expences of four hundred & 4. score thousand Ducates. All the other Colledges of *Fez*, haue some correspondence with this; and in euerie Colledge, there are Readers in diuers Sciences; some, that read in the Morninges, and the other in the night, all hauing sufficient and verie excellent allowance left by the founders and builders.

Part of the building charges.

The allowances of readers

In auncient times, euery Scholler in this Colledge, was affoorded his expences and Garments, for the space of seuen yeares But now in these dayes, nothing is graunted but Chamber-roome, because in the warre of *Sabid*, many possessions and Gardens were spoyled, the benefit whereof went to these charges. So that now there remaine but some small fragments, where-with the Readers are maintained: some hauing two hundred, others an hundered Ducates, and some lesse. And this perhappes, may be the occasion of the decay of Vertue in *Fez*; and not only of *Fez*, but of all the Cities in *Affrica*.

Former alowance for scholers.

None doo dwell in these Colledges, except certaine Schollers that are strangers, who haue their liuing of the Cittizens Almes, and from som parts of *Fez*. And if any haue their lodging in the Citie, they may not exceede the number of two. When any of the Lecturers will reade, a Scholler doth first deliuer the Text, and then the Lecturer comments thereon, inducing some expositions of his owne; and declaring all difficulties happening in the Argument. And somtimes, in presence of the Lecturer, the Schollers will fall to dispute amongest themselues, according to the subiect of the Reading or Lesson.

Strange scholers dwell in the Coledges

The order of Reading.

2. In *Fez*, there are many Hospitals, which in forme and beautie, are not inferior to the forenamed Colledges. And it was obserued (as a Custome) in former times, that straungers should haue three dayes entertainment in those Hospitals. There are many other without the gates, no lesse commendable then those within, and these Hospitalles were very rich: but in the time of *Sabids* warre, the King hauing neede of great summes of mony, was connselled to sel their reuennues and allowances. The common people yeelding no consent thereto, an Atturney (belonging to the King) gaue them to vnderstand, that those Hospitals were builded vpon meere Almes, which had formerlie beene giuen by the predecessours to the present King, who now stood in daunger of loosing his Kingdome: and therefore, it was better to sell those possessions, to chase away the common enemie, then to stand vpon such immediate perill, considering, the warre should be no sooner finished but now reuennewes might bee purchased. Heereupon, they were sold, and the King dyed, before any new purchasing followed; so that the Hospitalles remained poore, and in a maner, without any sustentation: yet now there is a Lodging allowed for some forraigne or trauailing Doctor, or to a Gentleman, but very

Of Hospital, and Stoues or Bathes.

Sabids warre, tocke away all the Hospitals reuenues

The olde reuenues, solde, but no newe purchased.

very poorely in the Citty, to releeue foote trauailers, and sickly Strangers, and there is but one of them neither, yet without either Phisition or Phisick; onely lodging and expences is affoorded, till a poore weake man dye, or be recouered.

Respect of mad and frantique people.

In this Hospitall are certaine Chambers, appointed for Lunaticke or distracted persons, that hurle stones in the streetes, and are otherwise dangerous; where they are kept lockt vp, and fast chained, and the doores of these chambers, which front the Galleries or Tarasses, are barred with Iron, both beneath and aloft, and the Windowes with Woodden barres, strongly knit with Iron. He that hath the charge of their dyet, when he perceiueth any one of them to behaue himselfe disorderlie; he beats them with a Bastonado, which hee commonly carryeth ready for the purpose. Oftentimes it happeneth, that trauailers walking by those Chambers, the distracted persons will cal to them, and vse many lamentations, that they are cured of their infirmities; and therefore should be discharged from imprisonment, protesting, that they endure infinite iniuries at the Officers handes. Some, being ouer credulous, will look in at the Windowes, and for their labour, are rewarded with an handfull of noysome filth in their faces. For, although these distracted persons haue their conuenient Houses of Office; yet notwithstanding, they will empty their bellies in the midst of the floore, and watch opportunitie for these beastlie prankes: except the Officers (by their diligence) cleanse away the filth, or fore-warne strangers of such an iniury. To conclude, these Hospitals haue all such familiar Attendants, as are to discharge all fitting Offices: as Clearkes, Factours, Protectours, Cookes, Butlers, and others for apt seruice to the infirme.

Chastisement for mad people.

The brutish behauiour of lunatick people.

Attending officers in the Hospitals.

Of the Stoues or Bathes.

There are also an hundred Stoues or Bathes, beautifully builded and adorned; some whereof are small, others greater: but all made after one forme and manner; to wit, euery one hath foure places or roomes, of the largenesse of great dining Haules. Without, are certaine Galleries somewhat high, and ascent is made vnto them by diuers degrees or staires: where men vse to disrobe themselues, and leaue their garments in safety. In the midst are certain large Wels made, after the manner of their preserued waters, but much greater.

Now, when a man would go to one of these Bathes, when hee hath entred at the first gate, he passeth into a spacious place, which is coole, and there is a coole Well-spring to temper the Water, when it waxeth excessiuely hot. From thence (by another Gate) he goeth on to the second place, where the Water is hotter, and there are diuers Officers, that attend to wash and make cleane all Commers. From thence he passeth to the third, which is very hot, where he sweateth for a while, and here he endureth heat indeed, for the water is walled round with heate: but it hath conuayance forth into certain Buckets of wood, and to each man they must giue two Glasses of water, or more, to such as shall demaund them, for which courtesie, hee giueth to the attending party, a small peece of Coyne, called a * *Baioe*, or but two at the most; and to the Parrone or Maister of the Bath, he payeth no more then two * *Quatrines*. The water is made thus hot with the Dung of Beasts, which the Maister of the Bath keepeth Boyes of purpose for to gather, who passing through the Citty, doe load themselues with Dung out of the Stables; and then carrying it forth of the Cittie, they doe make there of a topping Dung-hill, and so it remaineth there two or three moneths drying. Afterward, to heat the Bathhoutes and the water, it is burnt in stead of wood, or other fuell.

The entrance into the Baths

The coole water, and seuerall degrees of the Bathes.

* Valuing two *Italian* pence.

* The fourth part of an English peny.

Weomen also haue their seperate Stoues or Bathes, and many are kept for Weomen and Men together: but men doe determine their time, which vsually is from the third houre, vntill the foureteenth, either more or lesse, according to the quality of the day, and the rest of the day, as perticularly appointed for Women. At the time of their entrance into the Bath, as a manifestation thereof, a Cord is thwarted at the doores passage, and then no man presumeth to enter. But if it happen, that any man then would speake with his Wife: he cannot, but some Seruant of

Baths appointed for women.

The order of womens entring into the Bath.

of the house must carry her his errand. Many times, the Men and Weomen of the Citty do banquet together in those Baths, & vsing diuers pleiures, in diuers kinds, singing very often with excellent voyces. The youth also of eyther kind, doe enter into them starke naked, without any shame or offence to either. But men of some condition and degree, doe enter with wiping Cloaths wrapped about them, and sit not in any common places: but haue the aduantage of certaine distinct little roomes, which euermore are made handsome, and fitting for men of reputation. When the Seruants and Attendants doe wash any body, they cause him to lye along, and then rub and chafe euery part of him, with Oyntment restoratiue, and sometime with such Instruments, as do take away all filthinesse. But when they wash a Lord, or one of great account; they cause him to lie downe on a cloth of Felt (such as Hats are made of) laying his head also vpon Pillowes of Felt, and so deale with him gently and tenderly.

Youth vse the Bathes.

For men of good reputation.

For a Lord.

To euery one of these Bathes or Stoues, are many Barbers belonging, who pay alike payment to the Maister, for vse of their Instruments there, and washing according to their profession. The most part of these Bathes, do hold their best estate of the Temples and Colledges, and doe pay them great rents: some an hundred, others an hundred and fiftie Ducates yearely, some more, some lesse, according to the greatnesse of the place. Nor will I conceale a familiar Feast, made once a yeare by the Seruants and Youth attending in these Bathes, which is performed in this manner. These young men doe inuite all their Friendes, and goe with Drums, Fifes and Trumpets, forth of the Cittie. Afterward, they take a great Onion, called an Onion of the Sea, and put it into a Bason of Copper, which when they haue couered with a faire linnen Towell: they march backe to the Cittie, sounding all the way to the Gate of the Bathe. Then they put the Onion into a Basket, and fastning it to the door of the house, say: *This shall be a signe of benefit to the Bathe, because this yeare it shall bee frequented by many.* But me-thinkes, this rather resembleth a sacrifice vsed by the ancient *Affricanes*, at such time as they were Gentiles, and continued in vse euen to our times; as likewise wee finde many notes of their Feastes, imitated by Christians, and as yet obserued, though scarcely well knowne, vpon what occasion those Feasts were vsed. But in euery Citty certaine Feasts were obserued, and left in vse to the Christians, when they gouerned *Affrica*.

Barbers belonging to the Bathes.

The rents of the Bathes.

A Feast made by the youth of the Bathes, euery yeare.

A Sacrifice vsed by the *Affricane* Gentiles.

3. In the said Citty, there are about two hundred Innes or Hostaries, verie hansomelie built and contriued. But some doe exceede the other in greatnesse: as those that are nere to the great Temple, and mounted three Srories in height, containing one hundred and twentie Lodgings, and some more. In euery one are fare Welles of Water, and Houses of Office, with their conuaying Channels, which quickly rid away all filth whatsoeuer. Like vnto these, are (in *Italie*) the Colledge of the *Spanyards* in *Bologna*, and the Pallace of the Cardinall of S. *George* in *Rome*, euerie Chamber doore entring vppon the Tarras. But albeit these Innes are faire and great, yet they doe afford but verie bad lodging: for there is neither Bed, Bed-stead, nor Sheetes, but euery guest hath a course Couerlet, or Irish Rugge allowed him, & a hansome Mat to sleep vpon. And if he will eate, hee must goe buy his Victuals himselfe, and deliuer them to the Cooke to bee dresst. Poore Widdowes of the Cittie, that haue neither House, kinred, or Friends; are also allowed accesse to these Innes, where roomes are appointed for them, some seuerall, others two in a Chamber.

Releese for poore widdowes.

The Hosts of these Innes are of a certaine generation, which they call *Elchena*, and go in womanish garments, adorning their persons after the fashion of Weomen: For they shaue close their Beards, and striue to imitate women in their speech. What doe I say, in speech? Yea, they will sow and spin. Each one of these base-minded men, doth keepe his Concubine, and vseth the very same familiaritie with her, as the Husband doth with his Wife: Other loose Weomen also haue resort thither, that make sale of their honesty, as

Of Innes or Hostaries in the Citty.

What lodging the Innes doe yeild.

The Innekeepers of the Citty, and their base qualities.

Bad guests to be allowed in Innes.

as the whores of *Europe* vse to do. These Inne-keepers haue authority, to buy and sell Wines, without any dispensation from Court Officers. And in these Hosteries, men of the most foule and vilest life haue continuall resort; as to make themselues drunke, and to satisfie their lust with women of hire: because there they may exercise all brutalitie of life, secure from the apprehension of Officers, and other such like deformities, which better beseemeth silence then vtterance. These so well-deseruing Inne-keepers, haue a Consull, and pay certaine tribute to the Castillian and Gouernour of the Citty: standing bound beside, when any Army is required for the King or Princes; to prouide a great retinue of their Seruants, to prepare foode for the Souldiours, because few other are able for that imploiment.

The Inne-keepers pay tribute to the Gouernour.

Assuredly, if the strict Law had not enforced me, whereto a true Historian standeth bound, to reueale the truth in such general descriptions: I could more willingly haue buryed these foule faults in silence, because they are the grossest blemishes in any Cittie, wherein (beside) are many vertues. And setting apart these vices, the Kingdome of *Fez* containeth men of greater goodnes, then are in all the parts of *Affrica*. And therefore with those dishonest Hosts, (as is credibly auouched) few other haue any conuersation; but onely ribald persons, of base blood & life: for neither Scholler, Merchant, or any honest Artezane, will so much as speake to them, and they are interdicted beside, from entring into the Temples, or the Market place of Merchants, the Bathes, or any of their Houses. Neuertheless, such as keep the Hosteries by the great Temple, are fauoured in lodging Merchants of rare qualitie, but the common people do nothing but scorne and mocke them: And because they do seruice (as I haue already said) to the Prince in the Fielde, they are suffered to continue in that wretched kind of life.

Men of much vertue in the Kingdome of *Fez*.

Inne-keepers forbidden entrance into the Temples, &c.

4 Within this Citty, there are about some four hundred Milles, for the grinding of Corne, and they may easily amount to a thousand; considering, that the said Mils are made in the manner of a great Haule, and in Collomes, and in some of them are foure, fiue, or sixe seuerall Milles. There is a large streete in the Cittie, wherein are nothing else but Mill stones, and thither do resort certaine Traffiquers, tearmed Meale-men: who doe hold many of the Milles at rentage, and buying Graine for them, cause it there to be ground. Afterward, they make sale of the Meale in the Shoppes, which they also pay rent for, deriuing very good benefit thereby: because all the Trades-men, that haue no apt means to furnish themselues with Corne, doe buy the Meale in these Shoppes, and make it Bread in their owne Houses. But men of any degree, doe buy their Corne at the best aduantage, and then cause it to bee ground in certaine Milles, which are allowed by the Cittizens, paying the Miller two *Baioes* for the Bushelles grinding. The most part of these Milles doe belong to the Temples and Colledges, so that but few appertaine to Cittizens: and they pay great rent, two Duckers for euery Mill.

Of Milles in the Citty.

A Streete of Millstones.

A Trade onely of selling Meale.

5. The Artes and Trades in this Citty, are separated one from another, and those of greatest worth and respect, are in the circuit, and neere neighbouring to the greatest Temple: As Notaries or Scriueners, and of them there are about fourscore Shoppes, one part of them beeing ioyned to the Wall of the Temple, and the other right against it, two Notaries sitting in each Shop. A little further off, toward the West-side, are about thirty Shops of Booke-sellers or Stacioners: and toward the South-side, are they that sell Shooes, whereof there are aboue an hundred and fiftie Shoppes. These onelie doe buy both Shooes, Buskins, and Stockings ready made, in very great store, and so make sale of them againe: And not farre from them, are the Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for all degrees of persons, and of them are about fifty Shoppes. On the East-side of the Temple, the Sellers of Brasse and Copper haue their place, and right against the great gate, toward the West-side, stand they which sell Fruit, making (among them) other fifty Shoppes. Next to them are the Waxe-sellers, that shew

Of Artificers, Trades, shops and Market places.

Scriueners.

Booke sellers

Shoo-sellers and Stocking-sellers.

Shoe-makers.

Brasiers.

Fruiterers.

Wax-sellers.

Mercers. shew rare worke-deuises in Wax. And by them are the Mercers; but of both these there are not many Shops. Then

Flowre-sellers follow the Sellers of Flowers, who likewise sell Citrones and Limons: but such as doe behold the rare diuersity of Floures, would imagine to see mid-April, when the Fields are in their richest Liuery, or when the Gardens make their best shew of beautie. Of these Shoppes there are about twenty: for such as vse to drinke Wine, will alwayes haue Hearbes and Floures with them.

Milke-sellers. Neere vnto them, are certaine sellers of Milke, whose Shops are well furnished with all *China* Vessels. They vse to buy their Milke of diuers Kine-keepers, who make this kind of Merchandise of their Kine, and euery morning these Kine-keepers doe send their Milke in certain wodden vessels, bound about with Iron, very narrow at the mouth, but large in the bottome, and so sell it them of these Shoppes. Such as is milked at night, is bought by these Shopkeepers, and Butter made thereof: and that which is sower, commonly called Butter-Milke, they sell in like manner to the people; so that betweene sweet and sower Milke, fiue and twenty Tubs of Milke is daily made sale of. Next

Sellers of Bombast. to these, are the Sellers of Cotton and Bombast, making (betweene them) thirtie Shops. On the North-side, are

Hemp-sellers the Traders in Hemp, that sell Halters, Horsse-Collers, Packe-thred, and all kind of Cords. By them, are the Makers

Sadlers. of Saddle-girts, riding Pantofles, and Head-stalles for Horses, some of Leather, and some of Silke. A little further off, are the Scabberd or Sheath-

Scabberd-makers. makers, for Swordes, Daggers, and Kniues, who likewise make Leather Breast-plates for Horses.

Salte-sellers. Next to them stand the Sellers of Salt and Whiting, which they buy in grosse, and sell by retaile. Then they

Pot-sellers. that sell all kind of Stone-vessels, which are faire, and of perfect collours, some that be of one, and others of two colours; of all these there are about an hundred Shoppes. Then such as sell

Lorrayners. Bittes and Bridles for Horses, Saddles, and Stirrups, of which there are about fourescore Shoppes. Then there is a

Porters. place for Porters, which are to the number of three hundred, who haue a chiefe or Commaunder among them, and he appointeth those men weekely, that are to labour and carry burthens, and they must duely attend on al occurrences, which happen in that weeke. When the weeke is ended, he deuideth the Money duely and equally among them that haue laboured for it. And the Porters loue like Brethren, for when any one of them dyeth, and leaueth a young Child behinde him: they not onely (in common) do pay the widowes charges, vntill she marry againe; but also haue a louing and diligent care of the Childe, till it be of age to vndertake some Trade. When any of this ranke marrieth, or the birth of a Child is knowne among them: a Banquet is made for the whole Company, and at this meeting, no one escapeth without one present or other. And no man may enter into their profession, till he haue made a sociable meeting to the whole Company: Or else, if hee presume to enter in labour among them, hee must haue but the halfe moity of his owne earnings. And they are priuiledged by the Lord of the Citty, from paying any penalties or taxations whatsoeuer, or the baking of their owne Bread at the Ouen. If any of them commit a fault deseruing death, it is not publikely punished. And when they follow their labour, they goe cloathed in garments all of one colour; but when the day concerneth not their labour, they are habited to their own liking: and to conclude, they are all accounted honest men, & of good life, sildome deseruing any reprehension.

A louing amitie among men of meane qualitie.

Orders obserued among the Porters.

Not farre from the place where these Porters do giue attendance, is the Market place for the cheefe of the Consuls, and Iudges of all things sold for foode. In the midst of this Market-place is a *Serraglio* of Canes, made foure square, wherein are solde Carrets, and other kinde of Garden Roots, by certain men thereto appointed, because none else but they may buy them of the Gardiners, as being thereto especially deputed, and they pay an order of custome therefore to the Receiuer. And dailie shall ye see there sold fiue hundred Horse-load of these Roots, and many times farre greater quantities, sold at verie

The Market-place for *Il Capo de Consoli.*

very cheape rare, ſometimes thirty, at (at leaſt) twenty pound weight for a *Baioc*, and Beanes and Peaſe (at due ſeaſons of the yeare) are ſold very reaſonably. Round about are certaine Shops, where they ſel* *Vermicilli*, and other like things, as fleſh made into round balles, and fryed in Oyle, euery ball beeing about the bigneſſe of a Figge: which are ſold at ſixe Quatrines the pound, and they are made of leane Beeſe. Beſide this Market-place, ſomwhat more Northerlie is the Hearb-market, where they ſell Cabbages, Turnops, Colewortes, and other Hearbes, which they eate together with meate, and there are forty Shoppes of theſe Traders. Next is the Smoaky Market, where they fry certaine kinds of Bread in Oyle, like to the boiled Hony-Bread ſold in *Rome*. Theſe men haue ſundry Inſtruments in their Shoppes, and Boyes ſinging al the day; for great quantity of this Bread is daily ſold; becauſe it is vſed in faſts, eſpecially on Feaſt daies, and when they intend any ſolemne-faſting.

Theſe men vſe not to roaſt their meat on Spits or Broaches, but they haue two Ouens or furnaces, made one ouer the other, and they put fire into the neathermoſt, and when that aboue is well heated: they put in the meate at a conuayance made aloft, becauſe no fire ſhall offend their hands. By this means, the meat is exceedingly well Cookt, keepes a delicate colour, and hath a rare reliſh: becauſe neither Smoke, nor ſmell of the fire can come at it, but is thus temperately dreſſed all the night time. In the morning, of this meat, and the Bread before named, there is dailie ſold to the value of two hundred Duckets, for there are fifteene of the Shops, and they haue no other exerciſe. They ſell alſo, fryed Fleſh, and fryed Fiſh, and other kinds of Bread, made into Paſte, like Cakes; but yet ſomewhat thicker, being kneaded with Butter, and ſo with Butter and Honny they vſe to eate it. They ſeeth likewiſe the feete of Beaſts, like to our Neates feete or Trotters; & theſe are commonly ſold to poor men, that labour in the grounds, who make their morning breake-faſt of them, and afterward goe to their worke. Next vnto theſe, ſtand the Sellers of Oyle, Butter, ſalt and freſh, Hony, Cheeſe, old and new, Oliues, Capers, Lemons, Skirrets, and Pottatoes, their Shoppes being furniſhed with *China* Diſhes, making a farre greater ſhew then ſubſtance. They ſell their Pots and Veſſels of Butter and Oyle, in the ſame manner as we ſell goods at an Out-cry, to them that will giue moſt, and they that cry theſe things, are certain Porters thereto purpoſely appointed, who meaſure forth the Oyle, when any great quantity thereof is ſold together. The pots and Veſſels do containe (ſeuerally) an hundred pound weight, and there the Kine-keepers doe ſtand bound, to ſee that this meaſure be duely performed, and as they are ſtill emptied, to bee filled againe, and ſold in the Cittie.

Neere vnto this place, is the Shambles or Butcherie, and there are about fortie ſhoppes of them, faire and large, as any of the other profeſsions, where they cut orth meate, and ſell it by waight of the Ballaunce. They vſe not to kill anie beaſt in the Shambles, but in apt appointed ſlaughter houſes by the Riuer ſide, where they flay off the hides, and then cauſe them to be brought by Porters into the Market, from the ſlaughter houſe, but firſt they are preſented before the *Capo de Conſoli*; who hauing ſeene and examined the goodneſſe thereof, he deliuereth the ſeller a Ticket in Writing, at what price he ſhall ſell the fleſh: and this Ticket is faſtened by the Butcher to the meate, that euerie one may publickly ſee and read it. Beſide the Butcherie, is another Market place, where wollen cloath (made in the Countrey) is ſold, and containe about an hundred ſhoppes. If any man bring Cloath to be ſolde, hee muſt deliuer it to a Crier, who carries it on his ſhoulders; and ſo goeth on from ſhop to ſhoppe, crying the price thereof, and of theſe Criers, ther are threeſcore in number. The cry beginneth after mid-day; continuing till darke night, and the Cryer is payed two *Baiocs* in the Ducate; but the Merchants trading in theſe affayres, haue verie great dealings. Next theſe, ſtand the Polliſhers and Cleanſers of Armors and Weapons, as Swordes, Daggers, Partezans, and ſuch like; whereof theſe are ſome that both cleanſe and ſell them. Then are the Fiſhermen or Fiſhmongers, who Fiſh in the Cities Riuers, both within and without; ſelling manie

good

* A ſmall cut Paſtimeate, vſed in *Italie* to make pottage withal.

The Hearbe-market.

The Smoake-market.

Their maner of roaſting meat.

Fried Fleſh, & fried Fiſh.

Oyle, Butter, Salt and other comodities,

ſolde as by Out-cry.

The Butchery or Shambles.

The Woollen Cloth Market, and Cryers of Cloth.

Armourers.

Fiſhermen, or Fiſh-mongers

good and great Fishes at very easy price, at three *Quatrines* the pound. They vse to take great store of one kinde of Fish, which in *Rome* is called * *Laccia*, & they begin to Fish for them at the entrance of October, and so hold on to Aprill.

* The Chub, or Cheuin.

Next, are the Makers of Cages, Pens, or Coopes, for Powltrey and Fowles, which commonly they make of Canes, and consist of about fortie shoppes. For euery Cittizen doth keepe a great manie to fatten; and (to auoyd noysomnes) they suffer them not to goe at libertie in their houses, but onely keepe them immured in these Cages.

Basket and Cadgemakers

A little further are the Sope-sellers, who sell verie licquid Sope, hauing all their Shoppes together, because they stand seperated by the street. This Sope is not made in the Cittie; but in the neighboring Hillie Countrey, and among the Mountainers, whence the Muleters doo bring it, and sell it to the owners of these Shoppes. Then are the Sellers of Flower and Meale, but there are not many shops of them in this Market, because they are elsewhere placed in the Milles-streete.

Sope-sellers.

Meale-sellers

Next, the sellers of all kind of graine, both for seede, and other-wise; with great store of attending Porters, that carry it thence to mens houses on Horses and Mules, according as it is measured out by the appointed measure, in three sackes vpon a Beasts backe, lying one aloft on the other, & men are especially commaunded to haue care of the measuring and measures. Next is the Market-place, where Linnen and woollen yarne is sold, and the same dressed in such manner as it ought to be. This Market consisteth of a goodly House, with foure seuerall Shops or abidings about it. In one of which sit the weauing Merchants, with certaine inferior Ministers or Officers, which weigh the yarne. In two other sit Women, that haue spunne, and come to sell the saide Yarne, and there is no small number of them. Their Market beginneth at noone, and lasteth till euening, making sale in great plenty. Diuers vse to go see this Market place, because it is found planted with Mulberry-trees, which giue a comely shade to the Market women sitting vnder them; and they assemble there together in such crowdes, that hardly is any passage by them, and falling (many times) from scolding to fighting, are much shame to themselues, and such as behold them.

Corne-sellers

Linnen and Woollen Yarne.

Weauing Merchants.

Mulbery Trees.

Now returning to the West part, towards the Temple from the Gate, as we goe to *Mecuasce*, beyond the smoke market in the direct way: are they that make Buckets of Leather, vsed for casuall fires, and drawing Water out of Welles, of which Trade there are some foureteene Shoppes. There are also the makers of Hutches and receipts for Meale and Corn, being about thirtie Shops in number. Next whom are Coblers and menders of old Shoes, purposely prepared for poore & meane people; of which there are aboue an hundred and fifty Shoppes.

Bucket-makers.

Coblers.

Then are the Target and Shield-makers of Leather, according to the *Affricane* manner, and as wee see in some places of *Europe*. By them are the Landerers, which are diuers men of base condition, keeping there sundry Shops, with Tubs and Water ready in them. Such as keepe no Maide-Seruants in their Houses, bring their Linnen to be washed by these men Landerers, which they also perform very diligently, hanging them afterward on lines to be dried, as they doe in *Italy*, appearing so pure and neatly washed, as no Women could expresse more cleanely labour. Many other Markers and Trades there are beside, which beeing of meane and silly importance; I forbeare to speake of them, and will now proceede to the Merchants Market, or place of resort.

Target-makers.

Launderers that are men.

6 This Market place is after the manner of a little Cittie, with a Wall built about it, containing in circuit twelue Gates or entrances: And each one of these Gates is ouer-thwarted with a Chaine, so that no Horses, or other Beasts can enter in thereat. The Market-place is deuided into fifteene streetes or passages. Two of them belongeth to Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for Gentlemen, of which cost and comlinesse, none other may weare them, neyther Artificer, Souldier, nor Courtier. Other two doe appertaine to Silke-men, or Merchants of Silke: One part whereof doe sell faire Tassels and Furnitures for Horses, and haue about

The Market place of Merchants and Merchandise.

Shoe-makers for Gentlemen.

Silke-men.

bout fifty Shoppes: The other do ſell dyed and coloured Silkes, to worke in Linnen, or any other thinges elſe, and haue (very neere) as many ſhoppes. By theſe, ſtand ſome that make Belts and Girdles for women of wooll; but they are vnſightly. Others alſo, that make the like of Silke, but of no better or handſomer faſhion: becauſe they make them in plaites or treſſes, as great as a mans two fingers, ſome of them beeing thought ſtrong enough to hold a Boat tied. Next to theſe are two other ſtreets, where ſtand the Merchants of Wollen Cloth, ſuch as come out of *Europe*, and all theſe Merchants are tearmed *Granatini*. There alſo ſtand they that ſell all kinde of Sattins, Veluets, and other Silkes, Hats, and Bonnets, and raw Silkes. A little further off, ſtand they that make al kind of Bedding Pillowes, Mattraſſes, and ſuch like neceſſary furniture. And by them is the place for Toules and Cuſtomes. For theſe cloths are likewiſe ſold by way of out-cry, and ſuch as take charge of them, doe bring them firſt to bee ſealed in the Toule-Houſe, and afterward walke crying them among the Merchants; there being alſo about ſixty Cryers, each man hauing paid him a *Baioc* for a cloth. Thē there is two other ſtreetes, wherein are the Taylors and Makers of Garments. By whom ſtand they that make diuers Bonnets of Cloath, to couer the head withal. And then are two other ſtreets, where the Linnen weauing Merchants haue their due place, ſelling Shirtes, Smocks, and all other wearing Linnen for men and women. Theſe are the richeſt Merchants in the Citty; becauſe they make quicker returne in their Negotiations, then al the reſt together do. There is another ſtreet, where they ſell all kind of Cloath-Garments, that are brought out of *Europe*, and euerie eueningan out-cry is made of theſe Garments, ſuch as are brought to the Cittizens to ſell, ſome old, ſome new, and for all vſes. Laſt of all, is a place, where all old Linnen is ſold, as Shirts, Sheets, Hand-towels, Wipers, and ſuch like: And hard by are little Shoppes, where they cry Carpets, and Coueringes for Beds.

Girdle-makers for women.

Granatini Merchants of wollen-cloath.

Mercers.

Vpholſters.

The Toule or Cuſtome-houſe.

Taylors.

Bonnet-makers.

Linnen-Merchants.

Broakers and Sellers of old Garments.

7 All theſe ſtreets are called together *Caiſaria*, an ancient word, and deriued of *Cæſar*, as meaning *Cæſar*, who was the greateſt Lord of thoſe times in all *Europe*.

Concerning the name of the ſtreetes, cald *Caſaria*, ſo named of *Cæſar*.

For all the Cities from the Riuer of *Mauritania*, were gouerned by the *Romaines*, and afterward by the *Gothes*: and in euery one of them was ſuch a Market-place, that bare the ſame name. The occaſion heereof, is thus rendred by the Hiſtorians of *Affrica*, who ſay, that the Miniſters and Officers of the *Romaines* and *Gothes*, were euery where intermingled in the Cities Store-houſes, and Ware-houſes, where the tribute accounts and collections wer kept together, which many times happened to be ſpoyled by the people. Hereupon an Emperour was aduiſed, to make a place like vnto a little Cittie, where all the Merchants of beſt reputation might aſſemble together, to make ſale of their Wares; And likewiſe the Officers of the Treaſury, to ſtore vp ſuch tributes and taxations, as ſhould bee gathered. Wel aſſuring himſelfe, that if the Cittizens would preſerue and defend their owne goods, it was conuenient for them to doe the like to thoſe of the Empire. For they could neuer conſent to any ſpoile, but it returned alſo to their owne dammage. As many times hath beene obſerued in *Italy*, when Souldiours (in particular fauour to ſome faction) haue entred into a citty, & ſpoyling the contrary part: when the enemies faculties haue not proued ſufficient, they ranſacked alſo the houſes of their friends.

The reaſon of this generall Markets building.

Spoile in any Citty maketh no reſpect.

8 Neere vnto this little faſhioned Cittie, on the North-ſide thereof, are the Apothecaries, who haue a ſtraite goodly ſtreete, wherein is about an hundred and fifty Shops. This ſtreete is ſhut in at eyther end with two faire Gates, no leſſe ſtrong then large: and theſe Apothecaries doe keepe diuers Watch-men at their owne charge, that walke about in the night time, with Lanthornes, Dogges, and Weapons, to preuent all inconueniences that might enſue.

Of Apothecaries, & other Artes.

Here are ſold all matters of Spicery, or belonging to Phiſicke: but they doe not make any Sirups, Conſerues, or

All matters of Spicery.

Electuaries, becauſe the Phiſitions do ſee theſe offices performed in their own Houſes, and afterward ſend them to their owne Shoppes, keeping Seruants for the purpoſe, who doe ſee the receipts diſtributed, according to the Phiſitions direction. And the moſt part of theſe Shoppes are ſo conioyned together, with them belonging to the Apothecaries: that the Common people know not the Phiſitions from the other. Theſe Apothecaries haue their Shops high, large, and fairely adorned, with beautifull roofes and rich furniſhments. In all the World is not a ſtreete of Apothecaries like vnto this. True it is, that in *Tauris*, a Citty of *Perſia*, there is a goodly Marketplace of the ſame Arts-men: but the Shoppes haue darke entrances, yet curiouſly builded, and the Porches mounted on Pillets of Marble. But theſe of *Fez* are much more commended, for their benefit of aire and light; thoſe of *Tauris* being too obſcure. A little remote from this ſtreet, are many other Trades, whereof, becauſe I haue elſe-where ſufficiently ſpoken; I may be fauoured to paſſe them ouer.

Phiſitions & Apothecaries haue ſhops together.

The Apothecaries of *Tauris*.

9 The Citty toward the Eaſt, is ciuile, ſtored with goodly Pallaces, Temples, and Colledges: but (indeede) it is not ſo copious and abounding in Artes and Trades, as the other part is; becauſe there are neither Merchants, Taylors, nor Hoſiers, but of courſe and homely Cloth. There is a little Market-place of Apothecaries, wherein are no more then thirty Shops. Toward the Cittie Wall, are the Furnace men, Makers of Bricke, painted Tyles and Diſhes. And hard by them, is a great Market-place, where they ſell all kinde of Veſſels for vſe, but no Glaſſes; as Pots, Diſhes, Pans, Treyes, &c. Then is the Market of the Garners, where they keepe all their Corne: And another ſtands right againſt the great Temple, hauing all the floore paued with painted Tyles, with diuers Shoppes of Arts about it. There are alſo, fiue hundred and twenty Houſes of Cloth-Weauers, which houſes are made like vnto great Pallaces, conſiſting of many roomes, with many fair Haules, in each of which are great ſtore of Weauers: and the owners of theſe Houſes do not handle any working Inſtrument, but onely the Worke-Maiſters, who pay both the wages and rent of euery houſe. And this is the greateſt of all the Artes in the Citty; for it conſiſts of aboue twenty thouſand Men, and as many more are daily exerciſed in the Milles. There are likewiſe an hundred and fifty houſes of Whiteſters of Yarne, all which Houſes are builded (for the moſt part) by the Riuers ſide, and well furniſhed with pannes and Cauldrons, for boyling the Yarne, and other neceſſarie occaſions. In the Citty are ſundry great Houſes, wherein they ſaw and cleaue Wood into diuers formes: which labour is performed by certaine Chriſtian Bond-ſlaues, and of the Money they earne, their Patrones find them their maintenance. They are admitted no time of reſt, but onely the halfe of Friday, from noone to the euening; and ſome eyght other dayes at ſeuerall ſeaſons in the yeare, at which times are the Feaſtes of the *Moores*. There are publique Brothels or Stewes, where Strumpets are attendant at poore price: wherein they are fauored eyther by the * *Bargello*, or Gouernor of the Citty. There are alſo diuers men, who (without offence to the Court) do exerciſe the office of Bawds or Pandares, keeping Wine and Women in their houſes, making benefit by their lewdneſſe, and ſuch as reſort thither, doe it ſecurelie. There are ſixe hundred heads or Springs of Water, naturall Welles, hemd in with walles, and lockt with cloſe Doores; becauſe ſome are deuided into many parts, and runne along vnder-ground, paſſing by Channels to Houſes, Temples, Colledges, and Innes. This Water is in much more eſtimation, then that of the Riuer: becauſe it ſometime faileth, eſpecially in Summer.

Weauers the greateſt trade in the Cittie.

Chriſtian Bondſlaues that cleaue and ſaw wood

* A Captaine of Sergeants.

Sixe hundred well-ſprings in the Cittie.

The ſecond part of the Citty.

What Trades are in this part of the Citty.

Hereto is added, that when they wold make cleane the Kennels, the courſe of the Riuer runneth without the Cittie, which makes euerie one the more gladly to vſe this other ſweete Water. And though Gentlemen (in Summer time) haue of this Riuer Water in their Houſes; yet will they haue ſtore of the Springes Water, as being more freſh and ſweete, but in Winter they doe otherwiſe. Theſe Springes are (for the moſt

Spring water better then the Riuer.

Stores for Corne.

moſt part) on the Weſt and South ſides of the Cittie, becauſe the part anſwering North-ward, is all Mountainie, being called *Teuertino*, and there are very great and deepe places, wherein they keepe much Corne for many yeares, ſome capable to containe two hundred quarters. And the Inhabitants in thoſe places, who are common vulgar men, doe liue on the profit they make by the rentage of them; which is a quarter vpon euery hundred, at the beginning of the yeare.

Gardens on the Cities ſouth-ſide.

On the South-ſide, which is halfe inhabitable, are many Gardens, ſtored with good and delicate Fruites; as Lemmons, Citrones, Mellons, and very fragrant Flowres; among which are the Geſſemine, Damaske-Roſe, and Wall-floure, brought thyther out of *Europe*, and much eſteemed of by the *Moores*. In which Gardens alſo, are diuers beautifull Lodgings, Fountains, and proſpects, round engirt with Geſſemines, Roſes, and other ſweete floures. In the Spring-time, whoſoeuer walketh neere thoſe Gardens, ſhall ſmell a rare, delicate, and moſt pleaſing odour; & they are no leſſe anſwerable, in contenting the eye with their beauty and ſplendour. So that, to ſpeake vprightly, no one of theſe Gardens but it doth appeare like an earthly Paradiſe; and this is the reaſon, that Gentlemen (poſſeſſors of them) doe dwell in them, from the beginning of Aprill, vntill the ending of September. On the weſt ſide, is the Rock-Fort, or Caſtle, which was builded in the time of the K. of *Lontuna*, and (in greatneſſe) may equall an indifferent Citty. This was the ſeat (in elder times) of the Gouernors and Lordes of *Fez*, that is to ſay; before it was a roiall Citty: And afterward, when new *Fez* was builded by the Kings of the Houſe of *Marino*, this Caſtle was left as a dwelling for the Gouernor only. In this Caſtle is a goodly temple, built in the time when it was much inhabited, and thoſe faire Pallaces which then were there, are now quite ruinated, and Gardens made where they ſtood. Onely one remaineth, wherein the Gouernor dwelleth, and certaine other Houſes for his Family. There are alſo many other places, where the Gouernor vſeth to giue audience to offenders, and affoord them

Gardens compared to earthly Paradiſes.

The Caſtell Rocke, built by the King of *Lontuna*.

The Gouernors Pallace in the Rocke-Caſtle.

Iuſtice. There is likewiſe a Priſon made in the likeneſſe of a dungeon, yet ſuſtained with many pillers; which priſon is ſo large, as it may well hold three thouſand perſons: for there is no ſeparation, or ſecret deuiſion of one from another; becauſe they vſe not to keepe any man cloſe Priſoner in *Fez*.

The Gouernors Priſon.

10. In the Citty there are none but meane Officers and Magiſtrates, who haue the charge of adminiſtrating Iuſtice. The Gouernor is ſupreame, both in cauſes ciuile and criminall. There is a Iudge, who is appointed for Cannonical cauſes, that is; the Lawes contained in the Bookes of *Mahomet*. Another Iudge alſo, who is Lieutenant to the other, and he attendeth cauſes of Matrimony and repudiation; to examine witneſſes, and vniuerſally to render Iuſtice. Next is the Aduocate, with whom they vſe to conſult on the lawes, and to whō they make their appeale from the Iudges; either when they deceiue them, or giue ſentence by authority of ſome leſſe excellent Doctor. The Gouernour enioyeth a great deale of Money, by condemnations made at diuers times: And the whole weight of Iuſtice, giuen to a guilty offender; is to be depriued of the Gouernors preſence, and beaten with an 100. or 200. ſtripes. The Hang-man taketh the fruſtrated perſon, & putting a Chaine about his necke, leadeth him thorow the Citty, ſtarke naked, onely the partes of ſhame reſerued, which is couered with a breech purpoſely made. The *Bargello* goeth along with them, & the Hang-man publiſheth all the way, the fact wherein hee hath offended: which beeing done, he putteth on his Garments againe, and then is returned backe to Priſon, but ſometimes, many are led in this manner together.

Of Magiſtrates, and their manner of gouernment in adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and cuſtommarie habites.

Of puniſhing ſome criminall perſons.

The Gouernour hath of euery guiltie priſoner, a ducate & a quarter, or fourth part, and of euery one committed to priſon, he hath a taxation, which is ſeuerally paid vnto him, by Merchants & Artificers, deputed onely to that office. But among all other benefits, he hath a Mount which yeildeth him ſeuen thouſand ducates of yearely rent. True it is, that he ſtandeth bound to find the King three hundred Men and Horſes, in the time of Warres, and (ſo long as they endure) to be their Pay-maiſter. The

The Gouernours fees of Priſoners.

Iudges in Cannonicall causes.

Iudges for Cannonicall matters, haue neither wages or reward; becauſe it is forbidden in the Law of *Mahomet*, that any payment whatſoeuer ſhould bee made to a Iudge, for ſuch an Office. Therefore they liue vpon other wages; as on their readings, or by being a Prieſt in ſome Temple. In like manner, the Aduocates and Procuratours, are but ſimple and vulgar perſons. The Iudges haue a certaine place, wherein Debters are impriſoned, and others for light occaſions, or of ſmall moment. In the City are foure Bargelloes, and no more, who make their ſearches from the foure and twentith houre, vntill the ſecond houre of night: And they haue no wages neither, but a certaine tribute of them which they apprehend, by their retention, and for certaine ſmal puniſhments inflicted on them. But each of them may keep a Tauerne or Inne, and be a Bawd for Boyes or Strumpets. The Gouernour of the Cittie keepeth neyther Iudge or Notary to attend him; but deliuereth the ſentence from his owne mouth. There is but one man alſo, that hath chiefe charge in the Cuſtome or Toule-hoſe, who payeth thirty ducates daily to the Kings Chamber, and keepeth Guardians and Notaries at euery Gate, where all thinges (of ſmall price) pay their due at the Gate. But others of greater value, are (by the Guardians) conducted from the Gate to the Cuſtome-houſe, and Guardians & Notaries together, according to the quantity, haue certaine Stipends allowed them. Sometimes the Guardians do go forth of the Gates, to meete the Muleters, becauſe they ſhould not hide or conceale any thing: but if they finde any matter imbezeled, they pay double tribute for the offence, The ordinary payment, is two Ducates in the hundred: And of ſtone-fruit (wherof great plenty is daily brought thither) they pay the fourth part of the price; But for Wood, Corne, Cattle, and Poultry, they pay not any thing. Onely gueldeb beaſts are not payed for, but in the Butchery, two *Baioes* for euery ſuch Beaſt, and one to the Gouernour, who is the *Capo di Conſoli*. For he keepeth a Court, with twelue Sergeants there attending. And he rideth oftentimes about the citty, to approoue the weight of Bread, Fleſh, and other thinges that are ſold: And if he find not the eeuen weight, he cauſeth thē to be broken in many fragments, and giueth the Seller ſo many blowes in the necke with the Baſtone, that he leaueth him (in a manner) dead, and the more of ſuch thinges as he findeth too light, the more doth he breake, and publiſh their ſhame beſide thorow the Citty. This Office is granted by the King to ſuch Gentlemen as make ſuite for it: but in former times, it was onlie beſtowed on learned men, and of eſpeciall good fame; though now (by the Lordes meanes) priuate and ignorant perſons do ſooneſt enioy it.

Aduocates & Atturneyes.

Bargelloes Captaines of watch and ſearches.

The Gouernour giueth ſentence himſelfe.

Of the Cuſtome or Toule-houſe, and Officers thereto belonging.

Concerning tribute payments.

The *Capo di Conſoli* his Court, and his riding thorow the City.

The beſt ſort of Inhabitants in the Citty, and their Habites.

The Dwellers in the Cittie, to wit; the Noble and worthyer ſort, are truly ciuill, and cloathe themſelues in winter time, with garments of forraigne wollen Cloth. The manner of habite, is a long ſide Caſſock or Coat, worne ouer the Shirt, with halfe Sleeues, and verie ſtraite: ouer which hee weares a long Gowne, ſeamed or made faſt before, & a hood hanging behind. On his head he hath a plaine bonnet, like them worn in *Italy* in the night time, but without eares: whereon is twice folded about the head certaine fine knotted Cloath, and vnderneath his beard. He weares no hoſen, or halfe hoſen, but only breeches of cloth: winter time excepted, or when he rideth, and then he weareth Buskins. The popular ſort weare long skirted coates with hoods, without any ſuch gownes ouer them as is formerlie named: and thoſe kind of bonnets (ſimply) on their heads, of ſmall price or eſtimation. Doctours and Gentlemen of ſome yeares, doe weare certaine Garments with wide ſleeues, much like to the Gentlemen of *Venice*, who hold much more honorable office. In briefe, ſuch as are of meane and baſe condition, clothe themſelues in Garments of white Wollen Cloth, made in their owne Countrey, and Hoods alſo after the ſame manner.

The common ſort of people

The meaneſt ſort of all.

The habites of Women of all conditions

The Women goe very comely clothed, but in hot weather, they weare a long large linnen Garment onely, guirded about the midſt with ſome Girdle, rather rude and courſe, then otherwiſe. In Winter time, they weare certaine Gownes with large ſleeues, ſeamed down before as the mens are: but when they

they walke abroad, they weare close breeches, which reach so largely, as they couer their whole legs. They also weare a veile or Cloth on their heades, which couers their whole body, after the manner of *Soria*: Their faces likewise is couered with a fine Cloath, so that nothing can be discerned but their eies. In their eares they haue earings of Gold, and very costly Iewels: but such as are not of the like condition, weare none but of Siluer, and without any Iewels. About their wrists, they weare Manilions or Bracelets of pure Gold, and on each arme, which Bracelets doe commonly weigh an hundred ducates. The ignoble and meaner women, haue their Bracelets of Siluer, and such also they weare about their Legs.

Veiles for womens faces

11. The Custome of dyet and feeding among the vulgar sort; is to eate fresh Flesh twice euery Weeke. But Gentlemen feede thereon euery daie, according to their appetite, and haue three meales a day. The first in the morning; is but as a light breake-fast, because it is of Bread or Fruite, and a kind of Broth or Pottage, made with Flower and Wheate, rather very thin, then otherwise. But in Winter, in stead of their Broth, they seeth therein powdred Flesh and Hearbs. At noone or mid-day, they feede on light meates also, as Bread, light-salted Flesh and Hearbes, Oliues, and Cheese: but in Summer time, this second meale is best. At night, their third meale is lightest of all, to wit; Bread & Mellons, or Egges, or Milke. In Winter, their best feeding is on boyld meats, with that kind of Pulse, which in *Spaine* is called *Cuske*, or *Cuscusu*, made in Paste like Coriander Seeds, and stewed in a bored vessel, like to a Strainer, to receiue fume from another boyling vessel, and being afterward well mingled with Butter, is serued in with the broth. They vse not to eate any roasted meate, and this is the feeding of the common people, as also of Artificers, and other poore Cittizens. But men of account, as aged Gentlemen, Merchants, & Courtiers; they liue in better sort, and fare more delicately.

Of their manner of Dyet and feeding.

Three meals a day, & how obserued.

The vulgar people, and meaneſt Cittizens.

The dyet of *Europe* & *Fez* compared together.

But in comparison of the dyet vsed in *Europe* among Gentlemen of respect, the *Affricanes* is truely miserable and vile: not in regard of the small quantity of foode, but the rude and disorderlie manner of their feeding. Which is on the ground, vpon a very low Table, without Table-Cloth, Napkin, or Linnen of any kinde, or vsing any thing, but the hand onelie: And when they eate the *Cuske* or *Cuscusu*, all the Guests are serued in one dish, and graip it with their fingers, without helpe of any spoone. And each man taketh which part of the meat himselfe pleaseth, tearing it from the rest without cutting, because they vse no kniues; and tearing it with their teeth, they hold the rest in their hands, eating and deuouring it very greedily. And no man drinketh, vntil he be well satisfied with eating; then each man drinketh a Mazzer of water, containing the quantity of a quart, and this is the common vse. It may be, that some Doctor liueth more moderatly: but to conclude, the meaneſt Gentleman of *Italy*, liueth more sumptuously then the greatest Lord of *Affrica*.

Their rude & grosse manner of feeding.

12 As concerning Matrimony, this is the manner obserued among them. Whē any man is willing to take a wife, so soone as the Brides Father (if shee haue any) hath made promise to him of his daughter: they inuite and assemble their friends together at the Church or Temple, taking two Notaries with them, who draw the Bargaine and conditions of the Dowry, the Husband and Wife beeing there present. The indifferenter sort of Cittizens, doe vse to giue them thirty Ducates in readie Mony, a *Negro* Seruant-Maid, of fifteen ducates price, a certaine piece of cloth, made of Silke and Linnen in diuers colours, Chekerwise, and other fine Cloathes of Silke, for her to weare on her head.

What manner of custome they obserue in their marriages.

The reasonabler sort of Cittizens gift.

It is their custome also, to present her with a paire of Shoes, fairely wrought, and two paire of Choppinoes, painted with Gold and Siluer, and diuers other small gifts; as Combs, Fans, Perfumes, &c. After that the writings are drawn, and that both the one side and other are contented; the Husband taketh all his company there present, to dine with him; and the Father to the Bride, doth the like to all his bidden guests.

What the Brides father may giue to his daughter beside custome.

If the said Father will adorne his Daughter with any Garments, he may doe it in respect of his owne Gentility: because, beside the Money giuen to the Husband, he standeth not bound to any other charges; although hee may iustly be taxed with shame, if he be not more bountifull. Now adaies, beside the thirtie Ducates giuen in help of the Dowry; the Father (or hee that vndertaketh the matter in like case) spendeth two or three hundred ducates in furnishing the Bride, as well in garments, as furniture for houshold, but giueth neither House, Vine-yard, nor possession.

The manner of furnishing the Bride.

The custome is, to make her 3. gownes of fine cloth, and three of Silke, eyther of Taffata, Sattin, or Damaske; many Smockes; many Sheets for bedding, listed with Silke on either side; Pillowes and Boulsters. She hath giuen her also eight Beds, foure to be laid vp in store, in conuenient Presses made for the purpose; two for present vse on the Bedsted, the Tikes whereof are grosse and strong, and two other made of leather, which are held as Ornaments to the Chamber. Three faire Couerlets, such as we tearme Quilts, but made of wollen-cloth, and lined with linnen: one of which is first laid vpon the bed, and then another of Silke ouer it, whereof also she hath three in number, with others made conuenient for Summer; beside hangings for the Wals, fairely fringed and buttond with Silke; And this is as an addition to the Dowry, but many times much more, whereby many Gentlemen haue sustained great impouerishing.

Furniture for the house.

The manner of bringing the Bride home to her husbands house.

When the husband bringeth home his new wife to his house, she is first placed in a Tabernacle of wood, made with eight gazings or windowes, all couered with cloth of Gold and Silke, and carried by eight Porters on their heads; being accompanied with her Father, Friends, Husband, Flutes, Trompets, and Drums, beside a great number of lighted Torches, and the Friends to the Husband march before with their Torches, and the Father with his Friendes following, passing on to the great market place, by the great Tempie. When they are come into the Market place, the Husband there saluteth the Father and Kinred of his new wife; but shee, without any further attending, goeth home to the house, ther expecting him in her Chamber. The Father, Brother, and Vnckle, goe with her so farre as the Chamber doore, and there present her to her Husbands Mother. So soone as she is entred into the Chamber, the husband sets his foot vpon his wiues foot, which being done, they are left there shut vp together: while they of the house prepare a banket, & one woman remaineth at the Chamber doore, vntil the Bridegroome hath had the honour of the Brides virginity, and the woman then going to her, receiueth a Cloath from her somewhat tinctured with blood, wherewith she goeth among all then present at the banquet, shewing it openly in her hand, expressing with a loud voyce, that the Bride was found to be a virgine. Herevpon, the Husbands Kinred giues her food to eate, and afterward, beeing accompanied with other weomen, she goes to the House of her husbands mother, where she is likewise honoured, and set downe to meat. But if it so happen, that the Husband findes not his wife to be a virgin; he returnes her backe to her Father and mother, and no one wil eat a iot of the banquet, but depart discontented, as a manifest signe of her shame.

The ceremony in the Bride-Chamber.

The Brides shame, being found no virgine.

They vse three seuerall Feasts or meetings; The first, is the same night when the Bride is brought home; the second, is the next night after, and then none but women are inuited. The third, is the seauenth night following, whereat the Brides Father, Mother, and Kinred, are al present. On that day, the father vseth to send no meane presents to the Husbands house, beside Comfits, and other banqueting stuffe, and it is seauen daies before the Husband goeth forth of his doores; in all which time of his not being seene abroad, a certaine quantity of Fishes is bought each day, and duelie brought him home to his house. Afterward, either the Mother, or some other woman (in her stead) doth cast those Fishes vpon the Brides feete; which they hold to be an exceeding good augurie, and beside it hath bin a custome of very ancient vse among them. Beside these fore-named Feasts, there are two other also in the Fathers House. The one is, the day before he sends his Daughter

The Brides three Banquets.

An augury & obserued Custome.

The Feasts in the fathers house.

ter to her husband, & then inuiting the other ſriendes, the whole night is ſpent in Feaſting and Dauncing. On the day following, the women come thither, that vſe to decke and adorne the Bride, there they trim her haire, rub her cheekes, and paint them red, as alſo her hands & feete blacke, with a certaine tincture that continueth but a while, and this day the ſecond Feaſt is performd. Then is the Bride placed vpon a caried Scaffold, to be publickly ſeen as ſhe paſſeth along; in which time, meate is prepared and deliuered to all them that adorned the Bride. And when the wife is come to the houſe, all her Husbands deareſt Friends, doo ſend thither certaine Diſhes of Bread fryed in Oyle, with others made of Honey, and diuers pieces of roaſted fleſh; and the Husband (hauing inuited manie of his Friends) deuideth theſe ſeuerall preſents among them.

Of decking the Bride.

The Bride carried to bee publickely ſeene.

In their Dancing, which continueth all the Night time, they haue both Muſitians and Singers, who conforming their voyces to the Inſtruments, do make their Muſicke verie pleaſing. No more daunceth then one alone; and when hee hath finiſhed his dance, he taketh a piece of money out of his mouth, and throwes it on the Table before the Singers. And if any friend will do honour to him that danceth, he performeth it on his knees; and then ſticking diuers pieces of money on his face, the Muſitians preſently take it off. Women alſo haue their Dauncing, but ſeperately aſide from the men, hauing likewiſe variety of Dauncers, Singers, and Muſitions, which order is eſpecially obſerued, when the bride commeth a Virgin vnto her Husband: but when ſhee commeth to a ſecond time of marriage, the ſolemnity conſiſteth of the leſſer reputation; and then they giue courſe Beefe in their feaſting, Mutton of the Ewe, and boyled Hennes. But when they mingle diuers kindes of pottage with their meate, they vſe to ſet twelue great diſh-ful before the gueſts, in a great round platter made of Wood, the Feaſt conſiſting of ten or twelue perſons; and this is obſerued among Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner ſort of people, vſe a kinde of pottage, made with round molded Bread in it, like to the *Laſangna*, vſed in *Italy* in their *Menestra*; & therein is cut great ſlices of coorſe fleſh, al mingled together in a large woodden Platter, which they eate with their handes, vſing no Spoones, and ten perſons may feed at one of thoſe Diſhes.

The Order obſerued in their dancing among men,

The womans maner of dancing.

The dyet of Gentlemen & Merchants

They vſe alſo another kind of feaſting, at the circumciſing of their Male-Children, which is ſeauen dayes after the Childes Birth; whereto the Father calleth the Barber, and other inuited frends, on whom he beſtoweth a ſupper. Which being ended, euery one of the Gueſtes, giueth a guift to the Barber or Circumciſer: ſome a Ducate, ſome two, ſome halfe a Ducate, ſome more or leſſe, according to their ſeuerall ability. Theſe perticuler guifts of money, are laid each after other, vpon the Barbers childs face (if he haue any, or ſome other for him:) which Childe pronounceth euery giuers name, quantity of gift, and thanketh him for it, and then the Barber circumciſeth the child; which being done, they dance and feaſt in the fore-named manner. But if it bee a Daughter, leſſe ioy is declared.

Circumciſing their Children, and a feaſt therfore prepared.

13. There remaineth alſo in *Fez*, certaine Trackes or Imitations, of ſome Feaſts concerning the Chriſtians, wherein they vſed diuers words vnknown vnto themſelues. On Chriſtmas day at night, (commonly called Chriſts birth day) they vſe to eate a kind of Pottage, made of ſeuen ſundrie diuerſitie of Herbs, as Coleworts, Turnops, Carrets, and ſuch like; being dreſt and prepared with al kinds of round Pulſe, as Beanes, Peaſe, & wheat, which is eaten that night, inſted of a delicate confection.

The cuſtomary Order of their Feaſts, and maner of mourning for the dead.

The firſt day of the yeare, Children, masked with Vizards on their faces, vſe to go to Gentlemens Houſes, there to get variety of Fruits, ſinging diuers ſongs made fit for the purpoſe. Vpon the day, called S. *Johns* day, in euerie ſtreet, they make verie great fires of ſtraw. And as a Childe beginnes to haue his teeth grow, his Parents make a Feaſt for other Children, and they tearme this Feaſt *Dentilla*, which is a proper Latine word. They haue many other Cuſtomes and maners in receiuing their Auguries, which I haue ſeene obſerued in *Rome*, & in ſome other Cities of *Italy*.

The firſt day of the yeare.

On S Iohns day.

The feaſt called *Dentilla*.

A Ceremony alſo there is verie frequent amongſt women, when as eyther their Husbandes, Fathers, Mothers, or

A Cuſtome amongſt the women at the death of their Husbands, &c

Bre-

Brethren chance to dye, they then meet together, and despoyling them of their vsuall wearing Garments, do put on verie coorse sackcloath. They take the soile and filth from their pots and pans, and therewith do rub and be-smeare their faces. Then causing some base and rude men to come to them, cloathed in Womanish Garments, beating on square Drummes; to the sound thereof, they sing extemporall Lamentations, and mournefull Verses, made in the praise of Death.

Funerall Songs and Complaints.

At the end of euery Verse, the Women crie with loude voyces, beating their Faces and Breasts so violently, that blood yssueth forth in great abundance: they rent and teare their haire likewise, mourning and crying bitterly all the way they passe along, and this behauiour lasteth seuen dayes together. Afterward, hauing respited the space of forty daies, this time is no sooner finished, but they renewe againe their former complaininges, and so hold on, for the space of three dayes more.

This Custome is obserued amongst the Vulgar and common people: but they of better quality, do mourne more moderately, and without any such violent beating. Their friends vse to come and comfort them, and all their neerest Kindred, doo send them diuers kindes of foode to eate: because in the dead bodies house, so long as it remaineth there, they vse not to dresse any meate, nor doe the Women accompanie the dead bodie, although it be their Father or Brother.

No foode dresst in the dead mans house, while his body is there.

14. There are men in the Cittie, that take delight in keeping of Pigeons, whereof they haue store of such as are verie faire, and of diuers colours. They keepe them in certaine large Cages, on the top of their Houses, shaped after the manner of the Apothecaries shoppes: opening twice, euerie morning, and towardes the Euening, because they conceiue much pleasure in seeing them flye; and such as flye oftenest, and speedyest, are most esteemed.

Of Dooues or Pigeons, and their manner of keeping them.

And because many times it hapneth, that one mans Pigeons do mingle themselues among anothers; they quarrel and fall out, yea, and go together by the eares about them: yet to preuent this distemper, they keepe men on purpose, who stand on the top of the Cages, with nets fastened to the end of long Canes; and when their Maisters Pigeons would flye among the Neighbours, they take them in that Net. In the rowe where the Colliers stand, are seauen or eight Shoppes, where nothing else but only Pigeons are solde.

15. Amongst the more ciuill and Gentler sort of men, no other kinde of play or sport is vsed, but the Chesse onely, according to the ancient obseruation. They haue diuers other manner of Pastimes, but they are rude, and vsed by the vulgar people only. At certaine times of the yeare the young men gather togither, and they of one streete, doo fight against them of another, with Staues and Cudgels.

Their manner of Sportes & Pastimes.

The sporte of youth, proouing (many times) from iest to earnest

Sometime it chanceth, that eyther side do grow into such heat; as from iest they fall into earnest, yea, and kil one another, especially at the solemne Feastes, when the Assembly of these youthfull people is made out of the Citty. When they can no longer fight with Cudgels, they fall to hurling stones at each other, & will not giue ouer so long as day-light lasteth. Whereupon, when the *Bargello* is not able to part them; he seazeth on some of them, and commits them to prison, afterward punishing them thorough the Cittie.

In the night time also, some Wilde bloodes will yssue forth of the City, carrying Weapons with them, and run into the Gardens and Fields. But if they meete with as hot resisters (as many times they do) they fight verie fiercely and cruelly together, bearing alwaies deadly hatred to each other: but manie times, they meete with founde and seueare chastisement.

Dangerous sporte in the night time.

16. There are also many Poets, who compose Vulgar Verses of diuerse matters, but especially of loue; some describing their owne Loue, which they beare to Women, and other to Maids, many times setting downe the affected parties name, without vsing anie shame or respect. These Poets euerie yeare, on the Feast day of *Mahomets* Natiuitie, do write sundry Songs in praise thereof; and meeting together earely in the morning, in the Market place of the *Capo di Consoli*,

Poets in their vulgar tongue

The feast day of Mahomets birth.

Conſoli, they aſcend vp into his ſeat, wher euer y one (each after other) doth duelie rehearſe his ſong in preſence of the people. And he that is iudged to haue done beſt, and moſt elegantly declared his owne meaning, that man for the whole yeare enſuing, is called and accounted as Prince of al the other Poets.

A Prince of Poets.

But in the time of the famous Kinges of the houſe of *Marinos*, the King that then liued, vſed to inuite all the Learned men to his Pallace, yea, all the Iudicious wits in the Cittie, where making a banquet for all the worthieſt Poets, he would haue them to recite their Verſes ſeuerally (made in commendation of Mahomets Birth) in his owne royall preſence; but it was vppon an open Scaffold, and in the companie of many deepe vnderſtanding men, according to whoſe iudgement, the moſt commended perſon had giuen him by the King, an hundred Ducats, a horſe, a Woman-ſlaue, and all the Garments which the King at that time did weare. To all the reſt he gaue fiftie Ducates for each man, that no one might depart from him vnrewarded. But it is nowe about an hundred and thirtie yeares, ſince (with the declination of the Kingdome) this cuſtome ceaſed.

The bounty of a Heathen King to Poets

17. For Children to be enſtructed in Learning, there are about two hundered Schooles, each bearing the forme of a goodly great Hall, with ſeats or degrees round about, for Children to ſit on. The Maſter teacheth them to read and write, not in any Bookes, but in certaine great Tables. And the Leſſons read each day vnto them, are ſundry clauſes of the *Alchoran*, which beeing fully reade ouer in two or three yeares, and then beginning at the Originall againe, a child learneth verie readily, and containeth euery thing well in memory, proceeding ſo ſtil on for the ſpace of ſeauen yeates.

Schooles of learning for the inſtruction of Children.

No inſtruction in Bookes.

The Maiſter alſo teacheth them ſome fewe Rules of Orthographie, but both that kinde of erudition, and the Grammer, is ordinarily read in the Colledges, as likewiſe the other Sciences. Theſe Maiſters haue ſmall ſtipendarie Wages, but as Children do learne to certaine limited places in the *Alchoran*, their Fathers ſtand obliged to gratifie their Mayſters with ſome gift. And when the child hath learned the whole Alchoran, then his Father maketh a ſolemne Feaſt to all Schollers of that Schoole, whereat his Sonne is adorned with Garments like a Lords ſonne; and riding vpon a goodlie great Horſe, and of no meane Value, (which Horſe, as alſo the Garments, the Caſtillane of the Cittie Royall, ſtandeth bound to prouide him) al the other ſcholers, mounted likewiſe on horſebacke, do accompanie him home vnto his Fathers houſe; and as they enter in thereat, they ſing many Songs in the praiſe of GOD, and of the Prophet Mahomet. And then is the Feaſt made to the Schollers, and al his Fathers Friends; each of the vvhich Friends, do giue ſome guift to the Mayſter: and then, the Sonne putteth on his owne Cloaths againe, becauſe the other do appertaine to the Maiſter. And this is their yearly obſerued cuſtome.

The Schollers giue part of the poſt learner.

They vſed alſo, to make a Feaſte for theſe Schollers, on the birth day of Mahomet, and then the Father muſt ſend a Torch to the Schoole, whereby euerie Childe bringeth his owne Torch: ſome whereof, do waigh thirty pound waight, ſome more, and ſome leſſe, according to the perſons quality. Thoſe Torches are verie faire, well made, adorned and beautified round about, with diuers Frutages made of Wax, and theſe Torches doo burne from the breake of day, til the Sun be riſen; all which time, the Maſter bringeth in diuers Singers, that ſing the praiſes of Mahomet; and ſo ſoone as the Sun is riſen, the Feaſt is furniſhed. Theſe are the greateſt profits of the Mayſters, becauſe ſometime they ſell their Waxe for an hundered Ducates, and ſometime for more, according to the number of their Schollers. No man payeth anie Dutie for his Childes ſchooling, becauſe the Schooles were founded on Almes, which were left vnto them by diuers perſons. The Schollers, not only of theſe Schooles, but likewiſe of the Colledges, haue two dayes vacancie euerie weeke, and then they neither read, nor ſtudie.

The Schollers Feaſt on *Mahomets* birth day.

The Maiſters greateſt benefit by their wax Torches.

The Schoole-Maſter wages

18. There are a great number of Wizardes or Sooth-ſayers, which deuide themſelues into three kindes, or (as we may rather ſay) qualities. The firſt, are certaine men that Diuine and foretell things by the Art of Geomancy, making diuerſity of figures; and are paid for euerie one of them, according as the vſe of

Of Sooth-ſayers and Diuiners, or Foretellers of things to come.

Diuiners by the Art of Geomancie.

of them (for imployment) is needfully required. The second, are some others, who putting water into a Glasse Basen, and they letting fall a drop of Oyle into the saide water, which will appear bright and transparant, like a Glasse: they then tell the By-standers, that therein they do beholde Deuils, troope vpon troope, seeming like to an Armie of manie stoute Warriours, offering to plant down their Tents or Pauillions, euen as they march along the way; some on the water, and some on the Land. Then as the Wizzard pretendeth this confusion to be appeased, he demandeth of them that com for information, such matters as they seeke to be resolued in: whereof he then questioneth those Deuils in the Water, and they make him aunswere, by signes, noddes, becke of the hand, or winke of the eye. Beholde, what grosseneſse is in them, that will credite these fallations. Sometimes, hee will put the Basen into the hands of a Childe, of eight or nine yeares old, and aske of him if he doe not see such & such a Deuill, whereunto the simple Child answereth, that he doth see such shapes as he tels him.

Diuiners by a Bason of water.

Strange answeres of Deuils in a Bason of water.

This do many Fooles verie constantly beleeue, and spend much mony on such shameleſse deceiuers. The third sort, are women, who perswade the common people, that they holde amitie with Deuils of diuers kindes: and therefore, they tearm some to be red Deuils; others they say are white Deuils, and others they affirme to be blacke Deuils. When they would fortel vpon any ones request, they perfume themselues with certaine sweet Odours, and then they perswade the partie, that the Deuill which shee then calleth, doth instantly enter into hir person. Heereupon, suddenly she changeth her voice, faigning that it is the spirite which speaketh by her tongue. Then the Man or Woman that is come to bee resolved in somewhat by her, demaundeth what she pleaseth of the spirit, with great Reuerence and Humility: and receyuing answere, leaueth a good guift for that deuill, and so departeth, euen as wise as when she came thither.

Women Wizzards pretending great familiarity with Deuils.

But such men, as haue ioyned VViſedome with honesty, and wel experiented such matters, doo tearme this VVoman Soothsayer *Sahacat*, which aunswereth to the like Interpretatiõ, as *Fricatrices* doth in the Latine tõong. For indeed they haue a wicked Custome, in taking Carnall knowledge one of another; and therefore, cannot be expressed by an honester vocable.

Sahacat the Name of the woman Wizzard.

Moreouer, when among such VVomen as come to them, for information in things that they desire, they perceiue any one to be faire and beautiful, they becom enamored of her, euen as a young man of his affected Mistris. And then, in form of the Deuil, no other recompence is required of her, but amorous coniunction in familiar entertainment. The simple woman, beleeuing that she shal haue the pleasures of a Spirit, sometimes is drawn to consent; and many haue beene therewith so delighted, that they grewe desirous for to ioyne in society with them. Whereupon, counterfetting sickeneſse, one of these Wizards must needs be sent for, and (many times) the fooliſh Husband is made the Messenger.

Fleshly fruits of Diuination

She presently discouereth her desire to the Wizard, who afterward reuealeth it to her Husband; telling him, that a Deuill is entered into her bodie, and that if he be desirous of her helth, it is very conuenient, that he giue her Liberty to make one in the number of that Societie; and secretly to practise the Art among them. The Gull-Husbande beleeuing, giueth his consent; and (to expresse his greater folly) maketh a sumptuous Feast for the whole Order: wh ch being ended, they all fall to Dauncing, certaine Negroes playing on their Instruments, and so shee is referred to her fortune amongst them. But some Husbandes will driue the Deuill out of their Wiues, with the solemn sounde and blowes of a good Bastinado. And others, dissembling themselues to be possessed, do deceyue the Deceyuer, euen by such meanes as his wife was beguiled.

Of Women that desire to ioyne in society with these Wizards.

Fit Physicke for Fooliſh Women.

19 There is likewise another sort of Wizards, who are called *Muhazzimin*, that is, Enchanters. These are reputed to be verie powerfull, in deliuering mad-men, or such as are possessed with euill spirits: not for any other reason, but that sometimes their endeuor forteth to effect; but if it succeede not, they tearme the Deuill to be an Infidell, or else, that he is some Celestiall spirit.

Of Enchaunters or Coniurers. *Muhazzimin.*

The maner of his Coniuring, is thus; he

The maner of his Coniuration, & dealing with a party possessed.

he writeth certaine Carracters, and formeth Circles on a Chimney Hearth, or other like place; afterward, hee painteth some signes on the hand or foreheade of the partie possessed; and then sweeteneth himselfe with diuers perfumes. Thus the enchantment being made, he demandeth of the Spirit how he enterd into that bodie? By what part? What hee is? And how hee is named? At length, hee commaundeth him to depart. Some there are of another sort, that worke by a rule called *Zairagia*, that is, * *Cabala*. But they fetch not their operations from the Scripture, becaufe this Science of theirs is held to be naturall. And indeed, many of them know howe to giue infallible answeres, to matters that are demanded of them. But such a rule is very difficult, becaufe he that will preuaile therin, must needs bee no leffe a perfect Astrologer, then an *Abbachift* or Arithmatician. Sometimes, he maketh a Figure, which asketh so long time in making, as from Morning till night, in the Summer season; and it is in this forme.

* A hidden science of heauenly and Diuine misteries, professed by the Rabbies.

The order of making a Figure after their manner of *Cabala*.

He maketh many Circles one within another, & in the first he shapeth a crosse, at the Confines whereof, hee setteth downe the foure quarters, East, VVest, North, and South. VVithin the sayde Crosse, that is; where all his parts meet together, he formeth the two Poles; and without the first Circkle, hee frameth the foure Elements. Afterwardes, diuiding the said Circkle into foure parts, he deuideth the following Circkle into as manie more; and then euery part he deuideth into seauen parts, noting downe in euery one of them, certaine great *Arabian* Carracters, which are twenty eight, or twentie nine Carracters for each of the Elements. In another Circkle, hee shapeth the seauen Planets: In another, the xii. Signes: In another, the twelue Moneths of the yeare, according to the Latines: In another, the eight and twenty Tabernacles (or as we tearme them, Houses) of the Moon: In another, the three hundered, threescore and fiue daies of the year; and without all these, the foure principal windes. He taketh then one letter only, of the thing to bee demaunded; and then, multiplieth it with all the matters numbered, vntill he commeth to know what number the Carracter beareth. Afterward, he deuideth it in a certain manner, and then putteth it into some parts, according as the Carracter is; & in what Element it standeth, insomuch, that after the multiplication, diuision, and dimension, he perceiueth, that the Carracter agreeth with that number whereto it is aduanced Then respecteth he that found Carracter, according as hee did the first; and so traducing it on from degree to degree, it passeth the eight and twentie seuerall places, or Carracters. Thereof then hee composeth a sentence, and of that sentence a short Oration, which is the answere to the question demaunded, and that Oration euermore agreeth with one measured Verse, beeing the first of those *Arabian* Verses, which are called *Ethauil*, consisting of eight and twelue Sillables, answerable to the *Arabian* Metricall Art.

Arabian verses, tearmed *Ethauil*, wherin consisteth their chiefe *Cabala*.

In the said Verse then, is comprehended the fore-named Carracters, becaufe of them it is compounded, and from thence ariseth a true and vndoubted answer: for first, is discerned the matter demanded, and afterward the answer to the cause demanded. The like course as this neuer erreth: and in this *Cabala* of theirs, consisteth an admirable Art: for, neuer was seene a matter (held to bee naturall) that appeareth more super-naturall and Diuine, then this their *Cabala*.

One of these Figures was sometimes made, in the Colledge of King *Abululan* in the Cittie of *Fez*, and the open place where it was made, was paued with fine smooth white Marble, euery quadrant of the place, containing fiftie yardes in length, and two third parts of the place, was employed with such things as belonged to the framing of the saide Figure: three seuerall persons also were verie seriously busied in making it, each man hauing the charge of a proportioned part; and yet they could scarsely conclude it in a whole day. Another was likewise made in *Thunis*, by a verie excellent Mayster, whose father had commented on the said rule in two Volumes; and such as be acquainted with this rule, are held to be verie singuler men.

An apparant proofe of this kinde of Figures, by seueral Masters performed.

The twelue Months after the Latines.

20 There are also many Learned men, who are styled by the name of wise men, and morrall Phylosophers, who obserue some other Lawes then were commanded by Mahomet. Som of them are

Rules and directions in the Lawes of Mahomet.

are accounted Catholicke, and others not; but the vulgar people repute them to be Saints, although they admit many things for lawful, which were prohibited by the Lawes of *Mahomet*. As by way of example: The Law forbiddeth, that no song whatsoeuer of Loue, shalbe sung by the rules of Musicke; and yet these men say, that they may do it.

There are Orders in this Lawe, and many Rules, euerie one of which, hath his chiefe defence, and Doctors also, to defend those Rules, exercising manie Workes, concerning spirituall life. This Sect began fourescore yeares after Mahomet; and the first and most famous Author thereof, was named *Elhesembnu Abilhasen*, in the Cittie of *Bufra*, who began to giue certain Rules to Schollers, but wrote downe none.

The first Author of this Sect.

An hundred years after being passed, there was another most woorthy man in like manner, called *Elharit Ibna Eled*, of the Cittie of *Bagaded*, who wrote a learned worke Vniuersally to all his disciples. But afterward, both by the Lawyers and Byshoppes, his opinion was depraued, & all such condemned as obserued those Rules.

Another Author of the same Sect.

About foure-score yeares after, this Sect beganne to spring vppe againe, and had another verie famous man, as defender thereof, who was followed by manie Disciples, and preached the same Doctrine publickely. So that all the Lawiers (assisted by the Byshoppes) condemned both him and all his followers vnto death, concluding, that each man of them should loose his head. Which when the chiefe Leader of this sect herd, immediately he wrote a Letter vnto the Byshops, entreating them to afford him so much fauour, as that hee might Dispute with the Lawyers: and if they could conuince him, hee would willinglie dye: but if he could giue demonstration, that his Doctrine was better then theirs, it was no honest case, that so many poore Innocents (by false Calumnie) shoulde perish.

A third Author of this Sect.

A request made for disputation with Mahomets Lawyers.

This request seemed to the Bishops to be lawfull and iust, and they graunted his request, so that the Learned man cam to Dispute with them; and preuailed with such successe, that hee vanquished all the Lawyers, and the chiefe Byshop (in teares) conuerted to bee one of the same Sect: and (while he liued) continually fauoured it, causing many Monasteries and Colledges to be builded, for the followers of that man. This Sect continued for another hundered yeares, vntill out of the greater *Asia*, came *Malicsath* the Emperor, whose stirpe and originall was of the Turkes. He persecuted this Sect, some of them flying to *Cairo*, some into *Arabia*, and they continued twenty yeares in this expulsion, which was till the raigne of *Caselsah*, Nephewe to *Maliosach*; whose chiefe Counsellour (that was a man of great spirite, named *Nidam Elmule*) being of this sect, did set it on foote againe, planting and combining it in such firme manner, that by the labours of a very learned man, called *Elgazzuli* (who composed a worthy work, deuided into seauen seuerall Bookes) the Lawyers and followers of this sect, were reconciled together. Whereupon, the Lawyers had the Title of Doctors, and Conseruers of the Prophets Lawes; and the other were nominated vnderstanders and Reformers of those Lawes. This Vnion continued, till the ouerthrowe of *Bagaded* by the *Tartars*, which was in the yeare, 656. of *Ihegira*. And as yet hath hapned no diuision, because all *Affrica* and *Asia* are full of those Disciples.

The expulsion and persecution of this Sect.

The re-enstalment of this Sect, and agreement with the Lawyers.

In those dayes, none might enter into this Sect, except learned men in euerie faculty; and (aboue al) deepe vnderstanders of the Scriptures; for the better defence of them, and confutation of the contrarie side. But now, within these hundred yeares, euery ignorant fellowe will enter thereinto affirming, that there is no neede of learning: because, after knowledge of the truth, the blessed Spirite is sufficient for them of cleane heart: This and other like weake reasons doo they alledge in their owne behalfe. So that leauing the commaundements as superfluous, yet necessarie to the rule in parte, these men intend no other Offices, but euen what the Lawyers do appoint, addicting themselues vnto all the pleasures, which are helde law full by the rule; and therfore, they make many Feastings, sing wanton amorous songs, & vse long dances. At certaine times, some of these men, tearing off their Garments, according to the proposed matter of the song, or answereable to the idle fantasie then hapning in their brain, wil say: that euen then

Who were admitted into this Sect in elder times.

Alteration of these latter dayes.

Feasts, wanton songs, and Dances.

then he is heated with the fire of Diuine loue. But I rather suppose him to bee warmed, with the superfluous plentie of meats, because euery one of these vnmanerly men, will deuoure so much meate, as is thought too much superfluitie for three men. Or which I rather thinke to bee more true, this heate proceedeth of intemperate desire, and lasciuious beastly loue to yong beardlesse Boyes. For, it is no rare matter, when a Gentleman inuiteth one of these chiefe Maisters to his wedding, bringing all his Schollers with him, they at the beginning of the Feast, do say Prayers, and sing diuine songs. But when all is finished, the elders putting off their gowns to dance, if any of them happen to fall, hee is quickly holpen on his feet by one of the yong Lads, who therefore is sequited with many lasciuious kisses. Heerupon grew a Prouerb, *That the Hermits banket, is in euerie mans mouth in Fez.* Signifying thereby, that the feast is no sooner ended, but euerie boy must serue as his Maisters bride; for, they may not take any Wiues, and therefore, they are termed Hermits.

The custome at a Gentlemans marriage.

A Prouerbe in *Fez.*

21 Among this Sect, are certain rules held to be hereticall, both by the one and other sort of Doctors, because they not only differ from eithers Lawes, but also from their faith. For some there be, that haue a firme opinion, that a man by his owne good workes, by fasting, and by abstinence, may purchase to himself an Angelical nature: because say they, they purify his heart and vnderstanding in such maner, as he cannot sin though he would, but it behoueth first, that he passe thorow fifty degrees of discipline. And albeit he should sinne, before he haue passed those fifty degrees, yet God will not ascribe it to him as sin. And these men (at the first) do keepe very strange, & seldom seene the like Fasts; but afterwardes, they fall to all pleasures in the World. They haue also a strict rule or order, made by an eloquent and Learned man, in foure Volumes, his name was *Esseuerardi de Sebrauara*, a City in *Corasan*. There was another Author named *Ibnulfarid*, who compiled al his doctrine in verie elegant verses: but those verses are ful of Allegories, seeming to intreate on nothing else but loue. Wherfore, one called *Elfargani*, Commented on the saide worke, and drew thence the rules and degrees which were to bee obserued.

Concerning Rules, Sects, and superstitious credulity in manie men.

A strange opinion of mans begetting an Angelicall Nature.

Esseuerardi de Sebrauara.

Ibnulfarid.

Elfargani.

This Poet was of such elegancie, as others (his followers of the same Sect) vsed to sing none but his Verses at their Feasts, so that for some 300. yeares since, not oong was held more polished and delicat, then that receiued from him.

An elegant Poet.

These men are of the minde, that the Spheares, the Firmament, the Elements, the Planets, and all the Starres, are one God, and that no Law or Faith can bee in error, because they imm agine all men to honor in their souls, that which deserueth to be adored. They beliene also, that the knowledge of God is contained in a man, named *Elerob*, elected and pertaking with God; and, as concerning knowledge, a meere God. There are likewise, forty other men besides these, who are termed *Elauted*, that is, Bougsis or branches, because they are of a lesser degree, and of more inferiour knowledge. But when the *Elerob* dieth, another is created out of these fortie men, and he commeth out of the number of seauenty other.

The strange opinion of some men.

Elerob, knowing as a God.

Elections out of diuers degrees.

There are likewise 755. other men, whose title I doo not verie well remember: but when one of these seauentie dyeth, another is added from these to fulfill their number. Their Law bindeth them, to walke vnknowne in the world, disguised like fooles, or publicke noted sinners, or of the vilest men that can be. Wherefore, vnder these or the like shaddowes, many wicked minded men wander thorough *Affrica*, starke naked, making publicke apparance of their owne shame, & are of such vnbrideled disposition, that euen without any respect at all, like vnto brute Beasts, in the midst of an open market place, they will deale carnallie with women; and yet notwithstanding, the Vulgar sort do repute them to be Saints. Of these base people, there are store in *Thunis*, but many more in Egypt, and especially in *Cairo*.

A counterfeit cloake for much wickednesse.

Horrible brutishnesse.

It happened on a time in *Cairo*, in the Market place, called *Bain Elkasrain*, one of these afore-named men, tooke a verie faire young Woman; that was newly come foorth of a Stoue or Bathe, and bringing her into the middest of the Market place, hee there hadde carnall knowledge of her. So soone as hee hadde lefte the Woman, all the Beholders came running to touch her Gar-

A true History of their vilenesse, vpon an open Market place in *Cairo*.

ments, as a matter of Deuotion, becauſe ſhe had beene touched by an holy man. And they ſaide among themſelues, that the holy man did but faigne the action of ſinne, and did not commit the deede. When the matter was made knowne to her husband, hee accounted it as a verie gracious fortune befalne him; and praying God for it, made a ſolemne Feaſt & Banquet, giuing Almes alſo for, ſo happie a bleſsing. The Iudges and learned men in the Lawes, ſought all means how to punnith the runnagate: but they were in danger to be ſlaine by the people, becauſe (as I haue formerly ſaide) ſuch villaines are held in eſpeciall veneration amongſt the common people, and they will beſtowe great guifts and preſents on them.

Of the *Cabaliſtes*, & ſome other Sects.

22 Certaine other rules, are obſerued among ſome, that tearme themſelus to be *Cabaliſtes*, who haue a ſtrange order of Faſting; not eating the Fleſh of anie creature: but haue certaine meates, and appointed Habites, ordained for euerie houre both of the day and Night. They haue alſo perticuler Praiers, according to the dayes and Moneths, deliuering thoſe Prayers, by the way of number; and wearing on their bodies certain Quadrets, painted with Carracters, and engrauen numbers. They vſe to ſay, that good ſpirits do appeare vnto them, and ſpeake with them, giuing them notiſe of all thinges vniuerſally done in the world. Of this ſort, there was an excellent Doctor, named *El Boni*, who compoſed their Rules & Prayers, as alſo their Quadrets.

Their maner of diet.

Their habite & Prayers.

Their apparitions.

El Boni, a famous Doctor

His moſt famous Workes are about eight in number, one whereof is named *Ellumba Ennoramita*, that is; *The Demonſtration of Light*, and therein is appointed their Prayers and Faſtes. Another is termed *Semſul Meharif*, that is, *The Sun of Knowledge*, wherein is contained the maner of making the Quadrets, and it declareth the benefit enſuing by them. A third, is entituled *Sirru Laſme*; *Elchnſue*, that is, *The Vertue contained in the ninety nine names of God, &c.*

Ellumba Ennoramita.

Semſul Meharif.

Sirru'Laſmes Elchnſue.

There is an Order in this Sect, which is called the Order of *Sunach*, that is; of certaine Eremites, who liue in Woodes and ſolitarie places, and feed on nothing but Hearbes, Rootes, and wilde fruites; no man beeing any way able to vnderſtand their liues, becauſe they flye and ſhunne all dwellings of men. But I ſhall wander too farre from my intended purpoſe, if I ſhould perticuletly followe the relation of all the Mahometane ſundrie Sects.

The order of *Sunach*, being Hermites in Woods.

Therefore, whoſoeuer is deſirous of further intelligence in this caſe, let him read the Workes of one who is named *Elacſani*, who defuſedly diſcourſeth on the diuerſitie of Sects, proceeding from the Religion of Mahomet, which are ſeuenty two eſpeciall ſects, and euerie one holdeth his owne to be good and true, as hoping thereby for ſaluation. But the truth is, in this preſent age, there are no more of theſe Sects to be found, but two. One is that of *Leſhari*, which extendeth it ſelfe thorow all *Affrica*, *Egypt*, *Soria*, *Arabia*, and all *Turkey*. The other of *Imamia*, which runneth through all *Perſia*, and ſome Cities of *Coraſan*. This held the *Sophi* King of *Perſia*, and by the like Sects was almoſt all *Aſia* deſtroyed, becauſe they held (before) that of *Leſhari*; yet the ſaide King fought by ſtrength of Armes oftentimes, to contayne himſelfe in his owne Religion: but moſt certaine it is, that one Sect onely, is embraced within all the Mahometane Dominions.

Elacſani, who declareth all the Mahometan Sects.

The two ſeuerall Sectes at this day remaining.

23 In *Fez* alſo, there are certaine men, who are called *Elcaneſin*, that attend only to finde out Treaſures, which they beleeue to haue beene buried in the Foundations of auncient ruines. This iddeot kinde of people, will go foorth of the Cittie, entering into many Caues & Grottes, ſeeking there to finde the forenamed Treaſures. For, they hold a verie ſtrong and true opinion, that when the Romaines were enforced from the Emperie of *Affrica*, and fled to the Spaniſh * *Bætica*, they were enforced to burie vnder grounde, many verie rich and precious things, which they could by no meanes beare away with them, but left them there enchanted; and therefore, other Enchanters muſt be had to find out thoſe treaſures. Nor is there any want of ſuch men, as will ſweare, that in ſuch Caues they haue ſeene Golde and other Iewels of Siluer: but they could not get them thence, becauſe they had not their enchantments readie, and their fitting perfumes.

Of *Inueſtigators* or ſearchers for hidden treaſures

* Now called *Granado*.

perfumes. Whereuppon, the people being led by this vain credulity, do make search in the grounde, ouer-throwing thereby (oftentimes) many goodly buildings and Tombes, wandering (at some times) ten or twelue dayes iourney from *Fez*, because the Riches was drawne by enchantment so farre off. Nay more, they haue Bookes, wherein mention is made of certaine hils, and other obscure places, wherein manie wonderfull Treasures lye hidden, and are there kept by especiall Oracles.

Greedines of gaine beguileth many ignorant people, and some beside, that thinke themselues wise.

24. Nor is there any want of Alchimists, but they abound in verie great number, that bestow their studie in this fooliſh vanity. And what are they? None but lowtish filthie Fellowes, that soil and pollute the world (more then any other) with sulphurous, noysome, and offensiue smelles. In the night time, manie of them, doo ordinarily meete together in the great Temple, and there dispute on their false imaginations. For they haue many Bookes of that Art, composed by eloquent men: the first & cheefest whereof is intitled *Geber*, who liued an hundered yeares after *Mahomet*, and was reputed to bee a Greeke Renegado, whose workes, and all his receipts are Written in Allegories. They haue another Author, who hath written another great labour, called *Attogrebi*, that was Secretary to the Soldane of *Bagaded*. Likewise another Volume, composed in Songes, reuealing all the Articles of that Art, and the Maister was named *Mugaribi*, said to be of *Granado*. And it was Commented on by a *Mamaluke* of *Damasco*, who was a verie learned man in the Arte; but his Comment is more difficult to be vnderstood, then the Text it selfe. These Alchimists are of two kinds, the one laboureth in search of the Elixer, which is the materiall substance, that toucheth euerie Mettall and Vaine: and the other seeketh after the multiplication of the quantities of Mettalles, by meanes of commixing one with another. But both their proper ends, is oftnest found to be falsifying monies, as may be noted in the most parts of *Fez*, without handling.

Of Alchimists and what maner of men they are.

Geber a *Greek* Alchimist.

Attogrebi another Author.

Mugaribi, of *Granado*.

Two sortes of Alchimists.

25 In this great Citie, there is also as great store of that vnprofitable rascality, which in *Italy* are known by the name of cozening Beggers and Mountebanks. These men go vp and downe the Market place, singing Romants, fabulous Songs, and such like follies, playing on Timbrils Viols, Harps, and other Instruments, selling to the ignorant multitude, certaine Mottoes, and briefe words, which (they say) are much auaileable against diuers euils. With these are ioyned another sort of vile men, who are all of a familie and Kindred, and they walke thorow the Cittie, making Apes and Monkies to dance; and they haue liue Snakes and Adders Writhed about their naked neckes and armes. They can also make some figures of Geomancy, & pretend to fortell what shall happen to women. They lead goodly Stallions along with them, and for a certain price, will cause their Mares to be couered, that are thereto disposed, with promise of successefull speeding.

Of cozening beggerly Montebanks, and dissembling Conuerters.

Cozeners with liuing Snakes and Adders about their neckes.

Heer could I pursu other perticularities, of like base minded men in the Citty, but it shall suffice to say; that (for the most part) they are displeasing and badly affected to straungers, albeit there is no great number of strangers, because the Citie is aboue an hundred miles distant from the Sea; and from the Sea thither, the waies are sharpe, and vneasie for trauailing strangers. I could say also, that the Seigniores are very proud, insomuch as fewe haue dealing with them. The like are the Doctors and Iudges, who (for reputations sake) will conuerse but with very few. Neuertheless, my conclusion is, that the Cittie is faire, commodious, and well ordered. Only in winter time, the streets are very dirty, so that men can hardlie passe along, but with certaine hie Choppinoes which they weare; yet much auoidance is made by the Channelles; for (by them) many streets are wassed clean. But where there are no channels, the filthe is gathered vp, and conueyed thence vpon Beasts backes, and thrown into the riuer.

The Authors excuse from further progression in this kinde.

26 Without the City, on the west side, there is a Town or Burrough, which maketh about fiue hundred fires: but all the houses are verie rude, and inhabited by vile people, such as are the Drawers of Cammelles, the Carriers of Water, and Wood-cleauers for the Kinges prouision. Yet is this Towne furnished with many shoppes, and all kindes of Artificers. There dwel likewise the cozening

Townes and Burroughes out of the City, & of what housholdes they consist.

Beggers, the players on Instrumentes of small esteeme; and great store of Strumpets, but they are brutish, base, and sluttish. In the chiefe street of this towne, are many Ditches or Trenches, made by working Tooles and Instrumentes, because they are hewed out of a hard rock, where the Corne (for the great Lordes) was wont to be kept, when none els dwelt there, but the Keepers of Corne. But after the warres began, and the Corne was violently carried thence, the Granaries were made in the new Cittie of *Fez*; and these which were without, vtterly abandoned. These Trenches are of wonderfull greatnes; for, the verie least of them will containe a thousande quarters of Corn, and there are an hundred and fifty of those Trenches, which now are layde wide open, and many people (vnawares) haue falne into them: wherefore, certain little wals haue since beene made about them.

The chiefe street of the Towne, containing Garners for corn.

When secret executions are done, how they bestowe the dead bodies.

The Castellane of *Fez*, when it happeneth, that he performeth any secret execution, the offenders bodies are throwne into these Trenches, for there is a priuie doore out of the Rocke, made answereable and fitting for these places. In this Towne, all cozenages at Dice are lawfully permitted; and heere euerie man selleth Wine, keepeth a Tauerne, and publicke vse of Whoores: whereby it is iustly saide, that this Towne is the receite for all the filth in the Citty. After the twentith houre is past, not one man is to be found in any of the shops, for then euerie one falleth to dauncing, sporting, drabbing, and drinking.

A Towne of Leapers only were relieued & maintained

There is another Burrough belonging to the Cittie, wherein diseased Leapers only are dwelling, containing about 200 houses. These sickly people, haue their Priour or chiefe Gouernor, who gathereth the reuennues of many possessions, giuen only for Gods sake, by Gentlemen and others; and they are attended on in such good maner, as they find no want of any needful thing. This Priour hath the charge to see the City free from any such infected person: and if so be, that he find any one so diseased, to take himselfe presently out of the Citty, and bring him to this place appointed for the purpose. If any one happen to die there without heires, the one half of his estate is deliuered to the community of the Town; and the other belongeth to him that can shew best right for it. But if the leprous partie haue Children, his goodes are his Childrens.

The Office of the Priour, concerning his charge.

It is further to be noted, that in the number of these diseased Leapers, such also are included, as haue any white scabs or scurfe on their bodies, and other incureable infirmities. A little further from this Towne, there is another, wherein dwell none but Muleters, Potters, Bricklayers, & Carpenters, and this Towne maketh aboue 150. fires. Again, further yet westward is another great Towne, which can make about 400. fires: but they are very simple houses, and inhabited by poore wretched people, that either cannot, or will not abide in any better place. Neere to this Towne, is a great champain field, which extendeth it selfe from this Town to the Riuer, about two miles in length, and three in full bredth Westward. In this field, is a Market held euerie Thursday, and great store of people resort thether with all kinde of Cattell. The Shoppe-Keepers also, dooth carrie thither their commodities, and make sale of them there in open Tents. They haue a custome, that some few Gentlemen being gathered togither, they cause a Butcher to kill a Sheepe; and diuiding the body among themselues, they giue him nothing but the head and feete for his labour, for his skin they sell to the Wooll Merchant. Litle tol is paid for the goods sold in this Market; and yet I must tel ye, that neither in *Affrica*, *Asia*, nor in *Italy*, are so many people seen at a market, as at this, and such store of prouision, which surely is an vnvalewable matter.

A Towne of Muleters, Potters, &c.

A great town of 400 households.

A Custom on the Market day.

Without the Cittie, are verie steepe Clifts or Rockes, which do engirt a large Trench of two Miles long: and on these Cliftes, they hew out the stones, wherewith they make their Lime and Chalke, whereby manie Gentlemen growe Rich, but none that are of any Nobilitie. Againe, on the West part without the Cittie, are some hundered Cottages, erected on the Riuers side; which are kept by such as vse to White cloaths, and then spread them abroad in a faire field, neere to these Cottages, where they haue euery thing fit and apt for the purpose, euen as wee see vsed in any other Nation elsewhere.

Rockes and Clifts without the Cittie.

Whitsters of cloath.

27 There

Of Common Graues and buriall without the Citie.

27 There are diuers Fields about the Cittie, wherein they burie their dead bodies; and these fields were giuen (for Gods sake) by sundry Gentlemen, onely for common buriall. They lay a Stone made Triangle-wise, but long and faire, vpon each graue. But on men of more woorth and reputation, they place at his head a Table of Marble, and another at his feete, whereon Verses are engrauen of consolation after so harde and bitter a passage.

Somewhat lower, is his name sette downe, his house of descent, & likewise, the day and yeare of his death. Among these Verses, some are apt to cause ioy and comfort in death; but others, do rather encrease griefe and Melancholy, yet patience must be vsed both in the one & other.

Of the kings burial & Sepulchre.

28 Without the Cittie likewise, is a faire Pallace towards the North, vpon an high hill, wherein manie Sepulchres are to bee seene, of diuers Kinges of the house of *Marmo*, beeing adorned with goodly Ornaments stones of Marble, & Epitaphes verie ingeniously deuised; so that the cost and colours, do (in a maner) fill the Beholders eyes with much admired pleasure.

Of Gardens and Orchards

29 On the North side also, & Eastward and Southward, are many goodlie Gardens and Orchardes, stored with all kind of Fruits, growing on Trees, great and high. By the Gardens entrance, do diuers Armes of Riuers run along: but by the thicke growing of the Trees, the Orchards appeare to be goodly woodes. The month of May doth water them very plentifully, which is the chiefe cause of the fruits abounding, and alsoe of perfect goodnesse, except Peaches, which haue not any pleasing rellish. And is imagined, that in due season of the yeare, 100. horse-loads of these fruits are sold dailie: and all those horse-loads of Fruite, are brought to one certaine place in the City, where they pay a limited taxation, and are there sold by out-cry, in presence of the Fruiterers. In the same market place also, are sold the Negro Bondslaues, and an appointed tax paide for euerie one of them. Moreouer towards the West, is a large plot of ground, containing xv. mile in bredth, and 30. in length, which is all full of Springes and little Brooks, belonging to the great Temple. This place, is rented by the Gardiners; and there they sow Line, Mellons, Pompions, Citrons, Carrets, Nanons, Reddishes, Coleworts Cabbages, and such like Garden fruits in great plenty: so that it is verily supposed, that this place yeeldeth in Summer time, fifteene thousande horse-loades of these fruits, and as many in Winter. But verie true it is that the Ayre there is verie bad, and the most part of the inhabitants haue their faces of a yellow colour, being continually subiect to Feauers, and verie many do die of them.

The Gardens and Orchardes yeilde great plentie of fruits.

The sale of Negro Bondslaues.

Of the Newe Citty of *Fez*, and the scituation thereof, as also the description of the Riuers current.

30 The New City of *Fez*, is round enguirte with two verie faire, high, and strong wals, being built on a verie goodly plaine, neere to the Riuer, distant from the olde Citty (on the West part, and somewhat leaning toward the South) the space of a mile. Betweene the two wals, entereth and passeth the Riuer along, to wit, on the North side, where the Milles are; and the other current of the Riuer, is diuided into two streams: one running betweene new *Fez* and the olde, on the rocke side; and the other glideth on further, by certain Vallies & Gardens neere to old *Fez*, vntil it getteth entrance thereinto on the South side. The other part of the riuer, enters at the Rocke, and passeth by the Colledge of King *Abutximam*. This Citie was builded by *Iacob*, Son to *Abduich*, first King of the house of *Marino*, who wonne the Kingdome of *Marocco*, and displaced the king, as such time as he was in warre with the King of *Marocco*, the King of *Telensio*, did very much molleste him, being leagued with the king of *Marocco*; because the house of *Marino* should not encrease.

Who was the first Founder of New *Fez*, and vppon what occasion

So soone as *Iacob* had ended the war of *Marocco*, he bethought himselfe to be reuenged on the King of *Telensin*, and purposed warre against him, as being couetous of his Dominion, yet wel perceiuing, that the strongest Forts of the kingdome, were farre off distant from *Telensin* it selfe; whereon he concluded, to erect the Cittie in this place, and to translate thither the royall seate of *Marocco*, which he accordingly performd, naming the Cittie *Bianca*, but the vulgar people afterward called it new *Fez*.

New *Fez* named *Bianca* by the Founder.

The King caused the City to be diuided

The diuision of the City in to three parts

into three parts, euerie one seperat from the other. In one part, he appointed his owne Pallace-Royall, and other Pallaces for his Children and Brethren, commanding each one to haue their Gardens of pleasure; and neere to his owne Pallace, he builded a verie goodly Temple, beautified in meruailous stately manner.

The first part

The 2. part.

In the second part of the Cittie, were erected faire great Stables, for the Horsses belonging to his Royall person, and many sumptuous Pallaces for his Captains, and men of greatest esteeme in his court. From the Gate on the West side, to the gate that looketh Eastward, was appointed and made the market place of the Cittie, containing in length, little lesse then a mile and a halfe, and there are the shops for Merchants, and Handi-crafts men of all sorts.

The Market place of the City.

Neer to the West gate, by the second wall, is a verie goodly lodging, with many other thereto belonging, where the *Custos* of the Cittie, with his Soldiers & Officers, do make their abiding. And neere thereto, is two other great Muzes or Stables, well able to containe aboue three hundred Horsses, deputed only for seruice and guard of the Pallace.

The *Custos* of the City.

The third part of the Cittie, was assigned for dwellings to the Guard of the Kings roiall person, who were certaine stout men of the East, armed with long Bowes, because the vse of Crosse-browes, was not (as then) knowne in those parts.

The 3. part.

Now, at this present, are many goodly temples in the fore-named Market place, and very stately Stoues or Baths, made with great cost and charge.

Temples in the Market-place, and stoues.

And neere to the Kings Pallace, is a place where the Money is coined, which is named the *Zecca*, which is made in forme of a quadrant Market place, with certaine Lodgings round about it, and those are the houses of the Maisters. In the middest thereof, is another faire dwelling, which is the house of the Lord of the Mint, where hee and his Notarie daily sit together; because the saide Mint (as in all other Countreyes) is an Office belonging to the King, and for his benefit.

The Mint for Coyning money.

Neere vnto the Mint, is another Market place, wher are the Goldsmiths shops, with their Consull, and he that keeps the Seale and stampe of the Monyes. In *Fez* they may not make any Ring, or anie other work of gold or Siluer, til the mettall be first sealed or stamped, on paine of great losse to the seller: but being sealed, an appointed price is paide, and then it may be vsed, as they do their mony.

The place of the Golde-Smiths.

A Seale or stamp apointed for Gold and Siluer.

The greater number of the Goldsmithes, are Iewes, who worke al their labour in new *Fez*, and then bring it to sell in olde *Fez*, at a Market place assigned to them; next to the Apothecaries, because in old *Fez*, no Gold or Siluer may bee hammered; neither may any Mahometan vse the Art of a Goldsmith, because they terme it vsurie, to sell things made of Golde or Siluer, for anie greater valu then the waight only; but the Lords giue Libertie to the Iewes to do it, because they are accounted Vsurers.

Concerning the Iewes in *Fez*.

There are verie few, that make any worke for the Cittizens onely, neither haue they any other recompence then for the making. And that part of the Cittie, where (in elder times) the Guard of Archers dwelt, is now allotted to the Iewes onely, because the Modern Kings haue not kept such Guards, but such as haue first dwelt in the old Cittie, and at all such times as a King died, they were expulsed by the Moores. And it was a great trouble to the King *Abusabib*, to translate the Iewes from the old City to the new, imposing a Tribute vpon them: and nowe there they remaine, in a verie long and large Market place, where they haue their Shoppes, Houses, and Synagogues.

The Iewes dwelling place assigned by it self.

And they are increased to such a number, as verie hardly can they bee counted, especially since the Iewes were expelled by the King of *Spaine*. They are contemned of all men, and none of them may weare any Shooes; but they vse certaine Pantofles, made of Sea-Bulrushes, and on their heads they haue blacke Tolibants; and they that will weare Hats or Caps, must haue a piece of red cloth fastened thereon, to bee publickely noted from other men. Their tribute is to pay the King of *Fez* foure hundred Ducates euery month.

The great number of the Iewes, & how they are despised generally.

In briefe, this City was within the space of an hundred and forty years, furnished with strong Walles, Pallaces, Temples, Colledges, & al those Ornaments which a City can haue: and I am of the minde, that the cost was greater, bestowed on those ornaments, then on the wals which do engirt it.

The time of the Cities compleating.

VVithout the Citty, are manie great wheels made, to mount the water out of the

Wheeles for conuayance of water into the Cittie.

the Riuer, conuaying it vpon the Citty wal, where certain Channel gutters are made, which carry it to the Pallaces, Temples, and Gardens. And these Wheeles haue been made in our time, to wit, within an hundred yeares: because before, the Water came into the Cittie by Channels, that is, by Water-guides, which issued from a Spring or Fount, distant from the Citty the space of ten miles, which Channels were made vpon certaine Arches, very formall and artificiall. And it is said, that those conuayances were inuented by a skilfull man of *Geneway*, at such time as Merchants were much fauoured by the King. And the Wheeles were made by a *Spanyard*, which are (indeed) very admirable thinges; especially, because in such a power of Water, they turne no more but foure and twenty times both by day and night. I should adde to this discourse, that not many Noble men dwell in this Cittie, or such as are allied to Lords, or Courtyers, because all the rest are meane people, and imployed in base offices. For men of reputation and quality, thinke scorne of admission to any Court offices: beside, they hold it a disgrace vnto them, to match their Daughters with any that are of the Kings house.

Who deuised the water Channels.

Who inuented the wheeles.

Men that refuse Offices in Court.

The order of the K. of Fez his Court.

31. Among all the Lords of *Affrica*, it is not found, that any was created King or Prince, by election of the people, or called from any Prouince or City. By the Law of *Mahomet*, there was not any Temporall Lord, that could tearme himselfe ligitimate, except the chiefe Priests or Bishops. But after that this authority consisted in the Byshops onely; all the heads or commanders of the people, which liued in the deserts, began to approch to inhabited Countries, and (by force of Armes) instituted diuers Lordes against the Law of *Mahomet*, and likewise against the Bishops prerogatiues. As it happened in the West, that the *Turks*, *Curdes*, and *Tartares*, with others comming from those parts, got dominion of what Lands they could attaine vnto. Also in the East raigned the people of *Zeneta*, and they likewise of *Lontuna*; afterward the *Praditatores*, and after them, the family of *Marino* ruled there. True it is, that the men of *Lontuna*, came in ayde and fauour of the westerne people, to deliuer them from the handes of Heretiques: and heerein the Lordes were Friendes to the people, vntill they began to grow to tyranny, as apparantlie hath beene noted. Vpon which occasion, no Lordes are now made by true inheritance, nor by election of the people, or by the greatest, or by some Captaine: but euery Prince, before hee dyeth, leagueth and bindeth the greater and most potent men of his Court, to create (as Prince) after his death, either his Sonne, or Brother of the said Son. Wherein many times an Oath is giuen them, or else (as it hath often hapned) they would elect for their Lord whom themselues pleased. In this manner haue they vsed to create the Kinges of *Fez*, & so soone as the King is publikely named; he maketh one of his noblest persons his chiefest Counseller, assigning him a third part of his Kingdomes Reuennues. Then doth he elect a Secretary, who serueth for Secretary, Treasurer, and chiefe Steward of his House. Afterward, hee createth the Captaines of his Cauallerie, who are deputed to the Kingdoms custody, and therefore are most times ready with their Horses in the field. Then, for euery Citty is a Gouernour established, who enioyeth the benefits of the Citty vnder Obligation; to keep such a number of Horses at his owne charge, ready for the Kinges commaund; that is, so often as he shall neede to leuy an Armie.

The order of Princes creation at this present in *Fez*.

After publike nomination of the King, the Creation of new Officers.

The Law of Mahomet against temporall Lordes.

Forcible dominion, both in the East and West.

Next, certain Comissaries are made, and Agents ouer the people that dwell in the Mountaines, and likewise ouer the *Arabes* that are his Subiects. The Comissaries doe administer Iustice, according to the diuersitie of Lawes appointed for the people. The Agents stand charged, to gather the Reuenues, and keepe diligent account of ordinary payments, as also such as are not ordinary. Then are certaine Barrons appointed, who are learned in their language, *Custodes*: euery one of them hath a Castle, or else one or two Villages, from whence they derive certaine allowances for liuelode, and to maintaine their quality and condition, in accompanying the King with his Armies.

Arabes Subiects to the King of *Fez*.

Comissaries and Agents, and their seuerall offices.

Also

Allowance for keeping Light-horſes.

Alſo, they kee pe light Horſes, whoſe charges they beare when they are in Fielde: but in times of peace, Corne, Butter, and powdred fleſh is allowed them all the yeare, but very little Money; and they take charge of the Horſes abroad, no leſſe then in the Cittie, becauſe the King furniſheth them with all things. And all the Seruants of the Stable are Chriſtian Slaues, who doe weare great Iron Chaines at their feet: but when the Army goeth abroad, the ſaid Chriſtians doe ride on Camels of burden

Chriſtian ſlaues, Seruants of the Stable.

The Commiſſary for the Camels.

There is another Commiſſary ouer the Camels, who giueth entertainment to the Shepheards, and other Hards, & diſpenſeth with them for the fieldes, being a Prouider alſo for a number of Camels, only for imployment in the kings buſineſſe, and euery Cameller keepeth two Camels in ordinary, for the Kings carriages onely, and according as commaund is giuen. Then there is a Steward, who hath charge to furniſh, prouide, keepe and lay forth Monies, for prouiding the Kinges dyet, and for the Army, and he keepeth tenne or twelue great Pauillions, wherein he diſpoſeth the Victuals, ſtill changing and rechanging the burdened Camels; to the end, the Army may ſuffer no want, and vnder his controule are the Officers of the Kitchin. Then there is a Maiſter of the Stable, who hath care of all the Horſes, Mules, and Camels, belonging to the King; and he prouideth all thinges neceſſary for them, and for the familie vnder his charge, laying out whatſoeuer is therein thought expedient. He hath alſo vnder him a Commiſſarie for the Corn or Graine, conuaying the Oates, Barlye, and other prouiſion for the Beaſtes, from place to place: and this Commiſſarie hath Chancellours and Clearkes, who doe ſet downe all the Corne which is ſpent, and yeildeth an account thereof to the Maiſter of the Houſhold.

The Steward for the Kings prouiſion.

Officers of the Kitchin.

Maiſter of the Horſe.

The Comiſſary for Corne, and his vnder Officers.

There is likewiſe a Captaine of fiftie Horſe, who (after the manner of Curſors) doe ride to lay impoſitions, on behalfe of the Secretary to the King, and in the Kinges name. And there is another much more honorable Captaine, who is chiefe of the ſecret Guard, and hath authoritie (in the Kings name) ouer the Officers that doe executions, and for confiſcations in caſes of Iuſtice. Hee may apprehend the greateſt perſons, commit them to priſon, and vſe ſeueritie of Iuſtice on them, when hee is commaunded by the King. The King hath alſo neere him a faithfull Chancellour, in whoſe keeping is the Kinges Seale; and he writeth the Letters that paſſe the Kings hand, ſealing them with the ſame Seale.

A Captain of fifty Horſe.

Captaine of the Guard.

The Lord Chancellour.

Of Lackeyes and Footmen there are a great number, who haue a Captaine ouer them, that entertaineth, diſchargeth and deuideth among them their moſt and leaſt Wages, according as he iudgeth of their ſufficiency. And when the King graunteth audience, the ſaide Captaine is alwaies preſent, and exerciſeth the Office (as it were) of a cheefe Chamberlaine. There is alſo a Captaine of the carriages, whoſe Office is, to the conuay Tents and Pauillions fro place to place, wherein the Kings light Horſe-men are lodged: but the Kinges Pauillions are carried on Mules, & thoſe of the Souldiors on Camels. There is a company of Enſigne-bearers, that carry the Streamers and Standards on the waies: but one of them goeth alwayes before the Army, bearing a verie high pointed Standard. And all theſe Enſigne-bearers are guides, knowing the waies and paſſages ouer Riuers, woods, and Deſerts, keeping a great companie of Drummers, that play vpon Drums made of Copper, like vnto great Kettles, broad aboue, and narrow beneath, being couered aboue with Skinnes, and they carrie them on Horſe-backe, with certaine counterpoizes directly againſt the Drummes, becauſe their weight is heauie. Theſe Horſes are of the beſt, and ſwifteſt of pace that can be gotten: for it is held as a very great ſhame, when any drum is loſt. And thoſe drummes ſound ſo ſtrongly, and with ſuch a loud noiſe: that they may bee heard (a long while) a great way off, making the horſes and men to tremble, and they play vpon them with Buls Pizzels.

Captaine of the Lackeyes.

Captaine of the carriages.

Enſigne-bearers, & drums of Copper, carried on horſe-backe.

Great ſhame to looſe a Drum in war.

The Trumpets are not kept at the Kings charge, but they of the Citty are bound to keepe a certaine number of them, at their owne coſt: and they attend vpon the Kings table, as alſo when he goeth to battaile. There is a Maiſter

The trumpets

Maister of the Ceremonies, and his office

ster of the Ceremonies, who when the King calleth his Counsell, or admitteth audience; alwaies standeth at the Beds feet, ordering their places, and causing them to speake each after other, according to their degree and dignity. The Kings Family or Houshold, are (for the most part) *Negro*-slaues, and of them also are the Chamber-Maides and Women: Neuertheless, he hath his Wife alwaies white. Hee hath also diuers Christian slaues, and they are *Spaniards* or *Portugals*; And all the Weomen are vnder the Guard of Eunuches, who are all *Negro*-slaues.

The Kinges Houshold *Negro* slaues, and his Wife.

The Kinges dominion and reuenues.

This King (in truth) hath a great dominion, but smal reuenues, which hardly doe amount to the value of three hundred thousand Ducates. And the fift part thereof also commeth not to his hands, because the residue is assigned, as we haue formerly declared: and the one halfe of those Reuenues, is in Graine, Cattle, Oyle, & Butter, comming in by diuers wayes. Some places doe pay for so much Land, as can be Ploughed in a day by a paire of Oxen, a Ducate and a quarter. Others pay for euery Chimney or Fire, as much. Other places there are, where for euery Man (from fifteene yeares vpward) is paide as much, and in other places, both for Men and Women. Nor is there any other oppression of Toule, but in the great Cittie onely.

The manner of payments.

Toule paid in the great City onaly.

Mahomets law against reuenues.

I may not conceale, that (by the law of *Mahomet*) Temporall Lordes might not hold any Reuenues or Rents, except the tribute appointed to them, which was: that euery person who had an hundred ducates in ready Mony, stood bound to pay the Lord (out of that summe) two ducates and a halfe yearly, so long as such a quantity lasted. And euery one, that gathered of his owne Land tenne quarters of Corne, was bound to deliuer the tenth part: And such rentages were yeilded into the Byshops hands, who, beside the Kings supplie, made storeof the ouer-plus to cõmon benefit, wherewith were relieued the poore sickely persons, Widdowes, and warre maintained against the Enemy. But from the time that the Byshops power failed, the Lords (as hath beene said) began to vse tyranny: and it did not suffice them to vsurpe on those Reuenues, spending them according to their owne appetites; but they annexed vnto them new tributes, so that, throw all *Affrica*, few Countrey people are found, that can allow themselues so much, as wil be sufficient for their food and rayment onely. And hence ensued it, that no learned man, or of honest conuersation, will haue familiaritie with temporall Lords, nor feede with them at one Table; much lesse accept any gift or present from them, because they account the faculties of those Lords, to be worse then robberie.

Concerning Lands, and releefe of the poore.

Tyranny and vsurpation in the Lords.

Contempt of the temporall Lords.

The K. of *Fez*, keepeth continually in pay, sixe thousand Horse, fiue hundred Crosse-bowes, and as many Shot, all on horse-backe, and ready in order at euery commaund: but in times of peace, they are kept a mile off from his person; that is, when the King is out of the field, for being in *Fez*, he careth not for any guard. If it happen, that Warre is to be made with the *Arabes* his enemies; then those sixe thousand Horse are not sufficient, but he calleth such *Arabes* as are his Subiects to his ayde, of whom a great number are leuyed at their own charge, and they (indeede) are more practised in warre, then the sixe thousand belonging to the King. The pomp and Ceremonies of this King is verie small, and not many are willingly done vnto him: but at Feastes, or in some publike shewes; of necessity then they must be affoorded, as in this manner. When the King will ride abroad, first of all, the Maister of the Ceremonies maketh it knowne to all the Cursores in the Kinges Name; then they giue intelligence thereof to the Kings Kinred, to the Captaines, *Custodes*, and to the other Cauallery, who meete all together in the Marker-place, which is before his Pallace, comming thither by al the neerest waies. And as the King issueth foorth of the Pallace, the Cursores doe deuide all the Horse-men in order.

The Kinges continuall preparation for warre.

Of war with the *Arabes*.

The pompe & ceremonies of the King.

When the K. rideth abroad the order of euery degree in their seuerall places.

First do the Ensignes lead the way; next the Drummes; then the Maister of the Stable, with all his Officers and Familiars; then the Steward with his Attendants; then the *Custodes*; after them comes the Maister of the Ceremonies; then the Kings Secretarie, the Treasurer, the Iudge, and the Captaine of

The King and his attendants

of the Army. In the next place rideth the King, with his chiefe great Counsellour, and with some other Princes: certaine Officers riding directly before the Kings person; one bearing a sword; another a Shield; another carrying the Kings Crosse-bow; with all the Footmen and Lackyes round about them. One of them beareth the Kinges Partizane; another the Couering for the Saddle, and Head-stall for the Horsse. When the King alighteth on foot, the Saddle is couered with the couerture, and the Head-stall put ouer the Bridle, to hold the Horsse by. Another Footeman carrieth the kings Pantofles, which are wrought with great cost and curiosity. After the King rideth the Captaine of the Foot-men; next the Eunuches; and then the Kinges Houshold. Then follow the light Horsemen; and next them the Crosse-bowes and Caliuers.

The footmen and their office when the K. is alighteth

The habite which the King then weareth, is meane and honest, and such as know him not, will scarcely think he is a King: because his Foote-men are more proudly cloathed, in rich cloath, curiouslie embroidered. No King, or *Mahometane* Lord, weareth any crown or any thing that may resemble it; because the Law of *Mahomet* doth forbid it. When the King remaineth in the Field, first the great Tabernacle of the King is planted in the midst, which is made like to the Walles of a Castle, with Turrets and Quadrants on each side, containing fifty yardes in length; and on the top of euery side, are little Towers, made of Cloth, with Spires, Piramides, and round balles on each Turret, which seeme to be of Golde. This Tabernacle hath foure Gates, at euery one whereof standeth the Guard of Eunuches, and in the middest thereof there is another Pauillion. The Chamber wherein the King sleepeth, is made in such manner, that it may be very easily taken vppe, and set downe againe as occasion serueth. About this Tabernacle, are the lodgings of the Officers, and such Courtiers as are most fauoured by the King: And round about them againe, are placed the Tents of the *Custodes*, which are made of Goats skinnes, like to them of the *Arabes*. Euen as it were in the midst, are the Buttry, Pantry, Seller, and Kitchin, belonging to the King, and they are all verie great Pauillions.

The Kings wearing garments.

The King weareth no Crowne.

The order of the Kings being in the field.

The Kinges resting chamber in the field.

The *Custodes* Tents.

Not far from them, are Tents wherein the Light-horsemen Souldiors haue their lodging, who doe all feede on the Kinges common dyning boord, but in very base manner. A little further off is the Stable, beeing certaine couered places, wherein the Horses are kept one by another. Without the circuit of these Lodgings, are the Muleters abydings for the Kings carriages, as also diuers Boothes of Butchers, Pedlers, and other retailers. Merchants & Artificers that follow the Fielde, are ranked by the Muleters. So that all the Lodgings about the Kings Pauillions, do appeare like a builded Citty; because the *Custodes* Tents serue in stead of Wals, which are made and planted one by another, that no man can enter into the saide Lodgings, except it bee by appointed waies. About the Kinges Tabernacle, is the watch kept al night; but the watch men are silly persons, no better then Armour-bearers. The like Guard is about the Stable of Horses; but by the simplicity of these Watch-men, not onely are the Kings Horses many times stolne: but also diuers enemies vnto the King haue entred, with purpose to kill the King. The King (almost all times of the yeare) is in the fielde; as well for safety of the Kingdome; as to preserue in peace and amity the *Arabes* his Subiects, wher they spend the time in hunting, or playing at the Chesse.

The Light-horsemens Tents.

The Stable.

The Muleters Tents.

Merchants & Artificers.

Watch about the Kings Tabernacle, and about the stable of horses.

The King in field well neere the whole yeare.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers Customes and manners of burying the dead; Of ancient Obsequies, and their Ceremonies. Who was the first Inuenter of them; And how the dead haue beene lamented for.

Numa Pompilius was the first Inuenter of Obsequies for the dead, and instituted a chiefe Byshop, who had the care and charge therof. The ancient

Numa Pompilius first deuised Obsequies.

ancient *Romaines* had two kindes of burying their dead. One was, to lay them in the ground, and couer them with earth. And the other was, to burne the body in a pile of Wood, which they tearmed * *Rogus*: but this manner of behauiour continued not long, and the first of the Senators that was burned, being dead, was *Sylla*. The order obserued therein, was thus: First marched the Torch-bearers, and after them all the Colledges of Priests. Then followed an Image of Waxe, made in true resemblance of the dead party; before which also went a man, who should counterfeit the deceased in countenance, called * *Archimimus*. The bodie was carried in a bed, with many Escutchions of Armes fastned thereon, before which went the sounders of Trumpets, if he were a man mature of years: but those of young daies, were carried with the sound of Flutes, and followed with Songs For *Macrobius* saith, those Auncients verily beleeued, that Soules being deliuered out of their bodily Prisons, returned to the original of Musical sweetnesse, that is to say, to Heauen. Some thinke, that it was so done, because the Soule is held by many, to bee harmonious, which *Herophylus* first of all credited. When they came to the place where the fire was prepared, the body was laid therin, and there burned, which done being in presence of the Parents, neerest kinred, allyes and friends to the dead party: they gathered vp the Ashes, which being put into Vrnes, or other vessels, was placed in some tomb, with other pots full of Wine & Milke, and fire in others, that burned for many yeares, it was so wonderfully composed. Then one of the neerest Kinred, pronounced a Funerall Oration in his praise, which being ended, the woman, who was hyred to lament and mourne for the dead, beeing called * *Præfica*, would cry with a loud voyce these last wordes, *I, Licet*; as if shee would haue said, *Ire Licet*, as much to say, as *He must needes depart*. Then the bones and ashes were put into a Sepulcher, before which (as *Seruius* saith) an Altar was readie furnished. All these Ceremonies being finished, the last *Adieu* was deliuered with a loud voyce, in this manner, *Adieu, Adieu, Adieu; Wee must follow thee, according as the course of Nature shall permit vs.*

* The buryall Fire.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3.

* The chiefe Actor.

The manner of carrying the body.

Macrobius.

Alexander Aphrodiseus (in his *Problemes*) giueth another reason.

Of burning the dead body.

* A Woman mourner, going before the Corps.

Vide L. Gregor. Girald. et Seruium.

And because heere a question may be made, to wit; how it should be possible, to select and know the Ashes of the body, from among them of the Wood and Faggots, all of them being burned together: I will set downe that which I haue read in the Geography of *Raphaell Volaterranus*. Hee saith, that the bodyes of great Lords were sowed vp in a Cloath, made of the Stone called * *Amiantus*, which neuer can be consumed in Fire, but onely that which is enclosed in it; and that Cloath was made in the Isle of *Eubœa*, now called *Negropont*, in the Towne *Carystos*, very neere to *Chios*. This custome of burning dead bodies, continued among the *Romains*, til the time of the *Anthonine* Emperours, when then they began againe to bury them in the earth.

Of knowing the Ashes of the body.

Raphael Volat. in Geog.

* Some say Salamanders haire.

The first Honour which they vsed to performe in the Obsequies of famous persons, was, to commend the partie by an Oration: And the first that made Funerall Oration, in praise of the dead, was *Valerius Publicola*, on the death of *Brutus*. The second Honour, was the play of the *Gladiatores* or Fencers: And *Marcus* and *Decius*, the Sonnes of *Iunius Brutus*, were the first that made shew thereof, in honour of their Father. The third honour, was to make a banquet of magnificent furnishment. The fourth, was a distribution of flesh to all the common people. They had likewise an order, that within some while after the Obsequies, they would strew diuers flowers and sweete odours vpon the Sepulcher: as the *Romaine* people did on *Scipio*. And such as could not be buried with the like, and so great pomp (for the expences were insupportable) were buried in the night time, by some which were thereto deputed, who were tearmed *Vespillons*, that carried the dead body to the graue, cloth din white, and he or shee that were neerest of Kinred, closed vp his eies.

The Honours done in the Obsequies of great men.

The first Honour.

The second Honour.

The third Honour.

The fourth Honour.

Another Custome.

Of buriall in the night time by the *Vespillons*.

No long time after the sicke person had surrendred vp his Soule, the Chamber was set wide open, and all of the Houshold were permitted to enter, as also the Neighbours, and three of them (with a loud voyce) called him by his name three times. Afterward, his bo-

Ouid in 6. de Fast.

After the soul was departed.

dy

dy was washed with warme water, and this Office was done by certaine good Weomen, according as *Euaius* reporteth. The good Woman, that washed and annointed the bodie of *Tarquine*; the Heire gaue her the House, with some other rewards thereto designed: And ouer the doore of the house, were boughes of Cypres thickely placed. If the party deceased were a worthy man, and of authoritie; the Cittizens were inuited to his Obsequies, by one to whose trust the office was referred, and the Wife of the dead Man, with al the Women of his Kinne, went along with the Corpes in white Garments. *Plato* writeth, that the Funerall pompe in his Cittie, was in this manner. Such as were in white habites, neither shed any teares, or vsed any lamentations. Two Quires of Singers, the one of fifteene Boyes, and the other of as manie Maidens, continued about the Coffin, while the Priests (ioyning with them) sung all the praises of the dead person; and this lasted the whole day, in commendation of his felicity. On the morrow following, early in the mornig, the younger sort carryed him to his Graue, and chast men, that neuer had beene married, rode before on Horse-backe, and then came next, the band of footemen in their Armour. The young Lads followed, singing Hymnes in their paternall language. The Maides accompanied with aged Women, came after, and then he was ensepulturde, as we vnder-ground lay our dead in a vault.

But among other Nations, the custome of burying their dead was diuers. The Greekes also were burned after death, as *Lucian* witnesseth. The Noble-men among them, were neuer burned alone, as *Homer* recordeth in the Song at the Funerals of *Patroclus*; for with him were burned Oxen, Sheepe, Dogges, Horses, and twelue stout and valiant Sonnes of Noble *Troyans*. And *Achilles* would needs haue his haire burned, with the dead body of *Patroclus*. In *Persia* they neuer interred the bodies of the dead; except they had formely beene torne and dismembred by Dogs or Fowles.

The *Massagetes* and *Derbices*, people of *Scythia*, did account them to be most miserable, that died by any oppression of sickneſſe. For when their Fathers, Mothers, and Kinred, had passed the age of seauenty yeares; they would cut their throats, and deuiding their bodies in pieces and gobbits, did eate them among their Mutton, Goat, Veale, and other flesh: accounting it much more conuenient, thus to sustaine their owne bodies with their friends, then to suffer them to be deuoured of Wormes. Only the bodies of old women they would not touch, but abstaining from them; when they had first stifled them, then they butyed them. Which custome, most sauage, *Tertullian* in his Bookes against *Marcion*, attributeth to the *Pontique* people, saying: *They serued their Tables at Feasts, with the Flesh of the bodies of their slaine Parents, eating them with other Beastes*. Such as ended not their liues in this kind, their death was reputed most vnhappy vnto them.

Stobeus writeth, that they of *Colchos* neuer buried their dead, but hung their bodies vpon Trees, and this kind of Sepulture they teatmed Ayry. The *Ægyptians*, so soone as any one among them was dead; they would draw his braines forth at his Nosthrils with an Iron Instrument, filling the place againe with sweete perfumes. Then they made incision into his belly, with an *Æthyopian* Stone, called *Laigne*, and hauing taken out his bowels; filled the body againe with many sorts of sweete odours, beaten and compounded together. Then, for the space of seuenty daies together, they salted the body with Niter, and annointing it with Gumme, wrapped it in a Sheete. And the neereſt kinred to the partie dead, hauing made an hallow Image or Statue of Wood, according to his resemblance; therein they enclosed the dead body, and then buried it. The *Scythians* vsed to bury in the Graue with the dead body, such as were deareſt and neareſt to him. The *Bactrians* and *Hyrcanians* kept Dogges publiquely, and some priuately in their chiefest Cities; by which Dogges (each man according to his degree and faculty keeping them) they were after death torne and dismembred. For they held this kind of buriall to the best, and they called those Dogges by a vocable in their owne Language, to wit; *Sepulchraux*. Which cruell and inhumaine behaui-

our,

Of *Tarquines* washing.

Plat. in Lib. 12 de Legib.

The order of Funerall pompe in *Plato's* Citty of *Athens*.

Of carrying him to the Graue.

The manner of buriall in other nations

Of the *Greeks*

The Funerall of *Patroclus*.

Of the *Persians*.

Of the *Massagetes* and *Derbices*, who did eate their dead Fathers and Mothers.

Tertul. in lib. cont. Marcion.

Of the *Colchians*.

Of the *Egyptians*, and how they buried their dead.

Of the *Scythians*.

Of the *Bactrians*, and *Hyrcanians*.

Nicanor Lieutenant to great *Alexander*.

our, when *Nicanor* (Lieutenant to *Alexander* the Great, against the *Bactrians*) sought to reforme; hee lost almost the whole Kingdome. Saint *Hierome* saith, that the *Hyrcanians* were not only torne by Dogs after their death; but were also throwne halfe aliue to the Fowles of the ayre. As the Poet *Lucretius* singeth;

The Poet *Lucretius*.

Viua vident viuo sepeliri viscera busto.

Which is as much to say; *That in a liuing Sepulcher, they saw their entrailes buried aliue*. The * *Essedones*, *Scythians* of *Asia*, celebrated the Funerals of their Fathers and Mothers, with Songes of great ioy. & all the kinred being assembled; would teare their members in pieces with their teeth, mingling it in their banquet with the flesh of other beastes, as formerly we haue said of the *Massagætes*. And they vsed the skull of the head, called *Cranos*, in stead of a Cup or Mazzer to drinke in, it being round enchased with Gold: *And this* (saith *Pliny*) *was accounted an especiall great Office of piety*. The *Thracians* buried their dead laughing, and highly reioyced, because (as they said) *That they departed were from euill, & arriued at beatitude*. The *Celtes*, neighbors to the ocean (as *Stobeus* affirmeth) accounted it as a villainous shame to shunne the ruine of a Wal or House when it fell to the ground. And when any invndation of the Sea happened, they would run out armed, and withstand (so long as they could) the waters fury, euen til they were drowned in the deepe; least, by flight away, they should be reputed fearefull of death.

*Sauage people nere to Mæotis, and the Riphæan hils.

Solinus in Polibist. Cap. 25.

Plin. in lib. 9.

Pomp. Mela. in lib. 2. Cap. 1. Herodot. in Melpom. Stobeus de For. Ser. 7

The wise *Brachmanes*, a people of *India*, did wonderfully despise death, and (as *Strabo* reporteth) did greatly exercise themselues in contempt thereof. The history of *Calanus* the Philosopher, one of the *Gymnosophists* of *India*, is very notable, who when he was resolued to dye, threw himselfe voluntarily into a great fire. The like did *Zarmanochegas* the *Indian*, in *Athens*, vpon whose tomb was written these wordes following. ζαρμανοχήγας ἰνδὸς ἀπὸ βάργου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθανατίσας. That is to say; *Zarmanochegas, the Indian of Bargos, making himselfe immortall, according to the customes of the Countrey of India; lyeth heere. Numa Pompilius* prohibited the *Romaines*, to vse any sorrow for deceased Infants, or vnder three yeares olde: and for such as had passed that time, he appointed so many moneths mourning, as they were yeares aged. Women vsed to mourne for their Husbands, ten months at the least: and if any one married againe, before the time of mourning were expired, shee was very greatly blamed and reproued. It was also a custome among weomen, when their Husbands were dead; to teare their haire, harme their faces, and beat their handes one against another, which sottishnesse is yet to this day obserued in Rome. For many times, I haue seen Matrones & Ladies of *Rome*, to teare the faire tresses of their Haire, and throw themselues on the dead bodies of their Husbands.

Strabo in lib. 4.

Vide Arrianus de Gest. Alexā.

Zarmanochegas his Epitaph. *Plutarch in vit. Numa Pom.*

How long women mourned for their husbands.

An idle custome yet obserued in *Rome*.

CHAP. III.

Whence the custome grew, of saying to such as sneeze; God saue ye, or Christ help ye. And for what reason, a man maketh the signe of the Crosse on his mouth, when he yawneth or gapeth.

THe yeare of our saluation, 619. in *Italy* happened a strong and very strange disease, that when men sneezed, they died suddenly. Which gaue admittance and entrance thence-forward, to a good and commendable custome: that when any were seene or heard to sneeze, euery one present, or neere, would say, *GOD help ye, Christ blesse ye*; and from that time hitherto, the custome hath not vnprofitably continued. Yawning and gaping, was likewise an occasion of as sudden death, without ability of bringing the iawes together againe. For remedy whereof, and to preuaile (so farre as men might) against this hurtfull inconuenience; whē any one yawned, he was aduised to vse the like good words inwardly, as *God defend me*, or *Christ keep me*, and (withall) to make the signe of the crosse on his mouth; and it pleased God that this sudden euill ceased. For which cause, it hath not bin thought discommendable, to keep the same fashion

A strange disease appearing in *Italy*, in the yeare 619.

Yawning and gaping caused people suddenly to dye.

The reason of making the signe of the Crosse.

still in remembrance, and in all Christian Nations, the vse thereof is maintained. Yea, and so much the rather, because the signe of the Crosse is our first badge of Christianity, and we receiue it in Baptisme; to the end, that when further yeares shall enable vs, wee may not be ashamed to fight vnder that standard, being a reuerent signe and memoriall of our Redeemers passion, who would suffer on the Crosse, for the saluation of all his people. To which purpose, *Tertullian* saith, in his Booke of the Crowne of Warfare, as followeth. *Tertullian lib. de Corona. Milit.* *Ad omnem progressum, atque promotum; Ad omnem aditum & exitum; Ad vestitum & calceatum; Ad lauacra; Ad mensas; Ad limina; Ad cubilia; Ad sedilia; quacunque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.* That is. *At euery steppe, and mooning; At euery entring, and departing; At apparrelling, and vncloathing; At washing; At the Table; At the doore Threshold; At bedding, sitting still, or what conuersation else soeuer is vsed; this signe on the forehead is not offensiue.* Farre be superstition frō any Christian soule. Not that any superstitious opinion is conceiued thereof, or that the bare signe hath any power to defend, without the maine helpe of all, which is Gods gracious assistance: for wel we know, it is not the signe, but he that was thereon so cruelly handled.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *Concerning the Originall, of vsing these wordes:* Ie vous baise les mains; *I kisse your hands.*

Pomponius Letus writeth, that the vse of kissing handes, did come from the ancient Emperors, who first of all gaue their handes to Noble-men, and then after came the kisse; but to meaner people, they gaue forth the knee to be kissed. And thence, as I am perswaded ensued this manner of speech; *I kisse your hand*, as declaring that so should the man be saluted, who is worthy of empire and soueraignetie. Else, it may be thought to be deriued from the *Carthagenians*, who meeting each other, vsed no salutations by wordes; but in signe of friendly amitie, closed with their right handes, and so each of them kissed the others hand. For two reasons, we say, I kisse your hand. I am of the minde, that wee doe not hold this Custome from so long a continuance; but my opinion is, that it rather proceeded from the homage of some Vassailes and Liedge men, that stood obliged to doe such seruice to their Lordes, Iustices, and Guides: for in many places, in stead of this homage, some stand bound to kisse the knee, in case of a new Recognisance. For some proofe hereof, I haue a Court-roule of rents appertaining to me, called *De Luriac*, made in the yeare 1352. which maketh *Affidauit* heereof, in euery one of the Tenants aunswers, where it is set downe in the words following. *Pro quibus rebus, fundis & possessionibus ipse fecit homagium ligium dicto Domino de Luriaco, vt assuetum est genibus flexit, manus suas iunctas tenendo inter manus ipsius Domini, eiusque pollices osculando.* That is: *For, and in consideration of all which Landes, Goods, and Possessions; hee maketh himselfe a Liege Man in homage, to the said Lord of Luriac. So that, vsually, vpon his bended knees, and his hands ioyntly vpheld, between the hands of the said Lord, he kisse his Fingers.*

The Authors coniecture of the originall of this courtesie.

Proofe by a president of his owne.

CHAP. V.

Of the deuision of the yeare, and diuersitie thereof among the Romaines. Who first found out the Houres, and made Clockes and Dyals. What is meant by the Bissextile; by a Month; by a day naturall; a weeke, fortnight, houre, point, minute, ounce, and Atome.

Most certaine it is (as *Iosephus* writeth, in the first and fourth Bookes of his *Iewish Antiquities*) that the *Hebrues* deuided the yeare into twelue moneths, and so ordained it afterward in Ægypt: for the auncient *Ægyptians* made the yeare to consist of

Ioseph. in lib. de Iudaic. Antiquit. lib. 1. et 4.

The *Hebrues* deuided the yeare into 12. months.

of two moneths, and afterward of foure. The *Arcadians* of three; the *Carians* and *Arcananians*, of sixe. The Greekes accounted their yeare, to bee three hundred fifty foure daies: And the *Romaines*, from the time of *Romulus*, finished their yeare in as many daies as the Greekes did; comprehending it in ten months, and beginning it in March, though it disagreed with the course of the Sunne and Moone, to the circumference whereof *Numa Pompilius* brought it, by addition of fifty six daies. And yet the yeare being not fully sufficient, *Iulius Cæsar* made it apt to the course of the Sunne, making it to containe 365. daies, and in taking away the *Dies intercalares*, said he did it; because that a day might be added to the month of February, which then was the last of the yeare, and that day wanted to make the yeare compleate. Whereupon hee concluded, that from foure to foure yeares, one day should be added to the month of February, which was called *Bissextilis Annus*, the Leape yeare. And the reason of this name, was, that two daies of equall degree, were tearmed the sixt of the Calends of March, euen as now we find it to be,* and therefore do account two daies for one.

The *Romaines* conformable with the Greeks.

Iulius Cæsar his ordination of the yeare.

Dies intercalares, the odde day of the leap yeare, which falleth euery fourth yeare.

* *L. Quum Bissextus F. decret. significi.*

The same *Cæsar* deuided the yeare into twelue months; the month into foure weeks, and some odde daies: each weeke into seauen daies; the day into foure partes, and to each part hee appointed sixe houres. And to euerie houre, foure points or quarters; to the point or quarter, ten moments or minuts; to a moment, two and twentie ounces; and to an ounce, forty seauen Atomes, that is to say, numbers indiuisible; for ἄτομος in *Greeke*, is as much to say, as *without diuision*. The month is part of the Solary yeare: the Weeke, foure partes of the month: the naturall weeke day, part of the weeke; the Quadrant, foure parts of the day; the hour, the sixt part of the quadrant; the point, the fourth part of the houre: the moment or minute, the tenth part of the point; the ounce, the twelfth part of the minute; and the Atome, the fourth part of the ounce.

Iulius Cæsar his deuisions of the yeare, moneths, weeks, daies, houres, &c.

Degrees of the Solary yeare by deuision.

The ancient *Romaines* hauing dedicated the Moneth of March to their God *Mars*; began the yeare with that month. Afterward they tooke Ianuary for the first month of the yeare, as *Plutarch* writeth: because that after the Kinges were expulsed, the first Consuls were created in the Calends of Ianuary. Wherefore, this they did, in memorie of their liberties recouery, and vtter abolition of tyranny. They obserued also the great yeare (called by some the *Platonicall* yeare) which they saide was to bee ended, when all the Planets should haue made their intire reuolution, and were returned to the same place againe. And concerning this yeare, Authours haue not well accorded. For some say, that it finisheth in 2484. yeares; and others in 5552. Some doe hold, that it cannot be concluded, but in 49000. *Romaine* yeares; and others say, in 36000. *Iosephus* hath left written, that the great yeare consisteth of 1000. yeares. Our ancients began the yeare diuerslly. The Greekes (in the first place) making their glory in the destruction of *Troy*, began their yeare at that time. The *Romains* counted from the building of *Rome*. The *Mahometanes* counted, and yet doe, their time, from the daies of the false Prophet, and impostur *Mahomet*. And we Christians do deriue our date, from the Natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ, the true Son of the euer-liuing God, or else from his Incarnation, which we hold to bee the truest course.

Platoes great and wonderfull yeare, about which the Authours much varry.

The *Greciams*.

The *Romaines*.

The Turkes & *Mahometans*

Christians.

The houres tooke their name of the Sun, which in the *Ægiptian* language is cald *Horus*. *Hermes Trismegistus* hauing obserued in *Ægipt*, that a certaine Beast (consecrated to * *Serapis*) pissed twelue times in a day, keeping euermore equal space of time: deuised, to part the day into twelue houres, and this number of houres, was long time obserued, and afterward deuided into 24. The Sun dyal, whereof the shaddow (which is called *Gnomon*, that is to say, *Measure*) demonstrateth the houres: was first inuented at *Lacedæmon*, by *Anaximenes* the *Milesian*, and he called it *Sciathericon*, ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς, that is to say, *Of the shaddow*. *Ctesippus Alexandrinus*, inuented the *Clepsydra*, or water dyall, to discouer the passage of houres, by drops of water falling from a vessell, expressely made for the purpose, like to a Garden watring pot, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention.

How the houres tooke their name. *Vide Macrob. Saturnal. Lib. 1 Cap. 21*

* A Godlie forme of an Oxe among the *Egyptians*.

The inuention of the dayes deuision into houres.

Of the Sun dyall.

Of the beginning of the yeare among the Romains.

Of the water dyall.

Vitruuius in lib. 9 de Architect. Cicero in Lib. 2 de natur. Deor. & 2. Tusc.

The vsuall Dyall.

Afterward, by diuine and ingenious cunning, the Horologe or dyall of mettall or Iron, was found out, euen such as we now make vse of in these daies; with toothed Wheeles and counterpoises, which declared the houres, partly by shew; and partly by the sound of Belles. These did so naturally represent (by the same artefice) the course of all the Planets, Sunne and Moone: as it would seem to ye, that ye discerned the very same heauen. Like vnto that which is at *Venice*, on the place before Saint *Marke*, all richly guilded, & made with infinite cost.

Of Clockes.

CHAP. VI.

Vpon what occasion, and wherefore the daies of the week were called Feriæ, Holidaies, or Festiuall daies.

Pope *Syluester* the first, altered the daies of the weeke from the *Gentiles* custome.

POpe *Syluester*, the first of that name, labouring to extirpate the memory of vaine and false Gods: ordaind, that the daies of the weeke, which before did beare name of the Gods of the Gentiles, & Idolaters, should be otherwise altered and tearmed. For wheras our Sabbath day bare the name of the Sun; Munday, of the Moone; Tuesday, of *Mars*; Wednesday, of *Mercury*; Thursday, of *Ione* or *Iupiter*; Friday, of *Venus*; and Saturday, of *Saturne*: they were deuided to the number of *Feriæ*, or Holy-daies, and called the first, second, third, fourth, fift, and sixt *Feria*, after the same manner as the *Hebrues* had distinguished their daies, by the name of Sabbats, or Sabaoths. He called the day of *Saturne*, Sabaoth, according to the ancient vocable of the Law, which is interpreted *Rest*, or *Repose*; and imposed the name of *Dies Dominicus*, which we call Sunday, on the first *Feria*, as a day sacred to the Lord, and which before had carried the name of the Sunne. This he did (as is said) at the request of the Emperour *Constantine*; albeit the Apostles had dedicated this day to God: because vpon the like or same day, our Lord and Redeemer arose from the dead.

Feria prima, Sunday. *Feria secunda*, Munday, and so of the rest, not intending Holy-dayes only, but any day of the weeke.

The Apostles dedication.

Yet so it is, that this name of *Feria*, hath not, nor is obserued, but in matters Diuine and Ecclesiasticall; onely the daies of Sunday & Saturday excepted, which are not to be called *Feriæ*. Likewise, the other fiue (among the *Layicks*) haue recouered their ancient names: a matter (questionlesse) much to be moaned, and whereat wee may blush with shame, because no more care was had in former times, to giue other Christian names to al those daies, to the end, that all memory of the *Gentiles* Gods might be lost among vs. These *Feriæ* (among our ancients) were such daies, as it was not lawfull to trauaile on them, & were so named, *à feriendis victimis, Of smiting the beasts in the sacrifices*: Or else, *à ferendis epulis, Of bringing victuals*, which then were principally giuen to be eaten. The *Romains* sollemnized infinite feasts, causing them to be published by a common Cryer to the people, to the end, that they should not bee transgressed. Moreouer, they would haue no worke to be done on those daies; for hee that gaine-saied, was grieuously punished.

Of the ordinary fiue daies in the weeke.

The *Feriæ* in elder times were Festiual daies.

Feasts of the Romaines.

CHAP. VII.

How, and by what meanes, Phisitions learned to take blood from diseased persons: And who it was that first wrote concerning Hearbes.

Plin. in Lib. 8. Cap. 26.

PHisition learned to recouer sickly people (by that which is tearmed *Phlebotomy*, or blood-letting) of the **Hippopotamus*, which is called the Horse of the Riuer. It is a Beast of *Nylus*, who when hee feeleth himselfe filled with ouer-much meate, and to bee immeasurably fat or foggy: he commeth forth vpon the banck, seeking for new cut Canes and Reedes. And when he feeleth any that are verie sharpe indeed, pressing downe his body vpon them, he pierceth a veine, whence blood immediatly issueth, and by this meanes, his body is discharged of the former sickenesse, and he closeth the wound againe with his owne Dung.

A beast liuing in the Riuer *Nilus*, hauing feete like to an Oxe, his backe & mane like a Horse, with a winding taile, and tusked like a Boare.

There

There is likewise a Bird in the same *Ægipt*, called * *Ibis*, somewhat like to the Storke, which Bird doth wash that part with her crooked Bill, where all Fowles doe annoyd their Excrements; and thereby (saith *Polydore Virgile*) came Phisitions to the knowledge of giuing Glisters. *Orpheus* was the first, that of all other (bearing memory) wrote carefully concerning Hearbs, and (after him) *Museus*: albeit, some are of the mind, that they both liued in one and the same time. *Dioscorides* came after them, and *Pompeius Lenus Libertinus*; who being enfranchised by *Pompey* the great, traduced the Bookes of *Mithridates* out of Greeke into Latine, which concerned the property and nature of of Hearbs.

* A Bird in Egypt that killeth Serpents.

Polid. Virgil. in Lib. 1. cap. 21.

CHAP. VIII.

A true and admirable History, of a Maiden in Poictu, who for the space of three years, and more, liued without receiuing eyther meat or drinke.

Euripides desired, *that either we might liue dumb, in perpetuall silence; or else, that dumbe thinges (without any Ambiguitie of wordes) might speake to vs.* As for my selfe, I could wish, that eyther wee were like those *Indian* people called *Astomi*, whom *Pliny* describeth to liue without mouthes: or else, contented like them, with the sole benefit of ayre, we might heere spend our time without eating or drinking. For, by this meanes, it might come to passe, that our Spirit, (which with a firme eye, cannot contemplate naturall things, no more then the Owle is able to looke on the bright raies of the Sunne) beeing freed from those Mistes and thicke Vapours, occasioned by the vse of msates; would comprehend with one looke, the *Ideas* and formes of things nakedly, & according as they are indeede. *Chrisippus* then should not neede to take *Helleborus* with such obseruance, for the purging of his vnderstanding; to the end, he might the more subtilly see the strength of his Arguments. Our soule (against her nature) would be no heauy burden at all vnto vs, for she should not serue as salt to our body, to keepe it from corrupting: But rather she would be there like to a *Pharos*, which (in our Diuine Nauigation) would discouer the way, for our attaining to the Land of Heauen.

The wish of *Euripides.*

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 1.

The disability of the spirit in naturall things.

Heracl.

But in regard, that our life is maintained by the bodies nourishment, and that (by one mutuall assistance) both together do conserue themselues, euen while wee our selues doe study how to support this life, by continuall care for furnishing it with foodes: It ensueth, that thereby we altogether abase, and cast downe that part of the soule to the earth, which otherwise (of it selfe) wold couet nothing more, then to eleuate it selfe to high and heauenly things. Notwithstanding, *Plato* was perswaded, that Man is prouided of store of repletion, & cloying for the entrails or intestnies: to shew thereby, that God created him a Creature full of reason, without which, as Plantes are continually tyed to their Rootes, for their feeding; so should he alwaies haue meate in his mouth, or else (like the beasts) his mind would be perpetually labouring in seeking after nothing but fresh pasture. You may see it thus verified. While the food doth conuay it selfe by the passages of the belly, the Spirit naturallie sendeth hir strength vegetatiue and nutritiue thorow the body; and by this commixture, life, and the motion of the body is maintained so well, that this more sublime part of Nature would passe on much further, to declare the effects of her power and vertue: if (after food hath sustained the body) the Spirit were not called to the desire of new meats, and compelled to yeelde it selfe to the bellies appetite. For there is nothing (saith *Pliny*) more painefull to a man, then his belly; for contentment whereof, the most part of Men haue imployed their whole life time.

Life preserued by feeding the body

Plato in his *Timeus*, concerning mans prouision.

A very apt comparison in this case.

Plin in lib. 26. Cap. 8.

This importuning vessell of the body, is euermore at hand with vs, like to a greedy Creditor, summoning vs many times in the day to his attendance: but he must not be listned alwaies when he calleth, if he haue had his due paid him, no more then the young Scholler, who would not allow his Tutor the charges

The appetite of the belly is neuer satisfied.

of his feeding, as if hee liued on winde, hauing bin neuertheleſſe with him, and ſed on his purſſe. But whoſoeuer ſhall, or doth deale ſo, the Emperour adiudged him not receiueable, but let him go ſeeke his dyet elſe-where. Notwithſtanding, it is ſo, that the bellies neceſſity is ſo borne with vs; as the *Stoickes* themſelues, who excluding all the ſenſe of mã, were conſtrained to feel the bellies gripings and murmuring, and did eate, but how? To the end, they might ſhun eating. Quite contrary to many Gourmands and Gluttons, who eat & drinke, only becauſe they would encreaſe their eating and drinking; hauing no other God but their bellie, whereon they beſtow whatſoeuer ſerues to excite their luxury: for maintenance whereof, the Seas are trauerſed, euen ſo far as the Riuer * *Phaſis*, ranſacked her entrailes, for contention agreeing with an inſatiable appetite. And this is that part, wherein we come the neereſt to brute beaſts, who (by their proper nature) are led to deſire whatſoeuer their belly demands, and with whom we haue (in common) this neceſſity of eating & drinking. For Nature hath giuen one Inſtrument of life to all Creatures, which is naturall heat, that (euen as our wood in the fire) hath his Seate in the triple ſubſtance of our body; to wit, ſolide, humorall and ſpirituous, which (without intermiſſion) heruinates and conſumeth. So that in a very ſmall while, all would bee quite waſted, if it were not maintained by a freſh ſupply of Meats and drinkes; neyther more or leſſe, then as the flame of a Lampe, which extinguiſheth it ſelfe, ſo ſoone as the Oyle is conſumed, if no more bee put thereinto, for longer laſting. And hereupon, *Hippocrates*, the Prince of Phiſitions ſaid; *That the bodies of young Men haue neede of more nouriſhment, then others: becauſe they haue more heate then they*; *For otherwiſe* (ſaith he) *their bodies would conſume themſelues*. Contrariwiſe, the bodyes of old men, becauſe they haue but little ſtore of heate; they neede therefore as little nouriſhing.

Hence may we draw a confirmed argument, by that which *Hippocrates* himſelfe hath ſaid: *That old men very eaſily endure Faſting; next to them, ſuch as are in the ſtrength of their age, yet much leſſe then they that are in youth-hood; and Infants leaſt of all other, eſpecially ſuch as are lineliеſt, and readieſt in their bodily functions.* For the ſmalneſſe of heat, the tenacitie of the primitiue moyſture, and the denſity or thickneſſe of the body hindereth in old men, that the triple ſubſtance cannot waſt it ſelfe at all. From whence it proceedeth, that they haue not ſuch great need of meate, and deſire or appetite after food (if I may ſo ſay) which is hunger; is in them much languiſhing. As contrariwiſe, in young men it is ſo much the more ardent; as the naturall heate is ſuper-aboundant, the vitall humor more fluxible, and the compoſition of the body more thin, and leſſe heaped together. Which three things, as they cauſe the receiued food to conſume: euen ſo (by little and little) they repaire any defect there ariſing.

To approue the truth heereof; *The ſubſtance of euery Creature diſſolues it ſelfe into the ayre, by the pores of the skin which enuirons it*, ſaith *Galen*. It followeth then of neceſſity, that the very neereſt parts of the skinne, ſhould bee firſt deſtitute of nourriture, and that by their owne force and vertue, they ſhould draw nouriſhment from other neighbouring partes, to reſtore that which (through want of ſuſtentation) is impaired: thoſe there, from the veines; theſe heere, from the Liuer; the Liuer, from the inteſtnies and ventricle (by the meſentery veines) calling what is moſt conuenable to their nature. Then the ventricle, ſeeing her ſelfe empty; by a meer naturall vnderſtanding which ſhee hath of her owne want, is incited to deſire meates, where-with ſhe may be ſuſtained.

But if there be ſome bodie, which hath ſmall ſtore of heat, and more of the radical moiſture, wherto the pores and Reſpiracles of the skinne do giue place: there cannot be made any great Euacuation of the triple ſubſtance, and ſo conſequentlie, there is no neede at all of great nouriſhment. Neither is it altogether neceſſary (as *Galen* teſtifieth) in thoſe places, where (beſide that alreadie ſaide) the Ayre which encompaſſeth vs, is cold, and the body heauy, benummed, and without motion: becauſe the little troughes or openings in

Tit. Deſlim. cap. praeſt. c.

The Stoickes did eate, to auoid eating.

A very great Riuer in Colchis

One Inſtrument of life, giuen to all Creatures naturall heat.

The triple ſubſtance of the body.

Hypocrat. in lib. 1. Aphoriſm. 14

Hippocra. in lib. 1. Aphoriſm. 13.

Old men haue not ſuch need of food, as young mẽ.

Galen. de Simptom. 1. Cauſ. 7.

The particular parts of ſupply.

Concerning ſome particular bodies.

Galen de vena ſect. aduerſ. Eraſ.

Aproued examples in diuers Beastes, which keepe their Dens al Winter.

in the skin, are as mouths, and yet litle or nothing at all passeth out at them. This he giueth to vnderstand, by the example of sauage Beasts, which (in all the time of winter) will not forsake their Dens and Cauernes: in regard whereof, he calleth them φωλεύοντα ζῶν, such as are Beares, Bats, or Dormice, Serpents, Lizards, and diuers other. Al which, hauing at spring time (by warmth and heat) the conuoies of their bodies released & opened: when they finde that the inward warmth is resolued, and they beginne to bee hungry, they come foorth (by their owne proper motion) out of their prisons, and (guided by Nature only) do seeke in al parts, such feeding as is apteſt for them. From whence he gathereth, that assiduate blowing or breathing, which is performed by respiration, causeth this defect, and it also prouoketh the appetite and desire of eating. For Nature hath giuen this property to the empty part, that it shold demand to be re-filled. So that, if the causes ceased, for which the body hath need of nourishment, it would ensue as necessarily, that euen penury it selfe, & meere vnderstanding what hunger is, by little and little would cease also: and that for this reason, the Beasts which are hidden in dennes of the earth, may liue without the vse of food.

The guifte of nature to the empty parte, to require sustentation.

In like manner, by the report of notable men, and well worthy credence, there haue beene found in the Lanthornes and Boxes of Pixes, of Altars and aged Sepulchres, burning Lampes, which the inscriptions (on the saide Tombes & places) haue witnessed, that they were put thereinto, almost infinite yeares before the finding of them. As that wherof *Lodouicus Viues* speaketh, discouered about the yeare, 1500. which *Hermolaus Barbarus* saith, was found in the Territories of *Pauia*, without date of day, or of Consull indeede: but yet notwithstanding, it hath beene there enclosed aboue eight hundered yeares, as *P. Appianus* gathered by the inscription. Such Lampes then were preserued or maintained, so long a time, with little or no supply, because the very moisture of the places, doth strongly enable them, and they perish but very little. Whether it may bee thought by the humidity (which the Alchimistes tearme Radicall) of Gold, which only among all naturall bodies, is beleeued to suffer no diminution of his substance, or of something else, neere enclining to his Nature, I am not able to censure. But so it plainly appeared, by the Testification engrauen on a Vessell of earth, which *Barbarus* (before mentioned) hath written downe in these words:

S. August. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 21. Cap 6.

Lodouicus Viues.

Hermolaus Barbarus.

P. Appianus.

A Lamp lasted burning aboue 800 yeares, without any supply.

Plutoni sacrum munus ne attingite fures,
Ignotum est vobis hoc quod in orbe latet
Namq; elemẽta grani clausit digesta labore,
Vase sub hoc modico maximus Olybius.
Adsit fœcundo custos sibi copia cornu,
Ne pretium tanti depereat laticis.

Hermolaus Barbarus his Latine Verses.

And these lines which follow, were written or earued on another vessell of earth, and enclosed within the former in this manner:

ABITE. HINC. PESSVMI. FVRES.
VOS. QVID. VOLITIS. CVM. VOSTRIS. OCVLIS. EMISSITIIS.
ABITE. HINC. VOSTRO. CVM. MERCVRIO. PETASATO. CADVCEATOQVE.
MAXVMVS. MAXVMVM. DONVM. PLVTONI HOC SACRVM. FACIT.

Other Latine lines founde on another earthen vessel

In this Earthen Vessell, was and had beene kept this Lampe, placed betweene two Flagons or Bottels, the one of gold, the other of Siluer, and these were imagined, to haue giuen nutriment vnto the Lampe, that continued burning for so many ages. The same *Barbarus*, called this Licquor, *Heauenly Water*, or rather, the *Alchimists Diuine water*, which he also noteth to haue beene called (by *Democritus* and *Mercurius Trismegistus*) sometimes *Diuine Water*, sometimes the *Scythian Drinke*; sometimes *Spirituall*, that is to say, a spirite drawne from the Celestiall Nature, and * *Fifte Essence* of thinges, whereof *Aurum Potabile* is composed, and the Phylosophers stone or sand, in search whereof, so many people haue vainly consumed themselues. To this Diuine Licquor of Golde, I knowe not whether I may attribute, or no, the meruaile of a Lampe continually burning, whereof *Cedrenus* speaketh, which from the time of the Emperour *Iustinian*, was found in the Cittie of * *Edessa*, with an Image

How the lampe was placed in the Tombe.

Heauenly Water.

The Alchymists Diuine water.

Scithian Drinke.

*Or Quintessence *Aurum Potabile.*

Cedrenus in the Abridgement of his Histories.

* A Citty of *Syria*, beyond *Euphrates*.

Image of our Sauiour Christ. It had bin inclosed or hidden ouer a certaine Gate, immediately after the passion of Christ: and yet neuertheless, it had also remayned there fiue hundred yeares, without extinguishing.

A Lamp burning 500. yeares.

Moreouer, some of the Oyle which was found in the saide Lampe, being cast into the neerest fire to that place: it burned (intirely) all the warlicke troopes of *Chosroes*, King of the *Persians*, who was an enemy to the Christians. But bee it howsoeuer, neither this, or any thing els before alledged, do I account to bee so straunge, as an example now to be apparantly seene; a matter rare, and almost incredible, but that both our eyes and iudgements haue beene witnesses thereof, happening within our owne quarters of *Poictu*, to wit, the wonderfull Faste or abstinence from foode, of a Mayden of *Confolans* or *Conflans*, in *France*, who for the space of three yeares hath liued, and as yet dooth liue without receiuing anie bodily food or sustenance.

A matter of great meruel

This was written in the yeare, 1602.

This Maiden is about fourteen years of age, and is named *Iane Balan*, her Father *Iohn Balan*, a Lockfmith by profession, and her Mother, *Laurencia Chambella*. Her stature is answerable to her age, she beeing somewhat Countrey-like of behauiour, a Natiue of the Towne of *Confolans*, vppon the Riuer of *Vienna*, in the Confines of *Limosin*, and also of *Poietu*.

The Maid of *Confolans*, and her Parents.

In the eleauenth yeare of hir age, beeing seized on by a continuall Feauer, the 16 day of February, 1599. she hath since then, beene assayled with the excesse of many other sicknesses, and (beyond all the rest) with a continnall casting or Vomitting, for the space of twenty daies together. The Feauer hauing somwhat left her, she grew to be speechlesse, & so continued eight and twentie dayes, without the deliuery of any one word. At the end of which time, shee came to her-selfe againe, and spake as she had done before, sauing that her words were full of feare, and void of good sence. Then came a weakenesse vpon her, and a benumming of all her sences & bodily motions, from beneath the head, in such sort, that *Oesophagus* it selfe (being that part of the stomack, which serues as a conduct for passage of meate and drinke, into that which we terme the little belly) being dissolued, it lost the power attractiue. Since which time, not any one coulde perswade this Maiden (in any manner) to eate: albeit they made triall to haue her but sucke, or to licke delicate meates, fruits, and sweet things, agreeable to one of so yong years. Neuertheless, the vse and motion of her members, came to her againe, about sixe months after, only one hip excepted, on which side, she yet goes with some difficulty. And one onely impotency remayneth to her, that shee cannot swallow or let downe any thing: for both meats and drinkes, she altogether loaths, and mightily abhorreth.

A Feauer seizing on her body.

Speechles 28. dayes.

A benumming of al hir sences.

Oesophagus.

Recouerie of her sences againe.

Loathing of meates and drinkes.

In this time (a thing most straunge) the inferiour part of her belly, by little & little grew leane in such manner, and so dried vp, that downe from her sides, and along from her Nauill, there remayneth nothing of the belly which he hadde before. There is only in this place, or insted thereof (to wit, vnder the auncient belly, where we may say it hath beene) a Cartilage or Gristle, hanging pointed downe (from **Thorax*, or *Sternum*) after the manner of an Eaues or Pent-house, which throwes off from the building, all the water that falles on the top or couerture. Heere hence, and from the points of these Bastard-sides, the skinne (vnderneath) doth suffer great pain and feeling, both of extension and divulsion, as may easily be perceiued, by the moanes which the Maid her selfe maketh. And hence it ensueth, that all the Muscles, Intestines, Bowelles, and other parts of the belly, being withdrawne and annihiled by want of foode, one would iudge, that they had been rackt or rent away; for there remaineth nothing else but Lappings and Filaments; for, all the Fleshie substaunce which filled those partes, is perished and gone.

Her bellie dried vp.

*That part of the Breast, wher the ribs meet & ioyne together.

Shewes of moane made by her selfe.

As concerning the other parts of her bodie, it would bee thought conuenient, that there should be likewise an answerable diminution: and yet she hath a large Breast, her pappes prettie and round, her armes and thighs fleshy, her face also indifferent round, but browniſh. Her Lips (indeede) are drawne inward a little; and yet her words are prompt and ready, her head couered with haire of good length: for her haire and nailes doo keepe their due encrease, in each beseeming parte. There comes no excrement from hir, hir belly

The other parts of her body.

No auoydance of Excrements.

belly yeelds no Ordure, neyther doth any Vrine at all passe from her body, or is the mattrix impeached by her Menstruall Flowers. Her head is not charged with Scurfe or Dandriffe, but sheweth it selfe very sound and well, as well in the exteriour part of the skin, as in the inwarde Organes of sence. For, neither doo her nose or eares yeeld any excrements; but only from her mouth comes a little spettle, and sometimes from her eies issueth a little moisture, or few teares.

The bodie yeil des no sweat.

The whol bodie ouer, yeelds no sweat at all, but we (and such as haue touched her) do find all her skin to bee colde and drie, and not heated or chafed by anie motion (except the arme-pits, and those parts which Neighbor neer to the hart.) Yet shee doth trauaile about the house, go to the Market for Victualles, sweepe the house, spin at her Wheele, Reele off her Quill; and giues her selfe to all seruiceable Offices in a family, and seemes as if she were not defectiue in any part of sence, or motion of her body.

When the bodie receiueth encrease, it hath most neede of nourishment.

By all which thinges, we may gather the rarity and meruailous nouelty of this example. For, the accident hapneth in such an age, when as the bodie receyues encreasing, and those things which doo encrease haue need of good store of nourriture: but especially, in bodies of such Constitution, as this Maidens is, slender, thinne, and colde, where the internall parts are accustomed to bee most hote. Hence comes it, that our Ancients haue saide: *Our Bellies in Winter are more hot, then at other times*, with causeth a much readier concoction, and an hunger lesse tollerable, especially when it is prouoked by exercises, whereof this Mayden maketh no spare, especially such as her age is capeable off, the ayre and soyle also wherein she liueth, affoordes the people to be verie hungry. All which occasions of appetite and hunger, were taken from her by the accident of her continual Feauer: and in the end, all her naturall functions became asswaged, and seized on by a kind of dead palsie.

Hippocrat. lib. 2. Aphor. 15.

The exercises of the Maide.

Of the little belly or maw. *Hermocrates* in *Hippocrates*.

And now to begin with the first and principall, the little belly or maw (which otherwise is the receptacle of foode, and Officer for the first Concoction) beeing lagde and rent by the Ordure of Crude & raw humors, hath languished in such sort, as it had no power either to retaine the meats therein enclosed, or to receiue in any other. Euen so in *Hippocrates*, *Hermocrates* being surprized with an extream burning Feauer, did euermore cast the Food he receiued, because this faculty had lost his strength, and that was quenched in him (saith *Galē* in the same place) whereof the Office was, to feele lacke in health, and to desire what was familiar for him.

Opinion conceiued of an Apple giuen to the Maide.

Many woulde attribute the cause of this Symptome, or passion ensuing sickenesse, to some wicked power in an Apple, which an old Woman had giuen to this young Maiden, two or three months before; because when he had eaten it, she had a distast of her meats, and felte some alteration of her spirits. But in regarde, that (besides this) nothing hath hapned to her, which outwardly hath impeached her health, or her naturall functions, vntill shee became surprised by the aforementioned Feauer: [illegible] reason at al, that yeelds any subiect [illegible] conceiue, how the euill power in the Apple, could remaine so long time hidden, without yelding any effect. Her vomiting ceasing, shee became dumbe, by reason of those Nerues resolution, which we call recurrent (that happened to her soone after, thorow all her bodie) the Flegme colde and raw, being licquified by the heate of the Feauer, which (by this means) wroght a debilitie in the Braine, and caused that she could not be found or well in spirite. Heere-hence it necessarily ensued, that she must needs loose the sense of tast and sucking, and likewise the vse of swallowing meate and drinke; which onely hath procured abolition of the animall appetite, and by little and little, it hath beene followed by a total priuation of the naturall appetite, which *Hippocrates* noteth by these words, γίνεται δέ ἐκ ἀδιψάτο, if we may giue credit to his most graue Interpreter *Galen*. And hee casts the cause of this passion, vpon some blame in the Liuer; who being the beginning of the Vegetant and Naturall soule, so soone as she is wounded, shee is constrained, that her auxiliary or succouring faculties (to wit; the Attractrice, the Retentrice, the Assimiliatrice, & the Expulsatrice, in whom lies al the power of norishing) must needs sinke and fall, and so consequently, the appetite which cannot be compleat and perfect, but by attraction. The same Au-

An answer to that obiection.

The Nerues tearmed recurrent.

The reason of loosing her tast and vse of meats.

Galen his coniecture of the passions cause

The helping faculties four in number.

Galen. 1. Epid. s. ct. 3.

Author gathers it to be the ſickeneſſe of the liuer in *Hermocrates*, by this, that the ſixt day of his ſickneſſe, he was noted to loo'e yellow: and yet notwithſtanding, in all the courſe of his diſeaſe (which was for 27. dayes) this yellowneſſe neuer left him, as it had don in *Heraclides*, to whom the ſelfeſame paſsion happened, and on the very ſame day, neither by ſweating, neither by the voyding of much choller, nor by the conuoy of his belly, nor by Vrine, nor yet by vomitting. And therefore, it was eaſie to be ſeene, that the naturall faculty (whereof the Liuer is the Fountaine) was ouerthrowne in verie ſtrange manner. Which being ſo, all the ſtrength of appetite doth becom ſo weakened, ſaith *Galen*, that ſicke folkes deſire rather to die, then to receiue in anie thing at their mouths, or haue it ſo much as but to touch their lips.

Heraclides his ſickneſſe.

The Liuer is the fountaine of the Naturall facultie.

Galen. 5. Deloc. affec. Cap. 1.

In the Maid, of whom we ſpeak at this preſent (who hath not bin dealt with, by any cunning or helpes to Nature) the Liuer hath beene ſo beſiedged with the the burthen of hurtfull humors, that her Naturall heate being broken, and hauing no more force, it hath (by little and little) dried quite vp, with all the neather parts of the Belly, yea & ſo, as there is nothing indeed to be wondered at, when we perceiue the functions of the naturall Oeconomy to be alſo aboliſhed. This then is one of the cauſes of this diſtaſt of meats, and of the Faſt or abſtinence thereon enſuing, that this drying vp of the Liuer, and of all thoſe parts ſeruing to nouriſhment; from whence attraction beeing taken, it hath bin followed, with a priuation of ſucking or ſwallowing, which is the beginning of hunger.

Her naturall heate quite dried vp.

A reaſon for this Faſt and abſtinence from meates.

Galen 1. De loc. affect. 1.

In this opinion, I haue *Galen* for my warrant, who ſaith; *By reaſon of the liuers debility, the bodie can receiue no nouriſhment.* And yet notwithſtanding, it may ſubſiſt a long time, to wit; ſo long as the heart remaineth ſound. Neuertheleſſe, *Hermocrates* died at 27. dayes end, becauſe the corruption of humors had gained the ſubſtance of the hart, which likewiſe the quality of the Feauers heate (by altering) had conſumed, after it had chaſed away the Naturall heate. But this Maide hath beene preſerued, in regarde, that the Feauers fire beeing extinct, the Naturall heate which remayned, beeing but weake, hath beene detained in a bodie faſt locked vp, couered with a wrinkled colde and drie skinne. By making but ſmall decay of this heate in her, ſhee hath not much neede of maintaining it; and this may ſerue for a ſecond and third reaſon, of this defect in appetite.

The reaſon of the Maides preſeruing in this maner.

For all that ſhee exhaleth by the meanes of reſpiration, as breath and Naturall heate, the ſame is ſtill ſupplyed and repaired, firſt of all, by the ayre drawne as well by inſpiration, and receyued at the heart, by the Pipes and Organes of the Lunges and Lights: as by this inſenſible tranſpiration, which (according as I can iudge by her diſpoſition, is almoſt vtterly waſted in her) receiued in the whole bodye, by the Arteries. After this, Nature (thus lagde, and ſcantly vigorous) delights her ſelfe with this crude rhumie Humour, which cannot otherwiſe in this young bodie, but muſt needs (of it ſelfe) much abounde and encreaſe, according to the qualitie of her ſexe and age.

Her exhaling by reſpiration

Natures delighting her ſelfe.

And the ſame more eſpeciallie may be now diſcerned, by ſome little Decadence of her bodie thorough the palſie, which is not (as yet) perfectly cured. Now this Humour (in time) doth ſeeth it ſelfe, and conuerts into ſoode, proper and apteſt for nouriſhing of the bodie. And there is no want of manie other thinges, which haue their maintenance in our bodies, wherewith Nature may ſerue her ſelfe; when (preſſed by Hunger) ſhee pleaſeth to vſe them for ſuſtenaunce: As Fat, Marrowe in the Bones, and Phlegme; all which thinges, the deſpoyled partes of the bodie dooth drawe to their Naturall ſeatings, to furniſh well their owne expences withall, and they receiue them (like a diſperſed Dew) thorow their whole ſubſtances.

The Maide troubled with the Palſie.

Many things in the body to ſupply nature withall.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A further Discourse on Fasting, approuing that manie Creatures do fast in verie strange maner.

PRoceeding on further in this Argument, concerning Fasting, I finde one that saith, *Snailes in the Ayre, hauing drought, if no dew fal to them from Heauen, they liue by sucking of themselues.* And hence grew it, that *Plautus* said:

Symmach. lib. 1 Epist. 33.

Plaut in Capti.

Quasi, cum caletur, cochleæ in occulto latẽt, Suo sibi succo viuunt, ros si non cadit.

Arist. in Hist. Aud. 8. Cap. 13

And so the Snailes on the earth, when they will defend themselues against the sharpe cold of Winter, they make a certaine white couering before their shelles entrance, hard like Plaister, and liue so within (sixe months together) vnder the ground, neere to the rootes of Hearbes; sustained only by the internall humour; which redoundeth from themselues. And diuers other kinds of creatures, do the same; such as are accustomed to decline from the rigour of Winter, by withdrawing into Dennes: As Serpents, Frogges, Flies, Wormes, Dormice, Rats of the Mountaines, Turtle Doues, Swallowes, &c.

Creatures that do inwardly sustain themselues.

As concerning Serpents, almost al of them (shunning the colde) doo remaine all Winter hid within the earth, as *Aristotle* saith. From whom, albeit *Plinie* hath borrowed that which he saith concerning Serpents, he hath (neuertheless) against reason, taken *Aristotles* intent contrary to sense, there where hee saieth; *That of all Serpents, the Viper only seeketh places vnder ground: and the other, the hollowes of Trees, and of Rockes.* Whereas (quite contrarie) *Aristotle* hath written truely; *That the Viper is well nigh alone, that during the Winter, withdrawes himselfe vnder stones or Rockes, and the other vnderground; for then sleepe serues them instead of foode.* Nay, and much more, Vipers do endure a whole yeares hunger together, without counting the time of Winters cold, so saith *Pliny*. Which we haue knowne by experience, wee that haue aboundance of them heere: of whom, we haue kept some (a yeare) enclosed in Bottles of Glasse, without anie Foode at all.

Of Serpents.

Arist. in Hist. Animal. lib. 8. Cap. 15.

Plin. in hist. nat Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Pliny reproued.

Pli. in hist. Nat Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

As for Frogges, whom *Pliny* thinkes (after a life of sixe moneths) to resolue themselues into slime and mud, and reuiue again at the Spring times comming Waters, they are soundly deaded with colde, but yet not reduced to nothing, as *Pliny* holdeth. For, they remaine in the Cauernes on the Coasts, where not only they abstaine from al nourishment: but are likewise halfe dead, and they may be seene in this estate, in your Fennes on the Sea-coasts (which are not subiect to Freezing) at all seasons of the yeate. So likewise in the Ditches, whether they are retired; where you shal not only see their young ones, but also the Frogges of the other yeare.

Pli. in hist. Nat. Lib. 8. Cap. 40. Of Frogges.

Your Flies benummed with the colde of Winter, remaine hidden in Riftes of Planchers, and pieces of Woode; and come not out, but by Fire Artificiall, or by the renewing heate of the Spring or Summer. During this numnesse, they liue not so much by reason of their Bodies smalnesse, or littlenesse (as *Aristotle* argueth) as by the cold which is in them. For that which is hot, desireth Foode, and digests it verie soone: Contrariwise, that which is cold, doth very easilie let it alone.

Of Flies.

Ari. de part Anim. lib. 4. ca. 5.

Among Flies, they that make Hony, do forbeare to come foorth in the same time, and abide close in their litle Hiues, yet without eating: whereof we may easily make proofe, in that, if one bring food, and set it before them, they wil not so much as touch it. And if it chaunce, that any one gets forth, you shall see the same to haue a transparant bodie, vtterlie emptie of all nourishment. From the heart of Winter, vntill the yeares renewing, they liue in sleepe, without any nouriture, so saith *Pliny*.

Arist. Lib. 8. Cap. 14. Of Bees.

Pli. in hist. Nat. Lib. 11. Cap. 16.

Aboue all other Creatures, the Grashopper doth fast the longest: for the moisture (which is super-aboundant in their bodies) doth sufficiently furnish them with store of nourishment.

Grashoppers *Arist. lib. 4 cap. 5. de part Anim*

Wormes, growing to bee olde, their skin

Of Wormes.

skinne doth outwardly waxe very harde, and becauſe (that skinne) then lookes of Gold or yellow colour, the Greeks were wont to call them *Chryſalides*, and the Latines named them *Aurelie*. After they haue once taken this forme, they will receiue nothing more into their bodies, neither doe they voide or caſt anie thing forth.

Chryſalides. Aurelie.

Among theſe, the Silke-worm ſheweth a Myracle in Nature about the midſt of Summer, for being then faſt cloſed vp within her huske of Silk, ſhe liues (at the leaſt) for fortie dayes together, not onely without eating; but imployeth beſides, verie much of hir ſubſtance, in making of ſilke. And comming forth of her ſhell or couerture, ſhee becommeth a Butter fly; & yet this liberty maketh her not to ſeeke any nouriſhment.

Of the Silke-Worme.

The Bat or Dormouſe, remaines hidden (all Winter) in a perpetuall ſleepe: and during all this time, ſhee hath no other nouriſhment then ſleepe.

Of the Bat or Dormouſe. *Ariſt. lib. 8. c. 7. Plin. lib. 8. c. 57*

The Rattes of the Mountains, like vnto Dormice, do ſleep hidden al the winter, and for ſixe moneths together, in full continuance, they are buried in ſuch a profound ſleepe, as being caſt vp out of the grounde by digging, or otherwiſe, they will not awake at all, vntil ſuch time as they be brought into the ſunne, or laid before the fire, and they beginne to feele heat. They carrie Hay, Chaffe, & ſuch like other things into their Cauerns, only to keepe them from colde: but yet all this, hinders them not from ſleeping ſoundly.

Of the Mountain Rattes. *Ariſt. lib. 8. cap. 17.*

Prouiſion to keepe them from cold.

The Tortoiſe of the earth, lieth al winter within the earth, and ther paſſeth that ſeaſon, like as the other creatures doo. And *Rondeletius* witneſſes, that not only in Winter, but likewiſe at all times, ſhee can liue longeſt without any foode, yea, albeit ſhee haue her head cleft or cut off, and this is by the power of the cold moiſture within her ſelfe.

Of the earth Tortoiſe.

Rondelet in lib. de Amphib.

The Loriot, a kind of Bird hauing this Nature, that if a man ſee her, when he is ſicke of the Iaundiſe, the man ſhall wex whole, and the Bird die immediately: lyeth all the Winter hidden in the earth, and ſheweth not her ſelfe, till about the Solſtice of Summer.

Of the Loriot *Ariſt. in Lib. 9. Cap. 29. Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 24.*

Your Swallowes, as well thoſe of houſes, as they that are wilde, to ſhunne the ſharpeneſſe of Winter, when it draweth neere, do retire themſelues to ſecret places in the Neighbouring Mountaines, where you ſhall finde them Naked, and without any Feathers on them. And you may ſee them (almoſt) in the ſame condition, euen at the Spring time. As for them which are called Swallowes of the Sea-coaſts, they withdraw themſelues to the ſides of Riuers, Lakes, Mariſhes, and of the Seas, where the Rockes doe ſerue them for a retirement: There ſhall you ſee them in multitudes together, as newly aſſembled to chaſe one another. In ſuch ſort, that (as *Agricola* ſaith) the Fiſhermen many times, take them out of the Waters, ſo faſt tied and ioyned together, that our New Phyloſophers, may ceaſe henceforward, to fordge their new Colonies in *Affrick*, and other places beyond the Seas.

Of Swallowes of the Seacoaſts

Agricola.

Turtle-Doues, if they beginne to hide themſelues when they are fatte; and although they leaue their Feathers in their holes, yet notwithſtanding, they keepe their fatneſſe.

Of Turtle-Doues. *Ariſt. in lib. 8. cap. 16. Hiſt.*

Some one peraduenture (beeing a more diligent ſearcher into natural thinges) may diſcouer a great number of other Birds, which might be thought to be ſtrangers, becauſe (in Winter time) they hide themſelues thus; and yet neuertheleſſe are of our country; As Kites, Stock-Doues, Black-birds, Stares, Hoops, Backs Gripes, Owles, and others; which are ſuſtained and fed by the fat within themſelues; in all which time, the courſe and office of the belly ceaſeth. For *Galen* holdeth; *That when hunger is not thoroughlie contented, the fat, Marrow, and Flegme, do giue nouriſhment to the Naturall heate.* Whence alſo we may relieue a doubt, ariſing from that which *Hippocrates* hath written; and maintaineth, that a man can hardly liue out the ſeauenth day, without eating; which day, although he chaunce to ouer-paſſe; yet notwithſtanding, hee will die ſoone after. For, albeit it may be true, and that which hee hath Written might haue been manifeſted in this maid of *Confolans*, the Inteſtine receyuing no foode at all, did during his time, ſo ſhut vp it ſelfe, that it could not afterward admit the receipt of any, yet notwithſtanding, it is not altogether ſo conſtrayned, that by this reſtriction of the Entrayles, death ſhould follow thereon ſo readilie. For, it is recorded of the *Scythians*, that if

Other Foules of like nature

Galen. 4. vſu. part. & Com. 1. de rat. victus acut.

Hippocrat. in lib. de carn.

Compariſon with the Faſting Maide.

Long fasting endured by the *Scythians.*

A Maide of *Spire*, that fasted 3. yeares

Obseruations concerning the Maide of *Spire.*

A lerned Phisition in France writingon the Maid of *Spire.*

Plat. in Lib. de Repub.

Herus Pamphilius.

Plin. lib. 11. Cap. 54.

Diog. Laertius, ex test. Dicæar.

if by any occasion happening them, they are to endure long Fasting, they wil bind vp their bellies strictly with large bands, to the end, that hunger may not charge them so soone, because they haue lefte little or no space at al, for the bellies conuoy. Moreouer, the maid of *Spire*, of whō ran such great report, that she had beene three yeares without eating: yet, after the superabounding humor in her was consumed, she returned (according as they report that wrote thereof) euen as one from banishment, to hir first right course and vse of feeding, beginning (as it is very likely) with Pottages and liequid thinges, if it bee true which those Authours haue recorded. Or rather, if the mother of the Maid, did not impose this on the honest people (as the rumor ran) therefore, there hath bin some occasion of remaining in doubt, by their owne proper writing. For, it might be noted, that hir Nose voided much filth, her ears wanted no part of their Ordure, and that she deliuered aboundance of teares at her eyes: which sheweth, that the languishing powers haue bin often releeued with some food, albeit not solid, whereby these Excrements (by a secret posier in Nature) were sent into proper Organs.

Nor dooth this make any thing at all, against the Paradox, which *M. Ioubert* hath in the second Booke of the first Decade, where (among many other examples, of long fasting and abstinence) hee produceth, as an *Hypothesis* or argument disputed, that Historie of the Mayde of *Spire*. For, beside a great number of obseruations of the same qualitie, which he placeth before, & that haue bin approued by the auouching of manie graue Authors, we haue also notable confirmations, as well by experience of elder ages, as of our moderne, newer, and later. *Plato* in his Commonwealth, maketh report of a certaine man, named *Herus Pamphilius*, who remained ten dayes together among the dead bodies of thē which had bin slaine in a battell. And two daies after that he was broght thence, as hee was laying on the pile of wood to bee burned among other dead bodies, he was found to be aliue. As for *Pliny*, he is not perswadeable, that thorow lacke of foode, a man should yeild to death at the 7. daies end. *Diogenes Laertius* declareth by the testimony of *Dicearchus*, that *Pythagoras* the chief master of abstinence continued 40. daies togither without drinking: by whose doctrine also, *Apollonius Thyaneus* lerned (out of long vse & custome) to endure fasting for many daies. *Pliny* assures vs, that drought or thirst may be surmounted by constant perseuerance, and that the *Romā* noble Knight, *Iulius Viator*, hauing had warning (in his yong years) by Physitians not to drink any water at all, by reason of an indisposition in him, leaning to the dropsie, so turned the custom of Nature, that he passed al his age without drinking

Apollon. Thyaneus. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 18.

Iulius Viator a famous *Roman* Knight, drank not in all his age.

Fresh yet in our memory, & all *France* hath seene the same in the person of the Lord Marquesse of *Pisani*, who is a man of such merit, as the K. himselfe employes his seruice in matters of great importāce. There are many Books of deuout enstructions, which do recount meruails of diuers frequent and voluntary abstinences, as of *P. Alcantara*, a Monk in *Spaine*, and that for 8. daies & more in euery month. But beyond all others, there is a historie verie famous, of a certaine Maid, named *Catharine*, a Native in the land of *Colberg*, who hath bin known to liue 7. years togither, without drinking or eating any thing whatsoeuer. She was carefully tended by *Henry Smetius*, at this time Professor in *Heildeberge*, & *John Iac. Theod.* Physitions, till the 24. of Nouember, 1584. by the commandement of *John Casimir*, Count *Palatine*. And since then also, four graue Matrons were appointed to keepe hir company. who haue acknowledged with the Physitions, that this fast or abstinence, is most true. Three yeares after, this History was traduced into *French*, & printed at *Frankford*, by *John Wechel*, in the yeare, 1587. with an aduertisement in the end, that the maide then liued still in that maner, without drinking, eating, sleeping, or deliuering any excrements. Beside all those, *Ioubert* (concerning this argument) hath set downe such pregnant & necessary reasons, as I cannot thinke, that any one needs to make doubt thereof.

The Lord Marquesse of Pisani.

P. Alcantara a Spanish monk

Catherine of Colberg tasted 7. yeares.

Proose made of the truth in this case, by diuers Physitions of great credit.

Neuertheless, being my self afterward to discourse on the same subiect, I happned (being in a Booke-sellers Shoppe) as mine eyes wandered ouer viewe of the Bookes, to light on a little Treatise, bearing this Title in the forehead: *Vieux non pesse, vt quis sine cibo & potu plures dies & annos transigat.* I tooke the book, which in regarde it was Written by *I. Harnet*,

The Authors' discourfing on the same Argument.

I. Haruet. Doctor of Phyſicke.

a Doctor of Phyſick, of the ſame condition with vs, and as we are;) I read it verie ſeriouſly from the one end to the other. But comming to the place, where he argues on the negligence of the Authours of ſo manie notable examples, who (hee ſaith) haue beene ſomewhat deceyued, by the inueterate beleefe of this extraordinary faſting, I thought good that hee ſhould be ſatisfied in this point; and paſſed my promiſe thereon, in the name of our Maide of *Conſolans*. Albeit during ſo many months and yeares, I could not giue my ſelfe to conſider all her actions and motions: Neuertheleſſe, it is verie likely, by that which in all places is ſayde of her, to approue the three yeares Faſte now in queſtion. And yet ſuch as haue ſeene her naked, as we haue done, could coniecture no otherwiſe, if ſhee bee not chaunged ſince the laſt time I ſawe her, which was in the moneth of Iulie laſt, 1602.

In Tagin. 174.

The reaſon of his further purſuit in this point, to ſatiſfie D. *Haruet*.

Some ſay, that ſhe is a little more full of fleſh, and yet ſhe hath neuer receiued any foode at all, that could poſſiblie bee knowne. Beſide, this truth ought to receiue credite generally, by the faithfull report of ſo many perſons of honor and goodly quality, who (for trials ſake) haue kept her in their Houſes amongeſt their Maids and Children, ſome for three, others for foure months and more. If anie one bee further deſirous, and would willingly ſee her, he hath free liberty, & the Maide her ſelfe will not contradict, what other proofes he or ſhe can make of her. But in my minde, *Ioubert* would haue receiued no meane contentment, by the ſight of an accident ſo ſtrange: For, if to ſo many pertinent reaſons he could haue had but an eye-experience he ſhould not nowe (perhaps) haue had *Haruet* for his aduerſary. Who being in the humour to combate both againſt ſence and reaſon, it may bee, it would then bee the harder for him, to vndergoe the demonſtration of *Ioubert*. For they are vnder-propped with principles ſoundly aſſured, & drawn from the Oracles, euen of the great Dictator of Nature.

Triall made by perſons of Honour and reſpect.

Eye-experience is an vndoubted perſwaſion.

The validite of *Iouberts* writing.

CHAP. X.

The matter and manner of ſo ſtraunge Faſting, diſputed betweene Ioubert *and* Haruet, *with many excellent and approued examples, tending thereto.*

FIrſt of all, *Ariſtotle* enſtructeth vs, that al kinds of creatures, haue a certaine naturall heate in them, which is combined to the ſoule with ſo ſtrict a Bond, as the one cannot bee without the other, and thoſe Creatures (while they liue) haue this heat, but death approaching, they are cold immediatly. In another place, *There is* (ſaith he) *in the ſeede of all Creatures, the thing that cauſeth fecunditie*, and that it is it which wee call heate. Further he ſaith; *In the earth, and in the Waters, the Creatures and plantes doe ingender*, becauſe in the earth there is a moiſture, and in the moiſture is a ſpirite; and in this great ſubſtance is the animall heat, to the end, that all things ſhould be ſomwhat ful of ſoule. Thus he doth hold that all things are made by heat, and that all functions are performed thereby. *Galen* alſo is of the ſame opinion, and ſayth; *That heate is either the ſubſtance of the faculties, or at leaſt, the moſt chiefe and neceſſarie Inſtrument of them.*

Ariſt in lib. de vita & mors, & reſp.

Ariſt in lib. 2. de gen. Anim. Cap. 3.

The animall heate which performeth all things.

Galen in lib. ad Glauc. & in lib 4. de vſu par.

It is no meruaile then, if *Haruet* think it ſtrange, that *Ioubert* ſaieth (according to *Ariſtotle*) *That life dependeth vpon heat only*. For that it muſt needes be ſo, life is nothing elſe, but an abiding and attendance of the ſoule with heate, according to the ſame *Ariſtotles* iudgement. And wee cannot in this obſcuritie of thinges, finde any more aſſurance of this preſent life, then by the functions thereof: of all which, heate (as the eſpecial inſtrument, and without other means, is the author, the motiue cauſe and effecter.

What life is. *Ariſt. in lib. de reſp.*

Nor hath *Ioubert* (vnaduiſedly) defined life by heate, when *Ariſtotle* hath dedeſigned death by the extinction of the ſame heate: for *Ioubert* groundeth on this Axiom, that of two contraries, the con-

Ioubert defineth life by heate.

consequents are contrary. And *Galen* himselfe (who holdeth death to arriue then, when heate, beeing weakened and broken by frequent action, becoms faint, and that the temper of the Elementarie qualities, which are in vs (beeing out of square) comes to yeelde it selfe vnder the tiranny of one alone) giues thereby reasonably to vnderstand, that the course of life keepes it selfe for so long time, as naturall heate doth aboundantly disperse it selfe aboue the radicall humor, and that the Elementarie qualitie do hold a good simpathie amongst themselues, in their harmonie and kinde accorde, which we call temperature. And therefore, it is blameles to define life by these two causes, Heate and Temperature; becaus it behooueth to take the definition, from and by the cause which is most neere. Now, heate is the most neere Instrument of the soule, and temperature next vnto that of Naturall heate, which disposeth and accommodates it vnto diuerse actions. Then this causeall definition, is well deriued from the chiefe and principall occasion of Life, which heere we haue alledged by the Authoritie of *Aristotle*.

How long the course of life keepeth it selfe.

How to take a definition in his right form

Neuertheleſſe, *Harnet* goes after another fashion, he defineth the life of man, to bee an action of the reasonable soule, producted into the bodie of man: but this definition is not subtle enough. For first and formost, life is no action of the soule, otherwise it should bee the soule that liueth, and not the bodie. But, as it hath beene saide alreadie, life is an abyding, or an Vnion of the soule with the bodie, according as *Aristotle* describeth in another of his Bookes, whereof action proceedeth afterward. Heereto I adde, that the actions of life beeing to vnderstand, to smell, to moone, and to norish: if life were an action, why then it should be an action of action, which is most absurd. Or else, if life bee an action of the reasonable soule; insomuch as she is reasonable, the corporeall parts should bee driuen to performe their operations, as receiuing food for nourishment, and to beget hir like only by reason of the intellect, and not by any natural sence. But per aduenture, *Harnet* hauing drawn his definition from others, hath read, that life is an act of the reasonable soul; which word of act, hee hath conuerted into action.

After what maner *Harnet* defineth the life of man.

Aristot. 8. Met.

The actions of life.

The bodily parts in their operations.

Now let me tell ye, Act is that which the *Greeks* call ἐντελέχεια, which is a perfection, energy, & moouing power of it selfe, far enough diffring from that which they terme ἐνέργεια. And so one may (to some purpose) define life: an Act of the soul in the body, that is to say, a power & vertue of the soule by the vnion therof with the body. Whence is easily vnderstood, that taking life generally, it should rather bee imputed to naturall heate, as to the Organ of the soul, then vnto reason. In case notwithstanding, that this heate doe still abide vnited with the radicall Moysture; which although it be (day by day) consumed by this heate: yet nature prouideth a daily subrogation of new, which shee borrows from the noritures we receyue, as hath bin said already heeretofore.

Act insted of action.

Life an act of the soul in the body.

Heat abyding with the radicall moisture.

But *Harnet* imagineth, that these nourishments doo yet serue to another vse, which is (saith he) to releeue and fortifye the spirits; the which *Joubert* hath omitted: as if vnder this name of radical moysture, we should comprehend only moysture by it selfe, & not the spirits likewise. And what is hee, who will deny, that the spirits are not restored and strengthened, both by eating and drinking? But to speak truly, many thinges are piled and heaped vp in the body, very vnprofitably, and to small purpose. Moreouer, that which he proposeth against *Hippocrates* in the 14. Aphorisme of his second Booke, is altogether Paradoxicall, to wit; That hee in whom heate is most languishing, hath the more neede of nourishment: which he proueth by example of a fortie yeares aged man, who (sayeth hee) receyueth more Foode, then an Infant of two or three dayes: in whom notwithstanding, there is greater aduantage of this heate, according to *Hippocrates*.

The vse of nourishments.

The spirites restored by eating and drinking.

Hippoin Lib. Aphor. 14.

Comparison of an Infant, and a man of fortie yeares.

Beholde (in my iudgement) a verie feeble Argument, if all should be alledged that he failes in; and also, if we should oppose the Organes of both kindes, the one against the other. For, to the ende, that vnder this worde Infant, no cauillation may be couered, I call all them Infants, which are vnder foureteene yeares of Age, in the verie same manner as the Greekes do vnderstand the word νήπιος. They, I say, that according to the proportion of their Mawe or little Bellie, do take more foode then men of middle and perfect age: as well by reason of

Cauillation auoyded about the word Infant.

the power of the facultie, which seeths or boyles the foode (whence proceedeth a speedie riddance thereof) as by their frequent exercises: during which time, good store of their substaunce, glides it selfe thorow the pores of the skinne. Heere also I may bee silent, in those two necessities alledged by *Hippocrates*, which Infants haue of eating, to witte; for Nourishing, and to giue encreasing to the bodie.

The two necessities in Infants in feeding.

Nowe, the strength of the facultie which boiles the meate in our stomacke, dependeth much vpon temperature and moderation, but that is, when it is excited and prouoked on by naturall heate; which, albeit that after one foode bee digested, she introduceth not any other nouriture of her selfe, as *Harnet* sayeth; yet notwithstanding, in regard that this first foode is digested by heate, there growes immediately, a feeling of penury & want of foode, at the mouth of the Ventricle, which we call hunger. For this cause, *Ioubert* referreth onely to heate (as the principall Agent) the quantitie of those meates, which are afterward receyued, and gouerned by the appetite of hunger. *The facility of supporting hunger* (sayth *Galen*) *acknowledgeth it selfe, when anie one hath no appetite to meate; and yet neuertheless, feeleth not thereby some endamagement or defect.* Which *Harnet* brings in thus, that such as are restored from sickenesse, haue a good appetite; and yet notwithstanding, no such meates are giuen them, as their appetites doo desire: but when aduise is giuen for restoring their powers, it behoueth also to haue regard to the infirmitie of Naturall heat, which must not be ouerthrowne, but still supported. This is thus doone, because that the temperature, beeing not (as yet thoroughly recouered, and the naturall Faculties feeling themselues (as yet) diseased: the Organs cannot boile the meates receiued in too great a quantitie. Now *Ioubert* in his demonstration, is vnderstoode to speake of the healthfull, not of the sicke, or else of them that are neutral. And therefore he concludeth, that olde men haue not neede of meate often, because they do not desire or apetite often, principally considering, that they haue cold bodies: whereto *Harnet* in no wise wil agree, for he saith; That al the action of mixed bodies, cōmeth from that qualitie, which wins the vpper hand in the Elements assembling. Now, so it is, that in liuing bodies, heate ruleth ouer the other qualities; of which heate, euery action hath his originall, and not of colde. I willingly admit the proposition with *Aristotle*, as concerning mixt inanimat things, and which acknoledge the simple forms of the elements for their principles. But in animate bodies, which haue a more noble forme, and wherein are contained those other more ignoble (euen as the Triangle within the Quadrangle) it is not a thing so easie. For, they acknowledge, (as principall of their functions) that nature, which I say is properly called the soule, that is; the moouing vertue of the body naturall and organicall, liuing by power.

Of the facultie that boyleth the food in the stomak

Galen in Com. 2. Aphor. 13.

For restorement of the powers, and maintenance of the temperature.

Old mē haue not neede of often feeding

Aristot. in Lib 2. de gen. anim. c. 5

Of bodies that haue soules, and their forme.

As concerning that which *Harnet* placeth in the assumption of his argument, to wit; that heate (in the liuing bodie) surmounteth the other elementarie qualities, I cannot allow thereof, except hee will haue vnderstood by this heate, that it (being diffused thorow the bodie) gouerneth and moderateth the whol Oeconomy therof; and so long as it is in essence, maintaineth life; but approaching neere quenching, then death of necessity must follow. This also surmounteth and subiecteth to it selfe, not only the cold, moyst, and drie elementary quality, but euen the hot elementarie Nature also, as beeing (in it selfe) truly celestiall. For, if hee meane the predominant heate of the Elementary heate, as it seemeth to ensue by his Sylogisme: then let me set the Salamander before him, which (in his mixtion) is composed of so colde a temperament, as his verie touch doth quench the fire, euen as if it were ice. He liueth neuertheless, yet not by the heat mixed or elementary, which being weak in it self, cannot exceed the power of this cold. It followeth then, that it must needs be by celestiall heate, which likewise maintaineth life in Serpentes, and euery one knowes them to be temperately cold.

Of heate, surmounting the other elemētary qualities and the power thereof.

The predominating heat of the Elementary heat

How the Salamander liueth by celestiall heate.

This then which hath beene said, that cold (in Olde men) maketh them to hate the abounding of Foode; it must bee, that *Harnet* meanes it in such sorte, as that cold hath no Dominion or superioritie ouer human bodies, neither that actually it can haue. But for the cold of *Hippocrates*, it is the same which *Galen*, & all Phy-

The action of mixed bodies

Hip in Com. 1. Aphor. 14. Galen Com. 3. Aphor. 15.

Physitions (by comparison) do call a soft heate: and therefore, their weak and feeble heate, hath need of some small helpe. Euen as the slender flame of a Lampe is maintained, by putting in Oyle by little and little, but it is easily extinguished, in being smothered by a superaboundant effusion.

Natural heat the primitiue Agent.

Hitherto we haue spoken of Naturall heate, as beeing the Primitiue Agent; wherein wee haue defended for M. *Ioubert*, that according to the aboundaunce or tenuitie thereof, the bodye hath neede of much or little nourishment. Let vs now speake of the Primitiue humor patient, and of his Nature, and how it is subiected to this heat.

Repetition of what hath formerly ben said

With consent of all Physitians, wee haue constituted heate, to bee the first essentiall cause of our life, and haue sayde; that thee cannot product any effect of her Functions, without a proper aliment or foode, which is the radicall moysture and primitiue abounding, mingled with her heate in the seede and Menstruall blood, the principles of our generation. But by the swift flight of yeares, it greatly decayeth and diminisheth it selfe, to our harme, by continuall embracement of her heate: for retardment whereof, as we do warily renew the Oyle in the burning Lampe, euen so do we as diligently giue feeding to this heate; feeding, I say, which serueth to restore this humiditie, & deliuer it from so strict an embracing. So that, if in the bodie there be some superabounding humour, which the partes cannot any way disperse, *Galen* calles the same περίττωμα ὑγρὸν ἀχρήστον, and the Schooles, *An vnprofitable excrement.* As that, saith he, which remaineth within the little hollow places of the Bones, like the froathy humidity in the Lunges, the Glewy humour in the ioyntes, the seede in the Testicles, and Pipes whereby it is voided forth, or as spettle vppon the tongue, and Milke in the Breastes: euen so this holdeth a place of Foode, and serueth the fomentation and kindling of naturall heate, as *Ioubert* hath verie amplie Written in his Paradoxe, and wee our selues haue heeretofore declared. Therefore, so long as this humour remayneth in the body, there is no neede of meat or drinke; and yet it is all this while, nourished, and liueth. Which *Harnet* verie obstinately denieth, and reiecteth al the reasons of this demonstration. But for our owne credite and respect, without further amusing our selues, to cul out his writings by parcels, where himselfe both maketh and faigneth Obiection, answering also to them, as any newe Apprentize in Physicke might doo the like: wee will confound those reasons, which seem to bee best furnished with apparaunce: albeit, wee cannot endure any errour, how little soeuer it be, in matters of such moment.

Swifte course of yeares decayeth the life of men.

Galen in Lib. 3 Aphor: 31.

The superabounding humour, and in what manner it abideth in the body.

Harnets obstinate denial against apparant truth.

In the beginning of this propositiõn, hee imposeth on *Ioubert*, who hath Written, that not onely the smallest heat helpeth, to make abstinence or Fasting the more easye, but also in this regarde, that the superfluous humor, and which holdeth the place of Natural heat, might be more aboundant.

Harn in pag: 47

This dooth *Harnet* interprete in his sence, as if *Ioubert* hadde sayde, that the sole smallest heate not only helpeth vnto render abstinence the more easie: but also causeth, that the superfluous humour, which holds the place of Naturall heate, should bee the more plentifull. From whence hee deriueth this following proposition, that the least heate causeth the superfluous Humours abounding. Against which proposition, he so distilleth out his owne Spirite, and Tormentes it so tedioutly, euen as if it were on *Ioubert* himselfe.

Ioubert's words not truly interpreted by Harnet, but wrested to his own purpose.

Next hee makes it a great case and thinkes hee hath attempted an acte beseeming another *Hercules*, in shewing; that the Excrement doeth sometime supplie the place of Foode, and that Nature serues her selfe with vse thereof, and it can repaire that, which is impaired by the power of heate. In truteth, the Excrements do not fall vnder one and the same consideration. For, there be some which are quite against Nature, and vtterly vnprofitable, & which haue no resemblace at all with vs: and therefore, can neuer conuert themselues to our vse, to bee incorporated with vs. The Greekes call them by an apt name περιττώματα, as the Ordure, Vrine, sweat, &c.

In pagina 52.

The Excrements not all vnder one cõsideration.

There bee others more according to nature, which are profitable to som part of the bodie: and yet are excrements, not in regard of the whol body, but for some

Excrements that are agreeable to nature, and profitable to some parts of the body.

part thereof only. Like as the *Chylus*, or white iuyce, proceeding of the meat digested in the stomacke, whereof blood is engendred, after that the Ventricle is satisfied, it is sent to the Intestines, as an excrement and vnprofitable charge. When it is drawne by the Liuer, then that which was an excrement of the ventricle, is made an aliment vnto the liuer. There while blood is made of the *Chylus*, the Spleene and the bladder of the Gall or Choller, do attract gall both from the one and other, being their familiar nourishment, and yet the excrements of the Liuer. Hauing receiued their conuenable portion, they send away the rest as an excrement, which can doe no more Seruice, nor yeeld contentment to anie one part. The Spleene sends that which shee holds superfluous, by a little Vessel at the bottome of the Ventricle; and somtimes by the Hemorrodes, and from thence to the Intestines. The Vessell of the Gall or Choller, sends it by the *Parancholidocum*, to *Duodenum*, or *Intestinum primū*, and other parts. By which demonstration, *Galen* induceth, that all these two parts of blood (to wit, the thick and earthy, which the Spleene draweth, and the most subtle of all, drawne by the bladder of the Gall or choller, which hauing past the examen of heat, conuerts it selfe into choller) are according to nature, and do serue her to some vse, because their proper vessels were ordained for them, and to be receiued thereinto.

But as concerning the sundrie kinds of choller, and all the sorts of Serosities (being the warterishnesse, or thinner partes of the masse of bloode, like to Whay in Milke, which floats vpon it, after it hath bin let out of a Vaine) because they are things vnprofitable, and out of Nature, there is not any vessell allowed to them. Only to Flegme or Rhume, nature hayled in allowing it a perticuler receptacle, although it be beneficial: but rather hath lodged it in the vaines with the bloode, there to bee boyled, and made capeable for nourishing the bodie. *Haruet* obiecteth, that this Rume or Flegme, holdes no part of an excrement, but is Naturall and Elementarie, to wit; a fourth humor of blood: I answere, that by conference of other humors, which are of the nature of Excrements, it appeareth manifestly, that by that place of *Galen*, excrementall Flegme, is meerely vnderstoode. For thus hee compareth all the excrements. As (saith he) among the diuers kindes of Gall, one is profitable and Naturall in the Creature, the other vnprofitable and out of Nature: Euen so, in Flegme, that which is sweete, is healthfull and Naturall in the liuing creature; but that which is salt, is out of Nature.

Moreouer, to approoue this, in euery concoction, there is some excrement seperated from the blood, which then shal bee the excrement of the Elementarie Flegme. For example, the Melancholy iuyce hath his excrement; the billious or Chollericke hath also his, and yet it is not that which is lodged in the stomack, and in the Intestines: for it hath not (as yet) attained so farre as the Liuer, which is the Shop or Work-house of this concoction.

In briefe, Flegme is not held to haue any perticuler Instrument, because, that if somtimes thorow want of eating, there shall be a defect of bloode, the same turning it selfe on the blood side, shall serue as nutriment to those parts. For naturall Flegme it nourisheth and maintaineth continually, not by power and want of Food only, but the parts colde and moist actually.

It is then an excrement, but profitable, which *Galen* in the place before alledged, saith; *That abyding in the bodie it may be changed.* And he doth not any way contradict the same, in the first of his Prognostickes, where hee calleth it (not as he doth heere) *Nourishment halfe boyled*, but an *Excrement of the nourishment halfe boyled*, whereof the bodie being filled, men may (so saieth *Hippocrates*) not only bide from eating once a day, but also much more easily, endure an extraordinary hunger.

Haruet obiecteth two things. The first in the Dropsie, named * *Anasarcha* (which the Latines call *Intercus*) all the parts of the body being swoln with flegm or Rheume; and yet notwithstanding, the patient must haue food giuen him at all times, whereof if there be any want, he seemeth readie euery houre, to giue vp the Ghost. I answere, that all Flegme is not proper to nourish the body, but only that which is sweete. Now, that of the Dropsy is salt, by reason whereof, it putrifieth and sendeth noisom sauors to the

Galens comparisons.

Proofe of concoctions, by euident example.

Flegme hath anie perticuler instrumet.

Of Naturall Flegme.

Galen. vbi sup.

Galen. in 1. de Prog.

Hippocrat. 2. de acutis.

*A Dropsye vniuersallie spred ouer the body, betweene the skin, and the flesh.

The answere to *Haruets* obiection.

Of the *Chylus* or white iuice conuerted into blood.

The Spleene, and her superfluous euacuation.

Gal. 2. de fact. nat.

The two partes of bloode.

Of the diuers kinds of choller, and the Serosities.

Haruet obiection of rhume or Flegme.

The answere. *Galen. De fact. nat. 2.*

the parts which it toucheth. And *Galen* calleth it earthy, or deadly, because, beeing commixed with some other humours: he not only changeth his true and naturall colour (as *Galen* saith in the same place) but also his temperature. So that, both by *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, it is more often designed by the word Water, then of the Phlegme or Rhume. Vpon which occasion, *Serenus* calleth it *Aquosus languor*. And *Horace* tearmeth it, *Aquosus albo corpore languor*.

Gal in 1. de Prog. Hippoc. in Aphor. 8. 14. & sect. 2. Galen Aphor. 48. 2 coac. Serenus. Aur. in Od. Lib. 2. pag. 65.

This solution may also satisfie the obiection which he makes soone after, concerning the excrements of sick persons, which (saith he) if they haue power to nourish during the disease, wherefore then (they being consumed) doth not the sickenesse it selfe cease also? And if the sickenesse cease, why then are all the parts in the body depressed? Alas (good man) those excrements are wholly contrary to Nature, and the body desires nothing more, then to be deliuered of them, as *Galen* speaketh of the Sereons watterish humour. That is more strong, which hee alleadgeth a little before; that *Joubert* doth not conclude well, saying; that if the ventricle (being filled with the Phlematicke humour) hath no appetite: in like maner, all the partes of the body (being filled) can haue no desire or hunger. For the appetite of the ventricle (now in question) is animall appetite, which being not in the other partes, this Phlegme cannot communicate it selfe vnto them in the same kind.

Concerning men in time of sickenesse.

Gal. 2. De nat. fac.

The appetite of the ventricle.

I answere, that there are two sortes of appetites in the ventricle, the animall, and the naturall. The Animall appetite is a certaine molestation and anguish of the ventricle, proceeding from the sucking, or compression of the food; whereby (being made angry or offended) it desireth meate. But the naturall appetite, is a power, bred and borne in all parts of the body, which continually desireth what it wanteth, and is thereto agreeable. The one is appeased by vapour of the meats receiued, and by (how little soeuer) it be of substance; the other, by the only application of foode. The Animall appetite is perticuler to the sole-ventricle: the naturall is common, as well to the ventricle, as to all the other parts, whereby (being carried to the Superiour Orifice of the same Ventricle; he exciteth the Animall appetite, which serues vs as a Spurre for the taking of our meats. So long then, as the raw and Phlegmatick humour remaineth at the ventricle, and that there (by naturall strength thereof) it is boyled and brought into good estate: the tunicles (which make the body of the ventricle, in taking their competent portion; yea, and the very best thereof) doe conuert the same to their owne profit. So, the naturall appetite being contented, the animall appetite is not offended, neither complaines at entrance of the ventricle. If all the body were full of one and the same humour, all the parts (whereto this appetite is common, and communicateth the strength of this emotion) would borow thereof, and draw thence what should be seruiceable for them.

Two appetites, animall and naturall.

The appeasing of both the appetites.

The superiour Orifice of the ventricle.

The Coat-armours of the ventricle.

The body is not filled with one humour.

These are the Arguments, wherewith the learned *Joubert* hath fortified his opinion: Arguments, which (in my iudgement) vntill this instant houre, there could be no man found, that did know (deseruedly) how to stand against them. Whereto there are adioyned many examples, both of Plants and other Creatures: that not onely preserue themselues many daies, but many yeares also, without any nourishment outwardly taken. As in Plants; the Onion and the Garlike, &c. In Graine, Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Millet, and others. In and among Beasts, Serpents, Lizards, Dormise, Beares; Crocodiles, and Camelions. The authority of which examples, *Harnet* laboureth to eneruate, by opposition of dissimilitude, and great disproportion, which is betweene the life of brute beasts (yea much more of Plants) and that of man: because his principall is referred to the reasonable soule, and theirs to the soule irrationall. Beside, that heat (the instrument of both) is much more noble in man, then in the vnreasonable Soule; and yet is more in the vnreasonable soule, then in the Plant. Whereto I answere, that the similitude of these examples doe very well agree together in that kind of life, whereof we speake in this place; which is, *The faculty of feeding, and nourishing the body, and which is equally*

The strength of *Joubertus* Arguments.

Examples of Plants, Grain and beasts.

Dissimilitude of life in men and brute beasts.

The similitude of are defended.

Ariſt. in Lib. de Gen. 2. Cap. 5.

In Pagina. 78.

The humour abounding in crudity.

Abounding of Phlegme to to cauſe the Apoplexie.

equally diſtributed, as well in beaſtes as in Plants, ſaith *Ariſtotle*. Moreouer, that they agree in kind of the cauſe, to wit, the raw and Phlegmaticke humour; where-with their bodies are as well filled, as thoſe of men. But who can, (ſaith *Haruet*) ſupport ſuch a great aboundance of Phlegme in *Diaphragma*, without a palpitation of the heart, ſickneſſe of the ſtomacke, and paine of the collicke and raines? And who can retaine them in the head, without an Apoplexie? I anſwere, that this humour, doth there ſeeth it ſelfe in the body, and yet not corrupt it ſelfe. For, beeing according to nature, it cannot create any accidents or diſeaſes againſt nature. Perhaps he will obiect, that the very abounding of Phlegme, cauſeth an Apoplexie.

Gal. in com. 3. Aphor. 20.

But (I ſay) that it is an Excrement properly of the braine, which hath not beene wont to goe lodge it ſelfe at the ventricles thereof, neither doth, except it be driuen by the ſpirit, or the vapour. He may ſay, that in theſe Natures, the Spirits are more languiſhing, and haue not power ſufficient, to make an impetuoſity ſo violent. Whereto I reply, that albeit (otherwiſe) exerciſe of the body is healthfull, according to *Galen*: yet notwithſtanding, if ye will exerciſe a Man full of Phlegme, or ſubiect to one and the other choller, or elſe full of blood; ye ſhall forward him (by ſuch exerciſe) either to an Epilepſie, or Apoplexie.

Concerning life.

Ariſt. in Lib. de gen. 2. Cap. 9.

A vegetatiue ſoule in man.

Ariſt. vbi ſupra.

Now, whereas he ſaith, that our life is differing from that of Plants and beaſts, and that her principle (which is the ſoul) is much more noble thē theirs: what is he that will deny it? Seeing *Ariſtotle* himſelfe beleiued, that ſhe onely was diuine, and came from ſomewhere elſe abroad, to lodge within our body. But becauſe he encloſeth within his obiection, the vegetatiue Soule of Plants, and the ſenſitiue of beaſts: it behoueth to let him know, that our body hath a vegetatiue Soule, and nouriſheth it ſelfe as a Plant; ſenſeth or ſenteth as as brute beaſt, and hath diſcourſe of reaſon, of which it maketh vſe like to a man. Marke but his beginning, ſaith the ſame *Ariſtotle*; he liueth as the Plant, and hath onely then the vegetatiue Soule. Afterward (in time) hee gaines the ſenſitiue; and at length, comes to the intellectuall and reaſonable, which bringeth all perfections with it. For he is not wholly (at one time) both animall and man, neyther an Animall and an Horſe (though this kind of reaſoning is ſcant ſeemely, in the mouth of a Chriſtian Philoſopher.) He muſt bee firſt of all an Hearbe, as a Beete or Lettiſe; afterward a Dogge, Horſe, or the like thing; and laſt of all he comes to be *Cæſar* or *Cato*.

Of mans being both animall and man

Hippocrat. de priſca. Med.

But *Haruet* holdes on yet, and proueth by *Hippocrates*, that our fore-fathers would neuer haue ſought out a proper manner of feeding for man; if one ſelfe-ſame eating and drinking had beene ſufficient, for the nouriſhment both of men and beaſts. Neuertheleſſe, he omitteth that which *Hippocrates* addeth; that in the firſt age, men vſed one and the ſame kind of food, as other Creatures did, becauſe the inuention of ſowing and planting was (as yet) vnknowne to them. Then they fed on ſuch Fruites, as nature (in her owne kindneſſe) produced, without any tillage. Howbeit, the omnipotent Creator of man, had a will from the beginning, that he ſhould not liue onely by the fruits of the earth; but alſo that he ſhould vſe the vnreaſonable Creatures for his nouriſhment. What would he haue *Hippocr.* more to ſay? That which our ancients did, declared a wil, to prouide for the infirmity of our naturall heat, which being vnable (ſometimes) to digeſt meats of ſuch crudity; is much better ſupplyed and maintained, by thoſe that are prepared and corrected by art and experience, in doing whereof, the health of man is the leſſe ſubiect to perrill. Otherwiſe, a man (if he had been vſed thereto) might feed on Hemlocke (dangerleſſe) with the Stare; and on Helleborus with the Quaile; or vſe poyſons (as *Mithridates* did) and not be poiſoned: for man being invred to ſuch a cuſtome, they would be to him as naturall viands.

Mens food in the firſt age, before tillage was knowne.

The care of our elders in the firſt age, for naturall heat.

What meats a man might eate in ſome kinds.

Gal. in lib. 3. de ſimpl. fact. Theophraſt. in lib. 9. Hiſt. plant. Cap. 18. Ariſt. de reg. prin.

In like manner, an old Woman of *Athens* (recorded by *Galen*) vſed familiarly to eate Hemlocke; as *Thraſias* did *Helleborus*, by report of *Theophraſtus*: A maide being ſent by the King of the *Indiaes* to *Alexander*, did (for long time) feede in the ſight of all beholders, on

Napellus,

Napellus, commonly called Woolfesbane, without any preiudice vnto her health.

Our Mother the earths care for our maintenance.

But without all these, hath not our good Mother the Earth, yeilded (out of her bosome) many other things necessary to maintaine life? Yes truelie hath she, and euen in such estate as shee receiued vs, when wee arriued in the Inne of this World; in the very same manner shee doth both entertaine and sustaine vs: shewing her selfe euermore benigne, sweete, indulgent, and readie to doe (whatsoeuer she can deuise) to serue our vse. When she is tilled and husbanded, what diuersity of foodes doth shee produce, apt and proper for our nourishing? How plentiously is she furnished without Tillage? What Odours? What Sauours? What Iuyces? What Colours? And yet (all this while) we will needes exercise our cruelty vpon brute beasts. We will keepe those Creatures imprisoned, on whom Nature hath freely bestowed, the large and spacious Pallace of Heauen Why are not we more curious, to make banquets in simplicity, and without Butchery (after the manner of *Pythagoras*) rather then warre in the Ayre; aduenture life on the Seas and Riuers, and rauage ouer the Earth, as wee doe? Our Elders report, the age which we tearm the Golden Age, was happy in this; that it sullied not her mouth with the blood of Creatures.

The earths plenty without tillage.

The freedom bestowed on Creatures by nature.

Ouid. 1. Metam

Domitian his demaund of *Appolonius Thyaneus*.

The Philosophers answer.

The Philosopher *Appolonius Thyaneus*, being demaunded by the Emperour *Domitian*, why he kept not the common manner of feeding, which consisted in the vse of Flesh; but rather fed on Roots and Fruites, such as the earth yeilded? Returned this answer. *All that the Earth bringeth forth to vs, is wholsome and healthfull. I neede not then goe seeke after the Fowles of the Riuer Phasis, or the Francolines in Ionia. Alasse, with me (as with Countrey Horace) much better agreeeth the Oliue, gathered from the Trees fat Braunches, or Sorrell, growing in the field, or Mallowes, wholesome for wearied bodies.*

In Pagin. 67. 68. 69.

Haruet pursueth, to confute the alleadged examples, saying; That that which is reported of Serpents, Dormise, &c. is meerelie fabulous. For, as concerning Serpents, that abide all the Winter in their Dennes: they nourish themselues with Earth. Bears and Dormise, they make their prouision of food in Autumne, whereon they liue like vnto the Ant. The Camelion feedes himselfe with Flyes. The Crocodile cannot liue long out of the Water, according to *Aristotle*, &c. Whereto I answere. That the Serpent should nourish himselfe with earth onely, the reason of the same Philosopher doth repugne. For, he saith; *A mixed body cannot be nourished, with one sole and simple Element*; whereto also, the successe in thinges is conformable. For we haue many times obserued, that as among Fishes, the great ones eate vp the smaller Fry: the selfe same is in practise among Vipers, Adders, Snakes, and such like. But that Serpents can liue very long without foode, *Aristotle* shewes the same, by experience of such as haue beene kept by Apothecaries, whereof we haue spoken heeretofore. And as concerning that which was said to the Serpent, in the third of *Genesis*; *Thou shalt eate earth all the daies of thy life*; this nothing at all concerneth our earthly Serpents, but onely the ancient Enemy to mankind, whose slauish Seruants doe eate earth, that is to say; they can relish nothing but earthly things, according as our learned Diuines haue expounded it.

Of Serpents. Of Beares & Dormise.

The Camelio The Crocodile.

Aristl. in lib. 1. de gener. Anim

A comparison of Fishes with Vipers, &c.

Arist. Anim. lib 8. cap. 4.

Gen. 3. 14.

D. Aug. in Gen.

Aristotle writes, that the Dormouse (in Winter) is not onely hid in the Caues of the earth, but also in the hollowes of Trees, and that (during this season) he fattens by sleeping. *Haruet* thinkes, that he eates the prouision he hath hidden, and labours himselfe against *Aristotle*, saying: That sleep euacuates the body, when as the ventricle is emptied, by reason of heat, which euermore consumeth moysture. But behold heere the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*, which is flatly against him. *They* (saith *Hippocrates*) *which in the night time doe become altered in body, and thirsty; it is best for them to sleepe, although they bee neuer so dry. For sleepe (aboue all thinges else,) doth keepe the body moyst, very pleasingly: yet not that body which is wholelie empty and dry, but that which is filled with foode, or with crude moysture. For the naturall faculty (all this while) bestoweth her vttermost power, in concoction of the meats and*

Aristl. in lib. 8. Hist. Cap. 17.

Hippo. in lib. 5. Aphor. 27.

How necessary sleepe is for the body.

and raw humours. Who will make any doubt then, that a ſloathfull Creature, and full of cruditie, may not fatten himſelfe by ſleeping? *Pliny* ſaith; *It is beſt making concoction in the time of ſleepe, for gathering corpulence*, that is to ſay, for fatning of the body. And *Martiall*, willing to waken thoſe Students, which ſleepe away (as one ſaith) the fat of the morning, hath addreſſed theſe two verſes to them.

Plin. in Lib. 11. Cap. penult.

Dormitis nimium, glires, vitulíq; marini,
Nil mirum ſi vos craſſa Minerua premit.

Martiall.

We ſee many beaſts, which (at Spring-time) comming forth of their dens; are fatter then other, becauſe they haue found the time fauourable to thē. And *Galen* ſaith, *Women are more fat then men; by reaſon that they are more cold, and greater ſitters in the houſe, then vſually men are*. *Ariſtotle* prooueth by two reaſons, that Bears do not eat any thing, during the time of their winter retirement: the one, becauſe they come not forth at all; the other, in regard their bellies are reſtrict, and their inteſtines empty. But *Haruet* wrangleth againſt the firſt; becauſe (ſaith he) they haue wherewith to feed on. But a beaſt of ſuch greatneſſe, what ſtore (I pray ye) needes there, of Roots, apples, or ſuch like, for all thoſe daies, and all thoſe months? As for the ſecond reaſon, *Ariſtotle* iuſtifyeth the ſame by eye-experience. For one ſaith, that their inteſtines (thorow lack of eating) do cloſe vp in ſuch ſort, that they almoſt touch or cling together. And therefore, when they come abroad againe, they feed on a certaine hearb, called * *Aron*, onely to get looſe their entrailes. The firſt ſeauen daies that they lie hidden in their Caues, they are ſo ſoundly ouercome with ſleepe, that although one ſmite vpon them, yet they awake not; ſo ſaith *Pliny* & *Olaus*. They ſay both, that they fatten wondrouſlie by this heauy ſleep; and principally, by licking their right foot. Which is to be vnderſtood in this manner, that after they haue paſt 14. daies in ſleepe; they ariſe and ſit on their buttocks, & liue by licking their foremoſt feete, vntill ſuch time as the Spring comes againe, and then they iſſue forth. As concerning the Male Beares, they are very fat: but not the Females, becauſe (at this time) they nouriſh their whelps. Nor are they any ſuch maſſe or lumpe, of white and deformed fleſh, which by little and litle (in licking) they bring to a forme, as ignorantly hath bin credited of antiquity: but a young little Beare, well formed, ſuch as great *Scaliger* witneſſeth, to haue been found (not long ſince) in the belly of a She-Bear, which one rent in pieces.

Gal. in lib. 2. de Temp.

Ariſt. in Hiſt. Anim. Cap. 17. Lib. 8.

Of the Bears feeding in Winter.

* Wake-wort to vnlooſe the Beares entrailes.

Plin. in hiſt. nat. lib. 8. Cap. 26. Olaus in Hiſt. Septentr. lib. 18

The Male Beares very fat, but not the females.

Scalig. Exerc. 615.

The ſame *Scaliger*, firſt (before *Haruet*) declareth, that the Lord *John des Landes*, when he was in *Syria*, bought a Camelion. And it was noted, that by prompt mouing of his tongue (which he can caſt and recaſt (in an Infant) out of his mouth) hee tooke a Fly that was on his breaſt. This was newes to them, who ſuppoſed it onely (among all othets Creatures) to liue without foode or drinking: and onely to nouriſh himſelfe by the Ayre, euermore faſting, without enduring any languiſhment, as *Tertullian* ſaith. Neuertheleſſe, it is not altogether from the purpoſe, to imagine, that he ſhould liue by the aire: becauſe he hath beene obſerued to paſſe a whole yeare together, without eating any thing, as the ſame *Scaliger* teſtifieth. Alſo, that after he hath yawnd or gapt, and taken ayre: hee hath ſhut his lawes, & then his belly became blowne full (like a bladder) with this ayry ſubſtance. There be ſome, that ſay, that turning himſelfe to the Sun; he ſeemes to ſwallow downe his beames, and ſo purſues them (yawning) all about. *Tertullian* hath auouched as much, when (ſpeaking of the Camelion) he ſaith, *He nouriſheth himſelfe by yauning and yawning, he chawes, and blows vp himſelfe like a foot ball, the wind is all his food.*

Exercit. 196. 4.

That the Camelion can catch Flies.

Tertul. De pal.

Scalig. vbi ſup.

Tertul. in Lib. de Mant.

The Crocodile, by the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, and (after him) *Pliny*, paſſeth alwaies ſixe moneths of Winter in his Caue, without eating. *Ælianus* ſaith, that he remaineth threeſcore daies only ſo hidden, during which time he eateth nothing. *Symmachus*, one of a Conſuls quality among the *Romaines*, cauſed Crocodiles to be broght into the Theater before the people, after hee had made them to faſt fifty daies. Long time afterward, he kept two, without giuing them any foode: reſeruing them, to haue them ſeene at the arriuall of certaine friends of his. *Albeit* (ſaith hee) *they*

Ariſt. In Hiſt. An. lib. 2. ca. 13. Plin. in Hiſt. Nat. lib. 8. Cap. 25.

Symmach.in lib 8 Epist.44.

they made shew, not to liue long time without eating. As for that which *Haruet* alleadgeth from *Aristotle*, that the Crocodile, beeing out of the Water, cannot liue any long time: It receiueth interpretation by the very same place, where he writes. *Albeit the Crocodile delights her selfe in the Water, and that in such sort, as she cannot liue, being enclosed out of watry places: Neuertheless, shee dyes, if she receiue not Ayre, as she is wont to doe, and nourishing her young ones out of the Water.* For as much then, as she is a Creature partly watery, and partly earthy; he holds, that she is to be ranked among those Creatures, called * *Amphibij*, which are not of a staied Nature, whom he calleth ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα. Other wise hee should contrary himselfe hauing written before: *That she spendes the day on the Land, and the night in the Water:* both the one and other shee affecteth, by reason of the warme moisture she loueth. Which he would haue to be vnderstood, of the time when shee doth not hide her selfe, because cold is so contrary to her: as when it is faire seasonable weather, she must needes be on the Land in the day time, and in the water all the night.

Arist.in Hist. An.m.lib.8.cap 2.

* That liue as well on Land, as in the water L.b.2. cap.10.

I might here auouch the *Indian* Birds without feere, which the Sacrificers to Mahomet, did sometime make the King of the *Molucques* to beleeue, that it dropt downe out of Paradise: because she is not found but in vnknowne places, separated from resort of the world; in regard whereof, they of that Countrey call it, the Bird of Paradise. She liues continually in the Ayre, and neuer at any time toucheth the earth, till after she be dead: whereon then she lyeth, and preserueth her selfe (long time) without corrupting. This Bird dooth not nourish her selfe on Mushromes, & other insect thinges, as Sparrowes and Swallowes doe. For she liueth in the middle Region of the Ayre, where are no Creatures (knowne to men) whereon she may feede: but vppon the Ayre onely, or on the vapour arising from the Isles of *Molucques*, which doe send foorth (on all sides) a very sweete and Aromaticall sauour. *Cardanus* holdeth, that shee cannot liue of the ayre alone, and perfectly, because it is very subtile in those Countries. But he that gaue her the Ayre for food, hath power likewise so to thicken the aire: as to render it selfe apt enough for her nourishment.

Of the Bird of Paradise.

How the Bird of Paradise nourisheth her selfe in the Ayre.

Cardan in lib.9 cap.20.

And no lesse admirable is the Bird, which *Plutarch* calleth *Phintaces*, verie common in *Persia*; which hath nothing emptie in her body, but is all full of fat within (as are the * *Benericks* in *Languedoc.*) And yet notwithstanding, this Authour saith, that she liues not but of the Ayre, and of the dew therein. *Aristotle* the Prince of truth, writes, that in the Furnaces in *Cypres*, where the Melters and Casters of Copper are, they haue a little Creature, of the bigneſse of a great Fly, which they call *Pyrausta*, that hath Winges and foure feet. So long as there is fire in the Furnace, this worme or Fly liueth: but let it be neuer so little off from it, it dyes presently. And yet notwithstanding, this Creature is most cold, hauing no other maintenance, then the heat of the Fire onely.

Plutarch.in vit. Artoxer.

* The little Blacke-Bird, called a Gnat snapper.

Arist.in hist. Anim lib.5 ca.19 Plin.in lib. 11. cap 36.

But why should I dwell on these examples, whereof *Haruet* (in euery place) holds, that (by them) wee can draw no consequent to men. Peraduenture then, some examples (deduced from men themselues) may make him to acknowledge a truth. And therefore I will produce one, which is out of all scruple, and whereof Princes (worthy of beliefe) made recitall to King *Henry* the third, being in *Poland*. He had there many great Lords of *France*, Councellers, beside Phisitions, &c. And among others, *Monsieur Pibuxius*, our Deane; skilfull not onely in the Phisicke, but likewise in whatsoeuer concerned knowledge of the naturall Historie. He was then Phisition to my Lord the Duke of *Neuers*, and called to Counsell with the Kings owne Phisitions. From him was it, that we verbally heard this Historie, which also is written by *Alexander Guaguinus* of *Verona*, Captaine of the Foot-men in the Cittadell of *Vitebcka*, on the Limits of *Moscouia*, and in his description of the said Country.

Examples concerning men.

Manifested to *Henry* the the third, K. of France.

Alexand. Guagnig. Veronens.

He saith, that there are certaine people in *Lucomoria* (which is a Region, in the vtmost Confines of the *Sarmates*, towards the North) which dye (or rather remaine entranced, like Frogges and Swallowes) euery yeare, the twen-

People in *Lucomoria*, neere the *Sarmates*, that dye, or are entranced

tie

ty seauen day of the month of Nouember, by reason of the extreame cold in that part of the Country. Afterward, at the Spring-times returne, the twenty foure day of Aprill, they come to life againe.

People called *Gruſtintzians & Sperponomptzians.*

These people make their Commercers with their Neighbours, who are the *Gruſtintzians* and *Sperponomptzians*, after this manner. When they feele the time of their entrancing to draw nere; they then locke vp their Merchandises in certaine places, and the *Gruſtintzians* and *Sperponomptzians* doe there take them, and leaue other (in their stead) of answerable value. The time beeing come of their reuiuing, they take the Merchandises left in exchange, if they perceiue they may make profit of them: if not, they demaund backe their owne againe, whereby ariseth (oftentimes) quarrels and warres betweene them. By this sleepy trance, the naturall heat in these bodies (which otherwise are accustomed to this Ayre, and boyled againe, (as *Albertus Crantzius* saith) is no whit extinct: because all the pores, places, passages, and conuoies (beeing lockt vp and stopt) it gathers it selfe about the entrailes, and by this *Antiperiſtaſis*, or repulsion of euery part; shee encreaseth her selfe, and makes her power the more vigorous for the Spring time ensuing.

The reason of this sleepy trance in this people.

Aboue all other parts of the body, the daunger lyeth principally in the braine; which hath great store of large openings, and (among others) the nostrils: were it not, that when they beginne to waxe-stiffe with cold; a tart rhume or moisture distilleth from the Nosthrils, which (by report of the said Lord *Piduxius*) euen as it flowes, congealeth it selfe, no lesse then the spettle doth, and so it waxeth hard, before they fall to the ground, according as *Sigiſmond de Herbeſtein* describeth in the Historie of *Moscouia*. By meanes whereof, the Nostrils and other parts beeing so lockt vp; the mallice of the ayre cannot so easily pierce vp into the braine. And if any one of them, to shunne this cold vnfriendlinesse of the Ayre, doe thinke (by couering himselfe with skins and other things) to forestal the Isicles hanging at the Nosthrils and mouth, &c. immediatly the Ayre (being exceſſiuely cold) steppes vp into the braine, and there extinguisheth the naturall heate. So that these *Lucomorians*, in stead of a temporall entrauncing, doe then fall into one perpetuall and endlesse. But the time being come, that the Sunne gaineth rule ouer the world, and brings againe the sweetnesse of the Spring season: the Icie moysture (at the parts fore-named) melting it selfe; heate (by little and little) insinuateth into the bones; feeling and vigour creepeth againe into all the members, and then hath the body the same Oeconomy, which it had before.

The greatest danger in the braine.

Their eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouthes, are softly frozen vp, before they fall into this trance. *Sigiſ. Herb. in Hiſt. Moſcou.*

Daunger in seeking to preuent this cold.

The manner of the peoples recouery.

Haruet concludeth this whole discourse, with the fasting of *Moyses*, *Helias*, and our blessed Sauiour, which (saith he) would be held as no Miracles; if (according to Nature) so long an abstinence might be endured. *Ioubert* hath answered, that in sicke persons, and such as are subiect to much sicknesse; long Fasting or abstinence is naturall: but supernaturall in such bodies, as are otherwise perfectlie well, and of good temperature.

Haruets conclusion of his discourse.

And *Haruets* obiecting the place of *Auicenne*, cited by *Ioubert: That the same might also happen to healthfull Men.* For our selues, wee will embrace *Iouberts* opinion in such sort, as we holde the accident heere happening among vs, occasioned by a sickenesse against Nature, and yet (in time) may be recouered. But as for men of such rare sanctitie, we are not so deuillish; as to thinke, that their Fasting should ensue by any sickenesse: but onely by the especiall will of God, and that naturall appetite is returnable againe, at such time as is limited by his prouidence.

Auicenne his opinion of healthful me.

Last of all, where he exhorteth euery one, to imitate a certaine Gentleman, who (by care and dilligence) discouered the impoſture of an Hermit in *Sauoy*, that (by feigned Fastings) had long time deceiued the peoples opinion: For our selues, not knowing how to goe against authoritie, of so many rare and cleare sighted Phisitions, nor how to steale into our eyes, the credence of what they haue seene: wee loue rather to referre the causes of such extraordinary workes in nature, euen to the most curious Enquisitour, then (like to the companions of *Vliſſes*) charmed

Haruets finall exhortation.

An Hermit impoſture in *Sauoy*.

charmed with the Fruit of the * *Alysier*, or Lot-tree; to serue or know no other Gods, then *Edusa* and *Potina*.

* A Tree in Affrick, cald the Lot-tree.

CHAP. XI.

Of the authority giuen to the Germaines, to make election of the Emperour: What and who the Electors are. Also, of the manner which the ancient Romaines obserued, in consecrating their Emperors, and ranking them in number with the Gods after their death.

The Electors of the Emperor, were created by Pope Gregory the fift

POpe *Gregory* the fift, a Natiue of the Countrey of *Saxony* in *Germany*, & Kinsman to the Emp. *Otho*, to the end, that the Empire might remain in their hands, who wer of his nation, made a law (but with consent of the said *Otho*) as concerning the election of the Emperor: which afterward was obserued, euen to our time, and so is (as yet) maintained. Whereby it was lawfull, and permitted to the *Germaines* onely; to elect the Prince, that should be called *Cæsar*, and King of the *Romaines*. Also, to be stiled the Emperour *Augustus*; when the Byshop of *Rome* had approued and confirmed the election. The said Pope likewise giue authourity, to be elected by three Ecclesiasticall, and foure Lay persons, to wit: To the Arch-Byshops of *Magonce*, *Treuers*, and *Colongne*: And to the Marquesse of *Brandenbourg*; to the Count-*Palatine* of *Rhine*; to the Duke of *Saxony*; and to the King of *Bohemia*; and to their Successours in all those dignities. And the saide King of *Bohemia*, was added as the seauenth Electour, to take away all differences, which might happen in the election, and to iudge aboue them all.

This Law was made in the yeare 1002.

The seauen Princes Electors by their seuerall names.

Now I hold it very conuenient, being in a matter of this Argument; that I should also say somwhat in this place, concerning the maner obserued by the ancient *Romaines*, of inserting their Emperors in number with the Gods, after they were dead. They buried the deceased body with sumptuous Funerall pomp, making an Effigy or Image of Waxe, so neere resembling the dead Corps as possibly might bee, wan and pale, like to a sicke person. This Image was laide in an high and stately Bed of Iuory, at the entrance of the Imperiall Pallace. About this Bed (for the more part of the day) were seated in this order: first, all those of the Senate on the left side, cloathed in mourning; then on the right side, the Noble Matrones, all in white Robes, but wearing neither Chaines nor Iewels. This order was continued seauen daies together, and euery day the Phisitions came to the bed side, saying (after they had seen the Image) that he daily waxed worse and worse. The seauen daies being ended, and he reputed to be dead, the youngest Noble-men (chosen among the orders of Knights and Senators) carried the Bed vpon their shoulders; first, to the old Market place; then to *Campo Martio* without the Citty, where a Tabernacle was prepared, after the fashion of a Tower, on that side where the fielde was most spacious. This Tabernacle was filled within, with old dry Logges and Faggots, and a great quantity of sweet sauours: without, it was adorned with rich Cloath of Gold, faire Images of Iuory, and sundry sortes of beautifull Pictures. The Bed, and the Image in it, was shut vp within this goodly Tabernacle, and when the accustomed Ceremonies (in such cases) were finished: he who was the neerest to succeede in the Empire, hauing a lighted Torch in his hand, first began to giue fire to it, and consequently all the other, fiering it on all sides: so that, in short time it was wholy burned. Then from some high place, suddenly was an Eagle let loose, by which Bird the people verily beleeued, that their Princes Soule was carried to Heauen: And by these means, the Emperours were honoured among the other Goddes. Whosoeuer is desirous, to be further acquainted, with all the ceremonies touching this case: let him read *Herodian*, at the beginning of the fourth Booke of his Histories.

How the ancient *Romains* defied their Emperours after death.

The Imperial Bed, and the attendants about it.

The carying of the Imperiall bed.

The burning of the Imperiall Bed and Image, & the Eagles flight.

CHAP. XII.

Who first found out the Art of Nauigation; deuising Ships, Gallies, Oares, Sayles, Ankers, Rudders: And who first of al fought vpon the Sea.

Diod. in lib. 6.

NEptune inuented the Art of Nauigation, if wee may credit *Diodorus*, speaking thus. *Neptune* (as the *Candians* say) *hauing found out the Art of sayling; leuied an Army, whereof he made Saturne chiefe Commaunder.* Which hath bin the occasion, that such as succeeded him, did verily beleeue, that *Neptune* had full power on the Seas. The men of *Misia*, and the *Troyans*, found Skiffes, made of many pieces of wood fastned together, like to a Raft or Float-boat of Timber; whereon they began to Nauigate, passing on the *Hellespont* to encounter the *Thracians*. Some others doe giue assurance, that such vessels were first seene in the *Brittain* Ocean, which were made of Leather. The *Sydonians* builded some such of Oziers and Reeds, and with thē went not onely a Fishing; but made no doubt of sayling in them on the chiefest Seas. In a long space of time after, the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Coronta*, aduentured to build Gondolots of wood onely, without any Oziers or Leather skins. *Pliny* saith, that the *Nasselles* or Skiffes were first put in vse vpon the red Sea, and that King *Erytheus* first sayled with them among the Islands. Thus, from the beginning, men frequented the Seas. But afterward, hauing left these small Boats, wherein (at first) they had practised nauigation: they began to builde ships as great as houses, therein to trauerse all the Seas. *Iason* was the first that made vse of a long Ship; and the inuention thereof is (by *Diodorus*) attributed to *Sesostris*, King of Ægypt. The *Erythræans* deuised the Galliot, called the light-Galliot, with two Oares. The Gally (according to the opinion of *Eusebius*) had original, by the *Samothracians*, or (as *Clemens* will haue it) of *Atlas*: but *Pliny* saith, that *Danaus* brought it out of Ægipt into *Greece*. The *Trireme*, or Gallie with three Oares on a banck, was inuented by *Aminocles* the *Corinthian*. The *Quadrireme*, or for 4. Oares at a banke, was the *Carthagenians* inuention, as it is affirmed by *Aristotle*. That of fiue Oares for a banke, called by the *Grecians* πεντήρης: was first of al made by *Nesichron* of *Salamina*, and such kinde of Gallies did the *Romaines* build in *Italie*, in the time of their first wars in *Affrica*. The Gally of six orders, or of six Oares for a bank (which the Latines knew not how to expresse in one word, and *Titus Liuius* was constrained, to call it by the *Greeke* name *Hexeres*) was deuised by *Zenagoras of Syracusa*. The said *Titus Liuius*, maketh mention also, of Gallies of 7. and of eight oares for a banke; which he tearmed *Hepteres*, and *Octeres*. *Nesegiton* was the deuiser of them of tenne Oares for a banke. The *Enneres*, of eleauen Oares, were much vsed be *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, who had a great number of Gallies: as some of 13. Oares, some of 14. others of 20. yea, and of thirty orders, according as *Atheneus* writeth. *Alexander* the Great, deuised the Gally of 12. orders, to wit, of twelue oares for a bank. *Ptolomeus Soter* inuented the Gally of fifteene Oares. *Ptolomeus Philopater*, that of forty Oares; and it was two hundred and fourscore cubits in length, and in height to the top, about eight and forty cubits.

Hippias the *Tyrean*, was the Inuenter of ships of burden, or Merchants boats, which vulgarly in *Flemish*, are called *Hulques*; and by *Appian* and *Thucidides*, they are tearmed *Holcades*: of which kind were the Wine-Boates, the verie greatest whereof, we tearme Bottomes or Lighters, carying sometimes fifteen hundred Tuns, and the least, which are called *Lusandes*, doe carry but three hundred. *Vlpian* calleth them Vintners Shippes. Of the same kind are the wodden Boats, for carrying of Sand, Hay, & Coales. Such Ships of burden as these, are those for the transportation of Soldiours, which *Thucidides*, (in his eyght Book) plainely calleth στρατιώτιδες, of carying Souldiours, that the *Grecians* named τοὺς στρατιώτας, which name our vulgar hath retained to this day, in taking away onely one letter: for he cals *Stradiot* a man at Armes, armed for lightnesse. The *Hippagines* or *Hippagoges*, were certaine

Skiffes founded by the *Mysians* and *Troyans*.

Skifies of leather on the Brittish Ocean.

Gondolot is a Venetian wherry.

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Leauing smal Boats, they builded tall Ships.

Diod. in lib. 6.

The Light Galliot.

The Gally. *Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 56.*

Plin. vbi sup.

Arist. in lib. 6.

Polib. in Lib. 2. Tit. Liuius in Lib. 7. Dec. 4.

Tit. Liu. in Lib. 7. Dec. 5.

Atheneus in lib 5. Cap. 4.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

Plutar. in vit. Demetr.

Appian de Bel. Ciuil Lib. 4. Thuci. in Lib. 6.

Vlpian in Lib. Vulgar. F. de furt.

Thuci. in Lib. 8.

Tit. Liu. Dec. 3. Lib. 4.

certaine Ships among the *Greekes*, for cariage of Horſes, as well on Riuers, as on the Seas, being imployed for the ſeruice of warre: which were inuented by them of *Salamina*, and in our language are cald Paſſe-horſes. There is another ſort of Ships, which the *Latines* named *Actuarias naues*, and *Cæſar* calleth them *Victoria nauigia*. Theſe comprehend all kinds of light Foyſts, as *Brigandines* and others: which onely were inuented for pleaſure, and with the ſwifteſt legerity, to cut through the Seas. Theſe Foyſtes were not ordained for any war-ſeruice, but to be as Seruitors to other Veſſels: and for this reaſon, they were named by the *Greeks* ὑπηρέται, as Seruants.

Cæſar in Com.

Foyſts and Brigandines.

There are many kindes of Actuary Ships, among which, are the Explorators and Speculators, which we tearme ſpies or ſcouts, being very ſwift of ſaile, and are vſually ſent to diſcouer the enemies forces. Two of theſe ſpeculatory Galliots, which were ſent forth by thē of *Marſeilles*: brought tidings back, that the Punicke Army was at the mouth of the Riuers entrance. The *Lembus* is likewiſe in number of the Actuary Veſſels, and was inuented by the *Cyrenenſes*. So is the Cymba or Barke, which the *Phœnicians* firſt made vſe of. The *Celox*, ſo called for her ſwiftneſſe, was firſt deuiſed by the *Rhodians*. The *Cypriots* doe attribute vnto themſelues, the inuention of the *Cercuron*, which is ranked in number of the Actuary veſſels: albeit *Nonius Marcellus* ſaith, that it ſhould be a very great Ship. The *Illirians* firſt founded the Squiffe, called in Latine *Scapha*, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάπτειν, *ab excauando*; becauſe firſt of all, they began to hew them out of very great trees. The *Germains* which dwell about *Danubius*, inuented little Boats, made of hollow trees: which the neighboring Riuers made vſe of, in ſted of Ferry-Boats. The people of *Cepa*, inuented Oares and Skuls; and *Icarus* deuiſed Saiſes, though *Diodorus* doth ſay, that *Æolus* firſt found them out. *Dedalus* deuiſed the Maſt and Croſſeyards, with their fit furniture belonging to them. *Piſeus* inuented the Stem or Beak-head of the ſhip: And the *Tyrrenians* the Anker, which *Eupalmus* firſt made with two fangs or teeth. *Anacharſis* found out the grapling hooks or Irons for ſhips; And *Typhis* the Rudder, or Inſtrument to gouerne Shippes or Gallies. What elſe the Reader would further bee enformed in, concerning theſe matters, he may more amply ſee ſet downe in the Book, which *Lazarus de Baif* hath written of Nauall affaires. *Minos* was the firſt that made war on the Sea, as *Pliny* hath confirmed.

The *Germains* neere *Danubio.*

* A Citty of Beotia, neere *Cephiſus.*

Diodor. in lib. 6.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 57.

Plin. in lib 7. cap. 44.

CHAP. XIII.

Whence the cuſtome came, of giuing New-yeares gifts. The originall of Maſques and Mommeries: As alſo of our Shroue-tide.

THe cuſtome of giuing new-yeares Gift, to wit, the Guift whereof a preſent is made at the beginning of the yeare; came firſt from the ancient *Romaines*. For the Knights vſed euerie yeare, on the firſt day of Ianuary, to offer new-yeares guifts in the *Capitole*, to *Cæſar Auguſtus*, although he were then abſent: which maner of behauior, hath ſince thoſe daies deſcended to vs, albeit in ſundry kinds of vſes. For in *Italy*, the greateſt perſons doe giue to the meaneſt: And in England, Subiects giue to their Princes, and Princes to the King, who returneth thē ſome Gift in recompence. We imitate thoſe Ancients, in the repreſentation of ſpectacles, plaies, huntings, Iouſts, running of Horſes, & likewiſe in the reciting of Comedies, euen in the ſame manner as they did during their ſollemnities of the *Quinquatria*, certaine daies dedicated to *Minerua*. Alſo of the *Megaleſian* Playes, done in honoor of the great Mother of the Gods: going Masked, wearing falſe vizages through the Citty. So haue wee learned a cuſtome, to make Maskes or Maſquerados, not for a day or two, as they did in their Sacrifices; but euen for two months together before Lent: which giuing the greater licence to ſin, hath beene the occaſion of many miſchiefes each day committed, yet paſſing without any puniſhment. As if it were lawful (by theſe meanes) to be vicious, or elſe, as if men imagined that they did not ſin, becauſe their faces could not be ſeene: And as God ſaw nothing at all, who is wholly iuſt, in recompencing both vices and vertues, aſſigning paines to the wicked, and praiſes to the good.

New-yeares guifts came from the old Romaines.

Of Italy and England.

Other imitations of our Elders.

Quinquatria.

Megaleſian Playes.

Of Maskes & Maſquerados.

Maskes haue bin the cauſe of many miſchiefes.

* *Ops* and *Terra*, *Rhea*, *Berecynthia*, and *Pessinuntia*.

Of Mommeries.

Mimicke scoffers and Plaiers.

How the name of Mommer first rose.

Suetonius in lib. 4.

A witnesse reproued for being a Player.

The meaning of *Socrates*.

Knowledge of mens dispositions veiled vnder maskes

The great hurt and villainy committed vnder this colour, in pretending loue to women, &c

* I haue read, that the *Corybants*, Priests belonging to the Goddesse *Cybele*, first inuented Masques and Mommeries, & sullied their faces with blacke: from whence grew the name of smearing, which is tearmed in *Italian Mascarati*, a Masqued face. *Varro* writeth, that one of *Æneas* cõpanions, which he brought with him into *Italy*, brought likewise Mommeries first into vse, which the Peazants and Country Boores only exercised, dancing in the Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, wearing false vizards, made of the barcks of trees. Then the Mimicks, that is to say, Scoffers and Iesters in Playes and Enterludes, vsed such Masques and counterfeited vizards: to the end, they might the more boldly reprehend and mocke at men, and make countenances both apish and ridiculous. For the Maske could not blush, euen as yet the *Italian Commedians* doe obserue in their *Zanies*. And this name of Mommer, came of the Latine word *Momus*; that is, a Mocker; a very conuenable name for such masked men, who come to no mans house but to mocke, although themselues doe better deserue to bee mocked. According as *Suetonius* exprobrated to *Nero*, who by often masking himselfe, sullied the pure glory of royal Maiesty. And the very truth is, Maskes, Mommeries, & such floutings, do iustly carry infamy with them. For I haue haue heard a witnes reproched in iudgment, for hauing plaid in publike vpon a Stage, the part or person of a masked Bawd. And as concerning Maskes and Mommeries, they are nothing else, but to shew a man otherwise then he is indeed: quite contrary to the intention of *Socrates*, who said. *Nature foiled greatly, by not making windowes in our breastes, or Lattices at the least; to the end, that by those meanes, the courage, thought, and disposition of vs all, might be discerned*. But nowadaies, men study how to hide vnder these false vizards, the small iudgement which can bee gathered, either of the goodnesse or badnesse of men, by plaine appearance of their reall face; & which (in truth of nature) they know not how to dissemble so deeply, as by the aduantageable helpe and cunning of these counterfeited Masks. I speak not of the robberies and assassinates, which vnder the shaddow of these vizzards are committed. I speak not of the obscenity procured by these Masks; occasioning many times, that good women shall be solicited, and pursued in quest of their honor; yea, and in the end debauched. Some hold opinion, that ther is no better meanes of making loue to a woman, then by beeing thus masked: for then they hold thẽselues vnder safe defence, to giue Rings, Iewels, Letters, &c. to Ladies, which cannot bee free from an immodest signification. If a man would but well consider, the power and preuailance in *Gyges* ring, which made men to walke inuisible, and wherein was suspition of nothing else but liberty. But if to the girdles of Ladies such rings were fastned, as whilome was to the Ceston or girdle of *Venus*; Husbands would (by no meanes) suffer their wiues to receiue of Maskers such Girdles, which manie times are too liberally giuen them, and wherewith they are ouer-readie in girding themselues, because they thereby oblige and tie themselues to the giuers.

Example of the Ring of *Gyges*.

Venus her Ceston or girdle.

Here I may not forget to tell ye, that such disguisings and changings of habits, are highly reprooued by the holie Scriptures. For God menaceth malediction, against all such as vse them, speaking thus by his Prophet *Sophony*: *I will visit all such as are clothed with strange apparell*. And in *Deuteronomy* he maketh this prohibition. *The woman shal not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shal a man put on womans raiment: For all that doe so, are an abhomination vnto the Lord thy God*. But we doe very badly obserue the commaundements of God. And herein, England stands exempted only, for euer hauing there vsed any such maskings, or euer will admit them. And the *English-men* haue a law, which forbiddeth any man so to maske himselfe, vpon the paine of life.

Disguising of apparell reproued by the Scriptures.

Sophon. cap. 1. 8

Deut. 22. 5.

England only exempted from such Masquings.

Now, because Lent followeth so suddenly after Shrouetide; we Christians are then very curious, in eating dainty meates, beeing ouer-much addicted to care for the belly, eating immeasurably without any necessity: euen as if wee would supply abstinence before hand, with that which ought to follow, after we haue gluttonously deuoured flesh, like brute beasts. For Shrouetide is held but for a kind of little ceremony, yet to too great abuse, by hauing all thinges then

Of Shrouetide and Lent among vs Christians.

The extream exceſſe of Shroueride, more then at any other time.

then in extreamity of exceſſe, feeding and conſuming, as if they then made a celebration for the burſting of their own guts; according as one hath very well ſaid. This is ſo much the worſe, in that it is done among Chriſtians, and that they ſhould make ſuch ſlender eſteeme of Lent: without any feare of God; in meere contempt of the Magiſtrate, and tranſgreſſing the ordinances of the Church, at ſuch time as good and religious lawes are appointed, for a fit and conuenient ſeaſon of Faſting.

CHAP. XIIII.

When, and what time it was, that Hereſies had their Originall and beginning: And who was the firſt Heretick & Schiſmatick.

Vnity & concord broken by diuerſity in opinion.

NO Citty, no people, no Commonweale, did euer continue in ſuch vnion and concord: but the Cittizens (about ſome occaſion) haue been deuided into diuerſity of opinions; a matter ſo euident and notorious, to ſuch as are skilfull in Hiſtories, as there needeth no further ſpeech thereof. From hence (then) did Sects deriue their ſourſe and originall, which made deuiſion both in Citties, and in Religion, and was tearmed by the *Greeks*, *Hereſies of choiſe*: becauſe euery one made election of his maner of life, and which was beſt to his own liking, as among the variable ſects of the Philoſophers. The people of the *Iewes* in like maner, albeit they held one and the ſame Law: yet were they deuided into diuers ſects, as much to ſay; as Hereſies, to wit; the *Phariſies*, *Eſſeans*, *Sadduces*, *Samaritaines*, *Nazarians*, and *Herodians*. But be it howſoeuer, we haue the Apoſtles of God Authours of our Religion, who made no election or choiſe of any, to be receiued or embraced after their fantaſie: but faithfullie taught all people and Nations, the Doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, truely God and Man. It is not then lawfull for vs, to introduce or elect any nouell things: but to follow thoſe, which haue bin ordained by the holy Apoſtles, & confirmed by councels of learned Biſhops and Fathers. Wherefore, and in this reſpect, the vocable *Hereſie*, is eſteemed among vs impious. And therefore our Diuines or Theologians, do tearme that Chriſtian an Hereticke, that ſhall deuiſe or follow any Sect, contrary to the foundation of Chriſtian Religion. Of which accurſed impiety, to wit, of all Hereſie, *Symon* the * *Samaritaine*, called the Sorcerer; was chiefe Authour, with his immodeſt Wife *Selena*, his companion in all wickedneſſe, and whom he had taken out of the common Stewes.

Hereſies of choiſe.

Sects among the Iewes.

The Apoſtles of God.

Election of nouelties vtterly prohibited.

Definition of an Hereticke.

* He was of a village in *Samaria*, called *Triton*, according to *Tertullian lib. 1. de Hereſ.*

This *Symon Magus*, cauſing himſelfe to be baptized in *Samaria*, by *Philip*, one of the ſeauen Deacons; was the firſt of all that endeuored himſelfe, to corrupt the Chriſtian faith. And of him, al ſuppoſts and counterfeits, were tearmed *Symoniacques*, who would ſell the grace of the holy Ghoſt, and preached, that our nature proceeded not from God; but of (I know not what) power from aboue, and ſupernaturall vertue. In this maner, *Symon* (from the beginning) ſowed a deadly poyſon, only to kill the roots of encreaſing Religion. Againſt which hurt, the Apoſtles could make no better reſiſtance, then by rooting vp & diſanulling it altogether: becauſe, that continually there would bee falſe Prophets, of whom we ſhould be well adviſed, and ſtand vpon our guard; *Being ſuch as come vnto vs in the habit of ſheepe, but inwardly are rauenous wolues.* This *Simon* well perceiuing, that the Apoſtles gaue the bleſſed Spirit to ſuch as they touched, who were ſound of hart, and had a good zeale to be conuerted: eſſaied to obtain that of S. *Peter* by the price of Mony, which was not to be purchaſed but by faith and piety. But the Apoſtle ſaid vnto him. *Thy Mony periſh with thee, becauſe thou thinkeſt, that the guift of God may be obtained with Mony. Thou haſt not any part in this faith: for thine heart is not right before God.* *Simon* being thus expulſed from S. *Peter*, hee remained (alwaies after) his ſworne enemy. Comming frō *Samaria* to *Rome*, in the raigne of the Emp. *Claudius*: he began there to exerciſe his works of Magicke, becomming thereby very famous, and much renowned. Within a while after, in the time of the Emp. *Nero*, he made himſelf better knowne and reuerenced: ſo that he was reputed as a God in the Citty of *Rome*, and a Statue was erected in his honour, beeing placed ouer *Tyber*, between two Bridges, bearing this inſcrip-

Symon Magus was chriſtned in *Samaria* by *Philip*, one of the ſeauen Deacons.

Chriſts admonition of falſe Prophets. Math. 7. 15.

Symons dealing with S. *Peter.*

Acts 8. 20. 21.

Symon Magus his going frō *Samaria* tō *Rome.*

Read *Iuſtine Martir* in his Apologies.

tion aloft: TO SYMON THE HOLY GOD. In the end, he grew to ſo great and audacious folly, that hee dared to contend with S. *Peter*, in working of Miracles. And as he imployed his Art, to raiſe a dead Childe to life, which was neere of kinne to *Nero*: he made it to ſtirre a little, but the bodie budged not a iot from the place, being ſtiffe, and ſtretched out long. But S. *Peter*, after he had called on the name of Chriſt: raiſed the dead child to life. For which Miracle, *Symon* (moued with no mean fury) made an offer, that he would flye in preſence of all the people, from *Mons Capitolinus*, to *Mons Auentinus*: prouided, that S. *Peter* would follow him, and that this piece of worke ſhould declare, which of them two was beſt beloued of God. Thus *Symon* (by his diabolicall Art) did put forth himſelfe to fly, and Saint *Peter* exalting his hands to Heauen, deſired of God, that he would not permit ſo famous a people to be abuſed, and deceiued by ſuch Magicall charmes. His prayer being ended, the Magitiō hauing fled halfe way between the two Mountaines: fell downe to the ground, and brake one of his Legs, and through the pain thereof, he died ſoone after in *Affrica*, whither hee was caried by his owne followers, after he had receiued ſo great a ſhame. He held horrible propoſitions, which are particularly declared in *Ireneus*, *Epiphanius*, *Philaſter*, and *Theodoret*; and therefore, to auoyd prolixity, I ſpare but onely to ſpeake of them heere. But very true it is, that *Ireneus*, in the Preface before his third Booke of Hereſies, ſaith. *That Symon was the Father of all Heretickes*. And in another place he writeth: *That all Hereſies came of him.*

Many ſorts of Sects iſſued from this Monſter, to wit; the *Doſitheans*; the *Cleobanians*; the *Georthenians*; the *Masbothenians*; the *Adrianiſts*; the *Eutychiſts*; and the *Caniſts*: all which ſeuerall ſects (hauing forged ſome peruerſe mutations of this one wicked deuiſer) could haue no long continuance, but ſoon fel into vtter obliuion. There was alſo in the Iſle of *Paphos*, a falſe Prophet, a *Iew* Magitian, and a Diſciple to *Symon Magus*, named *Elymas Bar-Iehu*, who deceiued many perſons by his illuſions and enchantments, and reſiſted againſt the Doctrine of the Goſpell; when he perceiued that the Proconſull *Sergius*, leaned ſomewhat to the Doctrine which *Paul* preached. Who being a man led by the ſpirit of God, expreſſing grauity in his countenance, and fixing his eyes ſtedfaſtly on *Elymas*, thus reproued him ſaying. *O man, ful of al fraud and miſchiefe, child of the Deuill, and enemy of all righteouſneſſe: wilt thou not ceaſe to peruert the ſtrait waies of the Lord? Now therefore behold, the hand of the Lord is vpon thee, and thou ſhalt be blind, and not ſee the Sun for a ſeaſon. And immediatly there fell on him a miſt and darkneſſe, and he went about, ſeeking ſome to lead him by the hand.* Act.13.10.11.

Menander, diſciple to *Symon Magus*, excelling his Maiſter in deuilliſh Arts.

After *Symon Magus*, ſucceeded a certaine *Samaritain*, named *Menander*, who in the time of *Titus* ruling the Empire, abuſed many people with falſe doctrins: going beyond his Maiſter in malice and deuilliſh Arts, making very admirable enchantments. He made his vant, that the Angels were vanquiſhed by his Magick. He tearmed himſelfe to be the Sauiour, that deſcended from Heauen for mens ſaluation; and no man could conquer Deuils, without beeing armed by him in Magick art, and made immortall by his Baptiſme, which he deliuered after a contrary maner. *Euſebius* writeth, that the maine end of his Hereſie, tended to obſcure the merits of the Son of God Chriſt Ieſus, and the doctrine concerning the peoples ſaluation, and the Reſurrection. *Euſeb in lib.3. Cap.26.*

Nicholas the Proſolite of *Antioche*, of whom came the *Nicholaitaines*. Acts 6.5.

It is ſaid, that the Hereſie of the *Nicholaitaines*, had his beginning from *Nicholas* the Proſelite of *Antioche*, one of the ſeuen Deacons, which were inſtituted with S. *Stephen* by the Apoſtles: vnder the Empire of *Domitian*, and Pontificacy of *Anacletus*, about the yeare of our Lord, 83. This man beeing iealous of his Wife, was reproued by the Apoſtles, before whom he brought her, and there forſooke her, to him that would haue her. And hence it came, that ſuch as (inconſiderately) followed his Act, and embraced his Hereſie: did repute it lawfull, to haue their wiues common, and to paillardiſe impudently. And yet, according as *Euſebius* declareth, *Nicholas* neuer thought to do any ſuch deed, neither euer had conuerſation with any other Woman, but her to whom hee was eſpouſed. But as honeſt a man as he *Euſeb. in lib.3. Cap.29.*

was,

Symon contended with S. Peter in working Miracles

Symon Magus flyeth in the Ayre.

S. Peter prayeth to God.

Symon falleth, and died ſoon after in *Affrica*.

Ireu. in Præfat. lib.1. de Hereſ. & in cap.20.

Sects that enſued *Symon Magus* by ſeuerall forgeries.

Elymas the Sorcerer in the Iſle of of *Paphos*.

was, and full of pietie, being very obedient to the Apoſtles: he brought his wife in publicke before the Apoſtles, to reiect the crime impoſed on him, and to purge himſelfe, becauſe it was ſaid, that he was iealous of hir. It was alſo to demonſtrate, that carnall delectation was more to bee contemned, then followed. This Hereſy then proceeded of a falſe immitation. Theſe *Nicholaitans* were in *Aſia*, and S. *Iohn* maketh mention of them in his Apocalipſe, where ſpeaking of the Church of *Pergamus*, hee ſaith: *Thou haſt them that hold the Doctrine of the Nicholaitans.* ſaint *Ignatius*, in his Epiſtle to the *Trallyans*, ſpeaketh thus: *Flye from thoſe moſt foule Nicholaitaines, louers of voluptuouſneſſe, wicked Calumniators.* Read *Rupertus* alſo vpon the Apocalipſe, what mention there he maketh of them.

Clemens in lib.3

Nicephorus in lib.3. Cap. 15.

Apoc.2, 15.

S. Ignat: in Epi. ad Tral.

Rupert. ſup Apoca lib:4 cap:9

Cerinthus, another Hereticke, well invred to wicked manners, affirmed, that it behoued to obſerue Circumciſion, contrary to the precept of Saint *Paule* to the *Galathians*, where he ſaith; *If you bee circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profite you nothing.* And in the matter of Baptiſme alſo, wher it is ſaid, *God is not pleaſed that wee ſhoulde fall into this damnable Hereſie, which falſly affirmeth, that wee muſt obſerue the Lawe with the Goſpel; and Circumciſion with Baptiſme; and that (neceſſarily) we muſt keepe the Law of Moiſes.* This *Cerinthus* ſayde, that the God of the Iewes was not God, but an Angell: And that Chriſt was the naturall ſonne of *Ioſeph*, and of *Mary*; & man only, hauing in him nothing more then other men, onely he ſurpaſſed them in Wiſedome and Vertue.

Cerinthus the Hereticke, of whom came the *Cerinthians*

Galath. 5, 2.

Extranag. Bap. Cap. Maiores:

Tertul. in lib:2 cont. Heref.

The Hereſies of *Cerinthus* in his doctrin.

Hee taught moreouer, that the Kingdome of Chriſt ſhould be earthlie, after the reſurrection, wherein the Saints ſhold liue at *Ieruſalem*, with iouiſſance of all delights, aboundance of meats, women, and all temporall commodities: in which eſtate (he ſaide) they ſhould continue the ſpace of a thouſand yeares. And for this cauſe, the Diſciples and followers of this *Cerinthus* (who were in their full power in the raigne of the Emperor *Adrian*, and Pope *Xixtus*, firſt of that name, & about the yeare of our Lord, 130.) were called *Chiliaſtes*, that is to ſay, *Millenarias*. Saint *Marke* in the twelfth Chapter of his goſpell, reproued the foreſaide Sect, ſaying; *In the Kingdome of Heauen, neyther Men marry, nor wiues are married, but are like vnto Angels.*

The Diſciples of *Cerinthus*, at what time they floriſhed

Thouſand-yeares-men.

Marke 12, 25

It ſhould appeare, that the Mother to the Sons of *Zebedeus*, was attainted with this Hereſy of *Cerinthus*, to wit; that the Kingdome of Ieſus Chriſt was earthlie: when ſhe deſired, that her two Sonnes might ſit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, in his kingdom. Hiſtorians haue left no memory, of what Countrey or Nation he was. I thinke notwithſtanding, that he was a Iewe and in the number of them, who (as it is ſaid in the Acts of the Apoſtles) deſcending from *Iudea*, taught the Brethren, ſaying; *Except ye be circumciſed after the maner of Moyſes, ye cannot be ſaued*; about whoſe diſſention, the firſt Counſell was Celebrated by the Apoſtles.

The Mother of Zebedeus children ſuppoſed to be a *Cerinthian.*

Cerinthus imagined to be a Iew.

Acts 15, 2.

It appeareth, that this *Cerinthus* liued in the time of Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, by that which is teſtified by S. *Ireneus*, when ſpeaking of S. *Polycarpus*, he ſayth; That S. *Iohn*, comming once to the Bathes, found there the Heretick *Cerinthus* in company of his followers, diſputing verie vehemently, and like a bolde Blaſphemer, impudently denied Ieſus Chriſt to be God. Saint *Iohn* ariſing, admoniſhed ſuch friends of his as were there, to depart out of that place with him, for God would no longer ſuffer ſuch impudent blaſphemies. And ſo ſoone as they were gone out of the doors ſuddenly the houſe fell to the ground, and ſlew *Cerinthus* with his adherents: which was a manifeſt example of the Diuine vengeaunce againſt them, who being full of impietie, blaſphemed the name of God, and his Holie Doctrine, which the iuſt wrath of God woulde not permit to paſſe vnpuniſhed.

S. Iren. in lib. 3 Cont. Her. cap. 3

Cerinthus an horrible blaſphemer.

The death of *Cerinthus*, and ſome of his followers.

The *Ebionites* began about the eight yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, vnder the Empire of *Titus*, & Prelacie of *Anacletus*. A certaine man, named *Ebion*, was Authour of that Hereſie, which proceeded of a commixture with the Iewiſh Religion. *Nicephorus* ſaith, that they were called Beggers, according to the word *Ebion*, which by interpretation is a Begger, beecauſe they were poore, beggerly, and deſtitute of true faith. They maintained, that Ieſus Chriſt was not before his Mother. To confound and deſtroy ſuch an erroneous opinion, Saint *Iohn* who wrot his goſpell laſt of all, being deſired by the Prieſts of *Aſia*, and willing to declare the Diuine Nature

The *Ebionites* came of *Ebion* the Heretick.

Niceph. in lib. 3. Cap. 13.

The Hereſie of the *Ebionits*

Nature of Christ, began to speake aloud thereof, in this manner; *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word.* They wold receiue no more of the New Testament, but the Gospell according to Saint *Mathew*, and reiected the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, whom they tearmed an Apostat, because he reuolted from the Law of *Moyses*. These members of Sathan preached also, that men ought to keepe the Lawes and manners of the Iewes. This Sect began acording to the testimony of *Epiphanius*, in the Village of *Cocaba*, and spread it selfe thorough the Region of the *Bisanites*, after that *Ierusalem* was destroyed.

Afterward, about the year of our Salnation, one hundered and nine, in the time of *Thelesphorus*, Byshop of Rome, and first of that name, *Martion*, a Stoycall Phylosopher, a Natiue of *Pontus*, & Sonne to the Bishop of the said country, sowed his Heresie, and followed the Errors and Blasphemies of *Cerdon* and *Valentine*, who liued in the time of *Martion*. And some say, that they were all three together in the Cittie of Rome: Albeit some others do hold, that they came thither one after other. But *Eusebius* sayeth, that all of them came thither vnder *Higinus*, in the yeare of our Lord, one hundered forty three.

Martion held the same opinion, as the *Gnosticques* did, and made profession of *Cerdons* Heresie, from whose hand hee receiued it: but hee added something thereto, out of his owne craftie Braine. *Cerdon* and *Martion* were so bolde in folly, as to say: That there were two beginnings, and two Gods; one good, and the other bad: the good God did perfourme good thinges, and the bad God, wicked thinges.

Moreouer (as *Ireneus* sayeth) *Cerdon* maintained, that one of those Gods was iust, and the other euill. And, that that God, which was fore-told by the Lawe and the Prophets, was not the Father of Iesus Christ: and that the God which made and created Heauen was knowne, but the Father of Iesus Christ was vnknowne. And the cause which mooued *Cerdon* to say, that one of the Gods was good and iust, was: That the iust GOD had commaunded in the Law, that an eie should be taken from him, who did put out another mans eye, and a tooth taken for losse of anothers tooth. But the God which he called good, had commanded in the Gospell, that a man shoulde turne his right Cheek, to him that had smitten his left: And to him that had taken away his Coate, he should giue him his cloak also.

Besides, the iust God had appointed men to loue their Friends, and hate their enemies: but the good God had enioyned them to loue their enemies. *Martion* agreed heerein with *Cerdon*. But *Epiphanius* addeth, that *Martion* had set downe three beginninges, to wit; the first inuisible, the second visible, or the worker; the thirde, a meanes betweene the inuisible and visible, which was the Deuill. *Theodoret* the Byshop affirmeth, that *Martion* had forged foure increate substances, and taught his Disciples (saith *Iustin* Martir) to deny God the Creator, and that they must belieue in another God much greater then the Creator.

It is further auouched, that he forged two Christes: One that was reuealed in the time of *Tyberius*, for saluation of the Gentiles: the other, he whom the Creatour had destinied, and should one day come to re-establish the state of the Iews. This Hereticke, affirmed Christ to bee borne, and had endured only by opinion and imagination, and onely in the shape of a seruant, but not in verie deede. And his reason was (as himselfe saide) that Nature would neuer suffer, that a Virgine should bring forth a Childe. For which blasphemies, and other detestable propositions, held by this wicked *Martion*, *Ireneus* called him, *The Mouth of the Deuill*. The *Martionites* his followers, dared to maintaine, that the Serpent was better, and more excellent then the Creator, because the Creator did forbidde to participate of the Tree of knowing good and Euill, and the Serpent freelie did permit it.

As concerning the Heresye of *Valentine*, a *Platoniste*, and the imitater of *Basilides*, *Carpocrates* and *Prodicus*, hereticks; it had beginning in the sixte yeare of the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*, and in the yeare of our Lord, an hundred forty sixe. This wicked man saide, that there were many Gods, because the Prophets hadde tearmed God by diuers names, to witte; *Eloy*, *Sabbahot*, *Adonay*, and others. He laboured to prooue, that God the Creator

His reason for the good God

Epiphan. lib. 4. Three beginninges maintaind by *Martion*.

Foure increaned substances.

Tertul. in lib. 4. cont. Martion.

His blasphemous opinion concerning Christ.

Iren. in lib. 3. cap. 14.

Valentine the Hereticke.

Heresy of many Goddes.

Iohn 1, 1.

Tertul. in lib. de Preser. de heres.

Ireneus in lib. 1 Cap. 26.

Of *Martion* the Heretick.

Cerdon and *Valentine*, Hereticks.

Eus. in l. 4. c. 30.

The *Gnosticks*.

The Heresie of *Cerdon* and *Martion*.

Ireneus in lib. 1 Cap. 26.

The reason of *Cerdons* opinion of the iust God.

tor of the world, was another God, then he that was the Father of Christ. And becauſe it is ſaid in the Goſpell: No man hath knowne the Father, but the Sonne; by this place, he ſaide, it was very likely, that the God knowne of the Prophets, and declared by them; was not the Father of Ieſus Chriſt. He ſaid moreouer, that the Sonne of God brought his fleſh downe from heauen with him, and receiued nothing of the Virgin *Mary*: but paſſed thorow her, as water dooth in a Brooke or Chanell. And therefore he vſed to ſay in this manner: Ieſus, borne by the Virgin, but not of the Virgin. He was of opinion, with one *Marke*, a Sorcerer and an Heretique, that mens ſoules onely were ſaued, and not their bodies. And his reaſon was, becauſe Saint *Paule* ſaid, *That fleſh and bloud could not inherite the Kingdome of heauen.* Before ſuch time as *Valentine* came to *Rome*, he had declared his peruerſe Doctrine, and left ſome ſeedes thereof in ſundry partes of *Egypt*, to wit: in *Atrepatia*, *Proſopatia*, *Arſenoria*, and *Thebais*, which are the inferior partes of the maritime Region, and vnder the gouernment of the *Alexandrianopolites*. He and his ſectaries vſed all thinges in common, and at free liberty, hauing their wiues common, and addicted themſelues inordinately, to all kinds of villainies, Whordomes. Addulteries, and Inceſts. His ſucceſſours were *Ptolomeus*, *Secundus*, *Heracleon*, *Baſſus*, *Colarbaſus*; and many ſects (of very ſtrange Names) yſſued out of this Schoole of *Valentine*: As the *Barbeliotes* or *Borborians*, *Naaſinians*, *Stratonitaines*, *Phemionitains*, *Sethianiains*, otherwiſe called, *Ophites*, *Caimnians*, who commended *Caine* and *Iudas*, *Antitactes*, and *Perates*.

In the time of Pope *Pius*, firſt of that name, the hereſie of the *Cataphrygians* beganne and encreaſed, in the ſeauenth yeare of the Emperour *Commodus*, and after the incarnation of our Lord, one hundred, eighty fiue yeares. The hereſie of *Apolinarius*, was the occaſion and entrance thereof. And theſe *Cataphrygians* enſued the heretike *Montanus*, who became Frantique and diſtracted in his ſences, by hauing ſeene ſome viſion; and admitted mad women into his company, namely; *Priſcilla*, and *Maximilla*, that ſtiled themſelues by the Title of *Prophoteſſes*, the more eaſily to allure men into their errours. Theſe were called *Montaniſts*, who held a ſtrong opinion, that the Holy-Ghoſt was not giuen to the Apoſtles, but only to them.

At the verie ſame a man named *Tatian*, a *Syrian* by Nation, and very learned, who had read Rhetoricke at Rome, with great honor and grauitie, puffed vp by a fooliſh perſwaſion of eloquence and ambition, ſeperated himſelfe from the Church, and became the chiefe of the *Encratites* hereſie. A name but badly agreeing with their actions; and which is as much to ſay, as men of abſtinence. They would drinke no Wine, and abſtained from eating fleſh, and all other things that had a ſoule. Neuertheles, they would giue Licenſe to all filthie ſinnes; and ſhaddowing themſelues vnder this modeſt and honeſt name, condemned Marriage, ſaying; that it was an inuention of the Deuill, and that a woman was the Workemanſhippe of the Deuill, or Sathan.

By a verie ridiculous reaſon, theſe *Encrates* ſaide they, were followers of Ieſus Chriſt, becauſe hee was neuer married. There were other Hereticks that deſcended of this *Tatian*, and hee was the author likewiſe of their Sect, who were named *Hydoparaſtes*, becauſe they preſented water in ſtead of Wine, in celebrating the Supper. And ſome others were of this band, in the quarters of the higher Eaſterne Countreyes, who were named *Seuerians*; of a certaine man called *Seuerus*, that helde all the opinions of *Tatian* and of the *Encarites*.

They beleeued no part of the Olde-Teſtament, nor the reſurrection of all Fleſh, neyther would they drinke anie Wine, becauſe they were fooliſhly perſwaded, that the Deuill and the earth had brought foorth the Vine. They helde Opinion, that man was compoſed of two parts: One by God, and the other by the Deuil (to wit;) that part from the Nauill vpward, was the work of God; and that part thence downward, the worke of Sathan.

Florinus and *Blaſtus*, two other Hereticks, continued on the Hereſy of *Valentine*, about the time of the Prelacy of *Eleutherius* the firſt. *Ireneus* Wrote againſt them both, to wit; againſt *Blaſtus*, in an Epiſtle bearing Title of Schiſme: and againſt *Florinus*, in another Epiſtle of

Math. 12,17.

His Hereſie concerning Chriſt, & the bleſſed virgin

Marke a Magitian and an Hereticke.

The ſpreading of his hereſies.

The ſucceſſors of *Valentine*, & Sectes iſſuing out of his Schoole.

The *Cataphrygian* Hereticks.

Apolinarius the Hereticke.

Montanus the Hereticke.

Priſcilla and *Maximilla* feined Propheteſſes.

Tatian the chiefe of the *Encratites*. *Ireneus in lib. 2 de hereſ. ca 30. Hier. ſup. Amos & Epiphanius in lib 1 con. 30 Hereſ.*

Falſe imitaters of Ieſus Chriſt.

Hereticks called *Hydroparaſtes*.

Seuerians Hereticks.

Nicephorus in lib. 4. cap. 4.

Man compoſed of two parts.

Florinus and *Blaſtus*, two Hereticks.

Euſeb. in lib. 5. Cap. 15.

of the Monarchy. Wherein hee declared, that the opinion which he helde of God (to be the worker of euill) was falſe. For *Florinus* and *Blaſtus* both held, that God was the Author of euill things, contrarie to this ſaying; *GOD hath made all things good.*

The *Helcheſaites*, ſo named of a falſe Prophet, called *Helcheſaus*, divulged their Hereſie, in the time of Pope *Fabian* the firſt. Theſe men did altogether reprooue the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, renewing the errors of *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and of the *Nazarians*, ſaying; It was no ſin to denie Ieſus Chriſt in the time of perſecution, becauſe it was a matter of no importance; prouided, that a man had a good and ſound heart, with a willing intention to continue in faith. And for proofe heereof (ſaide they) God hath more regard to the heart, then to the tongue. *Origen* confounded their errors, as likewiſe he did thoſe of ſome others, who affirmed, that the ſoules of men died ſo ſoon as their bodies: and yet afterward, ſhould newly be raiſed againe with thoſe bodies, in the generall reſurrection.

From ſuch priuate and perticuler opinions in men, which wee call Hereſye, came thoſe publick diſcords, called Sciſmes in the Greeke Language, whereof *Nouatus* (a Romaine Prieſt) was the Author. This man, ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated in the attempt of a Byſhoppricke, which hee vnder hand laboured for, and being verie much offended, that he could not attaine to ſuch a dignity (albeit hee faigned another matter which hee hadde then in his heart) raiſed vp a new hereſie, drawing vnto him ſome honeſt meaning Prieſts, to aſsiſt him with their ayde and fauour. But they, hauing well perceiued the ambition, periuries, deceipts, & lies of this affronter, ſeperted themſelus from him, and returned againe to the church, only ſuch excepted, as found themſelues euery way equal to him. He would needs enforce, that all ſuch as followed his ſect, ſhould be called *Catharians*, that is to ſay, pure and cleane perſons. He condemned ſecond Marriages, and ſaide moreouer, that ſuch men ought no more to be receiued into the Church, as had once falne, or were in Apoſtaſie, althogh they were repentant therefore. And by this place of Scripture, *I will diſclaime ſuch as ſhall diſclaime me*, hee made his foundation, to proue, that the repentance of ſuch as had falne, was vaine, and of no value. Vpon this occaſion, a Counſell was celebrated at *Rome*, of ſeauenty Byſhops, and of as many Prieſts, beſide many deacons: by whom, the hereſie of *Nouatus*, and of *Nouatian* his Diſciple, was reprooued as falſe: becauſe (according to the example of Ieſus Chriſt, al repentants ought to be pardoned, and then were all of that Sect condemned as Schiſmatickes and Hereticks.

Thus *Nouatus*, in the yeare two hundered fifty fiue, was Authour of the firſt Schiſm, as Saint *Cyprian* witneſſeth, writing to *Cornelius*, where after he had ſpoken many things, he addeth; *This is the ſame Nouatus, that kindled the fire of Diſcord and Schiſme. Socrates* in the 4. Book of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, Writeth; *That Nouatus was executed to death, in the time of the Emperor Valerian.* And yet not withſtanding, his hereſie extended verie farre, and laſted a long time, before it could be laid to ſleepe.

In the time when *Sixtus* held the See of Rome, neere to *Ptolomais* there aroſe a falſe Doctrine, full of blaſphemies, againſt God the Father, and Ieſus Chriſt, denying him to be the Sonne of God. & begotten before all other Creatures, and taking away alſo the intellect of the bleſſed Spirit. The Sectaries of this doctrine were tearmed *Sabellians*, of *Sabellius*, the Scholler to one *Noetus*: and it had been debated in *Affrica*, by *Praxeus* and *Hermogenes*, before there was any ſpeech of *Sabellius*. He held, that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy-Ghoſt, were onelie one ſubſiſtance, and one perſon, hauing three Names. And to approoue this, he tooke his reaſons out of the Olde and New Teſtament, though ill vnderſtoode, and worſe applied, as theſe that enſue. *I am God, and there is none other then I: I & my Father are one: Heare Iſrael, the Lorde thy God is only God, I am the God of your fathers: I am the firſt, and wil be heereafter. Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before mee. They ſhal worſhip in thee, and make prayers in thee: for there is no other but God. I am in my Father, and my Father in me.* Saint *Baſile* writing to the *Neoceſarians*, reporteth another reaſon and foundation, of this peruerſe opinion in *Sabellius*, which is this: Becauſe our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt had ſaide; *Go, teach all Nations, baptizing them*

The *Helcheſaits*, hereticks

Theſe men were in the yeare, 230. *Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. ca. 28 Nicephorus in lib. 5. cap. 24.*

Nouatus a Romaine Prieſt, the author of Schiſme.

Nouatus his ambition and lewdnes perceiued, and therefore forſaken by ſom of his followers.

Catharians, vnſpotted people, and their errors.

A Counſell holden at *Rome* againſt *Nouatus*, & his ſcholler *Nouatian*.

S. Cypr. in Epiſt. ad Cornel.

Socrat. in lib. 4. de Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anno 247.

Sabellius the Hereticke, of whom came the *Sabellians*.

The Hereſie held by *Sabellius*.

S. Hillar. in lib. de Trinit.

S. Baſil in Epi. ad Neoceſ.

them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghoſt. Hauing ſaid (quoth he) in the Name, and not in the Names; it is not therefore conuenient, that there ſhould be three perſons. Was not this a goodly Conſequence?

Nepot a Byſh. of Egypt, an Hereticke.

There was likewiſe, one of the Byſhops of Egypt, named *Nepos*; who fel into the error of the *Chiliaſtes*, determining certaine thouſands of yeares, for pleaſures and voluptuous delights, and ſaying; that the Saints ſhoulde raigne on earth with Ieſus Chriſt, in all kinds of Delectations. Which he ſuppoſed, to haue well approued by the Apocalipſe of S. *Iohn*, and dared alſo to write a Booke, which hee entitled of *Allegoriſtes*. This hereſy was long time much debated in the Citty of *Arſenoria* in Egypt, and the Sectaries thereof were called *Nepotians*, according to the name of the Author.

This was in the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, 264.

Paulus Samoſatenus reuiued the hereſy of *Artemon*.

At the ſame time, *Paulus Samoſatemus*, a Byſhop of *Antioche*, began to renew the hereſie of *Artemon*, to gratifye *Zenobia*, Queen of the *Palmyrians*, whom the *Perſians* after their victorie, obtained againſt the *Romaines*, had eſtabliſhed as their Regent in *Syria*. He was of the ſame opinion with the Iewes, who reiected not the hereſie of *Arteman*.

Paulus Samoſatenus conuinced, and his Hereſy condemned.

The Byſhoppes were aſſembled many times in *Antioche*, to refute the errors of this *Paulus*. And in the laſt Counſell congregated againſt him, being in the yeare, 273. He was publickly conuinced, & his hereſie condemned: he was named *Samoſatenus*, in regard of *Samoſata*, a City in *Meſopotamia* of *Syria*, ſcituate on the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof he was a Natiue.

The Hereſye of *Manes* the Perſian, of whom came the *Manideans*.

In the fourth yeare of the Emperour *Aureleanus*, the error of the *Manicheans* did ſpread it ſelfe in the world. Of which hereſie, one *Manes* a *Perſian*, was the author, and of him, S. *Auguſtine* (almoſt in euery place) maketh mention, and inſted of *Manes*, calleth him *Manichean*, a word that ſignifies one out of hit wits. For this *Manes* was a Demoniacke, and a madde man, and I am of the minde, that thereof came the word *Maniacus*. The ſame reuerend Father addeth further, that the diſciples of *Manes*, had formerly chaunged the name into Greeke, and called the author of their opinion *Manicheus*, that is to ſay (quoth they) *A Diſtributer or Diſperſer of Manna*, only thereby to auoyde the other Title of madneſſe. This wicked man (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) called into his Companie, twentie two Diſciples. *Euſebius* ſpeaketh but of twelue, after the imitation of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour: among which number, three of them wer named *Thomas*, *Hermas*, and *Abdas*, and they helde the moſt falſe and monſtrous Opinions, as euer were heard of. Afterward, the King of *Perſia* cauſed him to be flayed aliue, with a Reede or Cane, becauſe his Sonne died in his cuſtodie, hauing taken him foorth of the Phyſitians hands, with an abſolute promiſe to cure him. When he had beene thus flayed, his skinne was ſtuffed with Straw: and it is kept (as yet to this day) in *Perſia*, according as *Suidas* for credit affirmeth.

Epiph. in Leont. 80. Hereſ.

Euſeb. in lib. 4. cap. 12.

Manes the hereticke was flayed aliue.

After *Manes*, aroſe vp *Hierax* in *Leontis* of *Egipt*, who promulgated another hereſie: hee was a man exceedingly well learned, and perfectly ſeene in the Sciences of the Egyptians; as alſo, in the Documents of the Grecians, with the addition of Phyſicke and Aſtrologie, which he had not only read, but made profeſſion of Magicke alſo: he was admitted into Chriſtian Religion, but in the end he forſooke it, to deale in thoſe nouell Errors, and dyed aged about ninety yeares.

Hierax the Hereticke of *Leontis* in Egypt.

Arrius the hereticke of Alexandria.

In the time of great *Conſtantine*, and when *Silueſter* was Pope, *Arrius* the Prieſt raiſed a great hereſy in *Alexandria*, which verie mightily afflicted the Catholicke Church, and endured a long time. This man, beeing more adorned with outward apparance, and comly ſtature, then any inward Vertue, began to ſow diſcorde in the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and laboured by his damnable opinion, to ſeperate the ſonne of the eternall and ineffable ſubſtance from the Father, not beleeuing the Sonne to be togither with the Father, in one ſelfeſame ſubſtance & equalitie of dignitie. Which peſtifferous conceite, was condemned in the Counſell of *Nice*.

The Hereſie of *Arrius*.

Afterward, during the Prelacy of *Iulius* the firſt, the Emperour *Conſtantine* (fauouring *Arrius* and his Sect, and compelling his owne people to like thereof,) appointed a Counſell in *Laodicia*, a City of *Syria* (or as ſome others ſay) in the city of *Tyre*, where met a great company of Catholicke Fathers, and Arrians alſo, diſputing there daily, whither Ieſus chriſt ought to be conſubſtantiall with the Father,

This was in the year, 315. *Conſtantius* being Emperor.

A ſpreader abroad of *Manes*.

ther, or not.

Athanaſius Byſhop of *Alexandria* (a man of great and profounde Learning) maintained the Son to be conſubſtantiall with the Father, which he approoued by good Reaſons, and ſtrong Arguments. But *Arrius* beeing vnable to make any auailing anſwere (ore-lying only vpon impudent and villanous Calumnies), *Athanaſius* was accuſed by him to be a Sorcerer. In regard whereof, the holy and Religious Father was condemned by *Conſtantius*, and being conſtrained to flight, remained hidden (for the ſpace of ſeauen yeares) in a Ciſterne that had no Water in it. And yet *Iohn Carion* ſpeaketh nothing heereof, but only ſaith; *That Athanaſius being proſcribed by Conſtantius, cam out of* Egypt *to* Treuers. *And albeit, the flight was very long, yet was hee compelled to continue baniſhed, and lay hidden verie ſecretly, for the ſpace of eight yeares.* Yet was he repealed afterward by *Conſtantine* the Brother to *Conſtantius*. And this holy Byſhop made the worthy Symbole & Song, which beginneth thus; *Quicunque vult ſaluus eſſe, &c.* Whereby he taught the Son of God to bee ὁμοούιος with the Father, that is to ſay, of one ſelfſame ſubſtance, and equall with him that begotte him. While matter thus continued, *Alexander*, Byſhop of *Alexandria*, was to diſpute with *Arrius*, vpon a day appointed by the Emperor. The Byſhop ſpent the whole night before in Prayer, deſiring of God ſo to ſhew his power in the Temple, that he would permit the poiſon of *Arrius* to ſpread it ſelfe no further. On the Morrow morning, when the hour of diſputation was come, as *Arrius* entered among the Auditory, a ſudden pain in the belly began to ſeize him, in preſence of a great multitude of Byſhops, & the common people. So that, beeing conſtrained to go to ſome ſecret place, to diſcharge the burthen of his belly, his bowelles and entrailes fell from him, into the Priuy, & there he died ſuddenly. Vndoubtedly, a death well befitting ſo wicked a man; and yet notwithſtanding, the Hereſy of *Arrius* ceaſed not, but continued verie long time after.

There were many other Hereticks & Schiſmatickes, as the *Pelagians*, *Donatiſts*, *Albigeois*, & others, which I ouer paſſe, becauſe I would not make a Volume of them, rather then a Chapter. It remayneth now to report, what penalties ſuch Authors of Hereſies is to vndergo. Saint *Paule*, writing to *Titus*, ſayth; *Reiect the man that is the Author of Sectes, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, knowing, that he that is ſuch, is peruerted and ſinneth, being damned of his owne ſelfe.* *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, Emperours, ordained, that Heretickes ſhould be punniſhed by ignominies, ſtripes, baniſhment, and death: as is contained in the *Code*, titled, *De Hæretic. l. Arriani*, where the Lawe commandeth, to puniſh this wicked kind of men with the vttermoſt punniſhment. *Hoſtienſis*, expounding this Edict, in his Summe on the Titles of the Decretales, ſaith; *Albeit that in Hereſie, the Law impoſeth the laſt puniſhment, which is another Law, ff. de pœnis interpreteth to be death: yet notwithſtanding, the cuſtome (for ſuch people) is to be burned.*

Abbas Siculus was of the ſame minde, after *Hoſtienſis*, on the Chapter, *Ab abolendam extra. de Hæretic.* Writing thus; But *the Ciuill Law puniſheth an Heretique with capitall puniſhments, to wit; death, by the Lawe Arriani, Codi de Hæretic. & l. vltimum ſupplicium. ff. de pœnis.* Now, the Cannonicall, Ciuill, and Common Lawes do conſent heerein, that the Hereticke ſhould commonly bee puniſhed with the paine of fire, as thinking it moſt conuenient.

The Emperour *Fredericke*, firſt of that Name, in the yeare of our Saluation, one hundered eightie, made a Law, to burne Heretickes, as appeareth in one of his Conſtitutions, beginning, *Vt Commiſſi.* And Pope *Lucius*, thirde of that Name, ordayned, that whoſoeuer was a Prieſt, and furniſhed himſelfe with Sacred Orders, becomming an Hereticke, hee ſhould firſt of all bee degraded; and afterwardes, deliuered vnto the Magiſtrates of the place, to put him to death by Fire; as it is declared in the ſaid Chapter, *Ad abolendam.*

And this appeareth, to be ſufficiently receiued and approoued, by the inſtitutions of *Moyſes*, who (firſt of all other) had ordained to punniſh (with death) wicked Doctors, and Maiſters of peſtifferous Doctrines, when in the thirteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, hee ſpeaketh in this manner:

If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreames, and ſhall ſay vnto ye: Let

Athanaſius Byſhop of Alexandria.

Athanaſius accuſed by *Arrius* to be a Magitian.

Ioan. Carion in Chronol.

Athanaſius repealed from baniſhment.

The Byſhops praier againſt *Arrius*.

The iuſt and deſerued death of *Arrius*.

Pelagians, Donatiſts, Albigenſis, and other heretickes.

Tit. 3, 10, 11.

Lawes of Emperors againſt Heretickes.

Code. de Hereti. Arriani.

Hoſt. in Sum. tit Decret.

Ab Sicul. ſup. Cap. Ad abo.

Al Lawes adiudge the hereticke to bee burned.

The Emperor *Fredericke*, his Law to burne Heretickes.

Pope *Lucius* the third.

The Lawe of Moyſes.

Deut.13,1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Let vs go after other Goddes, which thou hast not knowne, and let vs serue them. Thou shalt not hearken vnto the wordes of that Prophet, or to that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proueth ye, to know, whether ye loue the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule, or not. Yee shall walke after the Lorde your GOD, and feare him, and shal keepe his Commandements, and obey his voyce, and yee shall serue him, and cleaue vnto him.

God's triall of his Children, whither they loue him, or no.

But the false Prophet shalbe put to death, because hee hath spoken to turne yee away from your eternal God.

No naturall consanguinity must turne vs away from God.

And a little after, he addeth; *If thine owne Brother, or thy Sonne, or thy Daughter, or thy Wife, or thy Friend woulde perswade thee to the like:*

Thou shalt not consent vnto him, nor heare him, neither shall thine eye pittie him, nor shew Mercie, nor keepe him secret.

But thou shalt kill him, thine hande shall bee first vppon him, to put him to death: and afterwardes, the handes of all the people.

The falf Prophet must die the death.

And thou shalt stone him with stones, that hee die: because he hath gone about to draw thee from the Lord thy GOD, which brought thee out of the Land of Egipt, from the house of Bondage.

Hee further addeth, *When thou shalte heare say, that in any of thy Cities, Wicked men are gone out from among you, and haue seduced the Inhabitants of the City.*

Thou shalt seeke and make search, and enquire diligently: and if it be true, and the thing certaine, that such abhomination is wrought among you.

Thou shalt euen slay the Inhabitantes of that Cittie, with the edge of the sword, and destroy it vtterly.

And thou shalt gather all the spoiles of it in the midst of the streets thereof, & burne with fire the City, and all the spoile thereof euerie whit.

Whence grew the custom of burning Heretickes.

Hence (as is supposed) came the obserued custome of condemning heretiks to death, and burning them aliue.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the sottish and ydle opinions, obserued among the Sects of Phylosophers: discouering (briefely) all Sciences Arts, and Doctrines, with their abuses and vanities.

HAuing (cursorilie) run ouer he Sectes of some Heretickes and finding heere a meete and conuenient place, to speak of those men which were called Phylosophers, I wil proceed to a succinct declaration of them. Questionlesse, all the whole troope of them were contentious persons, Couetous of Glorie, Proud and Contumelious: and, to vse the very words of the Poet *Homer*, *An vnprofitable masse of men on the earth.* They were al dissonant in their opinions, and fell into many Sects, and diuers Labyrinths of excogitated fallacies. Some were called *Platonists*; others, *Pythagorians, Peripatetiques, Academiques, Genethliaques, Stoicks, Cinicks, &c.*

This beginning is taken out of Homer & out of *Lucian* in his Dialogues.

Seuerall sects of Phylosophers.

Some other called themselues, by names much more ridiculous & foolish. After they had once vsurped on the venerable name of Vertue, they walked about with exalted countenances, and I know not what manner of misshapen habites. In outward behauiour, they made shew of detesting all other men whatsoeuer, vsing such lookes and actions, as is frequent among Players of Comedies & Tragedies: from whom, if their Maskes, false Vizards and habits were taken, nothing of matter remained in them. They were such as I say, Vniuersall Despisers of all men but themselues. They kepte Schooles of vaine propositions and full of Ambiguities, preaching and enstructing their Schollers, to commend & extoll temperance and modestie, contemning (with bitter execrations) worldlie Riches and pleasures.

Their outward shape & apparance.

Their Doctrine in their schooles.

But when they were alone by themselues, they needed no enstructions how to tosse the Wine-Bowles, as being en-

They were men vtterlie vnprofitable.

clined and burning in libidinous Concupiscence, and Carnall immundicities. And that which (among all thinges elſe) was moſt grieuous, they did not any thing auaileable, either in publicke or priuate: but remained vnbeneficiall, becauſe they were neuer found good, either in counſell, or for polliticke or ciuill adminiſtration of Iuſtice.

Their diſputations.

They would do nothing but diſpute of incertainties, ſtraunge beginninges, and concluſions of thinges, with an heape of Tranſmutations, Metamorphoſis, Symbolizations, Corruptions, and Generations of foure Elements, hauing foure principall qualities in them, which they affirmed to be ſubiect to Corruption & mutation in this fraile world.

Their vſuall kind of talke.

Alſo, they talked of Realities, Identites, and infinite Ideaes, that is to ſay; Formes, Figures, or Originall kindes of thinges: and each one of them woulde conſtrain beleefe by his alledged reaſon, albeit no Co-herence did enſue thereon.

Their opinion of ſupernatural iudgment in them ſelues.

There were ſome among them, who being meerely blinde thorow age, would yet ſay, that they ſaw the Circumference and endes of Heauen. They meaſured the Sunne by their owne immaginatiō, and not ſatisfied with knowledge of palpable and Viſible thinges in this neather World, they mounted vp to places aboue the Moone, and (as if they were newly deſcended downe from Heauen) meaſured the greatneſſe of the Wandering Starres and Planets, and would deſcribe the Figures of the Signes and Starres, with all their Vertues and Effects.

A blinde kind of Comoſgraphy in ſuch high matters.

Many times, ſuch as ſcarſely knew ten miles by Coſmography, would bee ſo bold as to declare, how many Cubites, Miles, or Stades, was between the Sun and the Moone. They would meaſure likewiſe the height and wideneſſe of the Ayre, the profundity of the Sea, the circuite of the whole earth, the diſtance of one Towne or Cittie from another; the Longitude and latitude of all Regions & Climates, according to the meaſure and conſideration of the degrees and minuts of heauen.

Moreouer, they deſigned and portrayed Triangles vppon Quadrangles, with Spherical Paintings, whereby they would meaſure al heauen. Some of them auouched (vnder Oath) that the Sunne was a maſsie body, as hot as fire; Vnder which, the Moone had her motion. And that the Starres were watery ſubſtances, or ſteeped in Water, which the Sunne had drawne vnto them out of the ſea, euen as if hee had powred it out of a Bucket, and ſo diſtributed vnto them all their waterish humor. It was not poſsible for any man to know the woonderfull repugnancie, which conſiſted in their ſeuerall ſayings.

Their iudgement concerning the Sun.

Repugnancie in their ſayings.

Ariſtotles opinion of the world.

First of all, they held diuers and diſſonant opinions, concerning the vniuerſall world. Some ſaide, as *Ariſtotle* and his followers, that it was without beginning and ſeemed to him that it ſhoulde neuer haue ending. Others, as *Plato* and his Academiſts affirmed, that it was made by ſome Workeman. Their diſputations of *Ideaes*, and of things incorporeall, as alſo of Dreames, which they tearmed to bee finite and infinite, was wonderfull. One deſcribed and defined a certaine ending vniuerſally. Others on the contrary, wold ſay, that it was not poſsible to finde anie ending. They made demonſtration, that there were many worldes, and blamed ſuch as arreſted their diſputes vppon one onely. One wiſe man ſtept vp, and maintained diſcord to bee the cauſe of the generation of all things. Another replyed, that it was amity, and a naturall and ſimbolizing colligation. Some thought the Diuinity to be I know not what, without body, and without forme: but others immagined it to be ſome certain body. Som held the Firmament and world, to bee ſupported without anie Lord or guide. Others defended, that the Heauens and the ſuperior world, were gouerned by celeſtiall intelligences of the Diuine *Ens*, which is the Father, Creator of al things. They wer very curious in enquiring, how great the Moone was, and what was the cauſe, whereby ſhe increaſed and decreaſed. Some ſaid, as *Anaximander*; That it was a Circle, full of fire. *Heraclitus* held, That it was a land, round inuironed with one cloud. *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed, that it was an enflamed body. Others ſaide, that ſhe was as a Glaſſe or mirrour, hanging ouer the Sea, and that the light which ſhe had, was reſpectiuely proceeding from the Sun. They had no finall determination in their ſayings, but ſtill drew the eyes and ſpirits of vnskilfull men into admiration.

Platoes opiniō.

One contradicting another.

The cauſe of generating al things.

Of the Heauens and ſuperior world.

Anaximander his opinion of the Moone. *Heraclitus.* *Pythagoras.*

In

Descriptions in Astrology, familiarly exhausted among the Philosophers.

In talking of the Hemispheres, of Poles Articke and Antarticke, of the Circles, Epycicles, and Celestiall Houses; of dimensions and Parales, as well of the Inferiour worlde, as superiours; Of Horoscopes, Aspects of the Planets, both good and euill; Of the Ascendent, Descendent, Triplicities, Quadruplicities, Sextiles, and all that which concerneth the intellection of the Vertue, and Influence of the Starres, and celestiall Orbes: they hadde verie admirable apprehensions.

11. Signes of the Zodiacke.

Also, of the twelue Signes of the Zodiacke, thorow which the Sunne maketh his anuall course, descending so far as the Circkle of Capricorn, and mounting againe to the Circkle of Cancer. These Circkles are the two Solstices, by meanes whereof are made the verie longest and shortest daves, and the Daves like to the Nights; the dayes being called Equinoctiall. These are in two seasons of the yeare, that is to say, at Spring time and Autumne, when hee passeth by the Equinoctiall Circle.

The two Solstices.

No subiection to death aboue the Moone.

Some of them haue saide, that there were many Moones and Sunnes, and that all aboue the Moone is not subie te to death, but euer liuing: and all vnder it subiected to mortality. Some woulde maintaine, that we are gouerned by Diuine prouidence: but others said, by fortune, and aduenturous accident. Some reputed the soules of men to be mortall: Others affirmed them to bee immortall. Some supposed them to be sent into bodies of bruite beasts: but others thought they would speake more mannerly, affecting rather to say, that the soule was a winde or vnlooſed spirit, diffused & spred thorow the body of man.

Of the soules of men in their humain bodies.

To contrary which coniecture, some stucke not to say; That it was a Quintessence, or a Nature without any bodie, euermore mouing it selfe, being totally immortall: but when it departed from the bodie, it flewe away with other thinges, which are of that Nature.

Of the Stoicks, and their peeuish opinions.

As for the *Stoicks*, they had a perswasion, that the soule of him, who had not liued vertuously in this world, died immediately with the bodie. But that the soule of an honest and Vertuous man; with all her powers and perfections; tooke her seate in the highest Celestiall places, albeit some others constituted the end of goodnesse in the bodye; and their contraries referred it to the minde or reasonable soule.

Magical Arts and Sciences.

There were also some amongst them, that abused themselues in the apprehension of diuers vnprofitable and Diabolical Sciences, getting them sundrie spirits by perticuler Names, which serued them in diuers Offices, by vsing manie Carracters, wherein the Names of them were written about them. Then there were some that Diuined by water; Others, by the earth, by the Ayre, by hurling points of Knives, of Bodkins, and such like: By Aspect and regard of mens faces, by the flight of Birds, and by carrying of Phitonicall Spirites in Ringes or Iewelles; which spirits, they made subiect and bound vnto them for euery day, to make answere of all matters, either in the Ayre, on the Earth, or in the fire, because some of them were said to bee *Ioualists*, others *Mercurialists*, others *Venerists*, and so of many and diuers complexions. Nay, they would mount much higher, presuming to meddle with the *Great Worke*, to make subiect vnto them those four great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and all the Legions of the saide spirits, which they saide to bee in number sixtie six thousand. To them (on certaine dayes) they offered Sacrifices, giuing them swordes of Golde and Siluer, with some strange Virgin Parchmentes, Licensing them with Amber, Muske, & other abhominable and infamous vnctions, which they offred to them; and (indeed) deserue not to be written. For they adapted all the high and diuine names to such Idolatries, illusions, and follies: As *Adonay*, *Agios*, *Athanates*, *Alpha et O Primogenitus*, *Propheta*, *Potestas*, *Redemptor*, *Altissimus*, *Paracletus*, *Trinitas*, and others.

Sundry kinds of diuinations.

Phitonicke spirits, wonne to Rings, Iewels &c.

The Great worke of the spirits.

Sacrifices offred to spirits.

High, Holie, and Diuine Names, by them abused.

They had many kinds and manners of Sciences, for some learned Astrology diuinatory or iudiciary, which spake of the reuolutions of yeares; of questions, elections, intentions, cogitations, & vertues, to know al future things, without any exception. Also they would know by Phisiognomy, the affections of the soule and body; and what should be the fortunes & destinies of men, by prouoking one vnder *Mercury*, another vnder *Sol*, and another vnder *Mars*. By *Metroposcopy* (they saide) they knew (beholding a mans fore-

Of Diuinatory & Iudiciall Astrology.

Phisiognomy.

head) his reall Nature and inclination, the progresions of his life, & how shold be his ending.

Chiromancy. *Chiromancie* they obserued, by looking in the palme of the hand: for, in regarde of the Planets number, they formed seauen Mountaines or Hilles, and by Lines there discerned, the Complexions of men were known, their liues, affections, and fortunes.

Pyromancy. *Pyromancy*, was that, which taught them to Diuine by fire: as when a man obserueth thunder, and the Lightninges flash, to gather thereby what the Fire may signify.

Hydromancy. *Hydromancy* is performed by Water, and was the principall, and most of all, vsed by *Numa Pompilius*: yet thereby hee was deceiued, beholding the formes and Images of some dead persons in the Water, which the Deuils would haue had to be reputed for Gods.

Geomancie. *Geomancy* declares it selfe, by pointes throwne at peraduenture, or by the power of some figures, or thinges attributed Celestiall, composed by number, *Par & impar* (or Eeuen and odde, as wee vse to say) and by those Figures the Diuination is made. And there is another kind of this cunning, which is done by some Coniectures taken from similitudes, by noyse and sound of the earth or motion, or by a loud cry, or by thunder. *Almadack* the *Arabian* was the Inuenter thereof, & *Pythagoras* therein was instructed. But Magicke Arts were before this, and the Inuenter of them was *Zoroastres*, King of the *Bactrians*.

Par & impar.

Almadack the Arabian.

Zoroastres was Inuenter of Magicall arts

Augury. Concerning *Augury*, they seemed thereby to haue a kinde of light of presaging, descending ouer each creature in this neather world, as especiall signes obserued by their flight, mooning, gesture, sitting, progresion, voice, food, and colour, so that by al these things they could foretell somewhat. The Art *Speculatory*, made Interpretation of Thunders, lightnings, and other impresions of the Elements, by signes and prodegies; and yet notwithstanding, they had no other help therein, but by coniecture only. They say, that *Turgie* is profitable to purge the spirituall part of the soule, to witte; the fantasticke or imaginatiue part: because by this Art, men are made to see the Images of Goddes, who are nothing else but Deuils, that transfigure themselues into

The Speculatorie Art.

Turgie.

Deuils vsurping Angels shapes.

Angels of Light. Naturall Magicke, is to gain knowledge in the greatest and most Soueraigne power, of the forces and vertues of all Naturall things. There are likewise Scrutators or searchers into Nature, who by Mathematicall Scriptures only (the influxions of the Heauens beeing appeased) make diuers bodies to goe and moue, which (notwithstanding) haue not their Animall Vertues. Venefiall Magicke, or that tearmed *Pharmaticall*, is a Science wherein Beuerages, Potions, and sundry poysonous Medicaments are vsed.

Naturall Magicke.

Scrutators of Nature.

Poysonous or Pharmaticall Magicke.

Heereby *Democritus* made his Children fortunate, making his Birds also to speake. And by Ceremoniall Magicke, which is *Turgie* & *Goetie*, they couenanted with false spirites, whom they called by certaine words, charmes, and vnlawfull Ceremonies. These men (by the meanes of euill spirits) enchanted other people, and brought spirits to them, called *Paradres*: in exercise whereof, they made vse of Infants, Virgins, and Innocents, causing them to looke in a Basen of water, and on their Nailes, which they annoint with Oyle, and then call Diuels to them, who make answere to such questions as they demand of them. And to attain to the effect of their Coniurations, they sometimes menace Heauen, and the Elements, attributing Signes and Carracters to them.

Ceremoniall Magicke.

Paradres.

Abuse of Infants, virgins & innocents.

Some others say, that that kind of Magicke, called *Turgie*, consisteth in appellation and Prayers to spirits, and such as vse it, must be verie pure and cleare from sin, vsing many Scepters, Rings, swords, and Circkles. But (more especiallie) a great Seale, wherein is Engrauen the 12. Signes of the Zodiacke, and the Carracters of the seauen Plannets, and these are shewn to spirits, to know, to which Planet they are subiect. And the exorcist must be clad in a greene surples, with other new Garments; and in this Art are inumerable Ceremonies and Idolatries. The Prestigiators or cheating Coniurers in Magicke, do vrge conceit of Spirites, Hob-goblins, Apparitions, and manie Myracles, by Circulatorie frauds and deceiptes, they sende foorth and returne Dreames or Delusions, and cause things to appeare otherwise then they are indeede, only by their Charms and Incantations.

A further relation concerning *Turgie*.

The Signes of the Zodiack, and the seuen Planets.

Prestigators in Magicke.

Ma-

Mathematicall Magicke.

Mathematicall Magicke cannot bee vnderstoode or knowne, without her naturall Vertues, neither without Disciplines and Mathematicall Sciences. It finds out the meanes to attract the influences of the Starres, to such occasions as men would make them; and in this Science, *Albertus Magnus* was very expert.

Necromancy.

Necromancy or *Necyomancie*, maketh Diuination and prediction of things, by Conference with dead bodies raised.

Aruspicy.

Aruspicie considereth the flight, songs and gestures of Birds in their flying.

Capnomancy

Capnomancie, is a Diuination made by fumes and smoakes.

Botonomacy.

Botonomancie, is performed by hearbs, and is the only proper Art of Sorceries, with *Goetia* or Witch craft, whereof we haue formerly spoken.

Clerenomancy. Ichthyonomancy. Coscinomancy. Aseinomancy Gastronomancy. *Au. 7. in et 8. de Ciu. Dei.*

Clerenomancie, is a Sooth-saying by Lottes.

Ichthyenomancie, is by Fishes. And yet there are diuers others, as *Coscinomancie* by a Siue; *Aseinomanetie*, and *Gastrenomancie*; which are spoken of by *Proclus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Colophonius*, *Apuleius*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and Saint *Augustine*, in his seuenth & eight Books of the Citty of God. O good God, what brags, arrogances, and Bedlem-trickes? What contentions and Vanities, with scrupulous words, prodigies, & enchantments? What lost labors, Lyes, ambages, and al manner of deceiuings are among them?

The Sciences of the *Cabala*.

And yet there are some other, who would pretend to knowe the Sciences of the *Cabala*, and say, that such as can rightly vnderstand them, haue so much power as to raise vp dead bodies. Now, such as haue knowledge heerin, must be irreprehensible of sinne, and of holy life and conuersation. Moreouer, *Reuclin* and some others haue written, that this Science is nothing else, but a kinde of vn-written Theologie; and that therein is a much greater part of beleefe and speculation, then of discipline. For it consisteth in knowledge of the Angels, that somtimes did administerboth sciences and doctrins of inuisile things to men. And these Sectaries do hold, that in liuing holilie, and neere vnto the Angellicall life; so far as the flesh and rude bodie can imitate, verie great intelligences are to be receiued. And by hauing knowledge in the names of some Princes and Angels of Light, a man may attaine vnto the perfection of things, resembling (or truly being) myracles. But becaufe it is not receiued, but by denuntation of the Father to the son, and that the Hebrewes (on whom it depended) haue written nothing for reuerence of the Mystery: there are but fewe people, so full of erudition, as to produce such effects, as it did customarily restore. Som termed the Art *Cabala*, diuine Magicke, which diuideth it selfe into the Science, named *Bereseith* and *Merana*.

Vnwritten Theology.

knowledge of the angels.

Princes and Angelles of Light.

Diuine Magicke.

Bereseith, according to the *Hebrewes*, discourseth of beginnings, Originals, and causes of creatures, as also of their properties and inclinations. *Merana* speaketh of things sublime and high; as of the diuine and Angellicall vertues, of holie Names, which haue great signification and misteries in them, with Letters, Numbers, Figures, Names, and little pointes of Letters, Lines, Punctuations, and Accents. *Merana* also diuideth it selfe into two Sciences, to wit; *Arythmancie*, and *Theomancie*. *Arythmancie* is as much to say, as diuination made by number, which hath consideration and contemplation of Angellicall Vertues; of Names, Signacles, Natures, and Conditions, both of diuels and other creatures.

Bereseith.

Merana.

Arythmancy.

Theomancy.

Theomancie is a Diuination and Vatication of Diuine things, which consider the Mysteries of the Diuine Maiesty, the Emanations, the holye and sacred names. This Science (according to many opinions) *Moses* had, by meanes whereof, he wrought so many signes and Miracles, as when he transformd his rod into a Serpent changed water into blood, into Frogs, Flies, Lice, Locusts, and other things contained in Exodus.

Moyses saide to be endued with *Theomancie*.

There is another science depending on the aforesaide *Cabala*, called *Cosmologie*, which consistes in the reason, consideration and contemplation of the world. It expoundeth (by Philosophicall reasons) the great secrets of the Law, and of the Bible. Other fooles (abusing themselues) labor to Philosophize by Mettals, weening to deriue cunning from the sun and Moon, and therin haue proceeded in many maners. For *Merlin* said, That the Philosophers stone was of many colors, participating of the 4. Elements, beeing by nature Ayry, earthy, watry, and firy; drie in a soft degree and hidden, but hot in a high degree, and manifest; moist & cold, of all these complexions, one is made.

Cosmologie depending on the Science of *Cabala*

The Philosophers Stone, and what is said thereof by many Authors.

Merlins words of the Phyloſophers ſtone.

Is not farre off from the Nature of fire, and of the Flame; and yet is Licquid and flowing, like to the Oyle of the Oliue. It engroſſeth it ſelfe, and of it ſelfe is conceiued and engendered. It liueth of it ſelfe, and by it ſelfe; and yet it killeth it ſelfe. This ſtone hath a red dye, white & chearfull, and yet it conceiueth and maketh Gold, if it be ioyned vnto the white fume or ſmoake. It is the way wherby we liue; and by which, the true and pureſt Gold is made. Thus farre are the verie words of *Merlin*.

Geber his Relation concerning the Phyloſophers ſtone:

Geber, ſpeaking thereof, ſayeth; Our Art conſiſteth not in the multitude of things, neither is any iot perfected in or by them. For it is a Stone onely, which is a Medicine, wherein the Maiſterie and height of our Art relyeth. And it is to be vnderſtood, that we adde nothing thereto, that ſhould be, or is a ſtranger, neyther do wee diminiſh any thing, except they bee ſuch matters as are ſuperfluous in preparation of the ſaide Stone. And we conclude, that it is nothing elſe, but an vnſauoury ſmelling ſpirit, and a liuing Vault or Graue, which we may wel term dry, waſhed by an naturall (yet liuely) proportion of ſuch an vnion, as it cannot go out of his eſſence, by the things whereto it is annexed, and is couered in abreuiating the worke, hauing an extenuated & perfect bodie.

What the ſtone is.

Cornel. Agrippa in lib. de Philoſ. Occult.

Cornelius Agrippa, in his Booke of ſecret Philoſophy, ſaith; Fire is an Element which penetrateth and ouer-commeth al things. It is a thing created by God, a ſubiect of al mutability, which can be in heauen, and in the earth. It is moreouer, a thing actually animall, Vegetall and Minerall, that is to ſay, which ſeemeth to haue ſoule and vegetation, and an effectiue Vertue and quality of mineral thinges. This thing ſo high and Noble, is not found out by many people, nor knowne by any perſon, or well expreſſed in his proper name: but is continually hidde in numbers, Figures, and Enigmaes; without which (neuertheleſſe) neither the Art of Alchimy, nor of Magicke, can attaine to, or haue their perfects ends. *Augurellus* ſaith; *This Stone is White, and is nothing els but a powder, long time boyled; and ſo conuerted from a White, into a redde colour. Gregory Reich*, in his Marguarite of Philoſophy, ſaith; *The Art of making this Stone, is not by any labour*; but is (as one ſaith) *The worke of Women, and the ſport of children. Virgil*, in the ſixt Booke of his *Eneidos*, ſpeaking of the branch of Gold, which is hidden within a calignious tree, intirely deſcribeth the perfection of this worke.

A ſtrange and hidden ſecret

Augurellus:

Gregor. Reich. in Marg. Phil.

Virgin lib. 6. de Eneid.

Another Phiſoſophers ſtone, which is written Enigmaticall, comming fro the inuention of euill ſpirits

Others do proceed heerin by another manner of way, which is dangerous for the ſoul, for the creature being kept captiue 9. moneths, which they nouriſh and feede with ſtraunge meats, mingled with the iuice of hearbs, Mercury, and Siluer, it maketh him to change his nature, and ſo (with other creatures) is taken and put to confect in a potte very cloſe couered, wherin alſo they put ſeuen ſorts of herbs, the moſt part whereof doo congeale the Mercurie. And the principal is the hearb called *Lunaria maior*, which turneth the water againſt the ſtreame, & yet maketh it to returne againe at the houre when it is cut. And after the fire hath wrought, then *Cibele* makes her operation, & *Titan* alſo for two or three times the principal of the ſubiect beeing receiued, from that which is aboue vs. And when the proiection ſhould woorke it ſelfe within the pottes, then vſe is made of common Salt, Arſenick ſubl mate, and Salarmoniack; and hitherto there is no offence at all. But afterward, for the perfection, caſting the matter in the ſaid pots, and ſeeking to conuert the Saturn or lead which is therein; the action cannot but be dangerous. For euery faithful ſoul knoweth, that this came not from the inuention of men, but from ſome vile and wicked ſpirits: for the ſiluer which is taken forth of the pots, proueth as good as the naturall ſiluer. Then for augmentation of Gold, they make an adaption of Vermillion, Siluer, *Crocum Ferri*, and other matters by number; which they ſay paſſeth the Teſte, and *Ciment-Royall*. A man would be amazed to behold them all differing in their opinions, yet each one to auouch ſufficient vnderſtanding in the Science.

The proiection inworking it ſelfe.

The making of Gold.

Very true it is, that by the Artefice of Fire, verie ſinguler things are made, and almoſt as faire as thoſe producted by nature, to wit; Emeraldes, Iacinthes, Saphires, Rubies, Pearles, Corral, Amber, Glaſſes, and Veſſels mingled with diuers Colours: and the principall is, to haue good and freſh ſtuffes, and knowledge in the Art of Fire. But leauing this Argument,

What things may be made by the workmanſhippe of Fire.

Variety of mens studies.

ment, let vs come to the application of other studies, according to mens seuerall inclinations.

Logick.

Some haue delighted most in Logick, which is a Science of disputing, and reasoning in all things. Others affected the Art of *Lullyn*; to wit, the inuention of *Sophistry*, which sheweth a Doctrin of quaint beguiling (and had name first of one named *Lullius*:) it enstructeth how to circumuent in words, by craft, calumnie, fixion, and cauillation.

The Art of Sophistry.

The Mathematickes.

Others, desired to know the *Mathematickes*, which taketh it selfe (in generall properly) for all naturall Sciences, euen for all them that can be taught to man.

Cosmometry.

Cosmometrie, sheweth the reason of the World, by measures of degrees and minutes of the Heauens, and the differences of Climats, Daies, and Nights; the Eleuation of the Poles; diuersity of the Noone-tides, and shaddowes in Dyals, and deuideth it selfe into *Cosmographie* and *Geography*. *Cosmography* is the generall description and measure of the World; And *Geography* sheweth how to measure the Earth by Stades, Leagues, and Miles; by Mountaines, Woods, Forrests, Lakes, Riuers, and Seas.

Cosmography. Geography.

It likewise maketh knowne, the difference and distinction of Nations, Kingdomes, Prouinces, Citties, Ports, Hauens, and whatsoeuer is throughout the earth. Some others doe practise the Art of *Memorie*, which is nothing else (according to *Cicero*) but an indiction and reason of certaine rules, consisting in places, Images, and Carracters: which doe as much seruice, as proper Writings presented to his eyes, who would speake of, or remember any thing whatsoeuer. This Science was inuented by *Symonides Melicus*, borne in the Isle of *Cea*, who also first deuised the Verses called *Lyrici*.

The Art of Memory. *Cicero in lib. de Quæst. Tusc.*

Symonides Melicus.

Nor must this be thought any disparagement, to the true Philosophy of the *Ethiques*, which enstructed men how to liue well among themselues; and likewise in generall, without any carke or care for any kind of Prouision. And the *Oeconomique* also, giuing rules for well liuing in Domesticke Community, and for best ordering of a Family. The *Politique*, it gaue Documents of good life, for publique community among Cittizens: because it discoursed on common Ciuility, and in it are comprehended all secular estates. There is yet another part of Philosophy, which is principall, and in double manner; that is to say: Abstracted from mooued, and conioyned with mooued. Abstracted from motion, is called *Metaphisique*, which discourseth on the highest matters of God, and of intelligences, exceeding our sense and imagination; and the Science is tearmed *Metaphisique*, because it transcendeth Nature.

The parts of Ethick Philosophy.

Oeconomick Philosophy.

Another part of Philosophy

Metaphisique

That part conioyned with motion, speaketh of mooueable thinges, and is named *Phisique*: which considereth and speculateth the beginnings and causes of naturall thinges, and accordinglie heereunto hath eight parts of Philosophy. These doe speake of Heauen and the World; of Generation and Corruption; of Meteors; of Mines in the Earth; of Vegetable things; of Plants, and the Natures of Creatures; of watching and sleeping; of Memory, and al other powers of the Soule. Then there is Morall Philosophy, treating of Vices & Vertues; and disputing wherin consisteth humaine Felicity; as also distinguishing good from euill. And the Word Philosopher, is nothing else but to tearme a Man, a Louer of wisedome.

Phisicke, with her 8. parts of Philosophy.

Morall Philosophy.

Wee come now to the seauen liberall Sciences. First *Grammer*, whereby is knowne the difference, between congruate and incongruate speaking. *Logicke*, describeth the false proposition from the true. *Thetericke*, demonstrateth how to speake with ornament of choise words, and elegantly. *Astrology*, obserueth the course and influence of the Starres, Celestiall bodies, Mansions, Parasanges, Hemispheres, and the Poles Articke, and Antartick. *Geometry*, describeth the dimension and measure of the Earth, with the distance of one place from another. *Arithmatick* delighteth most in numbers; And *Musique*, how to play and sing by due measure. Nor may we omit the Art and Stile of Poesie, very highly and greatly commended. As that named *Elegiacall*, which is a resctiption of miseries, reciting the calamities of men, the querimonies

The seauen liberall Sciences. Grammer. Logicke.

Rhetoricke.

Astrology.

Geometry.

Arithmaticke Musicke.

The Art and stile of Poesie

Elegies.

Satires.

Comedy.

Tragedy.

Diuine Poets

Heroyckes.

Seauen Mechanical arts. Husbandry.

Cloathing.

Nauigation.

Hunting.

Architecture.

Medicine.

Military Discipline.

The four Morall vertues.

Prudence & her sacred power.

rimonies of loue, and deploration of the dead. *Satires*, are inuectiues and reprehensions, composed in verse, reprouing Vices, and discouering the secret sinnes of men. *Comedy*, describeth the affections of men, rauishment of Virgines, and facetious matters. *Tragedie*, discourseth the calamities of Kings and great Lords, giuing them enstructions for amendment of life. But *Theologicall* or Diuine Poets, were they that wrote Songs and Hymnes of the Gods: describing Heroycally the deeds and gests of Noble-men and Warlike people, with Martiall attempts, and Militarie Stratagems.

The seauen Mechanicall Arts also, are very cõmendable; as Agriculture or Husbandry: whereby the Art of labouring in the ground is perfectlie known, with planting of Vines, and entring young Trees. Cloathing, comprehendeth all endeuours, vsed eyther in Wooll, Linnen, Haire, Silke, and semblable things. Nauigation, compriseth the Art of all Mariners & Shipmen, as well on the Seas, as other Riuers. Hunting, containeth vnder that name, all manner of Fowling for Birds, and taking of all Beastes and Fishes. The Art of Fabricke or Architecture, containeth the condition of Carpentry, Masonry, Imagery, Gold-smithery, & whatsoeuer is to be wrought, either in Wood, Stone, or Mettalles. And the Art of Medicine, comprehendeth in that one Word, both Chirurgians, Apothecaries, Hearbalists, Maisters of Bathes, and Barbers. The Art Military, bringeth vnder her protection, all subtilties and secret conducts of war, with all good Regiments and Gouernments of Captaines.

Heere may we not omit the due and desertfull praises of the foure Morrall Vertues. As Prouidence, which is the cause of direct and vpright gouernment in all thinges, with fore-sight and good ordination. This Vertue respecteth all the actions of humaine life, ruling, conducting, and consulting (by reason) on great and doubtfull matters, both by syllogismes, and sound debatings. It compareth and conioyneth thinges already past, with such as are present; and by due discussion made of them, giueth iudgement also on future occasions. So that she onely presageth and foretelleth, the aduentures of accidents which are to ensue, and accordingly with-holdeth and hindereth the entrance of casuall & sinister fortunes.

Temperance, and her prerogatiue.

Temperrnce, contemneth all Corporal voluptuousnesse, for (in her) the order of our whole life is discerned; because she holdes the firme and Moderne Dominion of reason, against all Vices whatsoeuer.

Fortitude & her authority, discerned three wayes.

Fortitude, consisteth in the agression and reasonable enterprising of difficult matters. This Vertue maketh contempt of worldly felicities, and is to be vnderstood three seuerall waies. The first, is to be strong by Nature. The second, is to feare no perrillous occasions. The third, is an assured and setled patience. She maketh a man perdurable, when he applyeth his power in the resistance of Vices; supporting her selfe by reason & Iustice. and also in warring against the Flesh.

Iustice & her prehemineĉe

Iustice, rendereth to euery man, that which duely appertaineth to him. It is the measure which God hath established on earth: whereby the weake is defended against the strong, and the speaker of truth, against the lyer.

The Ciuile & Canon lawes.

Vnder this vertue, the Ciuil and Cannonicall Lawes are contained, whereby the vniuersall pollicy of the World is gouerned, as well Temporall as Spiritual.

Now the three other principall Vertues (to make vp this number seauen also) are Faith, Charity, and Hope.

Faith.

Faith, is to beleeue such things, as are not to be seene by our bodily eyes: for such thinges as we see not, firmely wee hope for.

The summe of Faith.

And this Faith is whollie in the blessed Trinity; the actions of the passion of Iesus Christ; that which is contained in the Olde and New Testaments; and the Canonicall Scriptures of our holy Mother the Church.

Charity.

Charity, consisteth in the Soueraigne loue of God, and of our Neighbours as our selues.

Hope.

Hope, attendeth and expecteth that which the Lord hath promised vs, if we accomplish his Commandements.

Behold what Sciences and vertues are profitable, and not the foolish opinions, Problems, and enigmaes of the Philosophers.

What men ought most to esteeme.

But notwithstanding all these, Men ought to hold the sacred Scriptures in higher commendation, then any thing else

elſe whatſoeuer; becauſe thoſe things are vaine, wherein the knowledge of God is not. For, by knowledge of the heauenly word, and obſeruation of that which is commaunded vs in the Goſpell: we are made the Lords Children, fellow Cittizens with the Saints in the Kingdome of Heauen, and Heires of God with Ieſus Chriſt. By them, the poore are made rich; the feeble, ſtrong; Fooles, wiſe; Sinners, iuſtifyed; the deſolate, comforted; the doubtfull, reſolued; and Seruants enfranchiſed. There is the way and the truth, and the Key which openeth the Kingdome of Heauen to the faithfull, releaſing them from ſinne: becauſe the Goſpell is the Teſtament, and new Couenant of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. He is both New and Eternall, that waxeth not old, and faileth not for euer. For he hath been and is the Mediatour, and he hath ratified and confirmed the Scriptures by his death: accompliſhing in them, plenarie, and intire remiſſion of all preuarications, that remained vnder the firſt Teſtament.

The praiſe of the word of God.

The power of the ſcriptures

Of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

The Scripture is called the Goſpell, that is to ſay, good and glad tydings: becauſe therin Ieſus Chriſt is declared, to be the onely, naturall, and eternall Son of the liuing God, and was made Man for vs, to make vs the Sons of God his Father by adoption. In like manner, he is our Sauiour, in whom intirely lyeth our Redemption, Peace, Iuſtice, Sanctification, Saluation and life. He dyed for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our Iuſtification. He aſcended vp into Heauen, to make our entrance thither. He tooke poſſeſſion for vs, and in our name; euermore to aſſiſt vs before his Father, as our Aduocate and perpetuall Sacrificer. He ſitteth on his right hand, as conſtituted King, Lord, and Maiſter ouer all: to the end, that he might repaire all things both in heauen and on earth, which none other elſe was able to doe. He was the great Ambaſſadour, ſent from his Father, here below to performe the ſaluation of all men. All things are demonſtrated, declared, written, and ſigned in his Teſtament; whereby hee hath made vs heires of the Kingdome of God his Father, and appointed vs his will, to put the ſame in execution he being: the only way, life, and ſaluation. In breefe, if we haue him with vs, we ſhall finde nothing ſo accurſſed, but it ſhal be bleſſed by him; nothing ſo execrable, but it ſhall bee ſanctified; nothing ſo wicked, but it ſhall turne to our good.

The Goſpell and meaning thereof.

The great benefits receiued by Ieſus Chriſt.

The great Ambaſſadour from the Father.

This is *Iſaac*, the dearely beloued Sonne of his Father, who was offered in ſacrifice; and yet (notwithſtanding) could not be ouercome by death. This is the vigilant Shepheard *Iacob*, which had ſo great care of the Sheepe committed to his keeping. This is the good, louing, and pittiful *Ioſeph*, who accounted it no ſhame to him, to acknowledge his poore Brethren, euen in his greateſt glory. This is the chiefe Sacrificer and Byſhop *Melchiſedech*, who made the eternall Sacrifice once for all, and for all the ſinnes of the World. This is the Soueraigne Law-giuer *Moyſes*, writing his Law in the Table of our hearts, by his ſanctifying Spirit. This is the faithfull guide and Captain *Ioſuah*, that conducteth vs to the Land of Promiſe. This is the Noble and vertuous King *Dauid*, ſubiecting (by his hand) all rebellious powers.

Figures of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.
Iſaac.
Iacob.
Ioſeph.
Melchiſedech
Moyſes.
Ioſuah.
Dauid.

This is the Magnificent and Triumphant King *Salomon*, gouerning his Kingdom in peace and proſperitie. And this is the ſtrong and vertuous *Sampſon*, who (by his owne death) ouerthrew all his enemies. He hath paied the debt for all mankind; and he to whom no death was due, hath yet for vs endured moſt bitter and cruell death.

Salomon.
Sampſon.

Hee that was innocent, was written downe among malefactours. Hee was ranked among debtors, that was free frō any kind of debt, and therfore payed the debt of Nature. And when he ſuffered death without any deſeruing; hee deliuered from death all ſuch as had deſerued it. And when he was vniuſtly apprehended; he deliuered out of priſon, ſuch as were there iuſtly detained. Behold (O bitter death) the obligation of nature diſcharged. Behold it faſt fixed vnto his Croſſe: Behold the Enſignes of ſinne there torne in pieces. Behold no more memory of any mallicious ſubſcription. For the eyes of his body, paid the debt of thoſe eyes that had wickedly wandred. His eares made ſatisfaction, for thoſe which had liſtned to impure perſwaſions. Likewiſe, his tongue

Theodoret the *Cyprian* biſhop, in his Sermōs on the prouidence of God

The benefit receiued by Chriſts croſſe

tongue, handes, and other members, satisfied for those members of Man, that had committed all their seuerall euilles. Seeing then that so great a debt is discharged, it remaineth verie conueniently; that such as continued Prisoners therefore, should bee deliuered out of prison, enioying their auncient libertie, and to returne home into their first borne Countrey.

The mine debt discharged.

To conclude, it is he that hath regenerated vs in liuing hope, redeemed vs out of darknesse, and humbled himselfe, to exalt vs. Hee became a Seruant, to set vs free from seruice; became poore, to enrich vs; was solde, that we might be redeemed; was made a Captiue, for our deliuerance; and was condemned, that we might be acquitted. For our Benediction, hee was made Malediction; the Obligation of Sinne, for our righteousnesse; and vtterly disfigured, to bring vs into a perfect figure.

The Authors Conclusion.

He died for our life; so that (by him) rudenesse became sweetnesse; angers appeased; darkenesse illumined; Iniustice made righteousnesse; weakenesse made vertuously strong; discomfort consolation; Sinne impeached; contempt dispised; feare assured; debt discharged; labour asswaged; sorrow reioyced; misfortune happinesse; difficultie easinesse; disorder conformitie; deuision vnity; ignominy fame; rebellion subiected; menaces out-menaced; Ambushes scattered; assaults confronted; power ouer-awed; Combats out-combatted; Warre ouer-warred; vengeance reuenged; torments tormented; damnation damned; perdition perished; abisme ingulfed; Hell harried; Death killed; and mortality made immortality. In briefe, Mercy hath swallowed vp all miserie, and goodnes all wickednesse; so that, wee may well glorifie our selues, and say now with Saint *Paule*: *O Death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy Victorie?*

The triumphs of the death of Iesus Christ.

1 Cor. 15. 55.

The glory of a true Christian.

CHAP. XVI.

A profitable Interpretation for all Christians, of some words being Hebrue, Greek, and Syrian, contained in certaine places of the sacred Striptures.

Interpretatiõ of Hebrue, Greeke, and Syrian words.

BEcause in many places of the holie Scriptures, and in the seruice vsed in the Church, wee finde some wordes deriued from the *Hebrue*, *Greeke*, and *Syrian*, vnderstood by few persons, to whom they seeme somewhat strange: I thought it a matter very necessary, to make a further relation of them in this manner. *Iesus* is an Hebrue name, which (by Interpretation) signifieth a Sauiour; the Etymology whereof, the Angell *Gabriell* declared to the blessed Virgine *Mary*, saying in Saint *Mathew*: *And his Name shall be Iesus, because hee shall saue his people from their sinnes*. There was one named *Iesus*, a great Priest, the Sonne of *Iosedech*, who figured Iesus Christ our Sauiour; as likewise *Zorobabell*, who was of his royall Linage, and (according to spirituall intelligence) signifyed him. *Iosedech* is turned (saith Saint *Hierome*) יהוצדק, that is to say, God Iust. In like manner, Iesus Christ is the Sonne of the Iust GOD. *Messias* is an Hebrue word, which signifieth as much as Christ in Greeke; and both of them are interpreted *Annointed*. Saint *Augustine* writeth, that *Messias* signifieth in the *Punicke* Language, as much as *Annointed*; and the Hebrue, Punicke, and Syrian tongues, do come very neere and resemble one another. The Patriarches (in the Olde Testament) were called Christes, of whom it is written in the hundred and fift Psalme; *Touch not mine Annointed, and doe my Prophets no harme*. And in the first Booke of *Paralipemenon*, or the Chronicles, al those which departed or came out of *Ægipt*, were cald Christs. The same S. *August*. saith, that the word *Christus* commeth of *Chrismata*: because as the ancient Kings were anointed with holy

Hierom. sup. S. Math. Cap. 2.

Aug. de verb. Apost. Serm. 8. Et cont. Pelag. Lib. 2.

August. sup. Agge. Cap. 1.

Aug. sup. Ioan. 7 tract.

Conference of languages.

Psal. 105. 15.

1 Reg. 12. 19

Aug. in Serm. clxxxi. de Temp.

holy Oyle; ſo our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt was filled with the infuſion of the bleſſed Spirit.

The Oyle of holy oyntmẽt Exod. 30. 25.

We read in the thirtith Chapter of *Exodus*, of the Prieſt-hoodes vnction, or the Oyle of holy Oyntment, wherewith (afterward) the Prieſtes (in *Leuiticus*) are ſaid to be annointed. Then there was another Oyle, where-with Kinges were annointed in their Kingdomes, and whereof the Prophet *Eſay* maketh mention in his forty fiue Chapter: *The Lord ſpake theſe things to his annointed Cyrus.* Yet there was a Propheticall vnction, wherewith *Helias* was commanded to annoint *Heliſeus*: *And Heliſeus, the Sonne of Shaphat of Abell Moholaſh, ſhalt thou annoint to bee Prophet in thy roome.* But aboue all other kindes of vnctions, there is one called Spiritual; *The vnction of Gladneſſe*, where-with our bleſſed Sauiour was annointed, and it was ſaid to him: *For this cauſe, thy God hath annointed thee with the Oyle of Gladneſſe, aboue thy Fellowes.* I hold this word Fellowes, to concerne them, to whom S. *Iohn* ſpeaketh in his ſecond Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle, ſaying: *But yee haue an Oyntment from that holy one, and know all things.* And a little after, he addeth: *But the annointing which ye receiued of him, remaineth in you, and ye haue no neede that any man teach you.*

Annointing of Kings. Eſay 45. 1.

Propheticall Vnction.

1 Reg. 19. 16.

The Oyle of gladneſſe. Pſalme 45. 8.

1. Ioh. 2. 20 27

Emanuell is an *Hebrue* word, and ſignifieth as much, as *God with vs.* Our Sauiour obtained this name, by the effect which followed, to wit: that hee who was God, pleaſed to cloath himſelfe with our fleſh, and to conuerſe with vs. *Nazarian* or *Nazarite*, ſignifieth Holy. The ſeauenty Interpreters turned the word *Nazarite*, to *Sanctified*; and *Symmachus*, to *Separates*. *Rabbi* is interpreted Maiſter, or Lord. *Paracletus* is a Greeke word, ſignifying Aduocate, Doctor, Comforter. *Paſchall* is an Hebrue Vocable, and a Greeke name, as Saint *Hierome* affirmeth, expreſſing as much in ſpeaking, as paſſage, or Paſſeouer. *Epiphany* in Greeke, ſounded apparition, manifeſtation, or demonſtration, in our vulgar tongue: becauſe as on that day, our Redeemer was made knowne by a Starre.

Hieron. ſup. cap 9. de Eſay.

Augu. in Serm. 4. de Natiuit.

Pentecoſt is a Greeke word, and is as much in expreſſion, as fifty; becauſe, from the Reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, vntill the time of this ſollemnity, there were fifty daies of Interuallum. *Scenofagia*, is an Hebrue word, declaring the making of Tabernacles or Tents, which was a very ſollemne Feaſtiuall. *Encænia* were the Feaſt daies among the *Iewes*, cald the Feaſt of *Dedication* of the Temple of *Ieruſalem*. *Kyria-eleiſon*, is a word compoſed of κύριε, that is to ſay, *Lord*, and of ἐλέησον, that is, *Haue mercy*. *Alleluya*, are alſo two wordes in Hebrue, which ſignifie, *Praiſe God*: for (as Saint *Hierome* teſtifieth) there are ten ſeuerall names, whereby the Hebrues tearmed God. * *Antiphona* in Greeke, is a Song deliuered at times, and it may be turned into one word, as the refret, burthen, or downe of any Song.

πρόκλησις.

The Feaſt of Tabernacles.

The Feaſt of Dedication.

Ten names for God.

* *Vox recipruce à duabus Choris alternatim Pſallentibus.*

Homilie, is a Greeke word, ſignifying, as when we vſe to ſay, a Sermon, Cannon, or Rule. *Oſanna* in the Hebrue Language, is as much, as if we ſhould ſay; *O Lord ſaue me. Sabbahot* is thus interpreted; *Lord Almighty, Lord of vertue*, or of *Armies and Hoaſts. Eucharistia* is a Greeke diction, thus conuerted, into *Giuing of Thankes*, and intending alſo the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. *Euangelium*, or *Goſpell*, ſignifyeth *Good*, or *Glad Tydings*. *Paradiſe* in Greeke, and a Garden engraffed with Apples, is all one. *Parable* is a Greeke word, ſignifying a ſimilitude or compariſon. *Symbole* is an aſſembly or congregation; as when a man putteth his part in common, and euery one hath his ſhare or proportion. *Peter*, in Greeke, ſignifieth a Flint-ſtone, or Rocke-ſtone, as *Cephas* dooth the like in the *Syrian* tongue: hauing this implication, of ſolidity and firmeneſſe, becauſe Saint *Peter* was firme in confeſſion of the truth. *Philacteria* is a Greeke word, ſignifying keeping or preſeruing; becauſe in warily-kept Scroles of Parchment, the memories of the *Iewes* Lawes were conſerued.

The Iewes bearing of Willow branches.

Eucharistia.

Euangelium.

Similitude or compariſon.

Scrolles of Parchment among the Phe. ies.

That which the Greekes called a Sinagogue or Church; we may well expound to be an Aſſembly. *Mammon*, according to the opinion of S. *Hierom*, is a *Syrian* name, of the Singular number, and Maſculine Gender, ſignifying Riches. *Ethnicke* is a Greeke word, ſignifying a man that is a Gentile, Pagan, or ſome other Sect. *Proſelite* is a Greek word alſo, and (by Interpretation) is as much

Hieron. ſup. Matth. Cap. 17.

The Iewes manner of a Proſelite.

The wiſe mens Star.

Pentecoſt.

much to say, as a Stranger. And the Iewes vsed to tearm him so, that (being of another Nation) conuerted to their Law and Religion. *Scandalize*, is a Greeke Verbe, and valueth as much, as to offend: euen as *Angaria* (a *Persian* word) signifieth to smite and expulse. *Golgotha* is *Syrian* Vocable, which Saint *Hierome* declareth, to bee the place of Baldnesse or Nakednesse, tearmed in Latine *Caluaria*. So was a place in *Ierusalem* called, by the Mount *Sion*, towards the North: becausse there lay the heads of such as were condemned to death, and our Sauiour Iesus Christ being crucified in that place, did there accomplish the saluation of all mankind. *Corkona*, or *Gazaphylacium*, composed of words *Persian* and *Greeke*, relateth a Chest or Coffer, wherin the Mony was reposed, giuen for vse of the Ministers which serued in the Temple. According to that which was said: *He that serueth at the Altar, ought to liue of the Altar*, for *Corbone* signifyeth a guift. *Eleemosyna* or Almes being a Greeke word, implyeth Pitty or Mercy. *Diabolus*, Deuill, is interpretated a Calumniatour. *Beelzebub*, is the Father of Flyes, as by the word Fly an Idoll is specified. For S. *Hierome* enstructeth, that *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, was among the *Hebrues*, as the Word Idoll with the *Greekes*. And *Zebub*, Fly, as if a man should say, the Idol of a Fly: for εἴδωλον is a simulacre or statue. That which the Greekes called *Phantosma*, and the Latines *Spectrum*; wee tearme a vision by dreame, or else some vgly dreadfull Image. But to conclude, *Amen* is an Hebrue word, signifying so much as So be it: but when it is found to be repeated two seuerall times; as *Amen, Amen*; then it implyeth *Verilie, Verily*, for confirmation of a truth.

The place of dead mens skuls.

The Mount Caluary.

The Treasure of the Temple among the Iewes.

Hierom. sup. Ioan. Cap. 7.

Visions by dreames.

CHAP. XVII.

Examples of grosse errors in Polititians, and worldly wise men. Also, how farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

LEwes the eleauenth, King of *France*, and one of the most politique Princes that France euer had, being at war with his owne Brother *Charles*, Duke of *Normandy*; *Frances*, Duke of *Brittaine*; and *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desiring greatly to separate the last from the other two, to the end that he might be the better reuenged on them: sollicited him by his Ambassadors, to come to conferre with him. Which the Duke yeilded vnto, so that the meeting might bee in a Towne of his owne, in the frontiers of *Flanders* and *France*, for his better security; where-with the King was well contented. The meeting therfore beeing appointed at *Peronne* (whether the Duke was come with his Army) and safe-conduct sent to the King, by a Letter of the Dukes owne hand: the King went thither without any forces or Guard, to shew the confidence hee had in the Duke, to the end, to oblige him the more, and to gaine his good will. But the Duke seeing now his Enemy in his owne power, and vnderstanding at the same time, that *Liege* was reuolted from him, by the sollitation of certaine Ambassadours of the King: tooke him Prisoner, and would not release him, vntill he had recouered the Towne of *Liege*, whither he forced him to beare him company, with no small danger of his person. And in the end, hauing made him to grant to some hard conditions, in fauour of his confederates (against whom the King had especially plotted that conference and treaty) he released him.

Phillip de Commines de verb. gest. Ludouici, 11. in Cap. 33.

Lewes the 11 king of *France* ouertaken in his owne pollicy.

Liege reuolted from the Duke of Bourgundy.

Now then, who seeth not in this example, how grosely this great Politike erred in two thinges, wherein it might be presumed, that a man (of any experience) could not haue beene deceiued. The one, that hauing imployed certain Agents or Ambassadors, to stirre vp the Towne of *Liege* against the Duke: hee did not countermaund it, when he resolued to put himselfe into his handes. For who could be so simple, as not to consider, that if the practise should take effect (as it did) whiles he should be in his power: not onely the peace and amity which he desired to make, would be hindred thereby; but also his person endangered? For that the Duke should haue iust cause to detaine him, at least, vntil he had done him reparation of the wrong.

The manifest error of King Lewes in two kinds.

The first part of his error.

Consideration is the conduct to safety

The

The other note of the Kings great folly.

The other error was, that he would (vppon any security or safe conduct) put himselfe into the courtesie and mercy of his Enemy, without any vrgent and inevitable necessity: knowing how little assurance is many times in wordes or Oathes, when present commoditie (eyther priuate or publique) is offered by the breach thereof. Besides that, his own rule (which he was wont to say, & was all the Latine hee would haue his Sonne to learne, to wit; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, Hee which knoweth not how to dissemble, knoweth not how to raigne*) might haue mooued him to haue doubted in his Enemy, that which he practised in himselfe, and was apt enough to suspect in his best friends: And this he had iust cause to feare in the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom hee had deceiued before by a false composition, which hee made with him at *Constans*, and brake presently after: whereby he had both incited, and also taught him, to pay him with Money of the same stampe. Wherein may bee noted, as well his notable error, as also Gods prouidence and Iustice, in punnishing his double dealing with the like, according to the saying of our Sauiour. *Qua mensura, &c. What measure you shall make or giue to others, the same shall bee measured or made vnto you againe.*

What learning K. *Lewes* the eleuenth required in his Sonne.

Math. 7. 2.

An example no lesse notable, both of the one and other, may be obserued in *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valence*, whose great wisedome *Machiauell* so much admireth; that he maketh him a Mirrour and Patterne for a Prince: whom hee might (more iustly) haue made a Mirrour of mischiefe, and patterne of all perfidiousnesse, cruelty, and impietie. This *Cæsar*, being (after the death of his Father) spoyled of all the estates, which he had by force and fraud laid together in *Italie*, and in danger (as he thought) of his life, or liberty at least, by the displeasure of Pope *Iulius* the second, then gouerning: resolued to flye (for his security) to *Hernando Gonçales*, Generall in the Kingdome of *Naples*, for *Ferdinando*, King of *Arragon* and *Castile*. Forgetting, or not considering, the manifold causes of offence which hee had giuen to him, and to the King his Maister in sundry occasions. And so, trusting to his safe conduct, hee put himselfe into his hands, and was (shortly after) sent by him Prisoner into *Spaine*, by order from the King. Whereof *Gonçales* excused himselfe, pretending, that his Faith and safe conduct, ought not to hinder the execution of the King his Maisters commandement, against whom (he said) he could giue no security. And so the Arch-politick of his time, who had by subtilty and treachery ouerthrowne very many: was himselfe (by Gods iust iudgment) ouer-reached, and (as I may well tearme it) tript in his owne play, to his vtter ruine and ouerthrow, as (vpon another occasion) shal be declared more amply hereafter.

Micha. Princ. Cæsar Borgia Duke of *Valence*, the patterne of *Machiuels* Prince, ouerthrowne by his owne pollicy.

Cæsar Borgia the Arch politicke of his time.

Therefore, what was become of all his accustomed craft? Where were all his profound pollicies, that excellent iudgement, that sharpnesse of wit, and those rare inuentions, which made him such a worthy patterne of *Machiauels* Princes? For, whether we respect true wisedome, or the common craft and subtiltie of worldly men (which is now commonlie called *Machiuillian* pollicie) he erred in the principles of both. For subtilty and craft (which excludeth all Charity) teacheth so to distrust; as neuer to trust, nor to pardon an Enemie: nor to leaue to hate, hurt, and reuenge, when opportunity is offered, notwithstanding any reconciliation. Besides that, the mallice of men so farre extendeth it selfe in such cases: that Politikes hold it not secure for him that doth offend any man, to trust him euer after. To which purpose, the *Italian* Prouerb saith: *Chi offende, non perdona mai.* Whereby it is signified, that he which dooth any notable iniury to another man, can neuer after (with his owne safety) trust him, or yet spare him, if he may ouerthrow him; for feare least (at some time or other) he may seeke to be reuenged. So then, this Arch-politicke (according to the rules of his owne art and profession) should neuer haue put his life into the hands, of one whom he had once offended, and much lesse of an enemy reconciled.

How farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

The large extendure of mens mallice

An Italian Prouerbe.

A lesson for crafty Polititians.

Guiciard. Hist. Lib. 6.

And as for true wisedome, though it euer keepe it selfe within the bounds of Charitie, and teacheth vs, not onelie to pardon, but also to loue our enemies; yea, and to doe them what plea-

Concerning true wisedom.

Seneca Epist. 5. A reconciled enemy not to be trusted.

sure wee conueniently may: yet it so ioyneth *The prudence of the Serpent, with the simplicity of the Doue*; that it warneth vs to be beware of them, and not to trust our liues or states in their handes, when we may auoyd it. Remembring euer the counsell of *Seneca*, who saith: *Neuer beleeue that he will be faithfull vnto thee, who of an Enemy is become thy Friend.*

Eccle. 12,10, 11, 12.

Which also the Holy-Ghost teacheth in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where it is said. *Neuer beleeue or trust thy enemie, for as old Iron groweth euerie day more rusty then other; so encreaseth his rancour. And if he humble himselfe, and crouch vnto thee: yet haue an eye vnto him, and keepe thy selfe from him. Place him not neere vnto thee, least he put thee out of thy place, and make thee know (to thy cost) how true my wordes are.* And again to the same purpose, *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs. *When thy Enemy shall speake softly vnto thee* (that is to say, shal flatter thee, or speake thee faire) *then trust him not, for then is his heart full of mischiefe.* In all which, the holy Ghost enstructeth, and aduiseth vs to bee wary, but not malicious; to bee circumspect, but not suspitious; to haue an eye to a reconciled Enemy, but not to hate or hurt him, or to reuenge olde wrongs.

Prouer. 12,25

Aduise giuen by the blessed Spirit.

Therefore *Salomon* counterpeyseth the fore-saide Doctrine, with precepts of compassion, and charitie towardes our Enemies, saying. *When thine Enemie falleth, bee not glad thereof, and let not thine heart reioyce in his ruine; least the Lord seeing it, be displeased with thee, and turne his wrath from him.* And in another place. *If thine Enemy* (saith he) *be hungry, giue him meat, if he be thirsty, giue him drinke: For thou shalt lay coals vpon his head, and our Lord shall reward thee.* Thus farre this King and Prophet, whose words also Saint *Paule* reciteth, and our Sauiour confirmeth by his Commaundement, saying: *Loue your Enemies, and doe good to them which hate you, &c.* And the like in sundry other places.

Proue. 24, 17.

Pro. 25, 21, 22

Rom. 12, 14.

Thus we see, how true Wisedome and Christian Charitie doe concurre, and how the prudence of the Serpent, is to bee ioyned with the simplicity of the Doue. In so distrusting our Enemies, that we leaue not to loue thē, and yet louing them so, that we trust them no further, then may stand with our owne safety; euer fearing the mallice of mans Nature, which is so abstruse and hidden, that no man can bee assured of his best Friend, but much lesse of a reconciled enemy.

In what manner we may distrust our enemies.

How to loue our friends.

In which respect, it is Wisedome so to loue and trust our Friends, that wee remember withall; that they may become our Enemies. And therefore *Seneca* aduiseth vs so to liue: *That our actions may bee as iustifiable before our Friendes, as before our Enemies.* To which purpose also, the Holy Ghost in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, saith: *Ab inimicis tuis separare, & ab amicis tuis attende. Separate thy selfe from thine Enemies, and beware euen of thy Friends.* And in another place. *A filijs tuis & domesticis attende. Take heede of thine owne Children, and of thy Houshold-Seruants.* Which neuertheless, is not to bee vnderstood, as though a Man should trust no body; which were not onely a miserable case, but also extreame follie. For, as *Seneca* saith. *It is as foule a fault, and as great folly in a Man, to beleeue and trust no body; as to beleeue and trust euery Man. And many* (saith he) *whiles they feare to be deceiued; doe teach men how to deceiue them, vrging them iustly therevnto, by suspecting them wrongfully.* The which *Plutarch* also confirmeth, saying: *That Fooles for lacke of wit, to prouide other-wayes for their owne securitie; doe thinke it the safest and wisest way, to distrust all men, and so (in the ende) they procure their owne ruine.* Therefore, in this point of confidence and diffidence, the wisedome consisteth (as all vertue dooth) in the meane, to wit: that wee neither trust nor distrust all Men, neyther commit our liues and whole estates, to any Mans will and pleasure. But onely in case of necessitie, and then also, to make choise of approoued, wise, and vertuous friends; but neuer of a reconciled Enemy. And in this sence, it is well and wisely saide, that *Diffidentia est mater securitatis, Distrust is the Mother of Security.*

Seneca Epist. 3.

Ecclc. 6. 13.

Eccle. 32, 22.

Seneca Epist. 3. No lesse folly to distrust all men, then to trust euery man.

Plutar. in Dion.

Of confidēce & diffidence.

How distrust may be called the mother of security.

But now perhaps you will aske me, how the rule of perfect Charitie, and of

How diſtruſt and ſuſpition may ſtand with true prudence and charity. 1. Cor. 13, 5. *Chriſ. Hom. 33. in 1. Cor. 13.*

of true prudence can agree herein? Seeing Charity (as Saint *Paule* ſaith) *Non cogitat malum, Doth thinke no euill*; that is to ſay (as Saint *Chryſoſtome* expoundeth it) *ſuſpecteth no euil.* How then can I diſtruſt my reconciled enemy, but I muſt ſuſpect that hee will betray mee? Whereto I anſwer, that two things are to be conſidered in Charity. The one, that it beginneth at a mans owne ſelfe; for no ma is bound ſo to loue another, that hee hurt himſelfe. The other, that as Saint *Paule* teſtifieth of Charitie; *Non agit perperam, It doeth nothing fooliſhlie or vnaduiſedly.* For as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, expounding the ſame place; *Charitas non eſt temeraria, &c. Charity is not raſh and heady, for it maketh a man wiſe, graue, and conſtant.*

1. Cor. 13, 5.

Chriſ. vbi. ſup.

How ſuſpition is excluded from prudent circumſpection.

Now then, to ſhew how ſuſpition is excluded from this prudent circumſpection, which Charity admitteth: is to be vnderſtood, that I may bee wary and circumſpect, though I doe not ſuſpect, but onelie vpon a generall ſuppoſition, of mans ordinary frailty and mallice, and the inſcrutability of his hart.

In ſuch a doubtfull caſe I may take the ſureſt way, to wit; that although I verily hope, that my reconciled Enemy be ſo good and honeſt a Man, that there reſteth no mallice in his heart towardes me: Neuertheleſſe, I will be ſo conſiderate and prouident, that, put the caſe he ſhould haue the will for to hurt me; yet he ſhall not haue the opportunitie, or occaſion to doe it by any Act of mine. In which ſence, our Engliſh Prouerbe may be well vnderſtood, which ſaith: *If my Friend betray me, I beſhrew him; but if mine enemie betray me, I beſhrew my ſelfe.* And this aduiſed and wary proceeding, is ſo farre from the breach of any Charity: that it ſtanderh well with all kinde of loue and friendſhippe; betwixt Friend and Friend, Father and Child, Brother and Brother, Man and Wife, Prince and Subiect. And therefore, in reſpect that it ſeemeth to include ſome kinde of ſuſpition, and (withall) admitteth all charitable affection: it is called by ſome, *Beneuola ſuſpitio, A friendlie or louing ſuſpition.* In which ſence, Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith: *Malcuolæ ſuſpitiones ſunt calumniantium; benenolæ ſuſpitiones ſunt gubernantium. Mallicious ſuſpitions are proper to Calumniatours; beneuolous and friendlie ſuſpitions, belong vnto Gouernours.*

An ancient witty Engliſh Prouerb.

Chriſo. in Hom. de S. Suſanna.

Therefore, to returne to Duke *Valentine*. Hereby we may ſee, that he was deſtitute, not onely of true wiſedome: but alſo of all wit and reaſonable diſcourſe, when he, in whoſe handes, no Brother or Friend could euer be ſecure; expected ſecurity in the handes of his Enemy, and perſwaded himſelfe, that Faith ſhould bee kept with him, who had neuer kept it with any man. But becauſe I ſhall haue more occaſion to ſpeake of him heereafter; I will paſſe to Moderne example; of mans ignorance and weakneſſe, in the miſerable end of *Monſieur Chaſtillion*, Admirall of *France*, maſſacred at *Paris*: who for the great opinion of his Wiſedome and prudence, had no meane conduct of chiefe affaires in *France*, ſome yeares in the firſt troubles of King *Charles* the ninth.

His return to D. *Valentine.*

The great Admiral of *France.*

After ſome years of cruell warre, betwixt the Catholiques and the Proteſtants; peace was concluded in the year 1570. And for the better aſſurance thereof, a marriage was agreed on, betwixt the King of *Nauarre* (afterward, the moſt Chriſtian King of France) and the Siſter of *Charles* the ninth, then King of *France*. All the chiefe heads and leaders of the Proteſtants were inuited to the Court, as well for the ſollemnization of the marriage, as for confirmation of the peace. Whereupon, there was held an aſſembly of the Proteſtants at *Rochell*, to determine: whether it were conuenient, that they ſhould all goe to the Court, or no. And it ſeeming good vnto them, that ſome of the principall ſhould ſtay at home (eſpecially the Lord Admirall) to preuent the worſt, in caſe there ſhould be any double dealing on the Kinges part: The Admirall onely was of opinion, that it was conuenient they al, and eſpecially himſelfe ſhould goe, and alleaged many reaſons to that purpoſe. Yet finding them (neuertheleſſe) vnwilling therto; he did put them in minde, how often hee had yeilded to them (contrary to his owne opinion) in diuers conſultations. And therefore requeſted them, that they would condiſcend vnto him: not doubting,

Monſieur Caſtillion ſought his owne deſtruction.

The maſſacre of the Proteſtants at *Paris* 1570.

Boldneſſe and vndaunted ſpirit, working againſt it ſelfe.

him; yea, and forced him to make a diſting, but it would turne to the publike benefit of their cauſe. Well, to bee briefe, they yeilded vnto him: rather to ſatisfie his importunity, then for any liking they had therto, and ſo he went with the reſt: And within a few dayes after their arriuall at *Paris*; both he and they all (by damnable treachery) except ſome two or three that eſcaped by chance, were ſlaine by order from the King. Who doth not here behold, an euident example of mans weakneſſe and ignorance in pollicy, eſpecial in the Admirall, who hauing in ſo many occaſions (before this time of his ouerthrow) ſhewne himſelfe ſo prudent and prouident; that he could neither be ouercom by force, nor circũuented by fraud: yet had not ſo much wit, as to follow the aduiſe of others, but thought it ſafe and ſecure for him and them, to aduenture (as a man may ſay) al their goods in one bottome, yea, and without any neceſſity, to put themſelues to the mercy of a Soueraign King, whom they had highly offended. And this may be the more wondred at in the Admirall, for that in the beginning of the ſecond troubles, he wiſely foreſaw the like danger & inconuenience to himſelfe, and warily auoyded it. For the King hauing gotten ſome inckling of new broyles intended, and fearing moſt the Admirall, in reſpect of his great iudgement and experience, both in matters of war and peace: ſent vnto him *Monſieur du Tore* his Cozin, to aduertiſe him that he had great and important affaires to communicate with him, wherein hee would gladlie haue his aduiſe, and therefore deſired him to repaire to the Court with ſpeed. The Admirall hearing the meſſage, and ſuſpecting (as it ſhould ſeeme) that the King meant no good towards him: ſaid to *Monſieur du Tore*, that he ſhould tell the King from him; *That there were no Count Egmontes in France*. Meaning, that he would not ſo eaſily ſuffer his head to be cut off, as Count *Egmonte* had done lately before in *Flanders*; and this was all the aunſwere hee would giue him. Whereby it appeareth, how circumſpect and ſuſpitious he was of the king, when (as yet) he had giuen him far leſſe cauſe of offence, then afterwards, when he had the ſecond time rebelled againſt honorable peace. And yet notwithſtanding, he could not be diſſwaded, from putting himſelfe, and all the reſt of his friends into his hands. So blinde is the wiſedome and pollicy of man, when God determineth to punniſh him: for then, the firſt blow that God commonly giueth him, is in the braine, whereby he taketh from him his iudgement, that he may run headlong vpon his own ruine. And as the Pſalmiſt ſaith of vngodly men: *That they are ouer-taken in the craftie wilines, which they themſelues haue deuiſed and imagined.*

Now, it ſhall not be amiſſe to conſider here, by occaſion of the former examples; whether the moſt valiant, prudent, and pious Emperour *Charles* the fift, committed an errour or no, when (after many yeares warre, betwixt him and *Frances*, the firſt of that name, king of France, and the ſaid Kings diſgrace at *Pauia*, and his impriſonment in *Spaine*) he paſſed notwithſtanding thorough Fraunce, vpon a ſafe conduct giuen by the King, to giue remedy to the tumults lately before raiſed in *Gant*. Wherein, the good ſucceſſe, as wel of his ſafe paſſage, as of the ſpeedy pacification of thoſe troubles, may ſeem to be no ſmall Argument of his prudent deſignment. Neuertheleſſe, weighing the matter according to reaſon of State, and not according to the ſucceſſe (which depending wholy on the hand of God, is many times good and fortunate, though the counſell and deſignment bee imprudent) I cannot approue his reſolution therein, for the reaſons before declared, and the extreame danger that he expoſed himſelfe vnto, and the ſmall profit he could expect to receiue thereby; in compariſon of the dammage that might haue ſucceeded to him and his eſtate, if he had bin made away, or detained. For, although it imported him very much, preſently to quench that fire kindled in *Flanders*, before it ſhould grow to a greater combuſtion: yet the danger thereof was ſo great, as would haue beene in the inconuenience of his death or impriſonment, if it ſhould haue chanced.

For, the reuolt of the Country might haue beene remedied, either by force, or perhaps by faire meanes, as long as hee had life and liberty: but the other had beene

The errour of the politicke Admirall of of France.

Eſtien Paſquier lib. 5. Epiſt.

The anſwere of the Admirall of *France* to the King.

The firſt blow that GOD giueth to a wicked man when hee will deſtroy him, is in the brain

Pſalme 10. 2.

The paſſage of Charls the fift thorow France into Flanders. *Surius in Commentario rerum in orbe geſtarũ. Anno.* 1539.

Conſideratiõ according to State.

Quenching the fire begun in *Flanders.*

Liberty and life are the aſſiſtants of many great occaſions.

beene remedileſſe, and the great detriment that could befall him, and therefore not to be aduentured vpon, but only when it could not be auoided. And this (no doubt) was his owne opinion when he came into *France*, being admoniſhed of his great danger, not onely by his Siſter, then Queene of *France*: but alſo (as ſome men thinke) by the Kings owne Son the *Dolphin*, who, in reſpect of the good affection he did beare him, from the time that he had been hoſtage for his Father in *Spaine*; caſt himſelfe vp behind the Emperour on his Horſe, at his arriuall before he alighted, and clapping him vpon the ſhoulder (vnder colour to giue him a familiar welcome) ſaid openly and merrily to him; *Yeild thy ſelfe Emperour*: but after told him ſecretly in his eare, of the Counſels reſolution to ſtay him. Whereupon, the Emperour thinking it neceſſary to gaine *Madame d'Eſtampes* (who was greatlie fauoured by the King, and thought to be his Enemy) took occaſion as he was talking with her, to let fall before her a rich Diamond, as it were by chance, and when ſhe in courteſie tooke it vp to reſtore it vnto him: he would not receiue it againe at her handes, but entreated her to accept it as his guift. Whereby (as alſo by his good perſwaſions) it was thought hee procured her friendſhip, which concurring with the endeauors of his Siſter the Queene of France, and his owne good dilligences done with diuers of his Counſell; was thought to facilitate his eſcape.

But who, or whatſoeuer was the meanes thereof, it is not to be doubted; but that it proceeded principally, from the prouidence and mercy of Almightie God towards him. To which purpoſe it is to be conſidered, that it was reported, not onely by his owne Seruants; but alſo by the Ambaſſadors of *Flanders*, who attended vpon him in all that iourney: that hee ſpent two or three houres euery night in prayer on his knees, and as much euery morning ſecretly in his Chamber.

In regard whereof, and of the great ſeruice he had done, and was to doe to Gods Church: no doubt but God did eſpecially fauour and protect him. Wherof alſo it pleaſed his Diuine Maieſty alſo to giue publike teſtimony, by deliuering him twice (while he was in *France*) from euident daunger of death. One time, from ſtifeling in a ſmoake, that vpon a ſudden was raiſed (in great aboundance) by an artificiall fire, vpon a ſtaire as he was going from his chamber. The other time, from the fall of a great boord, that did light (ſome part of it) vpon his head, and brake it. And although it might haue been conceiued, that theſe thinges proceeded of ſome practiſe (in which reſpect, the King would haue punniſhed the Authours thereof with death, for better ſatisfaction of the Emperour;) yet hee would not ſuffer it, but obtained their pardons.

By theſe daungers, and the happy eſcapes of the Emperour (inferiour in wiſedome to no Prince in his time) three thinges may euidently be gathered. The firſt, his errour; the ſecond, the infirmity and weakeneſſe of mans wit; the third, Gods moſt merciſull and prouident care, in the preſeruation of his Seruants, whom he ſuffereth ſometime to erre, and to fall into great difficulties and dangers: partly for their humiliation, and to exerciſe their Faith, patience & confidence in him, for their greater good; and partly to make manifeſt, as well to themſelues, as to all others, the louing care which he hath of them. And that, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith; *Salus iuſtorum à Domino, & protector eorum in tempore tribulationis*; *The ſaluation of the righteous commeth of the Lord, and he is their Protector in the time of trouble*. Heere then may all Princes learne of this prudent and pious Emperour, what is their beſt remedy in like caſes of danger, to wit: to haue recourſe (as he had) to Almighty God, and to craue his aſſiſtance, ſaying with the worthy King and Prophet; *Oculi mei ſemper ad Dominum quoniam ipſe euellet de laqueo pedes meos*: *Mine eyes are euer looking vnto the Lord, for he will deliuer my feet out of the ſnare.*

The danger that Charles the fift eſcaped in paſſing throrow *France*. *Surius ibidem.*

Madame d'Eſtampes the Kings fauorite.

The great pietie and deuotion of the Emperour *Charls* the fift. *Surius ibidem.*

The Emperors admirable eſcape twice from death. *Surius ibidem.*

The Emperor inferiour in wiſedome to no Prince in his time.

Why God ſuffereth his ſeruants to fall into dangers.

Pſal. 37. 40.

Pſalme 25. 14

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *Of Errors committed by whole Senates, namely of Rome and Venice, &c.*

WHat maruaile is it, that perticular men (bee they neuer so wise) are ouerseen in matters of State: seeing that the most wise and graueſt Senates, haue also erred therein many times? Whereof I will (for breuities sake) alleadge onely three or foure examples. *Cicero* reporteth, that the Senate of *Rome* hauing taken great summes of Money, of certaine tributarie Citties, to make them free: forced them afterward to pay their old tribute, without restoring them the Mony that they had paid for their freedome. Which he saith, was *Turpe imperio, A shame to their Empire. Piratorum enim* (saith he) *melior fuit fides, quam Senatus: For the Faith of Pirats, was better then the Faith of the Senate.* This then being so great a fraud, that (in any wel-gouerned Common-wealth) it could not passe vnpunished in priuate men: must needes be a foule and shamefull fault in a whole Senate, not onely for the In-iustice of the fact; but also for the errour they committed in gouernment, to wit; in giuing to their Subiects, an example of fraudulent and deceiptfull dealing, which being authorised (as it were) by their publike Act, would the more easily insinuate it selfe into the Common-wealth, euen to the great detriment thereof. To which purpose, *Cicero* saith: *Princes and Gouernours, when they offend, doe not onelie endammage the Common-wealth, in that they are corrupted themselues; but also, in that they corrupt others, and hurt more by their euill example, then by the offence it selfe.*

Seeing then nothing can bee more pernitious to any State, then that fraud and In-iustice should haue course therin (for, as *Cicero* saith, *Faith is the foundation of Iustice, and Iustice the stay of State*) the Romaine Senate did erre most absurdly, in opening the gap to all kind of cozenage in the Common-wealth, by their owne bad example. Besides the losse of reputation, which must needes follow thereon to their Empire, as wel with their owne Subiects, as also with their Friends and Confederats. A thing so daungerous to State, that the same Senate (in former times beeing better aduised) did make restitution and reparation of like wronges, to recouer credite with their Friends and Confederates. And therefore they restored to the *Ardeatines*, a piece of Land which the people of *Rome* (against all reason and equity) adiudged and had taken to themselues some yeares before, when the said *Ardeatines*, and the *Aricinians* being in controuersy for that land; had remitted themselues and their cause to their iudgement.

Likewise at other times, the Senate resolued to deliuer most notable Men to their enimies; rather then to infringe Iustice, and incurre the infamie of fraud and deceipt. In which respect, *T. Verturius*, & *Spurius Posthumus*, both of them Consuls, and *T. Mutius*, & *Quintus Æmilius*, Tribunes of the people, were deliuered Prisoners to the *Samnites*: rather then the Senate would ratifie the peace they had made with thē. Besides that, the famous Consull, *M. Attillius Regulus*, being taken Prisoner in *Affricke*, and dismissed vpon condition, that the Prisoners of the *Carthagenians* should also be deliuered: was (by his owne motion) sent back by the Senate; becausse they neither thought good to deliuer the Prisoners, nor yet to loose their credite and reputation of Iustice, by recouery of their Consull, contrarie to the condition.

But perhaps you will say, that the error which I here reproue, was committed when the Common-wealth was growne to corruption, and declined from the integrity of vertue and Iustice, wherein it flourished in former times. Therfore, let vs consider the same common-wealth in her purity, I meane in her beginning, about 120. yeares after the expulsion of the Kings. For althogh the Senate did (at that time) giue many notable examples of singuler prouidence and exact Iustice: yet it failed sometimes in both, to the great damage of the State.

When

Cicero. in lib. 3. de Officijs.

An errour of the Senate of Rome.

A whole Senates errour exceedeth that of any priuate man.

Cicero in lib. 5. de Legibus.

Cicero in lib. de Officijs 2. et 2.

Restitution made by the Senate of Rome by the *Ardeatines.*

Tit. Liui Dec. 1 Lib. 4. Idem. Dec. 1. Lib. 3.

The great care that the Romains had of their credit & reputation.

Cicero in lib. 3. de Officijs.

Romes Common-wealth growne to corruption.

Another error of the Romaine Senate.

When *Brennos* the Brittaine (as some say) being Captaine of the *Gauls* that passed into *Italy*, besiedged a Towne called *Clusium*, beyond the Alpes, and demanded of the Inhabitants some part of their Territory: the *Clusians* finding themselus too weake to resist them, craued succour of the *Romaines*, who sent Ambassadors to treate peaceably with the *Gauls* in their behalfe.

The siedge of *Clusium* by the Gaules.

During which treaty and siege, there chanced to passe some acte of Hostilitie, betwixt the *Gaules* & the *Clusians*, wherein the *Gaules* perceiued, that the Roman Ambassadors (contrary to the Lawe of Armes) had borne armes against them, and killed a principal personage of theirs. Wherupon, they presently sent to *Rome*, to enquire the Romaines to punish their Ambassadours, for reparation of the wrong which they had done them. But the Senators, although (as *Liuy* confesseth) they knew well enough, that the *Gaules* demanded no more then was reasonable: yet they were partly so partiall in behalfe of the Ambassadors; and partly so confident of their owne forces, that they not only refused to do them Iustice, but also made the same Ambassadors generals of an Army, to be senr in succour of the *Clusians*.

Tit. Liuius in Dec. 1 Lib. 5.

Great Iniustice done by the Romains.

Vppon the knowledge whereof, the *Gaules* were incensed with such fury, that calling God and man to witnesse of the wrong, they presently raised their siedge from *Clusium*, and went directlie in all hast to *Rome*, and ouerthrowing (by the way) the Armie of the Romaines, they entered the Cittie, sacked, spoiled, and burnt it, with the greatest damage & disgrace to their state, that euer the Romans receiued, in the space of aboue 1100. yeares after that Rome was built, I mean, vntill the first sacke thereof by the *Gothes*.

Rome sacked and spoyled by the Gauls.

Gods iudgement inflicted on the *Romanes*, for their iniustice and pride.

The which may be ascribed, partly to Gods iust Iudgement, in punishing their Iniustice, and partly to their error, in that they so much contemned, so huge an army of so valiant people, as to exasperate them by open iniuries, and to draw them vpon themselues with a redoubled furie. Whereas (in all reason of State) they should haue sought to pacify and diuert them by all conuenient meanes; considering, he is no Wiseman that feareth not the doubtfull euents of warre, especially at home, where the victorie of an enemy is most dangerous, and in case most of al, where the whole State was to bee aduentured, against an out-ragious multitude of desperate Vagabonds, that hadde nothing to loose. So that this errour, was no lesse costly to the Common-wealth, then inexcusable in the Senate.

A desperat hazard to fight against a beggerly multitude.

Heereto I might adde diuers examples of the Senate of *Venice*, to the which, *Guicciardine* saith: *It is fatall some yeares to be deceiued diuers times.* But two examples shall suffice. The first may bee their resolution, to make League with *Lewes* the twelth, King of *France*, to assist him in the Conquest of *Millaine*, against *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke thereof, following the opinion of *Antonius Grimanni*, which *Guicciardine* saith, proceeded partlie of passion, and partly of desire to enlarge their Dominions, by ioyning *Cremona* to the rest of their States in *Italy*: notwithstanding, that *Marchio Trenisano*, had disswaded the same, with most strong and pregnant reasons, representing vnto them (by examples then fresh in memory) how dangerous it would be for them, to bring the *French* into *Italy*, & to haue so potent a neighbor, in the state of *Millaine*, as a King of *France*, whereof they sawe the effect shortly after, when King *Lewes* hadde it in possession. For then were they in such feares of his forces, as they durst deny him nothing that hee demanded of them, as *Guicciardine* noteth, in their deliuering of the Cardinall *Ascanius*, Brother vnto Duke *Lodouicus*, and Viscount *Baptista*, and diuers other Noblemen of *Millaine*, who had put themselues in their protection, vppon their publick safe conduct, with expresse mention of safegard against the French.

Guic. Hist. lib. 4

Ibid. Lib. 4 hist.

The error of the *Venetians* in making league with Lewes the 12 K. of France.

Another error of theirs, more daungerous and dammageable to them then the former, was their great ouer-sight, as well in their vnaduised proceedinges, towards their Confederate and Friend, *Frances* the first of that name, King of *France*, as also in the iniuries which they did to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and to the Pope, whereby they droue them all (that before were deuided) to vnite themselues with the King of *Castile*, and diuers other Princes, against them in the leagie of *Cambray*. And neuertheless, when the Pope demanded of them the restitution of a Towne or two of his, vpon condition,

Guic. lib. 4 in fine.

Guicciard. lib. 8. in vsio.

The error of the Venetians in ioyning with K. Frances of France. Anno 1508.

dition, not to enter into that league, nor to ratifie the same, but rather to procure the dissolution thereof, they refused it by the perswasion of *Dominicus Treuisano*, Procurator of Saint *Markes*, though other of the Graue and Wisest Senators, were of contrary opinion.

The issue and cluſiō against the *Venetians*, to their great losse.

Therefore, the yssue of the matter was, that all these Princes (ioyning their forces together, according vnto their agreement) spoyled them of all their possessions in *Italy*, and diuided the same amongst themselues. And had prosecuted their victory further, if the Pope had not beene a mediator for them, and procured their peace, vpon their humble submission to the Emperour, whome they most wronged.

Aconsideration of mans imbecility, & weakenesse of wit, and of the neede he hath of Gods direction.

Seeing then, these famous and renowned Senates, consisting of so manie wise and Graue men, haue committed such grosse errors, to their owne great preiudice and danger of their States, what assurance can any man haue, of mans wit, plots, and designments, if so bee he confide either in himselfe alone, or in the only counsell and iudgement of man. How vngratefull & simple then are those men, that presume so farre on their owne wits and sufficiency; that neither for theyr priuate, not for their publicke affayres, they make any account at all of Gods helpe and assistance? Vngratefull, I say, for that hauing good parts and Talents, and many temporall blessings, which nature and reason teacheth them, not to come of their owne purchase and prouision, but of the Liberality and bountie of Almighty God they do neuertheless, so admire the guift, that they forget the giuer, and so enioy the benefite, that they do not so much as thanke him that bestowed it vpon them; yea, and in steade of thankes, praise, honor, and seruice which they owe him, do render him contempt, dishonor, and no seruice at all. And therefore no meruaile, if Almighty God in punishment of so great ingratitude, do giue them ouer sometime to a reprobate sence, to the end, that as they offend him by an ouer weening of their owne Wisedome, so they may be punished, yea, and perish by their owne folly. This ingratitude of man, Saint *Augustine* worthilie calleth, *The roote of all spirituall Euill, the drie and burning Winde that blasteth al our Corne, and stoppeth vp the Fountaine of Gods mercy towards vs.*

The ingratitude of such as do not acknowledg the bountie of God towards them.

Proud men giuen ouer to a Reprobate sense.

Aug. in l. Soliloq

But heerein appeareth not onely the ingratitude, but also the extreame follie of such men (be they accounted neuer so wise) seeing that their weakenesse and imbelicity is so manifest, euen to themselues if they list to consider it, that they may easily perceiue, that they are not absolute of themselues, but do depend vppon an higher power. And yet neuertheless, they are so vnaduised, as to cast themselues into the innumerable dangers & difficulties of this Worlde, without any regard, yea with contempt and offence of him, on whome they depend, and who can direct & guide them aright. Wherein they may be compared vnto some simple and selfe-willed fellow, that will needs put himselfe to Sea in a terrible tempest, without a Pilot, or vndertake a iourney thorough a daungerous desert in a darke Night, either without a guide; or els, hauing a deere and louing friend to directe him, vseth him so vnkindly and contemptuously by the way, that he forceth him to forsake him in the midst of the Wildernesse, and so perisheth worthily, thorough his owne folly and ingratitude.

The extream folly of such men as trust wholly in themselues.

An apt comparison of wilful minded men.

Therefore, I conclede with these notable words of Saint *Augustine*, speaking to man: Thou receiuest (sayth he) the benefit, and doost not acknowledge the author thereof. The guift is manifest, and though the giuer bee hidden, yet thine owne reason may teach thee, that it is not thy due, but the guift of another. And therefore, whosoeuer the giuer bee, thou maist think, that as he hath bestowed exceeding much vpon thee, so hee hath loued thee much, seeing hee would giue thee so much. And this being so, what extreame folly is it, not to seeke and desire the loue of such a potent and kind louer? And what peruerse ingratitude and impiety is it, not to loue one that loueth thee so exceedingly? If then, thou Loue and esteeme his guifts, loue him that bestowed them vpon thee, and loue them as things that are subiect vnto thee, and as things that should serue thee, as pledges of thy Spouse, as guifts of thy Friend, as benefits of thy Lord; & so, as thou maist euer be mindfull, how much thou art his debter; yea, and loue his guiftes, not for themselues, but for his sake, not together with him, but for him. And lastly, loue them so, that thou maist loue him by them,

Aug in Lib. 4. Meditat.

A notable discourse of S. Augustine concerning the ingratitude of man towards God.

them, and aboue them. Thus saith this Famous and Learned Father, which I wish all men would print in their hearts, and practise in their actions. So shoulde their Counsels and deliberations be free from errour, and their actions from ill succesſe, which manie times is not so properly the fruite of mans infirmity, as a punnishment of God for presumptuous sinne, as may appeare by the examples already alledged.

The Authors charitable aduise.

CHAP. XIX.

At what time publicke and Generall Counselles beganne to bee holden: And who was the first Byshop or Pope that Celebrated a Counsel.

HE Hæbrewes and other Nations had an ancient custome, to hold Counsels, & to deliberate in them on such matters as they hadde to deale withall. And by the Testimony of *Iosephus*, it appeareth that *Moyses* and *Iosuah*, assembling the people oftentimes together, were likewise accustomed so to do.

Counsels amongest the Iewes and other Nations.

The like vse was among the *Egyptians* and *Persians*, according as *Herodotus* reporteth. So amongst the Apostles assembled in one place, when they receiued *Matthias* into the number of the eleauen, when they elected seuen deacons; when by the Authority of S. *Peter* and S. *Iames*, it was ordained, that the conuerted Gentiles should not bee charged with the burthen of *Moyses* Law. But only that they should abstaine from the soyle of Idols, Whoredome, strangled Meats, and from Blood. For, as then the Synod, as well of the Apostles, as of the Priests and Elders had beene assembled, as Saint *Luke* testifieth in the Actes of the Apostles, Writing there in the same manner.

The Egyptians and Persians. Acts 1,16. Acts 6,3.

The conuerted Gentile, freed from the Lawe of Moyses.

Now, some of the Sect of the Pharisies, which had beleeued, raised vp themselues, saying; that they ought to be circumcised, and commanded them to keep the Law of *Moyses*: whereuppon, the Apostles and Elders met together, to take order in this businesse. So that heereby it is easie to iudge, from whence proceeded the Institution of holding Counsels.

Whence holding Counsels first proceeded.

The first Counsell that was celebrated in *Rome*, is saide to be when *Cornelius* was Byshop: wherein were assembled threescore Byshops, as many Priests, and many Deacons; and there the *Nouatian* Heresie was condemned.

The first Counsell at Rome.

We read also in *Eusebius*, that the Fathers assembled themselues two seuerall times in *Antioche*; the first, in the time of *Dionisius*; and the other, of *Fælixe*, Popes, at the encountering of *Paulus Samosatenus*, Byshop of the sayde Cittie, who being a man of insupportable arrogancie, when he was first created Bishop, beganne to walke abroad in the Fieldes, accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both before and behinde him, reading and speaking all the way with woonderfull insolence; thorough which audacious pride, Christian Religion grew into much contempt amongst manie.

Two Counsels holden at *Antioche*.

Paulus Samosatenus Bishop of Antioche.

I think (saith *Polydore Virgil*) that our Byshops in these dayes, Learned of this Hereticke, the order of their pomps, and the traines which they leade with them. Do ye not see some of them, what Harquebushiers they haue marching before them, and what a crue of Swash-bucklers follow them, horrible blasphemers of the name of God? And do ye not see the Bishops themselues, in stead of preaching to their Diocesians, seeke what meanes they may to prolong them in War and strifes? O times! O manners! We haue good occasion to praise God, who hath graciously prouided vs of so Learned, Venerable, Vertuous, and Worthie an Arch-Byshop, as is my Lorde of *Eprnac*; who like a good Prelate, and vigilant Pastor, administreth the spirituall foode of the soule, which is the word of God; and preacheth often in his Church, and so Diuinely, as all Learned people are rauished with admiration. God continue him in so holy and good an Office, and defend him from all incomberances.

The words of *Polydore Virgil*.

Well, in the end, *Paulus Samosatenus* who denied two Natures to bee in Iesus Christ, and affirmed him to be man only, was condemned in this Counsell. But the.

Paulus Samosatenus his heretical opinion.

the *Romaine* Emperors being (as then) Maisters of all the World, were enemies to the Name of Christians: so that wee must needs thinke, that those Counselles were then rather priuate, then publicke, vntill the time of *Constantine*, who (by Gods omnipotent permission) embraced the Holy Faith, and then permitted publicke discoursing, concerning the points of Christian Religion. So that by Commission from *Constantine*, the Counsell of *Nice* in *Bythinia*, was held in the yeare, 324. and it was the first, and (before all other) solemnly celebrated, and in publicke, wherein 318. Byshops gaue their assistance, and (with common consent) declared *Arrius* to be conuinced of Heresie.

Liberty granted for Christian religion and the first publicke Generall counsel

Afterwards, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, the Counsell was holden at *Constantinople*, where *Macedonius* and *Eudoxus*, that denied the Holy-Ghost to be God, were both condemned. The Counsell of *Ephesus*, is saide to be held in the time of *Celestine* the first, and therein was condemned *Nestorius*, Byshop of *Constantinople*, who saide; That the blessed Virgin *Marie* was the Mother of Christ as man, and not as God.

The Counsel at Constantinople.

The Counsel of *Ephesus*.

The Counceel of *Chalcedon*, is reputed to be holden in the time of *Leo* the first, and there the Heresy of *Eutichus* was examined. This man was an Abbot of *Constantinople*. & affirmed, that Iesus Christ after he had taken on him humaine flesh, was not of two Natures, but consented to his Diuine Nature only. These were the foure Sacred Counsels, that augmented and encreased Christian Religion; and which S. *Gregory* reputed worthy to be receiued, saying; Euen as I confesse to haue receiued, and holde in reuerence the foure Bookes of Holy-Gospel, so do I these foure Councels; I imbrace them with all my heart, and I will keepe them by most entire approbation, because the foundation of Faith is builded on them, as on a foure cornerd stone, and the rule of common life and action (howsoeuer it be) consisteth in them.

The Counsell of *Chalcedon*.

The 4. chiefe generall counsels.

S. Gregories words of the foure Counsels.

The fifte Counsell was assembled at *Constantinople*, in the time of Pope *Vigilius*, and therein were debated and confuted, the impious errors of *Theodorus*, who maintained; That the Virgin *Mary* was deliuered of Christ, as man only, & not as God and man. Therefore in this Councell was concluded, that the Mother of Christ should be called Τεοτόκος, Mother of God. *Constantine* the Emperour, fourth of that name, caused the sixt Councell to be holden at *Constantinople*, at the humble entreaty of Pope *Agathon*, which was holden by 289. Byshops; and therein was reproued *Macharius* Byshop of *Antioche*, who iudged one onelie will and operation to bee in Iesus Christ. Of this sixt Counsell, *Beda* discourseth verie amply, in the Booke which hee wrote of Times. Many other Councelles were held in sundry places, as are set down by *Gratian* in his Decretales, which I silently ouerpasse, because I would not bee tedious to the Reader.

The 5. Counsell at *Constantinople*.

The 6. Counsell at *Constantinople*.

Bede on this sixt Counsell, *in lib. de Temp.*

CHAP. XX.

Heere ensueth summarily, that which was decreed in the Councel of Nice, held by Constantine *the Great, in the yeare, 325, to wit; what was to bee beleeued concerning the blessed Trinitie. As it appeareth in the Ecclesiastical History, the tenth Booke, and sixt Chapter.*

WE beleeue in God the Father Almightie, Creator of all things, as wel visible as inuisible. And in our Lord Iesus Christ, the only Sonne of God, borne and begotten of him: that is to say, of his proper substace, and therefore God of God, Light of Light, very God of verie God, borne, and not made of the same substaunce of the Father. By which Sonne, were all thinges made, as well in Heauen as in earth, and among vs men. Who also for the loue of vs men, and for our saluation, descended from the Heauens, and tooke humaine flesh on him, and made himself man. And so he suffered death and passion, and afterward rose againe the thirde day. Afterward, he ascended vppe into Heauen; and finally shall come to iudge the liuing and the dead. We beleeue also in the Holy-Ghost. And all such as say, that the saide Sonne was in any time when he was not, and was not before hee was born on earth, and that he was ereated

The constant Faith of the Fathers assembled in the Counsell of *Nice*.

ted of nothing, or of any other substance whatsoeuer, then only of the Father; or, that hee is the Sonne of God, but Conuertible and mutable: the holye Catholicke and Apostolicke Church, doth excommunicate and accurse them.

CHAP. XXI.

That which was Concluded, Decreed, and Ordained, in the Counsell holden at Rome, in the year, 376. against Apollinarius, *Concerning what ought to be beleeued of the Sacred Trinity, contained in the Tripartite History.*

The Reason of this Counsels assembly at Rome.

BEcause, that after the Councell of *Nice*, such errors hapned as some haue presumed to say, with a prophane and vnhallowed mouth, that the Holy-Ghost was made by the Sonne: we Curse and Excommunicate all such, as doo not confesse, and freelie preach the Holy-ghost to be of one selfesame substaunce and power with the Father and Sonne.

Sabellius.

Likewise, we curse such, as following the error of *Sabellius*, doo say; That the Father and the Sonne are both one, and the same thing.

Arrius and *Eunomius.*

We Curse *Arrius* and *Eunomius*, who by semblable impietie, albeit differing in words, do affirme the Son and the Holyghost to be creatures.

We Curse the *Macedonians*, who polluted from the Roote of Arrianisme, haue chaunged not the impietie, but the name.

Photinus.

We excommunicate *Photinus*, who renewing the Heresie of *Ebion*, confesseth our Lord Iesus Christ, to be but only borne of the Virgin *Mary*.

Two Sonnes.

We excommunicate likewise all such, as confesse two Sonnes, one before the World, and the other after the incarnation of flesh of the Virgin.

The word diuine.

We excommunicate all such, as for the reasonable soule, do affirme, that the word diuine, was conuerted into humain Flesh.

If any one doo not confesse, that the Father hath euermore been, and the son, and the blessed Spirit, let him be excommunicated. Father, Son, & Holyghost.

If any one do not say and confesse the Son to be truly borne of the Father, that is to say of the Diuine substaunce, let him be excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse, the Sonne to bee very God, as the Father is very God, and that he can do all thinges, and knoweth all things, and that he is equal with the Father, let him be excommunicated. The Son very God.

If any one shall say, that the Son of God hauing humaine Flesh, when hee was on earth, was not at all in Heauen, nor with the Father, let him bee excommunicated. Denial of the Godhead.

If any one shall say, that the Sonne of God, God himselfe, hath endured in his pasion the paine of the Crosse, and not the flesh with the soule, whereby he was cloathed in the forme of a seruant, which hee tooke vppon him, as the holy Scripture sayeth: Let him bee excommunicated. The suffering of Christ.

If any one do not say and confesse, that in the flesh which hee tooke on him, hee sitteth on the right hand of the Father, & wherewith also he shal com to iudge the liuing and the dead: let him bee excommunicated. The humanity of Christ.

If any one do not say and confesse the Holyghost to bee truely and properly of the Father, euen as the Sonne of the Diuine substaunce, and the worde Diuine to bee God, let him bee excommunicated: The Holy-Ghost.

If any one doo not say and confesse, that the Holy-ghost can doe all thinges; and that he is in all things, as the Father and the Sonne, let him bee excommunicated. The power of the Holighost

If any one shall not say and confesse, the Father to haue done all by the Sonne and the Holy-Ghost, that is to say, all things visible and inuisible, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one shall not say and confesse, one selfe-same Deity of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy-Ghost, one selfe-same Power, Diuinity, Vertue, and one selfesame Glory, Dominion, Empire; one selfesame will and veritie, let him be excommunicated. The Deity of the 3. persons.

If any one shall nor say and confesse, the three persons to bee true, of the Father,

The equalitie of the three persons.

ther, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghost, equall, alwayes liuing, containing all things visible & inuisible, doing all thinges, iudging all thinges, Viuifying all thinges, creating al things, and sauing all thinges : Let him bee Excommunicated.

Adoration of the holighost.

If any one shall not say and confesse, that the Holy-ghost ought to bee Worshipped of all Creatures, euen as the Father and the Son: let him bee excommunicated.

Of despising the holighost.

If any one doo thinke well of the Father, and of the Sonne, but neither beleeueth, nor thinketh well of the Holy-Ghost, he is an Hereticke. For all Hereticks, which conceite not well of the Sonne and Holy-Ghost, are conuinced of incredulitie with the Iewes and Pagans.

CHAP. XXII.

The Confession of a Christian, to the Confutation of all Atheistes, Heretiques, &c.

Whosoeuer shall refuse to make this confession, is worthy to be excommunicated and accursed.

I Confesse in trueth of heart, purely and intirely; that Iesus Christ our Lord, is truly God and man; and that al his heauenly Doctrine, containeth such a firme and assured Veritie, as no one point thereof cannot bee deceiued. Moreouer, that the holy Church is so assuredly grounded on the firme Rocke, that the Gates of hell can haue no power against it. That it is he, who is our mouth, whereby wee speake to the Father: Our eye, whereby wee see the Father: Our right hand, whereby we offer to the Father. The Glasse without staine or spotte, to giue vs knowledge of our pollutions. The Lauer or cleare Fountaine, to wash and make vs cleane. And the infinite Treasure, to make satisfaction to all our Creditors. In whom, and by whome, the Diuine Iustice hath beene fully answered, for the sinnes of al them that haue beene, are, and shalbe to the consummation of the world.

Of the holie Catholicke & Apostolicke Church.

Of Iesus Christ, and what he is to a Christian soule.

All my hope, refuge, health, life, and resurrection, is in the death of him. My merite is his mercie; and therefore, I beleeue and confesse his condemnation, to be my absolution; his crucifying, to bee my deliuerance; his descending into hel, my mounting vp to Heauen; his death, my life; his obedience, our plenary satisfactions.

That by his intercessions, our Prayers are heard. That hee is our Protectour, and faithfull defender. And that he onlie beganne and perfected in vs, life truelie happie and euerlasting. That his blood is our Washing, whereby we are cleansed, purified, and made White. And that hee hath purchased for vs, Righteousnesse and life by his resurrection. And whosoeuer shall not do him this honour, to beleeue, that hee shall bee Iustified and Sanctified, by his Death, Worde, and Sacraments, let him for euer bee accursed.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Summary and briefe Discourse against Atheists, Written vpon occasion of the Authors Conference with an Atheist.

Epicurus, Democritus, and other Atheists

COnuersing one day with an Atheist who vsed to haunt neere the place of my abyding, hee fully acquainted mee with his Wicked and abhominable opinions, such and the like as *Epicurus*, *Democritus*, and others had maintained; and whereof some in these Moderne times being transported with vanity of spirit, are not ashamed to make bolde profession. Which beeing so vile, and without any foundation or reason, I forbeare to declare them, saue onely some few in the end of the succeeding Chapter. For, they are woorse (without comparison) then those of all the Heretiques, that haue beene since our Sauior Iesus Christ, euen to this instant.

The Authours whereof, were *Iudas* and *Theudas* Magitians. The *Symonians*, *Menandrians*, *Ebionites*, *Cherinthians*, *Nycholaitanes*, *Saturnians*, *Carpocratians*, *Gnosti-*

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The names of the Sects and Heresies, which haue bin since the time of Iesus christ vntil this present.

Gnostitians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Cleobians, Dorothians, Gorthenians, Masuberthians, Encratites, Basilides, Cataphryges, Arabes, Helchesaites, Nouatians, Cathares, Sabellians, Manicheans, Arrians, Pelagians, Helonitians, Hermogenians, Reputians, Quintillians, Collyridians, Priscillianists, Hemerobaptistis, Anthropomorphits, Chiliasts or *Millenarians, Masselians, Dimocrites, Garasians, Paterons, Poore Men of Lyons, Arnoldists, Speronists, Fraticelles, Adamites, Orebites, Taborites, Noetians, Hydroparastates, Artotyrites, Ptholemaits, Stattoicques, Philonites, Helionites, Heracleonites, Antitades, Petades, Phrygians, Hierachites, Colarbasians, Docites, Borborians, Zacheans, Naasanians, Phemyonitains, Sethranians, Caynians, Codians, Ophites, Seuerians, Paulianists, Catabaptists Arbigeois, Archontiques, Hicrarchites, Seleutians, Felicians, Nestorians, Iacobitans, Monothelitanes.* The *Acephalick* Sects of *Barcotabas, Cerdon, Tatian, Redon, Apelles, Basilicus, Sirenus, Montanus, Theodorus, Paulus Samosatenus, Ogdoades, Artemon, Natalis, Galien, Berillus, Nepos, Liberius, Macedoncus, Heluidius, Ethicianus, Hermogenes, Epiphanes, Pontinus, Sinerus, Prepon, Pithon, Cleobulus, Praxeas, Asclepiodotus, Hermophilus, Apolonides, Themison, Theodotus, Florinus, Blastus, Isidorus, Secundus, Portitus, Bardesianus, Symmachus, Theodotion, Pope Ione, Lucius, Apolinarius, Acatus, Donatus, Olimpius, Adimantius, Alogios, Bertoldus, Baliardus* the Phylosopher, *Almericke, Guillaume of Holy Loue, Hermand, Durcine, Quintinists, Anabaptists, Seueriſts, Campanistes,* and an infinite number more, which are amply declared in the Holye Councels, Canons, and Decretales, and in the Ecclesiasticall History of *Eusebius* the *Cæsarian, Platina,* Saint *Augustin,* and others.

Mahomets horrible Sect beyond al the other Heretickes.

But the verie greatest Sect, the vilest and most Wicked of all, is that of the false seducing Prophet, which hath subborned, wasted, and lost more then halfe the world. He took his *Alchoran, Arfurcan,* Law, Collections, and Preceptes, out of the Heresies of all the Heretickes before named; but most principaly aided himselfe with the Olde and Newe Testaments, and some Visions and Interpretations, which he said were declared to him by the Aungell *Gabriell*. And yet this Wretch, as wicked as he was, did neuertheless confesse, that there was one only God, and that Iesus Christ was his Sonne, his Soule, Image, Spirite, and Wisedome of him. That he was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, and was a great Prophet; but saide himselfe to bee a much more greater Prophet then Iesus Christ, and that himselfe was the last; and after him, no other was to be expected. For he saide, that God had more fully reuealed his secrets to him, then to any other Prophet that had beene before him; and that he hadde giuen him an estate, and a rule more perfect, then that of Iesus. Confessing withall, that before hee was sent of God, and had receiued the reuelation of his rule: euerie one liued, according to that of Iesus Christ, and thereby was saued, and such also should be saued, as liued thereafter. But yet they could not be made so perfect, as by keeping that order appointed to him.

Mahomet confessed one onely GOD, which the Atheist will not do.

Mahomets abusing the people with most blasphemous Lies.

To confute the errors of this false Prophet, there were many Apologetical and defensiue Bookes made, by sundry great personages, as by *Iohannes Cantacuzenus* the Constantinople Emperor, *Theodorus Bibliander, Lodouicus Valentinus, Nicholaus de Cusa,* Cardinall; *Bartholomeus Picenus, Æneas Syluius,* who was Pope *Pius, Hierom de Sauanarola, Phillip Melancthon,* and many others: who wrote also well, and with such vehemency, against this Diabolicall Sect, full of *Iuetenist* fables and folly, that they confuted them, as matters most enormous and detestable, in hauing no foundation, Reason, testimony, neither any true miracles whatsoeuer. And yet the saide Mahomet, and all the other Heretickes togither, continued not a iot of their opinion, in such a fooliſh and freneticall manner, as at anie time to deny one onely God, albeit they failed wickedly, in their opinions & perticuler Sectes. And this *Atheist* denyed vnto mee, that there was any God at all, demanding further, what I could obiect against his opinion, in approouing the contrary? Whereupon I answered, that I would alledge but one Author only, to conuince both him, and all other of his wicked minde.

Books writte against Mahometerrors

No Sect so wicked as Atheists are.

Then, I produced *Hermes Trismegistus,* the Prince of ancient Diuinity, who had beene three times, the most great King, Sacrificer, and Phylosopher, that euer was. And these are his verie wordes

Herm. Trismegistus, High-priest & King of Egypt.

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which follow, wherewith I made my reply to the Atheist.

CHAP. XXIIII.

An Excellent Discourse, out of Hermes Trismegistus, *approoving what God is.*

Hermes Trismegistus in his Booke of the power of god, and greatnes of his wisdom Dial. 2.

GOD, is the existent cause of all things, helping generally, and in perticuler: for there is not any thing, vnto which a being is permitted, but of him, and in him, it obtayneth his life, sourse, and Originall. And that which is much more, there is not anie thing in this world, which dooth not receiue his byrth and production from that which was made and created by him: because there is not any thing that can take or haue his being from that which is nothing, considering, that that which is nothing, hath not any Nature, whereby it could be made any thing. God is the Thought, Spirit, and Light, it is conuenient to honour him by these two names, to wit; *Goodneße* and *Paternitie*, which are proper to him, without a competitor in any manner whatsoeuer: As being alwayes immutable, yet changing all thinges; inuisible, yet seeing all thinges; immortall, without place, and without end; inseperable, ineffable, inscrutable, inestimable; immooueable, yet mooving all things; and woorthy of all Honour and Reuerence.

Goodnesse & Father-hood.

God is not to be apprehended by mans vnderstāding, in regarde of his substance.

Hee is the supreame good, and none other, who cannot be knowne or apprehended by humaine sence as concerning his substance, because hee is a power not limitted.

Not were we created of him, but only to this intent, to beholde the discourse of the Starres, which are his most excellent, Magnificent, and Soueraigne workes, with the discourse of Nature, the example and imitation of goodnesse. Finally, the knowledge of his diuine power & Maiesty, of which knowledge he hath giuen a part and portion, to know, iudge, and discerne betweene good and euill.

But principally, to search the high and meruailous Artefice of the chiefe good; the which, with all other thinges, were made by his word Iesus Christ: by whom he hath created, constituted, and ordayned euery thing in his order and degree, by his only will. And that is nothing else, but an only infinite and incomprehensible goodnes, which is such, as it can appertaine to none but to him onely. And therefore, we must surpasse the Celestiall bodies, the Hierarchies of Angelles, and the circuite and discourse of the Starres, to attaine to the knowledge of him. For, this knowledge is insuperable, inuincible, and infinite, without any limitation: not hauing (as concerning himselfe) any beginning, whereas to humain knowledge there is allowed some beginning.

Iesus Christ, the worde of the Father. Dial. 4.

God is the only Father of all things. Dial. 5.

Hee containeth all, in his inuestigable Treasures and secrets, and is the sole and only Father of all thinges, from whome proceeded one onely Sonne, who gaue himselfe so strongly to be vnderstood by vs, as it is a verie easie matter to touche him. He assigned to the Sea his bornes and Limits, and gaue commaund that it should passe no further: he apointed the earth his full waight, and made his containdure in the middest of the heauens. If then it bee so, that an Image or painting cannot be done, without the industrie of the Image maker or Painter, can we immagine, that so great and woonderfull a building as the worlde is, could possibly be made without a workmā? O man too much blinded! O man too wicked and miserable! O man, buried in the bottom lesse darknesse of ignorance, to think the contrary! Looke to thy selfe well, when thou seekest to rob the workeman of his worke: and inuoke the Lord incessantly, and commend him with singularity, and with a name that can bee attributed vnto none, but him only; holding him continually, to bee the proper and Naturall Father of all thinges, as well visible as inuisible. And that is the onely eternall God, then which most excellent, incompareable, and best of all Names, not anie creature can deuise any other to giue him. He is entirely all that I am, al that I do, all that I thinke, and is all in all; and there is not any thing, but it commeth from him, neither any thing created or increate, but he is the same.

An inuectiue against Atheists, and their miserable condition

He is the Vnderstanding, vnderstanding all

The eternal parts and powers in God.

all things; the eternall Father, building all things; the onely God, woorking all things; the Soueraigne good, creating all goodnesse; the most pure and entire cause of euery matter; Ayre of the ayre, Soule of the soul thought of the thoght; and finally God. By whom all things moue themselues, & in whom, no choise can be made, but of all goodnesse. For about his essence, is a super-eminency of all goodnesse, more pure, cleare, and bright shining, then either can be spoken or expressed.

Dial. 6.

The intire & perfect parts of God.

And the entirest and perfectest parts of God, are *Beauty* and *Bountie*, which are his inseperable Kinsmen, and beloued aboue all other things. For in him is such a Beauty, as admitteth no comparison; and such a Bounty as alloweth no imitation: whereby the Worlde proceeded of him, and consisteth in him: Man made in the World, and to command the Worlde. For, God is the beginning of all things, and containeth & ordaineth euery one in his order & proportion. Hee that knoweth him, not only is fulfilled with all blessednesse, but also vnderstandeth and comprehendeth all Diuine knowledges, hardly like to any other. The knowledge of him, is nothing else but a Diuine silence, and an attentiue application of all the sences. He that vnderstandeth him, can think on nothing else: and he that heareth him, can heare no other thing.

Dial. 8.

Of the knowledge of God Dial. 9.

Of knowing and vnderstanding God, Dial. 10.

No Lawe admitteth any man of this World, so much power, as to contemplate the Beautie & Excellency of God, except he be first regenerated, reformed, and transubstantiated into him. He doth all that can bee doone, either present, or heereafter to bee spoken or thought on. His action is a power inuincible, and not equiparable, and that is the reason, that no one ought for to attempt or presume with him, or he to be compared with any other, be he diuine or humain, eyther in heauen or on earth.

No presuming or comparing with God.

The proofe of one onely true God. Dial. 11.

Now, to approoue that this is the power of one only true God, is euidently enough declared: for there is likewise but one World, one Sunne, one Moone, & but one Diuinity. And as concerning God, we beleeue vndoubtedly, that there can be but one, and he onely, that made each thing into many. Doost thou thinke that it should be a matter difficult or Laborious, for God to make life, soule, immortality, and changes of times? Why, thou thy selfe can do as much, & as great things. Thou Seest, thou Heares't, thou Smellest, thou Tastest, thou Touchest; thou speakest, thou goest, thou breathest, and thou vnderstandest without anie other then thy selfe; for all these things are performed by thy selfe. And euen as a man knew not how to liue, but by life; in like manner, God could not liue, without producing all things continually, and inspiring life into them. Vnderstand then, that if thou wilt not make thy selfe equall to God, nor appeare like vnto him; thou shalt neuer comprehend or vnderstande him: considering, that the like is euermore knowne by the like.

What wonderfull things are done by man.

This is vnderstood by knowing GOD rightly.

Extend thy selfe then into an infinite greatnesse; go out of this body, surpasse all times, be eternity, and so finally thou shalt know God. Exalt thy selfe more high then all highnesse; be thorow al the parts of the worlde; in Heauen, on the earth, in the Sea; euen from the beginning, to this present. Dwell out of the Vessell of this bodie; and thinkest thou then that any thing can perish by death? Comprehend all these things together; to know all places, all times, all waight, all lightnesse, all qualities and quantities: and then at length thou shalt vnderstand what God is. For, the verie greatest miserie that can happen to any man, is not to knowe him; and yet hee made all his workes, to the end that he might be knowen by them.

[illegible] him [illegible] God.

He hath not about him, either greatnesse, place, qualitie, Figure, Nouriture: because he is all these, and being al, hath all these about him, and euerie where else.

Dial. 12. The word diuine, Iesus Christ.

This is the diuine word Iesus Christ, therefore honor and worshippe him: and this Honour and Adoration consisteth onely, in being no way wicked, but flying from sinne, with all thy might & vertue. It is he that made regeneration, & tooke on him our humanity, to redeeme vs from the Captiuity of darkenesse, and seruitude of Sathan: and he will be magnified and praised in Silence, that is to say; with the Heart and Vnderstanding. Likewise, hee will bee called GOD, in regarde of his Power; Maker, by reason of his Workes; and finally Father, for the Loue of his Goodnesse, which appertaineth onely to him.

Dial. 13.

Dial. 14.

A familiar Comparison.

If it be lawfull for a Painter, to figure so many and diuers thinges; as Heauens, Earth, Seas, Men, Beasts, Trees, and all other thinges that haue no life; shall we bee so insolent to say, that the power of dooing all these, must bee denied to one onely God? O man too foolish, and vnprouided of vnderstanding! O blindfold man, and without any Diuine knowledg, that darest beleeue, thinke, or speake, to the contrary.

Lac. in Institut. Diuin. l. 1. cap. 5

Sybilla Erythræa could say; *That there was onely God increate, and exceeding all Creatures.* He is the only Soueraigne that made the Heauens, and diuided the Lights; that is only thorow all Worlds, and before all Worlds; that gaue Life, Generation and Nature vnto all things.

Plat in lib. Tim.

Plato, in his Booke called *Timeus*, sayth; *The Worlde is gouerned by the power and prouidence of one only God, the power and Maiesty of whom is so great, that in regard of this inestimable might, no man can conceiue him in his vnderstanding, neither expresse him by words.*

Lac. in l. 4. c. 29.

This Soueraigne and only God, cannot be adored, but by the meanes of his only Sonne: and whosoeuer thinketh to worship the Father onely, and giue no honour to the Sonne, hee can no way adore the Father. But he that receyueth the Sonne, and beareth his name, he truly honoureth the Father with the Sonne, because the Sonne is the Ambassadour, Messenger, and Priest to the Soueraigne father. He is the gate of the most great tẽple; the Way of Light, the Conducter to saluation, and the entrance into Life. The word Diuine, Luminous, and Celestiall: Sonne of the Almightie, Eternall and liuing God. King of al worlds, visible and inuisible; the wisedome of the Father; Splendour of his Glory and Eternall Light; Image of his substaunce; Prince and Captaine of Peace & Faith; Principall Shepheard; his best beloued Sonne, the Vapour of his Vertue; pure emanation or sending forth of his brightnesse; the spotlesse mirrour of his Maiesty, Goodnesse and Eternity; and the beginning of his creature.

Of the father and the son.

The names & Titles of our Lorde Iesus Christ.

He is our Sanctification, Propitiation, Wisedome, Iustice, Satisfaction, & Redemption: Maister of our Requestes, our Aduocate and Mediator, in whome reposeth all the Spirits of GOD; and in whome, are hidden all the Treasures of Wisedome and Knowledge. Hee was made the Oblation and Sacrifice of a sweete smelling sauour, our ample ransome, sufficient price, the onely branch and Diuine roote. The sole way of life, the Councell of the Eternall, the Doore of the Sheepefold, and the good Shepheard; the true Cælestiall Breade, and Treasury of felicity. One totall, consisting of all Vertues and Powers, the author of regeneration, Lorde of Glorie, King of Kings, Doctor of righteousnes, the faithfull witnesse of trueth, trueth it selfe, and the Originall of Life and Concorde. He is the Prince and Consummator of Faith, the Apostle of our Confession, the Angell of great Councell, the Saluation and Sauiour of the World.

The seuerall applications of Christ to man.

Lac. in l. 4. Ca. 6

In briefe, hee is the Sonne of God, who by the mouth of the most wise King *Salomon* (full of the Diuine spirite) hath saide; God hath begotten mee in the beginning of his wayes and workes, before the worlds. He begot me at the beginning, before there was any earth made by him, and before he ordained the Seas and Deepes. Before that the Riuers issued forth of their Springs, and before the Mountaines were made, hee begot mee. God made Regions and Lands habitable vnder Heauen: when he appointed the Heauens, I was with him; and when hee deuided his seat: whē he made the mighty Clouds ouer the Winds, when he placed the high hilles vnder Heauen; and when he laide the strong foundations of the earth, I was with him in the disposing of all.

Concerning the words of King *Salomon.*

I was he, in whom he delighted him selfe, and euery day I reioyced my selfe before his face, when hee tooke pleasure to see the worlde created and perfected. And for this cause, *Trismegistus* calleth him, *The Workeman of God.* And *Sybilla* calleth him, *the Counseller, who was filled by God the Father with so great Wisedome and Vertue, that hee vsed his Counsell and power, in creating the world.* S. *Augustine* in his tenth Booke of the Cittie of God, saith; That he found in the Books of *Plato*, that *Ante omnia tempora, & supra omnia tempora, incommutabiliter manet vnigenitus filius tuus coeternus tibi: Et quia de plenitudine eius accipiunt, vt beatæ sint, & participatione manentis in se sapientiæ renouantur, vt sapientes sint.*

Hermes Trismegistus & Sybilla

Aug. in lib. 10. de Ciuit. Dei.

Be-

The Authors words to the Atheist.

Beholde now, what aunswere I haue made thee, to make thee vnderstand what God is. And if thou wouldst haue anie more great, certaine, and euident Testimonies, looke into the holye Scriptures, and read there what is spoken by the Patriarches, Prophets, and Apostles; but more especially Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the City of God. As for the Idle Disputes which thou hast hadde with me, alledging and saying: What profite receiued God by the making of man for himselfe? Because thou beholdest, that to a good man there doth dayly happen aduersities, Powerties, labors, banishment, and losse of friends. On the contrarie also, thou seest wicked men to be very happy, raised to honours, and encreasing in goods. Thou seest the innocent in daunger, and the vicious to passe vnpunished. That men louing Religion and Piety, are afflicted. And death, hauing no regarde to the condition of men, or respecting their ages, exerciseth his crueltie vppon many, before they can arriue at the state of many yeares, and euen the most bolde and stoutest spirits, do die soonest, or are foiled in battailes. That Temples are burned by Thunder and Lightnings, & many things are doone otherwise then they ought to be done. That prouidence atuayleth not any thing, in the Creation and generation of creatures. That the paines of hell are not to bee feared, because there is no hell at all, and that all soules do die with their bodies. That pleasure and Voluptuousnes is the chiefest happinesse. That there ought not to be any humain society, but euery man to haue care of his perticuler profit. And not to loue his Neighbour, but for his own aduantage. With many other thinges which thou alledgest, that are the very same disputes of *Epicurus*, *Democritus*, *Lucian*, and *Dicearchus*.

The Atheists ydle Allegations.

Good mens misery & bad mens prosperous.

Old & young all one to Death.

Prouidence not to any purpose.

No Hell.

No humaine society, or loue of our Neighbour.

Lac. Firm. in lib 3. Cap. 16. et in lib. 7. Cap. 5.

In these cases therfore, I wil send thee for further resolution, to *Lanctantius Firmianus*, who hath conuinced al their sottish errors. So that, such as haue seene what he hath written, and they that haue expounded the Psalme, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*, woulde neuer fall into such diseases, so farre from sence and vnderstanding, as thy freneticall Follye and madnesse reacheth vnto: Vnderstand but what the Wiseman sayth; *That such as are great searchers into the Maiesty eternal, shalbe confounded with glory.* Attempt not then such things as are hidden with God: but reserue plaine sight vnto their due times and seasons. Beleeue *Salomon*, who saith: *We are not to say, what is this, what is that, and to what end. For all things are created vnto their seueral vses.* Seeke not after things that are too high for thee, neither enquire after matters that are too strong for thee, but euermore thinke on those things which God hath commaunded thee, and remember him in sobriety and simplicity of heart. Vnderstand what Saint *Paul* saith, *O the deepenesse of the Riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how vnsearcheable are his iudgementes, and his wayes incomprehensible, past finding out?*

Theodoret the *Syrian* Bishop, in his Sermons of life eternall, and the Diuine prouidence.

Rom. 11, 33.

Therefore it behoueth vs, not vnwisely to enterprize impossible thinges; but with all our vertue and vnderstanding, to wonder at, and to praise the workes Diuine. For wee are able to speake by experience, that such as haue studied most, & practised how to behold the Sunne more then neede required, saw no such thinges as they stroue to see, but spoyled their owne sight, and were drawne into darkenesse. And oftentimes, when a man (by contention and folly) striueth to seek for that which is hidden in the earth, or to know the foundation thereof; & whereupon it dependeth, or thinges aboue in Heauen, and out of this vniuersal world, not onely hee cannot finde what hee seeketh for, but filleth his owne soule full of troubles and darknesse, such is the infirmity of the spirit. For we know wel what Saint *Paul* saith, by good admonishment. *If any man imagineth himself to know something, he hath not yet learned what appertaineth to knowledge.* Let vs then not seek so farre into things, which we are not possible to attaine vnto: but let vs be content with that which we haue receiued; and, according to our best power, blesse the Lorde, his dearely beloued Sonne Iesus Christ, and the Holyghost, vnto whome equally, belongeth all power, might, maiesty, and dominion, for euer and euer.

Gazing on the bright sun doth but dazle the sight.

Rom. 11, 19.

CHAP. XXV.

The Atheist further confuted, by allegation of Magicall Sciences; because he denied, that there were any such Sciences, or any Deuils or Spirits.

SAint *Augustine*, in his one and twentith Booke of the Citie of God, saith, *There is no contradiction of Magicall Arts, except we will gainsay the Scriptures*; and they are spoken of in many places of the Bible; namely, that the first, second, and third signe, which *Moyses* did performe, the Magitians or Sorcerers of *Pharaoh*, did accomplish the same. And when (afterward) they could not attain to the performance of other great signes and myracles, then they could say; *This is the finger of God, in the power whereof those things are doone*. Read the twenty eight Chapter of the first Booke of *Samuell*, howe King *Saule* went to *Edor* or *Endor*, to see a Woman that had a Phitonicall spirite, who raised vp the likenesse of the Prophet *Samuell*, that had long time bin dead, & the spirit saide vnto him: *After to morrow, the Philistims shal giue thee battell, thou shalt loose the day; and both thou and all thy Children shal dye, only Lame* Mephiboseth *reserued*, and this fell out to be true.

In the eighteenth Chapter of *Deutronomy* it is sayde; *When thou shalt come into the Land which the Lorde thy GOD giueth thee, thou shalt not learne to doo after the abhominations of those Nations. Let none be found among ye, that maketh his Sonne or his Daughter to go thorough the Fire, or vseth Witch-craft; or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the Flying of Birds, or a Sorcerer, or a Charmer, or a man that asketh Councel of familiar Spirites, or a Diuiner, that demaundeth aduise of the dead. For all these thinges, and they that do them, are abhomination to the Lord: And because of these abhominations, the Lord thy God doth cast them out before thy Face.* See in the Actes of the Apostles, *Symon Magus*, and what hee did by Art Magicke; togither with the Chamberlaine, which gayned his Maisters life by Magicke.

We finde also in the Ecclesiastical historie, Written by *Eusebius* the *Cæsarian*, how a man named *Manes*, an Hereticke, mounted himselfe vp into the Ayre, before a great number of people, flying quite out of their sight. In the same Historie, we shall also see, that the Empetours *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, & others, vsed Magicall Arts, and had no Gouernours, Captaines, or Officers, but such as were enstructed therein: nor woulde they do any good, or giue anie aduancement, but to them that vnderstood those Sciences.

In the fift Booke of *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Diuine Institutions, he speaketh of the God *Apollonius*, whome the Emperour *Domitian* should haue put to death: but in the presence of the said emperor and al his assistants, he made himselfe inuisible, so that no one knew what was become of him.

Lactantius Disputing against *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and *Dicearchus*, who sayd, that the soule was mortall, plainly telleth them; That they durst not abide in the presence of Magitians, who by charmes and Enchantments, called and made deceased soules to come out of Hell, and shewed them to bee seene before the eyes of men, speaking and foretelling of things to come.

Wee reade in the Historie of *Ioseph*, that it is saide to his Bretheren, *You haue taken and stolne the drinking Cup, wherein my Lord is wont to performe his Augurses and Diuinations.*

In *Platina*, who Wrote the Liues of the Popes, wee may see; that *Gilbert* (who was Named Pope *Syluester* the second) a Religious man, in the Monasterie of Saint *Benoist de Fleury*, neere *Orleance*, & had bin School maister vnto the Emperour *Otho*; *Robert* King of *France*, and to *Lotharius*, Arch-Byshop of *Sens*, saide himselfe; that because (by his Councell and Magicke) hee gaue his soule to the Deuill, hee obtained the Papacy. For which, he was afterward verie sorrie and penitent; and confessed generally & publickely, the great sinne and offence which he had committed, *Platina* and others do likewise testify, that *Ioan* the Papesse, obtained the *Romaine* primacy by Magick, which she had long time studied at

Aug. de Ciu. dei lib. 21. cap. 6.

Exo. 7, 10, 11.

Exod. 8, 19. 1. Sam. 28, 8. Saule consulteth with a Witche, whē God had refused him.

Deut. 18, 9, 10, 11. The abhominations of the Gentiles to be auoyded.

Acts 8, 9. *Symon Magus.*

Manes the hereticke. *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History. The Empetors *Maxentius* & *Maximinus.*

Lact. Firm. in Lib. 5 cap. 3. de Institut. Diuin. The God *Apollonius.*

Lac. Firm. in lib 7 cap. 13. Democritus, Epicurus, Dicearchus.

The brethren of Ioseph accused. Gen. 44, 5.

Plat. in Vit. Pon. Of Pope Syluester the 2. that gaue his soul to the diuel to be pope

Ioane the Papesse got the Primacie of Rome by Magicall Arts.

at *Athens*. Comming thence to *Rome*, she read there publikely, and disputed against all Commers; not any one being found equall in knowledge to her. So that after the death of Pope *Leo*, by consent and voyce of all the Cleargy: she was elected in the Papacy, not knowing that she was a woman. The Seat she held two yeares, one month, and foure daies, euen vntill shee fell in trauaile of child publikely, in going to the Church of *Laterane*; in which trauaile she dyed, being an English Woman by birth.

The death of the Papasse *Ione*.

Saint *Augustine*, in his Celestiall Citie, writing against *Apuleius*, who wrote a Book of the Demon of *Socrates*, that had a Deuill, which told him whatsoeuer hee should doe: sheweth by great disputation (as well against the saide *Apuleius*, *Labeo*, *Varro*, *Porphyrius*, as others) wonderfull things of those cursed and forbidden Sciences, discoursing of them more then any other matter, and in a great number of Chapters. He saith, that he himselfe hath seene some, speaking in all kinds and manner of deuils, good and bad, and the places where they make their abiding: as also such as haunt among men, which were called *Lares* and *Lemures*, beeing inuisible Deuils; whom they tearmed priuate Gods, and *Manes*, *Goblins* and Spirits. The euill Angels they named *Syluani* and *Fauni*, otherwise tearmed *Incubus*, and *Succubus*. *Incubus* is the Man deuill, & *Succubus* the woman; by whom they accomplish their wil with women. The deuils called *Dusians* haue done the like. *Lactantius*, in the second Book of his Diuine Institutions, discourseth largelie on this matter, as well concerning Deuils, as the Magicall Arts.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

Apuleius, Labeo, Varro, Porphyrius, &c.

Lacres, Lemures, Manes, Goblins, &c.

Incubus and *Succubus*.

Lactan Firm. in Lib. 2 de Diuin Instit. Cap. 15.

Marcus Varro speaketh meruailous things, of the transformation of Men, who made themselues to be Wolues; and he speaketh of one that continued so ten yeares, and yet afterward returned to his shape againe. And Saint *Augustine* saith, that he being in *Italy*, heard that there were certaine Women, who in giuing impoysoned Cheese to Men: conuerted them into Mares, and afterward they came to be men againe, and lost no vse of their reason. *Circes* also transformed the companions of *Vlisses* into Swine, by a certaine kind of drink which she gaue them. Yet Saint *Augustine* saith, that these are but illusions, and it appeareth to such as are transformed, that they are in a Dreame. Neuertheless, the Deuils doe carry the deceipt in such manner: according as he speaketh of one *Prestantius*, who dreamed that he was in great paine and torments, by carying victuals to the camp of his Enemies. And albeit he was all this while in his bed, yet hee found it truely irkesome, and very offensiue to him.

Marcus Varro.

Augustine, at his being in Italy.

Circes metamorphosed the friends of *Vlisses*.

Aug. in Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

Hee that wrote the manner of the Turks liuing, a man of great knowledge and experience, & who remained more then twenty yeares Prisoner in their hands, saith: that the very greatest part of their religious men, are Enchanters and Magitians. Moreouer, that there was one in his time, who in all hidden and concealed matters, could giue a true and certaine iudgement, especiallie of any thing lost, or stolne: by meanes whereof, all the Theeues in the Countrey were grieuously punished, which caused, that no Theefe durst come nere the place where hee dwelt. And that which is most to be marueild at; before such as came vnto him, could declare the occasion of their iourney: himselfe would intirely tell them the truth, of whatsoeuer they were to demand. And to the end, that they may the sooner draw the people to their false Faith, by Miracles, Prodigies, Illusions, & lyes: they make Sathan the Deuill to appear in the shape of a man, and raise vp dead bodies, which they onely see to moue, but liue not. They can likewise cure al kinds of diseases, and reueale the secrets of mens harts, as also places where any treasures lye hidden; for the Authour speaketh in these very wordes. *Videbis mortuos resuscitare, omnis generis morbos curari, secreta cordium reuelari, & abscondita à seculo Thesaurorũ loca reperiri.*

The Authour of the Turkes liues, in his 18 Chapter.

A cunning Magitian in Turky.

Deceipts and illusions of the Turkish Enchanters.

All the Historics and Bookes of the Ancient Greekes and Latines, are full of such as haue vsed Magicall Arts. As of the Serpent that followed *Æsculapius*: The Gods which *Æneas* brought with him from *Troy*: The Virgine that brought a Sine full of Water to the Temple of *Vesta*, without spilling one drop. The great Waxe Taper of the Goddesse *Venus*, whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, that it could not be extingui-

The ancient Greekes and Latines, what strange tales are recorded by them.

tinguished. The Sorceries of *Medea*, and an infinite number more, which are to be found in *Trithemius* and *Hinibaldus*, two very auncient Historiographers. They also record, that before *Pharamond*, and the fortie Kinges and two Dukes, which raigned before him, and before the Kinges of *France* receiued the holy Charracter of Baptisme: there were many that vsed, and made profession of those Sciences, and especiallie the King named *Basan*. Yet well we know, that such thinges haue euermore bin forbidden, vpon paine of corporall punishment.

Trithemius and *Hinibaldus* two ancient Historians.

Pharamond the first King of France.

We read, that the Bookes of *Numa Pompilius* were burned (after they had beene found in a vaulted Caue in his Sepulcher) by the counsell and commaund of the *Romaine* Senate. And by the Law of the twelue Tables, hee that vsed this Art had bodily punnishment. According as we finde in the Chronicles of *France*, that the Count of *Fouex* was put to death, for hauing made a compact and couenant with deuils. So we may yet daily behold witches and Sorcerers punished, who haue any way cõpromitted with Spirits: for euery Sunday they are proclaimed and accursed, and all such as ad-here vnto them. And not onely such as beleeue in Magicke; but also in the Sciences thereon depedding, whereof we haue already spoken sufficiently. *Apuleius*, who was accused before the Christian Princes, for vsing those Sciences: durst not defend them, albeit he saide, and wrote more then any other. In the Code of the ninth Booke, & thirteenth Chapter, you shall finde, that *Ars Mathematica damnabilis & interdicta est omni modo, & que eorum scientia punienda, & seueriſsimis merito legibus vindicanda est*. The sacred Scriptures, the Church, Canons, and Decrees, doe forbid the vse thereof on paine of damnation; although there should be any truth therin, because the Lord himselfe hath prohibited it.

Numa Pompilius, his Bookes burned.

The Law of the twelue Tables.

All kindes of Magick haue before beene declared.

Apuleius accused of sorcery

In Code Lib. 9. Cap. 13.

Magicke Arts vtterly prohibited.

I haue seene and heard by a number of wise men, who haue assured me, that they haue seene very strange and admirable thinges, which would be tedious heere to rehearse. That by a certaine number of daies, a man may obtaine so many Spirits, and haue them all made subiect to him; by the vertue of high, Diuine, and Celestiall Names, in performing the great worke. The foure great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and sixty sixe thousand Legions of Spirits, that obey according to their Charracters, and promises made vnto them, wherein are vsed great Ceremonies, Homages, presents, Idolatries, and things most enorme and detestable, which are not to be written, and which a faithfull mind, that hath placed his hope among the heauenly Inhabitants; will hold all such foolish censures in horror and detestation. But all that I haue hitherto spoken, is to no other end; but to exclude the sottishnesse of idle-headed Atheists, in denying and gaine-saying, that there are not any Deuils.

The great worke in Magicke.

The ceremonies in Magicke.

The reason of inserting this Chapter.

And *Lanctantius Firmianus*, speaking against them, saith. *Seeing that alreadie such people are lost, in hauing no beleefe: I would counsell them to learn those Sciences, whereby they may attaine to haue some Spirits familiar with them. And hauing gotten them, according to such rules as will be giuen them: they shall know by them, that there is a God, to whom they obey, and doe tremble when his holy name is vttered. Yea, they will say, affirme and beare witnesse, that if they will not be obedient to the Lord of might: they shall be damned with them, for God is the onely true and great God.*

Lac. Firm. in lib 7 cap. 13.

CHAP. XXVI.

A briefe description of the Table of Apelles, the most excellent Painter of the World in his time: which Table made a liuelie representation of humaine life.

APELLES, the admired Painter, ingeniouslie drew a Picture, concerning the life of man and the abuse of drunkennesse. Whereby this man of incomparable skill plainely declared, that his Soule was no lesse exercised in Philosophy, then his hand in painting. In this Table, he liuely pourtrayed, and presented to all beholders, the

The deformity of drunkennesse.

the whole eſtate of humain life. In the firſt place he Painted a Garden, with a very pleaſant Arbour in it, which was embelliſhed with Hearbes and Floures of all ſorts, that might be thought able to yeilde delectation, to ſuch as ſhould enter into this Garden; as well in regard of their beauty and appearance, as for their fruites and pleaſing ſauour. At the entrance into this Garden or Orchard, there was a great Gate figured on the right hand, the way and paſſage whereof was very delightſome, & much frequented: for thereby reſorted thither (from many other by-pathes) all ſorts of people, young and old. On the other ſide, beeing the left hand, there was another little doore, very ſtraite, & narrow to paſſe in and out at, which had a ſharpe and difficult way thereto, all couered with Buſhes, Brambles, and Thornes, and that way ſeemed very little frequented. Before the firſt gate, there were goodly Tents erected, with beautifull Seates and Lodgings, fit for royall entertainement: and there ſtood alſo faire Tables, ready furniſhed with all Viands neceſſary for the life of man, diſpoſed in very good order, and all commers ſate preſently downe, banqueting together very iocondlie.

A faire Garden and an Arbour.

The entrance into the Garden, on the right hand.

Another little entrance on the left hand.

Preparation before the firſt gate.

The Hoſtes or Miſtres of the place, named her ſelfe *Sobrietie*, who had all her Chamber-maids about her, waiting on the Table very honeſtly, with all diligence and exceeding good grace. One of them tearmed her ſelfe *Chearefulneſſe*; another *Modeſty*; and the third *Honeſty*. They had alſo the *Graces* (their Siſters) with them in this place of pleaſure, where *Sobriety* pleaſed to liue with her Houſhold. Some gaue themſelues to Wraſtling; Others delighted in other honeſt paſtimes; without any debate or diſcontentment. Some alſo conferred together; and others wore awaie the time, in playing vpon muſicall Inſtruments, while others ſung ſweet and honeſt ſongs to them.

Sobriety the Miſtres, and her waiting-Maides.

Of Sports & paſtimes.

In breefe, they had all ſeemely paſtimes, both to exerciſe and recreate themſelues, before and after their repaſts, according as was thought requiſite for the ſupport of health. After they had honeſtlie taken their refection, one part of them retired (very merily, and in good order) home to their houſes and affaires; after they had firſt thanked, and taken leaue of their Lady *Sobriety*. But the reſt that remained, being a farre greater number then they that returned, not contented with this hauing receiued good fare, and ſpending the time ſo much as was thought requiſite: would needes paſſe on further, and entred into the Garden at the great Gate, without making any account of *Sobrietie* their firſt Hoſteſſe, or yeilding her any thankfull requitall.

Their order after Refection, in ſuch as were gueſts.

At the entrance of the Arbour, there ſate a Woman, looking euery where about her, ſhe being very groſſe and fat: her Cheekes ſwolne and puffed vp; her Lippes great and red, and her Face like a flat platter: and ſhewing her ſelfe very ſeruiceable, ſhe called to the troope of people, making them courteous ſignes with her head, and ſhewing them (with both her hands) the doores open entrance.

The deſcription of Gurmandiſe and Gluttony.

This Woman was called *Gurmandiſe*, or *Gluttony*. In the midſt of the Arbour ſate another Woman, in Garments like a Queen: but ſhe was drunk, yet ſhe gouerned there, and was chiefe Miſtreſſe of the Lodging. She had a Crown of young Vine ſprouts on hir head, and held a great Cup in both her handes, as one that was alwaies readie to drinke: beeing attended and accompanied with her Ladies and wayting-Maides, who ſerued all ſuch as entred preſently with drinke. The firſt was named *Folly*; the ſecond *Madneſſe*; and the third *Luxury*; on whom ſtill waited her Brother *Exceſſe*, all of them fitted with Garments according to their conditions.

The Image of drunkenneſſe

The Ladies & waighting women attending on drunkenneſſe, deſcribed in their ſeuerall qualities and conditions.

A fourth Hand-maide was alſo preſent by, called *Forgetfulneſſe*, who ſeemed to ſtand as one aſtenied: And then there was another, ſitting on the ground, called *Slothfulneſſe*, Siſter vnto *Idleneſſe*, and Daughter to *Carleſneſſe*. She ſitting halfe aſleep, as it were; held a Cuppe of Wine in her hand, which (negligently) ſhee ſpilled on the ground, *Scurrility* and *Scoffing*, with *Taunting* their Brother, and Brabling their Siſter, tooke her Kinſman *Debate* by the hand, who was not far of, but ſate cloſly conferring with *Infamy*, *Rage*, & *Fury*, who (for want of better company) ſupplied the laſt place.

This

Men transformed into all kinds of beasts, by drunkennesse

This comely company, were guarded and enuironned (as by hedges and bushes) with Beares, Bulles, Goates, great Asses, Horses, huge Mastiues, bleating Cattle, Hares, Buckes, Apes, Marmosets, Wolues, Swine, and all other kindes of Beasts; that (of liuing Men) had beene Metamorphosed into such Monsters, after they had drunke of the Wine, from the hand of the Lady. When they entred first to her; they were all Men, and so continued (for some time) in their humaine shape: but when they had thoroughly tasted of her drinkes, they lost their true formes, and were suddenly changed into Beasts. But it was a horrour to behold their countenances, and the life which these beasts led, crying and howling altogether, with a most confused hermony, and accord.

Horror to behold men changed into beasts, & what strange filthinesse then issueth from them.

Vpon the one side, some were discharging their stomackes of Wine, & then they which were Dogges, came and licked vp this loathsomnesse againe. The Swine wallowed in filthy puddles, vomiting horrible Serpents and Lizards. The Bulles and Kine, they did cast vp Frogs and Flyes: The Buckes, Pearles: The Asses, Bookes: The Bears, swords and Glaiues: The Wolues, Cats and Mice: But the Apes and Marmosets, they skipped & danced about very pleasantly. Contrariwise, the Beares and Wolues bit, and fought very furiously each against other, so that their bodies were torne and mangled.

Debates, quarels, and contentions in Drunkennes.

Vpon the left hand, where the narrow passage was, whereof we haue formerly spoken, and the small path so sildome haunted: lay the bodies of beasts stretched out along, sleeping verie soundly, although it was in their owne Dung and Vomitings. All were wounded with Wine, and many other hurts, and there they lay heaped, as a Hill of dead bodies. Some arose vp faintlie, after they had slept and digested their Wine, and afterward returned speedily to their former behauiour; but hauing on still their skinnes of sauage Beasts.

The vnwholsome and vnsauoury sleeping of drunkards.

Their returning out at the narrow gate.

These men, after they were well wearied with drunkennesse, went staggering forth of the Arbour, and found a passage out at the strait or narrow gate: but many of them in this returning, were halt and lame of their members; others were halfe Men, & halfe beasts, as Centaures, Satyes, and Sauages. When they were out of the little door, there they met with aged people, that kept the passage, who came vnto them with Bonds and Chaines, where-with they bound them hand and foote, and afterward did beate them very soundlie. If any one offered to rebell, they gaue him many blowes with a Bastinado: and they would not suffer any to escape them, vntill they had made their account with them.

Aged people that contended with Drunkards.

The most dangerous old fellow of al the rest, that gaue the most blowes, and (indeede) was most cruell; named himselfe the *Gout*, who had a very hideous shape. He had his members lanke; his ioynts grosse; his hands and fingers knit with great knots, and crooked. The second, had one while a pale countenance, and another while it was as red as any fire: and hee tearmed himselfe the *Feauer* or *Ague*. The third was the *Dropsie*, very big swolne, with a colour like to Lead and Sulpher: and he was also a shrewd smiter, tormenting vetie cruelly. For in some, he blew vp their bellies as big as Drums; others, their Legges; others, their stomacke and face; others, their whole body, and brought them into such an alteration: as they could neuer bee satisfied with drinke, but the more they dranke, so much the more thirsty were they, and insatiable. Hard at his heeles followed the *Palsie*, who seemed to be wholy impotent, and that he had not any Nerues, which were not broken: but such as he could lay hold on, he bound them in such strong and sure bonds; as he made them quite impotent eyther in halfe of their body, or all their members.

The most angry old man, was the Gout

The Feauer.

The Dropsie.

The Palsie.

The fift, called *Apoplexie*, or the dead Palsie, tooke some strictly by the coller, and beat them so about the head: that they remained as halfe dead, without any vnderstanding or mooning. The *Itch* and *Scab* accompanied all these, but closely pursued by their Sister *Leprosie*, who did so beat those poore tame Roysters, that all their bodies became an hard crust, and their faces adorned with goodly Saphires. Their Noses also cost more the painting; then if they had bin limned

The Apoplexie.

The Itch, Scab, and Leprosie.

The Cuſtome of Lazers and Rogues.

limned with Gold and Siluer. Theſe fel a tugging one another by the eares, & ſo cruelly fighting; that hardly any one of them remained aliue.

So many men ſo many diſeaſes.
The Falling ſickneſſe.
The catarrhe

Thus grew ſuch a number of diſeaſes among men; that moſt of them could lay claim to a ſeueral name. But among the reſt, there was the *Falling euill* or ſickneſſe, and the *Catarrhe*, which continually lay buffeting about the head. The *Falling ſickneſſe* lay al along, beating his head againſt the ground, and againſt hard ſtones: that many times it brake, and the blood followed; with foaming at the mouth like an angry Swine. But woe to him whom he could faſten on; for he would fall downe vpon him, and make him in as bad a caſe as himſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, hee was not ſo cruell as his Kinſman *Apoplexy*, for albeit he took away al vnderſtanding: yet he left ſome motion, and reſted ſatisfied with offending himſelfe onely. *Catarrhe*, or the *Rhume*, had a groſſe head, ſo heauie and ſleepy, as very hardly could he ſupport himſelfe. His gorge was like a Sinke, euermore caſting forth vnſauory ſmels. His Noſe like a Limbeck, alwaies diſtilling: but not Roſe-water, for it was foule ſniuell, like to ſuch corruption as he bred himſelfe. And ſuch a deale of Water came forth of his head, onely to quench the heat of wine: that the ſmell thereof annoyed many, and almoſt ſtifled others.

The falling ſickneſſe not ſo bad as the dead Palſie.

Of the Catarrhe or Rhume.

Among all theſe old wretches, there was one that had more then fiue hundred thouſand pieces and patches on his Garment, his face was couered verie thicke with dirt and filth, and he looked very meager and hideous: which made all the reſt, ſeeing him to be ſuch a poor Snake, and one vnworthy to hold ranck with them; to beat and bruiſe him, till the blood iſſued forth. This Picture of miſery was called *Pouerty*. After al theſe before named, came *Old decrepite Age*, mounted on a Charriot made of dead mens bones, and his next Neighbour *Death* triumphed ouer him. The Chariot wheeles went ouer both young and old, breaking them in pieces as it went along. Thus may you ſee by the Picture of *Apelles*, a liuely deſcription of *Sobriety* and *Drunkenneſſe*; deliuering apparantly to euery eye, both the good and euill that happeneth to men.

Pouerty in his beſt bracuery.

Old age and death.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Morall of Apelles Table, is by the Authour more ſignificantly interpreted.

COncerning this Table of *Apelles*, wee muſt firſt conſider, that it expreſſeth two ſeuerall kindes of life, and two manners of liuing which are among men. That is to ſay, the one, of Abſtinence and Sobrietie; the other, of Gurmandiſe, Gluttony, and Drunkenneſſe. The firſt is reputed neceſſarie for al men, for, as we cannot liue without eating and drinking, conſidering we are not Angels, but Mortal Men: euen ſo as needfull is it, to gouerne our life by the rule of Sobrietie. Therefore we ſhould all enter into the Houſe of Sobriety, without deſiring to paſſe any further: for wee liue not to eate, but eate to liue. And becauſe taſting is one of the ſences, which wee haue moſt in common with other creatures: it is very requiſite, that man ſhould moderate and temper the ſame, both by Abſtinence and Sobriety, as alſo reaſon which onely is giuen him; if he will not only ſhew himſelfe to bee a beaſt, but that which is more, worſe then a beaſt. For this cauſe, *Apelles* figured the dwelling of Sobriety without the Garden or Orchard, to let vs vnderſtand thereby; that we are not to paſſe any further, to venter on exceſſe: but to reſt contented, with receiuing our refection honeſtly, for ſatisfying the neceſſities of nature. In like manner, he gaue no other abiding to Sobrietie, then Tents, Pauillions, & Tabernacles, to ſignifie: that we ſhould make no long ſitting at the Table, no more then Paſſengers do in their Inne, who enter not to remaine there alwaies, but onely to content nature, and then to paſſe on vpon their iourney.

Two ſeuerall kinds of life, and liuing among men.

The habitation of Sobrietie.

The reaſon of Sobrieties dwelling without the Garden.

Tents and Pauillions alowed to Sobriety

If *Apelles*, who was no other then a Pagan, could take knowledge heereof: much more ought we to conſider the ſame,

Apelles was a Pagane.

same then he, considering that we haue the testimony of holy Scripture, which admonisheth vs; *That we haue heere no permanent Cittie; That we dwell in this body, as in a Tabernacle, vntill such time as it shall please the Lord, that gaue vs such Lodging, to dislodge vs hence.* I thinke also, that he gaue vs admonishment heerein, by the Feast of Tabernacles, and the life which the ancient *Israelites* led in the Wildernesse. Because our life is so short, & as we feed but to lengthen and continue the same: we should therefore bee fearefull of diminishing and curtalling our time, in spending the most part of our life at the Table, where many crackes and flawes are made by excesse. Therefore they may well be counted wise, and woorthy to beare the name of men, that would goe on no further: but returned honestly to their home affaires, after they had soberly receiued their sustenance.

By the Sportes, Pastimes, Musique, and Songs, which were exercised in this Meadow of Sobriety; I thinke hee purposed to demonstrate, that the life of Man hath some honest pleasures and recreations allowed it. For God doth not prohibite vs, to vse such good gifts as he hath bestowed on vs; liuing in moderate ioy, when the time so requireth. It is written: *That there is a time to laugh and a time to mourne; a time for ioy, and a time for sadnesse.* And therefore a Christian man may learne, to vse both the one and other well, and all to the glory of God.

Most certaine it is, that God permitteth vs honest pleasures and delightes, which he hath not forbidden, or are to his dishonour, or any occasion of euill. All honest and vertuous exercises are permitted vnto vs, in rendring thankes to God for them, and acknowledging his benefits by them: prouided also, that we keepe our selues alwaies within the rule of Sobriety, Modesty, and Honesty. Thus we see one manner of life, and that which most conuenientlie beseemeth man.

The other is more brutish, then humaine, the sense and description whereof, taketh it selfe thus. First, for the large and common beaten way, whereby men entred into the Garden, and concerning the vnbrideled multitude that made vse thereof: I vnderstand his meaning to be thus, that euery man affecteth ease, idlenesse, and voluptuous pleasures.

Some knew how to giue a meane to their desires, and tooke not so much Meat and Wine, as should trouble their vnderstanding: but could well returne to their ordinary businesses, and vse reason in all thinges. Now, there were others, that knew not any meane or measure, neither had regard to time or place: but would needs venter further, and fell into such extreamity of follie, as they lost their senses, vnderstanding, and memory. So that thereby they became brute beasts, and could no way retire from this disordered battaile: till diseases, pouerty, and necessity admonished them of their duty. For they are the last Companions of drunkennesse, and the Wages for all Carrowsers, that doe her the greatest honour. By the Hand-maides or waiting Weomen on drunkennesse: I vnderstand those seueral vices, as their apt Names doe signifie, and they are the meetest for her company. And by the drinkes which shee gaue to her Quaffers, hee meaneth the venome and poyson of voluptuous excesse, which maketh such a transport of mens vnderstandings: that they grow like vnto brute beastes, according as they take lesse or more, & according to the complexions they are of; representing euen those very beasts, whose nature and manners they come neerest vnto, and refusing all friendlie counsell and aduise; do delight more in such barbarous and vnciuill courses, then any other manners that should shew them to be men.

Great helpes that a Christian man hath.

The Feast of Tabernacles.

Short feasting auoydeth surfeiting.

Honest sports and pleasures allowed to mans life.

Eccle. 3. 4.

God permitteth vs al honest pleasures

The other brutish kinde of life in the dwelling of drunkennesse

The Scholers of ryot and excesse.

Diseases, Pouerty and necessity, the last companions of Drunkennesse.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *A Paradoxe in praise of imprisonment; maintaining, that it is more healthful & profitable to be in Prison, then at libertie.*

IF goods lockt vp in the smallest houses, are of greatest price and most in request; yea, with more diligence looked

The greatest treasures lye in the smallest roomes.

looked vnto and preserued, then those displayed and exposed to their iudgements, that haue a will (by them) to offend others: I may then by good reason maintain, that the Prison is better then the publike place of liberty, which often times turnes to his greatest dammage, that had the highest desire vnto it. Nor ought (vnder correction) the tearms of Prison and Prisoner, be so offensiue to the eares of any man, as if they were sharp pricking Thorns, neither to bring such molestation to their minds, as to make them sometimes tremble, quake, and ready to swound with feare. Considering, that in this Citty wherein wee dwell, euery man may well call and repute himself to be a Prisoner; but especially in this world, where no one can call himselfe free, vntill the breath bee forth of his body. And this was the reason, why the holy Apostle of God so loudly demanded: *What was he that could deliuer him frō this mortal prison?* He ment the prison of this fleshly body, which appears to me, to be nolesse profitable to the life of man; then a strong Prison walled with stone, that serues him as a rampier and safe defence, against al dangers which might daily assaile him.

The tearme of Prison and Prisoner no way offensiue

The words of Saint Paule.

I may speake this, by the example of many great personages, to whom imprisonment brought no meane happinesse: as keeping them in assurance frō their enemies, and thereby made their poore life the more tranquile to them. Lastly, when it became hatefull to thē: then it more apparantly witnessed, what good it had done them. For they were no sooner deliuered, and set at libertie; but they were miserably slaine by their Aduersaries.

The great benefit of imprisonment to men.

Poore wits, that are ignorant of prison benefit; vnderstand not the priuiledges ensuing thereby: which indeede are such, as neuer can iustly make any man agreeued. If it do, for a little while; it recompenceth it afterward with vertue, glory, and honour. If not in this World; yet it failes not in the other, which is perpetuall and euerlasting: as we haue gathered by diuers Saints and iust persons, who (after the imprisonment of this world) haue (vndoubtedly) entred into eternall liberty. And for proof of the blessed recompence, which imprisonment bringeth to men of vertue, let vs take example by *Marius*, honoured with the great Empire of *Cæsar*. By King *Matthias*, who after he had bin detained in *Hungaria*, by King *Ladislaus*: from Prison entred suddainely to the Crowne. *Lewes* the twelft, scarsely was he set in assured liberty, and out of Prison: but immediatly hee was made King of Fraunce. Ye shall finde an infinite number, who after they were restored to freedome from imprisonment; became more glorious and excellent persons, then euer they had beene all their whole life time before.

Reward of greese by imprisonment.

The recompence of vertuous men, by imprisonment.

Now, as I will not deny, but imprisonment, stocks, chains, and manacles, may somewhat impeach ouer worldlie operations: yet dare I then (withall) maintaine, that they cannot any way disturb them, if they be honest and holy cogitations, nor the noble and vertuous conceipts of men, or their high, hopefull, and excellent enterprises. For, in despight of all those meanes, as were imployed to hinder this resolution: it held credit, not onely in the Castle and Prison at *Paris*, in the Dungeon at *Rouen*, in the Hell-house at *Florence*, the Limbo at *Monce*, and the Stone-house at *Luca*; but had power beside, to passe the Crosse of *Theodorus Cyrenæus*, to enter the Bull of fierce *Phalaris*, and penetrate into the cruell Tunne of *Attilius Regulus*.

Impeachment of worldlie operations.

Proofs of honorable and resolute constancy.

To prooue this, *Signior Ascanio Colonna* (who was kept in the Prisons of *Andrea Damia*) could not by all extreamities vsed against him, be any way impeached in his most rare prudence, when (after long consideration thereof) the saide *Damia*, of a Capitall enemie, became a most faithfull and affectionate Seruant of the Emperour.

Let vs consider the infinite benefits, whereof imprisonment is the only cause. First of all, it keepes the Spirit of man, frō cōmitting many enormous sins; his eyes, from beholding spectacles to offend them, or motions stirring vp carnall concupisence; his eares from hearing irkesome and infecting speeches, and the ouer readie and sinfull tongue, from blaspheming the holy name of Almightie God.

The infinite benefits ensuing by imprisonment to men.

Beside these, he liueth more sober and temperately, and is in safe securitie,

be it in the times of peace, war, or peſtilence. Priſoners are exempted from paying taxations, borrowings, or houſe-rents. They cannot be ſuſpected to haunt euill companies, the frequenting whereof, is oftentimes the cauſe of ten thouſand exceſſes. Laſtly, in this holy place, eaſily are obtained the vertues of patience and humility.

The vertues of Patience and Humility.

Haue we not ſeene, and do yet daily behold, that good Fathers (to chaſtiſe the diſobedience or pride of their miſgouerned Children) cauſe them for a while to be ſhut vp in Priſon? Whence they returne ſoone after, endued with better manners and behauiour: then if they had ſpent more ſpace, in the Schoole of wiſe *Socrates*, or in the Academy of moſt prudent Philoſophers.

The chaſtiſing of lewd and diſobedient Children.

Was not that marueilous, of the Viſcount *Paulo Vicino*, who, being for ſome cauſe (whereof hee was accuſed) Captiue vnder the power of Duke *Frances*: gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of diuine Letters? Wherein (during the time of his impriſonment) he became ſo feruent and frequent, as few were found to excell him in Religion. And this was a matter, whereof (in all his former life time) he neuer had ſo much as a thought: albeit he enioyed the ſubſtance of a right good Byſhop, and of a better Abby. I may not omit in this place, my Lord of *Roſſes*, Biſhop of *Pauia*, who at the houre when he entred Priſon; gaue himſelfe wholly to God, where as yet he liueth like a right Hermit. *Peter Fatinell*, a Cittizen of *Luca*, hauing liued many yeares moſt miſerably, neuer comming to the Church, nor knowing God to be his Superiour: ſo ſoone as he was brought into Priſon, he deſired that a Prieſt might be ſent vnto him, to talke with him concerning his Soules health; and from thence forward, he liued in all duty and obedience.

The Marques *Paulo Vicino.*

The Lord of *Roſſes* Biſhop of *Pauia.*

Peter Fatinell of *Luca.*

What ſhall wee ſay of a Knight in *France*, whoſe haire (by being ſome few daies in Priſon) became all white, onlie by the alteration of his former life: ſo that, neither by Head, Beard, behauiour, or ſpeeches, he could be knowne to be the man he had beene before. The like may be ſaid of an *Italian* Preſident, who parting (in his lateſt houre) from the Priſon; declared by his wordes and diuine perſwaſions, in cõparable ſanctitie. The Priſon then is found, to be the beſt Schoole of Philoſophy, and the onely ſinguler Academy: wherein to learne all Morall vertues and Chriſtian profeſſion, and no place elſe may compare, with the Diuine and moſt praiſeworthy Priſon.

The strange alteration of a Knight of *France.*

The Priſon is the beſt ſchoole of Philoſophy.

O holy and glorious houſe! Wherein the Maker and Redeemer of the world vouchſafed to lodge. The houſe of al goodneſſe and vertues: and which ought more to be deſired for peereleſſe holineſſe, then the Pallaces of Kinges and greateſt Princes. For they are more ſemblable to ſome Hell, or place of eternall death; then is the bleſſed and deuout Priſon: wherein men may paſſe their liues more religiouſly, then among all the obſeruant Fryers in the World. For there ſhall no man plead againſt ye, or picke any iniurious quarrell with ye. There they ſildome ſwear, or very little. There ye ſhall continually hear, an infinite number of faire vowes made; with a thouſand Prayers and ſupplications, both by day and night.

The glory of impriſonment

The holy priuiledge of impriſonment.

O life moſt ſweet, and full of repoſe! How much more conſolation is to bee found in thee, then in following the Courts of the mightieſt Princes? For there, no right from wrong can be diſcerned, or any other good; then trauaile and vnquietneſſe, both of the body and minde. Seeing then it is ſo, that impriſonment bringeth with it ſo manie commodities, as I haue already declared vnto ye: I may eaſily conclude, that we ought not to be grieued, when we are made ſubiect thereunto. But rather highly to praiſe the name of God, for beſtowing on vs (thereby) the moſt ſinguler beneſit, which in this World we can receiue from him.

The Authors Concluſion.

CHAP. XXIX.

A briefe Summarie, of the firſt Booke of Ciceros Tuſculanes; concerning the miſpriſall and contempt of the World.

THe whole life of a wiſe man, is nothing elſe but a memorial, and continuall

The life time of a wiſe man

continuall regard made of death. Nor can any man iuſtly ſpeake againſt it, in regard I am verily perſwaded, that all things elſe are hurtfull to man, and that there can be no greater happineſſe then this: becauſe it is moſt certaine, that after our fraile life is ended, we ſhall bee with God. The griefe is litle or nothing at all in death: for it is oftentimes without feeling, and ſometimes with pleaſure. In what manner ſoeuer it be, it can be of no account: becauſe the paine is paſt in a moment, and we ſhould not be fearefull thereof, but rather long and deſire to embrace it. For after we haue made that happy paſſage, there remaineth no more care or ſollicitude for vs. It is but a departing hence, to goe into another Countrey, where they doe already dwell, which are departed out of this life. It is therefore a matter of ioy and felicity, and a man ſhould march thither with a cherefull courage, and not thinke much to dye, euen during his faireſt fortunes, becauſe therein is no paine, greefe, or vexation. Neither doth it procure any extinction of the Spirit, but is only a change of habitation, from earth to Heauen, which is the proper dwelling of the Soule. Wee ought not then to fear that, which cannot be auoyded, and is likewiſe neceſſary for all in generall; therefore no one can be eſteemed miſerable therein. If therefore we be mindfull thereof, and of our lateſt daies; we ſhall neuer ſinne. But may ſafely ſay with Saint *Paule: Ieſus Chriſt is our life, and Death aduantage.*

Little or no greefe at all in death.

Our departure into another Country

No quenching of the Spirit.

The End of the Sixt Booke.

The Seauenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Tunis; *The Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies vsed among the people, and other Obseruations well deseruing memory.*

The afincient hame of *Tunis.*

THe Citty of *Thunis*, or *Tunis*, being very great, was by the *Latines* cald *Tunetum*, & of the *Arabians Tunus*: but they do hold that name to be a very corrupt vocable, because (in their Language) *Tunus* doth not signifie any thing. This Citty was anciently called *Tharsus*, as that other which is in *Asia*, and was at the first but a very little Citty, builded by the *Affricanes*, vpon the Lake which was formed vpon the *Goletta*, distant from the *Mediterranean* Sea, about twelue miles. But after that *Carthage* was destroyed, then did the Citty begin to encrease, both in number of Habitations and dwellers: in regard that the Armies which surprised *Carthage*, being vnwilling to tarry there (for feare of fresh supplies from *Europe*) came to abide at *Tunis*, and there they builded many houses.

The destruction of *Carthage.*

Not long after, there came thither a Captaine, named *Hucha di Vtmen*, who gaue them to vnderstand, that an Army ought not to shut vp it selfe in any Citty, that should touch or be neere vnto the Sea: And therefore they made a Citty, which they named *Cairoan*, about the distance of thirty sixe Miles from the Sea, and accounted to be an hundred miles from *Tunis*. Then did the Armies forsake *Tunis*, and inhabited this new City: other people gouerning those houses in *Tunis*, which had beene abandoned by the Armies.

Hucha di Vtmen a valiant Captaine.

Cairoan, a new citty builded.

After this, about three hundred and fifty yeares, the Citty of *Cairoan* was destroyed by the *Arabians*; so that the Rector or Ruler thereof, fled thence into the West, and raigned in *Buggia*, as also ouer all the neighbouring partes: but ther remained in *Tunis*, a Familie or kinred of the said Rector or Gouernor, that fled from *Cairoan*, who still possessed the same, as Soueraigne Lordes thereof. About ten yeares after, they of *Buggia* were expulsed by *Ioseph*, the Sonne of *Tasino*, and beholding the humility and kindnes of those Lords: they left the State to them, wherein they continued in tranquilitie, so long as the Family of *Ioseph* raigned. Wherefore *Abdul Mumen*, King of *Marocco*, hauing regained *Mahdia*, which had bin taken by the Christians: passed homeward (in his returne) by *Tunis*, where he tooke on him the gouernment. Therefore, all the time that *Abdull Mumen* liued, and *Ioseph* his Sonne, with their Successours, *Iacob* and *Manfor*: *Tunis* continued in peace, vnder

Cairoan destroyed by the *Arabes.*

Tunis gouerned by the Kings of *Marocco.*

the rule of the Kings of *Marocco*. After the death of *Manſor*, his Sonne *Mahumet Ennaſir* mooued Warre againſt the King of *Spaine*: but was ouercome and forced to flight, whereupon he retyred backe to *Marocco*, and liued there ſome few yeares after his foyle. Then election was made of his Brother *Ioſeph*, who was ſlaine by certaine Souldiers to the King of *Teleſin*.

Mahumet Ennaſir, warred on the King of *Spaine*.

Now, in the interim, betweene the ouerthrow of *Mahumet*, his death, as alſo the murthering of his Brother *Ioſeph*; the *Arabes* returned backe on *Tunis*, and beſiedged it. But the Gouernour of *Tunis*, gaue notice thereof to the King of *Marocco*, and that if he ſent him not ſome immediate ſuccour: hee ſhould bee conſtrained to deliuer the Citty to the *Arabes*. The King well conſidering, on a caſe of ſuch importance; did as became a man of his high Spirit and experience; electing (aboue all other in his Court) one borne in *Ciuill*, a Cittie of *Granado*, named *Habduluaihidi*, whom hee forth-with ſent thither, with the very ſame authoritie, as if he had gone himſelfe in perſon. Being accompanied with twenty goodlie great Shippes, hee arriued at *Tunis*, which he found euen halfe vanquiſhed by the *Arabes*. But by his wiſedome, prouidence, and flowing eloquence, he foyled the enemy, pacified the State, ſet all thinges in good order, and made the Countries entrance ſure againſt all Intruders. After him, his Sonne ſucceeded, named *Abu Zaccherias*, who in wiſdome and learning excelled his Father. He cauſed to be builded in *Tunis* (on the Weſt ſide of the Citties very higheſt part) a mightie great Rocke, and many goodly Pallaces in the Citty: with a beautifull Temple, which had an high Tower on the top thereof, round engirt with ſtrong walles.

Tunis beſieged by the *Arabes*.

Tunis deliuered from the *Arabes*.

Abu Zaccherias K. of *Marocco*.

This *Abu Zaccherias* went likewiſe to *Tripoli*, where his valour won him ſuch renowne, and his wiſedome made ſo good benefit of the Countrey: that (at his death) he left an infinite Maſſe of treaſure behinde him. He being dead, his Sonne ſucceeded him, who was an ambitious proud young man, & would no longer ſuffer himſelfe to be gouerned by the Lordes of *Marocco*: becauſe hee ſaw their declining and downefall, and that the Family of *Marino* began to ſet in footing, raigning ouer the Regions of *Fez*, as *Beni Zeiren* did in *Teleſin*, and in *Granado*.

The death of *Abu Zaccherias*

The declining of the Kingdome of *Marocco*, and riſing of that of Fez.

These two great Potentates began to Warre vpon each other, and to contend for priority of State: but by this their diſcord, the power of the Lordes of *Tunis* encreaſed, ſo that they went with an Army againſt *Teleſin*, and compelled them to pay them tribute. Whereupon, the King that new aroſe from the Houſe of *Marino*, and had bin at the ſurprizall of *Marocco*: ſent many rich preſents to the Gouernour of *Tunis*, recommending both himſelfe, and his whole State vnto his fauour. The Gouernour accepted him as a Friend: alwayes prouided, that he ſhould be inferior to him. And ſo hee returned in triumph to *Tunis*, cauſing himſelfe to be called King of *Affrica*: which Title was thought very deſertful for him, becauſe (as then) there was not a more powerfull Prince in all *Affrica*, then he.

Entercourſe between *Marocco* and *Tunis*.

The King of *Tunis* King of *Affrica*.

He began then to ordaine his Court Royall, with Secretaries, Councellers, and à Captaine Generall: vſing all thoſe Ceremonies, that the Kinges of *Marocco* formerlie had done. And from the time of this Prince, euen vnto our daies: *Tunis* held on the ſame encreaſing Dignitie, as well in Habitations, as in Ciuility; ſo that it became the onely and ſinguler Cittie of *Affrica*. After his death, his Sonne, to whom the Royall Crowne came in right; cauſed certaine Townes or Burroughes to be builded about the Cittie. One, without the Gate, called *Bedſuuaica*, containing about ſome three hundred Houſes. Another, without the Gate, called *Bed Elmancra*, amounting to a thouſand Houſholds. And theſe two Townes are full of infinite Artificers. As of Fiſher-men, Apothecaries, and diuers other.

Ordination of the Court Royall and Councellers.

Building of Townes and villages without the Citty.

In the laſt named Borrough, there is a ſeparate ſtreete, as if it were another little Towne by it ſelfe: wherein doe dwell the Chriſtians of *Tunis*, that are imployed in the Princes guard, and in other Offices, which the *Moores* cannot, nor are permitted to doe. Afterward, another Towne was added, which is without the Gate, called

The Chriſtians of *Tunis*.

Bed

Bed and *Bahar*, that is the Marine or seagate, which is neere to the Lake of the *Goletta*, about halfe a Mile.

The Warehouses of Christian Merchants.

In this Towne, doo lodge Christian Merchants, and Strangers; as the *Genewayes*, *Venetians*, and *Catalanes*, who do all hold their Ware-houses & their Lodgings seperately, of the Moores. This Towne is bigge enough, and maketh about three hundered fires, betweene the Christians and the Moors: but the houses are little. So that, between the walled Cittie, and the Townes about it, may be accounted some nine or tenne thousand Houtholds.

The Cittie it selfe, and maner thereof among the Inhabitants.

The Citty it selfe, is faire and well ordered, to wit; euery Art is seuerall by it selfe. Beside, it is very populous, and wel inhabited: but the Inhabitantes (for the most part) are Artificers, and especially Weauers of Cloath, because in *Tunis* is made a very great quantity of most perfect cloath, which is sold thorow all *Affrica*. And they are very choise, in hauing their cloath to be strong and good, for the Women of the Cittie, are excellent Spinners; and when they Spin, they vse to sit in some place, that the Spindle may descend downe low, or out of some Window, answering to some Court of the house; or by some hole, made out of one roome into another: so that by the waightinesse of the Spindle, descending such a depth, the thredde is well drawne, made round and ceuen.

The women of *Tunis* are singuler spinners.

The Market-place of the Gity, & howe it is traded.

In this City, is a market place, whereon standeth a great number of Shoppes, appertaining to Merchants, Trading in Cloath, and they are helde to be the Richest men in *Tunis*.

The conditiō of the people in their seuerall degrees.

There are other Merchants and Artezans; as Apothecaries and such as sel Sirrops, Electuaries, Perfumes: And Silkemen, Taylors, Sadlers, and other Handicraftes men. The people are verie benigne and louing, and the Tradesmen, Merchants, Priests, Doctors, and al they that haue the managing of any office, do go well Garmented, wearing great *Tulipantes* on their heads, made vp of a long and large Towell. Thus do the men of the Kinges Court weare, and Soldiers; but there they do not vse to couer their heads.

Great scarsity of Graine, & the cause thereof.

Of wealthy men indeede, there are but few, in regarde of the great dearth of Graine: for the ordinary price of a measure vsed amongst them (valuing with vs a quarter Sacke) is three Doubles, which are four Ducates of them of *Venice*. And this scarsity ensueth, by reason that the people of the City, cannot husband their Neighboring grounds, thorow the great molestation which they haue by the *Arabes*. Therefore, their Corne is faine to come conducted from farre thither, as from *Vrbs*, from *Buggia*, and from *Bona*.

Citizens haue houses without the City.

Some of the Cittizens haue certaine little Farme-houses neere to the Citty and well walled about, where they sowe such small portions of grounde as they haue, with Barley or Wheate. And those grounds must be well watered; therefore in euerie Farme they haue a Well, out of which they draw water by the help of a Wheel, and so conuey it then by channels, ingeniously deuised and made. The Wheele is turned about by a Mule, or a Cammell; and so the Water running along, by men the ground is watred therewith.

The great drought of their grounds

As for the quantity of Corn that may be produced from one of these smal Farmes, and Husbanded with such paine & endeuour: It will not last the owner for halfe the yeares space; and yet notwithstanding, the Bread is fair, white and wel Baked. For, they do not boult out any Flower, but let it go wholly together, although it asketh much labour in the making: especially, when they conuert it into Paste, which they beat with great Pestles, made after the manner of those, wherewith they beat Rice and Flax in the Countrey of Egypt.

The perfection of their Bread.

A rude kinde of food eaten by them.

The Merchants, Artezanes, and Cittizens, haue an equall Custome, to eate (in the day time) a vile and rude meate, which is Barley Dow, steeped in Water, and reduced like a kinde of Glew: then is it put into a little Oile, or the Iuice of Limons, or some of Orenges: and this coorse kind of food they swallow down, without any chewing, receiuing it by little and little, and calling it *Pessis*, but indeed they eate it very beastly.

The Barley market place.

There is a Market place, where nothing else is sold but Barley Meale, and it is onely bought to make that kinde of meate. They vse another meate, which is somewhat more cleanly and handsome. They take a light kinde of Paste, and then boyle it in water, and when it is well sodden, they put it into an Earthen Vessell; and

& gathring it togither in the midst of the Dish, they poure Oyle vppon it, or the broath of fat meate, and so eate it as they do the other, and this kind of food is termed among them *Bruzin*. Neither within nor without the Cittie, is there anie Mill, that grindeth on the water, but they are all mooued by Beastes; so that a Mill can hardly grinde a Soame of Corne in a day.

No Water-Mils within or without the Citty.

There are no Springs, nor Riuers, or VVelles of wholsome water: but out of Cesternes, wherein they gather raine water. A little without the Cittie, there is a Poole of running water, but it is somwhat brackish, and thither resorts all the Water-bearers, with their Beastes and other cariages; where when they are filled, they make sale of them in the Cittie, and the people vse to drinke it, as beeing more wholsome then the Cesterne Water. Other Wels there be of verie good water; but they are for the Prince, & for his Courtiers.

Wels of water reserued for the prince

There is a verie faire Temple, and great in Circumference, furnished not onely with a number of Priests; but also, with great Rentes and Reuennewes. Other Temples there are in the Cittie, and neighbouring Townes, but of much lesse and vnable quality.

Temples in the City.

Many Colledges of Schollers there are, and Monasteries of some Religious people, for whom the Almes of the people is their best allowance. If any one be a Natiue of *Tunis*, and his follie doo lead him, to hurle stones about the streetes, their wisedome is so great, that they repute that ydle Asse to be a Saint. The more part of the houses are beautifull enough formed, and made of squared stone, verie morkemanly: On the roofes whereof, are goodly Ornaments, and curious Carued Plaister, painted with Azure, and other fine Colours. And thus they do, because Woode and Timber is verie scarse in *Tunis*; and therefore their Wood-worke must needs bee verie vnhandsome.

Colledges of Schollers and Monasteries.

The maner of their houses.

They were wont to paue the Streetes before their Doores, with certaine calcinated and shining stones, and the Courts within, with equal squared broade stone, glistering and shining in like manner: which yet is obserued in many places, & euery house generally hath his Tatras. The doores or entrances are very beautiful, shewing as if they were between two Porches, one toward the streete, and the other, betweene the entraunce and the house, ascending vp certaine degrees or staires, of verie comely and wel wrought stone. Euery one striueth to haue his houses entrance most curious, & indeed, more costly then all the rest of the house: because the Cittizens do most commonly sit at their doors, conferring there with any of their Friendes, and apting what businesse is to be done by their seruants.

Pauing of their streets.

The doores and entrance into the houses.

VVithout the Cittie are goodlie possessions of fruits, which grow but in smal quantity, yet are all good. Of Gardens there are almost an infinit number, planted with Orenges, Lemmons, Roses, and verie sweet floures: especially, in one place called the *Bardo*, where are the gardens and Noble Pallaces belonging vnto the King, verie proudly builded, and excelling in Carued woorkes, and curious Colours.

Orchards & Gardens without the City.

Round about the Cittie, for welneere the space of fiue or sixe miles on euerie side, are lands of Oliue trees, which yeild such plentiful quantitie of Oyle, as not only furnisheth the Cittie and neighboring parts; but also great store sent into Egypt. Of the Oliue tree VVood also, they make a kind of Coales, which is very helpful to the Cittie, and other partes of the wood they burne beside. The weomen go neatly clothed and adorned, and (out of their owne houses) their faces are couered: and they spende most of their care, in fine polishing and perfuming of themselues; for the Perfumers Shoppes are the latest open in all the Citie. As concerning the Magistrates of the sayde Cittie, they follow in their due Descriptions.

Great store of Oliue trees

The order for their women.

1. THE King of *Tunis*, is created by inheritance, and by election of his Father, with Oath taken of the principal Officers; as the Captains, Doctors Priests, Iudges, and Readers. So soon as the King dyeth, his successour is immediately placed on the Seat Royal, and al do yeild him their obeysance. VVhich being doone, they present him before the man, that holdeth the greatest degree in office, who is called the *Munasid*, and is as a Vize-King in gouerning the Kingdome. This *Munasid* rendereth an account of all occasions by him administered,

The election of the King of *Tunis* after his Fathers death

The *Munasid*, or chiefe officer next the King.

red, euen to the preſent day, and (with the Kings conſent) he diſpoſeth of Officers, deliuering full information of all Mandates, and for the prouiſion of the Soldiers.

The *Meſuar*, the ſecond great officer.

2 Next to the *Munafid*, the ſecond man of dignity in the Kingdome, is the *Meſuar*, who is as a Captaine Generall; hauing full authority ouer the Soldiers, and ouer the Kinges Guard. Hee may diſpend, encreaſe, and diminiſh the Soldiers Wages, as ſeemeth beſt to himſelf. He may make election according to his owne will; Either in remouing the Armies, or doing any thing, euen as if the King himſelfe did ouerſee all things.

The *Caſtellano*, or keeper of the Tower, and ſuch occaſions as concerne his Office.

3 In the thirde degree, followeth the *Caſtellano*, or Lieutenant of the Tower, a man of much reputation, who is appointed vnto all buſineſſe concerning the Tower or Caſtle. He hath charge of the Soldiers planted therein; and for all buildings of Caſtels and Pallaces belonging to the King, as alſo of all priſoners committed to the Tower. Wherefore, it is a Cuſtome obſerued amongſt them, that whē any important offence is found to be done, the tranſgreſſors are referred for impriſoment to the Caſtle, as nowe adayes is vſed in the Court of Rome. He hath likewiſe Authority (as a Iuſtice of Peace) to examine all Offenders comming before him; and no otherwiſe, then as if the King himſelfe were there in proper perſon.

The Gouernor of the Citty.

4 The Gouernor of the Cittie, is the fourth man of the Kingdome, and is ſuperiour ouer all Capital cauſes. He chaſtiſeth al ſuch as commit Ribaldry, or any euill actions in what Nature ſoeuer. And to ſpeake al in a word, he is diſpleaſed at al things that go againſt Iuſtice.

The cheefe Secretarie of Eſtate to the King for all Occurrences

5 The chiefe Secretarie of Eſtate, is he that receiueth Letters from al parts of the world to the King, or writeth vnto them in the ſame Nature. Hee hath Authoritie to open all Letters out of the Kinges preſence: thoſe onely excepted from the fore-named Gouernor, and the *Caſtillian*. When he hath read the Letters to the King, hee writes and anſweres in his name, according as hee is directed by the King. And queſtionleſſe, hee is a man of great reputation, as he that knoweth all the ſecrets, yea, and moſt concealed in his Soueraignes breſt. Vnder him are many inferiour Secretaries, appointed for Supplications, Mandates, & other occuring buſineſſe, which depend moſt of all vpon the Kings mouth.

Maiſter of the Haull, and authority of his Office.

6 He that is ſtiled Maiſter of the Haule, on ſuch daies as the Councell doe meet together; hath eare to adorne the place with Tapiſtry, and the walles with Hangings: aſſigning each Councell (at his entrance) to his meet place, and commaunding the Curſores or Meſſengers (in the Kinges name) to diſpatch al ſuch buſineſſes as they are ſent about by the Councell, or to apprehend any man by them appointed. And this Maiſter hath great familiarity and diſcourſe with the King; becauſe he goeth in and out, and conferreth with him, when, and as often as himſelfe pleaſeth.

The Treaſurer and his charge.

7 The Treaſurer ſtandeth bound to receiue the Monies of the Officers, and to aſſigne the ſame to others deputed for the Caſh, and to lay it out according to the Kinges commaund. His Office is very important and Honourable.

The Officer for deceipt of Tolls and Cuſtomes.

8 The eight man in order, of any credit, is the Cuſtomer, or Receiuer of Touls and Cuſtomes. He gathereth the Touls for things, which come into the Citie from al parts by Land. He collecteth the dues of Merchants Strangers, which is two parts and an halfe on euery hundred. He keepeth a great number of Officers and Catch-poles, who, as they ſee any Stranger enter, that appeareth to be a man of any account or credit: doe preſent him to the Cuſtomer; or if he be not preſent, or at leyſure, they keepe the party in Priſon, vntill ſuch time as beſt opportunity ſerueth. And then he is compelled to pay ſuch a ſumme of Money, as he impoſeth on him, vrging him thereto by many oaths.

The Officer for Sea dues and Collections.

9 There is another Toule-taker or Cuſtomer, that gathereth the Toules brought and carried from forth the City, or are to be ſent away by Sea, from any Port vpon the Coaſt. And the place of this Toule-Takers abiding, is on the Lake of the *Goletta*, neere to the Citty.

The Authoritie of the Stewarde or Spenditore.

10 Next vnto the forenamed Officers, there is a *Spenditore*, or Steward. He is (in effect) Maiſter of the Houſhold, and hath the charge of furniſhing the

the Kings Pallace, with Bread, flesh, and all other things necessary for the Court. As apparrell, to cloath the Women and Ladies attending on the King; the Eunuches, and the Negro slaues, who are as Chamber-waiters to the King, and attending on the Nurses. Hee hath charge also, to dispense with the Offices that happen in the Castle, or out of the Castle, among the Christian Slaues, and prouideth them of meat and rainment, according as necessity requireth. His care likewise extendeth, for the expences of the Kinges Children, and all their Nurses.

Other Officers of lower esteeme and repute.

11. Beside all these forenamed degrees in the Court Royall, and those in greatest place, by whom the State is gouerned: there are other Officers of meaner reputation: As the Maister of the Stable, the Maister of the Guardrobe, the Chaplaine, the Iudge for the Fielde, the Maister of the Kinges Children, the Commander of the Footmen, and such like. The King keepeth a thousand & fiue hundred Light-horse, who for the most part, are Christian Renegadoes, and euery one of them hath prouision for his owne person and Horse. Ouer them, there is a Captaine appointed, who placeth or dismisseth them after his owne pleasure. There are also an hundered and fifty horse of Natiue Moores, who ordinarily do giue counsell to the King, in matters appertaining to the wars, and serue as Maisters of the campe. Also 150. Crosse-bowes, who are all Christian Renegadoes, and these do alwayes go about the King, when hee rideth either in the Citty, or abroad. But the most secret & especiall Guard vnto the King, which alwaies are neerest to his person, consisteth wholly of Christians, that dwell in a certaine neere bordering Towne. Before the King, there goeth another Guard on foote, and they are all Turkes, armed with Bowes and Pistols.

Christian Renegadoes.

Christians are the speciall Guard to the King.

Then before the King, rideth the Commander of the Footemen: and on his one side, rideth hee that beareth the Kings Partezane, and on the other, hee that carrieth his Target: and next behind his horse, he that beareth his Crosbow. About him, rode diuers other Officers; as the Constables, the Mace bearers, who are appertaining vnto the Ceremonies. The goldend ucat of the King, waigheth 24. Carrats, and is one Ducat and a third part, of those Ducates which are currant thorow *Europe*. They stampe also certaine Mony of Siluer, foure square, containing the weight of a Carrate; and thirty or two and thirty of them, do make a Ducate. Their Money is termed *Nasari*; and in *Italy*, their Ducate is called a Double.

The waight of the Kinges gold Ducat.

CHAP. II.

Of the most potent King, called Great Tamberlaine; *What Kingdome and Prouinces were Conquered by him; And the manner of his Military Discipline.*

AMong the *Greeks*, *Romaines*, *Carthagenians*, and other Nations, were manie verie excellent Captains and Soldiers, who as they were Wise, and very fortunate in warre, so they were as happie in hauing Historians, that wrote most amplye of their generous actions.

Captains and Souldiours of note & name, in diuers Nations.

But in our time, there is found a notable man, who may be saide (deseruedlie) to equall all the other how excellent any way soeuer they were; and yet (notwithstanding) vnfortunate in this, that hee could finde no man to write or describe his deeds. So that I, beeing desirous to say somwhat of him haue been constrained to begge and borrow among manie; and yet I shall speake but little, and confusedly also of him.

The man was named *Great Tamberlaine*, who (at his beginning) was a toyling Labourer in the Fields, or (as some others say) a poore Soldier: and yet neuertheless, he attained to so great Seigniories and Victories, that hee could bee thought no lesse then mighty *Alexander*, or if he were, it was very little; and this man raigned, about the yeare three hundered and ninety.

The description of *Tamberlain*, at his beginning.

Some do report, that hee was descended of the *Parthians*, a people much feared in the Romaines time, and yet notwithstanding, slenderly renowned. His Father and Mother were poore people, and yet himselfe of good and gentle disposition;

The descent & parentage of *Tamberlaine* and his Description.

ſpoſition: well compoſed of his members, ſtrong, and luſty, a man quicke and ſudden, ſharpe of ſpirit, and of good and reſolute iudgement.

Euermore, his thoughtes aimed at haughtie matters, as wel during the time of his pouertie, as after his attaining vnto wealth & riches. He was of great Courage, ſo that euen from his Infancy, hee was Naturally enclined to warre, and he gaue his minde thereto with ſuch ſollicitude, and ſtudious endeuour in learning the Art Military, as it ſeemed verie hard to iudge, wherein he was moſt happy, either in valour and dexterity, or in Wiſedome and a ſetled ſpirite. With which Vertues and promptitudes, beſide ſuch as we are to ſpeake of hereafter, he won (in ſmall time) the very greateſt reputation, that euer man could reach vnto.

The great & happy inclination of *Tamberlaine*.

His beginning, according as *Baptiſta Fulgoſa* declareth, was, that hee beeing the Sonne of a poore man, and keeping Cattle in the Field, with other Boyes of the ſame profeſsion, it hapned vppon a day, that his Companions and hee ſporting together, they would needes make choiſe of him to be their King. Now, albeit this their election was doone but in ieſt; yet he whoſe ſpirit applyed it ſelfe to great occaſions, in the ſerious purſuite of their ſport and play, made them all ſwear vnto him, that they would do whatſoeuer he commanded them, and to obey him, as if he were their King indeede.

Baptiſta Fulgoſe, of *Tamberlaines* Originall.

Tamberlaine made a King in ſport among Boyes.

After he had taken this oath of them, he commanded that euery one ſhoulde ſell his Cattle; and leauing this baſe ſeruility of life, to follow the exercise of Armes, retaining him as their King & Captaine. All which they did; and within few dayes after, fiue hundred Herdſmen were gotten togither, by whoſe aſsiſtance, the firſt acte that euer he did, was to rob Merchants, as they paſſed that way; and afterward, he diuided the booties ſo iuſtly amongeſt his Companions, that they vowed their following ſeruice vnto him, with all vnfaigned loue and fidelitie, and this courſe of life, drew many other new ſeruants to him.

Tamberlaines firſt acte, was robbing of Merchants.

Theſe matters being vnderſtoode by the King of *Perſia*, he ſent one of his Captaines with a thouſand horſe, to take him and al his Conſorts. When the Captaine was come vnto him, hee handled the caſe ſo ingenuouſly with him, that of an enemy, he made him an intimat frend, yea, and his companion and Coadiutor. So that they ioyned their forces together, and beganne to vndergoe greater enterpriſes, then any which formerly had bin done.

The King of *Perſias* Captaine, and his power ioyned with *Tamburlaine*.

During theſe entercourſes, there hapned diſcord betweene the King of *Perſia*, and one of his Brethren; by means whereof, *Tamberlain* tooke part with the kings Brother, and ordered all thinges ſo well by his induſtry, that helping him to win the Victory, and making him King, the King indeede was quite deſtroyed. Afterward, in requitall of this fauour, the new King created *Tamberlaine*, Captaine of the great part of his Armies, hee pretending to win new Countries for him; and for accompliſhment whereof, he muſtered more ſtore of people together. In the performance whereof, he found the meanes to make them reuolt, and grow rebellious againſt their new King. Againſt whom he went with his owne forces ſodenly, and taking the kingdom from him (which hee did helpe him to Conquer) made himſelfe King of *Perſia*, which queſtionleſſe he could neuer haue don, without moſt great induſtry, and very admirable deeds of armes.

War between the King of *Perſia*, and his Brother.

Tamberlaine maketh himſelfe King of *Perſia*.

This done, he did ſet his owne Countrey at libertie, which long time had bin ſeruile to the *Sárazins*, and Kings of *Perſia*, and by being himſelfe King, releaſed them out of thraldome. Afterward, hauing ſuch a goodly great armie in readineſſe, he raiſed Rebellions in the Neighbouring Prouinces; & by theſe meanes (in proceſſe of time) conquered *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Babylon*, *Meſapotamia*, *Scythia*, *Aſsiatica*, *Albania*, *Media*, and other prouinces, with many great and moſt ſtrong Townes, and famous Citty.

The conqueſtes of *Tamberlaine*.

Now, albeit there is nothing ſet down in Writing, concerning his ſtout warres and battailes, in the acquiſition of theſe Lands and Countries, yet it muſt needes be preſuppoſed, that wonderfull inuentions, and incredible deeds of armes were by him performed. For all ſuch as haue Written any thing, do plainly ſay, That great things were done by this excellent man, and that alwayes hee carryed ſuch good gouernment in his Army, as neuer could be found any mutiny therein. For he was very faithfull and liberall, beſtowing Honors on all ſuch as followed him, and

No memorie in recorde, of his wars and battailes.

His discreete order among his men of Warre.

and each one according to his merrite, wherby he was both beloued and feared. He enstructed and ledde his men in such good readinesse, that euen in an instant (when he saw time to fauour him) by a meere signe which hee made, each man knew what hee had to doo, and how to come againe into his meete place. For (indeede) he led so powerful and great an Armie, as the World would hold it rare in any man to do the like.

His Iustice in carriage of his Campe.

In briefe, his Camp resembled one of the best Cities in the world, because all Officers were there in good order, euen as if yee beheld a great number of Merchants, well furnished with all things necessary for the field. He would not suffer any Pillings, Pilferies, Thestes, Forcings, or Violences, but chasticed such as were guilty therein, very rigorously. By these meanes, he carried his Campe so well prouided of al things, as the best City of any Land (in the most assured times of peace) could desire no better. Hee would haue his Souldiers to make their glory in their valiant behauiour, vertues, and prouidence. And in those regards, he would see them well payed, honored, praised, and cherished them, and (yet for all this) held them in strong subiection.

His delight in his soldiers *Tamberlaine* both King & Emperor.

Being becom thus both King & Emperor, of manie kingdomes and Prouinces in *Asia*, he had an infinite number of people resorting to him from all partes, (beside them that depended on him) only for the faire renowne of his Royall Vertues, so that he commanded a farre greater Army, then euer did King *Darius* or *Xerxes*. For they that speake of him, do say, that he had foure hundred thousand Horsemen, and sixe hundered thousand foot Soldiers, with whom he went in conqueste of the lesser *Asia*. Whereof when the great Turke (named *Baiazeth*) was aduertised, who was Lord thereof, and held then his siege before *Constantinople*, hauing formerly conquered many Prouinces in *Greece*, and her Neighbouring Territories, making himselfe the richest and most feared king on the earth, he was constrained (immediately) to rayse his siege, and passe into *Asia* with all his people, mustering vp so many more as hee could all the way he went. It is reported, that he had as many horsmen as *Tamberlaine*, and a great number of foote men, all well experienced: especially in regard of the wars, wherein hee had long before exercised them against the christians. So *Baiazeth*, like a worthy-minded Captain, perceiuing he could by no other meanes resist this puissant Emperour, resolued to make head against him, & giue him battell, confiding infallibly in the great Vertue of his followers. Wherefore, being come neere to the confines of *Armenia*, where each of thē hauing prepared their people like aproued good warriors, euen vpon the point of day-breake, they began the most braue & cruell battel (as I think) that euer was fought, considering the great number of their men, with the solid experience declared on either side in cases of warre, sustained by valour and dexterity in all their Captaines. So that they fought most cruelly all the whole day, killing themselues, because they could not conquer one another, nor behold to which side the victory enclined. Til towards the Euening, when the *Turks* power began to faile and stoop, yet more by multitude then power; for there dyed the greater number of them: and (as one saieth) there remained 200000. men on his part, but al the rest were discomfited, and turned their backes.

Baiazeth resolueth on battel against *Tamberlaine*.

A whole day spent in the battell.

Baiazeths army foyled, & he taken prisoner, & kept in an Iron Cage.

When *Baiazeth* beheld this aduerse Fortune, to giue fresh courage vnto his warriors, and to turne them to a Newe fight, he shewed the true valor of an vnconquerable spirit, and ran amongst his enemies, with royall indignation. All which notwithstanding, hee was so ouercharged with blowes, that he was beaten from his horse, and taken before any help could rescue him. Then was he brought to great conquering *Tamberlaine*, who caused him to be shut vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him whersoeuer he went. He was fed with the crums of Bread that came from *Tamberlaines* Table, and with scraps and morselles which were throwne vnto him, as if hee had bin a Dog, as alreadie wee haue declared in the life of *Baiazeth*: which may serue to vs as a memorable example, lest we should glorify our selues in the flattries of worldly pompe and riches. For he who (but yesterday) was such a powerful ruler ouer men, was brought to day into such extreamity, as to feede like a Dogge, and in Dogges company. And this happened by the Fortune of one man, who formerly had beene but a sillie Heardes-man, or

Baiazeth the great Turke besiedging *Constantinople*.

The great & miserable deiection of Baiazeth, to bee fed and vsed like a Dogge.

or (as others say) a poore Soldier, grown vp to such an estate of greatnesse; as (in his time) not any one could bee found, that durst or might equall himselfe with him. As for the other, who was borne in such height and magnificence, behold how one day could quite ouerthrowe him. These things are sufficient in themselues, wholly to reclaime men from worldly affectations, onely to loue and desire the fauour of Gods blessings.

Great Tamberlaine proceedeth on in his conquests.

Great *Tamberlaine* hauing thus ouercom all *Asia* the lesser, which before was subiect to the *Turke*; he turned towardes *Egypt*, and razed all *Syria*, *Thaenis*, and *Palestine*, with all their Neighboring Iurisdictions, taking (by force of arms) many notable and famous Cities. And among others, *Smyrna*, *Antioche*, *Tripoli*, *Sebastia*, and *Damas*. Afterward, beeing come into Egypt, the Soldane and the King of *Arabia*, beside many other Prouinces assembled themselus against him: but in trying the fortune of battaile, they were throwne into the rout, spoiled and vanquished. so that the Soldan was glad to saue himselfe by flight. Neuertheless, the Conqueror might easilie haue taken Egypt from him, had hee not found it ouer-difficult, to conduct so puissant an Army thorow the sharpe deserts. For which cause hee deferred to pursue him any further, but contented himselfe (as then) with subduing the rest of the limitrophing parts.

The Soldane of Egypt, saued his life by flight.

One reporteth, that he was euer very iocond, when hee found any stout resistance in his enemy, because it affoorded him the better occasion for emploiment of his wit and industrie. As it happened to him at the Cittie of *Damas*; for after he had taken it by power, the cheefe and principall men that were within it, withdrewe themselues into so strong a Fortresse, as was verily reputed to bee impregnable for any humaine strength Yet afterward, they would com to composition with him, which he vtterly refused, and would haue them either to fight it out, or else to submit themselues to his mercie. And perceyuing the scituation of the place to be good & high; within few dayes, he builded a strong Forte, both neere and much higher then the other, wherein hee vsed such speedy expedition, as the enemy could not by anie meanes hinder the erection thereof. And hauing finished it to his owne liking, his battry plaied so mainly on the other Fort both Night and day that they could enioy no rest, vntill he had it in his full possession.

The Citty of *Damas* taken by *Tamberlain*

The strong Fort of *Damas* spoyled by *Tamberlaine*.

Another Author also hath recorded, that he obserued certaine Ceremonious Customes in his assaults. For first he would haue a White Tent or Pauillion, to bee erected before the City or Towne which he came to besiedge. Heereby hee signified to the Inhabitantes, that if on that day, while his White Tent stoode vp, they had any will to yeeld themselues to him, hee graunted their liues, and all their goods in safety.

Three Ceremonious conditions obserued by *Tamberlaine*.

His White Tent.

The second day, a Red coloured Tent was set in the same place of the other, & thereby he declared, that if (as yet) they submitted themselues to saue the residue, the Heades and Maisters of each house, should be put to death, and all the other liues preserued.

His Red tent.

But on the third day, his dismal black Tent was aduanced; whereby hee gaue them plainly to vnderstand, that the gate of all clemencie & compassion was now quite shut vppe; and whosoeuer on that day, or any day after, either yeelded, or were taken; men or Weomen (without any regard of sex or quality) were all certaine of death, and the Citty it selfe both sacked and burned.

His Blacke Tent.

Therefore, it cannot be denyed, but that the man was very cruell, albeit hee was otherwise endued with many excellent vertues. In this respect, it was especially obserued and reputed, that God had raised this man, to chastice insolent Kings, and proud people. For confirmation whereof Pope *Pius*, who liued in his time, or at the vtmost, within eight or ten yeares after, wrote of him in this manner:

Tamberlain was thought to be raised of God, for a scourge vnto Kinges and proud men.

Tamberlaine beeing come to besiedge a strong Citty, that would not submit it selfe, neither the first or second dues, which were the limitations for pittie and mercie. The third day being come, the Inhabitants confiding on an vncertaine hope, as perswaded, that they should begge compassion of him, did set open their gates; and marshalling their Weomen and Children in the formost rankes, all cloathed in White, and carryeng Oline Branches in their handes, cryed out with lowde voyces, humbly desiring mercy, which doubtlesse they could not haue fayled

Pope *Pius* his Wordes concerning *Tamberlaine*.

of in any other. But notwithstanding al this humiliation, when Tamberlaine *beholde them in this equipage, he declared not anie signe of mildnesse, but in a contrary rough and sterne humour, called for a squadron of his Horsemen, and commaunded them to Gallop fiercely on them, and treade them all to death with their Horses, and not to spare the life of one. Which presently they did, according to his command: and afterward, he burned and defaced the City, euen to the lowest foundation thereof.*

A *Geneway* Merchant, much fauored by *Tamberlain*

Another good Writer addeth to this of Pope *Pius*, that there was (at the verie same time of this bloody acte) a *Geneway* Merchant in the Campe, a man in high respect and familiar fauour with *Tamberlaine*, for continually he would conuerse friendly with him. This cruell deede, seeming horrid and hatefull to this Merchant, hee would needes enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him: wherefore he vsed such crueltie, to them that yeelded, and humbly sued for mercie? He entering into immeasurable choller, his face fiered with rage, and his eyes seeming to shoote foorth fiety sparckles, returned this answere vnto the Merchant.

His answere to the Merchant.

It appeareth to thee, that I am a meer man; but therein thou much abusest thy iudgement. For I am none other thing, then the wrath of God, and the destruction of the World: therefore, looke wel to thy self, that thou presume no more into my presence, except thou meanest to bee punished, according as thy audacious folly well deserueth. Which Wordes, when the Merchant had heard, he departed suddenlie, and was neuer afterwardes seene within his Tent.

The returne of Tamberlain home to his Countrie, after all his victories.

These thinges beeing thus accomplished; and this Great Man hauing Conquered most potent Countreyes; as also preuayled against, and slaine many Kings and great Lordes, not finding anie in all *Asia* able for to resist him: hee returned home to his owne Counrrey, laden with infinite spoyles and riches, beside woonperfull supplies of people, from all the parts he went thorow, where the thirde moitie of their wealth also, was willinglie brought vnto him.

There he caused to be builded, a very strong magnificent Cittie, and inhabited by those people, which (as wee haue alreadie saide) he brought home with him, from the lands and straunge kingdomes, subiected to his obedience: which Companies of so manie Nations, were great personages, and abounding in Treasure: and therefore (by the helpe of *Tamberlaine*) they made it the most sumptuous Cittie in the world, in regard of so many people, which enlarged it both in circuit and ampleneſse, so that it abounded in pompe and wealth.

The most sumptuous Cittie in the world builded by *Tamberlain*

But in the end, this great Emperour *Tamberlaine*, albeit he maintained his estate in so powerfull authority, yet notwithstanding (as a fraile man) hee payed the debt due to Nature; and ending his dayes, left two Sonnes behinde him. But they diffred very farre from their father, as appeared by most euident signes, not only in regard of the great discord which was betweene them, but also their incapacity, not knowing how to keepe and maintaine so great an Empire, as their father had conquered and left vnto them. For the Sonnes of *Baiazeth* (whome they kept as prisoners) beeing aduertised of their dissention, got away into *Asia*, wher what by vertue of their great spirite, and diligence vsed among the people (whom they found willing and forwarde in their assistance) they recouered their former lost goodes and possessions; the like did the other Kings & Princes, whom *Tamberlain* had despoiled of their estates. So, by succession of time, the Empire began in such sort to decline, as comming to our daies, ther is found no mention made of him or his linage.

His death and discord betweene his two Sonnes.

The Sons of Baiazeth recouered their lost possessions.

True it is, that *Baptista Ignatius*, a great inquisitor into Antiquities, saith, that he left two Sonnes, in possession of those Countries and Prouinces which their father had conquerd in the parts about *Euphrates*, & that their successors inherited them, vnto the time of K. *Vsancasanus*, against whom, *Mahomet* the Turke waged battell. It is also said, that the heirs of this King *Vsancasanus* (according to the opinion of many) came to bee first Sophye, and from them the Sophies Empire was deriued, which to this day, maintaineth it selfe as a great enemy against the *Turk*. But bee it howsoeuer, it is easily presupposed, that the history of this great man (if it had bin really set downe in writing) would haue bin most memorable, beecause many worthy thinges, might haue bin therein obserued. As for my selfe, I haue neither seene or read more then ye haue

Baptista Ignatius, a famous Historian, cõcerning the historie of Tamberlaine.

The Sophies Empire came from Tamberlains heirs

heard; and I am verily perſwaded, that there is not much more recorded of him. One onely thing is confirmed by all that haue written of him, that he neuer ſawe fortune to turne her backe againſt him: neuer could he be any way vanquiſhed; neuer did he enterprize any thing, but he effected it; and neuer did his induſtrie and courage faile him, in any attempt whatſoeuer. And therefore wee may (by good reaſon) equall him, with any other (without exception) of the moſt renowned in former ages. And al this diſcourſe I haue collected out of *Baptiſta Fulgoſa*, Pope *Pius* in his ſecond part of the worldes deſcription; *Platina*, in the life of *Boniface* the 9. *Baptiſta Ignatius*, *Mattheus Palmierus*, and out of *Campinus*, in his hiſtory of the Turkes.

Fortune did neuer truely turn hir back on Tamberlaine.

Baptiſt. Fulgoſ. in lib. de Collec. Pap. Pius in deſcrip. Orb. part 2. Plat. in vit. Bon. 9.

CHAP. III.

Of Heliogabalus, Emperour of Rome; his moſt ſtrange vices, and deformitie of life.

I haue ſpoken of a valiant and famous man, who by the meanes of his worth & valour, attained to the verie higheſt degree of Fortune. But now I am deſirous to ſpeake of another man, the moſt voluptuous & impertinent perſon that euer was, named *Heliogabalus*, Emperor of *Rome* contrary to all right and reaſon. I am the rather deſirous to ſpeake of him, to the end, that theſe contrarieties being compared togither, the ſtrength and wiſedome of the one may be the more clearely diſcerned; and the ſin and puſilanimity of the other auoided. And yet let me tell yee, that the vices and diſorders of *Heliogabalus* (and many other like him, & as vicious as he) were in ſo great number, as it is no way poſsible for me to recount them all. Beſide, I haue euer helde it fitting, to leaue ſuch horride infamy vtterly vnſpoken of, euen for the preſeruation of cõmon honeſty. For, in very deede, there haue bin ſome kings and Emperors ſo vicious and wicked, that meere modeſty forbiddeth any ſpeech of them, to auoide diſperſion or divulging of their memory, leaſt the people might thereby bee infected, and their ſucceſſours ſhould heare, that ſuch abhomination hath beene tollerated and ſupported by men, or ſuch enorme and ſinfull acts committed. Neuer heleſſe, I am conſtrained to write of him, who (in all kinds of iniquity) out-went all his predeceſſors, and admitteth no compariſon of any other that followed him, how peruerſe and wicked ſoeuer hee was. And therefore, I ſay, that our Naturall Phyloſophers, who deſcribed the Nature of hearbes, did no way leſſen their benefit and aduantage, by declaring ſuch as were hurtfull and venemous, to the end, that we might ſhunne them: then in reuealing thoſe of greateſt Vertue, for our vſe and ſeruice. For a Prince now liuing, and he that ſhall come after, by beholding how deteſtable the one was and is, in the memory of men, he will ſhun all occaſion of his reſemblance. And likewiſe, any people, that haue a good, wiſe, and vertuous King, knowing howe much other Nations haue been or are afflicted by the turbulent and wicked gouernement of euill Princes, will be the more thankefull to God, and eſteeme themſelues verie happie, in meeting with ſuch a wiſe and well-minded Prince. So praying for the life of ſuch a Soueraigne, they will ſerue him with the greater loue and loyaltie. And thoſe people, that haue an euill and bad diſpoſed Prince, wil patiently indure him; knowing, that there haue bin ſome more wicked then he. Moreouer, the Reader, by peruſing the liues and deeds of thoſe euill Princes; well conſidering, what vnfortunat ends they haue had, and the paucity of time that their raigne laſted.

Compariſon by the nature of hearbs.

Example by good and bad Princes.

Example of people towards good Princes and Tyrants.

The reaſon why the Author ſpeaketh of *Heliogabalus*

The wicked liues of ſome Emperors & Kings, and omiſsion of their publication.

But let vs come now to our *Heliogabalus*, the ſonne of *Antoninus Caracalla*, welneere as wicked as his Son, for the great diſobedience he ſhewed to his father: for he ſlewe his Brother, and then marryed with his Stepmother, Mother to his brother whom he had ſlain. So ſoone as this *Antoninus Caracalla* the Father, was ſlain by his owne houſhold ſeruants, the Soldiers and men of armes in the camp, elected one named *Opilus Macrinus* for their Emperor, who was grand Prouoſt of the houſhold. This man, much about the ſpace of one yeare of his Empire, was ſlaine in *Bythinia*, with his Sonne, by the

Heliogabalus the Sonne of *Antonius Caracalla.*

Opilus Macrinus elected Emperor, and ſoone after ſlaine in *Bythinia.*

of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, who getting the greater part of the *Romaine* Army to ioyne with him, attained to such reputation in the Army (by Challenging the *Antonines* name, so highly renowned in *Rome*) that immediately after the death of *Macrinus*, he was chosen Emperor by the Soldiers; which hee accepted, and sent his Letters to Rome, where hee was also confirmed Emperor by the Senate: vnder this hope and perswasion, that hee would proue to be a good Prince. Returning home afterward to the Cittie, and perceiuing himselfe to bee both well receyued and obeyed, he made no long delay of discouering his bad life. And because I desire not to tardie his History, or stay at any perticuler points thereof, I would come to his manners, whereby he was knowne so much shameleſſe and depraued in his Carnall Concupiſences, lubricious affections towards women, & other abhominations in Luxurie, as (I thinke) no man can be found so copious in words, that could bee able to expresse them. Beside, hee was so cowardly faint-harted & subiected to women, that at the first time he entred the Senat, he brought his mother with him to make his entrāce, and would haue her opinion and Iudgement to be demaunded, vppon the difference of occurring occasions, so that she was alwayes present, at all determinations and Statutes of the Senate, which neuer before had beene seene or heard of, that any womans voice was allowed in the Senate.

Heliogabalus chosen Emperor, & confirmed by the Senate.

The incontinent and luxurious life of *Heliogabalus*.

His pusilanimity and cowardice.

Not contented heerewith, he erected a Senate and congregation of women, to iudge and discide matters of State; and such things as appertained to their Feminine Lawes and customes; in which Senate, women only ruled & commanded. Ouer & beside this, he had in his pallace (in steade of Pages and braue attending Squires) a company of imodest & common women; in whose conuersation he tooke such pleasure, that he brought into *Rome* (from al parts of his empite) al such women as were found to be of that quality. Of them he made a publick Chapter, and came himselfe amongst them in the habit of a woman, and (like a valiant Captaine amongst his warlicke troopes) made a long Oration to them, calling them his Companions in armes, which are the proper tearmes of our worthiest Captaines, when they purpose to congratulate their Soldiers. Whatsoeuer he deliberated and consulted in this Senate of Strumpets, was newe and vnusuall fashions, of immodest and veneriall behauiour, wherewith his lustfull appetite could neuer be satisfied. After this Senat and Capitoll of common Whores, hee made a receptacle or Colledge of both he and she Bauds, and of lewd shameles Children, which prostituted themselues publickely: for whose prouision and norishment, hee appointed certaine great sums of money.

A Senate or Congregation of women.

Women ateding on him in sted of Pages, & a chapter of women

His consultation among his shee-Senators.

A Colledg of shee and hee Bauds.

This vnwoorthy and immodest man, was so copious in all kinds of wickednes; that albeit he was (by nature) a very comly personage: yet he would paint himself, as vaine Women vse to do. Nay more, he declared his disposition to bee so effeminate, and desirous to be a woman indeed; that, for his better attaining thereto, he assembled the most excellent Physitions and Chirurgions of those times, and suffered them to make woundes and open places in his body, whersoeuer they could best deuise them; prouided, that he might thereby bee the more enabled, to haue the companie of a man, euen as with a Woman. And resoluing to become so indeede, hee caused the secret parts of a man to be taken from him, to the end, that hee might receiue delight by the one lewdnesse, when hee was past the other. The most infamous and abhominable villaines in this lubricity, were his most esteemed frends and fauourites, and while his authority continued, hee gaue them the full administration of the Empire, and gouerned himselfe only by their Counsell, banishing all the wise & learned men; amongst whom, were expelled out of Rome, those two most famous and renowned Lawyers, *Sabinus* and *Vlpianus*. He was very curious in finding out new lasciuious inuentions, and meanes for Paillardise, such as (before) had neuer beene thought of. Hee would bee drawne in his Chariot by great and mighty Dogges; and other whiles by tamed Lyons, but that was seldom; and oftentimes hee was starke naked, sitting so in his Chaire, and then hee woulde bee drawne thorough the Cittie, by four the faireſt and youngeſt Weomen, who likewise must bee wholly naked, to manifest publickely his excesiue turpitude. His vtmost

He coueted to shew himselfe euery way like a woman

Sensuality the like seldom heard of.

Sabinus & Vlpianus banisht out of Rome.

How he rode in his chariot thorow Rome

vtmoſt intention and principall end, was to decke, paint, and ſo compoſe himſelfe, that he might therby incite others of the like humor, to purſue his wickedneſſe in the ſame Nature.

He rauiſhed one of the veſtal virgins.

Beſide all this, he violated one of the Nunnes and Veſtall Virgins, who (in the Romaines vaine Religion) were held to be moſt ſacred, and in them, Chaſtitie was aboue all things moſt commended. Onely in ſuch skirmiſhes and battayles, this diſhonourable Emperor ſpent moſt of his life time.

His waſting of the wealth and treaſure.

In like manner, hee employed not his riches and reuennewes in the warres, or in publicke buildings, but to inuent and finde out all meanes, whereby to incite and prouoke people, to bee inſatiable in beaſtly Luxury, voluptuous lubricity, & other Vices whereof we ſhal ſpeak heereafter; but eſpecially his lauiſh expences were intollerable, in delicate and delicious Viands, ſu ch as were rare, and neuer vſed before. Neuer would he ſit downe, but amongeſt Flowers and odorifferous ſmels, of Muske, Amber, with other ſinguler and excellent ſauours. Neuer wold he eat any meats whatſoeuer, except they were of vnvalewable price, for it was his vſuall ſaying; *That there could be no better ſawce or appetite, then by deeren ſſe.* Hee cloathed himſelfe in Garments of Gold and Purple, enriched with Pearles and other precious Stones. Not ſo much as his ſhooes, but they were decked with ſtones of ineſtimable value: for they were cut and carued with Medalles and other Engrauings, of extraordinary and admirable Art and coſt. In theſe things, hee ſpent more then the reuennewes of al the Princes, as well Chriſtian as Heathen; & yet they ſufficed not.

His ſitting, diet, & feeding.

His coſtly apparrel, & his ſhooes.

His exceſſe in expences.

The Chaire wherein he ſat, was wholly couered with rich Silks and Gold. His Chambers & Guardrobes, al ouer thick ſtrewed with Roſes and others Flowers. And from his bed-chamber to his chaire of State; and from thence, to the place where he mounted on horſebacke, it was all ouer adorned with coſtly Tapiſtries, great Pearles, Diamonds, and ineſtimable precious Stones.

The decking of his Chambers.

Gold & ſiluer duſt ſpred like pin duſt, wher he ſhold tred.

At ſuch times as he pleaſed to mount on horſ back, he would haue the ground couered with the duſt of Golde and Siluer, eſpecially where he ſhould ſette his feete, becauſe he ſcorned to tread vppon the earth, as other men did. His Chambers, Hals, and other places of delectation, were alwaies couered with Roſes, Violets and Lillies. He would neuer put on a ſhirt twice, nor lye in linnen ſheetes after they were waſhed. Hee neuer wore a Garment, Hoſe, or ſhooes, two ſeueral times; and Rings which he hadde once pluckt off his Fingers, hee would neuer put them on againe. Likewiſe he would neuer drinke twice in one Cup, whither it were of Gold or Siluer, but it remained onely to him, whoſe Office was that day attending on that ſeruice. His beds whereon hee vſed to take his reſt, were not of Wooll, Feathers, Purfled Silke, or ſuch like, as thoſe of other men: but made of the ſoft skinnes of Hares, and the ſmalleſt Down Feathers of Patridges Bellies. His Tables, Couches, Cheſts, Seats, and al other things, either for his Chamber kitchin, and his whole houſe, were al of fine Gold, yea, euen to the veſſell employed for the baſeſt ſeruice belonging to man. In ſted of vſing Oyle in his Lampes, hee cauſed them to be filled with the richeſt Balmes that could be brought out of *Iudea* and *Arabia*. Nay, his very Vrinals of priuate ſeruice were carued out of Chriſtall, and deckt with precious ſtones.

His wonderful ſingularity in many things by himſelfe, as neuer the like was heard of.

When he rode abroad into the fields, to take the Ayre, there went with him ſix hundred Chariots and Litters, ful of vnchaſt Damoſels and buggering Boyes, with *Maquereaux* and *Maquerelles*: and he was ſo ſtrangely addicted to luſt, that hee would neuer haue knowledge twice of one Woman. His meats (as we haue formerly ſaide) were of wonderful charges; for he neuer had a meal, which coſt leſſe then threeſcore Markes of Golde, which (according to common Computation) do value 2500. Ducates nowe in vſe: and ſometimes hee was ſo riotous, that a dinner woulde coſt more then 60000. Ducats. He ſought out al means, ſuch as the like was neuer heard of, to be extream in expences: & to make it more apparantly knowne, he would promiſe aboue 2000. Marks of gold, that he might eate of a Phœnix, vvhereof it vvas ſaid, to be but one onely in the vvorld; and hee gaue the money, that ſearch might bee made for that matchleſſe Foule. In the greateſt heate of Summer, hee vvoulde haue Snovv brought to his Pallace from the Mountaines. When he vvas vpon

His diſorderly riding abroad, with Whoores, Boyes and Bawds.

His coſtlie meales & feeding.

His large offer to eate of a Phœnix.

His delight in contrary diet.

Impoſsible meats to bee had, beſt pleaſed him.

The prodigal diet of his Courtiers, & food of his Grey-hounds Dogges, and Lyons.

The emperor went beyond the Deuill, in one new deuice.

Heliogabalus was extreame in all his behauiour.

the Sea-coaſts, he would not feed on any Fiſh, but dainty Foules and Birds, fetcht the furtheſt off: and when hee was moſt remote from the Sea, then he would eat nothing elſe but Fiſh, which muſt bee brought in all poſt haſt, to the end, that it might coſt the dearer, and appear impoſſible to be had; for otherwiſe, he took no pleaſure in his meat. He would feede on ſuch things as were neuer herd of, for he would haue Pies made of diuers ſtrange Foods: As of the creſts of Cocks, & the tongues of Peacocks and Nightingales, excuſing his pride heerin, by ſaying, that ſuch meats were wholſom againſt the Epilepſie, or falling ſickeneſſe: hee would haue all of his Court to eate verie Delicate meats: As the Liuers of Pea-cocks, Patridges Egges; heads of Parrates and Popiniayes, Pheſants, and Pea-cockes. He had a great number of Grey-hounds and other Dogges, which were fed with nothing elſe but the fleſh of Swans and Geeſe. His Lyons that had beene made tame, were fed with Parrats, Popiniayes, and Pheſants. Whereby it may be euidently diſcerned, that his whole delight was in incredible expences. When he paſſed thorow the ſtreets of Rome, and ſaw nothing but ordinary things: hee would ſay, *That he had compaſsion of the publicke Pouerty.*

The diſorders of the Emperour were ſuch and in ſo great a number, as they can no way be declared, but in a confuſed order. He ordained for the good gouernment of Rome, and for a new manner of vice, one eſpeciall and ſinguler conceyte whereof the Deuill himſelfe neuer was aduiſed. For he gaue ſtrict commaund, that thoſe workes which ordinarilie were performed by day, ſhould be done in the night time, and thoſe of the night to bee done in the day. So that, men aroſe when the Sunne began to ſet, and when they ſhould ſalute each other with a Good night, they vſed then to giue a Good Morrow, whereby it ſhould appear, that the world went wholly backward. Hee was extreame in all things. The Baths wherein he vſed to bath himſelf, were all filled with moſt precious Vnguents; and onely for this cauſe.

He made many Bathes in ſundrie places, becauſe hee neuer would waſh himſelfe but once in a Bathe: for then, it muſt bee broken in pieces, onely to prepare other new Bathes for him. When he came to any Port or Hauen on the Sea, whatſoeuer Ships of Merchandizes were riding there, muſt bee drowned with all their Wealth, only to pleaſe his idle fancie. Hee was reproued by a verie deare friend, becauſe his lauiſh expences were ſuch, as muſt portend the iſſue of pouertie, whereto he replied, *That there could be no better fortune for him in the Worlde, then to be heyre to himſelfe, and to his wife.* He ſaide moreouer, *That he did not deſire to haue any Children, becauſe they ſhoulde not conſpire any way againſt him. For, if the Gods ſhould giue him any, perhappes they would proue to be ſuch in nature, as he himſelfe was to others.*

His Anſwere vpon reproof of his lauiſh prodigality.

He had Bouffones, Stage-players, and idle Ieſters, vpon whom (in ſport, and to pleaſe his humour) he would haue ſometimes ſo many Roſes and Flowers caſt, as ſome one among them, was ſure to bee ſtifled with the verie ſmell of them. Vpon a time, hee would needs haue them ſerued at a dinner, with all ſuch meats as were ſerued to his owne Table, which were great and many in number, and exceſsiue in coſt.

How he dealt with Bouffones, Stage-players, &c. in apparant ſcorn & mockage of them

At another time, he cauſed the ſame kind of ſeruice to be ſet before them: but their meats were all made counterfet, eyther of Marble or wood, ſo that they wer kept at the Table, without eating of any thing. And yet afterward, they muſt waſh their handes before they roſe, euen as if they had fedde of all kinds of meats: and during this dinner time, drinke was offered them, but yet they might taſte none. One while he would pretend an honorable inuitation of them, and all the veſſels belonging to the ſeruice, were of curious Glaſſe, and all the counterfet meates in them, were of the ſame ſtuffe. Another while, their ſeruice was of nothing elſe, but Wood, painted and figured in a liuely reſemblance, ſo that in ſtead of ſatisfying their hunger, hee delighted to ſtarue them. Many times, he would make feaſts wherto none might be bidden gueſts, but eight Baldheaded men, other eight, lame crook-backt men; other eight, very gouty men, 8. deafe men, 8. dumb men, eight Moors, 8. very lean men, 8. very fat men, 8. of the leaſt men that could be founde, and eight other of the greateſt and Talleſt men: onely, that theſe ſeuerall diuerſities of men, might make a confuſed iarring

A Dinner of Glaſſe, & another of wood

As confuſed feaſts as euer were heard of, onely to pleaſe & delight himſelfe

iarring among themselues, and thereby fill his spleene with the more laughter. Afterward, when the Feast was ended, he would bestow vpon these Guests, all the Gold and Siluer Plate wherein they had beene serued at the Table.

His bounty to his Cookes & deuisers of new and strange meats

He had very excellent Cookes, vpon whom he bestowed great Wages; beside, he was extraordinarily liberall and bountifull, to such as deuised, or found out new inuentions, of Daintie, Delicate, and vn-vsed Meats. If any Cooke had prepared a new kind of food, which himselfe much commended, & yet was disliked by the Emperour: he that had so dressed and prouided it, should feed himselfe with no other Victuals, vntill he could inuent some other, which (by the nouelty thereof) might yeilde him contentment. When he had inuited many of his Friends to Dinner or Supper, and made them drunke with variety of Wines, till sleepinesse should lay hold vpon them: He would then make fast the doores vpon them, and (by a secret prepared way) send in Beares and Lyons, which had neither teeth nor clawes, so that by the behauior of those Beasts, many of the Guests haue beene found to be dead with feare. He was continually at very great and excessiue expences, by keeping all kindes of furious Beastes in *Rome*, which were brought thither from all strange and farre off Countries. Behold the verie best and honestest exercises, of this humorous Emperour.

His kindnesse to his friends, when he had made them al drunke.

Heliogabalus had deuised and prepared means for his owne death.

But being wearie with speaking of so bad a man, let me tell ye what his ende was: albeit himselfe had determined to worke his owne death, by other meanes then it happened to him. For, he had prouided diuers precious Instruments, where-with to take away his owne life, whensoeuer any necessity should thereto enforce him. And it was a common speech vsed by himselfe: *That as his life had beene extreame, euen so he would haue his death to be; to the end, that all men might say; No Man euer liued and dyed like him.*

He had prepared sundry Cordes or Halters of Silke, where-with to strangle himselfe when neede required: because wicked and bad minded men, doe continually liue in feare. He had also a Poyson readie, very quicke and speedie for death, which he kept enclosed in vials made of Emeralds and Iacinths, only for the excellencie thereof. He had likewise made an high Tower, wholely couered and engirt with Leaues and Plates of Gold and Siluer: the pauement whereof was of rich and inestimable sharpe-pointed Stones: whereon he purposed to cast himselfe naked and head-long downe, when misfortune should reduce him into such extremity. And yet notwithstanding, none of these deuises did any way auaile him; because (long time before) a secret conspiracy was contriued & vowed against him.

Tyrants and leudmen liue daily in fears.

A conspiracy deuised and sworn against him.

After that the Souldiers of his own Guard, had slaine all his ad-herents and fauourites in the Pallace: they found him hidden in a darke nooke or corner of a Chamber, where, without permitting him to make any election of his death, or the least leysure that could be; they stabd him with their Weapons. Afterward, hauing drawne him (like a Dogge) thorow all the streets and precincts of *Rome*: they fastned two verie great stones about his necke, and then threw him into the Riuer of *Tyber*, to the end, that his body might neuer after be found, but so to remaine without any other Sepulcher; and this was done by consent of all the people. And as concerning the Senate, order was taken among them, that the name of the *Anthonius* (which had beene attributed to him) should be taken away: and when any speech was to bee made of him, they should tearme him the *Tyberine*, or the trailed through the streetes, because these names would preserue a memoriall of his death. Which (indeed) was worthy and conformable vnto his life; for any good minded man, when he maketh due consideration thereof, will be both satisfied and comforted, approouing the righteous iudgements of God.

The manner of his death, and casting his bodie into the Riuer of *Tyber*.

The decree of the Senate for altring his name.

These thinges are related in the life of this Emperour, by diuers learned and worthy Authours, among whom perticularly, as men of good note and credit, are *Ælius Lampridius*; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh a little thereof, in the life of *Macrinus*. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Septimius Seuerus*; And likewise *Sextus Aurelius Victor*; beside *Eutropius*. And

Aelius Lampridius.
Iulius Capitolinus, in vit. Macrin.
Spartian in vit. Septim. Seuer.

And becauſe the matters which I haue declared, may appeare hardly to be beleeued: I thought good to alleadge the Authours names, for teſtimony of the truth, and mens further ſatisfaction; eſpecially in ſuch ſtrange caſes, depending vpon ſo great a difficultie of credence.

CHAP. IIII.

The Admirable Continency, both of Alexlexander and of Scipio; And which of them was moſt to be preferred for that vertue.

The ſauour of vertue taketh away the foul ſmell of vice.

HAuing read the abhominable deedes and vices of wicked *Heliogabalus*: mee thinkes, it fitteth beſt, to declare the vertuous actions of ſome Princes, only to take away the foule taſt and ſauour, which our ſences haue receiued by his horrid pollutions. And among the moſt remarkable, I finde *Alexander* and *Scipio*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* made a Probleme, to wit: which of them both was moſt vertuouſly enclined. *Scipio* entring by force of Armes into the new Citty of *Carthage*, among other Captiues and Priſoners brought vnto him: there was a young Gentlewoman (of admired beauty) preſented vnto him. He being then in the very floure of his youth; could eaſily conquer his owne affections, and would commit no act of diſhonour with the Virgine. But after he was informed, that ſhe was of great birth, noble houſe, and affianced to a worthy Lord of *Spaine*: he ſent for her Parents and betrothed Husband, to whom hee gaue (as a dowry) the whole ranſome both for her ſelfe and Father; which (vndoubtedly) was a ſigne of great continency, in a victorious Captaine towards his Captiue.

How *Scipio* entreated a young beautifull Lady of *Carthage*.

We reade likewiſe of *Alexander* the Great, who hauing ouer-come King *Darius* in battaile; his Souldiours took (in flight) the wife and Mother of that powerfull King. This Queene was of ſuch exquiſite perfection in beauty, as in all *Aſia* ſhe had not her equall. She was young, and of a moſt gracious countenance. He alſo was of like years to this Lady, and had no ſuperiour ouer him, to whom hee ſhould yeild an account of his actions. And yet, albeit he was aduertiſed by all his people, of her rarity in beautie: yet would he not haue an euill thought towards her, but ſent an eſpeciall fauourite of his, named *Leonatus*, to comfort her. And, to the end that he might auoid all occaſion of ſuſpition; he would not ſee her, neither ſuffer that ſhe ſhould bee brought before him: but cauſed her to bee ſerued with no leſſe honour and reuerence, then as if ſhe had beene his naturall Siſter. *Hepheſtion*, a Greek Author, hath ſo ſet it downe; *Aulus Gellius* referreth the Hiſtorie to him, and *Plutarch* credibly confirmeth it. And yet neuertheleſſe, *Aulus Gellius* leaueth it in doubt, in which of theſe two great men appeared the greateſt continency.

How *Alexander* the Great vſed the wife and mother to king *Darius*

Hepheſtion.
Aulus Gellius.
Plutarch.

It may be ſaide, that they were both equall, becauſe they both determined to containe themſelues, the occaſions being equall: but, for my ſelfe, I would open the way to diſpute on this queſtion. And me thinkes, he that would defend in fauour of *Scipio*, may ſay, that he aſſured himſelfe moſt on his continence; and had very great iudgement therein: conſidering, that he durſt ſuffer ſo ſweete and faire a Virgine, to bee brought into his preſence, by the ſight of whom, no inordinate appetite could ſo preuaile ouer him, as to ſtirre him one iot from his firſt reſolued purpoſe. But it was not ſo in *Alexander*, who ſtood in feare of ſeeing his Lady, and knew not what he might be forced vnto, if he ſhould ſee her. On the other ſide, a man may alleage on the behalfe of *Alexander*, that (in this caſe) he merited more then *Scipio*, and excelled him in one point: to wit, in that he would not ſee the Queene, becauſe hee would not ſinne ſo much as in thought. For in his vertue, hee had a much greater fancy to preſerue his continence, in regard, that (knowing humaine frailtie) he would ſhun all occaſion that might happen, whereby he ſhould be drawne into perill. And heerein we may ſafelie ſay

The differēce in whom appeared the moſt continency.

Scipio preferred before *Alexander*.

Alexander extolled beyond *Scipio*.

say, that hee equalled *Scipio* in continence; yea, & exceeded him in thought, and diligence for preseruing it. I haue but touched these two pointes, to the end, that euery man may iudge according to his owne mind.

Quintus Curtius. Diodorus Siculus in vit. Alexander.

Neuertheless, true it is, that *Quintus Curtius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, doe write in the life of *Alexander*; that hee saw and saluted both the Wife and mother of *Darius*, on the day after the victorie, and that then he vsed wordes of good and true amity. For, as he entred into the place where they were, with a purpose to see them; he was accompanied with his intimate friend *Hephestion*, who resembled him both in age and habits.

Whereupon, the Mother to King *Darius*, thinking him to be *Alexander*; saluted him with such reuerence, as beseemed a Prisoner to behold her Conquerour. But finding her selfe (afterward) to be deceiued; as ashamed therof, shee lookt red, to excuse her errour, which *Alexander* perceiuing, he said vnto her: *Mother, doe not displease thy selfe for that which thou hast done, because there is no errour committed: for this man is Alexander as well as my selfe.* Declaring by these wordes, that his Friend was another selfe to him. It seemeth, that this visitation contradicteth that which others say, reporting that he would not see these Weomen. And yet notwithstanding, both these opinions may bee maintained. For they which say, that he would not see the Wife of King *Darius*: doe inferre thereby, that he would not immediatly see her, so soone as she was taken, but sent to visite her by *Leonatus*. And after her greefe was in some measure qualified: he went in person, both to see and honour her. But be it howsoeuer, it was an Act of great honesty, and if it were not greater then that of *Scipioes*: yet (in my mind) it may be equalled with it.

The words of Alexander to the Mother of K. Darius.

The Authors defence of both the opinions.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers Lakes, Springes, Fountaines, and Riuers, the waters whereof haue contained very strange and wonderfull properties.

IN a former Chapter, where we discoursed of waters, we made a promise to relate more at large, concerning the effects and properties of some other particular Waters. The first whereof, shall be that of the Lake in *India*, named * *Asphaltites*, or *Asfaltida*, which since hath beene called, *Mare mortuum*, *The dead Sea*. Of this water, many thinges are reported by *Pliny*, *Columella*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*. First of all, one affirmeth, that it engendreth neither Fish, Fowle, or any other liuing thing, and that not any thing (hauing life) can be sunke or drowned therein. So that if a man, or any other Creature be throwne thereinto, bound in such sort, as no way able to mooue, stir, or swimme; yet no drowning is to bee doubted, these thinges are declared by *Pliny*.

* A poole full of Brimstone, and neuer moueth.

And *Aristotle*, to yeild a naturall reason for this cause, saith: *That the water of this Lake is grosse, very salt and thicke.* *Cornelius Tacitus* addeth also this propertie, that by reason of some strong Winds blowing thereon; it should vse motion, and yet it stirreth not at all, neither is sailed on. The same Author, and likewise *Solynus* in his *Polyhistor*, saith, that at certain times, there is bred in this Lake a kind of Scumme or Lees, which is a most strong Ciment, & glueth or holdeth more strictly, then any Pitch whatsoeuer, and it is called (by *Diodorus Siculus*) *Bitumen* and *Asfaltis*. Whereupon it appeareth, that the vocable *Asphaltis* or *Asfaltis*, was deriued of this Lake named *Asphaltida*. We read beside of other Pooles and Lakes, which yeilded the like Ciment or Morter; as of one neere vnto *Babylon*, with the Morter whereof, *Semiramis* caused the

Plin. in lib. 4. Ari. in Meteor Lib. 2.

Cornel. Tacit. in Lib..

Iul. Solin. in Polyhist.

Diodor. Siculus Bitumen or Asfaltis.

The walles about *Babylon* cimented together.

the ſtones to be knit together, which builded the great and renowned Cittie Walles of *Babylon*. The Riuer *Iordane* (the Water whereof is good and excellent) falleth into this Lake of *Iudea*: but through the diſcommoditie of the Lake, and falling into it; the Water loſeth his vertue and goodneſſe. It is reported, that *Domitian* ſent thither to make tryall thereof, and found it to bee very true.

Plin in lib. 5. cap. 3.
* A Lake dedicated to the God of Hell, and thought to be an entry into Hell.

Pliny writeth of another Water, in *Campania* in *Italy*, named * *Auernus*, neere to the Sea, by the Gulfe of *Bayas*, and this Poole hath ſuch a propertie, that no Bird or Fowle flyeth ouer it, but it falleth downe dead into the Water: The like is ſaid to be in *Puſola*. The Poet *Lucretius*, in rendring a naturall reaſon about it, ſaith: That through the thickneſſe of Trees growing about it, and a mighty ſhaddow thereby occaſioned: a groſſe and infectious vapor ariſeth from it, which meerely ſtifleth the Birdes in their flight. Whereto he addeth, that the chiefe cauſe proceedeth from great Mines of Sulphure, which are in like manner neere it. *Theophraſtus* and *Pliny* doe ſpeake of a Fountaine, named *Lycos*, which is in *Iudea*, and of another in *Æthiopia*, the Waters whereof, haue a like power and efficacy, containing the very property of Oyle; for when it is put into Lampes, it burneth brightly.

Theophraſtus. Plin. in Lib. 5. Cap. 7.

Pomponius Mela, and *Solinus*, writing of *Æthiopia*, doe relate, that there is a Poole or Lake, the Water whereof is ſweet and cleare: and yet notwithſtanding, if a man doe bath himſelfe therein, his body is in like ſort annointed, as if he came out of a bath full of Oyle. The like is affirmed by *Vitruuius*, and he ſaith moreouer, that there is a Riuer in *Cilicia*, and likewiſe a Fountaine or Spring neere to *Carthage*, which haue the very ſame properties.

Pompon. Mela. Iul. Solin. in Polybiſt.

Vitruuius.

Solinus, *Theophraſtus*, and *Iſidorus*, ſpeaking of two Welles, doe auouch, that if a woman drinke of one of them, ſhe ſhall become barren. And contrariwiſe, if a ſtirrile Woman do drinke of the other Well, it cauſeth her to be very fruitfull. They write moreouer, that there is another well in *Arcadia*, whereof whoſoeuer drinketh, dyeth immediatly. *Ariſtotle* in his naturall queſtions, ſpeaketh of one that is in *Thrace*, which worketh the like effect, and alſo of another in *Sarmatia*. In like manner, *Herodotus* ſaith in his fourth Muſe, and *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe affirme the ſame, that the Riuer *Hypanis*, which is great, and deſcendeth out of *Scythia*, hath his water ſweete and good. And yet notwithſtanding, there is a little Well or Fountaine entring into it, and ſo farre as his ſtream extendeth: the bitterneſſe of the water of this Well, maketh the reſt of the Water in the Riuer ſo bitter, as no man can poſſibly endure to drinke thereof.

Solin. in Polybi. Theophraſtus. Iſidorus.

Ari. in Quæſt. Nat.

Herodotus. Plin. in lib. 4. Iuſt. Solin. in Polybiſt.

The very ſame Authours, and likewiſe *Iſidorus*, doe write of two other Fountaines that are in *Boetia*; the one of which doth cauſe the vtter loſſe of memory; and the other is no meane comfort thereto, procuring withal, that ſuch as drinke thereof, ſhall remember all thinges, whatſoeuer they haue before forgotten. They ſpeake alſo of one Well, which temperateth and appeaſeth the entiſing prickes or Spurres of the fleſh; And then of another, which as ſharpely dooth incite them. There is a Riuer in *Sicilie*, named *Arethuſa*; of which (beſide their recordation of abounding in numberleſſe ſhoales of Fiſhes, and ſuch as ſeeme very good for foode) they write one wonderfull thing, to wit; that oftentimes there hath beene found in this Riuer diuers notable things that were throwne into the Riuer *Alpheus*, which is in *Achaia*, a Countrey of *Greece*. For this cauſe, they doe all maintaine, that the Water of this Riuer, paſſeth through the entrailes of the Earth (from the maine Fountaine) quite vnderneath the Sea, which is betweene *Sicilie* and *Achaia*.

Two Fountaines in *Boetia* of very ſtrange quality.

The Riuer *Arethuſa* in *Sicilie*.

Alpheus a Riuer of *Achaia* in *Greece*.

The Authours that make this report, are ſuch great perſons, and worthy of credit; as they may well giue boldneſſe to any man to write and certifie the ſame. *Seneca* affirmeth it; ſo doth *Pliny*; *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Seruius*, vpon the tenth Eclogue of *Virgill*.

Seneca in lib. 3. de Quæſt. Nat. Plin. in lib. 7. Pom. Mel. lib 1 Strabo in lib 6. Seruius ſup. 10. Eclo. Virg.

Solynus and *Iſidorus* make mention of of a well-ſpring, on the water whereof, if a man (that is to take an oath) do lay his hand; he muſt be carefull that hee take his oath truely and iuſtly, for if it be otherwiſe, his eyes will dry vp, and dye

dye in his head. *Pliny* maketh the like relation of another Riuer, which will burne a periured persons hand, swearing thereby, and putting his hand into the water.

Philostratus in lib. 2. de vit. Apol. Thian.

Philostratus, in his second Booke of the life of *Appolonius Thianeus*, saith, that there is a Riuer, wherein if a Man doe wash his hands and feete, after hee hath taken a false and periured oath; he shall be immediatly couered ouer with Leprosie. *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth as much of another Riuer. Now, if it do appear to any man, that these things are very hardly to be beleeued: let him know, that *Isidorus*, a religious, holie, and most learned man, hath at large deliuered these reports out of no meane Authours. As also of *Iacobs* Well in *Idumea*, iustifying, that foure times in the yeare it changeth colour; and that from three moneths to three moneths, it becommeth troubled of it selfe; swelleth, looketh red; then greene; and yet afterward receiueth cleerenesse againe. He speaketh also of a Lake which is among the *Troglodytes*, that three times (by day and night) changeth his sweet relish into bitternesse, and from bitternesse, to sweetnesse againe. Likewise, of another little streame in *Iudea*, which euery Sabbaoth day, waxeth dry of it selfe.

The writings of *Isidorus* doe carry good credit.

Iacobs Wel in *Idumea*.

A Lake among the *Troglodites*.

And the same is verified by *Pliny*, where he describeth another Fountain, that is in the Countrey of the * *Garamantes*: which in the day time is sweet, but yet so cold, as it is impossible to bee drunke of. And in the night time it is so extreame hot, as whosoeuer putteth his hand thereinto, is sure to burne it; and it was called the Fountaine of the Sunne. Concerning this Fountaine, and that it is a matter of truth, diuers good Authours haue written: As *Arianus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and *Quintus Curtius*, in his History of *Alexander* the Great, and *Lucretius* the naturall Poet, yeildeth a reason for it.

* People in the midst of *Lybia*, next to the *Psylli*.

Arianus. *Diodo. Sicul.* *Sol.* in Polyhist. *Quint. Curtius* in Hist. *Alexan.* *Lucre.* in lib. 6.

But now I shall speake of a wonderfull thing indeed, concerning the Wel or Fountaine *Eleusina*, which is a reposed, setled, and most cleere water. Neuertheless, if any Instrument be sounded (or plaid on) so neere it, as the water may be said (in opinion) to be within compasse of hearing the sound: it beginneth immediatly to boyle so extreamely, as the water swelleth and seetheth aboue his bounds, euen as if it reioyced at the sound of Musique. This is credibly confirmed by *Aristotle*, in his Booke of the mirruailes of Nature; by *Solinus* in his *Polihystor*; and by the Ancient Poet *Ennius*.

The strange Fountaine *Eleusina*.

Arist. in lib de Mirab. Nat. *Solin in Polyh.* *Ennius in lib 4.*

Vitruuius speaketh of a Riuer, named *Chimæra*, the Water whereof is verie sweet: and yet notwithstandidg, where it deuideth it selfe into two small streames or gullets; the one is sweete, and the other bitter. Wherefore it is to be presumed, that it draweth this bitter taste, from the earth where it glideth along, and therein appeareth to be the lesse maruailous. In which respect, as easily may be credited, the sundry properties of so many Riuers, whereof we haue already spoken: which would seeme no matter of wonder vnto vs, if their true occasions were apparantly knowne; no more the Riuer * *Silarus*, (auouched by the same Authors) which conuerteth into stone, any wand, stick, or branch throwne thereinto, as in many other places the like hath beene noted.

The Riuer *Chymera*, recorded by *Vitruuius*.

* A Riuer of *Lucania*, deuiding it from *Picenum*.

There is a Well in *Illirica*, the water whereof is sweete: but it burneth all things put into it, euen as if they were cast into a fire. Also in *Epirus* is another Well, whereinto if a flaming Torch be put, it quencheth it: but let it be put in before it be lighted, and of it selfe it giueth flame thereto. Alwaies till noone, and after, it waxeth ebbe and dry: but as the day declineth, it beginneth to encrease in such abounding manner, that by mid-night it is top-full, and floweth ouer the brimme. It is said, that there is a Well in *Persia*, which causeth their teeth to fall out of their heads, that doe drinke thereof.

The Riuer in *Epirus*, that lighteth a quenched Torch.

In *Arcadia* there are certaine Wels or Fountaines, which doe deriue their Sourse and Current, out of diuers hils & Mountains, whose waters are so extreamely cold; as no vessell, eyther of Gold, Siluer, or any other Mettall can contain them, but whatsoeuer measure is filled there-with, is presently broken in pieces, for they cannot be contained in any other Vessels, but such as are made of the Horne-hoofe of a Mule. We should hardly beleeue, that Riuers (though

Of strange Fountaines or Springs in *Arabia*.

Riuers falling into the earth and rising vp againe great distances of.

(though exceeding in greatnesse) some of them should haue a sudden fall into the earth, concealing themselues there quite out of sight; and yet breake vp againe many miles of. We haue sundry good examples, to ease our doubt in this case: As *Vadiana* in *Spaine*; *Tygris* doing the like in *Armenia*, though it be in *Mesopotamia*; and *Lycus* in *Asia*. There are likewise sundry Riuers of sweete and fresh Water, which entring into the Sea, doe passe along vppon the salt water, neuer mingling there-with. In number whereof, one is betweene *Sicile*, and an Island, called *Enaria*, vpon the Coast of *Naples*.

Fresh Riuers floating on the salt Seas.

The Riuer *Nilus*.

We know very well, that in Ægypt it neuer raineth, but (euen by Nature) the Riuer *Nilus* disbordeth it selfe, and watering all the Countrey, leaueth it moist, and apt to yeild fruite. There are two Riuers in *Boetia*, one of them is the cause, that such Sheepe as drinke thereof, doe beare blacke Wooll; and the other (in like manner) beareth all white Wooll. In *Arabia* is a Well, which maketh the VVooll of Sheepe, (drinking thereof) to looke Vermillion red: And of all those Riuers that haue this propertie, *Aristotle* hath spoken very largely. The Riuer * *Lyncestris* hath this quality, to make all men drunke that drinke thereof, euen as if it were with wine. In the Isle of * *Cea* (according to *Pliny*) there is a wel, which whosoeuer drinketh thereof, becommeth nummed in all his sences.

Two Riuers in *Boetia*.

* A Riuer in *Macedonia*.

* Where Silk wormes were first found.

A poole in *Thrace*.

In *Thrace* there is a Poole, which causeth the death of him, that eyther drinketh of it, or batheth himselfe therein. In *Pontus* also is a Riuer, which yeildeth a kind of stones that do burn, and when any winde ariseth, they breake into a flame, and the more they are in the water, the longer while they burne. These Authours haue also written of diuers Waters, that doe heale many diseases: whereof one is in *Italie*, named *Zizza*, which cureth all harmes happening to the eyes. Another is in *Achaia*, which if women doe drinke of, that are great with Childe; they shall haue a safe and speedy deliuerance. Many other there are, that doe cure infinite other infirmities: as the Stone; the Leprosie; the Feauer Tertian and Quarrane, whereof more is said by *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and *Vitruuius*. In *Mesopotamia* is a Riuer, whose water is most sweet and pleasing to smell. *Baptista Fulgosa*, in his Booke of Collections, recordeth, that there is a well in England, which if any kind of wood be cast into it; in lesse space then a yeare, it is conuerted into stone.

A rare Riuer in *Pontus*.

Waters of riuers that cure diseases.

For Women great with Child.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. 7.

The same man also testifieth, what likewise is confirmed by *Albertus Magnus*, concerning a Well in the higher *Germany*. And *Albertus* saith, that hee himselfe hauing a little woodden Boxe in his hand, did hold it in the Water: & so much of it as was within the water, became truly stone; but the rest remaining in his hand, continued Wood, as it was before.

An experiment made by *Albertus Magnus*.

Fulgosa further relateth the property of another Well, which is very strange indeede. For, if a man do walke about it, looking stedfastly into it, and keeping silence, not speaking a word, or vsing any voyce at all: the Water then continueth (as before) cleare and still. But if he speake (being by it) how little so euer it be, or neuer so low, eyther in going on, or in his returning: the Water presently troubleth it selfe, and beginneth to boyle in very strange manner. And hee deliuereth this vpon his own credit, as hauing (in person) made proofe thereof. For, while he heedfully looked into the Water, not whispering, noysing, or speaking one fillable; he beheld it to be faire and cleare. But when he spake, the water was so strongly mooued and troubled; as if some liuing body had bin in it, to perplexe it in that disorder.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. 7.

A wonderfull property in a water.

There is record made of a VVell in *France*, which is extreamely cold; and yet notwithstanding, great flashes and flames of fire haue beene seene to rise out of it. *Pliny* plainely saith, that many men make a conscience, in giuing any credence to these thinges: but they may well say, and assure themselues, that Natures great and wonderfull workes, doe demonstrate their power more apparantly in this one Element of water, then in all the rest beside. And maruailes doe hence arise, in so great number, that we should not repute any thing to bee impossible: especially such as are warranted by so good writers, as those which formerlie I haue alleadged.

A strange wel in *France*.

Plin. in Lib. 2. cap. 9.

Nothing should be esteemed impossible.

More-

Moreouer, we are sufficiently enough certified, by testimony of those which haue seene it in our time, that in one of the *Canarie* Islandes; named *Ferra*, a place well inhabited with people, where, both there, and a great space likewise round about it, the Inhabitants haue vse of no other Water (as is very well knowne) but what they can (in a Bason or other Vessell) get from the weeping or distilling, which sweateth it selfe (in some abounding and plentifull manner) out of a Tree, which is in the midst of the Island. And yet, neither at the foote of this Tree, nor in any place neere about, is there any Spring, Well, or Riuer: all which notwithstanding, the Tree is continuallie full of moysture; so that from the Leaues, Branches, & Boughs, into such Vessels as are placed there for the purpose; the Water distilleth forth both day and night, and sufficient store is still fetcht thence, to serue the necessities and seruices of all the dwellers in the Island. And yet wee should hardly beleeue this, if it were but recorded by Writing onelie, and not maintained by liuing eye-Witnesses: Therefore, let no man account that strange, which wee haue already declared: in regard that this Element of Water is so powerfull and necessarie; as his strength and qualities can neuer be sufficientlie knowne.

Ferra in the Isle of the *Canaries*.

Water distilling out of a Tree in abundant manner, for the reliefe of a whole Nation.

Simple people will credit nothing, but what they see themselus.

As for the Sea, it is saide to be more hot in Winter, then it can be in Summer, and more salt in Autumne, then at any other time elsse: but this is a matter of greater marualle, that by throwing Oyle into the Sea; his rage and violence is thereby appeased. Beside, wee know it for most certaine, that into those partes of the Sea, which are furthest off from any firme Land, neuer any Snow doth fall, at what time soeuer.

Heate of the Sea in winter, and sundry other strange properties thereof.

For all which thinges, many good reasons haue beene deliuered; the most part whereof, are attributed vnto the propertie and qualitie of the Earth; and to Mines, where Springes haue their originall, and win their Current into Lakes, Welles, and Riuers. For proofe whereof, it is manifested by that which wee daily behold, both in Vines and other Fruites of the Earth: that they prooue better in one place, then they doe in another; because some are sweete, and others sharpe and sower; some good and very profitable, others hurtfull and mortifferous. The Ayre also becommeth corrupt and pestilentiall, in passing ouer an vnwholesome and noysome Countrey. What meruaile is it then, if Water, which pierceth and washeth the Earth, the stones, Mettals, Hearbs, Plants, and Roots of Trees: should receiue their good or euill conditions, in whatsoeuer strange Nature it be; especially, beeing ayded by the power of the Starres and Planets?

A matter especially to be obserued, concerning waters.

Example of Fruits.

Example of the Ayre, and lastly of the Earth.

CHAP. VI.

On what day of the yeare was the Incarnation, Natiuity, and Passion of our Lord Iesus Christ; And at what Age hee dyed. Of the auncient Houres; And of the errour which is now in our common yeares.

WE haue declared already, in the Chapter of the World, how long the time was since the Creation thereof, vnto those daies of our Lord Iesus Christ, God & Man, when he pleased to take humaine Flesh on him, and to bee borne of the most pure, holy, and immaculate Virgine *Mary*. Therefore I hold it both good and profitable, to relate and specifie, vpon what day of the yeare, and at what houre (with this blessed Natiuity) happened his holie Incarnation, and afterward his death; according to those sacred, true, and approued Historians which haue written thereof. We must vnderstand then, that the Emperor *Octauius* raigning at *Rome*, was the first that properlie might stile himselfe, to be Monarch and Emperour of all the World: for his Vncle *Iulius Cæsar* was Dictatour onelie, and but for a small time too. This Monarch, hauing also shut vppe the Gates of *Ianus* Temple, and made peace vniuersallie throughout the World; In the two

The Authors reason, vpon what cause he added this Chapter.

Octauius was the first Monarch and Emperour of the world.

and fortith yeare of his Empire, and seuen hundred and one and forty yeares from the foundation of *Rome* (according to *Paulus Orosius*, and others Authours) the fiue and twentith day of December, was our Lord, Sauiour, and Redeemer Iesus Christ borne. Saint *Augustine* attesteth the same, following the Ecclesiasticall History, and other Historians.

Paulus Orasius. in lib. 7.

Aug. in lib. 15. 18. & 21. de Ser. in Natiuit.

It is further to be vnderstood, that this day was the shortest day in the whole yeare: because the Winter Solstice was then the fiue and twentith day of December. The same Saint *Augustine* goeth on further, in his Sermons on the Natiuity: and yet notwithstanding, we shall speake hereafter, of those daies of December, whereon we haue the Solstice in our times. The holie Saints of Gods Church haue also written, that the day of our Lords birth, was the Sunday; so affirmeth Pope *Leo* likewise, and *Vincentius* the Historialist, in his Histories: and the hour of his being borne into this World, was midnight; according as the Church giueth vs to vnderstand, by this authority out of the Booke of Wisedome.

Leo Papa. in Hist. Cap. 75. Quod dic.

Sunday the day of christs birth.

Wis. 18, 14. 15

Dum quietum silentium tenerent omnia, & nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet: sermo tuus Domine à regalibus sedibus venit, &c. While all thinges were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her swift course: Thine Almighty word came downe from Heauen, &c.

Of the Angels salutation to the virgine, and her conception.

The most part of Historians doe hold, that at midnight also, the salutation of the Angell was made to the virgine *Marie*; and that she conceiued on a Fryday, beeing the Equinoctiall of March. True it is, that some doe maintaine this conception to be in the euening, and at the beginning of the night. So then we may conclude, that his Natiuity or birth was on a Sundaie at mid-night, and his Incarnation or conception on a Friday, at the beginning of the night. Now, according to the most common opinion, at the like houre of his natiuity in December, and his Incarnation in March: the death & passion of our Lord (according as all do agree) was at the same houre of his Incarnation, hauing accomplished those yeares, that it pleased him to remaine here on earth with men, and that it was the fiue and twentith day of March. S. *Augustine* saith so in the places before alleaged; so doth *Tertullian*; S. *Chrysostome*; S. *Cyrill*; S. *Hierome*, and other holy Doctors. And it was in the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, according to S. *Augustine* in his Books of the Trinity, and his fore-named Sermons. Also, *Paulus Orosius* saith, that he should come the fiue and twentith of March, and that this equality of daies and nights, named Equinoctiall, was then in those dayes which wee haue spoken of. Prophane Historians doe say as much, especially *Macrobius*, and others. To this purpose, there is one thing to bee noted, whereof few people haue made any regard, and I thinke not very many vnderstood it: to wit, whosoeuer hath wel considered the true course of the Sunne, and of the yeare, and the day whereon our Lord came to bee borne; the same day cõmeth not now to be as the fiue & twentith day of December, neither his death and passion, to be the fiue and twentith day of March, becaus the Winter Solstice is aduanced, and is now the eleauenth day of December, and the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, is now likewise the eleauenth day of March, little more or lesse, as any Man may easilie know, that hath but attained to any beginning in the knowledge of Astrologie. So that, to speake of our instant dayes, the yeare of the birth of our Lord, doth perfectlie compleate it selfe the eleauenth day of December; and the years of the Incarnation and Passion, on the eleauenth day of March. Because now at this present, the Sunne effecteth at these seuerall eleauen dayes, that which hee was wont to doe in those seuerall fiue and twenty daies.

Aug. in lib. de Trinit. & in Serm. de Nat. Paulus Orosius. in lib. 7.

Macro. in lib. 1.

An especiall matter of obseruation, whereof but slender regard hath bin made, concerning dayes and yeares.

And albeit, it would require some length of time, to declare the cause of this variation: yet I hold it not much amisse to speake somewhat heerein, to satisfie the mindes of honest meaning Men. Let me then tell ye, that this alteration ensuing, by reason of the accustomed yeare, where-with ordinarie account is now made, and which was so ordained by *Iulius Cæsar*: dooth not conforme

A reason deliuered, concerning the variation of times

The hours of our Lordes birth and Incarnation, compared with the houre of his death and passion.

forme it selfe perfectlie with the true solitary or Solarie yeare, which containeth in it selfe, the true course and reuolution of the Sunne. For the common yeare (as makers of Almanackes, and other Computers of Calenders doe demonstrate) is presupposed to haue three hundred sixtie fiue dayes, and sixe houres. Foure yeares make one day more (by those odde houres) aboue the yeare, which nameth it selfe *Bissextile*.

The common yeare, what it containeth in daies & hours

The true year and course of the Sunne.

Neuertheless, in this obseruance, there is a generall errour, because to speake vprightlie; the true yeare, and course of the Sunne, hath three hundered sixty fiue daies, fiue houres, fortie nine minuts, and sixe seconds or more, which are fiue sixe partes of an houre, or verie little lesse. Wherefore, these sixe houres being not perfected, but remaining defectiue by a sixt part: the foure yeares cannot make an intire day of foure and twenty houres, there wanting two thirds of an houre, and some small matter more beside.

Then wee may say truely, that this errour is as a small Pilfering Theefe, stealing away (in foure yeares onelie) two thirds of an houre and somewhat more: how much preuaileth hee then in a thousand, sixe hundred, and the ouer-plus yeares? And yet in all this times great space, there are but foureteene or fifteene dayes: which is the cause, that these especiall and remarkeable dayes, are come to the seuerall eleauenth daies of December and March, which were wont to bee on those other seuerall fiue and twentith daies.

A consideration how the error ensueth by the ouer-plus-house.

Now, concerning this errour, it may not be said (for all this) to proceed from our Astrologers; for they make their account perfect of the yeare, by the true and intire course of the Sunne. Neuertheless, our Callendarians and Computers, doe hold the common yeare, making it to consist of three hundred sixtie fiue dayes, and sixe houres, albeit that the quantitie is lesse; as wee haue already approoued. By this meanes it happeneth oftentimes, that Easter, and some other of the mooueable Feastes, are celebrated on other dayes then they ought to bee: in regard of the rules and orders, which our fore fathers obserued in making their Calenders and Almanackes, who held assuredlie in their pre-supposing, that the Equinoctiall continued firme.

The errour proceedeth not from our Astrologers.

Of Easter, & other mooueable Feasts.

Now, considering that this imported nothing to the saluation of mens Soules, little account was and hath bin made thereof: yet it were good (notwithstanding) this errour should bee corrected. And I thinke, in the first generall Counsell hereafter to be assembled; there would bee prouision made for this case, as thereto fitly appertaineth: For many worthy men haue written sundry Treatises on this Argument; as *Stoeflerus*, *Albertus*, *Poggius*, *Ioannes Fernelius*, and diuers others.

Authors that haue written on this alteratiõ of daies.

But returning againe to our purpose, to know of what age our Redeemer was when he died, the most part of holie Doctours that haue spoken thereof, do say: that he was aged thirtie three years and somewhat more; by so much as was from the day of his Natiuitie, the fiue and twentith of December, to the like day of the moneth of March, when hee suffered. Others are of the mind, that hee dyed at two and thirtie yeares, and three moneths: And for eyther of these opinions, there are very apparant reasons; albeit I am loath to weary my Readers with the recitall of them. The Passion of our Lorde, was in the eighteenth yeare of the Empire of *Tyberius*, Successour to *Octauius*; according as *Eusebius* reporteth, and *Beda* in his Booke of Times. As for such as write, that he suffered in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius* raigne (as *Eutropius*, *Lactantius*, and others) it appeareth to mee, that they haue much fayled therein, because themselues do say, that hee was borne in the two and fortith yeare of *Octauius* his Empire. So then, considering that this Emperour raigned yet fifteene yeares after, and confirming the time to the age of Iesus Christ: it may bee verie euidently knowne, that *Tyberius* had raigned eighteene yeares, when our Lord and Sauiour suffered. Ouer and beside these things, I remember one more high and especiall matter, found out and noted by *Albertus Magnus*, in his Book of vniuersall occasions, and which (in my iudgment) is very notable, and this it is.

Of our Sauiours age whē he died, sundry opinions.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Cap. 7. Beda in lib. de Temp.

The time cõpared by iust account.

Alber. Magnus in lib. de Reb. Vniuers.

A matter well worth the obseruation.

It being a most certaine thing (saith he) *as it is approoued by the authoritie of holie Fathers, that our Sauiour was borne, the Sunne then being in the first degree of the signe of Capricorne, and iustly at midnight: in the selfe-same instant, mounted in the Horizon of the East parts, the signe of Virgo. Whereby appeareth, that the Starres declared, that he which was to bee borne of a Virgine, had for ascendent the signe Virgo.*

The exaltation of the Son of Iustice.

And in like manner, when the Sunne of Iustice or righteousnesse dyed, and was exalted on the Tree of the Crosse (*which was at mid-daie, as the Euangelistes doe confirme*:) *the Plannet of the Sunne was in the signe of Aries the Ramme, where it made the Equinoctiall, and where was then his exaltation; And this signe was accompanied with thirteene Starres, which might signifie Christ and his twelue Apostles.* I set not downe this discourse to any other end, but onelie to shew; *That all thinges obeyed, and yeilded themselues to the will of their Creatour*, as is more amply declared by *Albertus Magnus*.

Of our Sauiours suffering at mid-day.

Now, that it should bee most true, that our Sauiour suffered at mid-day; I hope to proue it very apparantly. The holie Euangelists doe write, that hee was crucified at the houre called the sixt houre, and that he died at the ninth houre. It is to bee vnderstood then, that the sixt houre was iust at mid-day. For the Iewes and other Nations deuided (anciently) all the daies of the year, (how great or little soeuer they were) and likewise the nightes, into twelue equall portions, which they called * Planetarie houres. So that the houres of the daies in Winter, were small or short, and those of Summer great and long; and the houres of the night likewise opposite.

The Iewes diuision of daies and nights.

* Twelue for the day, and twelue for the night.

The houres of day began at the Suns rising, and the houres of the night, at his setting: by this meanes, at sixe houres it was mid-day, and at nine houres, it was three houres after mid-day. For the daie whereon our Sauiour suffered, was equall to the night, as we haue alreadie saide: and therefore the houres of the day then and there, were equally with ours now heere. In which respect, it is to be vnderstood, that the houres then, were meant for such whereof our Sauiour spake, saying: *Are there not twelue houres in the daie?*

The daie of our Sauiours suffering equall with the night.

Of the same houres it is spoken in the Gospell, of the Vineyard, that the Father of the Family went out at the eleuenth houre, to hyre Worke-men for his Vine-yard, and he payed the latest Commers as well as the other, which had been at the businesse from the daies beginning. In regard whereof, the first Workemen complained, saying: *These last haue wrought but one houre, and wilt thou equall them with vs?* Whereby may clearely be discerned, that from eleauen to twelue hours, was the ending of the day, because they said; *These Men haue wrought but one houre*: for if those eleauen houres had been as now, then it had beene other-wise. Againe, S. *Luke* saith in the place of the Passion; *That the Sunne was darkned from the sixt houre, vntill the ninth houre.* Whereby then we may know, that the sixt houre was the houre of mid-day, and the darknesse endured vntill the ninth houre; that is (with vs) three hours after mid-day. For if he had meant at sixe houres, as now in these dayes, it had beene a thing but naturall, for the Sunne to set, and bee obscured at sixe houres of the euening in March: but the sixt houre then, beeing our mid-day now, it was therefore a great and wonderfull Miracle.

Math. 20. 12.

Luke 23. 44.

Difference of the houres then and in these dayes.

CHAP. VII.

Of many thinges that happened at the birth and death of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, declared by diuers learned and worthy Historians; beside those which are recorded by the holy Euangelists.

ALbeit that those things certified by the blessed Euangelists, happening both at the birth and death of Christ, were not only great and miraculous, but worthy (beside) of all Faith and beleefe: yet I account it verie conuenable, to make mention of some other admirable accidents, which were seene and recorded by other persons.

Paulus

Paulus Orosius, and *Eutropius*, Writers belonging to *Octauius*, and *Eusebius* also doth say, that at such time as Iesus Christ was borne on earth, there happened in *Rome*, that in a common Inne or Tauerne; a Well or Spring of pure and excellent Oyle brake vp out of the ground, which for the space of a whole day, ran and issued forth incessantlie in great aboundance. It should seeme, that this Spring of Oyle, made application to the comming of Christ, which Word signifieth *Annointed*, in whom likewise all Christians are annointed. And that the common Tauern, whereinto all people were (indifferently) entertained and housed: should expresse our holy and true Mother of Church, the great Inne or common Harbour for all Christians; from whence should continually issue forth, all Christians, Catholickes, and louers of God. *Eutropius* addeth moreouer, that in *Rome*, and the neighbouring places there-about, euen in the full, plaine, calme and cleareſt time of the day; a circle was seene about the Sun, of as bright splendour and radiance, as the Sun in it selfe. The same *Paulus Orosius* further saith, that at the very same time, the Senate and people of *Rome* made free offer to *Octauius Augustus*, to entitle him chiefe Lorde: which hee refused, and by no meanes would accept; prognosticating to himselfe (yet without thinking thereon) that a much greater Lord then hee was then on the Earth, to whom that Title more worthily appertained.

Commestor, in his Scholastick Historie, affirmeth, that in *Rome*, vpon the same day: the Temple dedicated by the *Romaines* to *Peace* the Goddesse, fell in ruines to the earth. For they had formerly consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know how long the Temple should stand in good estate, and answer was made them; *Vntill a Virgine should bring forth a Child*, which they reputed to be vtterly impossible, and therefore their temple should stand for euer. Notwithstanding, at the Virgines deliuerance, Mother to the King of Heauen; it fell to the ground.

Hereupon, *Lucas de Tuy*, in his Chronicles of *Spaine* writeth, that hee found in the auncient Histories of his Countrey (hauing conferred and made iust account of the time) that the very same night wherein our Sauiour was borne, and at the very houre of mid-night: there appeared a Cloud visibly seene in *Spaine*, which gaue so bright a splendor, as if it had beene then the middle time of the day.

It is also to bee remembred, what I haue read in Saint *Hierome*, that at the same time as the virgine fled into *Ægipt* with her young Son; all their false Gods and Images fell downe, and vtterly defaced themselues. Also, the Oracles of those Gods, or Deuils rather, as wee may more iustlie tearme them, wherewith the people in those times were deluded: ceased their idle babling, and neuer afterward gaue any aunswere. This Miracle alleaged by Saint *Hirome*, seemeth to be approoued by that excellent man *Plutarch*; albeit hee was a Pagane. For, without giuing credit to those thinges, nor knowing wherefore they thus happened: hee made a perticular Treatise, of the imperfections of Oracles. For euen then in his time, (which was soone after the Passion of Christ) men began apparantly to perceiue; that Oracles failed, and were ful of defects. And he could alleage no other reason for it, in that Treatise: but that (as he imagined) some Dæmons or Spirits were dead. But he spake this as a man vncapable of Faith; becausse he vnderstood not, that Spirits were immortall.

Neuertheless, this matter is marueilous, and truely worthy of great consideration, to note how euidently the deuill shewed himselfe (euen suddenlie) to bee ouercome and conquered, and that after our blessed Sauiours death, he remained so confounded: that he neuer durst presume to giue any answere. And the Gentiles themselues, without any capacity of the reason; could haue knowledge of this defailance. By means whereof, *Plutarch* wrote that Tract, wherein he did set downe these words, whereof *Eusebius* maketh mention, writing to *Theodorus*, as of a most notable thing.

I remember (saith he) *that I haue heard (concerning the Dæmons death) of Æmilianus the Orator, an humble, wise, and worthy man, and well knowne to some of you; that his Father comming (on a time)*

Paulus Orosius, and *Eutropius*, Historians in the time of *Octauius*.

A Spring of Oyle arising out of the ground in *Rome*, when Christ was borne.

A bright circle seene about the Sun in the day time.

Commestor in lib. de Hist. Scholast.

Templum Pacis fell to the ground at the birth of Christ.

Lucas de Tuy, Chronicler of *Spaine*, in the Authenticke History of *Spaine*.

The downfall of all the false Gods & Idols

Plutarc in Tra. de imperf. Orat. The defayiance of Oracles in those daies.

The Deuils plaine manifestation of his foyle and ouerthrow.

Eusib. in Hist. Eccle. & ad Theodo.

Ataman a very skilfull Pilote of Egypt.

by Sea towardes Italy, passing and coasting (in the night time) an inhabited Island, named Paraxis, at what time, all the men in the Shippe were in silence and repose: they heard a graat & feareful voyce, which came out of the Island, and the voyce called Ataman (for so was the Pilot of the Ship named, who was a Natiue of Ægipt.) And albeit that this voyce was heard once or twice by Ataman, and others: yet had they not so much hardinesse, as to returne any answere, vntill the third time. And then hee said: Who is there? Who is it that calleth mee? What wouldst thou with me? then the voice spake much louder then before, and said vnto him. Ataman, my desire is, that when thou shalt passe by the Gulfe, called Laguna: that there thou remember to cry aloud, and giue it to vnderstand; that the great God Pan is dead. This being thus vnderstood, all in the Shippe were in great feare and terrour, and aduised the Patrone of the Shippe, to make no account thereof, neyther to speake one word, or make any stay at the Gulfe: but if the time prooued fauourable; to passe on further, and entend the finishing of the voyage. But beeing come to ioyne with the place, whereof the voyce had spoken and made designement: the Shippe stayed, the Sea was becalmed, and no winde stirred, so that (indeede) they could sayle no further. By meanes whereof, they all resolued, that Ataman should deliuer his message. And that he might the better performe it, he went vp vpon the poupe of the Shippe, and there hee cryed out so loud as possiblie he could, saying: I giue ye to know, that the Great God Pan is dead. But so soone as he had vttered these wordes, they heard so many voyces crying and complaining, that all the Sea resounded their dreadfull Ecchoes, and this wofull lamenting continued a long while, to the no little amazement of all them in the Shippe. But finding the wind immediatly prosperous, they sayled on-ward, and arriuing afterward at Rome; there they declared the whole aduenture. Which comming to the eare of the Emperour Tyberius; hee would needes be further informed thereof, and found it to bee most true.

The death of the great God *Pan*.

The cõming of the ship to the gulfe of *Laguna*.

Ataman deliuereth the message as he was commanded.

Whereby it is plaine and manifest, that (euen in all parts) the Deuils complained on the Natiuity of our Lord, because it was their vtter destruction. For by the supputation of times, it is found, that these things hapned, at such time as he suffered for vs; or a little before, when they were chased and banished out of the world. And hath beene presupposed, that this great *Pan* (according to the imitation of the shepheards great God *Pan*) whom they said to bee dead: was some Maister Deuill, which (as then) lost his Dominion, as all the rest did. Beside these thinges, *Iosephus* the *Iew* writeth: *That in those very daies, a voyce was heard in the Temple of Ierusalem (albeit there was then no liuing Creature in it.) Let vs speedily bee gone, and leaue this Countrey.* That is to say, they plainely perceiued, what persecution they were to suffer, and that he was not far from them, and that their destruction should ensue by the giuer of life. In the *Nazarites* Gospell it is found, that on the day of his Passion; the Gate of the Temple fell dowue, which was so sumptuous, and thought to continue for euer. Thus we may see, what wonderfull things hapned in those times, although the Euangelistes doe make no mention of them; as being no necessary matters, or worth their remembring.

Ioseph. in Antiquit. Iud. lib. 4.

The Deuils euery where complained of our Sauiors Natiuity.

We are likewise to consider, that the great Eclipse of the Sunne, which lasted three houres, so long as Christ was on his Crosse: was no natural matter, like those which we sometimes behold, by coniunction of the Sun and the Moone; but indeede was miraculous, and contrary to all naturall course or order. Therefore, such as are ignorant, how the Sunne becommeth Eclipsed; must know, that it cannot be, but by the coniunction of the Sun and the Moon, the Moone being interposed betweene the Sunne and the Earth. And yet notwithstanding, the Eclipse which happened then at our Lordes Passion, was in opposition, the Moon being at ful, and distant from the Sun by an hundred and fourescore degrees, in another Hemisphere, inferior to the City of *Ierusalem*. To shew that this is true, beside that which is written by sundry good Historians; the Text of the holy Scripture maketh proofe thereof. For it is most certain, that they neuer vsed to sacrifice the Lambe, but on the 14. day of the Moone: which Lambe was eaten by Christ & his Disciples, the very day before his death; according as it was commaunded

Three houres Eclipse of the Sun, while Christ was on the Crosse.

The reason of the Sunnes Eclipse in his vsuall course.

The sacrificing of the Lambe.

Exod. 12,6. Leuit. 23,5.

manded in *Exodus*, and in *Leuiticus*. And on the morrow, which was the Feast of vnleauened bread, Christ (the immaculate Lambe) was crucified; the Moone being then on necessity in her full, & opposite to the Sunne, which then coulde no more Eccliplse the Sunne, then anie other Planet had power to do. Therfore it was very myraculous, contrary to the order of Nature, and onely done by the omnipotency of God, who depriued the Sunne of his light for all that space of time.

Dionisius Areopagita in *Athens*, whē the Sunne was darkned, and his words.

Furthermore, in regard of this admirable accident, *Dionisius Areopagita* beeing on that day in *Athens*: and beholding the Sunne to bee so strangely obscured; knowing also (as a man learned and skilfull in Astrology, & the Celestiall courses) that this Eccliplse was contrary vnto the rule of Nature, he cried out with a lowd voyce, saying; *Either the world will finish, or the God of Nature suffereth.* For this cause saith one, that the Wisemen of *Athens* being amazed heereat, caused an Altar immediately to bee builded to the *Vnknowne God*. And Saint *Paule* arriuing there afterwardes, declared vnto them, what and who that vnknowne God was: that it was Christ our Redeemer, God and man, who had then suffered, by meanes whereof, he conuerted many people to the faith.

An Altar erected to the vnknowne God.

Some haue beene doubtfull and desirous to know, whither this Eccliplse and darknesse of the Sunne, was Vniuersally thoroughout the whole world; and builded their argument on this; that when the Euangelist saide, ouer all the Earth, that is to say; by a manner of speaking, al the Country thereabout, and *Origen* was of this opinion. But yet wee see, that in *Greece*; and namely in *Athens*, this darkenesse was visibly seene, which maketh me verily beleeue, that such an Eccliplse was vniuersall thoroughout all our Hemisphere, and through all partes where the Sun could be seene.

Concerning she vniuersal darkenesse.

I speake to this end, because in all the other Hemisphere, where it was then night, nothing could be seene, nor the sight of the Sunne be any way discerned. For he cannot illuminate in one instant, but the moitie or halfe of the earth, in regard of the shaddow which hee maketh of himselfe. Neuertheless, wee must know, that the Moone being then in her full, and hauing no light, but what shee receiueth from the splendor of the Sun; and being also in the Hemisphere which is meerely vnder vs, becam then likewise to bee violently eccliplsed and darkened, onely thorough the lacke of the Sunnes beauty and clearnesse. And therefore, it may be iustly saide, that an vniuersall obscurity was thoroughout the world; because, neyther the Moone or the Starres coulde yeelde any light, but what they themselues must first borrowed from the Sunne.

Concerning the Hemisphere vnderneath vs.

An vniuersall darkenes throughout the world.

CHAP. VIII.

Of many passages and places, quoted and cited by diuers Learned Authours, which doo make mention of Christ, and of his life.

IHaue many times heard sundrie curious questions moued. yet proceeding from men of good Learning; what should bee the cause, that the Gentiles and Ethnickes (in their writings and Doctrines) haue made so slender mention of the life of Iesus Christ, and of his Myracles, they beeing so great in number, yea, so publicke and manifest, especially by his Disciples? Considering, that the Ethnicks make large mention in their Bookes, of other perticuler thinges happening in those times, albeit they were not of so maine importance as the other. Wherevnto I answere first of all, that it were meerely against the trueth, to say, that prophane writers haue not spoken thereof, because there are an infinite number, from whome, I haue deduced some examples for their ease, that haue no knowledge in anc ent Histories. My second reason to bee considered in this case, is, that the holy Faith, and Lawe of grace giuen by Christ, beganne in him, and by him and his Apostles, they were published to the world, and was embraced and receiued by some, who determined to liue and die therein. Albeit there were others, more obstinate in their sins and vices, that not onely made refusall thereof; but also persecuted it vnto their vtter-

The Gentiles and Ethnicks small remembrancers of Christ.

The Authors first reason of answere.

His second Reason.

The Holye Faith & Law of Grace.

vttermoſt power. There were yet ſome others (who held the middle ranke) that though this Doctrine ſeemed to them to be good: yet for fear of Tyrants and perſecuters, with other humaine conſiderations, that this holie profeſsion would be deſpiſed, they likewiſe grew careleſſe of embracing and entertaining it.

Timerous & weak harted people.

The Worlde diuided into, three opinions.

The World then being diuided into three opinions, they which confeſſed Christ, did notable and marueilous thinges, many of which gaue great teſtimony of the truth. And amongeſt this number, were *Dionisius Areopagita*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Euſebius*, *Paulus Oroſius*, and many others, who would require too long time to recite them perticulerly.

The firſt, holy beginners.

The other wicked ſorte, that perſecuted this profeſsion, as a matter ſtraunge and hatefull to their Law, laboring wholy to confounde it, and to hide the myracles, life and Doctrine of Chriſt, were ſuch as (in this reſpect) would haue no ſpeech thereof amongſt them; or if they did make any report at all, it was done to this end, onely to obſcure, contemn and darken the glory thereof. As did the wicked *Porphyrius*, *Iulian*, *Vicentius*, *Celſus*, *Affricanus*, *Lucian*, and other ſuch like diuelliſh minded men: againſt whome, Wrote very learnedly, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, S. *Auguſtine*, and others.

The ſecond, wicked Contemners.

The third number, who for feare, or other worldly conſiderations, held backe from becomming chriſtians, and to loue and know the trueth: for the verie ſame cauſes refuſed to ſpeake thereof, but if they vſed any litle touch or ſpeech, it was done in ſcoffing and lying manner, or in a negligent and curſory kinde. All which notwithſtanding, euen as when a man ſtriueth to conceale a matter of trueth, vnder the Vaile of lying and deceitful colours, many times it comes to paſſe, that by a meere hidden property of trueth it ſelfe, hee that would ſo faine obſcure it, doth diſguiſe and palliate it in ſuch bungerly manner, that his owne lies and trecheries are not only thereby made manifeſt, but concealed trueth ſhineth in the fairer luſter. Euen ſo fell it out in this nature, with both theſe fornamed people; for althogh they ſtroue mainly to exterminate & deſtroy the miracles of Chriſt and his Doctrine; yet which way ſoeuer they framed their ſpeech, ſomething ſtill came from them, whereby their owne malice was apparantly diſcerned, and the goodneſſe of truths Doctrine farre more ſoundly warranted.

The 3. ſort, fearfull time-ſeruers.

A very excellent comparison of cõcealing the truth.

Alluſion to the comparison.

I could ſpeake of many things, which were both vttered and written by the *Sybilles*: but in regard that whatſoeuer they did, proceeded not from their own proper iudgement, but thorow the ſpirite of Propheſie, and according as God hadde communicated thoſe guiftes vnto them, (notwithſtanding they were Infidelles) I will be ſilent of them, and proceede to other authorities.

The ten famous Sybils, viz. *Perſica*, *Libica*, *Delphica*, *Cumea*, *Erythrea*, *Samia*, *Cumana*, *Helleſpontia*, *Phrygia*, *Tiburtina*.

Our firſt and moſt euident teſtimony (albeit not the leaſt common) ſhal therefore bee deriued from our greateſt Enemies, among whoſe number is *Ioſephus*, not only a Iew by Lineage and Nation, but alſo by his life and profeſsion, & theſe are his very words. *At the ſame time liued Ieſus, a very Wiſe man, if it bee lawfull to tearme him a man, becauſe indeed and verity, he did wonderful things, and was Maiſter and Doctor to ſuch as loued and ſought for truth. He aſſembled and was followed by great troopes of Iewes and Gentiles, and he was Chriſt. And although he was afterward accuſed by the principall men of our Faith, and crucified: yet hee was not abandoned of them which had formerly followed him: but three dayes after his death, he appeared aliue again vnto them, according as the Prophets (inſpired of God) had foretolde and propheſied of him. And euen in theſe dayes of ours, the Doctrine and Name of chriſtians perſeuereth to thorow world.* Behold, theſe are the words of *Ioſephus*, who wrote of the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, as an eye-witneſſe of beholding it, which happened forty yeares after the paſsion of Christ.

Ioſ. in lib. 2. de Antiq.

The deſtruction of Ieruſalem fortie yeares after Christ.

Pilate, in like manner, who had pronounced the ſentence of death vpon him did beare witneſſe (neuertheleſſe) of his great myracles, commending them by his Letters to the Emperour *Tiberius*. So that he conſulted with the ſenat, to know whether they wold receiue Ieſus Chriſt to be God: and albeit they woulde not conſent thereto, yet *Tyberius* expreſſely prohibited, that Chriſtians ſhoulde not be abuſed and perſecuted. As concerning the trembling and quaking of the earth, with the darkening of the Sunne, during ſuch time as Chriſt ſuffered vpon his Croſſe, we haue likewiſe diuers teſtimonies

Pilate a Witnes of Chriſts myracles.

monies of *Ethnickes*. *Phlegonius*, a Greek Historian, of whom *Suidas* maketh especiall mention, reporteth for a wonderfull thing: *That in the fourth yeare of the two hundred and tenth Olympiade* (which by iust account, was in the eighteenth yeare of the raigne of *Tiberius*, and at which time our Sauiour suffered) *There vvas an Eccipse of the Sunne, the very greatest that euer had beene seene, or euer founde to bee written of, and that it continued from the sixt houre, vntill the ninth houre. And that during this Eccliplse, the trembling of the earth was so great in Asia and in Bythinia, that infinite strong builte houses fell to the ground.*

Phlegonius a Grecian born in *Asia*, recorded by *Suidas*

It appeareth moreouer, that besides this *Phlegonius* (who should seem to liue at the verie same time) *Pliny* also felt and wrote of the selfsame matter, for he saith; *In the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the quaking of the earth was much greater, then euer before had beene. By meanes whereof,* (saith another) *twelue Cities were ruined and ouerthrowne in Asia, with infinit other goodly buildings and houses*. So that, the Historiographers amongst the Gentiles, (albeit they knewe not the cause) did not forbeare to write of the Miracles of Christ.

Plin. in Lib. 2.

12. Cities in *Asia*, ruinated by the Earthquake of christes death.

The other Myracle, of the Vaile of the Temple, which rent in sunder, *Iosephus* also giueth faithfull testimonie thereof. Of the cruell murther or massacre committed by *Herod* on poore harmlesse Innocents, mention is made by another Iew, named *Philo*, an Historian of great authority, in his Abridgement of times, where he saith; *Herod caused certain Children to be slaine, and his owne Sonne with them: because he had heard, that the Christ a King promised to the Hebrewes, was then borne.* And this Author liued in the same time of the other *Herod*, named the *Tetrach*, as himselfe hath said.

Ios. in l. 2. de an.

Philo. Iudaic. in Abbreu Tep.

This History of the Innocents, is yet much more amply declared by *Macrobius*, who was a verie ancient Ethnick, and Latine Historian; for, in discoursing som iouiall and facetious matters of the Emperor *Octauius* (in whose time our Lord and Sauiour was borne) hee sayeth; *The Emperor hauing heard of the cruelty of Herod, both toward his owne Sonne, and the other Children, said; He had rather be a hog in Herods house, then his Sonne.* And this he spake, because the Iewes neuer vsed to kill their Swine, or eate their flesh. This pleasant iest is also alledged by *Dion* the Greeke, in the life of the same Emperor. So that there were great store of miracles, whereof both the Iewes & Gentiles (without thinking on them) beare witnesse to bee doone by Christ, ouer and beside them which are written by Christians.

Macrobius an ancient Ethnick, and Latine Writer.

Dion. in vit. Oc.

What shal we further say, concerning the ancient Emperours, and what opinion they had of our faith; as also their cruell proceeding against Gods seruauntes? The first good Byshop, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule* likewise, were put to death by the commaunde of the Emperour *Nero*, thirty sixe yeares after the death of our Sauiour; and then, was the Churches greatest persecution, whereof the Gentiles spared not to make mention; and perticulerly, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, who liued in those times and were of great authority. *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*, speaking concerning some of his ordinances, saith; *He tormented and afflicted (with great paines and punishments) a kinde of people, that cald themselues Christians, and followed a new manner of beleefe and Religion.* And *Cornelius Tacitus*, displaying the deedes of the same *Nero*, saith: He persecuted and chastised with terible torments, a sort of people, which were vulgarly called Christians. And the Author of that Name, was Christ of *Ierusalem*, whom *Pilat* the Gouernor of *Iewry* caused to bee crucified. And by the meanes of his death his Doctrine began to exalt it selfe. Now let vs obserue what some other *Gentils* haue written, who were no way of any lesse reputation.

The aunciente Emp. against the christians.

S. Peter & Paul put to death by *Nero*.

Suet. Tranquillius & Cornel. Tacitus.

The words of *Corn. Tacitus*.

Plinie the younger, in one of his Elegant Epistles, demanded of the Emperor *Traiane*, for whom he was Pro-Consull in *Asia*, how he would haue the Christians to be punished, which were accused and brought before him? And the better to informe his Lorde concerning such matters as hee found to bee obiected against them, he wrote thus: Amongst other thinges, these Christians doo rise at certaine houres in the night, and assemble themselues together, to sing Hymnes & songs of praise to Iesus Christ, whome they honor as their God. And beside their meeting in such Congregations, they make solemne vowes, not to do any euill,

Plin Secund. in Epi ad Traian.

The accusations laid to the Christians charge.

euill, or any harme to other men: but promise that they wil not steal any thing; that they will not be adulterers; that they will not falsifie their promises or Oathes; & not to deny whatsoeuer is left in their charge and keeping.

The causes why Christians were persecuted.

This *Pliny* saith moreouer: *They feede all together, without possessing any thing, as priuate or perticuler.* Whereby may be knowne, what the exercises of Christians were, and for what cause the worlde abhorred and persecuted them. These things were written by an Infidell and Idolater, threescore yeares after the passion of our Lord and Sauiour. Vnto which Letters, the Emperor returned this aunswere.

The Emperors answere to his Pro-Consull.

Forasmuch, as they are accused of no other abuse or euil doing, let them not in any wise be afflicted or punished, neither make anie further inquisition against them. Neuertheless, when they shall bee eft-soones accused before thee, do thy best to withdraw thē from that Religion: but if in no wise they wil forsake it, yet see that thou doe not offer them any eternity. Howbeit, very true it is, that this Emperor *Traian*, had formerly (and like an Infidell, deceyued by the guile of false accusers) persecuted the Christians.

Elius Lampridius in vit. Ad.

After him his Nephew *Adrian* succeeded in the Empire, of whom *Ælius Lampridius* the Historiographer Writeth, that hee was an Infidell and an Idolater: and yet neuertheless, he began to honor the Christians, permitting them to liue in their Religion: and himselfe also worshipped Christ with diuers others, and caused Temples to be newly erected. Yet afterward, he altered his minde, and became both odious and cruell towards the Christians, being deceyued and abused by the Maisters of his false Ceremonies, and by the Byshops attending vppon his idle Gods. For they perswaded him, that if any way he fauored the Christians: the whole world wold be conuerted to their Religion, and so the faith of the Goddes should be ouerthrowne. And this is credibly auouched by *Petrus Crinitus*. It is written in the life of *Saturnius*, that a letter was sent from *Seuerinus* the Consull, to the same Emperor *Adrian*; wherin he declared to him, that there were diuerse Christians in Egypt: amongest whom, some called themselues Byshops, whereof no one was found Idle at any time: but still seriously employed about one exercise or other, and euen (to the blind and Gowty) all liued by the labour of their hands; and yet they all worshipped one GOD, who also had beene ordered by the Iewes.

Adrian the Emp. perswaded against the Christians.

Read more of this in the life of *Saturnius*, concerning the life and behauiour of Christians.

The false instigations of the corrupt Byshops.

We read also in the Histories of those times, that this Emperour hauing begun to misintreat the Christians by perswasion of his false High-Priests, there was a certaine Ambassador of his, named *Serenus Eranius*, an Ethnicke, like him that had written the Letter to him, who gaue his opinion, that the cruelty of consenting to oppresse the Christians (being accused of nothing else, but obseruing their Religion, and could not iustly be charged with any other crimes or offences) deserued mittigation. And so by the means of this Letter, the Emoerour *Andrian* inhibited *Minutius Fondanus*, then Pro-consull in *Asia*: not to condemne any Christian, except he were conuinced of some other offence, then that concerning his Christian Religion.

Minutius Fondanus Proconsul in *Asia*.

CHAP. IX.

What opinion the Auncient Emperours did hold, concerning the people that followed Christ and Christianity, by those testimonies which are deriued out of Ethnicke *Histories.*

AFter this Emperor *Adrian* (of whome wee spake in our last chapters) succeeded *Anthonius* the *Debonaire*, or meek, who, albeit he had that Gentle name, yet was hee peruerse and Wicked; for hee misliked the Faith of Christ, and persecuted the Christians. But *Marcus Aurelius* his successor, became therein much more moderate: for in stead of persecuting them, he led them along with him in his Armies, and by their deuout Prayers, he was deliuered from a daunger which hee was in, thorough want of Water, which his enimies had cut from him, wherin God only holpe him, and bestowed Lightning and thunders vpon his aduersaries. Himselfe

Anthonius the meeke succeeded *Adrian*.

Marc. Aurelius was milde to the christians

Iul. Capitolinus.

selfe maketh mention of these thinges in one of his Letters; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh the same; howbeit hee doth not attribute it wholy to the Christians. And these things hapned about 145. yeares, after the death and Passion of our Sauiour.

Elius Spartianus concerning *Seuerus.*

About 15 or 20. yeares following, *Ælius Spartianus* (an *Ethnicke*, as himselfe confesseth) writeth, that *Seuerus* was elected Emperor; and hee made a Lawe, prohibiting (vnder great penalties) that no man shold conuert to be either Christian or Iew. After which, *Seuerus*, *Antoninus Heliogabalus* was Emp. whose dissolute life we haue already described; and *Lampridius* reporteth (who wrote his life) that he builded a Temple in *Rome*, dedicated to his God only, and hee woulde haue had the Christians to offer vp their Sacrifices therein; but they by no means would yeeld thereto. The successor vnto this *Heliogabalus*, was the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 192. and much ado was made, beecause he would haue become a Christian.

Heliogabalus his Temple in Rome.

Alex. Seuerus.

The Christians much fauoured by *Alexan. Seuerus.*

Wee finde moreouer recorded in his History, that hee held a good opinion of our faith, and honoured the Christians verie highly, graunting vnto them places and precincts in Rome, where to haue their Temples and Oratories. Himselfe also had an Oratory wherein he kept the Image or figure of Christ, according as it is testified by *Elius Lampridius*, where he speaketh largely of the Christians. Adding withall, that many Cookes and Tauerners went to the Emperour, to complain against the Christians, saying, *That they had taken their houses and Loadginges from them, therein to make vse of their hypocrisies, and that they obserued a Religion contrarie to that of the Romaines.* To which complaint the Emperour answered: *Hee thought it more conuenient, that God shold there be honoured, then their affayres and vocations be vainly followed.*

The Christians complained on, & the Emperors answere.

This *Seuerus* being dead, *Maximinus* succeeded him, an enemy and persecuter of the Christians: but he liued not long, and finished his dayes by an euill death. After whom; and two others beside, that had but small continuance, the Empire came into the hands of *Phillip*, who was baptized, as diuers do confirme; and the first that receiued the Christians: and yet *Eusebius* maintaineth, that the Gentiles

The Emperor *Phillip* baptized.

Histories do speake nothing thereof.

Day by day after (though by small degrees) God gaue illumination vnto the hearts of men; and a great number were conuerted to the Faith, in despight of the Emperors *Decius*, *Diocletian*, and such other, vntill such time, as (being wearie of persecuting) they dissembled their cruelty, and suffered them to liue peacefully a while: as most plainely appeareth, by a Letter of *Maximinus* the Emperor, companion with *Diocletian*, which was aboue two hundered yeares after our Redemption: The Letter followeth thus in our Language.

Tyrants weary of persecuting the christians.

The emperor *Maximin* his Letter, concerning the christians

CÆsar *Maximinus*, Inuincible great High-Priest of *Germany*, of *Egypt*, *Thebes*, *Sarmatia*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, *Carpia*, and victorious (besides) ouer the *Medes*: And for his Conquestes, named nine times Emperour, and eight times Consull, and Father of his Country, &c. At the beginning of Our Empire, amongest other things which wee determined to do for publicke good, We ordained, that the Order to be held in all thinges, should be conforme vnto the Auncient Lawes, and the publicke Discipline of *Rome* conserued. And by the same meanes Wee commanded, that the Men which name themselues *Christians*; and who haue left Our ancient Religion, shoulde be pressed, constrained, and enforced to leaue the New which they haue taken; & that they should obserue Our Auncient, established by Our Predecessors. But it being come to Our knowledge, that notwithstanding this command, and rigors vsed against them, to make them obserue it, they haue left off to follow Our Will, and are so firm and constant in their purpose, as neither force, nor any greeuous punishments whatsoeuer, can withdrawe them from their Religion, and cause thē to keepe Ours; but rather, they desire to expose themselues to more bitter Torments and death: continuing still to this day, in the same constancie, without any will or intent to honor any of our Gods of *Rome*: Wee being memorative of our wonted clemency and pittie, do purpose to expresse the same towards these Christians. And therefore we do permit, that from hence forward any man may make and name himselfe a Christian, to haue

The woorthy and constant resolution of the christians.

places

places for their aſſemblies, and to builde Temples, wherein to offer their Sacrifices and Prayers. Which Licenſe and faculty we graunt vnto them, vnder condition that they ſhall doo nothing againſt Our Weale-publicke and Religion; and that (in other things) they ſhall keep Our Lawes and Conſtitutions. Moreouer, that in acknowledgement of this permiſſion, they ſhal ſtand obliged, to pray vnto their God for our life and health; and likewiſe for the good eſtate of the *Roman* Commonwealth, that the City continuing ſafe and in proſperity, they themſelus may liue by their labor in repoſe and ſecurity.

The Chriſtiās bound to doo nothing againſt the weal-publick.

Well may we terme this man a moſt infortunate Emperor, for if he ſought to compell the Chriſtians, to forſake and renounce their faith, as being badde and wicked: why then, would he haue them to praie for him, and tie them to be mindful of him in their Prayers? But this letter maketh ſufficiently againſt him, becauſe himſelfe doth thereby teſtify, what conſtancy, vertue, and ſpirit appeared in the Martirs and holy chriſtians, ſuffering patiently (for ſo long time) ſuch torments and punniſhments, as were inflicted on them for the loue of Chriſt. Within ſome while after *Maximinus*, *Conſtantine* came to ſucceed in the Empire, who was ſir-named the Great, Son to the good Q. *Helena*, that found the Croſſe of Chriſt, which was about 290. yeares after the redemption of mankind. Hee was a good Chriſtian, and performed ſo manie worthy actions, in the honor of God, and his holy Church, and likewiſe to the Miniſters therein, as would require too long a time to recite. He permitted all men indiffrently to becom Chriſtians, for whom he builded ſumptuous Temples: and ſuch as formerly had bin dedicated to the ſeruice of Idols. were nowe conſecrated to the ſeruice of Chriſt and his ſeruants.

The Chriſtians muſt remember the Emperour in their prayers

The emperor *Conſtantine* the great, became a good Chriſtian.

Idolaterous Temples reduced to the ſeruice of god

After this time, although the Church of God ſuffered ſome ſcandales and perſecutions, as thoſe of *Iulian* the Apoſtata and others: yet notwithſtanding, dayly, and in many parts of the worlde, Chriſt became to be publickely adored. And from thenceforward, all Hiſtories are ful of the Saints deeds; moreouer, the moſt part of the ſubſequent Emperors, were faithfull Catholickes, as *Theodoſius*, *Iuſtinian*, and others of the ſame minde. I could alledge many more Authorities of *Ethnick* Hiſtorians, who haue ſpoken of Chriſt, but this ſmall number ſhall now ſuffice me, becauſe they are both famous and of great approbation.

Chriſt honored in moſt places of the World.

CHAP. X.

That a man of meane birth or condition, ſhould not therefore deſiſt or forbeare from honourable attempts; but endeauour (by all meanes poſsible) to winne fame and preferment: With ſundry examples tending to that purpoſe and argument.

WE ſee, that (euen naturally) men deſcended of high and generous Linage, do oftentimes beecome the greateſt and moſt excellent perſons, by imitating the natiue Nobleneſſe, and ancient vertue of their anceſtors. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe there is not any Law or rule ſo certaine, which admitteth not ſome kind of exception: this alſo may be allowed to paſſe in that number. For many times, a wiſe, vertuous, learned, and well-diſpoſed Father, doth beget idle, abiect, indiſcreete, and bad qualited Children. And yet for all this, if this rule were more certaine, and of leſſe infallibilitie, then indeede it is: yet it ſtandeth not as any expreſſe inhibition, that ſuch are deriued of meane and poor parentage, ſhold not eleuate their humble eyes, and (by any paine or trauaile whatſoeuer) climbe to the faire abiding of vertue and honor. And ſo much the rather, becauſe the moſt auncient, noble, and beſt eſteemed families of theſe daies, had their ſourſe & originall from the well-head of vertue, & therby ennobled their ſucceeding poſterity. Therefore, the better to encourage men, to mount vp their depreſſed minds, and to aime at matters of moment and eminency, I will relate a few examples of ſome, that haue deſcended from poore parents, who (neuertheleſſe) becam great men, illuſtrious and excelling both in Vertue and Nobility.

Natiue Nobilitie the true Nurſe of honor.

No inhibition againſt true & reall Vertue.

A Spurre to humble and lowly minds, none greater then vertue.

We

Viriatus a Portuguize, seuere against the Romains.

We will begin with *Viriatus* a *Portuguize*, so much renowned among Historians, and especially the *Romans*, in whose blood so many times he died his weapon. This man was the Son of a poore Shepheard in the Fields; and all his younger yeares holp his Father to tend his flocks: but his thoughts lifting themselues vnto much higher occasions, he lefte this domesticke and priuate kind of life, depending on tame and harmlesse Creatures, to pursue those of sauage and sterner Nature; and so (indeede) became a great Hunter. It hapned afterward, that the *Romaines* comming to inuade *Spaine*, he leauied a great troope of his Companions togither; by whose assistance he gaue the enemy many bolde skirmishes, and spared not also his Natiue friends, onlie for practise, and to whet on his youthful spirit. He prooued so valiant and apte to Armes, that (in very short time) he had won people enowe about him, to make vp an whole army, and shew themselues resoluedly in the Field. VVith them, he made warre vpon the *Romans*, in defence of his owne Country; and the wars continued aboue 14. yeares: in which time, he won many great & famous victories against them. Thus liued he powerfully, honourably, and feared of his enemies: but in the end, he was vnfortunatly slaine by Treason, to the no little greefe of his VVatre-Companions, by whom, hee was most Noblie brought vnto his Graue.

The Romans proceede to make warre in *Spaine*.

Viriatus slaine by treason.

Arsaces, King of the *Parthians*, was of such meane and simple Parentage, that no mans memorie could make report either of his Father or Mother. After hee had retired himselfe from subiection and obedience to *Alexander* the Great, hee was the first that constituted a kingdome among the *Parthians*, the people so much renowned and feared of the *Romans*. And by the meanes of his manhood and valiancy, the Kings successors (in reuerend respect and memory of his name, albeit they helde not the Kingdome by Hereditarie succession) were in regard of him named *Arsacides*, as the *Romaine* Emperors tooke first the name of *Cæsar*, in affection to the name of great *Cæsar Octauianus Augustus*.

The poore birth of *Arsaces* K. of the Parthians.

The Kings of *Parthia*, named *Arsacides*

The excellent Captaine *Agathocles*, who for his wisedom and dantlesse spirit was King of *Sicily*, and made most cruell VVarre on the *Carthagenians*, was of so poore and humble birth, as at the vtmost, he could be said to be but a poor Potters Son: and yet neuertheless, he attayned in time, to the honour and dignitie of a King. Whensoeuer he made his royal Feasts and Banquets, among his Vessels of Gold and Siluer, wherewith hee was serued at his Table, hee would also haue set before him, Cups, Pots, and earthen Vesselles, to declare that he was not vnmindfull from what pouerty of place his first Originall grew. There is another, as memorable an example of *Ptolomey*, one of the chiefest Captaines to *Alexander*; after whose death, hee was King both of *Egypt* and *Syria*: yet such was his fame, as all his Successors, the Kings of Egypt, were named *Ptolomeyes*, in remembrance of him. This *Ptolomy*, was Sonne to an Esquire, called *Lagus*, who neuer had any higher preferment, then as a Squire in *Alexanders* Army.

Agathocles K. of Sicilie a poor Potters son.

Ptolomy king of Egypt and Syria.

Iphicrates the *Athenian*, was most excellent in the Science of Militarie Discipline, for he conquered the *Lacedemonians* in a fought battell, and valiantly resisted the impetuositie of *Epaminondas*, the excellent Captaine of *Thebes*. The same was the man, whom *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, elected to be Lieutenant General ouer his Armies, when he purposed any Warre against the Egyptians. And yet notwithstanding these eminent aduancements: al such as haue written of him, do confesse him to be no better borne, then a poore Coblers Sonne.

Iphicrates the warlick Athenian, the Son of a poore Cobler.

I had almost forgot *Eumenes*, one of the most excellent Captaines that *Alexander* had, both in valour, knowledge, & good Counsell, whose life and woorthy deeds of Armes, are written by *Plutarch* and *Paulus Emilius*. This man, although he was not fauoured (like the other) in riches, and the goods of fortune: yet could no man march before him in the Art of warre. For his vertues and glories grew out of himself, gaining no aduancement but by his owne labours: he being son to a man but of mean condition, & (as some write) a poore Carter.

Eumenes recorded by *Plutark* & *Emilius*

Among our worldly Dominions and Gouernements, none euer was so great and powerfull, as the *Roman* Empire, and ruled and commanded by many most excellent men, both in Manners and Vertues. And yet neuertheless, manie haue

The Romain Empire greatest of all other.

aſpired and attained to that Soueraigne degree of Authority, who were but of poore and meane deſcent. *Elius Pertinax* Emperor of Rome, was the Sonne of an Artificer, his Grand-father was a *Libertine* (that is to ſay) ſuch a one as ſometime had bin a Bondſlaue, and afterward had purchaſed his liberty. And yet notwithſtanding, in regard both of his vertue and valour, he came to be the *Romain* Emperor. Afterward, to leaue an example to others of poore parentage, and to encorage them to vertuous attempts, hee couered with coſtly & fine carued Marble, all the Shoppes where his Father hadde wrought to get his liuing. Nor was this *Elius* the onely man of meane birth, that attained vnto the Empire; for *Diocleſian*, who made Rome ſo gloriouſly ſhine with triumphant victories, was only the ſon of a Scribe or Notary. Some ſay, that his Father was a Booke-binder, and himſelf a bondſlaue. *Valentinian* alſo came to the Empire, albeit he was but a poore Rope-makers Son. The Emperor *Probus*, was the Son of a Gardiner. *Aurelius*, whoſe fame and vertues were ſo great, was of ſuch meane and poore deſcent: that Authors could neuer agree, concerning the place where he was borne. *Maximinus* was the Sonne of a Smith; but others ſay that his Father was a Waggon-Wright. *Marcus Iulius Licinius*, and likewiſe *Bonoſus*, they did both gouerne the Romaine Empire: and yet the firſt was but an husbandmans ſonne of *Dacia*, and the other the ſonne of a poore ſtipendary Schoolemaiſter.

Elius Pertinax an Artificers Sonne.

Diocleſian was the Son of a Scriuener.

Valentinian, a Rope-makers ſonne.

Probus a Gardiners ſonne.

Maximinus a Smiths ſonne.

M. Iulius Licinius & Bonoſus

Many other Emperors of this degree, were in *Rome* whom I ſpare to ſpeake of, for breuities ſake, as *Mauritus Iuſtinus*, predeceſſor to *Iuſtinian* and *Galerius*, who firſt were Shepheards, before they came to be Emperors. From this high and ſupreame dignitie, let vs come to the Prelacie of the Romaine Sea, whereto likewiſe men of as humble a condition haue attained. Pope *Iohn*, the two and twentith of that name, was a Shoue makers Sonne, and borne in *Fraunce*, yet by his learning and wiſedome he came to that degree, and encreaſed the patrimonie & power of the Church. Pope *Nicholas* the fifte, formerlie named *Thomas*, was the ſonne of verie poore parents, that went about the Cittie, ſelling Egges & Poultrie. Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, firſt named *Frances*, and a *Cordelier*, was the ſonne of a Mariner, or Sea-faring man. I coulde name a number more, whom purpoſely I do omit; becauſe this dignitie is not to be had by Nobilitie of blood, but onelie by vertue. Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe left vs an example thereof, for the firſt man by him appointed to that Office, is ſaide to bee Saint *Peter*, who formerly ſought his liuing in the Seas, like a poore Fiſherman, but he brought him from thence to bee a Fiſher of men.

Examples of the Byſhops See of Rome.

Pope *Iohn* the 22. a ſho-makers ſon.

Pope *Nicholas* 5. a Powlters ſonne.

Pope *Sixtus* 4 a Marriners ſonne.

S. *Peter* reputed to be the firſt Byſhop of Rome.

Comming now to a ſuruey of Kinges and Princes, we finde, that the Romains elected *Tarquinius Priſcus* for their king, who was the ſonne of a Merchant of *Corinth*, and one that was baniſhed from his owne Countrey. Yet he comming to bee King, enlarged the Confines of his Kingdome, and the number of Senators, as alſo of his Cauallerie. Hee inſtituted new eſtates for the ſeruice and Ceremonies of their Gods; ſo that the people neuer repented themſelues for electing him their King, although he was a ſtraunger to them. *Seruius Tullius*, who was likewiſe King of Rome, raigned long time with verie great victories, and triumphed three ſeuerall times, in pompe and power of an excellent King: and yet hee was knowne by many, to be the ſon of a poor Bond-woman: from whence (for euer after) he held the name of *Seruius*.

Tarq. Priſcus, a Merchantes ſonne.

Seruius Tullius the ſonne of a poore bond woman.

The Kings of the *Lombards*, although they were not of ſuch Antiquity, as the Kings of Rome, yet (in due reſpect) they had as great puiſſance. The third of them being named *Lamuſius*, was the ſonne of a poore common woman, who was deliuered at the ſame time, of two other Sonnes. And yet, like a lewde and wicked woman, ſhe threw them into a deepditch wherein was ſome ſmall ſtore of Water. It fortuned, that King *Agelmond* paſſing that way, eſpyed the Infant (well-neere) drowned in the Water. And hauing a Launce then in his hand, hee touched it gently with the end thereof, to perceiue further what it was. But the Infant (as young as it was) feeling himſelfe pierced with the Launces point, caught holde thereon with his hand, and would not let it go. Which when the King beheld, woondering not a little, that ſo young a creature ſhold declare ſo much ſtrength, he cauſed him to bee taken foorth of the water, and to bee nurſed with great care and

Lamuſius K. of the Lombardes a Strumpets ſonne.

K. *Agelmond* finding the yong child in the water, cauſeth it to bee well nurſed.

and coſt. And becauſe the name of the place (where hee found him) was called *Lamus*, he was ſir-named *Lamuſius*, and became ſo greatly fauoured by Fortune, that he was King of the *Lombards*, & his ſucceſsion continued to King *Albouinus*, in whoſe time that Kingdome was vtterly ruined.

The reaſon of calling him *Lanuſius*.

Another accident (of no leſſe raritie then this) happened in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, where a man named *Primiſlaus* (Sonne to a Peazant of the Countrey) was choſen to be king, euen when he was labouring the ground in the fields. For, the *Bohemians* being then in ſome doubt, whom they ſhould elect to be their king, ſent foorth a Horſe vnbrideled into the wilde fields, ſuffering him to run whither ſoeuer he would, being fully determined to elect him their King, with whome the horſe ſtayed.

Of *Primislaus* K. of Bohemia

A ſtrange election of a king

It came ſo to paſſe, that the horſe made his ſtay directly before *Primiſlaus*, euen as he was holding the plough in the field: whereupon they made choiſe of him to be their King, and hee gouerned them both excellently and wiſely. He ordained many good and profitable Lawes, and encloſed the Citty of *Prage* with ſtrong walles, performing many other notable things.

Great *Tamberlaine*, whoſe woorthie deeds are in ſome meaſure before remembred, was but a Heardſman at his beginning. The valiant and vertuous Captain, Father to *Frances Sforza*, whoſe ſons and ſucceſſors euen to our time, haue continued Dukes of *Millaine*, was borne in a poore Villaine, called *Cotignol*, and Son to a needie labouring man. But being naturally addicted to Armes, and endued with a dauntleſſe ſpirit: hee forſooke his Fathers ſilly vocation, and followed a band of Souldiers paſsing thorough the Countrey, and ſo became a very famous Warriour.

Great *Tamberlaine*.

The Father to *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*.

Caius Marius, Conſul of Rome, being iſſued of poore parents, and born in a ſilly Country Village, called *Arpinum*, was one of the beſt and worthieſt Warriors in his time, as is well known to the whole world; for hee was ſeauen times choſen Conſul. During which ſpace, he won many great victories, and had two magnificent triumphs in *Rome*.

Caius Marius Conſull of Rome.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Princely Father of eloquent *Latine*, and moſt lerned in all Diſciplines, was Conſull in Rome, and Pro-conſull in *Aſia*: and yet notwithſtanding, his original was from the poor *Tuguriole* of *Arpinum*, the moſt abiect & meaneſt parentage that could be. *Ventidius* a poore mans ſonne, was a Muleter: but leauing that baſe vocation, hee came to be of note in *Cæſars* warres, thorough whoſe fauours, only by his vertue and valour, he came to bee Commannder of a band of men, afterward Marſhall of the Field, next to the High Prieſt, and then Conſull of Rome.

M.T. Cicero, Conſull of Rome, and Pro-conſul in Aſia.

Ventidius a poor Muleter his rare Fortunes.

In fighting againſt the *Parthians*, he ouercame and triumphed ouer them; and was the firſt man that brought the moſt apparant & notable victory from them. It would require too long a labor, to ſet downe examples of meane deſcended perſons, who (thorough Learning, Vertue, and Knowledge) haue attained vnto great degrees and renowne. *Virgill* was no better then a poore Potters ſon; and yet he was the beſt Poet amongſt the Latines. *Q. Horace*, *Euſtatius*, and *Pepinus*, all excelling in Poeſie, yet the ſonnes of enfranchiſed Bondſlaues. The admyred Phyloſopher *Theophraſtus*, was the Son of a Botcher, or mender of Garmentes. And *Menedemus* the Phyloſopher, vnto whome the *Athenians* erected a coſtlie Statue, onely in regard of his Learning, was a meane Handy-crafts mans Sonne. By al which examples we may eaſily perceiue, that a man of what condition ſoeuer he be borne, may (if himſelfe wil) attaine to greatneſſe, if he but followe the ſteppes of Vertue; for which there is no better Schoolemaiſter then paine & trauel; yet not wandering out of the way to Heauen. For he that ſwerueth from that only path, the acquiſition and aduantage of the worlds glorie, cannot ranſome his ſoule from perpetuall and neuer-ending torments.

Virgil a poore Potters ſonne

Horace, *Euſtatius* and *Pepinus*.

Theophraſtus and *Menedemus* Phyloſophers.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers things which happened to the Emperor Iustinian, *and many other of his time: with some memory also concerning* Lodouicus Sforza.

Iustinian the Emperor, named by some Iustine.

IN the year 686. the Empire being reduced to *Constantinople*, *Iustinian* the 2. was chosen Emperor, albeit (by some others) he hath beene named *Iustine*, being but a bad Christian, and addicted to most Wicked inclinations. At the beginning of his raigne, his affaires succeeded very well, because the Sarazins (who had vsurped *Affrica*) made peace with his Captaines. But in regard of his cruelty, he was ill affected, so that he receiued deserued punishment. For, in the tenth yeare of his Empire, a Conspiracy was contriued against him, by *Leontius* a Senator of *Constantinople*, and *Galenius* the Patriark, euen at such time, as he imagined himselfe to bee in his very greatest prosperity.

A conspiracie plotted against *Iustinian*.

This *Leontius* armed with the peoples fauour, and some of the cheefest of the Empire, came to the Pallace, where without finding any resistance, he tooke *Iustinian*, and cut off his nose. Some others do report, that hee did cut out his tongue likewise. And entitling himselfe to be Emperor, banished *Iustinian* to the Towne of *Cherronesus*, on the *Pontique* Sea, where he remained alone, poor, and so disfigured. *Leontius* hauing thus attained vnto his owne intention, and seeing himselfe permitted Emperor in peace, he sent one of his Captains, named *Iohn*, into *Affrica* against the Sarrazins, who as yet kept possession there. Hauing gotten the victory ouer them, and left his armie there in such good order and equipage, as best he could, he returned home vnto *Leontius*, to render an account of his imployment.

Iustinian taken his nose cut off, and banished to *Cherronesus* by *Leontius*, who made himself Emperor.

But in the meane while, one named *Asimarus*, attained to some respect in the Army, and afterward was called *Tiberius* by the Soldiers. This man (by generall consent) taking vppon him to be Emperor, matters succeeded so happilie with him: as (with all diligence) hee came to *Constantinople*: where laying holde of *Leontius* (who had beene Emperour three yeares) he caused his Nose to be cut off, according as he had dealt with *Iustinian*, & commaunded him prisoner into a Monastery, to make his torment worse then death to him; and yet afterward, did put him to death also.

Asimarus, otherwise called *Tiberius*, chosen Emperor.

In like manner, he expulsed and banished into *Cephalenia, one named *Phillippicus*, because he dreamed, that an Eagle had seated her self on his head: which (by presage) appeared to him, that the Empire should come into his command. By which meanes, *Tiberius* continued Emperor peaceably, and raigned sixe or seauen yeares, without feare of any man. In which quiet time of gouernment, the deuill preuailed so farre with him, that hee must needs determine the death of *Iustinian*, as doubting least hee should deuise some machination against him. But *Iustinian* getting aduertisement therof, fled for safety to the house of a Prince of *Barbary*, by whom he was kindly entertained, with promise of his daughter in mariage, and many other great matters besides. Thus remaining there in some hope, and no further cause of feare appearing vnto him: he had secret intelligence, that his new made Father in Law, for a summe of money promised by *Tiberius*) meant suddenly to seize him, and sende him forthwith vnto his enemy. Which made him vndertake a second flight, & betake himselfe to the King of *Bulgaria*, named *Ouellus*, by whose assistance (hauing promised to receiue his Sister in Marriage) he leuied an Armie, which he conducted with him against *Tiberius*, and ouerthrew him in battaile. Which hee neuer could haue done, if *Tiberius* would haue permitted him to liue in quiet, without molesting him in his exile: for this now prooued *Iustinians* best helpe vnto the recouery of his Empire, though not of his Nose, which he had in a manner forgotten, but was vtterly hopelesse of, hauing had experience of Fortunes power, who (for all this fauour) frowned agayne on him.

*An Iland in the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Corcyra*.

The death of *Iustinian* deuised by *Tiberius*.

Iustinian to be betrayed againe, and therefore enforced to a second flight.

Beeing come vnto *Constantinople*, hee found *Leontius* there in prison, who had disfigured his face, and thrust him into ba-

Iustinian foiled *Tiberius*, and recouered his Empire again

banishment: in requitall whereof (after many torments) he caused both him and *Tiberius* to be put to death; and as many times as he remembered the cutting off of his nose, one of them that had conspired against him, was sure to dy. When he was fully re integrated in his dignitie, he began to thinke vpon one thing, which was the cause of loosing his Empire againe: for he would needs haue that *Philippicus* put to death, of whome wee haue already spoken, that was banished for the Dreame of the Eagle, and liued quietlie in his exile, not thinking on any thing to be contriued against him.

The death of *Leontius* and *Tiberius*.

Iustinian purposeth the death of *Philippicus*, for his dream of the Eagle.

In like manner, he quarrelled with the Inhabitants of *Cherronesus*, saying; That they hadde not well entreated him in the time of his exile; and therefore, leauied men to worke his intention, albeit he was most earnestly desired, to be compassionate towardes the poore banished man, whose offence was nothing but an yule dreame; and yet he would by no meanes be disswaded. Hereupon, when *Philippicus* perceiued the Emperour to bend himselfe against *Cherronesus*, like a man wholly desperate, euen on meere constraint, he tooke courage to defend himselfe: and hauing no other remedie, with so many men as he could assemble togither, hee went against *Iustinian*, vanquished him in fight, and cut off both his head and his Sonnes; which being done, banished as he was, hee made himselfe Emperor.

Phillipicus resolued to defend himself, & cutteth off Iustinians hed and his Sons.

In this manner, it pleased Fortune to play with *Iustinian*, vntill she had bereft him both of life and Empire. And the very same successe she bestowed on *Philippicus*; for at the end of sixe months, one, named *Anastasius*, arose against him; and after he had pluckt out his eyes, he tooke the Empire from him, retaining it in his owne possession. And yet but for the space of a yeare only: because about that very time, another man, called *Theosus*, banded his power against him; and causing him to bee shorne a Monk, deprined him of the Empire also.

Anastasius taketh the Empire from *Philippicus*.

Thus you may see, how Fortune shewed her true fickleneſse, both with *Iustinian* and diuers other, in making exiles Emperors, & Emperors exiles, restoring to the dispossessed, more then they had before; that her despoyle of them might bee the more notable, prouing in the end cruell to them all; not dooing anie good to one, in regard of the euill endured by each other; for from some shee tooke that which shee gaue to others, to take away all from them in the conclusion.

A true testimonie of Fortunes fraitie, both in Iustinian & others

At the beginning, she would bestowe but little on them, vntill shee had lifted them vp to lofty estates; and shee exalted them the higher, to make their downfall the lower; giuing them aboundance, because she scorned to take final things from them. She would not suffer any of them to die in his prosperity, but hee must see himselfe dispossessed of all, before he dyed. Now, albeit these Histories wer most true, and might well haue serued for other mens examples: yet, in following successe of times, euermore one or other would be climbing, and grewe desirous of Empire: As whosoeuer readeth *Biondus*, *Platina*, *Antoninus*, and other good Authors, may fit their owne turne, with many more like Histories.

The downfall of Great men should serue as examples to others.

Hauing thus related, howe Fortune delt with many, now I purpose to declare what course she tooke with one man only, who was Duke of *Millain*, named *Lodowick*, Brother to *Galeas Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, named by some *John Andrea*, whom he nourished and brought vp, and slew in the Church of S. *Stephen* in *Millaine*, as hee was there present at the hearing of Masse; albeit, they were both Sons to the famous Warriour, *Frances Sforza*.

This *Lodowick* was educated with his other Bretheren, in great estate and power, as beeing Children vnto one of the most Woorthy Princes of his time: and who was in like manner, a verie Famous Soldiour. By the death of *Galeas*, a Sonne of his (Named *John*, and verie young in yeares) remained his successor, in the tutelage and Gouernment of *Donna* his Mother; and of one, called *Chico*, a Native of *Calabria*, who hadde beene much fauoured by the father and grandfather.

The true History of Lodowick Sforza.

This *Chico*, immediately banished the Bretheren vnto the deceased Duke, by meanes whereof, *Lodowick* (being one of them) wandering as a Fugitiue thorowe straunge Countreyes, learned to tast the mutabilities of Fortune; or, to speake more truely, of the World. And indeed his griefes must needs bee great, beholding

Lodowick, and his Brethren banished.

ding (at an instant, and at the verie enterance of his youth) his Brother slaine by treason, and the right of his Nephewe, which in reason he ought to administer, to be in the hand of a stranger, of base & wretched condition; in regard whereof, little assurance was to bee had of his life. Neuertheless, this Wheele turned, and he (like a man of wisedom and courage) sought the meanes of fortunes fauor and assistance, and found it. For hee entered forcibly into *Millaine*, and expeld thence both *Bonna* and *Chico*, whereby he continued a peaceable Gouernor of al the Fathers goods. His Nephew was so weake, and himselfe so valiant, that he ruled all, for the space of aboue xx. yeares: during which time, his great wisedom and spirit so ordered al things, that he increased the publick good both in war & peace; *Millaine* growing rich, feared, and well affected throughout *Italy*, and himselfe perticulerly very highly esteemed. He atained to great honors in the time of peace, but much more in war, especially that which the *Florentines* then had, against Pope *Sixtus* the 4. and against *Ferrand*, K. of *Naples*. In which warre the *Florentines* were in danger to be destroied & ruined: but the authority of *Lodowicke* was their speedy remedy, reducing them to peace and safety. King *Ferrand* also hauing lost some places in those warres, which hee had in *Calabria* against the Turk: he gaue him present succour both with men and money, whereby those losses were quickly recouered.

Lodowick forcibly entered into *Millaine*.

Lodowicke sole Gouernor aboue 20. yeares

Lodowicks great honors won in warre and peace.

By Armes likewise, hee defended the Duke of *Ferrara*, against the power of the *Venetians*, who had brought him to such extreamity, as he could no longer make resistaunce. And then the *Venetians* making war vpon him, he withstoode them so powerfully, as he entred into their landes, and brought it in compasse of his owne power, to agree peace with them when he pleased, and no sooner. At another time, the king of *Naples* being much molested by some great men of his country, that rose in rebellion against him: he lent him such aide and support, as kepte himselfe within his owne Kingdome, and al his estates. *Genes* rebelling against him, and *Bonna* his Sister in Law, hee brought them vnder his obedience: and gaue such supply to the Duke of *Sauoy*, (whose subiects would not endure his gouernment; that he made them obediently to submit themselues to him. Knowing also, that Pope *Alexander* the 6. so soone as he was elected, fell into great necessity, hee succoured him graciously with a great sum of mony. He maried the duke his nephew to the King of *Naples* daughter, & gaue his Neece as wife to *Maximilian* King of the *Romaines*. He reseated the Marquesse of *Saluces* in his estate & possessions. After all these prosperities, his nephew *Iohn* died, leauing a childe very young: wherefore, he as absolute Lord, by the permission of the Emperor *Maximilian*, entitled himselfe Duke of *Millaine*.

His defending the Duke of *Ferrara* against the *Venetians*.

His helpe to the King of *Naples*.

His aid to the D. of *Sauoy*.

The marriages of his nephew & niece

At this time he was aged, standing on the height of his honours and successes; when fortune began to turne her backe vpon him, and the *Venetians* became his enemies, in fauour of *Lewes* the twelfth, King of *France*, who pretended the Dutchy of *Millaine* to appertaine to him in the right of his Mother. For this cause, he had war on both sides; and although he was a very potent Prince, yet notwithstanding, either because he grew distrustfull of his people, or helde himselfe not strong enough to withstand such combustions, without the backing & assistance of some of those Princes, who had receiued from him so many helpes and good turnes; hee resolued not to attend the shocke or brunt, but taking the best Order (for all things) that hee could deuise, forsooke his estate, which in lesse then a month, was vtterly lost. And yet not long after, Fortune kindled some sparkes of hope againe; for beeing fled into *Germany*, hee found there such succour and assistance, as at the expiration of 5. moneths, he returned with a great army and his entraunce prooued very successefull, because he tooke many places and towns in his owne territories, and was in good hope to recouer all.

Fortune turneth hir back on him, after all his good successes, and in his age.

A flattering smile of faire hope againe.

But when he stood ready for the fight, not onely the *Switzers* refused the battaile; but they seized him, and deliuered him into the Frenchmens handes, who led him with them into *Fraunce*, where (at length) he dyed prisoner in the Castle of *Loches* in *Touraine*. It nothing auailed him, that he had been rich and mightie, for Fortune gaue him all those Glassie Felicities, to loade him (in the end) with the more greater Aduersities. These are the very best blessinges, that this

The *Switzers* deliuerd him to the *French*, and his death in *Torraine*.

this World can afford vs. Wherefore I say, he that hath least, and least desireth; liueth in the most contentment & assurance. O that men then would rest satisfied with such goods as they haue, making vse and seruice of them in peace, and as God hath bestowed them on them: for I haue read of diuers, who haue coueted many thinges, which (after the enioying of them) haue beene the onely cause of loosing their liues, and God knoweth best, what became of their Soules, by such extreame dealing.

He that hath little, is sure not to loose much.

CHAP. XII.

What opinion the Romaines, and others (our Ancient Predeceſſors) had of Fortune: How ſhe was numbred among the Goddes. In what forme and figure they vſed to paint her. With apparant proofe, that (among vs Chriſtians) there is no Fortune; becauſe all thinges are referred to God.

Vpon what cauſe this Chapter is induced.

BEcauſe wee haue ſhewne the inſtability of the world, by ſundry examples of men, which ſome haue falſely attributed to Fortune: I hold it fit and reaſonable, that we ſhould a little conferre in this caſe, on thoſe vanities holden by the *Gentiles* and *Ethnickes*, and afterward to conclude with Chriſtians. Among thoſe other errours, which the wiſe Philoſophers held, concerning humaine ſapience (they beeing depriued of the true and diuine) this was the chiefe and principall occaſion. For, in not knowing the cauſes whence effects proceeded, neither vnderſtanding who made and ordained them: many among them, tearmed them to be the workes of Fortune, with all ſudden happenings, and things neuer hoped, or before thought on. And yet they could not be contented to ſtay themſelues there (Fortune being nothing elſe, but a meere imagination without Eſſence) but many of them verily beleeued, that Fortune was a Diuinitie, and a particular Goddeſſe: to whom they aſcribed all humaine accidents, whether they were of proſperity, or of aduerſity. To her they referred gouernance and adminiſtration, of all things eyther good or euill. Nay, this follie tooke ſo ſtrong a head, that *Virgill* named her *Almighty*; And *Cicero* in his Offices, dared to vſe theſe words: *What is he, who knoweth not, that the power of Fortune is moſt great equally in good and euill? Becauſe, if ſhee doe ayde vs with her proſperous winde, wee ſhall come to the iſſue of our deſires: if ſhe deale contrary, we ſhall be afflicted euen to extreamity.* *Saluſt*, an eloquent and learned Hiſtoriographer, ſaide: *Fortune is the Lady and Miſtreſſe of all thinges.* *Iuuenall* conſented with them, ſaying; *If Fortune pleaſe, of a ſimple Aduocate, thou ſhalt be made a Conſull: but if ſhe be contrary, thou ſha't of a Conſull, become a ſillie Aduocate.* So that they aſcribed all powerfulneſſe to Fortune.

Virg. in lib. 8. de Aenei.

Cicero in lib. 2. Officijs.

Saluſt his opinion of Fortune.

Iuuenall his words.

And yet notwithſtanding, it is a wonderfull thing, that beeing in this opinion; they would blaſpheme ſo mightily againſt her, impoſing names and Epithites on her, which were voyd of any reuerence and honour. *Pliny* ſaid, *Vndoubtedly, in all the world, in all places, at all houres, and by all perſons; onely Fortune is inuoked, ſhe onely is called, ſhe onely accuſed and purſued. She alone is thought vpon, commended, and blamed with iniuries and reproaches. She onely is honoured, eſteemed; yet reputed mutable, and (by ſome) blinde, vncertaine, inconſtant, treacherous, and fauourable to the vnworthy. To her ſolie, is referred all expences and receipts, and in all matters and reaſons of Mortall men, ſhe filleth vp all the Pages of our rationall book.* So that, by theſe wordes, wee are in a moſt ſubiected condition, for if we ſhal repute Fortune to be a God or Goddes; we muſt thereby approoue God to be moſt vncertaine.

Plin. in lib. 2. Cap. 7.

How Fortune is both blamed and honored.

In thoſe elder daies alſo, they made Statues and Images to her, in ſundrie ſhapes and figures, according to ſuch effects as they perſwaded themſelues to be in her. Whē they attributed victorie vnto her; then they formed her ſtrong and manly, and they had a Temple likewiſe, perticularly dedicated to inuincible Fortune, which (according to *Titus Linius*) was built by *Camillus* the Conſull,

Variety of Statues and Images erected to Fortune.

The onelie ground of the Philoſophers errors.

Fortune reputed to be a Diuinity and Goddeſſe.

A Temple built to Fortune by *Camillus* the Consul

full, with the prey and spoyle which he tooke from the *Hetrurians*. And long time after it was ordained, that her sollemne Feast should be celebrated, on the fiue and twentith day of Iune: because, as on that day, *Hasdruball* was defeated and foyled; and King *Massiniſſa*, a Friend to the *Romaines*, the selfe-same day vanquished King *Siphax*.

Another temple built out of Rome to Fortune.

Moreouer, the *Romaines* erected another Temple to her, about two little miles from Rome, where she was figured in the shape of a Woman; because in that place, *Coriolanus* comming in Armes against his Countrey, hauing listened to the entreaties of his Mother: became gracious, and returned, pardoning *Rome*, which he had formerlie determined to sacke and spoile, euen from the top to the bottome. Into this forme of a Womans mounted Statue, the deuill made his entrance, giuing answere therein many times, and so reputed to be an Oracle. They had another Temple also, which was dedicated particularly to euill Fortune, and such was their blindnesse in deuotion, as they verily beleeued, that he who was deuoutly addicted to this Fortune; all things should happen well vnto him. But hee that did the contrary, all thinges with him should turne to vnhappinesse. Of all which delusions and abusings, the Deuill onely was the Authour, to make men relye and trust on him the more confidently. As it happened to *Galba*, who hauing taken a Collar or Chaine of Gold from this Image of Fortune, to bestow it (as an offering) on the Goddesse *Venus*, as it is recorded by diuers Historians: Fortune her selfe appeared to him the night following, and threatned him, whereon (soone after) his death ensued.

A third Temple dedicated to euill Fortune.

The Deuill is the Authour of these deludings.

Galba, his taking a Chain of Gold from the Image of Fortune.

The vanitie of these people was so extreame, that they had also another Statue, of a bearded Fortune, perswading themselues; that such youthes as did hold her in veneration, should the sooner haue Beardes and comely proportion: but such as contemned her, should both want beards, and all good disposition. All these things they did, for diuersitie of respects and considerations: and yet their maine intent, was to signifie the whole power, which (according to their opinion) remained in her, and the contrarietie of her nature, they declared also in diuers kinds.

A Statue of bearded Fortune, to send young men beards.

The Philosopher *Cebes*, painted her in the shape of a Woman, but furious, blind, and without vnderstanding: hauing her feete placed vppon a round stone, thereby to demonstrate her instabilitie. *Vupalus* was the first in *Greece*, that made an Image to Fortune in the Citty of *Smyrna*: she had the Heauens ouer her head, and in one of her hands a Horne of aboundance. The *Scythians* made her a Woman without feete, hauing (neuertheleſſe) handes and wings. Others figured her with the stearne or guide of a Shippe in one of her hands, and in the other a *Cornucopia*: inferring thereby, that she gouerned all thinges, and graunted blessings to the World. Others made her of Glasse; because she was fraile, and broken in pieces with the least mischance.

Cebes his figure of Fortune.

Vupalus his picture of Fortune.

The *Scythians* Fortune.

Diuers shapes and figures of Fortune.

There were others, who painted her turning a Wheele, on the top whereof some were seated; others climbing to get vp, and others thrown down quite vnderneath it. One tearmed her to be like a Comedie, wherein some persons entred (one white) like Kings and great Lords, and presently changing their Garments, entred againe like Slaues & Seruants: because our humaine life is gouerned in like manner, for men are to day rich and pompous, but to morrow poore, abiect, and miserable. *Socrates* compared her to a publike place, or disordered Theater, wherein many times it commeth to passe, that the best persons sit in the worst places. Those of ancient times, describe her to be blind, and, to that purpose, *Apuleius* hath these words in his Golden Asse. *Not without cause, did men of old learning, paint Fortune to be blinde: considering, she continually bestoweth riches on peruerse people, & such as are vnworthy of them, neuer making any good election among men; but most commonly fauoureth and communicateth her selfe to wicked people, whom (if she had eyes) she would fly and shunne.*

Compared to a Comedy.

Socrates his comparison of Fortune.

Apuleius in his Golden Asse, concerning Fortune.

There are an infinite number of authorities, which might bee produced, concerning the good and bad names attributed to Fortune. *Valerius* and *Claudian* called her *Enuious*. *Ouid* in his *Fasts* tearmeth her *strong and doubtfull*; and in his Epistles, *wicked*. *Iuuenall* in his Satires,

Valerius Maximus. & *Claudian.* *Ouid in Fast.* *Iuuenal in Sat.*

Satires, calleth her *Vile and peruerse. Lucian*, *Traitresse and periured. Siluius Italicus*, *Craftie and subtile*. *Virgil* in one place, calleth her *Omnipotent*; and elsewhere he raileth on her, saying; Shee is *Inconstant, faithlesse, and disloyall Cicero*, of whom we haue already spoken, and who attributed vnto her so much power as to entile her; *The Guide and conduct of Men in liuing well*: saith yet beside, *That there is nothing so contrarie to reason and constancie, as Fortune is.* And yet neuertheless, the vanity of the ancient *Romaines* was so great, that they would adore her, whom they knew to be blind, false, and inconstant, building Temples to her. And so curious were they in imployment of their superstitions; that the Emperours of *Rome* kept the Image of Fortune, in the very same Chambers where they vsed to sleepe: and when any of them dyed, shee was transported from his Chamber, into that of his Successour.

Lucian.

Cicero in lib. de Orat.

The vanities of the ancient Romaines.

The superstition of the *Romaine* Emperours.

The first that erected a Temple to her in *Rome* (according as *Titus Liuius* declareth) was *Seruius Tullius*, sixt King of the *Romaines*. Yet *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the *Romaines* Fortune, saith (of virile or manly Fortune) *That albeit Martius, fourth King, was the first that builded a Temple to her: yet it was Seruius Tullius, that imposed many names on her, for each of which names, they made her a Temple.* One to manly Fortune; others to little Fortune; prosperous Fortune; aduerse or bad Fortune; and to triumphant Fortune, with other such like names.

Seruius Tullius Plutarc. in Lib. de Rom. Fort.

The names of Fortunes temples.

The Temple of virile or manly Fortune, was builded neere to the Riuer of *Tyber*, and (according to some others) hard by a Lake or Poole. In this Temple, all such Maides as were of marriageable yeares, came and presented themselues in great deuotion, despoyling themselues into their Smocks, before the Statue of Fortune. If they had any blemishes or imperfections on their bodies, they would discouer them vnto her: beleeuing verily, that Fortune would keepe them hidden and concealed, and order the matter in such sort, that such as were to enioy them in mariage, should neuer perceiue them; this is testified by *Ouid* in his *Fasts*, & much more beside.

The Temple of manly Fortune, for marriageable maides.

Ouid in lib. de Fast.

Now, as the power of the Romains grew to encrease and enlarge it selfe, so much the more was this Religion of Fortune aduanced; and still new Temples were builded to her, answerable to such names as wer imposed on her: not onely in *Rome*, or there-about, but likewise in diuers Countries of *Italie*. This then must be our conceipt, that not only these vanities, but many more which might be discouered to this effect: were meere deceiuings, and deluding of men walking in darknesse, confiding onelie in their owne knowledge and wisdome. For, according to truth, all things that can bee done in the vniuersall World, be it in Earth or in Heauen, yea, or in Hell: they proceed from the vnsearchable prouidence, and supreame wisedome of God. They ensue neither by Fortune, Chance, or Aduenture: for all things haue their being in him, and so are continued in their course and order.

The enlarging of Fortunes religiō.

How men are to iudge according to truth.

Moreouer, be it that among vs men, (thorough want of knowledge and vnderstanding oftentimes) some causes are begotten of others, which come not by accidentall Chance: yet in the end, all thinges make their stay on the first and chiefest cause, which is God, the Motiue, Maker, and Gouernour of them all, and this is that truth, which ought to bee beleeued, knowne, and held, by euery true and faithfull Christian.

God the motiue, maker & gouernour of all things.

Lactantius Firmianus, wisely mocked such men, as attributed the accidents of this World to Fortune. And Saint *Augustine* in his Retractions, denyeth that, which (by common manner of speaking) he had formerly attributed to Fortune, concerning the happy successe of a man. In the same place also, he commendeth *Dauid*, because hee ascribed all his tribulations to the iudgment of God: and so ought euery Christian to hold, that all thinges still doe proceede from God.

Lactantius Firmianus.

Aug. in lib. de Retract.

Many of the Ancients had some tast of this truth, for *Salust* could say: *Euery man is the principall cause and motiue of his owne Fortune.* And in his Proheme to the Warre of *Iugurth*, he saith. *Sloathfull and negligent persons, make their complaint on Fortune, without any occasion. Iuuenall* in his tenth Satire, speaketh more

The words of *Salust. In Prohem. Bel. Iugurt.*

Iuue in Sat. 10.

cleare-

clearely: *That where Prudence is, Fortune hath no power or dignity, although we make her to be a Goddesse, and extoll her to the Heauens.* Other Philosophers there were, who although they said; *That Fortune (of her owne proper vertue and power) could not do any thing:* yet they credited, that she was the Minister and Instrument of the Diuine prouidence; as if God should stand in neede of some other, to performe his workes for him, which is no lesse vaine, then those opinions before recited, and others that might be heere remembred, which I auoyd for prolixities sake.

The opinion of some Philosophers.

Neuertheless, I could wish that simple Christian people (too ignorant in many thinges) would forsake that bad Custome which they haue held ouer long: in making their complaint on Fortune, when any thing happeneth contrary to their hope or expectation. For it is an infallible rule, that there is not any thing whatsoeuer; but God is the only disposer thereof, and recourse should be made to none but him, in all our wordly wants and necessities.

An aduise to ignorant Christians.

CHAP. XIII.

That ouer and beside the properties of Elementary thinges; There are great store of other concealed and wonderfull properties, which be not of the Elements.

SOme of the ancient Philosophers, hauing discouered by their knowledge, infinite properties and vertues of herbs, Plants, & Stones, I speak of those which the Spirit and industry of Men could hardly attaine vnto, but that necessitie, and time (ioyned with experience) haue declared, and from whence so many remedies and benefits haue descended; In regard also, that humain vnderstanding neuer taketh rest, or can bee satisfied in perfectly knowing things, vntil it reach also their causes and reasons, and beholdeth their qualities and effects: It hath therefore beene the occasion, that men haue made narrow search, and dyuing into their originall, from whence such power and vertues should ensue, and haue found (in this contemplation) certaine occasions, which they could know and vnderstand, consisting particularly, on some naturall principles and apprehensions, of the qualities of the Elements, whereof all inferiour things are composed. And such are the causes and properties of those thinges, which we call Elementary; as to make hot, to coole, to moysten, and to dry, which name themselues, as principall or first qualities.

The naturall qualities of the Elements in their seuerall degrees.

Desires and affections in men, are sildome capable of any rest.

These Philosophers did likewise know, that these proceeded from the foure Elements; Water, Earth, Ayre, and Fire, whose qualities are Colde, Drought, Moysture, and Heat. There are beside, sundry other qualities in things, which they knew also to deriue themselues of the Elements, and by the mixtion of them; and they were named second qualities: As one thing had the property to asswage; another to mollifie; sundry other in their kindes; to strengthen; to comfort; to be sweet or sower. Which forces or properties, are found in thinges composed of the foure Elements, although they know none of the foure Elements simply; but because the commixture of them causeth such properties.

Other deriuations of the Elements, tearmed second qualities

Therefore, such men as did vnderstand whence the causes proceeded, did hold them for cleare and certaine. Neuertheless, there are other proprieties and vertues in thinges, which name themselues concealed and meruailous: because no man knoweth from whence they come, neither is their reason any way vnderstood. Howbeit, a Man may plainely perceiue, that they deriue not themselues from the Elementary qualities: and of such thinges as these wee purpose to speake, as of matters most desired, and least apprehended. We see that the Adamant or Load-stone, otherwise called the Calamite, exalteth peeces of Iron and Steele from the ground, which doe poize the fourth part of his weight; as any occasion may easily make manifest, although we well know, that this quality proceedeth not of the Elements.

Of other secret and wonderful things, not knowne from whence they proceed.

Example of the Adamant, Loadstone, or Calamite, which hath no elementary quality.

It is neither the heat of Fire, which causeth

causeth it, nor the drineſſe of the earth; but another hidden and ſecret vertue. Moreouer, this Calamite Stone, hath not this propertie perticular to it ſelfe, but dooth communicate it to other things.

To approue the truth heereof, if one whet the point of a Knife thereon, the point receiueth and pertaketh ſo much of his vertue; as it will take vp a Naile, a Needle, or ſome other ſmall peece of Iron or Steel, without any touch (then) of the ſtone it ſelfe. In like manner, a Needle touched with this Stone, receiueth another meruaylous propertie, for being at his owne liberty; it prepareth and turneth it ſelfe towardes the Pole Articke, or Northerne Region. Vpon which occaſion, Marriners did inuent the vſe of the Compaſſe, not knowing how or whence that this vertue commeth.

Of a Needle touched by the Adamant ſtone.

It is knowne likewiſe for a thing moſt certaine, that a very little Fiſh, called in Greeke * *Echeneis*, and in Latine *Remora*, if it cleaue faſt to the Keele of a ſhip (though it float neuer ſo faſt vnder ſaile:) it with-holdeth it from ſtirring, and will not let it goe. And yet wee know it a matter impoſſible, that this can be done by ſtrength of Man: neyther can this Fiſh (beeing ſo ſmall of it ſelfe) doe it by any power it hath; but by ſome hidden vertue and propertie. Agarick, purgeth Phlegme; Rubarbe, dryeth and expelleth Choller; and the Hearb called *Epythimon*, cleanſeth away Melancholly, yet no man knoweth, frō whence theſe concealed vertues doe proceede.

* A Sackſtone or Sea Lamprey, a verie ſmall Fiſh, that can hold a ſhip a floating vnder ſayle.

Of Agaricke, Rubarbe, and Epithymon, purgatiue Drugges.

If I ſhall be anſwered, the reaſon enſueth, becauſe theſe Drugges are hot: it ſhould then as well follow, that *Orpiment* (which is hot alſō) ſhould work the like effect: and yet we ſee, that (of his owne Nature) it heateth and reſtricteth. The *Oſtridge* eateth and conſumeth Iron, and that by ſome ſecret property, and not in regard of her heat: for the Lyon is much more hotter, and yet cannot doe it. Quailes do feed on *Helleborus*, without receiuing any hurt at all thereby; and yet if other Birds do eate thereof, they die immediatlie. Fire burneth and conſumeth all things: and yet we read it (and auouched by good Authours) that the *Salamander*, and a Fly, named by the Greekes *Pyraſta*, by ſome ſecret in Nature; Fire is to them both life and nouriſhment. I read, that a man, if hee haue a Dogge with him, and doe ſmite an Adder once, hee dyeth: but if he ſtrike a ſecond blow, the reuiueth againe.

Orpiment.

The Oſtridge eateth and digeſteth Iron.

Quailes eate Helleborus.

The Salamander, and the Fly Pyraſta.

Of the Adder

The *Iaſper*, and ſome other Stones, haue the power to ſtench bleeding. The precious Stone called a Carbuncle, gliſtereth, and brightly ſhineth in night and darkneſſe. The Iacinth (according to ſome Writers) is good againſt thunder and lightning. The *Turqueis* is helpfull, to keep a man from caſuall falling: For, by breaking it ſelfe againſt the Liuer Veine, it preſerueth the man from any harme. The Diamond is good for Weomen great with Childe. Now, if demaund be made, from whence ariſeth all theſe admirable properties, few Men (I am perſwaded) can make any anſwere.

Of ſundry precious ſtones, and their vertues.

In theſe powers and properties ſo ſecret and wonderfull, there is another thing worthy of conſideration to wit; that ſome of theſe thinges, do containe the power wholly in the matter alleaged, and in part. According as we haue ſpoken of the Fiſh *Echeneis*, or *Remora*, that is able to retain the ſwifteſt courſe of a Shippe: this is not proper to any one part of the Fiſh, but to the whole body. In like manner, the ſhaddow of the *Hyenna* maketh the Hounds hoarſe and broken voyced: but it is to bee vnderſtood, that it is the ſhaddow of the whole body, and not any part thereof. There are other things, whoſe properties conſiſt not onely in whole, but alſo in part. As the Hearb Selandine (tearmed in French *Eſclere*) which is good for the ſight, both in whole and in part; the roote being as good, as the Leaues and Seedes. Of other thinges, there are ſome that haue theſe ſecret vertues in part only by it ſelfe; as we read concerning the eyes of a Wolfe, if they firſt behold a man, before he do behold the Beaſt, the Man becommeth hoarſe and wheezing.

The power of theſe properties conſiſting wholly in the thing, and not in part.

Not onely in the whole, but alſo in part.

In part onely, and not all.

The *Hyenna* alſo, hath a particular property in his eyes: for, if he looke on a Beaſt, ſeated any where to reſt himſelfe: the looke onely maketh the beaſt ſleepy, and ſo drouſie headed, as he hath no ability to ſtirre himſelfe. The *Baſi-*

liske

liske onely hath poyſon in his eyes, and killeth with his very ſight. It it ſaide, that the Hart of a Dogge hath this property, that if a man beare it about him; it cauſeth all Dogges to auoid and ſhun him. And the Gaule of a Goat beeing put into a Veſſell of Braſſe, and ſet in a place where Frogges and Paddocks are; they will all preſently gather about it.

The Hart of a Dog.

The Gaule of a Goat.

Here we are further to obſerue, that ſome one of theſe thinges, and namely in Beaſts; do not containe the property, but while they are liuing, and then by death they are loſt: yet ſome others do continue after death. As the Eagle, who in her life time is victorious ouer all Birdes or Fowles: likewiſe after death, her Feather being put among others, it deuoureth and conſumeth them. The Skinne of a Lyon, ſpoyleth the Skinnes of other Beaſtes: And the Skinne of a Wolfe, eateth and conſumeth the Skinne of a Lambe. We behold alſo in Hearbes, that after they are withered and dryed; yet they ceaſe not to keepe and preſerue their properties. Theſe vertues, and diuers other, haue both beene ſeene and knowne by mens curious Inquiſition, who yet haue refuſed to tearme them ſecret or concealed vertues, becauſe they did not hold them for certaine: albeit they had made good experiment of them, and no one of them could deliuer the cauſe, whence any of theſe vertues ſhould proceede.

Properties in ſome thinges, during life, & in others after death.

What vertues men haue found by ſearch, they will not confeſſe.

Alexander Aphrodiſeus, in the beginning of his Problemes, tearmeth them *Vnknowne Vertues*, ſaying moreouer: *That they are knowne to God onely, the Authour of all thinges*. There are likewiſe ſome other writers, who haue diſcourſed on the properties of diuers thinges, making the cauſes of them, to bee as matters out of their knowledge; and of this minde were *Theophraſtus*, *Dioſcorides*, *Iſaac* the *Iew*, and many others. And yet notwithſtanding, there were others beſide, who being loath to confeſſe their ignorance in theſe thinges; gaue them yet ſome originall, but were very different in their opinions. *Plato* and the *Academickes*, attributed the originall of this vertue, to the *Idea* of all thinges immediatly; which they intended to be God, as the Originall, beginning and firſt cauſe of all. Other naturall Philoſophers, attributed the cauſes of theſe operations, to Celeſtiall Spirits, or Angels.

Alexan. Aphro. in Problem.

Theophraſtus. Dioſcorides. Iſaac. Iudaic.

The opinion of *Plato* and the Scholiſts.

Naturall Philoſophers.

Albertus Magnus thinketh it to come, from the eſpeciall forme and ſubſtance of each thing: whereto conſenteth *Leonardus Camillus*, in his ſecond Booke of the Myrror of Stones. *Hermes*, and many other Aſtrologers, with whom alſo ioyneth *Marſillius Phicinus*; attributing the whole power to the Starres and Celeſtiall figures. And this is the moſt common opinion which wee follow now adaies: although it appeareth that they hold one opinion by conformity of ſubiect, arreſting all vpon God, who is the firſt cauſe and Creator of all things.

Albert. Magnus.

Leonard. Camillus.

Marſilius Phicinus.

But returning to our Starres and Planets, which are the Inſtruments and Gouernors of this neather World: for theſe ſecrets and perticular properties whereof we haue ſpoken, ſhould ſeeme to forme their deriuation thence. It is then to be vnderſtood, that theſe ſecret powers in thinges, are in a like manner diuers and variable, as they be ſubiected to diuers and variable Starres and celeſtial Images. Becauſe that of the ſundry natures and forces of influction, which the Starres haue with their light (conſidering the Celeſtiall motion in inferious thinges, which perticularly they are ſubiected vnto) the particular excellencies in any thing is cauſed. And therby moreouer happeneth, that one thing may haue two vertues, and ſecret properties, onely by the influence of diuers Starres. And theſe powers beeing ſo ſinguler, doe worke the much greater effectes and efficacy; when the elementary qualities of the thinges, are not thereto repugnant and contrary. And becauſe examples will make theſe matters the more cleare and euident; wee will giue ye a taſt of ſome. But whoſoeuer is deſirous of further information; let him read *Porphyrius*, *Sineſius*, *Marſilius Phicinus*, *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of Stones, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Albertus Magnus*, and others.

The ſtars and Planets, Gouernours of our lower World.

The diuerſity of Natures in the ſtars, cauſeth diuerſity of vertue in things.

The Elementarie qualities not repugnāt.

Marſil. Phicin. in lib. de trip. vit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of many meruailous properties in sundrie things; And to what Stars and Planets they are subiected naturally.

The vertue of Saffron receiued from the Sunne.

FIrst of all, we will speak of Saffron, which hath the power to awake or rouse vp dull spirits, and his vertue goeth immediatly to the hart, procuring ioy, gladnesse, and smiles. It is saide, that these properties are imparted thereto, by particular influence of the Sun, wherto it is subiect: and by him therefore is assisted, thorow his subtile nature, splendant and Aromaticall. Mirrhe, Incense, Balme, wood of Aloes, Spikenard, these also are subiect to the sun. It is said moreouer, that Gold, in being of the nature of the Sun; hath therefore the vertue, to comfort and glad the hart, & to be shining. The same Sun also giueth vertue to the *Carbunckle*, to be so splendant in the night, and to bee powerfull against poyson. The propertie which the Iacinth hath, against thunder and lightning, is held to proceede from the influence of the Planet *Iupiter*: for which cause it hath beene thought very conuenient, that a man should alwaies carry it about him. The Eagle-stone, beeing commonlie found in an Eagles nest, among al other vertues, is meruailously proper for women great with Child, and at the time of their deliuerance: which is occasioned by the vertue of *Venus*, and of the Moon; and *Rasis* affirmeth, that he hath made experiment thereof. If a man be but touched with the hearbe Piony, otherwise called *Kinges-bloome*, or *Rose of the Mount*, especially of that which is the Male: the party so touched, shall be defended from the falling sicknes. And this onely commeth by the Sunnes influence, to whom this hearb is alwaies subiect. The Corall, and the Chalcidony, which is a kind of *Onix*-stone, doe contain the selfe-same efficacy, thorow the perticular influences of *Iupiter* and *Venus*.

Other things subiect to the Sunne.

Gold.

The Carbuncle.

The Iacinth, by Iupiter.

The Eagle-stone by *Venus* and the Moone.

The Hearbe Pyony, by the Sunne.

Corall and Chalcidony, by *Iupiter* and *Venus*.

By the vertue of the Sun, and which it communicateth to Ginger: it is receiued among meates, and is very proper against weaknesse and emptinesse of the stomacke. *Iupiter* lendeth vertue to Sage, and maketh it soueraigne against the Palsie. Those beasts which are subiect to the Sunne, and doe receiue influence from him: are courageous and valiant, affecting superiority and dominion ouer others. Among whom is the Lyon, much more then all the rest; the Crocodile and the Bull, and according as one Planet or one Starre yeildeth aduantage of influence more then another, either vppon beast, or any other thing: euen so is the influxion thereby receiued of superiority in excellency, either in beasts or other things subiected to this Planet. And therefore you may note, how it hapneth to the Lyon, of whom we haue already made relation, that he standeth in feare of the Cock, & flyeth from him. The reason is, because they are both subiect to the Sunne, and the Cocke is superiour in that order or degree, by meanes whereof, he danteth the Lyon. The power and vertue of the Adamant, is infused by the Celestiall Image, cald *Vrsa minor*, or *Charles waine*, which containeth seauen and twentie Stars. Now, because Steele is subiect to these Stars, and the stone is by them more qualified, or raised into the higher degree: it vrgeth thence the sufficiency of moving or attracting, and so by *Vrsa Minor* is this vertue imparted vnto the Stone.

Some do hold, that the Eagle is subiect to the sun; others say, to *Iupiter*, & that this perperty is deriued from *Iupiter*, that it can (at no time) bee smitten with lightning or thunder. But if we speak of the cause concerning the Sun, & his influence: then she is said to haue another wonderful property; which is, to be chiefe Lady; to make all other Birds stand in feare of her, and to haue the most pure, cleare, and perfect sight beyond all other. Beside, that her Feathers should consume them of other Fouls, whensoeuer they are mingled together. The Moone imparteth as much vertue, to the stone cald *Selenitis*, which is found in *Arabia*, whereof *Plinie* speaketh, saying; *Within the body of this Stone, the Moon apparantly sheweth her selfe, and increa-*

Ginger, by vertue of the Sunne.

Sage, by *Iupiter*.

Beasts subiected to the sun, and how they receiue their vertues.

The Lyon & the Cocke, both subiect to the Sunne.

The Adamãt, subiect to *Vrsa Minor*.

Opinions concerning the Eagle, by the Sunne, or by *Iupiter*.

The Stone *Selenitis*, gouerned by the Moone. *Plin. in lib. 9. Cap. 3.*

increaseth or decreaseth, as shee doth her course in Heauen.

Of Cats, subiect to the Moone.

Cats haue a peculiar property by domination of the Moone, that the haires which grow on their eye-edges, do increase or decrease euery day, according to the diurnall course of the Moon, and her aspects: as any man may apparantly behold, at what time he pleaseth to make proofe thereof. Among the very worthiest Stones of the Sunne, that which hath the most power, is the stone called *Pantaurus*, which is reported to be first found by *Apollonius Thianeus*. The Sun giueth such force and vertue to this Stone; that it draweth all other Stones vnto it, euen as the Adament doth Steele or Iron: and hee that beareth this Stone about him, cannot sustaine any harme by poyson. It is saide moreouer, that this one Stone hath included in it, the properties and vertues of all other Stones. *Pliny*, and all the rest doe affirme, that the Stone called *Acates*, by the domination of *Mercury*, helpeth greatly his eye-sight that carrieth it about, causing him to speake freely and liberallie, and yet it is wholly poyson. *Mercury* in like manner, by influxion which he bestoweth on some Beastes, that are subiected to him, as Dogges, Apes, Foxes, and other such like, enudeth them with wonderfull vnderstanding, craft, and subtilty.

Pantaurus the most excellēt stone of the Sun, a preseruatiue against poyson.

The Stone *Acates*, subiect to Mercury.

Beasts subiected to *Mercury*.

The Palme and the Laurell or Bay-Tree, are likewise subiected to the Sun, and from him doe receiue their perticuler properties; against lightning, tempests, and stormes, as also against all venimes and poysons. By the same occasion, the Ywe, Cedar, and the Ashtrees, are proper against venimes, and doe hold their perfect greeneneſſe all the yeare long. In like manner, the Stone, called *Heliotropium*, whereof *Pliny* and many other do report wonderful things; to wit, that it prolongeth life, and that it maketh a man constant and verie well willed; moreouer, that it can cause a man to walk inuisible: all these properties are deriued vnto it by influence of the Sun.

The Palme & Laurell, subiect to the Sunne.

The Stone *Heliotropium*, subiect to the Sunne.

The Iacinth Stone, by communication of the Sune, to whom it is perticularly subiect, and also to *Iupiter*, if a man doe beare it about him, and touch his flesh there-with neuer so little: it defendeth and preserueth him from all poysons, as also against al euill vapours and corrupted ayres. It gladeth and comforteth the Hart and Spirit, and is reputed beside, to make Men or Weomen very amiable, and well enclined. There is likewise another kind of Iacinth, named the *Chrysolite*, which shineth with a golden colour quite thorow, and partaketh of the Suns vertue: it is also very good against frenzy or madneſſe, melancholly humours, as also against strange imaginations and euill visions. The *Scarabe*, which is otherwise commonly called the Beetle-flye, a little old Creature, is maruelously subiect to the Moon, and thereof is found both written, and by experience: That she gathereth or maketh little pellets, or little round bals, of Mens Excrements, and therein encloseth her young Egges, keeping the Pellets hid in the ground eight and twenty daies; during which time the Moone maketh her course, & the nine and twentith day shee taketh them foorth, and then hideth them againe vnder the Earth. Then, at such time as the Moone is conioyned with the Sunne, which wee vsually tearme the New Moone: they all issue forth a-liue; and flye about. The Moone also hath Sbueraignety and dominion ouer many thinges, and particularly on such as are white and greene, and (among Mettals) ouer Siluer especially. For this cause, all Trees (in the encreasing and waine of the Moone) doe extend or shut vp their moysture and strength. Also, all Birdes or Fowles, which haunt and liue in Riuers, or Marishes and marine places, are subiect to the Moone. And likewise the Camelion, who receiueth (from her) his property of changing, and altring into such colours as are laid before or neere him.

The *Chrysolite* to the Sunne.

The Scarabe-Fly, subiect to the Moone

Coniunction of the Sunne with the Moone.

The Moones power ouer thinges white and greene.

The properties of *Myrabolanes* are infinite. They doe nourish and preserue the life of all such as shall often eate them. They prolong youth; strengthen the senses and Spirits of Man; causing quickneſſe of memorie; comforting the stomacke; and chearing the heart. All these guifts and vertues, doe proceede from the Planets *Iupiter* and *Mercurie*, according as it is testified by very many learned and great personages. The Iasper stone, by influence of the

The Iacinth, to the Sunne and Iupiter.

The East-Indian Plum, called a Myrabolane Plum, subiect to *Mercury* & *Iupiter*.

The Iasper stone, subiect to Saturne.

the Planet *Saturne*, hath the power and vertue to mittigate and remooue the prickings of the Flesh; and to stay excesse of bleeding at the Nose, or any wound receiued. Heere might wee enter into a much larger discourse, of many other properties (verie strange, great, and mernailous) and singuler qualities, both of Stones and other things, which the seauen Planets, and principall Starres (being in the Orbes of the Heauens) doe graunt by their influence to thinges heere beneath. But those which wee haue already related, shall serue and suffice. And now, we will proceede, to speake of such vertues in certain things, as do ensue from the fixed Starres of the eight Heauen, which haue great domination and power ouer those thinges, that partake with such qualities, which the other Planets giue influence vnto.

Concerning the fixed stars of the eyght Heauen.

Medusaes head, subiected to *Iupiter* and *Saturne*.

The Starre called *Medusaes head*, yeildeth force and vertue to the Diamond, and to the Hearbe called *Mugworte*, or Saint *Johns* Hearbe: causing them that carry them about them, to be bold and hardy of heart and Spirit; and this Starre is of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*. The Starres, named the * *Pleiades*, haue power ouer Christall, and ouer Fennell-seede: And thence it ensueth, that these are comfortable and beneficial to the eye-sight, because that these Starres are Lunarie and Martiall. The selfe-same Hearbe *Mugworte*, *Mandrake*, or *Mandragon*; *Mint* or *Munts*; the *Saphire* and the *Rubie*, doe receiue their influence from the Goate-Starre; and it is saide, that whosoeuer weareth them in Ringes or otherwise, shall bee pleasing and amiable.

*The seauen Stars, subiect to the Moone and *Mars*.

The Saphire and Ruby, to the Goat.

The vertue whereof we haue last spoken, is likewise imparted to the *Agate* Stone: and it is reported to proceede also, from another Celestiall Image, called the *Little Dogge*. The vertue of the Emeralde, and of Sage, is communicated vnto them by the Virgines-Starre, or the Starre that appeared at Christs birth. The power of the Stone *Celidonius*, of *Celandine*, and of *Matticke*, to represse mellanchollie humours; commeth from the Starre called the *Lyons Hart*, or the *Royall Starre*, which is of the Nature of *Iupiter* and *Mars*. The Blood Stone, receiueth his vertue of staying or stanching bleeding, from the Starre called *Artameth*, or *Bootes* in Greeke. The *Topase* Stone, and the *Trefoyle* or *Three-leaued grasse*, which containe the property of Chastity, to represse the Flesh, and to cause ioyfulnesse in the bearer of them: doe receiue their vertue from the Starre named *Alpheta*, or the *Septentrionall Crowne*; being of the nature of *Venus*, and of *Mars*. The *Amatist*, and the Hearbe called *Aristologie*, or *Aristolochia Sarmentitia*, *Saracens Hearbe*, commonly tearmed *Long Hartwort*, or *Birtworte*, and Saffron also; doe cause a faire complexion, and viuacity of Spirit in him that beares them about him, and are said to be the meanes of chasing away euill Spirits. All which vertues are imparted to them, by the Star cald the *Scorpions Hart*, of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Mars*.

The Blood, to Bootes.

The Topase and Trefoile, to the Northerne crown

The Amatist and Aristology, to the Scorpions hart.

By these examples then, concerning the secret properties of thinges, which proceede not from the Elements, but by the influence of Starres they ought to bee highlie esteemed, and not misprized; especiallie, because they haue beene written by such worthy men, and approoued by good experience. We likewise read in the third Booke of Kinges, and in the eight Chapter of Wisedome; that *Salomon* knew the occasion of thinges, the Natures of Creatures, and the vertue of Hearbes. *Iosephus* also (because I would not be ouer-long) writes in his Booke of the *Iewes* Warres, of a Roote named *Barharas*, growing neere vnto a place called *Mecheranta*, and saith, that it shineth in the night time like fire, and hath the vertue to cure such as are possessed with Spirits, beside diuers other excellents properties.

None of these proceeding from the Elements.

Ioseph. in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

A Roote that cureth men possessed with Spirits.

The stone *Celidonius*, *Celandine*, and *Matticke*, to the Lyons heart.

But there is so much labour bestowed in the gathering thereof, as verie few or none can attaine vnto it; because although they see and discerne it a farre off: yet notwithstanding, when they approach neere vnto it, they can neyther take or touch it. And yet by much endeauer (making experience of that which the Deuill, or rather the Angell pleased to discouer) it grew to be found out, that a man, bathing himselfe

A dangerous aduenturing to gather the root.

ſelfe in the Vrine of a Woman, when ſhe ſpendeth her floures; might both touch, take, and gather it. Neuertheleſſe, he that thus tooke it vp, was ſure to dye, except he carried ſuch another like Root thither with him. Or, for his greater ſafety, when hee ſhould ſee the root (after bathing as before is ſaid) he muſt dig the earth round about it, and faſtning a ſtrong Cord about the root; binde a Dogge as faſt to the other end thereof, who ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſtrictly hampered, with ſtrugling and ſtriuing would plucke vp the Root, and then die immediatly. This beeing thus done, any man might then ſafely come to it, and make vſe thereof for his beſt ſeruice. The Authors that doe auouch the truth of theſe things, are they whom I haue alleaged in the former Chapter, and many others beſide, of whom I ſpare to ſpake, to auoyde tedioufneſſe.

CHAP. XV.

¶ *That brute Beaſts haue enſtructed many Men, in ſundry Medicines, and Remedies for hurts receiued; And in the properties of great ſtore of other thinges.*

Beaſts intelligent in curing their owne harmes.

IT is no matter deſerning meruaile, if men haue attained to the knowledge of the properties of things: conſidering that beaſts (by meere naturall inſtinct) are very skilfull in the knowledge alſo of many things, which they can apply to themſelues as cures and Medicines. Nay, we may preſume to ſay further, that Beaſts haue ſhewen and declared Medicines to men; by beholding how they haue healed themſelues, and found out their owne Remedies, without other helpes. Notwithſtanding, we al know wel enough, that men neither could, or can skill of any cures; but ſuch as they haue heard of, and learned from others that went before them.

Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 7.

In regard whereof, *Pliny* had good cauſe to ſay: *That men ought to be thankfull to Beaſtes, for many medicines and remedies, which they haue learned of them.* The hart firſt ſhewed vs, that the hearb called *Dittanie*, or *Dittander*, is good to draw out an Arrow-head, or the pieces of the Shaft, when he is wounded there-with: becauſe the Hart himſelfe (being ſo hurt) vſeth it as his onely remedy. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the Wilde Goats of *Candie* doe obſerue the verie ſame. Harts alſo, when they are bitten or ſtung by a venomous kinde of Spiders, called *Phalanges*; they heale themſelues by eating *Creuiſſes*, though other do hold, that it is by an Hearb growing in the water. The property of the hearb *Celandine*, otherwiſe called *Eſclere*, was taught vs by Swallowes, to be apt and conuenient for our eye-ſight; becauſe they make vſe thereof, to the eyes of their young ones.

Dittany, cald Garden Ginger.

Ariſt. in lib. de Anim. Cap. 11.

Spiders called Phalanges.

Celandine for the eye ſight.

The Tortoiſe, by eating wilde Marierome, defendeth himſelfe againſt Serpents: and thereby the property of the Hearbe was firſt found and knowne, to be good againſt poyſon. The Weezell eateth Rew, or Hearb-Grace, when he purpoſeth to fight with Rats. Wilde Boares doe heale all their diſeaſes or harmes, with feeding on Iuy, or the Hearbe called *Ale-Hoofe*, and ſome ſay on *Creuiſſes*; eſpecially ſuch as the Sea throweth vp on the ſhoare. The Snake or Adder, to diſpoile himſelfe of his writhen skinne; keepes in the earth (in the Winter time) feeding on nothing but the iuyce of Fennel. And to cleare his eye-ſight, which he hath much impaired and offended, by being ſo long vnder-ground in darkneſſe; he rubbeth and ſtreaketh his eyes vppon Fennell, which the Greekes called *Marathrum*, that both reſtoreth and cleareth his eie-ſight, and thereby may the vertue of this Hearb be wel known. The Bear being poyſoned by the Hearbe named *Mandragoras*, *Mandrake*, or *Mandragon*; doth purge his body by the eating of Ants or Piſmires. There is no Hearbe, how venomous ſoeuer it bee, that can hurt the Hart, Stag, or Red-Deere; if he haue eaten of a Thiſtle or Cardoone, which is called by learned *Pliny*, *Cynara*. The Dragon, by feeding on wilde Lettice, purgeth and cureth any harme receiued. It hath beene daily obſerued, that Dogges, by eating on an Hearbe, which

Wilde Marierome, good againſt poyſon

Rew or hearb Grace.

Iuy, or Ale-Hoofe.

Iuyce of Fennell, for the eye-ſight.

How the Adder cleareth his eye-ſight.

Ants a purge for Beares.

Plin. in lib. 8.

Wild-Lettice

which *Pliny* ſaith he knew no name of (though others haue tearmed it Dog-graſſe, or Knot-graſſe) haue prouoked themſelues to vomit, and ſo cleanſed their ſtomackes, when they haue been very ſickly. Ringdoues or Woodculuers, Iayes, Mearles, or Black-Birds, & Partridges, do vſe the leaues of Laurell or Bayes for their purging. Other Pidgeons, Turtles, and Fowles, to purge themſelues; doe take *Pellitories*, which *Pliny* calleth *Helxine*, which is an hearb that groweth vpon wals. Drakes, Mallards, Wild-geeſe, and other Fowles of Riuers or waters, do ſerue themſelues alſo for their health, with an hearb called *Sideritis* or *Feuerfew*. Cranes and ſuch like Birds, make vſe of Mariſh-Ruſhes.

Dog-graſſe, or Knotgraſſe

Laurell or Bayes.

Patitarie, or Pellitory of the Wall.

Sideritis, or Feuerfew.

Ibis a Bird of Egypt.

The Bird named *Ibis*, when ſhe feeleth her ſelfe not well diſpoſed; purgeth her body by the meanes of her owne beake or bill, with Water comming forth of her lower parts. And *Pliny* ſaith, that (by this Bird) men learned how to remedy themſelues by Gliſters. When a Dog doth receiue any wound whatſoeuer, if hee can reach thereto with his tongue; he hath no better meanes then licking the ſore, and ſo helpeth himſelf. When the Panther (which *Anicenne* calleth a Leopard) hath fed on a venomous hearb, named * *Pardalianches*: he recouereth himſelfe, by eating the dung or excrements of men. Which being knowne to Huntſ-men, they conuay it into a veſſell (apt for the purpoſe) and hang it on the higheſt branch of a Tree, where the Panther ſtaying, and labouring by hopefull meanes how to get it; the Huntſmen haue opportunity to kill him. *Ariſtotle* writeth hereof, and *Pliny* much more amply then he; ſo doth *Albertus Magnus*. And *Pliny* ſaith moreouer, that by the meere enſtructions of theſe Creatures: men both haue, and may learne to auoyd many perils; yea, and death ſometimes. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *when any houſe is in danger of falling, Rats and Mice doe get them gone, and quite forſake it*; declaring to men, that they ſhould do the like. Spiders alſo do ſhun all ſuch wals as run to ruine, or are like to be ouerthrowne. Whereto he addeth; *That Swallowes will neuer ſtay, or build their neſts, in places ruinous, or ready to fall.*

Plin. in Lib. 8.

A kind of *Aconitum*, called Leopards-bane.

Ariſt. in lib. Anim.
Plin. in lib. 6.
Albert. Mag. in Lib. de Anim.

Rats & Mice.

Spyders.

Swallowes.

CHAP. XVI.

Of many Beaſtes and other Creatures, that (by meere inſtinct of nature) haue fore-knowledge of things to happen afterward. And that diuers little Creatures, haue cauſed ſome Countries to be deſolate and vninhabited.

NOt onely the natural inſtinct of ſome beaſtes, hath been ſufficient for vs, in giuing vs knowledge, concerning the innated properties of diuers thinges, and what vſe or ſeruice we might make alſo of them, either for Phiſick, Medicines, or otherwiſe: but many more of them beſide, as well earthy as ayry, haue knowledge of the mutation of times, and when any rough winds, raines, tempeſts, or fair weather ſhall enſue, and thereof doe deliuer apparant ſignes to men, euen as true predictions. For example, when Sheep do mount and skip about the fielde, as ſeeming very iocond and merry; it prognoſticateth immediat raine. The like is declared to vs by the Oxe or Bullocke; when he licketh himſelfe againſt the haire; and lifteth vp his Noſe towardes Heauen; or loweth and ſnuffeth on the ground, ſtriuing to feed ouer-haſtily, & more then he was wont to doe. When the Ewe diggeth the ground with her foot; and Goats, when they ſleepe too nere one another; when Ants alſo walk the thickeſt, and more then in vſuall numbers, meeting together confuſedly, all theſe are manifeſt ſignes of raine. If Lyons diſlodge themſelues, out of one Countrey into another; it is a certaine ſigne, that the yeare following ſhall be droughty. *Ælianus* writeth of the Goats of *Lybia*, that they knew the comming of the Caniculer or Dog-daies, and declare both by ſmell and ſhew, when it is likeſt to raine. When Wolues are noted to enter houſes, to walk on ploughed Lands, or approch neere to people; it is ſaid, that they doe it, to ſhun ſome great tempeſt neere at hand.

The rare intelligence & vnderſtanding in many Creatures.

The skipping of ſheep.

The licking of Oxen, and noſing the ayre.

Ewes, Goats, and Antes.

Diſlodgings of Lyons from one Ioyle to another.

The Goats of *Lybia*.

Wolues walks

Fiſhes alſo haue wonderfull proper-

Dolphines playing in the water, and troubling the water.

ties, in knowing & expreſſing the changes of times. When Dolphines leap and play in the ſeas, diſcouering themſelues aboue the Water: it is then ſaide, that great winds will ariſe from thoſe parts, whence the Dolphines ſeeme to come. And when they trouble the water, and but bath or beat themſelues therein; it is a ſigne of ſerenity, calme and faire weather. When the Frog is heard ſinging loudeſt, and more ſtrongly then his wont: it is a plaine ſhew of raine and tempeſt. Birds likewiſe are not voyd of this priuiledge, for wee can ſpeake as much, or rather more of them (to this purpoſe) then of all the Beaſts. When the watery Foules do leaue the Sea, & enter farre vpon the Land, it is a ſigne of ſtormes, raine, and tempeſts. If Cranes fly in the ayre & make no noiſe; it preſageth fair weather. But if they cry, and fly out of order; then looke for the contrarie. When the Crow flyeth directly towardes the Sea; it prognoſticateth raine, as alſo when ſhe keepeth ſtill on the Sea ſhoare, in melancholly manner, and her notes are ſorrowfull. If the Owle ſing (after her manner) in rainy weather, it denoteth a ſuddaine change to faire breaking vp: but if ſhe ſing in calme and ſweete weather, it is an immediate ſigne of raine. *Plutarch* ſaith, that when the Crowes notes come from a hoarſe voyce, and he flappeth or beateth his Winges; it is a ſigne of winds and tempeſts. The ſame is alſo to be gathered, if when the Sun is low declining into the weſt, Rauens, Crowes and Pyes flocking together, do ſing, mount and fly vp towards heauen, and then deſcend downe againe, renewing their former notes: theſe are ſaide to be predictions of cold and windie raines. The congreating of many white Fowles iogether, doth ordinarily proceede from ſome great tempeſts and ſtormes.

The Frogges ſinging.

Of Sea Fowls comming on Land.

Cranes flying in the Ayre.

The Crow fly ing to the ſea.

The Owles ſing.

The Crowes hoarſe note.

Rauens, Crowes, and Pyes flocking together.

White Foules aſſembling to gether.

When Houſhold Poultry, as Cocks, Capons, Hennes, &c. doe beate their Wings, and mount vp, (merily chattering or reioycing) it is an euident teſtimony, that they feele winde and raine approaching. When the Larke ſingeth very early in the morning, and Duckes doe willingly bath themſelues, with picking, imping, and pruning their Feathers with their billes; it is a relation of wind and tempeſts. When the Swallowes flye ſo neere vnto the Water, that they ſeeme to ſmite it with their Winges; it fore-telleth raine preſently to follow.

Our houſhold Poultry.

The Larkes early ſinging, and Duckes bathing.

Swallows flying neere the Water.

Ælianus affirmeth, that the Snite knoweth the waxing and waining of the Moone. But gentle Friends, I feare I haue beene too vnſeaſonable in the precedent examples, therefore I will ceaſe any further purſuite in that kind: but will now ſpeake of certaine Beaſts, which haue expelled and driuen people out of their Countries and dwellings; yet being no Creatures of hugeneſſe or ſtature, but very weake, little and ſmally regarded. *Ælianus* writeth (to this purpoſe) concerning diuers places in *Italy*, where mighty multitudes of Rats, made ſuch ſpoile and deſtruction of the Roots of Trees, Hearbes, and Graſſe: that the Inhabitants (not knowing how to kil or ſpoile them) endured extream famine, and were enforced to forſake the Country. *Marcus Varro* teſtifieth, that a great Towne in *Spaine*, beeing builded in a ſandy ground, was ſo delued and vndermined by Conies: that in the end it ſunke, and was quite ruined, to the great danger of the people.

Beaſts expelling men fró their habitations.

Rats compelled men to fly their country.

A Towne vndermined by Conies.

Nor haue theſe things happened only in firme and maine Land; but alſo in Iſlands enuironed with the Sea, where both Rats and Mice haue ſo aboundantly ſwarmed, and with ſuch vnreſiſtable boldneſſe: that the Inhabitants haue bin glad to ſaue themſelues by flight. Hereof beareth teſtimony *Gyarus*, or *Gyara*, one of the Iſles of *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*, in the *Ægæum* ſea; which (by the means of this vermin) became vtterly deſolate, and no way habitable. The ſame Authors doe further report, that there was a Towne in *France*, which alſo fell into ruine and diſpeopling, thorow the ouer-abounding of Frogs and Toades. The like chance happened in *Affrica*, by Locuſtes, or Graſhoppers. *Theophraſtus* recordeth another Countrey, which was vninhabitable by Caterpillers. Another Prouince in *Lybia*, all the men were thence expulſed by Lyons. Now, wee hold it no great diſparagemẽt, for men to be ſurmoũted by lions, when humaine weakneſſe is ſufficientlie declared, by that which *Pliny* reporteth, concerning a Prouince on the limits

Iſlands ſwarming with Rats & Mice.

Frogges and Toades deſtroyed a Towne in France.

The like done by Caterpillers.

Plin. in lib. 9.

limits of *Ethyopia*, where Antes, Scorpions, and other little Wormes, such as the * Palmer Worme, were the meanes of exiling thence all the dwellers.

*A Worme with manie feete, called in Latine *Bruchus*, or *Campe*.

*Flies also forced the Inhabitantes of *Megara* in *Greece*, to leaue their Countrey: And Waspes did the like to the *Ephesians*. *Anthenor* writing of the Isle of *Crete* (with whom also ioyneth *Ælianus*) saith, that a great multitude of Bees, chased al the dwellers out of a City, and vsed their Houses in stead of Hiues. Manie other like strange things haue happened in the Worlde, which are to bee read in ancient Historie.

Of Waspes & Bees.

CHAP. XVII.

The subtle and ingenious deuise of Archimides *the Phylosopher, to know thereby, how much Siluer was mingled with Gold, in a Crowne of Gold (by a Golde-Smith) without any breach or iniurie done to the Crowne in the triall.*

The great skil of *Archimedes*.

HIstorians haue declared themselues, to be neuer slack or weary, in reporting the ingenious inuentions of spirite, and great skil of *Archimedes* the Syracusan, but especially, in Astrology and Geometry. Among all which, I purpose to relate a verie singuler conceit, notably deuised by himselfe, according as it is reported by *Vitruuius*. This Phylosopher liued in *Syracusa*, a Citty of *Sicily*, at such time as *Hieron* raigned there, a verie rich King, & highly beloued of the *Romans*.

Rich *Hieron* k. of Sicily, did make a crown of Golde for his Gods.

In the second warre of *Carthage*, this King caused a Crowne of Golde to bee made by a Goldsmith, which was a verie excellent Worke-man, because hee had made a promise thereof to his Goddes, and Religion bounde him to the performance. After that the fashion, price, & value was agreed on, which indeede was great: the King commaunded so much Gold to be deliuered to the Workman, according as he purposed the iust weight of the Crowne. With great ingenuitie and admirable skill, the Goldsmith made this goodly Crowne, and of the same Gold which had been deliuered him: neuertheless, like a cunning and crafty deceiuer, hee had falsifyed it, by intermedling some quantity of Siluer among the Golde.

The Goldesmith falsified the Crowne with Siluer.

The Crowne beeing thus finished, it was presented to the King, who causing it to bee waighed, and finding his full waight, was well contented, and thoroughly satisfied the Workeman for his paines. But being (within a while after) certified, that there was a suspition of some Siluer to be mingled among the Gold: the King grew exceeding desirous to knowe what quantity of Siluer there might be, yet without defacing or breaking the Crowne.

Archimedes being a man of no meane esteeme in that Countrey, made tender of his seruice (in this case) to the King, & the whole trust and charge thereof was reposed in him. Sitting alone by himselfe, studying by what meanes he might best accomplish this difficult triall: it chaneed, that his Bath stood readie prepared by him; for they held it as a religious custome, to cleanse and wash their bodies, before they enterprized on any doubtful occasions.

Archimides vndertaketh the Crowns triall.

As he entered into his Bathing Tub, which was full of Water, he considered (as Learned men doe hardly omitte anie thing, without obseruation) that so much Water did ouerflow the Tub, as his bodie had emptied in place thereof. Making vse of this conceite in further iudgement and vnderstanding, hee departed thence ioyfully; assuring himselfe, that he had found what he sought for.

He findeth out his meane of trial very strangely.

Heereupon, he caused two Ingots to be made of equall waight; the one being of Golde, and the other of Siluer; & the ponderousnesse of each Ingot, was equal to that of the Crowne. Afterward, he had a Vessell made for him of sufficient greatnesse, apt and correspondent to his owne intention, which he filled with water, and then did put therein to the Ingot of Siluer: when presently came foorth of the Vessell so much water, as else would haue supplied the Ingots place. Now, to knowe what quantity of water this ouerflowing amounted vnto, subtilly he took forth the Ingot, and by another Vessel or Measure for the purpose, he kept iust ac-

The manner how he made his experiment by Ingots of Golde and Siluer.

count

count of ſo much Water, as then did fill vp the veſſell againe. So by this account and meaſure (for he well vnderſtood the Ingots waight) hee knew what quantitie of Water, the marke or waight of Siluer had ſent out of the veſſell, by meanes of the reſt remaining ſtill in it, and by the poize of the Ingot.

His valewing of the waters ouer-flow.

When he had made this eſtimation, perſwading himſelfe, the mark or waight of the Siluer, ſupplied the roome of ſo many meaſures of water, he would then make the like proofe of the Gold, which was of anſwerable poize to that of ſiluer. But there iſſued not forth any ſuch ſtore of water, as formerly did, when the Ingot of Siluer was in the ſame place, although they were both equall in waight: becauſe that (as euery man knoweth) the anſwerable weight of Gold doth not fill vp ſo much ſpaciouſneſſe as that of Siluer; and therefore, it ſheddeth the leſſe water.

Triall made of the water, by both the Ingots.

After he had taken forth the Gold, he filled the Veſſell by the ſame meaſure, as he formerly did to the poize of Siluer, & in counting the meaſures as they were put in, he alſo kept iuſt reckoning, howe much water each mark or waight of gold & ſiluer, had truly deliuered out. Which being done, keeping ſtil in memory both the meaſures, he tooke the Crown made by the Goldſmith, containing the ſame weight with either of the Ingots of Gold and Siluer; and putting it into the veſſel, the water ouer-flowed according to the greatneſſe thereof.

Triall made by the crown it ſelfe in the water.

Heereupon, hee tooke it out agayne, and meaſured the Water, which ſufficed not to fill vp the veſſell. And ſo he found, that it had throwne forth more Water, then the Ingot of Gold had done, & leſſe then the Ingot of Siluer: wherby he perceiued, how much there wanted in iuſt poize, to make each meaſure meete and anſwereable to the other; whereupon he began to make his account in this manner.

In what manner *Archimedes* made his valewation, by trial of the Crowne, and both the Ingots.

This Crowne did eiect forth ſo manie veſſels full of Water, more then the Ingot of Gold hath done: then conſequently, there is as much Siluer mingled with the Gold in the Crowne, as it hath caſt or thrown out more Water then the Ingot of Gold did, which is eaſie to be vnderſtood. For, if the Crowne had bin intirely all Gold, it would haue emptied no greater a quantity of water out of the veſſell, then the Ingot of Gold did: but becauſe it hath caſt forth more, that more giueth plainly to bee knowne, that ſubſtaunce which it hath of Siluer mingled with it. For we know very wel, that two Ingots (conſiſting of one weight, and of one ſelfeſame Mettall) muſt neceſſarilie be of a like bodie and quantity; & therefore, beeing put into a Veſſell full of water, they muſt voide out a like quantitie of Water; in regarde, that two bodyes cannot be in one and the ſame place. But by putting the body of the Golde or of the Siluer into the water, the water muſt needs voide out, and yeelde them place; and ſo much the greater the bodie is, ſo much the more water it emptieth forth. And hence it enſueth, that the Crowne ſent out more Water, then the Ingot of Golde; becauſe the Crowne made vſe of the place with equall poize.

Conſideration of the Crowne, by the Ingot of Gold.

Verily, this inuention of *Archimides*, was ſubtle and ingenuous; albeit manie other thinges (of much greater importance) were found out by the ſpirite and induſtry of this man. And ſuch as are deſirous to know more ſinguler matters concerning him: let them read *Plutarch* in the life of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Titus Liuius*, in the fourth and fifte Bookes of the third Decade. Where they ſhall find, that the Engines and frames onely, made by the inuention of *Archimedes*, were ſufficient (for long time) to defend *Syracuſa* againſt the *Romaines*. And amongſt other thinges, recitall is made, that no ſtrength of men, beeing able (with infinit Inſtruments) to draw a great Ship out of the Water, *Archimedes* onely brought it foorth, euen as if it had floated vppon the Sea.

Plut. in Vit. Marc. Marcel. Tit. Liui. in lib. 4. & 5. Dec. 3.

A great Ship brought out of the water by *Archimedes*

While the *Romains* maintained their ſiedge before *Syracuſa*, hee deuiſed ſuch Engines, that by throwing great grapling hookes of Iron from off the Walles, faſt bound by equall counterpoize in the City, he mounted a Gally aloft in the ayre, which deſtroyed and ſunke many men in the Sea. For he could let it fall when hee liſted, and daſh both it ſelfe & other Gallies in pieces: ſo that by this meanes, and other grapling Inſtruments, hee would dragge the enemies Gallies and Shippes ſo powerfully, that they ſhould breake & ſplit themſelues againſt Rockes, they being no way able to make reſiſtance. He framed

A gally mounted aloft in the Ayre, to deſtroy other Shipping.

framed the like Engines vpon the Lande, whereby he could daily destroy manie of the enimies. And such was the bold withstanding, which *Archimedes* performed within the Cittie; that *Marcus Marcellus* (a most excellent Captaine of the Romaines) was enforced to chaunge his course of martiall discipline for assayling the Cittie, because he saw himselfe in verie great perill, and his people in confusion.

Mar. Marcellus a Noble Captaine of the Romanes, enforced to forsake his siege to Syracusa.

For *Archimedes* had thrown such feare and terror among the Romaine soldiers, that when they beheld but some chain or silly beame, descend from off the Cittie Walles, they would runne backe and retire with all possible speede only to auoid the daunger. so highly were they feareful of the Engines and Instruments, daylye deuised and perfourmed by this excellent man.

Cicero attributeth also to this famous Phylosopher, that hee first inuented and made the materiall Spheare, wherein the eye might easily apprehend the motions of all the Planets, with their course, passions, and Aspects. And *Claudian* sayth, that he made one of Christal; which seemeth also to haue beene confessed by *Ouid*. He was no lesse studious & contemplatiue, then learned and skilfull. But at length, when *Syracusa* was surprized and taken by force after so long and admirable resistaunce made by *Archimedes*: *Marcellus* prohibited (vppon paine of death) that no man should be so bolde as to kill him, although hee had beene the death of so many worthy Romains. Neuertheless, a Souldier finding him by chance (and not knowing him) as he was making a figure vpon the ground, the soldier demanded what hee was: but others say, that he commanded him, to go along with him to *Marcellus*. *Archimedes* returning him no answer, either that he would or would not, but was seriously busied in minde about his Circle; and the Soldier growing angry thereat, slewe him; which was verie highly displeasing vnto *Marcellus*, who made him an honorable and worthy Sepulchre.

Cic. in Lib. 1. de Tusculan.

Cla. in Lib. 4. Ouid in lib. 6. de Fast.

Archimedes slaine by a *Roman* soldier and much bemoaned by *Marcellus*.

This is written by *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Titus Liuius*, and *Plutarch*. *Cicero* reputeth it as a great glorie to himselfe, that he found the Graue of *Archimedes*, and maketh high account thereof. For, (saith he) *The spirit and industry of a Learned man, hath much more power then a thousande, thousand ignorant mens.* By the endeuour of Wisemen, fierce and terrible Beasts haue beene made tame; strong things haue beene reduced to weakenes, and weake matters made strong. By them a small number haue beene victorious ouer a great: because a disordered multitude, and without industry, do but breake themselues, and runne vppon their owne ruine.

Cicer. in lib. 1. de Tusculan.

The endeuor and industrie of Wisemen.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the manner, whereby Socrates *perswaded* Alcibiades, *to become an Orator.*

ONE of the verie hardest matters in mine opinion, yet most commendable for a man to haue in himselfe, is to speake in such sorte, that hee may giue occasion thereby, to be listened vnto with heed and attention. For this cause, Orators that spake publickely in elder times, were highly praysed: how much more then beseemeth this excellent quality, in such as are Preachers now adayes? Which beeing well considered by *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, and hee but young in yeares; he durst not make anie publick speech, albeit it was a vsual thing, and necessarie for the cheefest men in the Cittie, amongst which number hee was one.

To speak well and orderly is a difficulte thing.

Alcibiades fearfull to speake in publicke.

The great Phylosopher *Socrates* taking notice therof; and being desirous to giue him encouragement, with perswasion also to become an Orator, hee practised a subtle and cunning meanes, whereby he ouercame such fearefulnesse in him, and the ouer-curious consideration, which preuailed too much with him. For, meeting him one day in the streete, among a great multitude of people of diuerse degrees, he saide vnto him; *Tel me* Alcibiades, *Art thou not affraide to speake before this Cobler?* Whereto hee answered, *No truly* Socrates. Then hee demaunded againe: *Art thou then more timerous, to speake before a Trompet? Shalt thou stand in*

Socrates practiseth to imbolden *Alcibiades* in speaking, by diuers questions.

in more feare of him, then of this man? Alcibiades, said no; and that he ſtoode not in feare to ſpeak before any ſuch people. Then *Socrates* named many other men, who were of trades and mean condition; naming afterward, men of great quality, whereto *Alcibiades* ſtill replyed, that hee durſt ſpeake before euerie one of them.

Socrates his Alluſion vnto his former demands.

Then *Socrates* ſaid vnto him; *The people are compoſed of all ſuch as I haue named vnto thee, and not of any other: and of all theſe, the Athenian Auditorie (where thou oughteſt to ſpeake) doth conſiſt. So then, this auoyding of feare, in ſpeaking from one to one, ſhould take away all terror in thee, of ſpeaking to them when they are aſſembled together: for they which before ſtood deuided a part, are but then vnited in one Congregation.* By which reaſon, *Alcibiades* was conquered; and making due conſideration thereof, hee loſt the falſe feare that before had poſſeſſed him; then making practiſe of this exhortation, hee became afterward a moſt excellent Orator. Whereby may be obſerued, of what value good Councell is, when it is giuen in due time and ſeaſon.

CHAP. XIX.

The beginning, and the cauſes of the Factions of the Guelphes *and the* Gibelines.

IN the time of the Emperor *Frederick*, ſecond of that name and of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, betweene whom was great diſcord & contention: there were two factions of people, in the Citty of * *Piſtorium*, or *Piſtoia* in *Italie*: the one whereof, was called the *Panciatiques*; and the other, the *Chancellers*. Now it fortuned, that two Brethren; the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibeline*, held diuers opinions in this City; whereof ſome followed the one ſide, & others the other. From whence it proceeded, that of theſe two verie famous men, one part began to entitle it ſelfe the *Guelphes*, and the other, the *Gibelines*: And that ſide which was the *Guelphs*, expulſed the *Gibelines* out of the Cittie. And becauſe it was a matter ſomewhat note-worthie, to behold two Brethren of ſuch contrary diſpoſition, each of theſe factions woon the fauour of many neighboring people. So that euen as a contagious Peſtilence, this diuorce of amity, diſperſed it ſelfe by little and little, thorough all *Italy*; and al cauſes and Controuerſies, muſt bee diſcuſſed and diſcided by the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*.

*A Citty in the middle of Tuſcia.

The Original of the Guelphes and the Gibelines.

This fire beeing thus fatally kindled; the Emperour *Frederick*, who was a Capitall enemie to the Pope, beeing at that time in the Cittie of *Piſa*, in the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, and forty: and not knowing which faction woulde be on his ſide; and which would partake with the Pope, made publicke declaration, that he vndertooke the name & part of the *Gibelines*. Which being done, hee managed cruell warre vpon the *Guelphes*; and by reaſon of this open publication, al *Italy* diuided it ſelf into theſe two names; and therby grew great ſcandals and mortalities in euery Citty: yea, euen in perticuler Families, where the Sonne deuided himſelfe from his Father, Brother againſt Brother, Wife againſt her Huſband. Yet vpon no other ground, but becauſe the one affected the *Guelphian* faction, and the other the *Gibeline*, and ſo purſued each the other. It was daily ſeen, that the ſtronger ſide ruined and ouerthrew houſes to the grounde, following ſtill on the weaker, euen to vtter hauocke. and deſtruction: and ſuch was the continuance of this quarrell, as neuer were greater cruelties heard of, betweene the Infidels and Chriſtians, in their greedieſt furies.

The Emperor *Fredericke* enimy vnto the Pope.

Al Italy deuided into the factions of the Guelphes and Gibelins.

Antoninus, Arch-byſhop of *Florence*, writeth; that by theſe factions, fiue and thirtie of the verie woorthieſt houſes in the Cittie of *Florence*, were raced to the earth; and that thoſe contentions were thoroughout all *Italy*. Many people bearing name with the Emperour, expelled the *Guelphes* whereſoeuer they came and the *Gibelines* did the like by them. The greater part of Rome, by taking the Emperors cauſe in hand, had alreadie runne into too much forwardneſſe: which the Pope perceiuing, he made a ſolemn proceſſion, wherein he carried the Keyes of Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paule*, deſiring of God,

Antoninus Arch-Byſhop of *Florence* in his Hiſtory.

A ſolemn proceſſion made in Rome by the Pope, and after an Oration to the people.

God, that this cruelty might bee rooted vp out of mens hearts And after the procession, hee made a publicke Oration to the people, or rather a Sermon, declaring what folly it was, for men so to persecute and kill one another: onely in fauour and affection vnto two perticuler Names, which the Deuill had brought into the field, for the generall spoile and ruine of all *Italy*.

The Emp purposed to destroy all the Guelphian faction.

Moreouer, hee declared manie other things of such great efficacy, as compelled the people to leaue their wilful opinion, & to take part with the Pope against the Emperor *Fredericke*, who was in very good hope to destroy all the *Guelphian* faction. These bleeding woundes (for the sinnes of men) continued too long a time in *Italy*, and was the death of manie thousands of men, beside a great number banished, and greeuously oppressed, infinite faire buildings destroyed, and many goodly houses burned. The Authors that record these thinges, are *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in the thirde part of his Historie, and many other men of great knowledge.

Plat. in vit. Gregor. 9. Anton. Sabel. in par. 3. Hist.

CHAP. XX.

Of the first Martyrs: And of the Persecutions of the Christians.

IESVS Christ our Sauiour came into the world, to instruct men in the truth, as himselfe testifieth in Saint *Iohn*, saying: *For this cause am I come into the World, that I might bear witnesse of the trueth. Whosoeuer is of the truth, heareth my voice.* By these wordes, the Iews conceiued enuy against the son of God, so that they would putte him to death, without any cause of offence. And thus truth begot hatred to men, such as were professours thereof, and for their loue to the truth, they grew to be deadly malliced and persecuted, especially if they did but speake in truths defence. Therefore, the first persecution which Christians suffered, began by the Iewes. For, as the Apostles (following the tracke and steppes of their Maister) proclaimed the word of trueth, and S. *Peter* (more then any of the other) reproued the *Iewes*, because they had killed Christ, and exhorted them therefore to repentaunce: they entered into such violence and fury, that they stoned Saint *Stephen* the Deacon, who (almost two yeares after the Pasion of our Redeemer) disputed in the full Synagogue, against the *Alexandrians*, *Cyreneans*, as also against them of *Cilicia* & *Asia*. Among whom, though manie of them coueted to appeare most learned, yet could they not resist one man onely: but being confounded by Celestial wisedome (wherein the young man was graciously enstructed) they enuironed him with rage and indignation; and hardlie could containe themselues from layeng hands on him, vexing in their hearts, and grinning their teeth against him. But he being full of the Holy-Ghost, hauing his eyes eleuated to heauen, there he beheld the glory of God, and Iesus standing vpon his right hand, whereon he saide; *Behold, I see the Heauens open, and the Sonne of man standing on the right hand of GOD.* Whereat they all cried out aloude, and stopped their eares, and running on him as with one consent, they threwe him forth of the Citty, and stoned him vnto death with stones. Thus S. *Stephen* being the first that publickly defended Christs Religion, was martired, that is to say; bare witnesse or testimony, by torment and death, which hee willingly suffered, only for the Faith of Iesus Christ; for the word Martyre in Greek, signifies a Witnesse. Saint *Iohn the Baptist*, more then a Prophet, and not ignorant in these thinges to come, was the first man slaine for defending the truth; to wit, because hee detested the incestuous marriage of *Herodias*, according as Saint *Luke* saith; or after the saying of *Iosephus*, beecause the number of the people which came vnto him, made *Herod* suspitious of some new Commotions, whereby he feared to lose his Tetrarchs place. In which respect, it may well be said, that S. *Iohn Baptist* was the first Martir. But, as all the Mysteries of our Christian Religion, did receiue beginning at the Pasion of our Sauiour Iesus Christ (according to Saint *Hierom* against *Iouinian*, who saith, *The Gospel also was not before the Crosse of Christ.*) So by this reason, S. *Stephen* the Leuite, of whom

Acts 7, 58.

The extream malice against S. Stephen for the truth.

Acts 7, 56, 57.

The worde Martyre in Greeke expresseth a Witnesse.

S. Iohn Baptist, the first man slaine for the truth.

S. Iohn Baptist, the first Martyr, reputed by some.

Hier. cont. Iouin.

The Iewes enemies to the sonne of God

The first persecutions of christians beganne by the Iewes.

whom we formerly spake) being the first of all Christians that suffered death for the name of Iesus Christ, is held to be the first Martyr.

S. *Cyprian* his words, approuing iust *Abel* to be the first Martyr.

Saint *Cyprian*, deriuing the matter from a much longer continuance, attributeth that degree of Honour to Iust *Abel*, saying; *Most deare Bretheren, let vs follow Abel the Iust, in whom Martyrdome began, when hee was the first slaine for his righteousnesse.* But we discourse heere of the beginning of Martyrs, and the other opinion is the more receyueable.

S. *Peter* & S. *Paul* put vnto death by *Nero*, the second persecution against the Christians.

After Saint *Stephen*, the cruell Emperor *Nero*, vnderstanding that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, preached the Doctrine of the Gospell at *Rome*, labouring to introduce a new kinde of Religion, beeing very wrathfull thereat, he made no long delay, vntill hee hadde put them both to death, which was the second persecution against the Christians: for the first was mooued by the Iewes, as we haue shewn already.

The cruelties of *Nero* to his owne Countrey.

Some neuertheless doe allow this of *Nero* to be the first, as being first begun by Commission from the Emperors: and this wicked man, to make Christians far more odious to the Romaine people, bethought himselfe of such wickednesse as after followed. Hauing exercised all kinds of cruelties, euen as a plague to humain generation, both in refusing to pitty and pardon his owne Countrey, and defacing and depopulating all the auncient buildinges, desiring (as some haue Written) to see a Fire, which might bee like to that of *Troy*; the verie greatest and chiefest part of Rome Citty, hee caused to be burned.

Malicious dealing in *Nero* against the Christians.

This flaming fire, continued the space of sixe dayes, and as many nights, whereby the Temples, houses, and goodes of numberlesse Cittizens, were consumed. And then to set a colour on this impiety, and stand in defence of such a shameless act, he imposed the blame and horror of this ruine, vppon the innocent obseruers of the truth, and produced diuers, falsely to accuse the Christians, to make them culpable of so great a dammage: whereupon, many of them were imprisoned, and some dearely paide the price of their liues. But that the Christians were innocent of such wickednesse, *Cornelius Tacitus*, an enemy to the name of a christian, is constrained to confesse it, where hee saith; *Those men, not so much for the Fires fault, as because they had the hatered of al, were conuinced.*

Corn. Tacitus concerning the christians in their persecution.

Afterward, he saith; *To their Deathes were added slanders and disgraces. They were couered with the skins of diuers wilde Beasts, and then torne in pieces with Dogs. Some others were Crucified; and others, when day light serued not to burne them; they made darke night look like bright day, with the flaming Fires wherein they consumed them.*

The persecutions in the succeeding of the emperors

Domitian ordained (afterwardes) the third persecution against the Christian Church. *Traian* the fourth. *Marcus Antoninus*, *Lucus Aurelius*, and *Commodus* the fift. *Seuerus Pertinax* the sixte, *Maximinus* the seuenth, *Decius* the eight, *Valerian* the ninth, *Aurelianus* the tenth, and *Diocletian* the eleauenth, counting that performed by the Iewes. For, if wee begin with *Neroes* time, then there are but ten in number, according as som Historians haue obserued: and that was the most cruell and longest in continuance, of all the other.

Nero his persecution the cruellest of al the other.

Holy Bookes were burned, Churches raced and ruined. And if any Christian had the dignity or office of a Magistrate, it was taken from him, and beeing depriued thereof, he remained infamous. The seruants that attended vpon Christians, could not bee manumised, that is to say; they could not bee freed, or enioy their liberty, as enfranchised men should doo. In like manner, men of warre, and Christian Soldiers, were compelled to sacrifice to the Heathen Idols, or to lose their liues.

Extreamities inflicted on Christians.

Finally, *Maxentius*, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus*, who ioyntly helde the Empyre with *Constantine*, did very great annoyance to the Christians: but the three first being slaine (as they iustly deserued) *Constantine* remained Emperor alone, who gaue certaine and assured peace vnto the Christians. Which worthy professors, notwithstanding so many great persecutions, & cruell torments inflicted on them by Tyraunt Emperours, neuer failed in their faith, neither regarded the Commands and Menaces of Infidell Princes, but still maintained their Christian Religion; and chearefully (for Gods cause) yeelded their bodies to whatsoeuer Torments were prepared for them, to the end, that they might winne the perpetu-

The emperor *Constantine* gaue peace to the christians

all

all Crowne of glory, and beare in theyr hands the Palmes of Martyrdome. For as the Apoſtle ſaieth, *Hee that hath not fought couragiouſly, ſhal not bee Crowned.* Ephes. 6, 16. Our Sauiour alſo giueth vs the ſame verie ſame counſell, when he ſaith: *If anie man wil come to me, he muſt deny himſelfe, and take vp his Croſſe, and follow me.* Math. 10, 38. Like Wages is promiſed vnto ſuch as followe him, where he ſaith; *Hee that looſeth his life for my ſake, ſhall finde it.* Math. 10, 39. Seeing then, that the entrance into Heauen, muſt bee thorowe many aduerſities and tribulations, true Chriſtians ought patiently to endure all iniuries and opprobious ſpeeches, for the name of the Sonne of God, and account themſelues happie therein: for by them the way to eternall glorie is laide open.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ſuch men and Nations, as haue been reputed to bee the firſt Inuenters and deuiſers of diuers things.

THe *Lydians* a people of *Aſia*, inuented the ſportes or Games of the Cheſſe-play, the Dice, and the Tennis; wherupon *Rhodiginus* ſaith, *Ludi a Lydis videri poſſunt appellati.* The Egyptians found out the burning of Lampes. And *Anacharſis* of *Scythia*, deuiſed the Bellowes, wherewith to kindle fire. *Pyrrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, was the firſt that had Couriers, Poſts, or ſwift riders. For, as hee had three Armies in diuerſe parts of the world; and himſelfe remayned continually in the Cittie of *Tarentũ*, he would haue newes from *Rome* in one day; out of *France* in two dayes; out of *Germany* in three dayes; and out of *Aſia* in fiue dayes; yea, and that in ſuch manner, as his tydings ſeemed rather to flye, then brought on rode waies.

The Lydians.

The Egyptians.

Anacharſis of Scythia.

Pyrrhus K. of Epyre.

Meſſages by Poaſts.

The firſt inuenter of Inke to write withall.

The firſt Inke wherewith our elders vſed to Write, was made of a certayne Fiſh, called *Xibia* or *Xiphia*: which afterwardes they conuerted to blacke colour: then to a Vermillion; next to Azure, and at length compounded it with Gum Arabick, Gaules, Vitrioll, and Wine; or rather water. The firſt Bolters for meale, or Searces of haire, had their beginning in *Fraunce*: and *Spaine* yeelded the firſt Siues.

Bolters and Searces.

Praxiteles was the firſt Inuenter of the Looking-Glaſſe, which was then called the Siluer Glaſſe, in the time of *Pompey* the Great: but it is not certainly known, who deuiſed the Glaſſes of Steele, Iron, Lead, Chriſtall, and of other commixed matters. *Ceres* found out Corne, and enſtructed the maner alſo, how to kneade, molde, and make Bread. To her is aſcribed likewiſe, the making of Wicker Baſkets, or Panniers of Oſiers. *Pleaſippus* gaue firſt inſtruction for making of hollow Tunnes, or Veſſelles of Woodde, which now a-dayes are called Caske. *Medea* inuented the meanes to colour Weomens haire; and *Abatis* to poule or cut the haire, when it grewe too long. The *Thebanes* deuiſed Hunting. *Rhecus* and *Theodorus* of *Samia*, were the inuenters of melting and Caſting of Mettalles, whereof they made Images or Statues to the Goddes.

Looking glaſſes.

Corne and bread.

Baskets of Oſiers.

Tuns or caſk.

Colored hair.

Hunting.

Melting Mettals.

The *Curetes* in the Iſle of *Negropont*, (who were the *Corybantes*, *Sybils* Prieſts, and *Idæi Dactyli*) found out Iron & ſteel, wherewith they made Cuyraſſes, Corcelets, Targets, and other defenſiue Ornaments for the body. *Cacus* was the firſt Theefe knowne to bee in *Italy*. *Arachne* of *Colophonia*, found out the vſe of Linnen, and to ſpin thread: And *Cloſterius* (ſaide to be her ſonne) deuiſed the Spindle for Wooll. *Pamphyla*, a Grecian Ladie, was the firſt that gathered Cotton from off old Shrubbes, hanging looſely thereon. And hauing waſhed and Combed it, faſtened it on a Diſtaffe, and ſo ſpunne it, enſtructing afterwarde how to weare it for cloath.

Cuiraſſes, corſlets, Targets &c.

Spinning linnen & wollen

Spinning cotton Wooll.

Erichthonius the Athenian, found out the meanes how to make Horſſes drawe Chariots or Coaches. *Iupiter* inuented the Militarie or Warlicke Enſigne, making it of Red colour, wherein was alſo figured an Eagle. And our ancient Forefathers, inſtead of Enſigns did bind bundles or handfuls of Hearbes vppon long Poles, which in *Latine* were called *Manipuli*; and they that carried them, were tearmed *Manipulares*.

Chariots or Coaches.

Enſignes for war, & what was vſed inſted of them.

In the time of *Auguſtus*, there was one named *Hoſtius*, who made Mirrours or Looking-Glaſſes in ſuch ſtrange maner,

Strange Looking Glasses, delivering as strange representations.

that they presented any thing to seeme much greater then it was; for a mans finger would therein appeare to bee as long and great as the measure of his arme. Another made a Glasse likewise, wherein a man might behold another mans figure, and not his owne. He made some beside of such quality, as being set in an vncertaine place, nothing at all would bee discerned: but being brought thence, many semblances might be discouered. He had one Glasse perticulerly, which woulde shew all shapes the wrong way, or vpside downward; and one thing also shoulde seeme in many formes. Diuers other things might heere be spoken of: but because their very best is but idle and vaine, I am the more willing to ouerslip them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of manie Famous and Woorthy men, that haue contemned and despised Riches.

WE read of diuers illustrious and great personages, that neglected and made no account at all of Riches: but they of most honor and renowne, were *Valerius Publicola*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and the most iust *Aristides*. All these men dying, were buried with the money of the publicke purse, in regarde of their pouertie and lacke of wealth. After the death of *Epaminondas*, whose victories were so famous, and spoiles so manie by him atchieued, there was no other moueable found in his house, but onlie the Iron head of a Launce. This was the man, that refused two * thousande Crownes, which *Iason* (a Prince of *Thessalie*, and a Confederat with the *Thebans*) sent him as a guift. But hee rather affected, to borrow of a Cittizen of *Thebes*, fiftie Drachmaes of Siluer (which could be of no greater value then fiue crownes) to maintaine himselfe in the voyage and expedition which hee had vndertooke, and with so small store of money, hee entered in Armes into *Peloponnesus*. Afterward, *Artaxerxes* the great King of *Persia*, sent him thirtie thousand pieces of Golde, of his money called * *Daricks*: In regard whereof, he grew verie seuearelie angry with *Diomedes Cyzicenus*, saying vnto him: *Hast thou dared to enterprize so long a Nauigation, as hoping to corrupt* Epaminondas? *Returne againe, and say to thy King, that for as much as he would giue to purchase the good and welfare of the Thebanes, he shall haue mee as his friend, without any of this cost: but in seeking to do thē wrong and iniurie, tell him, I am his chiefest enemy.*

Val. Publicola. Menen. Agrip. Aristides iustus.

Bap. Fulgos. in lib. 4. cap. 4

Iustin. in lib 6. Plut. in Apoth.

**Erasmus* saith 100 crownes, for victuall & prouisions fit for his armie.

**An auncient Coine, with the Image of Darius on it.*

Epaminondas to Diomedes Cyzicenus.

After that *Marcus Curius*, Consull of Rome, had ouercome the *Samnites* in battaile; Ambassadours were sent from them, who brought him a great quantity of Gold and Siluer, as a gift; yet finding him sitting by a Fires side, scraping, and putting roots into a pot, that they might seeth for his Dinner; and to them hee returned this answere: *Beare all this Golde and Siluer backe with yee, and bestow it on such Captaines, as scorne to dresse their own dinners in earthen vessels: For, I desire no greater riches, then to be the Lorde of such Plate, and the possessions within them.* As if he would haue saide; Hee that contenteth himselfe with such a dinner, hath nothing to do either with Golde or Siluer. But, in commanding ouer such as haue them, they seeme thinges more great and honourable, then if hee himselfe had them.

M. Curius conquering the *Samnites*.

His answer to the Ambassadors.

The Application.

Of this Honourable Band were *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Paulus Emilius*, *Phocion*, *Attilius Regulus*, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, *Fabritius*, *Sextus Emilius*, *Carus* & *Marcus Manlius*. *Abdolominus*, being created King of the *Sydonians*, immediatly refused the Kingdome: as knowing verie well, what trauailes and troubles were hidden & enclosed, vnder the vain splendor of wealth and riches.

A band of Riches scorners.

Abdolonius K. of the Sydonians.

The Poet *Anacreon* in like manner, hauing receiued (as a guift) from *Polycrates* the tyrant of the *Samians*, fiue hundered Attique Talents, continued two Dayes and two Nightes, without anie sleepe. At length, to free himselfe from the Torment whereinto this present had brought him, hee re-deliuered the guifte backe vnto the Tyraunt, with Wordes well beseeming so fayre a minde, in so meane a Fortune to make such a refusall.

The Poet *Anacreon*, & *Polycrates* the tyrant.

Seneca vsed to say, *Hee was a great man, that made imployment of earthen vessels*

The saying of *Seneca*.

sels, as if they were of Siluer: but much greater is that man whosoeuer, that vseth Siluer, as if it were earth. Crates the *Thebane* Phylosopher, at his departing from *Athens*, to followe his studie in Phylosophy, threw all his substance of Gold and Siluer into the Sea, holding it for an infallible Maxime, that hee could not possesse Vertue and Riches together. The like did *Socrates*.

Crates the Phylosopher of *Thebes*.

The Inhabitants of the Islands *Baleares*, would neuer haue any Golde, Siluer, Silkes, nor precious Stones to bee seene in their Countreyes. Whereby such happinesse befell them, that for the space of foure hundered yeares, in all which time, they had warres with the *Romains*, *Carthagenians*, *Gaules*, and *Spaniards*, yet not any one of these nations euer stirred, to go make a Conquest of those Countreyes, because they knew assuredly, that they hadde neyther Golde or Siluer to make pillage of, and bring away with them.

The dwellers in the *Baleares* Islandes had neither Gold nor Siluer.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Sentence or Verdict of Apollonius Thyaneus, *against an Eunnuch to the King of* Babylon, *who was found somwhat too familiar, with one of the kings faire fauourites.*

Apollonius in his Booke of Hierogliphical letters, writeth; That when the Egyptians woulde make a representation of loue, they did set down the figure of a grin or snare: onely because (as I thinke) it conducteth vs daily to a most miserable condition. *Philostratus* writeth, that in the time of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, an Eunnuche was found in loue pleasures (as his abilitie would permit him) with one of the Concubines to the King of *Babylon*, the veriefairest and best beloued beyonde all the other. Being take in the act, he was dragd (by the haire) out of the *Serralia*, from the other Women, by his Eunuchs, and brought before the King. To whom, the most ancient of the Eunuches declared, that he had found by heedfull obseruation, how the Eunuch was become amorous of the Woman, and thereof had giuen him admonishment, that he shold not speake to her, nor (in anie manner whatsoeuer) touch her necke, breasts, or hands, and abstaine also from helping to put on her Garments. All which notwithstanding, he had beene now surprized in bed with her, and found in performing the veneriall act.

How the Egyptians figured Loue.

Phil. in vit. Apol. Thyan. lib. 1 Cap. 23.

The *Serraglia* is the place for the Concubines of the King.

The King waxing extreame angrie at this report, turned himselfe towardes *Apollonius Thyaneus* (who was at that time in his Court) saying: What punishment do you deeme fittest for me, to inflict vpon this Villaine? Whereto *Apollonius* answered: *It is enough (O King) to let him liue*. How! (replied the King, as ashamed of this answere) doo not you iudge him worthy of many cruell deaths, that dared so boldly to violate my bed? *My answere* (quoth *Apollonius*) *doth not imply any pardon to bee graunted to him, but rather to lay the heauier torments on him, by suffring him to liue. For, so long as he shall remaine aliue, he must abide infinite afflictions, too sharpe and difficult for him to endure. Hee shall not be able to eate or drinke, to receiue any pleasure in shewes, sports, or Pastimes, which easily may delight both you & yours. His heart will faile him oftimes, his dreams and sleepes wil be gastly and fearefull, such as are saide (most especially) to pursue amorous persons. Then neuer doubt Sir, but loue wil force him to feele most bitter and insupportable Martyrdomes. For like vnto the silly Fly, the miserable man wil follow both Fire and death, and yet at an instant, both life and death shal appeare most hateful vnto him.* Such was the answere of *Apollonius*, which the King found to bee so wise and pleasing, that being thereby perswaded, the Eunuch enioyed the benefite of life.

The disseased heareth aduise for the Eunuchs punishment of *Apol. Thyaneus*.

The answere of *Apollonius*.

The Eunuch permitted to inioy his life.

And to speake vprightly, Loue is an extreame passion, a meere fury or madnesse in a Woman, and a quenchlesse heate in a young man, whose vttermost refuge is death onely. And for this cause, *Epitetus* among other definitions which he made of death, called it, *Numen Amãtum*, because Louers do oftentimes call death to helpe them, and seeme as if they would run willingly thereto, as vnto their surest Anker-hold, as another saith. Who is it but knoweth that loue took away the

Epitetius in his cõference with the Emperor *Adrian* of long life.

Examples of loues violēce in diuers.

sences of Wise *Salomon*, and made him violate the Sacred Lawe? Loue mooued *Biblis* to be enamored on her owne Brother *Caunus*; and *Pasiphae* with a Bull. Of manie other inconueniences Loue hath been the only cause. But to come again to our precedent purpose. Some few dayes before this disaster happened to the Eunnuch, *Apollonius* (who had made some obseruation thereof) fell into discourse with his companion *Damis*, concerning the power and ability of Eunuches, in the acte of venery, beginning thus.

The Authour returneth to his matter, concerning Eunuches.

A conference betweene *Apollonius* and his friend *Damis*, of Eunuchs abilitie in venery.

Friend *Damis*, I am now considering with my selfe, what reason barbarous nations haue, to imagine modesty in their Eunuchs, & to make vse of their seruice waiting on their Wiues? I thinke (aunswered *Damis*) the cause is cleare and manifest; yea, euen to a childe. For after their spermaticke Vessells are cut away, which inciteth carnall embracing and action, they may be permitted to keep their Wiues, and are expressely employed in that charge, euen as if they suffered them to lodge in bed with them. You conceit then (replied *Apollonius*) that the power of affecting and knowing Women carnally, is by that meanes quite taken from them? Both the one and other answered *Damis*, in regard, that if the part be taken from them, whereby the body is prouoked vnto the acte of *Venus*, I am of the minde, that they cannot haue any inclination to loue.

The power of affecting, and carnally knowing.

You haue a present testimony (answered *Apollonius*) that Eunuchs can and do loue; and that desire which is introduced by the eye, cannot be quenched in them, but continueth still hot and vigorous in the body: and many things may be alledged, whereby your reasons will be easily confuted. If there do consist any such Art in man, as can gouerne and expell such desires and affections out of the minde: it appeareth then to me, that Eunuchs shold not by any probable reason, bee reckoned or admitted in the number of chaste and temperate men. For, you hold those men to bee wholly depriued of Loue, as constrained thereto, by such an act of violence done on them. Whereas the Office of temperance is, that hee which coueteth, affecteth, or desireth, should not be surmounted or ouercome by lasciuious affections and Concupiscences: but wholly for to abstaine from them, and not to bee vanquished by any greefe or passion, which induceth desire to the matter coueted or affected. All this is saide by *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*. But if the Eunuches thorough defect of the Instruments of generation, haue not the power to engender, and to auoyde foorth seede: yet notwithstanding, they are manie time ouercomes with heates, and striue with themselues, both to know and to abuse women, euen as wee do oftentimes behold, that Geldings wil offer to leape and couer Mares.

Of the desires & affections of the minde.

The Law and office of temperance.

Phil. in vit. Apol. Thyan. Lib. 1. Cap. 23.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *An excellent and memorable example of Continencie, in the famous Prince* Frances Sforza.

I AM loath to omit a verie singuler example of continencie, in the most honourable and worthy Prince, *Frances Sforza*, well deseruing to bee compared with those of *Alexander* the Great, and warlicke *Scipio*. He being Coronell Generall of the *Florentines*, at such time as *Casanoua Chasteau* and *Forteresses des Luquois*, was surprized by force of Armes. During the sacke of that small Cittie, certaine of his Soldiers had taken a young married woman prisoner, of admirable beautie and faire perfections. As they drew her forcibly out of her house, she cried to them, that she would submit her selfe vnto the Count *Frances*, and not vnto any other. They that thought to haue made vse of her for themselues, hearing her voluntary Challenge, and dreading the displeasure of the Count, made no long delay, but forthwith brought her before him. The Coronell *Sforza*, who in regarde of his youths verdure, sweet disposition & complexion of body, was much addicted to carnall pleasures, albeit he was violently surprized with the young Womans rare

Frances Sforza the Count, Coronell of the *Florentines*

The young Woman was brought before Count *Frances*.

rare beautie: yet notwithstanding, hee demanded of her, whither shee woulde more willingly yeeld her self to him, then remaine in their power that had taken hir as their prize? Whereto the young woman answered, that shee would alwayes be ready to obey his will, prouided, that he should deliuer her out of their hands, that then detained her as their prisoner. Heereupon, Count *Sforza* commanded that she should be carried to his Tent.

A second demand of the Count to the faire young woman.

Night being come, before hee would go to bed, he demanded of her againe, if hir former resolution did yet hold or no, or whether she had changed her purpose? Whereto she answered, that shee helde the same opinion which shee did before. Which when the Count perceiued, he commanded her to prepare her selfe, for shee should lodge with him that Night. She was no sooner entered into his bed, but espying the picture of the virgin *Mary* (which the Count both in custom and Deuotion, had alwayes hanging as a fair Table in his Tent) beeing stroken full of feare and shame, weeping incessantly, & kneeling with great reuerence, she vttered these words to the Count. *My Lord I beseech yee, for that Holy Virgines sake, whose remembrance and figure is heere fixed before vs, that you would bee pleased to preserue my Chastity, and by your clemencie to restore me, not polluted but vnstayned, to my late married Husband, who is among the rest of your prisoners. And although I made ye promise to submit my selfe to your will, and am heere subiected to your pleasure: yet no other respect moued mee thereto, but onely to be freed from them, vvho doubtlesse would haue rauished mee. And in regard of the Iustice and pietie, that I haue often heard to be alwayes in you, those vertues are my firme hope and perswasion, that I shal (by you) be defended from al shame & violence.*

The speeches of the young woman vnto Count Sforza being in his bed.

A rare testimony of continency, both for time, place & oportunity.

These words, accompanied with floudes of teares, which showred downe her faire cheekes, found such gracious enterance into the benign and generous hart of the Captaine; and so great was his continency (considering he had a Woman of such exquisite beauty, and in his naked bed by him, being also his captiue and prisoner taken in warre) notwithstanding all these aduantages: vnchast, hot, and lustfull appetite was quite extinct in him; and presently he leapt foorth of the bed, leauing her there to rest in safetie. On the morrow morning, hee sent to make enquiry for her husbandes, whose ransome he payed to his Soldiers out of his owne money. And then deliuered his Wife vnto him, with a solemne Sacred Oath, that he restored her as chaste, vntoucht or vnknowne of him in any vnciuill manner whatsoeuer, as when she was brought a prisoner to him. The Husband falling to the ground on his knees before him, with sighes and teares spake in this manner: *Honourable Lord, your deedes do amply declare, the great renown which euerie where is iustly famed of ye, to wit; that there is no man liuing on the earth, that can equall yee in humanitie and clemencie. The highest God, who can do all in all, wil giue you sufficient recompence for vs, that can returne no conuenable guerdon vnto your worth and vertues.*

The worde of the husband to the Count.

The Count would haue giuen them great store of Goods and Mooueables, taken as pillage in the City: but the yong Woman would not accept of any. Affirming, that when her Neighbours should see such guiftes, they would repute them to be the prizes of her lost honour, and so she should liue in endlesse infamy, which she desired rather to shunne, then death it selfe. So, hauing leaue and License to depart from Count *Sforza*, they were safely conducted home to their house.

Bountie and humanitie in Count Sforza

CHAP. XXV.

Of many Woorthy and Learned men, both Ancient and Moderne, vvhose endes and deathes haue beene wretched and miserable.

THemistocles the *Athenian*, being banished by enuy in the Cittizens of *Athens*, withdrew himselfe to K. *Artaxerxes*, by whō being constrained to warre against his owne Countrey, hee made a willing chaunge of death for life, by drinking the blood of a Bull. *Gallus* the Poet slewe himselfe. *Demosthenes* the

Plutarch. Vit.

Amia. Marcellinus in lib. 17.

Athenian, having incurred the displeasure of *Antipater*, successor to *Alexander*, fled into *Calabria*, an Island in the *Ægæum* Sea; where he was entrapped by the Sergeants of *Antipater*: and having taken a pen, as if hee purposed to Write therewith, hee suckt vp certaine poyson, (enclosed therein) and so died. *Plinie* was burnt to death, with the fire of Mount *Etna*, which at this present is called *Gibello Monte*. The same end also had *Empedocles* the *Agrigentine* Poet.

A high Hil in Sicily, out of which ariseth horrible smoke and flames of fire

Many other worthy men likewise haue dyed as miserably: among whom was *Socrates*, that (by commaundement of the Magistrate) dranke the iuice of Hemlock in prison, and died by the draught. *Thales Milesius* died of drought, by heate of the Sunne as he was beholding the *Gymnick Playes. Zeno* was slaine by the commandement of *Phalaris* the Tyrant. *Anaxarchus* died by command from *Nicocreon*, in strange diuersity of torments; and being ouercome with the extreamitie of paine, he bit off his tongue betweene his teeth, and threw it in the Tyrantes face. *Archimedes* the Phylosopher, and most excellent Mathematician, was slaine by the Soldiers of *Marcellus*. *Pythagoras* was burned aliue by the *Cylonians*, as *Plutarch* saith: But others write, that warre being moued betweene the *Agrigentines* and *Syracusans*, *Pythagoras* going forth to succour the *Agrigentines*, was massacred (with seuenty of his Schollers) in a fielde of Beanes, by the *Syracusans*.

Laer. lib. 1. c. 10 *Places of nakèd & anointed men.

Plut. in Moral. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

Anacharsis was slaine by his owne followers, because he would haue enduced the Religion and Goddes of the *Grecians* into *Scythia*. *Diodorus Cronos* the Logitian, dyed with sorrow and shame, because he could not resolue a question in Sophistry, which was propounded to him (in iest) by *Stilpo*. *Aristotle*, after hee had lost the grace and fauour of *Alexander*, not knowing the nature and cause of *Euripus*, which is in *Chalcis*, that is to say, the flowing and ebbing of a Sea, that happeneth continually seauen times, in the space of a day and night, returning into *Aulis* of *Beotia*, being a Hauen in *Eubœa*, grewe weary of his life, only through griefe and sorrow conceiued, because he could not render a sufficient reason for it; and some say, that he drowned himselfe in the Sea, and in the same place. His scholler *Calisthenes* had his Nose and lips cut off, and being shut vp betweene two walles, dyed of the disease which the Greekes called φθειρίασις, and the Latines, *Morbus Pediculuris*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero* hadde his head and hands cut off, and his Tongue pulled out. *Terence* the Poet, drowned himselfe with greefe, because he had lost 108. Comedies which were Written in *Greeke* by *Menander*, and had bin by him conuerted into Latine. The Poet *Lucretius* hauing drunke an amorous potion, fell into such a fury, that he slew himselfe with his owne hande, being aged about forty yeares.

Plin. li. 7. c. 53.

Greg. Nazian. in Orat. cont. Iul. imperat.

Cœlius Rhodiginus in lib. c. 36.

Seneca, being compelled by his Scholler *Nero*, to make choise of what kind of death he best affected, caused a Veine to be opened in his foote, as he helde it in a Bason of water; and so by the meanes of loosing his blood, lost his life also. *Auerroes* was crushed to death with a wheele which went ouer his stomacke. *John Duns*, otherwise called *Scotus*, reading in *England*, in a sudden tumult of schollers, was slaine with the stabs of Bodkins, such as (in ancient times) they wrote withal in Table-bookes of Woodde, or on the Barkes of Trees. But if I were to sette downe the miserable ends of all the learned men in elder dayes; no mean or reasonable compasse could containe mee. Therefore, I will conclude this Chapter, with rehearsall of some more Moderne and later. *Frances Petrarche* dyed suddenly. *Domitius Calderinus* died of he plagu. The Reconciler or Peace-maker, was burned after his death, hauing liued but a small while. *Laurentius Laurentianus*, the Physition of *Florence*, drowned himselfe in a well. *Petrus Leonis*, of * *Spoletũ*, Physition and Astrologer, was likewise throwne into a Well by the commaund of *Peter de Medicis*, because during the sickenesse of *Lawrence de Medicis* his Father, he had giuen good hope of his life, by saying, that there was no daunger of death in his disease, as he collected by the rules of his starres, and yet he died. Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of England, was beheaded at *London*, for withstanding King *Henry* of *England*, in his claime of supremacy.

Volat. in lib. 21.

An ill reward of a scholler to his Master.

Learned men of our Moderne times.

* A Cittie of *Vmbria* in *Italy*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ *Of a simple Groome, borne in Cremona, who vainely perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope. And of another, that beleeued he was the Emperour. Of diuers others also, who had sundry strange kinds of folly in their braines.*

PHisitions haue generally held opinion, hat there are many & sundry kinds of folly. Not many yeares since, there was a meane Groome or Seruant (borne in *Cremona*) in the Citty of *Millayne*, who verily perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope, and had formed a Consistory of Cardinals, Arch-bishops, and Bishoppes, in his Chamber. At a certaine houre in the day (when he had obtained leaue of his Maister) he would seate himselfe in a Chaire, like a new created Pope; deliuering forth his decree to be kissed, entertaining Ambassadors; making Cardinals; dispatching Bulles; and ordaining Officers for the See Apostolique. This honourable kind of folly (wherein he conceiued wonderfull pleasure) beeing qualified and remooued out of his braine: he would returne home againe to his accustomed seruices, without any disturbance, or appearance, that hee was any such manner of man, but onely when his idle fit was vpon him.

Folly in some heads, hath a wonderfull kind of perswasion.

Folly (for the time) mightily preuaileth.

Triumpho de Camarino, a Horse-keeper o *Vrbine*, who imagined him selfe to be the Emperour.

The Lord *Pedro de Vbaldini*, a worthy Gentleman and Knight in the Citty of *Vrbine*, had a Horsse keeper, named *Triumpho de Camarino*, who when hee came first into his seruice, made it in condition of his bargaine: that hee would haue one houre in the day allowed him, for his owne pleasure and recreation. During which while, hee would locke himselfe close within a Chamber, where no one could come to him without his owne permission: and there he spreads a Curtain of black Cloath vpon the Wall, whereon the Pope was painted with his Cardinals, euen as when he holdeth his full Consistorie, with many Kinges, Princes, Lords, and Christian Captaines. He taking vpon him to be the person of the Emperour (as in his mind he was verily perswaded so to be) hauing a Crowne of Paper vpon his head, and a Bedstaffe (for a Scepter) in his hand: he sate down as among them, and began in the Popes person, to propose diuers thinges concerning the State of Christendome, after this manner.

The Oration of the imagined Emperor (being *Triumpho* the Horse-keeper) but deliuered in person of the Pope.

My deare Brethren and Children in Iesus Christ, the effect of our meeting thus together, is to aduise ye, that you loue one another with mutuall affection. And likewise to commaund ye, to gouerne your people in all pietie, laying downe Armes, and ceasing Warres among your selues; onelie to fight for the defence of the Christian Faith, afflicted and vexed by Infidels and enraged Turkes. If you doe not (with high and resolued courage) embrace this my proposition; you will at length loose the grace of this world, and the glory of Heauen, and be sent into the infernall Kingdomes, where you shall be tormented eternally. Wherefore, my most happy Children, vnderstand my words louingly, and follow my counsell. *Triumpho* hauing deliuered these and diuers matters more, in name of the Pope, spitting oftentimes betweene, for shew of greater pontificality: he would answere afterward in the Emperours name (whose habit hee seemed to haue on his backe, and Crowne vpon his head, with these words.

Triumpho his answer, as in the Emperors person.

Saint Peter, you haue said very well, and it would be very fitting, to doe as your Holinesse hath propounded. But would you haue Men to beleeue your perswasions? Begin then your selfe (like a good Pastor) to giue vs good example. And if you cannot doe it: I intend (for mine owne part) to enioy my Kingdomes, without any feare of Turkes, or of Hell it selfe, where I am sure there is some good abiding. For this last night, I dreamed that I was there, in exceeding great contentment, and pleasure of minde. There did I play at Tennis, with many great Lords and Barons. Afterward, we mounted on light and swifter Coursers; then either Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, *or* Iberia *could euer yeild the like. At length, as I was iesting and playing with some of the fayrest and wantonnest Ladies of the world: I espied Lucifer (whose teeth stuck a great way out of his head) issuing forth of a proud*

Triumpho his dreame of being in Hell, & what pleasures he saw there.

The Deuils kindneſſe to *Triumpho.*

proud Pallace, to get vp on Horſebacke. And as I purpoſed to run towardes him, to hold his Stirrup with great reuerence: one bad me that I ſhould not goe, for feare he would deuoure me. Neuertheleſſe, I went on boldly without feare, and the gentle Lord gaue me the kindeſt entertainement, that the world could affoord, ſaying to me. My Sonne, thou art now, and at all times ſhalt be moſt hartily welcome hether. And hauing mounted on horſebacke, hee rode thorow his Kingdome, which is inhabited with many people. Afterward, as I was parting thence to goe to dinner; a Gentle Squire came, and ſaid vnto me: Whither goeſt thou Chriſtian Emperour? Thou mayeſt dine heere. Then I anſwered; Doe Men eate in this place? Excellently well and gallantlie, repyed the Squire. Why then (quoth I) if there be ſuch good cheare heere, I wil depart no more from hence, no, in deſpight of Saint Anthonies Beard: ſeeing a man may triumph euer heere, ſpend the time iocondlie, and lead a merrie life. As for you Holy Father (ſpeaking to the Pope) I vnderſtand, that ſuch pleaſures as you take, are domeſtick and priuate, yet more then all other mens, with your children the Cardinals of the holie See, which ſhould be much more lawfull for me. *Triumpho* hauing deliuered theſe dreames and idle fancies, giuing a loud ſhout: caperd vp from the ground, and began to diſcourſe of great actions, Warres, and garboyles. And taking vp a Curry-combe in his hand, before the ſuppoſed Kinges, Princes, and Lordes, (in name of them all) hee vttered more friuolous ſopperies, then I am able here to write, or relate vpon. And bethinking himſelfe, that his houre or limitation was (by this time) expired; for, at ſome of his priuacies, his follies would extend into more length, then they did at another: he left his Chamber, departing thence with his Bridle, Spunge, & Curry-Combe, to execute his Office about his Horſes, to make cleane his Stable, and diligently performe all other ſeruices, without any opinion of his precedent conceited dignity.

The conclusion of *Triumpho*, in his ſerious conſultations.

Bridle, ſpunge and Currie-Combe, the Trophees of this imaginary Emperour.

The Lord *Pedro* meruailing not a little, how the Groome of his Stable ſhould daily beſtow this licenſed hour: concluded to make ſome prooſe thereof, and ſee how his affaires were then managed. Whereupon, hiding himſelfe one day in the next lodging to *Triumphoes* Chamber; at a rift or cranny in the Wall, he wonne an eye-ſight to the whole paſtime. Calling ſome other of his Houſhold-Seruants beſide, to bee partaker in this Comicall ſport; where they heard all the Horſe-keepers enterparlance with his owne opinion, and ſaw euerie iot of his fantaſticke behauiour. At laſt, when the Lord *Pedro* perceiued that his mans ſerious buſines was almoſt concluded, he called out aloud to him, ſaying; *VVell done Triumpho, I am highly glad, both of thine owne conſolation and thy Countries, that of a poor Horſe-keeper, thou art become the Emperor of Chriſtendome. Let mee therefore entreat thee, while Fortune holdes thee thus happily on the height of her wheele; thou wouldeſt bee pleaſed, to haue ſome remembrance of thy poore Maiſter.* *Triumpho* hearing himſelfe thus called, and perceiuing his priuate conceit to be diſcouered: ſtood amazed like a Bell-founder, when his Mettall hath not taken good ſucceſſe. And ſuch was his fury, that he ſnatcht his Curtaine from the Wall, and with it he inſtantly forſooke the Houſe, without taking leaue of his Maiſter, or any one elſe: nor could it at any time after be knowne, whether he went, or what became of him. By this we may obſerue, that it is the naturall property of a Foole, to thinke himſelfe wiſe.

Triumphoes Comedy was diſcouered by his Lord and Maiſter.

The words of Lord *Pedro* to *Triumpho.*

The fury of *Triumpho* vpon his diſcouery.

And therefore I conclude, that in this World there is no greater quietneſſe, then for a Man to content himſelfe with his owne eſtate, as did this poore *Triumpho de Camarino*: who perſwading himſelfe to bee an Emperour, the meere imagination auailed as much with him, as if he had bin really the very man indeede.

Contentation is an eſpeciall benefit.

Thraſyllaus Axoneus fell into ſo ſtrange a follie, that he verilie beleeued, that al the Shippes which arriued in the Port or Hauen, were his owne. And therefore (vpon this ſtronge perſwaſion) alwaies before they came to take landing: with a cheareſull countenance, and hart highlie contended; he would walke forth (a large diſtance from the road) to meete them as they came. In like manner, when they did ſet out againe on any voyage, either for the Eaſt or Weſt: he would beare them company a great way, and praying them to bee care-

Elianus in his fourth Booke calleth him *Thraſyllus.*

Athenæus in lib 12. Cap. vlt.

careful of his goods and Merchandizes, wish them all fortunate successe. This humour being noted by his Brother *Criton*, newly there arriued with his Merchandise from *Sicilie*: he caused diuers wise and learned Phisitions, to take paines for his recouery, who in helping this fond humour, robd him of his chiefest contentment. And beeing afterward remembred of this strange folly: he would sigh many times, & sollemnly sweare, that hee neuer liued more pleasingly, then while that perswasion held him, because in all that time, hee neuer felt any greefe, sadnesse, or annoyance. They make report of another Man, who kept diuers Cats, wherein he took great delight and pleasure; perswading himselfe, and telling to others, that they were Lyons.

Aelianus in lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Arist. in lib. 6. de Anim.

Aristotle declareth, that there was a Man in *Abydos*, who beeing ouercome with a foolish humour, would go daily to the Theater, & there (as if he would recite a whole Comedy himselfe) performe al the actions in such cases required, not respecting who beheld or heard him; and yet this humour afterward left him. He saith moreouer, that there was an Hoast in *Tarentum*, who would walke abroad all the night time, and diligently attend his businesse all the day, carrying (both night and day) the Key of his Hoastory hanging at his Girdle; neuer loosing it, neither could it bee stolne or got from him, by very cautelous and crafty attempts.

Arist. vbi. sup.

Plutarch reporteth in his *Morals*, that the *Mylesian* Virgines were ouercome with a wonderfull folly; for, without any respect, teares, entreaties, and perswasions of Parents and Friends, they would suddenly strangle and hang themselues, neither could any remedy bee found to preuent them. At length, the *Mylesians* being assembled in the Senate house, to deliberate on this strange inconuenience: one among them (being a very graue and wise man) aduised them to make a Law, that if any more of them should so destroy themselues, of what condition soeuer she were, she should be stript starke naked, and so bee laid in the midst of the Market-place, to be shamefully seene of all the world, and haue no other buriall allowed her. This councell being generally approoued, and published by Edict: the Virgines were thereby stricken with such feare and terrour, that the humour which made them dreadlesse of death, immediatly ceased. As being more fearefull and respectiue of dishonour and infamy, then of paine or death: because they could by no meanes endure, that their naked bodies should be seene, either aliue or dead, and shame (after death) they reputed to bee a Virgines highest dishonour.

Plutarch in Moral. Cap. 9. A strange folly in virgines to destroy themselues.

Shame after death more respected and feared, then death it selfe.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of diuers Men and Weomen that haue voluntarilie slaine and destroyed themselues.

IN the first Ages, there were many, that voluntarily shortned their owne liues, among whom, *Ælianus* recordeth *Hippona*, a *Grecian* Lady, who being taken by Pyrates, and hearing a determination among them, that they purposed to make spoile of her virginity: she so choisely prized the honour of her chastity, that, seeing no other waie left to preserue it, she leapt into the Sea, & so (by drowning) saued hir Virgine vertue. *Calanus* the *Indian* Philosopher, one of the learned and wise *Brachmanes*, hauing bidden farewel to *Alexander* the Great and his *Macedonians*, at such time as he desired to leaue this life: caused a pile of Wood to bee prepared ready, which was dry, sweet, and odoriferous (to wit, of Cedar, Cypres, Myrrhe, and Laurell) in a Towne of *Babylon*. And making a wreath of Reede Leaues; hee crowned his head there-with, then mounted, and laid himselfe along vpon the pile, honouring the Sunne. So, couering his face, the *Macedonians* gaue fire to the pile, and he neuer stirred a iot, when the fire flamed fiercely about him; but lay still constantly, without mooning eyther hand or foot, and in this sacrifice yeildeth vp his Soule. Hereupon one saith, that *Alexander* wondering at this constancy

Aelianus in lib. 5. Cap. 7.

Hyppona a Lady of Greece.

Strabo in Lib. 15. Calanus, one of the Brachmanes.

Valerius Maximus in lib. 1. Cap. 8.

The words of *Alexander* concerning *Calanus.*

ſtancy, inſtantly ſaid. *Calanus hath conquered more potent Enemies, then euer I could doe. For I haue but fought againſt* Porus, Taxiles, *and* Darius *onely: but* Calanus *hath fought both againſt labour and Death.* *Cicero* writeth, that when *Calanus* went to death, and mounted vpon the pile of Wood, he ſaid. *O faire departure from life, ſeeing (as it happened to Hercules) after that this Mortall bodie is burned, the Spirit then goeth into light.*

Cicero in lib. 1. de diuinat.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Tuſculan.

Cleombrotus of *Ambracia*, hauing read *Platoes* Booke of the Immortality of the Soule: threw himſelfe from an high Wall, head-long into the Sea. *Cato Vtican*, hauing read alſo the ſame Booke; pierced his owne body with a Dagger. *Ariſtarchus* the *Alexandrian Grammarian*, Schoole-maiſter to the Sonne of *Ptolomie Philomator*, being ſicke of the Dropſie; ſuffered himſelfe to dye thorow want of eating. The like did *Eratoſthenes* the *Cyrenean*, Scholler to the Poet *Callimachus*, & keeper of the Library to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *Charondas* the *Thebane*, made a law, that no man ſhold come armed into the Councell Conſiſtorie: was once found himſelfe there armed (not thinking thereon) as hee came newly out of the field. And after that hee which ſate next him, had put him in mind of the ſaid Law: hee ſtabd his Ponyard into his owne breaſt, albeit he might well haue diſſembled, or defended his fault. *Hannibal* being vanquiſhed by *Sciopio*, fled to *Pruſias*, King of *Bythinia*, for ſafety: but being doubtfull of his fidelitie, becauſe he beheld *Flaminius* ſent thither, as Ambaſſadour from the *Romaines*; hee poyſoned himſelfe, of his owne meere motion therevnto.

Valerius Maximus, in tit. de Iuſt.

Plutar. in vit. de Hannib.

Mithridates the younger, hauing maintained Warre for the ſpace of ſixe and fifty yeares againſt the *Romaines*; ſeized *Aſia*; impriſoned the chiefe commaunders of the * *Opie*, and of *Aquilia*; beſiedged *Rhodes*; and wonne *Athens* by *Archelaus* his Lieutenant. After all theſe great fortunes, he being firſt conquered by *Lucullus*, next by *Pompey*, and afterward by *Pharnax*, his owne moſt ingratefull Sonne, who forſooke his Father, and tooke part with *Pompey*: drunke a poyſon, whereof being not able to die (in regard of an Antidote and counter-poyſon, which he was compelled to take) ſlew himſelfe, by the helpe of a French Souldionr, named *Vitigius*. *Monyma* the *Myleſian* Lady, and *Veronica*, borne in *Chios*, both Wiues to the fore-named *Mithridates*, after they vnderſtood (by the Eunuch *Bacchides*) the miſerable fortune of their Husband; they would liue no longer in further diſaſter. *Monyma* hung or ſtrangled her ſelfe, and becauſe the Cord brake, by weight of her body; ſhee compelled *Bacchides* to cut her throat. And *Veronica* kneeling mournfully by her, dranke vp a full Cup of poyſon. *Statira* and *Roxana*, Siſters alſo to the ſame *Mithridates*, who had kept their virginity the ſpace of forty yeares: bare company with their Brother in death, by drinking each a draught of poyſon.

People by the Riuer Indus.

Valer. Maxim. in lib. 2. cap. 7.

Monyma and *Veronica*, the wiues to *Mithridates.*

Statira and *Roxana*, ſiſters to *Mithridates.*

Decebalus, King of the *Dacians* (as *Dion Caſſianus* reporteth) beeing vanquiſhed by *Traiane*: ſlew himſelfe with his owne hand, becauſe he would not fall into the *Romaines* power, and yet not withſtanding, his head was afterward carried to *Rome*. *Sardanapalus* threw himſelfe into a flaming fire. *Lucretia*, a worthy *Romaine* Ladie, and the bright Lampe of Chaſtitie, hauing her honor violated by the infamous Tyrant *Tarquine*, Sonne to proud *Tarquine*: publikely ſlew her ſelfe, by ſtabbing a Dagger in her faire breaſt, to the end, that the people might reuenge her iniurie and ſhame, and aboliſh the Dominion of the Kings in *Rome*.

Dion. Caſſianus in lib. 4.

Titus Liuius in lib. 1. Dec. 1.

Portia, Daughter to *Cato*, hearing tydings of her Husband *Brutus*, that he was conquered, and ſlaine in the fieldes before *Philippi*: when ſhe could come by no Weapon to deſtroy her ſelfe, ſhee deuoured burning Coales, and ſo purſued her Husband in death. *Cleopatra*, Queene of Ægypt, after the death of *Marke Anthony*, ſhe remaining Captiue in the power of *Auguſtus*: compaſſed her death by the byting of a Serpent, as *Cæſar* himſelfe made repreſentation of the manner, in an Image which he brought with him in triumph to *Rome*, as one of his Trophees of that victory. *Næera*, and *Charmione*, wayting Maides on Queene *Cleopatra*, followed her preſently alſo by voluntary death.

Portia the Daughter to graue and wiſe *Cato.*

Cleopatra Q. of Egypt.

Many other great perſons haue periſhed, in the like diſaſtrous and miſerable manner, whoſe Hiſtories would aske

ouer

The names of many that yeilded themselues to voluntary death

ouer long time in repetition, and therefore I will but set downe their names onely. As *Dolabella*, *Licinius Macer*, *L. Syllanus*, *C. Marius* the younger, and *Fannius Cepio*. *Nero*, *Otho*, *Galerius*, *Adrian*, *Florian*, *Iulian*, and *Diocleſian*, Emperors. *Gordianus* the elder, *Labeo Marſes*, and *Papyrius* the Romaine. *M. Lollius*, *Proculeius*, *Magnentius*, *Argobaſtus*, *Gunimilda*, wife to *Aſmund*, King of the *Danes*. *Hadingo*, *Ro'nond*, and *Starcaterus*, Kings of the *Danes*. *Pedro des Vignes*, the Lawyer of *Capua*, in the time of *Ferdinand* the ſecond Emperor, *Eccelinus* the Tyrant, and *Galeacenius Mantuanus*, who more voluntarily & fooliſhly (then any of the other before named) ranne vpon his owne death; as *Iouianus Pontanus* hath recorded. For he wintering at *Pauia*, became very extreamelie enamoured of a beautifull young Damoſell, and would oftentimes tell her: that he could endure a thouſand harms (if ſo many were poſſible to be ſuffered) for her ſake, if ſhe but pleaſed to commaund him. Whereupon, ſhe commanded him (in ieſt) to leap into the Riuer: which he preſently did, and was there drowned, before he could be relieued.

Iouianus Pontanus, concerning the death of *Galeas* of *Mantua*.

Baiazeth Prince and Emperour of the Turkes.

Baiazeth, Prince and Emperor of the Turkes, being taken on the Confines of *Armenia*, in a great conflict and battaile betweene him and Great *Tamberlaine*: was brought before the *Scythian* King, who cauſed him to be put vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him whereſoeuer he went; letting him liue by no other meates, but what fell (as ſcraps) from his Table, and pieces of bread caſt to him, euen as contemptuouſly as men do to Dogs. At all times likewiſe, when he would mount vp on horſebacke, or into his chariot: *Baiazeth* muſt be taken forth out of his Cage, and brought before him, faſt bound in mighty and maſſie Chaines of Gold, and he would ſet his feet on his back, ſo to get vp into his Chariot, or on horſeback. This ſhould ſerue as a mirror to miſerable men, neuer to repoſe any confidence in greatneſſe, or vaine wealth of this World: conſidering, that he who had conquered ſo many people, and won ſo many Cities; was taken, and made Slaue to him, that had bin but a ſilly heardſman, and ended his daies miſerably in a Cage of Iron. When *Tamberlaine* was returned home into *Scythia*, he made a magnificent triumph, for his victory obtained againſt this *Baiazeth*. And hauing prepared an vnualuable Feaſt, with all ſumptuous furniſhment thereto appertaining, for all his principall Lords and Commaunders in *Scythia*: he cauſed the Cage to be brought before thē, wherein was *Baiazeth*, his Empreſſe and wife alſo (who was taken with him) attending thereon. With whom this barbarous man dealt ſo inhumainly, that her garments were cut off iuſt at hir Nauil, whereby her parts of ſhame and ſecrecy were nakedly diſcerned; and thus did ſhe waite there before his gueſts. The miſerable Prince of *Turks*, ſeeing his Queen thus deſpightfully entreated; grieued beyond meaſure, and deuiſed how hee might beſt end his wearieſome life. But being deſtitute of all meanes, or any Inſtrument for the ſpeedier execution: he did beat his head ſo often and violentlie againſt the bars of Iron; that his brains ſtarting forth, hee there concluded his wretched and infortunate life.

Tamberlaine his vnmanlie vſage to Bazazeths Q.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How good and profitable it is, for a Man to liue ſoberly. And that all ſuch as were Enemies thereto; haue likewiſe bin hatefull to Honor and Vertue.

Greatneſſe, Riches, and all this worlds pompe is but meere vanity.

IT is no way to be doubted, but that Nature can content & ſuffice her ſelfe with little; and feeding out of order and exceſſiuely, hath bin the occaſion of many diſeaſes. To approue the truth hereof, let the vnbeleeuer read the ancient Bookes of Phiſick, wherein he ſhall find, that our betters and predeceſſors, were ſuch friends to ſobrietie: that they would eate but a piece of Bread in the morning onelie, and feed on a little fleſh at ſupper, without any other diuerſitie of Viands, ſuch as are vſed in theſe daies of ours, with numberleſſe Sauces, and meates vpon meats, and then a ſecond courſe afterward. During all which ſeruices, *Abono ad mala*, a man is forced to ſit at the Table two or three hours at the leaſt. And this

The leaſt allowance contenteth nature.

The healthful diet of our fore-fathers, was the onely reaſon of their long life

and this is the reason, why those of elder times (who knew no such superfluities) liued so long, and free from so many monstrous diseases. In regard heereof also, the *Romaines*, *Arcadians*, and *Lusitanians*, or *Portugalles*, remained so long a time without Phisitions, and sobriety of life (onely) defended them from all infirmities.

The *Spartanes* choysest delicates.

The very greatest delicates, which the *Spartanes* vsed in their dyet, was a certaine kind of blacke Broath or Pottage, much like to melted Pitch; the cost whereof, did not amount to aboue three *Solz*, tenne whereof doe make an English Penny.

The *Persians* dyet.

The *Persians*, Men so exceedingly disciplined, did neuer eate any other Meate with their Bread, but a few Water-Carres, or Cresses.

K. *Artaxerxes* his food.

Artaxerxes, Brother to *Cyrus*, beeing put to flight by his Enemies: fed on dryed Figs and Barly Bread, and greatly complained, that he had liued so long, without experimenting so sweete and sauoury a kind of food.

Pompey his fare in Egypt, in a poore Countrey mans house.

Pompey, trauayling thorough Ægypt, where his people could hardlie follow him, he beeing verie hungry, with-drew himselfe to the small Cottage of a poore Countrey Husbandman, who gaue him a piece of Rie-bread to feed on. And this great King swore, that (in all his life time) hee did neuer tast better foode; and euer afterward, he held all costly and precious kindes of Bread in scorne, which hee had formerly vsed.

The Lord *Antonio d'Ona* a Spanyard.

The Lord *Antonio d'Ona*, a *Spaniard*, hauing entertained an old man (aged aboue an hundred yeares) to dine with him, and setting excessiue fare before him, as hee vsed to all others that came to his Table; the good olde man said vnto him. *My Lord, if I had bin dieted (in my youth) at such Tables as yours; you must think, I had neuer attained to these yeares: but by liuing soberly, you see how God hath blessed me.* We need then make no doubt; but that sobriety of life, is the occasion of our long continuance in this world, & our preseruation in soundnesse of health.

Sobriety is the occasion of long life.

All such as haue beene contemners therof, their liues haue had no length, and they were vtter enemies to honor and vertue. Such was *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Vitellius*, *Verus*, *Tiberius*, *Maximinus*, and infinite others.

The enemies to Honor and Vertue.

On the contrary side, it hath beene obserued, that the affecters of sober life, (men, as it were, euén made of Diuinity, such as *Augustus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Epaminondas*, &c.) witnessed their loue to Honour and Vertue, and dyed in all the fulnesse of their daies.

The Louers of Sobriety.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Rodericke, the last King of the race Royall of the Gothes: And how (thorow his owne incontinency) he lost not onely his Kingdome, but his life also.

IN the yeare of our saluation, 747. *Rodericke* raigned King in *Spaine*, who being pierced to the quicke, with the little God and blinde Archers Arrowes: became exceedingly passionate, for the loue of the daughter to Count *Iulian* of *Cantabria*. And coueting (in ouer-burning desires) to gather the fruites of his hot affections: he essaied all meanes possible to compasse his pleasure. But in regard that the honest and sober countenance of the Virgine, as also the presence of her Father, were maine opposites to him in reaching the height of his appetite; hee therfore sent Count *Iulian* Ambassador into France, and in the meane while, made a rape of his Daughters chastitie.

Rodericke affecteth the Daughter to *Iulian*, Count of *Cãtabria*, & in the absence of her father, rauisheth her.

Iulian, at his returning into *Spain*, heard (far enough off) the shame & violence committed on his daughter. And when he vnderstood it also by her owne complaint, both the meanes, manner, and euerie circumstance: hee dissembled it cunningly in the Kinges presence, as if he knew not of such sinne committed; but champed on the bit for diuers daies together, still pondering on the aptest occasions, whereby he might compasse to be reuenged.

Count *Iulian* concealeth the knowledg of his Daughters wrongs.

After he had considered sufficientlie on his wrong, hee with-drew himselfe into *Affrica*, to the City of * *Leptis*, where resorting to *Muzza*, Gouernour of *Affrica*: he declared vnto him, point by point, the iniury which King *Rodericke* had done him. Whereto he added,

* *Leptis Sarrana* the Citty *Mahumeta* in *Affrica*, between the two Sirtes

ded, that for reparation of this wrong, he was thus come to implore his assistance: in recompence whereof he offered him a verie rich and goodly Empire, which he would reduce vnder his obedience. For he told him, that the time was now come, when hee might reuenge those *Arabes*, which had beene slaine in the precedent yeares, by the Armies of King *Bamba*. Hee further assured him, that he was so much fauored by the very greatest Lords in *Spain*, beside his owne Friendes and Kinred; who (in meere pittie of his disgrace) would all be in readinesse to helpe this enterprise. For the King was mortally hated of them all, in regard of his rapes, cruelties, and extortions, which continually he imposed vpon his people.

Muzza hauing heard the Countes speeches, sent him to King *Vlit*, residing them in *Arabia*, and he hauing likewise deliberated on Count *Iulians* iust complaint: returned him backe againe with his Letters to *Muzza*, commaunding him to lend him ayde, and what fauour else hee could affoord in so vrgent a case. After that *Muzza* had receiued this aduise from his King, hee gaue him an hundred Horse, and foure hundred foote Souldiers: vnder the charge and conduct of a valiant Captaine, named *Tariffa*, who crossing the Seas, came into *Spaine* with his troups. And that he might giue the more assured pain and molestation to the enemy; his people builded a Citty, which (after their Captaines name) they called *Tariffa*. *Iulian* hauing made knowne to his Friends and Confederates in *Spaine*; the occasion of his thus returning, and the desire he had (in Iustice and reason) to reuenge the outrage doone by the King: many of them (vnder-taking his cause) ioyned themselues with the *Arabes*, ouer-running and rauaging all the Country of *Algazara*, where the saide Count *Iulian* had before bin Gouernor for the said King.

Muzza sent Count *Iulian* to King *Vlit* in *Arabia*, who commaunded assistance in the wronged Counts behalfe.

Count *Iulian* acquainted his Friends in *Spain* with his returne.

The *Arabes* of *Affrica*, perceiuing the successefull progresse of the Count, in sollemne earnest, and without deceipt: they sent him twelue thousand Horse more, and a great number of the Infanterie, youthfull, gallant, & braue resolued Spirits. Vpon this occasion, King *Rodericke* expedited a great Army against them, vnder the conduct of his Cozin *Don Inigo*: who fighting many times with the *Moores* (but still with bad successe) not onely lost his life; but all the rest were likewise hewen in pieces. The *Moores* proceeding on still without impeachment, ouer-ran and spoyled a great part of *Spaine*; by meanes whereof, *Rodericke* raised a much greater Army then the former, and came himselfe hand to hand with the *Moores*: so that a dreadfull and terrible battaile happened betweene them, which continued eight whole daies together, for in the night time, they retired into their Rampires. But the two Sonnes to the late King *Vitizzo* (whom the Brother to *Rodericke* had slaine, and vsurped the Kingdome) reuolting from him: were the cause of the *Moores* becomming Conquerors. And *Rodericke*, though he carried himselfe so valiantly, and performed (in his owne person) incredible seruices: yet was he (neuertheless) vanquished and slaine, and all his pertakers forces broken and foyled. This battaile was begun on Sunday, beeing the fift day of Iuly, betweene the breake of day and Sun-rising, in the yeare of our Redemption 750. neere to *Xeres*, and by the Riuer *Bedalack*. This History may serue as an enstruction to Princes, that before they offer shame or outrage to any one; they would well aduise and consider with themselues, what may be the end of such bad attempts.

Rodericke sent his Cozin *Don Inigo* with a power against the Moores.

A Battaile lasting eight whole dayes together.

King *Rodericke* foyled and slaine.

The supply sent to the Count by the *Arabes* of *Affrica*.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Sarqua, who craftily deceiued Stirades, a most Noble young Gentleman, and put him cruelly to death.

AMong the Ladies that attended on Queene *Valasca*, there was one, named *Sarqua*, endued with goodlie feature, both of face & body: but prouided of as bad a mind, malliciously enclined to all wickednes. She bethinkinking her selfe, how to be reuenged on a young *Bohemian* Knight, called *Stirades*, a very Noble Youth,

Read *Aeneas Syluius*, in his History of *Bohemia*, the 8. Chapter.

The treason plotted against young *Stirades*.

that sharply pursued *Valasca* and all her traine, so that she had no greater an Enemy thē he: concluded to betray him, and in such manner as shall be declared. She calling some of the other Ladies to hir, caused them to binde her fast by the hands and feete, to the body of a Tree in a very thick forrest: leauing a Huntsmans Horne by her, and a Bottle full of liquor, called *Medon*. Being thus fast bound, the rest of the warlike Ladyes, ambushed themselues in the Wood, somewhat out of the way, but not far from the place of her abiding.

Stirades vsed often to hunt in this Forrest, and comming thither this day, (as he did at other times) with his Men and Hounds, riding on in the wood; he espyed the Lady fastned to the Tree. And being mooued with compassion, stayed his Horse, demaunding, how, and for what cause she was thus brought thither? Whereunto *Sarqua* thus replyed. It cannot be (good Gentleman) but you are very well acquainted with the disorders committed by *Valasca* in this Countrey, while shee attributeth the Kingdomes authority to her selfe. I (too much vnaduised) haue beene of her faction, and delighted (for a while) to follow her follies, wherein I failed (I confesse) and repenting at length so foule a transgression: I resolued to forsake so bad a Mistresse. Seeking to haue a companion in my flight and escape; I was betrayed, discouered, surprized, and brought hither, where the murdereresse purposed to behold my punnishment. But as she and her company were all about me, and had bound me in this manner as you see: they heard the opening of your Hounds, and neighing of your Horses, which made them take their flight, and leaue mee in the case you found me. Seeing then that Fortune hath conducted you to this place, and in such a needfull season for mee: I beseech ye (valiant Sir) euen by your true Noblenes, that you would be pleased to pitty a miserable Creature. Vnbind me (I intreat ye) and guid me some where else; if the guiltinesse of my sin be no hindrance, for obtaining such an especiall blessing from ye. Otherwise, draw forth your Sword, and pierce me there-with to the hart, rather then permit me to liue in this torment. For you shall be no sooner departed hence; but all those cruell women will come again, and then they will fall vpon mee like so many Serpents, to teare my body, and make me liue in multiplicity of tormēts.

Stirades tooke pitty on his subtile betrayer.

Stirades, being mooued to pitty, partly by the Ladies teares, which flowed in some aboundance from her eyes, and partly by some sudden apprehension of her beauty: alighted from his Horse, cut the Cords which bound her to the tree, & comforting her with gentle language, desired to know, what might be the meaning of the Horne and Bottle? Whereto (still weeping) she thus answered. Know Sir, that those murderers brought hither this Bottle, to lengthen out my life by the liquor therein, to the end that my torments might bee the greater. But blessed be God for our arriuall here in so happy an hour, to be my release, and the meanes of my drinking now in safty. This said, she set the Bottell to her mouth and dranke, and then deliuering it to *Stirades*, he dreading no danger, but to expresse his kindnesse & affection to the Lady, in regard he was thirstie also, drunke of the deceiuing drinke to any other then her selfe; for it was compounded of white Hony, according to a custome obserued among the *Bohemians*, healthful for women, but irkesome and offensiue to men. And indeed, *Sarqua* (being as arteficiall a Poysoner and Socereresse, as her Mistresse) had charmed the drinke with Hearbs & enchantments in such manner, that, by little and little, it tooke away all sense and vnderstanding from *Stirades*. Then the false woman seeing him nere to such condition as she sought to bring him in; tooke the horn, and said vnto him. This horne they intended to hang about my necke when I was dead, as a marke and ensigne to such as shold passe this way, that (in my life time) I had bin a Huntresse. But now, in meere despight of them, I will winde this Horne, to let them know, to their shame, that I am still liuing. So, winding the Horne, she blew a blast, that made all the wood to ring with the sound thereof. Instantlie rushed foorth *Valasca*, with a band of her Ladies all armed, who killing al that accompanied the deceiued Gentleman: seazed on him, and binding him fast, led him along with them, till they came before

The deceitful speeches vsed by *Sarqua* to *Stirades*.

A deceitfull drink, healthful to women, but hurtful to men.

Valasca & her band of armed Ladies killed the followers of *Stirades*, and afterward tormented him vpon the wheele to death.

The wonderfull trecherie in a woman.

before the Caſtle of *Viſſagrada*, where, in the ſight of *Primiſlaus*, King of the *Bohemians*, and all the people that were on the Walles: they did put him to death by the torment of the Wheele, a death which the *Bohemians* did repute, to be the moſt infamous of all other. Such was the end, of the gentle, valiant, young and wealthy *Stirades*; beguiled by the feigned teares and ſubtile perſwaſions, of cruell and diſloyall Weomen.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of three Gentle-weomen, who became all amourous of a Gentleman at one inſtant, without any ſuite or motion made vnto them; And by what meanes it happened.

Vrbine a City of great antiquity.

THe Citty of *Vrbine*, is reputed to bee one of the moſt ancient Citties in all *Italy*, as may be gathered by the Books of *Pliny*, and of *Cornelius Tacitus*. It is not now aboue ſixeſcore yeares, ſince this Cittie was ſubdued by the Countes of *Ferrara*, and of thoſe Countes deſcended one, named *Otho*, who made himſelfe Duke of *Vrbine*, and who ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo ouer-ſwayed by voluptuous pleaſures: that both by power and violence, he abuſed, defloured, and violated, not onely many virgins, but likewiſe maried wiues of very worthy houſes, inferiour to none in the Citty or Dukedome of *Vrbine*, without any reſpect, eyther of conſanguinitie, Nobilitie in blood, or age. In breefe, his abuſe was generall, and his owne will euerie where followed; being accompanied with another, as bad as himſelfe, who was called the Pregnotary of *Carpa*. And therefore they were both ſlaine at one time, in a popular tumult, becauſe their inſolencies were inſupportable. Alſo, their priuy members were put into their mouths, and their naked bodies laid in the open Market place: to ſerue as an example to all other, that afterward ſhould abuſe the honeſty of weomen.

An impudent and laſciuious Prince.

A iuſt and deſerued puniſhment for ſuch leud incontinency.

This wicked Father, had yet a good Son, that ſucceeded him, named *Guydo*, who feared God, was valiant and magnanimous, and was ſo fortunate in his marriage, that his wife deſcended of the houſe of the *Colonnes*. And this Dutches (for her great vertues) was held to be the chiefeſt, both for good grace and modeſty, that liued in thoſe times. And therefore many Noble and worthy perſons, as well Men as Women, had a deſire to the houſe of this Duke of *Vrbine*, and to be of his Court. Among others, was the Lord *Gaſpar Paluoiſine*, one of the moſt valiant Gentlemen in all *Lombardie*. *Caſar Gonzagua*, *Robert de Barry*, *Frederick Fregoſa*, who was Archbiſhop of *Salerne*. Count *Lodowicke*, who was Byſhop of *Bayeux*. The Lord *Octauian*, who was Duke of *Gennes*. *Bernardo Bibierna*, who was *Cardinall de Saint Marie aux Portiques*. The *Magnifico*, who was Duke *de Nemours*; and Great Maiſter of *Frances*. *France Maria Rouero*, who was Preſect or Bayliffe of *Rome*, and many other, not forgetting *Pietro Bembo*, who was Secretarie to Pope *Leo*.

Guydo a good Prince, & the dignity of his Court in Noble attendants.

As for Ladies and Gentle-women, it ſhall be needleſſe to name them: onelie I am to ſpeake of three, who were then in his Court, and who became all amourous (at one time) of one Gentleman, without any ſuite or ſollicitation made vnto them. By which diſcourſe, wee may perceiue the great power of Loue, and learne, not to mock or ſcorne at ſuch, as fall into the like accidents: becauſe, that all Men and Women are ſubiect thereunto, at leaſt, very few, that can tearm themſelues to be free or exempted. Becauſe I will hold the Reader no longer in ſuſpence, we will proceede to the Hiſtory.

Three Gentlewomen of the Court.

The Soueraigne power and prerogatiue of loue.

It happened on a day, that a faire and honeſt Gentlewoman, attending on the fore-ſaid Dutcheſſe of *Vrbine*; reputed to be vertuous and well aduiſed (being of the houſe of the *Vipades* of *Florence*, Gentlemen of great Antiquity) did vſe amity towards a Gentleman of *Sienna*, attending alſo in the Duke of *Vrbines* Court. Day by day affection encreaſed, and the young Gentleman declared like correſpondency; but the meanes wanted of ſight, and conferring together. Becauſe, as euerie one verie well knoweth, that the Weomen and Maidens

The *Vipades* of *Florence*, a houſe of great antiquity.

Women and Maids of *Italy* kept in continual ſubiection.

of *Italie*, haue (from all times of Antiquitie) beene held in great subiection.

The Gentle-woman, incited by extreamitie of passion; discouered her minde to another Woman, by whose meanes she hoped to finde some conuenient remedy. This other Gentlewoman, neither in Nobility, or in beauty, was any iot inferior to the first. Whervpon it happened, that she hearing the other speake so affectionately of the Gentleman, whom she had neuer seen, and knowing withall, that the Gentlewoman (reputed very discreete, and of good iudgement) did affect him in all extreamity: she began to imagine immediatly; that he was the very goodliest, wisest, most discreete, and absolute Gentleman, and best worthy to be beloued, before any other man in the World. And so, without hauing euer seene him likewise, she grew so strongly enamoured of him: that shee began (soone after) not for her friend; but for her selfe, to acquire and purchase his equall correspondency in loue to her. Which to do, it had beene no *Herculean* labour for her: because in very deed, she was more worthy to be sued vnto, then in her selfe to sue to any other.

The diuers & sundry effects of Loue.

Loue is iustly tearmed to be a blind guide.

But now we must lend attention to another matter, much more worthy of admiration. Within some short while after, it came to passe, that a Letter, (written by this latter Gentlewoman to her Louer) happened to the hands of a third very Noble and vertuous Ladie. Who being (as the most part of Women are) curious, and inquisitiue in the knowledge of secrets, especially of other Weomen: opened the Letter, and as she read it, she well perceiued, that it was written by one, who was ouer head and eares (as we vse to say) in extreamity of affection. For the words were set downe so graciously, and carryed such a sprightly heate in reading: that, first of all, they vrged her to compassionate the Gentle-woman, because she well knew, from whom the missiue came, and to whom it was directed. Next, they were of such force and efficacy, that laying them to her owne heart, and considering withall, what kind of man he must needes bee, that could induce this Gentle-woman to

Ouer-much curiosity and enquiry, doth great harme oftentimes.

The wonder full power & efficacy of a Letter.

to such feruent affection: presently likewise she grew amourous of him, and the power of the Letter was as preuailing with her, euen as if it had bin sent from her selfe to the Gentleman. And, as many times it comes to passe, that poison prepared in meat for some great Lord, killeth the first that tasteth of it: so fared it with this poore Lady, who being ouer greedy, swallowed downe the amourous venome, which was prepared for another body.

An apt similitude or comparison.

What should I neede to write any more? The effect sufficiently declared it selfe. And it often falleth out, that many Ladies and Gentle-women (beside these of whom wee speake) partly to worke despight to others, and partlie to do as others do: they labour with all paine and industry, to preuent or forestall one another in their loues, sporting with their owne affections, as children doe with Cherries; til they fall into the like opinion conceiued by these Gentle-women, each of them prouing the Spurre, to the others amourous incitation.

Valentinus Barruchius, a Spaniard writeth, that a Dutchesse of *Sauoy*, became extreamely amourous of a Spanish Knight, of the Family of the *Mendozaes*; albeit shee had neuer seene him. But only heard a Sister of the said *Mendoza* (named *Isabella*) say, that in going to *Rome* on Pilgrimage for deuotion, shemet the said Dutchesse (beeing an English-woman by Nation) on the way, taking the ayre for her recreation, by the Riuer of *Pau*, and seeing her, saide aloud. *O would it pleased GOD, that this Princesse and my Brother were maried together: one might then safely say, they were the most excellent couple (for beauty and perfection) that all Europe afforded*. Vpon these very words, the Dutches grew so exceedingly passionate in loue, to the Knight whom she had neuer seene: that shee feigned a sickenesse, euen to the death, making a vow, whereby she promised, that if she escaped, she would goe on foote to Saint *Iames de Compostella* in *Spaine*, onelie to winne occasion and meanes, whereby to see her beloued *Mendoza*, and so shee did. But this hypocrisie and counterfeit deuotion, had almost valued her life and honor; yea, and *Mendozaes* also. Nevertheless,

The Dutches of *Sauoy* became amourous of *Don Mendoza*, a Spaniard, hauing neuer seene him.

Loue can enforce a feigned Religion, and vowes.

theleſſe, God preſerued them both in the greateſt danger, and ſuffered them to be married together, ſome few years after. But becauſe the Hiſtory is written at large in ſo many Languages; I forbeare any further relation thereof.

To conclude, it appeareth by theſe, and many other Hiſtories, that among all the moſt grieuous paſſions, which ordinarily doe beſiedge the mindes of Men and Women; Loue hath almoſt daily held the chiefeſt place. For, after he hath once faſtned hold vpon ſome generous Subiect, he purſueth the Nature of the corrupting humor, as in ſuch as haue a Feauer: which taketh his originall at the hart, and then walketh (incurably) through all the ſenſible partes of a mans body. Whereof our forerecited Hiſtories, do make ample proofe, being no leſſe admirable, then true and certaine.

Loue is the chiefeſt of all other paſſions

CHAP. XXXII.

That the change of Habits and Apparrell, taken by one people from another; hath oftentimes proued a certaine ſigne, of being ſpoyled, rauaged, or molleſted by that Nation, whom they effected to imitate in their Garments.

Monſier de la Noue, in his French diſcourſes.

THe Lord *de la Noue*, alleageth in his learned diſcourſes, many ſignes or ſhewes, when any Eſtate tendeth to his owne ruine: drawne both from naturall thinges in Diuinitie, and ſententious ſayings, of auncient prophane Authors. Neuertheleſſe, he hath forgotten one thing, to wit; change or alteration of our wearing Garments: which hath beene heedefully obſerued, not onely in our daies, but likewiſe in all former antiquity. For, when a people tooke a fantaſticke pleaſure, to attire and cloath themſelues, after the faſhions of ſome ſtrange Nation: it fell out very often, that they were molleſted, warred vpon, yea, and ſubiected by the Nation, whom they apiſhlie imitated in their idle faſhions of Habits. We will beginne then with ſuch matters, as haue beene knowne to happen in our times.

Prognoſticke euents by wearing of other country garments.

The greater part of the *Grecians*, which dwelled in Cities, and followed the Warres, about the yeare 420. before they were made Slaues vnto the *Turkes*, they cloathed and apparrelled themſelues after the Turkiſh manner. And that which is more, they that were were wont to weare long beards; which well became them, and gaue them faire Ornaments; they would ſhaue them cleane away, except the long Muſtachioes onely, and practiſe how elſe to follow them in all their actions. As was too well noted in them of *Chalcondila*, who likewiſe (very ſoone after) fel into their ſeruile ſubiection.

Grecians that imitated the *Turkes* in their fantaſticke Garments.

The *Portugalles*, a little before they loſt their King, named *Don Sebaſtian*, who was ſlaine in *Affrica*, in a battaile giuen againſt the King of *Fez*: attired themſelues after the *Caſtillian* manner, and all the Nobleſt perſons and Courtiers, practiſed nothing more then to ſpeake *Caſtillian*; forſaking their owne natural language, which is the moſt ornate and eloquent tongue, that euer was ſpoken in all the *Spaines*. It came to paſſe, that the ſaide King *Sebaſtian*, hauing left no Succeſſour behinde him in *Portugall*: King *Phillip* of *Caſtille*, King of all the other Realmes of the *Spaines*, found himſelfe to be the neereſt in ſucceſſion, and made himſelfe King, partly by right; and partly by terrour, as beeing a moſt potent Monarcke. And the *Portugalles* obeyed him, and (euen to this day) are vnder his commaund: notwithſtanding, the deadlie hatred borne them by the *Portugals*, for foure hundred years hitherto, or thereabout; albeit, that the Kingdome of *Portugall* was Feudatorie to the King of *Caſtille*.

The *Portugals* clothed themſelues like to *Caſtillians*.

The * *Liuonians*, a Northerne people. inhabiting not farre off from *Ruſſia* (ouer whom the Brothers, called *Porte-glaines*, other-wiſe tearmed Knightes *Teutones* commaunded) ſome yeares before they were ſubiected by the Duke of *Moſcouia*; thoſe Knights went in Habite verie like to the *Moſcouites*, greatly following them in their manners, and barbarous behauiour

* A people in a part of *Sarmatia*, very far North, beyond *Liuonia*. Knights Teutones, or Porte-craigne Knights.

of life. For they became Deceiuers, Exacters; Drunkards, went cloathed in long Gownes, making reuerence after the order of our Cowled religious Monkes, as the *Moscouites* vse to doe, in bowing or ducking their heades forward. Also, when they drinke and Baechanallize, they say, they doe it like the *Moscouites*. In breefe, it was such an ill presage for them, that within a small while afterward (which was in the year 1502.) they were ouercome in warre by the cruell *Moscouite*, and the said Knights, hauing lost such a goodly estate; were all slaine, or kept as Captiues.

The fantasticke behauiour of the *Gauls* in their apparrell.

The *Gaules* (saith *Iulius Cæsar*) when they were deuided among themselues; some wore Garments after the *Romaine* fashion; others, like the *Allemaignes*, and left the vse of their owne short habites, and long close Breeches: which prooued an indiction, that the *Gaules* were soone after reduced into a Prouince, & made subiect to the *Romains*. Then, re-conquered againe afterward (two hundred yeares, or there-about) from the *Romaines*, by the *Franconians*, a people of *Germany*.

The Iewes changing their names & garments.

The Iewes, thirty yeares before that their Countrey was whollie ruined, and they made Slaues to the Romaines, vnder the Emperours, *Titus* and *Vespasian*: imposed no other Names on their Children, but such as were Romaine, neither would they weare any Garments, but after the *Romaine* guise. Their Armes for Warre, and Souldiours Cassockes, were (in all respectes) like vnto theirs; yea, they stroue to imitate their fashions and actions very intirely: whereby they fell afterward into large expence of blood, euen throughout their whole Dominions, and neuer since could regaine their libertie.

French men apparrelled like *Spaniards*, *Rutters*, and *Suitzers*.

What may we prognosticate, by the vnhappy humours of our *French-men*, and which haue kept them company for these last forty yeares? Some going in habite like to *Spaniards*; Others after the manner of *Reistres*; And others like *Suitzers*. For well neere all our Courtiers, since the yeare 1557. as also the Youthes in Cities, Noble-men, and Souldiours for the Warres, must haue their Hats and habits for the body, meerely Spanish; Their Cloakes and Hose, like the *Reistres*, and their Haire also; Saddles for Horses, Boots, Spurs, and Armes, all made Rutter-fashion. Hath not this beene a prefage, of plots, practises, and intelligences, betweene *Spaniards* and seditious *Frenchmen*, contriued against the Kingdome of *France*? Haue they not made vse of the best places in *Brittaigne*, *Champaigne*, *Piccardie*, with *Amiens*, *Dorlan*, *Calays*, and other? They teamed *Paris* their good Cittie; there they had Garrison of *Hispaniolized French*; there they made commotion of the Estates, beside many other mollestations, which they brought to the Kingdome. The chiefest French of their faction, went all in Spanish Garments, to testifie the good affection which they bare to that Nation. And the fashions of Cloaks, Doublets, hose, and other garnishments, worne by the *Suitzers*, *Reistres*, *Lansquenets*, and other *Allemaignes*, fell out to be apparant predictions, that the Kingdome should be pilled, pouled, and rauaged by them. Hath not all the Money in the Realmes Coffers been exhausted, to pay for this fond pride? I appeale to both sides, during the deuision. Nay, is it not so daily seene? I am sure it was so, within these three dates.

Affection which France very dearely paid for.

Strange disguises worne among the *Italians*.

Count *Baltazar* held opinion, that the first fashion of Garments vsed by the Italians, was a signe of libertie and freedome, as the nouell habites were a presage of seruitude, which we haue beheld to fall out verie truelie. And as one writeth, that *Darius* King of all the East, hauing the yeare before hee fought against *Alexander*, caused the Sword that he wore by his owne side, (which was a *Persian* blade) to be made after the manner of those of *Macedon*: It was interpreted by his Diuiners or Soothsayers, to signifie, that they (according to whose fashion, *Darius* had altred the forme of his Persian Sword) should come to Domineere, and be Superiours, or Lordes of *Persia*. *Euen so* (saith he) *in hauing changed our* Italian *Habits, into those of Strangers; it seemeth to me, that it should signifie, that they into whose habilliments wee haue altred ours, should come to ouer-awe vs.* Which was found to be most true, for

King *Darius* his alteration of his Sword.

to

to this day, there is scantly any Nation in the world, to whom *Italie* hath not been a prey.

It was no matter of meruall, if *Vegetius* cried out against the Souldiers of his time, who had lefte the waighty, yet actiue Armor of the ancient Romains, and went naked (as it were) to warre, which was the verie cause, that ledde them the way vnto the losse of many foughten battailes. For, those Soldiers came at length to weare, a verie barbarous and Gothish kinde of furniture, far differing from the Legionaries order, that flourished vnder the good Emperors, such as were *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, & *Marcus Aurelius*, vnder whom, the men of warre, as well for foote as horse, were in their strength and vigour, and Armes, and Military Discipline, in most high reputation. For, in stead of Corslets and Cuirasses of Iron or Steel, our nouelists would weare Coats of Wool, and counter-pointed cottons, imposing an vnusuall name on this Armor, as *Thorocomachi* or Iackes; and euen to this day, those habits doe retaine that name, which signifieth nothing else, but a *Thorax* or Cuirasse for warre, vsed in stead of the Militarie Corslet, which our Elders most esteemed.

Vegetius complaint on Roman Soldiers for leauing their ancient Armour.

Newe names imposed on new martiall Garments.

Those chaunges of Warlicke habiliments, which the latter *Romaine* Soldiers made, besides the losses which they had brought with them, signified also the perdition of the Easterne Empire, which the *Gothes* inuaded; for they made themselues Lords of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and of other great Prouinces. Wherefore, I conclude (because that which hath been noted by experience, standeth in no neede of any other demonstration) that the often chaunges and habits of a Nation, can declare nothing else, but some future domination, or ruine to be receyued from those people, of whom they borrow the fashion of Garments, as hath beene proued in this chapter, by sundry examples.

The reason of loosing the Eastern Empire.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Discourse on the vocation and life of S. Luke, Physition, Euangelist, & Scholler of the Apostles, which may serue as an Apologie for Physitions, falsly calumniated.

THE reason that moued me to write a Discourse on the life of Saint *Luke*, Phisition, Euangelist, and Scholler to the Apostles: was, in regard that a great number of people, (yea, and some of the Learneder sort, reputed of the best aduised) haue beleeued and affirmed, by a certaine kinde of brute, receyued of long time from Father to the son, that Physitions giue no credit vnto God, but to Nature only. Or else, if they doo beleeue in him, then they think ill on the Catholick faith. I haue been many times very much amazed, from whence this so strange an opinion should arise, considering, that I haue frequented diuers Philosophers and Physitians, & could neuer tast in them any of those erronious imaginations.

The Authors reason for writing this Chapter.

I thinke that this may seem to receiue Originall from *Aristotle*, by some that did not well vnderstand his writing: and therefore haue not spared to publish, that he did not acknowledge any god, neither any prouidence of his, but that al things went by a naturall brandling, and the world to be either without beginning or ending. Hence is conceiued, that Physitions, as taking the beginning of their Art from his Bookes: do in these thinges wholly follow his opinions. I say that it may well bee, that in some places of his workes, such things do seem to be spoken by him: but let vs see the Catastrophe of his intention. Marke what he saith in his Booke of the world. *God is the engenderer and the conseruer of al that is in this world, in what fashion soeuer it bee.* And in his Metaphisicks also, after he hath reiected the opinion of diuers, concerning the principles. *That man* (saith hee) *who hath saide that God, or the Vnderstanding, is cause and Author, not only of the creatures,*

Aristotle presupposed to be the Original of this error.

Arist. in lib. de Mund.

Aristotle defended fro slander & calumny.

Ari. in Metaph.

but of Nature it selfe, and of the world, & of all the order therein contained: seemeth to speake aduisedly, and as well awaked; but all other, rashly, and inconsiderately. And they which do thinke so, haue very wel placed that cause, to bee the beginning of all whatsoeuer: euen such a beginning or principle, as gaue motion to all things. And in his Booke of meruailous things, he speaketh more clearly. That Naturally the Sea would couer the earth, as beeing more high then it: but God hath kept it backe, to the end, that the earth might bee discouered, both for the vse of man, and all the Creatures.

Arist. in Lib. de Reb. Mirac.

Thus we see plainly, that *Aristotle* beleeued there was a God aboue Nature: And that the worlde had beene created, and was not eternall; and that there was a Paradise. In his Booke also of Heauen and in the ninth Chapter, he saith: Aboue the Heauens, there is neither euacuation, or time; That which abideth or dwelleth there, is subiect neither to place, to motion, to mutation, nor yet to any effection: but that there is in this vniuersall eternity, a most happy and contented life. In like manner, *Aristotle* had beene Scholler to *Plato*, who had taught and instructed him in these things.

Arist. in lib. de Coel. cap. 9.

Hippocrates beleeued that there was a God.

To alledge, that *Hippocrates* might be the cause of this conceite, there doth not appeare any likely reason: because al that he re commendeth to his Disciples, is to call vpon God, and to exercise Charitie towards the sicke. As may be seene in his Booke, *Of Conuenable, decent, and honest comportement in a Physition*. And in the protestation and Oath which he maketh that day, when hee goeth to exercise his Art, which was performed before an infinite number of men, within the temple of *Apollo*, and in a solemn Sacrifice. This he caused his Schollers to do, so long as he liued: which I am the more willing to set downe, word by word, according as it is set downe by himselfe, at the beginning of his Workes, in this manner:

The Protestation and oath made by *Hippocrates* & his Schollers.

I sweare by Apollo, Physition, Æsculapius, Hygea, Panacea, and by al the other Goddes: and I cal all the Goddesses to witnesse, that with al my power, and so long as I shal liue, I wil keepe this protestation and Oath which I make, deliuering it in writing presently, sincerely, and as becommeth an honest man, to wit: that he who hath taught me the Art of Physicke, I wil respect & honor him as my Father; and that I will lay downe my life for him, and assist him with al my meanes in his necessities. I wil keep and regard his Children as mine owne: and if they bee willing to bee instructed in this Art, I wil do it in meere gratuity. In like manner, I wil not hide any iot of all that I know, from such Schollers as I shal stand obliged to teach. Ouer and aboue what hath beene saide, I make thereto this Addition more.

A further addition to the Oath & Protestation.

Concerning due respect, of gouerning & healing the diseased by diet or otherwise, I will appoint such vnto them, as I shal deeme necessarie for their health, hindering by all my vtmost, that they shal not fal into inconuenience by them. I wil neuer suffer my self to be perswaded, by the procurement of whosoeuer, to impayson any one by anie meanes, much lesse, giue any aduise whereby it may be done. Likewise, I will neuer giue any Pessary, Suppositorie, or other medicament, to cause abortiueneese in any woman: but wil liue heerin holily, and exercising my Art vertuously. I wil neuer make any essay, to fetch stones out of the bladder: but leaue that worke to be done, by such as are experienced in that Arte. Al houses that I shall enter into, or be called for my helpe, I will not go, except it may be for their profit, keeping alwayes my will and body chast, using secrecie and silence in al things that are not honest, or fit to be vttered. Graunt then O you Goddes, that so long as I shal keep this Oath and Protestation, I may happily (and with your blessing) prosper in mine Art towards all men. And doing the contrary, that I may be iustlie punnished.

The Prayer or imprecation vnto the Goddes.

This was the manner of his protestation: Nay, he did very well beside; for, in the first Booke of his Prognostickes, he giueth especiall aduertisement to a Physition, to bee verie carefull, that the sickenesse do not sauor of any Diuine cause: that is to say, some extraordinary matter sent from God, to punish men for their sinnes; or whether it followeth the common course of Nature. I am of the mind, that whosoeuer readeth these thinges, will neuer tearme *Hippocrates* to be an Atheist, much lesse, a wicked man. And therefore, such men as shall read his Books, can learn nothing in them, but how to liue as becommeth good people, and faithfully to exercise the Art of Physicke.

Hip. in lib. 1 de Prog. Cap. 5.

That they should learne Atheisme of *Galen*, is altogether false: for he beleeued

in

Gal. in lib. 3 de vſu part. Hom.

in one God, and rendereth thankes vnto him for his admirable works, in the third Booke of the vſe of the partes of our humain bodies; & theſe are his very words. *Heere will I compoſe a true Song, in the honor of our Creator: for, I doe perſwade my ſelfe, that it is truly ſuch ſeruice as he requireth. Not that I ſhould Sacrifice Buls vnto him by hundreds, or burne Incenſe on heaps before him: but that I ſhould knowe, and make knowne to others; what, and howe great is his wiſedome, power, and goodneſſe. I hola, that this is a demonſtration of a perfect goodneſſe; & therefore ought his goodneſſe to bee celebrated for euer, for hauing found the maner how things becam ſo richly embelliſhed. This ſheweth a ſoueraign wiſedome, in accompliſhing and perfecting all things, which he had formerly deſtinied & ordained. And a might and power that cannot any way be ſurmounted.*

Galen Sung a Song to the glory and honor of God.

Gal. in lib. ſupra dict. Cap. 17.

In the ſeuenteenth chapter of the ſaid Booke. *Whoſoeuer* (ſaith he) *ſhall conſider, the ſtructure and compoſition of euery creature, will finde, that therein is contained a proofe of the Creators wiſedome. Seeing then, that in the middeſt of this receptacle of humours, a ſoule dwelleth in euerie one, which hath ſo many vertues: by much greater reaſon, let him admire the woorth and excellency of that Vnderſtanding which abideth in Heauen.* In the fifteenth Chapter alſo. *I confeſſe* (ſaith he) *that I do not know what the Soule is, although I haue ſearched very diligently for it. Neither know I which way to yeelde a reaſon how an Infant is foruſed. But I verie wel perceiue, that in this verie cauſe, there is great Art and wonderful wiſedome. And therefore, I am of the minde, that no man ſhoulde meddle in the ſearch thereof; but let it ſuffice vs, that our Creator pleaſed, thinges ſhould bee in that manner. For in ſuch caſes, which (but by Anatomie) wee neuer knew to be made, ſhal we dare to conteſt, and ſeek by what reaſon they haue beene made?* That is, as if hee would haue ſaide, Nature whom we doe admire ſo much, is nothing els, but what it hath pleaſed God to command. Theſe words alſo, do not relliſh of an Atheiſt; but of him that beleeued in one onelie God, and honoured and admired him in his workes.

An excellent and woorthy reſolution in Galen.

What nature is.

Obiection.

I make no doubt, of any Obiection to be made, in reproouing *Moyſes* and the Chriſtians, in ſaying; that God is omnipotent or Almighty: and that if he pleaſed, he could ſuddenly of a ſtone, make a man, or of aſhes, a horſe. Himſelfe anſwereth: *Nature is not wont to make anie ſuch things; and God maketh nothing, but by the common order of Nature which hee hath inſtituted.* And ſuch was the opinion of *Plato*, cõcording with his. This ought to bee taken, as comming from a Philoſopher that beleeued in God: Neuertheleſſe, not as yet inſtructed in the Law, as well of the Olde as New Teſtaments. And it is not to be doubted, but that all the Grecian Phyſitions (before and after *Hippocrates* and *Galen*) did ſcarſely know, reuerence, and worſhip God according as he is deſcribed in the holy Scriptures. Notwithſtanding, ſince *Galen*, who liued in the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, one hundred thirtie eight: all the Grecian Phyſitions haue beene Chriſtians: as *Paulus Egmetus*, *Alexander*, *Trallianus*, *Actuarius*, *Nicholaus Myrepſicus*, and othe s. Now becauſe there were two Sectes of principall Phyſitions, to wit; *Greeks & Arabes*, we hauing alredy proued the *Grecians* to be men of honeſty, and to haue in them both the knowledge and feare of GOD. Let vs now ſee, if the *Arabes* (all ſaide to be of the *Sarazin* and *Mahomet* Religion) did not beleeue in God. And we will begin with *Meſuus*, who liued about the yeare, 1045. at ſuch time as *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, was King of *Ieruſalem*. He compoſed three Bookes of Phyſicke; and in his Preface before them, hee beginneth thus, in theſe verie words.

Galen in lib. 11 de vſu part.

A[illegible]id not know God aright.

Phyſitions among the Grecians that wer Chriſtians.

In the name of the merciſull God (by the grace of whom, theſe Words & writings receiue Grace, and their Doctrine perfection) theſe workes and writings are begunne by Iohn, *the Sonne of* Meſuus, *the Sonne of* Hameeh, *the Sonne of* Hely, *the Sonne of* Abdela, *King of* Damas. *And* Auicenne, *who liued in the time of* Almerick, *Brother to* Baldwine *King of* Ieruſalem, *& of* Frederick Barbaroſſa, *Emperor in the VVeſt; and of* Emanuell *Emperor in the Eaſt, in the yeare*, 1165. *Before all things* (ſaith he) *I would render praiſe and thankes to God, according as the Greatneſſe of his Maieſtie, and the merit of his benefits requireth: the mercie of whome, exceedeth that of all the Prophets.* Then in the end of the chapter, he further ſaith: *May it pleaſe God, to grant mee life and time, for the finiſhing of this Booke, I wil take paines to compoſe others.* The like hath been done by diuers other

Meſuus in Præ.

Phyſitions among the Arabians that beleeued in God.

Meſuus in fin. Præfat. Practic.

Phyſi

Physityons; as *Hamech*, *Novius*, *Almansor*, *Zachary*, *Rasis*, and others. I am sure they will not obiect *Auerroes* vnto mee, who approued not the *Mahumetists* Law (as being full of groseneſſe and vices, viz: Whoredomes, Theftes, and ſuch like) neither that of the Chriſtians: but was altogether *Ariſtotelian*, as may be noted in his third Booke of the ſoule, which hee wrote vppon *Ariſtotle*. And thereby may be gathered, that he knew one God, and him to be the Creator of all things.

Auerroes in lib. 3. de Anim.

Well then, concerning the other detection, that if they are not Atheiſts; yet they are not found in faith, which ſhould ſeeme to enſue: becauſe they are not ſuperſtitious, neither do giue credite to ſo many fooliſh ſuperſtitions, wherein the people repoſe too much beleefe. As for example; to gueſſe how great the ſole of the left foot is, of him that hath the oppilation of the Spleen, or the Feauer Quartaine; the rinde of a Walnut gathered before day, wil help him. Alſo, to write the word *Ioannes* vpon a Bay-leafe, and then lay it vppon the fore-head of him or her whoſoeuer, that hath the Head-ache, and it is a preſent helpe.

That Physitions are not found in faith

Superſtitious belief in ſome people.

The ancient Græcians, inſtead of *Ioannes*, vſed to write *Atenea*, ſo ſaith *Pliny*. Antiquitie alſo beleeued, that a man (offended with the palſy) holding a green Frogge in his healthfull hand, and ſpeaking the word *Apollo* three ſeuerall times, it would reſtore him. Some haue written that by writing in a little Paper, theſe two barbarous words, *Abra*, *Cadabra*, and to ſpeake them backeward, beginning with the latter Letters, and ſo going on, it is an infallible helpe for the Quartaine Ague. Phyſitions, becauſe they would not credit ſuch fables, were reputed but badlie addicted to the faith of thoſe times. And ſome Phyſitions, not to incurre ſo vile reputation, either of the times paſſed before, or preſent: haue beene conſtrained to auouch ſuch ſuperſtitions, as *Alexander Trallianus*, who writeth; that if a man did beare about him this verſe of *Homer*, *Orbis terreque tremor*, it would cure him of all Gouts.

Plin. in lib. 22. cap. 14.

Idle and vain opinions, for curing ſome diſeaſes.

Cardanus, a great Phyloſopher and Phiſition, recounteth things much more abſurd, only becauſe hee would not bee thought incredulous. All theſe thinges, and others of like Nature, haue not only bin reproued by learned Phyſitions; but likewiſe by catholick Diuines, euer ſince the Primitiue Church.

Cardanus, a moſt learned Phiſition.

Now, for as much as Religion is one of the cheefeſt Vertues, which conſiſteth in the middeſt of two extreame vices, to wit; Atheiſme and Superſtition; and in regard that Phyſitions are neither Atheiſtes, nor ſuperſtitious, as euery one well knoweth, and as I haue already proued: it followeth then, that they are Religious, and full of piety.

The Authors argument, which he alloweth for good

There was ſomtime a Phiſition (whoſe name I could not eaſily attain vnto) that builded a goodly Temple, in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, in the ſame place wher *Babylon* ſtood in Egypt; and not farre off from where the Graund *Caire* ſtandeth at this preſent, there being now but a verie ſmall Village. Vnder this Temple, there is a Vault, wherein (as ſome haue thought) ſhee hid her Sonne *Ieſus*, when he was ſought for by *Herod* to be murdered.

Bel. in l. 2. ca. 38

Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, writeth; that a Phyſition, named *Alexander*, a Natiue in *Friſia*, highly beloued and eſteemed of euerie one, for beeing Religious, prudent, vertuous, and inriched with all good manners, in the perſecution vnder the Emperor *Seuerus*, as they were leading Chriſtian priſoners before the Iudges Tribunall at *Lyons*, to vnderſtand whether they would perſiſt, or denie their Chriſtianity; ſhee made a ſigne to them with his head ſecretly (in the beſt maner he could deuiſe) that they ſhould continue conſtant in their Faith. The Guards and people ſtanding by, hauing perceiued it, accuſed him immediately; whereupon, he was martyred, and indured the torments long and conſtantly, euen to his lateſt gaſpe of life. If I would, I could alledge many others: but I am forced to leaue them, for feare of being too prolixe. Yet let me remember *Porphyrius*, who liued in the yeare, 224. a cruell enemy vnto the Chriſtians (yet eſteemed the moſt Learned Phyloſopher of thoſe times. Hee ſcorned and mocked many Phyſitions then with him, becauſe they had left Paganiſme, and embraced Chriſtianity: but *Origen* aunſwered him ſo well, that he ſtopt his mouth from further deprauing.

Euſ. in Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 5. ca. 3.

Alexander, a worthy Phiſition & Martyr.

Porphyrius the Apoſtata.

Meſsire Angelo Cattho, who was firſt in ſeruice with *Charls* Duke of *Bourgogne*; and after that, entertained by *Lewes*, eleuenth

M. Angelo Cattho, a Prophetical Phiſition

uenth of that Name, King of *France*, being a Physition well learned in the Mathematickes, becam afterward (in regard of his good life & great deuotion) Arch-Byshop of *Vienna Gauloise*. Ouer and beside his deepe knowledge, hee hadde the guift of Prophesie: for hee foretolde the saide Duke, of the battailes which he lost against the *Suisses*, and in the end, the manner of his death, according as it hapned afterward; which was the cause that he left the saide Dukes Court. For on a day, as Masse was celebrating before K. *Lewes*, in the Church of Saint *Martin* at *Tours* (distant from the Towne of *Nancy* ten good dayes iourney at the lest, which Towne the Duke had then besieged) hee offering the King the *Pax* to kisse, because he serued that day as *Almoner*, hee vttered these wordes: *The Lord God hath giuen you peace and repose, & you may haue it if you will. For, your enemie the Duke of Bourgogne, is a dead man: hee commeth to be slaine, and his Army discomfited*. The day and instant was iustly obserued, the King sent, and it was found to bee verie true.

A prediction concerning the death of the Duke of Bourgogne.

He foretold likewise many other things to diuers great and honourable personages, which accordingly came to passe. And ordinarily, Physitions do gather by obseruation, some presaging of the day and houre, of the health or death of the sicke patient; which ensueth not so much by their Art, as the speciall grace of God giuen them, in regard of their pietie and firm faith in him, hauing continually the admirable prouidence of GOD before their eyes, being mainly thereto incited by their Art.

Physitions skill in life or death of their Pacients.

Marcilius Phicinus the *Florentine*, a Phylosopher, and reputed to bee one of the most learned men, that liued after *Aristotle* and *Galen*. He was a Priest full of sanctity, and published manie Bookes, which serue for the benefite of health. Also, he Commented vpon *Plato*, whom he made to speake Christianly: he liued in the yeare, 1475. *Petrus Belonius*, a Frenchman, and Physition in the Cittie of *Mans*, in meere deuotion made a voyage to *Ierusalem*, which was troublesom, long, and full of many difficulties. But it may be obiected to me, that many Physions of our time, haue withdrawn themselues from the Catholicke Romaine Church.

Marcilius Phicinus, a lerned Florentine.

Petrus Belonius a deuoute Physition.

I answere, some haue done, but very few: and a great part of people, of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Fraunce*, of the *Suisses*, & diuers Prelates also, yea, Kings, Queenes, and Princesses, haue done as much, as seeking for their soules saluation; and perswading themselues to doo well therein; in which case, we must referre them to God, the onely searcher of the heart and Reines, and that disposeth of all things, as seemeth best to his diuine wisedome. But that this hath beene perticuler to Physitions, more then to anie other, I flatly deny.

Of leauing the Romaine Church.

Some will alledge *Rabelais* vnto mee, an excellent Physition, who is thought one while to speake like an Atheist; another while like a Lutherian. I answere, that it is a difficult matter to iudg in such cases, and to comprehend a mans intention: especially, in such people as haue no knowledge, neither any solide iudgement. But they that looke vppon him a little neerer, shall find, that he is a *Democritus*, laughing at all our humaine actions. Or a *Lucian*, who maketh a mockery of such abuses, as daily are committed among men: but he medleth not with any thing, which toucheth the Apostolicall Church. Neuertheless, I am of opinion, that, for the better orders sake; and in regarde of such obscuritie in conceiuing his intention, that he should bee neither read, nor receiued; for so he was censured by the Counsell of Trent. But as for the last Booke that is added among his woorkes, which is entitled *L'Isle Sonnante*; and seemeth (indeede) to blame and mocke at men, bearing office in the Church: I protest, that he neuer composed it, for it was made a long while after his death. I my selfe was at *Paris* when it was done, and I knew very well the Author thereof, who neuer was any Physition.

Diuers opinions, concerning the book of *Rabelais*.

The Book of the founding Island.

Let vs nowe come to Saint *Luke*, the Physition and Euangelist: God pleased to make vse of his seruice, in writing the life and actions of our Lord Iesus Christ, according as he heard them declared by the Apostles & Disciples, who had seene him and them; as also the things hapning after his resurrection, by hauing seene them, which none of the other Euangelists had done. For, but by him, the Ascension had beene vnknowne to vs; the descent of the Holy-Ghost, vpon the Apostles

Concerning S. *Luke*, Physition, & Euangelist.

poſtles and Diſciples; the variety of tongues which they ſpake; their eloquence and great knowledge. The teſtimonie of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Ieſus which they preached before euerie one, without any feare. Their impriſonments, their myraculous deliuerances The conuerſion of S. *Paule*, his actions, his myracles, and of ſome other of the Apoſtles. His Voyages and ſufferinges, euen vntill he was brought to *Rome*, there to bee put to death, which he neuer gainſayed. Som do hold that *Luke* was conuerted by him, hauing conferred with him; and hauing obſerued in his myracles, the great Vertue of God. And it ſeemeth, that he was the rather made choiſe of, to be Notarie and Secretary of the New-Teſtament, as being more apt to that vocation, then any other, to the end, that his Writinges might be the better receyued and credited.

S. Luke wrote more then all the other Euangeliſts.

S. Luke elected to bee the Secretarie of the New-Teſtament.

There is great modeſty acknowledged in him, becauſe (doubtleſſe) he did performe ſome miracles, as well as the other; and yet he neuer ſpeaketh of them. He diſputed at *Athens* againſt the Phyloſophers, with S. *Paul* where many were conuerted; and among other, S. *Dioniſius Areopagita*, &c. He wrote in the *Greek* tongue, which he ſeemed rather to haue by the guift of the bleſſed Spirit, then by his ſtudies: for his mother tongue was in *Syraque*, as being borne and brought vp in *Antiochie*. He was briefe, but very intelligible in his writings. In ſumme the whole Church oweth him much obligation, in regard of his woorkes: for, they haue ſerued, and ſhall do, to confirm many in the Chriſtian faith. S. *Hierom* ranketh him in number of Virgins; and that he liued foureſcore and foure yeares, dying in *Bythinia*, *Titus* being Emperour. I wold gladly giue aduiſe by this diſcourſe, that heereafter none ſhould exprobrate againſt the Phyſitions, that either they are Religion leſſe, or conceite ill of our faith, which we haue approued to be falſe by our former relation.

The great modeſtie in S. *Luke*.

Acts 17, 34.

Coloſ. 4, 14. 2 Tim. 4, 11.

The Authors aduiſe in concluſion.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Of the great Prouince of Moſcouia. As alſo the Manners, Religion, and power of the Prince, ruling ouer that people.

IT was the more willingly induced, to make a perticuler Chapter, for deſcription of the country of *Moſcouia*, the peoples Manners, Religion, and power of their Prince: becauſe very manie, inhabiting in our neerer regions, are ignoraunt thereof, the men of thoſe parts hauing ſo ſmall frequentation with vs. Neuertheleſſe, it is the terror of *Poland*, yea, to all *Germany*, as much or rather more, then the Turke; as *Laurentius Surius* the *Germaine* giueth aſſurance: for within few yeares, they haue Conquered all *Liuonia*, and other great Prouinces.

The *Moſcouits* are a dreadful Nation.

Moſcouia, is a verie large Northerlie Region, containing very neere fiue hundered leagues in length. The principall Cittie therof being called *Moſca*, or *Moſcuua*, greater then the Cittie *Paris* in *France*, and ſeated on the Riuer of *Moſqua*. There was wont to be a large squared ſtone, in the middeſt of the Market place belonging to the Cittie; whereon whoſoeuer could firſt mount himſelfe (in vacancie of the Crowne) without beating down, he was held as Prince of the country, and obtained the principality. The Inhabitants haue had great fightes and combates, each againſt other, about the prioritie of mounting on that ſtone. He that comes to be Prince of the country, cannot call himſelfe King, but Duke; being contented with that popular Name, and differeth not in his Garmentes from other Noblemen of the Land; ſaue onlie that he weareth a higher Bonnet on his head.

The greatnes of *Moſcouia*.

A ſtrange election of the D. of *Moſcouia*

It is a Countrey rich in Siluer, and ſo ſtrongly guarded thoroughout, that not onely their owne people, but ſtranngers likewiſe, can paſſe away without the Princes Letters. The Countrey is flat and

Concerning the Country, flat, Plainy, & not mountainie.

and plaine, without any Mountaines: therefore, that which is saide of the *Typhæan* Mountaines, and that they are in this Countrey, are meerely fabulous, for there is no such Hill at all. There are great store of Forrests, abounding with wilde Beasts, which are daily chased: and great profit is made (by Traffick) for the skinnes of those Beastes; as of Hartes, Wolues, Ermines, Martines, *Zubelines*, *Fouoynes*, and diuers other of great value and worth.

Store of beasts skinnes.

This Prouince, confineth *Liuonia* on the one side, *Tartaria* on the other; and on the thirde quarter it hath the *Euxine* Sea. It containeth many Prouinces in it, so that the Prince can (in very fewe dayes) leaue four hundred thousand men on foote, to beginne warre withall. They drinke nothing but a kinde of Beere; and yet none but the rich may drinke thereof: for they haue no Wine, but what is brought from other Countreyes. They be subiect vnto drunkennesse, as al Northerly people are: and Winter is there so sharpe, long, and extreame, that if water be but sprinkled or cast vppe into the Ayre, it freezeth before it can fall to the earth.

The countries confines

Men readie for the warre.

Long & sharp Winter.

Their Drink and Corne.

Their Corne neuer perfectly ripens, but when they haue reaped it, they dry it in their Stoues or Hotte-houses. The Spring is verie cold with them, and their Summer, which lasteth but two months onely, is extreamly hot. They haue not any vse of monies; but in stead thereof, they haue Plates of Gold or Siluer, squared, without any marke or stampe thereon, which are taken in Merchandize, forasmuch as they waigh. As for their Garments, they go cloathed like Turkes, in long Gownes or Robes, hauing narrow sleeues, and guirded about the middle. Their buildings and manner of life, doo differ verie little from theirs of *Poland* & *Bohemia*. They are Christians like vnto the Greeks, receiuing order of Priesthood, from the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, saying seruice (in their Temples) in their vulgar tongue, which is the *Sclauonian* Language, and their Carracters are Greeke.

Their Spring & Summer.

Their money.

Their Garments.

Their buildings, life, and Religion.

The abyding of the Prince, is in a goodly great Pallace, in the City of *Moscua*, built after the *Italian* manner; being so strong and spacious, as (in our times) the like hath not beene seene. There are in the fore named Citie, as also in diuers other places, men verie learned and wise, whose retirement is where the Schooles are kept.

The Court or abiding of the Prince.

The *Moscouite* is Tributary vnto the King of *Tartaria*, who ouercame them in the yeare of the world, 6745. according as their Annals doe testifie. For, their Chronicles are not after our obseruation, in accounting by the yeares of Iesus Christ. When the *Tartarian* Ambassadors are sent to the *Moscouite* Princes he standeth vp on his feet, and bare-headed before them, and they sit couered. Hee hath (wel-neere) daily warres against the *Polonians* and *Scythians*, who albeit they are subiects to other Kings, yet doth hee much inlarge his dominions ouer them.

The Moscouite tributary to the Tartar.

The Country is very plentiful in Fish, by the goodly and great Riuers which runne along thorough it, wherein they haue their breeding: As *Oxos*, *Drunus*, and *Borysthenes*, which is also called *Depnerus*. There is great store of Pasture grounds; all kinde of Oxen, Kine, and such like Beasts, as also Horses & Mares; but of slender corpulenee and lean. They haue not any sweete fruites growing among them, except it be Cherries: neyther is there any fruits to make Oyle of, as of Oliues, Walnuts, Filbeardes, Almonds, and such like. But all kindes of Pulse are there in abundance, and Corne that they make bread of. The verie best haruest which they haue or gather, consisteth in waxe and Honie, by meanes of their Bees, which do not make their abiding in Hiues, but in hollow Trees in the Forrestes, in wonderfull great plentifulnesse.

Plenty of fish in Riuers.

Pasture ground, and Cattle.

Fruits, Pulse, and Corne.

Wax & Hony in great plentie.

The Prince in all such Countries as he conquereth from the *Scythians*, compelleth them to become Christians; so that the last Prince *Iohn* (within the space of threescore yeares) won many Countreyes from them: as *Perne*, *Corela*, *Perusca*, *Iura*, *Cetiremisa*, *Baacquid*, and many other Idolaterous people, whom hee constrained to receiue Baptism. He gaue them also a Byshoppe, named *Stephen*, whom those barbarous wretches flayed aliue, after the saide Prince was gone forth of their Countrey. But when he hard tydings thereof, he returned againe vpon them; and causing them to feel the rigour of his warre, they were gladde to continue Christians. They haue Poasts

Countreyes won to Christianity.

Stephen a Byshop martired

Swift Poastes.

or swift Curtiers in *Moscouia*, which rid more way, and in shorter time then is doone amongst vs: although their Horses are verie badly bredde, and small of bodie.

These Princes, in former times, contented themselus with the name of Duke only, vntill the dayes of his Father nowe raigning, who vsurped the name of King, giuing himself great Titles in his patents, which continued to his Son succeeding him in manner following. *The Great Lord Basilius, Great Duke of Volodimeria, Moscouia, Nouogardia, Plescouia, Sureluchia, Tuneria, Iugaria, Permia, Vraquia, Bulgaria*; Great Lorde and Duke of the Lands in *Nouagardia* the lower, of *Geruigonia, Rezania, Volotia, Riscouia, Belleya, Iaroslania, Bieroselta, Vdoria, Obdoria, Condidia, &c.* By which large pluralitie of Names, and of so manie Seigneuries, it appeareth, that he is farre more potent, then some haue imagined him to be. But concerning his keeping himselfe in vassalage to the Great King of *Tartaria*, hee should hold it no dishonor to him, for he hath this end in it. While hee keepeth peace with him, he reduceth much more easily vnder his obedience, all the neere neighbouring people and territories: & with the power of the Great *Tartarre*, he is ten times stronger then of himself. For the mightie *Tartarre*, bringeth ordinarily, a million of men with him to the field, all well appointed for warre, with two or three hundered pieces of Cannon, and 300000. Horse.

He hath beene Tributary, euer since the yeare, one thousand two hundered, when *Baty* King of the *Tartarres*, an Idolater in Religion, subdued, wasted, and pilled a great part of Christian *Europe*, with an Army of a Million of men. Euen then, when Pope *Innocent*, fourth of that name, sent verie Learned and Religious men towardes *Baty*; with entreatance, to deport himselfe from any further mollestation of the Christians; and that himselfe would become a Christian. Shewing him withall, that the Sunne and the Moone which he adored, were onely but Creatures of God, subiect to mutation, and must haue an ending. He gaue consent to truce for fiue yeares, promising; *That thenceforward, he would do no more displeasure vnto Christians; and that hee had a desire to bee enstructed in Christian Religion.*

The Popes Ambassadors, being verie ioyfull of this successe, made hast homeward, in hope to returne againe speedily. But they were no sooner departed, but others were sent thither from the Sultan of Egypt, Mahometanes, who disswaded the well-minded Prince, not to lend any eare to Christians, but much lesse to imbrace their Religion, full of many superstitions. For, they told him, it contained prohibition, from vsing certaine meates at certaine times, and commaunded Fasting, Chastitie, continency, and other laborious matters. It rather fitted him, to accept and receiue into his countries, the Mahumetist Religion, full of al pleasures and contentments. Whereby it was lawfull for him, to admit as manie Weomen as men to his bed, as himselfe best liked; and euerie one was allowed, (without any diffrence) to vse such meats as his appetite required.

In the end, *Baty* suffering himselfe to be swallowed vppe in the Gulphe of all Libertie and Voluptuous desires, receyued immediately the Mahometane Law. So did the most part of his Subiects, by his example; and which they did and do keepe it to this present day. I am sorry to write, what I heare from such, as haue & do frequent those Countreyes, to witte: that the King or *Precop* at this time, accommodateth himselfe to al kinds of Religion. For, with Christians he wil Christianize; with Iewes, he will Iudaize; and with Idolaters, carrie himselfe in like maner: but commonly, hee is more Mahometan then any other, louing euery one with his Religion.

This *Baty*, the *Tartarian* King, hauing dealt like *Paris* the *Troyan*, who loued carnall delights, better then all Heauenly wisedom, died within a short while after, hauing then great store of Ciuill Warres in his Kingdome. During which time, the Tartarres (who were distributed among the Prouinces in Garrisons) retired themselues, as willing to take part in those Ciuill Warres, and so were called from one place to another, still to yeeld their assistance. By which meanes, diuers of the Prouinces, seeing themselues free without Gouernours, and cleare from Garrisons of their enemies, returned againe to their former libertie; and (aboue all other) of the *Moscouites*.

But

The King of *Moscouias* Titles.

The policy of the *Moscouite*, in being Tributarie to the *Tartar*.

Howe long since hee becam tributary

A humain answer of the K. of *Tartaria*.

Good intentions do often meete with bad preuentions.

The *Tartarian* King yeldeth to become a Mahumetists.

The Tartares vse all Religions.

The death of *Baty* King of *Tartaria*.

Liberty is the onely ground of disobedience.

But within some yeares afterward, perceiuing the *Tartarian* Ciuill VVarres to be ended, and no more Kings commanding but one, as before had doone: fearing to be reuisited again by the *Tartars*, they yeelded themselues backe againe as their Tributaries; but yet with condition, that they should obserue Christian Religion.

No Metals in *Moscouia*.

There groweth not any Mettall in *Moscouia*, how vile or base soeuer it be; no not so much as Iron, or Quarries of stone: whatsoeuer Mettalles, Iewelles, or Stones they haue, is brought thither from straunge Countreyes, wherewith the VVeomen decke themselues, and make pendants of them to hang in their eares.

Wholesome Ayre free frō Pestilence.

The Ayre is verie healthfull, neuer engendering any Pest, or contagious diseases. Thus you may discerne in these few words, what I could collect concerning this Countrey, which is no vnusual distance from vs: but may well serue to acquaint the Reader, (that is not versed or seene in Cosmography, neyther hath trauailed) both what the Country is, and the people.

CHAP. XXXV.

¶ *Concerning those clauses, inserted by the Romaine Emperors in their Edicts, to wit*; Such is Our pleasure; *And*, Of Our Owne meere motion.

Many Emperors haue bin Tyrants.

WEe finde it recorded, that manie tirant Emperors, made diuers vnaduised Edictes, which redounded to great detriment of the Common-wealth. And becausse they woulde not haue them passe by the Senate, they make addtions of these words or Clauses: *Such is Our pleasure*: Or, *Being done by Our meere motion*. A thing contrary to their Oath: howbeit, that those inserted words, are the true markes of a Soueraigne Prince.

Mark Anthony tearming himselfe Emperour of the East, sent by expresse wordes, and without delay, that a like imposition should be leauied, as hee had caused to bee done the same yeare before, which was insupportable. And albeit the Prouinces and Cities sent vnto him, to shew him the indigence and pouertie of the Country, as well thorow barrennesse of the grounds, as in regard of the wars, which had preceeded in the passed years. And that if it so fell out, that hee would needes impose such a tax vpon the people, yet to let it be done in such manner, as they might haue two Harnestes, and two Vintages: Neuertheless, in this matter, hee would haue no other aduise but his owne, and saide; *It was His Will, that it should be raised vpon the people, for such was His pleasure*. This Patent was the cause of the perdition of his estate, and of his life also.

Plutarch. in vit Mar. Ant.

M. Anthonie by his Edicts lost both his State & life.

Theodosius, a Christian Emperor, commaunded by Edict, that so manie of the *Thessalians* as could be found, should bee slaine and massacred; and sent Men of warre, to execute the same in *Thessalie*, whereuppon (in two or three dayes) seauen or eight thousand was put to death. And these were the words in the patents; *Such is My Will, and of Mine owne proper motion*. Nay, a much greater murthering had beene committed, if Saint *Ambrose* (who liued then) by holy and learned documents had not stayed it. But afterward he made another Edict, whereby he willed, that if he sent to command the death of any one, the matter should rest vppon intermission, for the spaee of thirty daies before execution, and heartily repented him for the former offence. I could easily alledge many other Histories, which are full of such Edicts proceeding from the meere motion of Princes, & contrary to the lawes of Nature; but they wold require too long a space, being irkesome also to the Reader, when he perceyueth, what discommoditie they haue brought to Kingdomes, causing their total ruine, and the Princes also.

Theodosius made an Edict against Nature.

Repentance & reuocation of vniust Edicts.

The Kings of France, greater Soueraigns then the Emperors.

The Kings of *France*, hauing more power ouer their people, then euer the Emperors in those times had, wold yet insert this clause, Neuertheless, it was neuer known, that they made any edicts against nature, albeit, against ciuil lawes and customs of the kingdom, thorow il counsel,

and not of their owne proper motion. King *Lewes* the eleauenth (dissembling vnto the vtterm ost) made some Edictes which were vniust, and contrarie to the ancient Lawes of the Realme of *France*. The Court of Parliament at *Paris*, refused the publication of them; althogh they had receyued expresse command (twice or thrice) from his Maiesty, euen so farre as menaces to the losse of their liues. The President *Lauacrie*, accompanied with a number of the Counsell (attired in their Parliament Robes) went to attend the King, shewing him the iniquity of his Edicts, and what threatnings he had sent to the Court. He beholding the Port, grauitie and dignitie of the men, who would forgo their honours, their seuerall charges, yea, and loose their liues rather then verifye such Edicts as he hadde sent them, was not a little amazed. But redoubling the authoritie of Parliament, he tore the Edicts in pieces before their faces, entreating them, to continue on stil in doing Iustice; and sware vnto them beside, that he would neuer more vrge any Edict, which should not be both iust and reasonable.

Lewes the 11. reuoked his Edicts, & vpon what reason.

This was an acte of very great importance, to maintaine the King in obedience of reason, who had alwaies before, vsed absolute power. And at the time when he was but *Dauphine* of *France*, he sent for the Presidents of the Court, and saide vnto them: that they shoulde blot out the clause of expresse commaunde) which the Court had set downe, as verification of the priuiledges graunted vnto the Count *du Mayne*. Otherwise, that he would not depart out of *Paris*, except it were done; and that they shoulde leaue the Commission which the King had giuen them.

Lewes the 11. somwhat opinitiue and headstrong

The Court ordained, that the wordes should be defaced. But because it might be seene, what was rased, they appointed; that the Register should be kept; and the same is yet to bee seene, in what order it was ordained, in the date of the twentie eight of Iuly, one thousand four hundred forty three.

According to the example of that good President, and the Counsellers assisting him; all other Magistrates ought to do the like vppon new Edicts, which tend to nothing else, but to the grinding of the people and the Common-wealth.

The dutie of good & faithful Magistrats

But not to alter auncient Lawes or Customes, long before enacted and published, because a Magistrate that is allowed, taketh Oath, strictly to obserue the ordinances already confirmed. But in the case of Nouelties, that appeare vnworthy of any embracing, he should vse remonstrances to the Prince and importune him so much as possibly he may vntill he bee reduced to reason. Which was well put in practise, by the Chancellor to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who wold not passe or seale any vniust commaund: but declaring the matter to the Duke, offered resignation of the Seale, rather then he would bee forsworne in his Office.

The Chancellor to *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*.

The Duke beholding the constancie of his Chancellour, reuoked the Edict. And oftentimes, this firmenesse & constancie in a Magistrate, preserueth the honor of the Prince, & maintaineth the Commonwealth in her greatnesse, when she standeth supported vpright by Naturall equity.

The *Ptolomeyes*, successour vnto him that was Kinsman to *Alexander* the great (I meane not heere to speake of the *Pharaohs*) caused their Magistrats to sweare, neuer to obey any of their Mandates, if they gaue commaund to iudge vniustlie, as we read in the sentences of the Kinges of Ægypt, deliuered and spoken of by *Plutarch*.

Example of the Egyptian Magistrates.

For Conclusion, all good and Vertuous Soueraigne Princes, although they may sette downe the sayde Words (*Such is Our Pleasure*, and, *Of Our meere motion*) yet they should frame all theyr Edictes and Mandations, by good Councell and aduise; that they bring not anie dammage (how little or great soeuer) to their Subiectes. But rather, to vse such clauses as auncient Princes were woont to doe, to wit; *Si qua mihi causa iusti videter*, which was interpreted after this manner: *If it appeare to me to bee iust and equall.*

Clauses obserued by good and ancient Princes.

And, for the inferiour Magistrate to the Soueraigne Prince, if hee giue commaund to publish an vniust Edict (prouided, that it bee not against Gods Honour, and the Naturall Lawes) hauing diuers and sundrie times, shewne the Prince, the inquitie of the charge on him imposed, hee then ought for to lette it passe, & cause it to be published, for it is com-

The carriage of Magistrats in reuell Edicts.

commanded by God, that we should bee obedient to Soueraigne Princes. Or els, to delay the publication, and detain it in sufferance so much as he may: for manie times it commeth to passe, that Princes (euen of themselues) reuoke what they haue done either by the lapse of time, or by the death of some bad Counseller, the cause thereof, or by the death of the Prince himselfe.

The iustice & equitie in *Petronius* a worthy Romaine Captaine.

As it happened to *Caligula* the Roman Emperor, who made an Edict, whereby he commanded, that his Statues shoulde be set vp, and honoured in all the Temples of his Empire; whereunto the Iewes made refusall of obeying. *Petronius*, who had the charge of executing this Edicte, perceiuing the matter to be so detestable and repugnant (oppositiuely) to the honor of God, and the Lawes of the *Iewes*, deferred the execution, and sent vnto the Emperour shewing him the great difficultie he had, to execute the Edict. In the end, vpon this temporizing, *Caligula* was slaine, and the Iewes were deliuered.

Generall Assessors, verie good officers.

It hath beene many times obserued, that the Generall Assessors of subsidies in *France*, did not so promptly impose all those monies on the people, as they were commanded to impose and set downe by Royall Patents, and namely: when they were extraordinarie. But haue made som deferrance, sending back to his Maiesty, shewing him the pouertie of the people. Whereupon, the King hath sometimes made reuocation, or (in Grace) remitted the moity, or some part; or deferred the paiment to some other season, whereby the people might bee so much the more eased.

Obedience must be performed vnto Princes.

Now, whither a Magistrate ought, or may denie, if the Prince constraine him to publish an vniust Edict. I answere, that he neither may, or ought. Otherwise, the title of Maiestie should bee but illusorie; and people might thereby be ouer apt to reuoltes, and all things might then runne to ruine in the Common-wealth. But then it is to bee noted withall, that the right of Emperours cannot warrant these wordes; *Such is Our Will or pleasure.* For they do protest at their election, to acknowledge the Senate aboue them, in controlling or verifying their Edicts, and to enterprise nothing without their knowledge and consent: for Emperour is but a Title of Office. But the Royaltie of France is an estate Soueraigne, that hath no Senate for superiour or Companion.

The Senate superiour to Emperors.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That Orateurs, Pleaders, and others; that make profession of wel or eloquent speaking; are dangerous men, and may easily ouerthrowe the estate of any Common-wealth.

Cicero his definition of an Orator,

Cicero giueth the definition of an Orator, saying; *He should be an honest man, speaking well, and elegantly.* I finde this definition to be probable, but it appeareth then in very few Orators, because among an hundred of them which we finde in Histories, as well *Greeke* as *Latine*, *Germaine*, *French*, *Italian*, or of what Nation else soeuer, hardly there is to be found one honest man. For, the greater number of them, preach according as they haue practised amongst the seditious: Eloquence hath so much power, as it can ouerthrowe the Estates of Princes, and of whole Common-Weales.

How our Ancients in elder times figured Eloquence.

Our ancient predecessours, in their Medalles and Paintings, to represent the power of Eloquence, faigned a *Ceticke Hercules*, in shape of an olde man, drawing the people after him, chained and fastened vnto him with Chaines, hanging downe from his mouth, and tyed to their eares. Declaring thereby, that the Armes and power of Princes and Monarches, are not so strong as the heat and vehemencie of an eloquent man, which exciteth and inflameth the baseft coward to ouercome and vanquish the most valiant person.

The great power of Eloquence.

It droppes downe Weapons out of the most fiercest hand: It turneth crueltie into wonderfull mildenesse; Barbarisme into humanity. It altereth Common-

weales; and playeth with people at his owne pleasure. Nor do I speake this, as in praise of eloquence, but to shew what might it hath; and which many times is imployed rather to euill then goodnesse. For seeing it is nothing else, but a disguising of trueth, an Arteficiall cunning to make euill appeare good, wrong right; yea, to make a great matter of nothing; of an Ant to raise an Elephant, or (in plaine tearmes) to lye ingenuously. It is not to be doubted, but that for one man, who vseth this Art honestly, an hundred may be found that do abuse it. And as hard is it, among an hundered Orators, to picke out one honest man: for, it is a thing contrary to that profession, to pursue any matters of truth; because trueth (being naked) is euen then in her best and richest Ornament.

What eloquence is.

The greater part of eloquent Orators, scarse honest men.

Let but a perusall be made, of al them that haue had fame to bee worthy speakers and Orators, and we shall finde; that they haue moued the people to seditions; yea, many haue chaunged Lawes, Customes, Religion, Common-weals, euen to the vtter ruine of them, & they themselues, haue (wel-neere all of them) had violent deaths.

A view of som Orators & eloquent men.

Marke Anthonie, who contended for the *Romaine* Empire, against *Augustus*; thought hee could neuer come to it, so long as *Cicero* the Orator liued: & therefore, he procured his death. And *Antipater* the successor to *Alexander*, perswaded himselfe, that so long as *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Orator liued, he should neuer be intire King of all *Greece*: & therefore, he gaue order for his death. And indeede it was true, for that his eloquent toong did him more hurt, then al the armies of the *Athenians* could do, or all other among the Græcians. We may well perceiue then, by the ends of these two famous Orators, what power their eloquence had, in hindering two so great Princes, from attaining to domination in their Common-wealths: and yet notwithstanding, they were reputed to bee men of honest conuersation.

Cicero & *Demosthenes* both Orators, were slain for their eloquent tongues.

But leauing these *Greeke* and *Romaine* Orators, let vs come to them of our age, who employed their paines so well; that all the Empire of *Affrica*, and of the East, may make report thereof, and are yet vp in Armes. Nay, it is found recorded, that by their eloquence, Kings haue been expulsed, and their estates seized on. As it happened to the Kings of *Marocco*, who were of the house of *Ioseph*: from whom a Preacher, vnder the Vaile of Mahometane Religion, tooke both Scepter and Crowne.

The King of *Marocco* expeld by meanes of a pleasing speaker.

Now, albeit he was called *The Knight of the Asse*, yet he could speake so wel and pleasingly, that he assembled an Armie together, of aboue sixe score thousande men. In like manner, he that was called the first *Sophie*, seized on the kingdom of *Persia*: and no long time since, hauing expelled the legittimate Children of K. *Vsancassanus*, vnder the same pretext of Mahometan religion.

The Knight of the Asse.

The first Persian Sophie.

In *Germany*, a reuolted Priest, named *Thomas Muncerus*; and *Phiserus* an Apostate Monke, both conceiuing ill of the Catholicke faith, preuailed so much by their eloquent tongues, that they caused aboue an hundered thousand Countrey Peazants (poore ouer-credulous people) to vndertake Armes against the Clergie, Nobility, and Officers that executed Iustice.

Seditious speakers and Oratours amongst the Germaines.

In the same yeare, the Rustickes and Countrey Boores met together in many places, desirous to vndergo some nouell kind of liberty: so that they committed a thousand outrages, and incredible indignities. They quickely massacred *Lewes, Counte d'Helueston*, who hadde espoused the Naturall Daughter to the Emperor *Maximillian*, and burned more then two hundered Monasteries and Castelles, in the sole Countrey of *Franconia*.

Lewes, Counte d'Helueston, son in Law to the Emp. *Maximillian*.

It is also a matter verie manifest, and well knowne vnto euery one, that this tumult had ruined all *Germanie*; yea, and laide it on a heape, with all the Neighboring Prouinces, if the Lords hadde not speedily entered into Armes, and foyled them in diuers battailes. But in the end, the two Apostataes were taken, and grieuously punished.

Nestorius the Hereticke, in all his Sermons preached before the Emperours *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, at *Constantinople*, would speake out alowd, and verie elegantly; *Giue mee the Land emptied of Heretickes* (for so he termed Catholicks) *and I will giue thee Heauen. Ingulph and swallow me vp with the Heretickes, and I will therewith ruinate the power of the Persians.* Heereupon, he was called a *Bonfeu*, for if the Emperour had beleeued him,

Nestorius the Hereticke, a *Bonfeu* or fire brand of sedition.

him; he had put to death the more part, and almoſt all his Subiects, and *Neſtorius* the chiefe.

An apt comparison.

Like as a Knife is very dangerous, in the hand of a furious or mad man: euen ſo is eloquence or well adorned ſpeech, in the mouth of a mutinous Oratour. And yet notwithſtanding, it is the meanes (in ſuch as can well vſe it) to reduce people from barbarouſneſſe, to humanitie. It is the Inſtrument for correcting of manners, reformation of Lawes, chaſtiſing of Tyrants, banniſhment of Vices, and maintenance of Vertues. And like as men vſe to charme Aſpicks, Vipers, and other Serpents, with certaine words: euen ſo can Oratours charme the moſt ſauage and cruell men, by the meere ſweetneſſe of eloquence, ſo ſaith *Plato*. He further addeth, that there is no better meanes, to appeaſe ſeditions, and contain ſubiects in their Princes obedience: then to haue a wiſe and vertuous ſpeaker. For by his pleaſing words, he can bow and bend ſweetly, the harts of the ſtubborn and moſt rebellious. And there is not any thing, that is more dreadfull to a Tyrant; then an Oratours Eloquence: for it begetteth the peoples full voyce, eſpecially if he be in neuer ſo little hatred.

What an Orator may doe, being an honeſt man.

Plato in his *Timeus*.

Tyrants doe ſtand in feare of Orators.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Contradiction of the common Prouerbe, (approuing it not very likely to be true) when we vſe to ſay: That the Viper neuer ſeeth his Mother aliue, nor the Wolfe his liuing Syre.

The opinion of *Ariſtotle*, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, &c concerning the Viper.

I Doe not know, frō whence *Ariſtotle*, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and the common people haue conceiued; that the viper neuer beholdeth his Damme or Breeder aliue. Becauſe they hold it, as a matter moſt certaine, that when the Female produceth her brood of Vipers: they bite her entrails in ſunder, to get their iſſuing foorth, whereof ſhe dyeth. And that it is done, as by Diuine vengeance, in regard, that ſhe her ſelfe ſlew her begetter, at the coniunction: by graſhing or byting off his head, thorow the extreame delight ſhe conceiued in her copulation. And thus, as being but badly informed in the Nature of Creatures; they adde lie vpon lye. But in matters that haue had occularie teſtimony: there ſhall be no neede of any other demonſtration. Becauſe in theſe daies, there are Vipers (of both Sexes) kept and nouriſhed in Cages, that haue beene ſeene to produce their young ones. Which (to ſpeake truely) are not brought into the World, after the manner of other Serpents, that firſt of all (after the Seede) are engendred of Egges, then ſitten on, and hatched: But young Vipers are enclоſed within the membranes, or vpper moſt skinne, as are all fore-footed creatures on the Earth, and men in the Matrixe of their Mothers, which they open and vnlace, the birth time beeing come, determined by nature. And thoſe leaſings of Antiquitie, haue receiued ſound root; onely thorow want of better obſeruation.

How the Viper is engendred, & commeth into the World.

As concerning that which is ſpoken of Wolues, that they alſo neuer ſee their Syres or Begetters: this is likewiſe well neere as falſe, as the precedent report. And they alleadge this reaſon, to wit; the Wolues coupling together like Dogges and Bitches; are likewiſe faſt tyed by the Members, while the Female is retaining the Males anoyding. Then other Male Wolues, hauing purſued this Female or Bitch-Wolfe, being in extreamity of heate, and finding them thus conioyned together: they doe kill that Male Wolfe, whereby ſhee hath conceiued, and ſo the young Whelpes which are to proceede of this copulation, doe neuer behold their Syres aliue.

The Fable of the He and She Wolues copulation.

I wonder, and am much amazed alſo, from whence this ſecond Fable ſhould proceede: for it is much more eaſie to behold the natural behauior of wolues, then of Vipers. And I am very certaine, that during the laſt peſtilence (which was in the Towne of *Vſerche*, where my dwelling is) walking abroad one day into the Fieldes, to take the Ayre, being accompanied with a Countrey Swaine,

The Authour maketh mention hereof, as being an eye-witneſſe.

Eight Male Wolues followed one Female.

swaine, of good and bold Spirit: as I returned homeward to my House, after Sunne setting, in the month of February, we perceiued eight Wolues, that followed a She-Wolfe in her heate of pride, their eyes glaring as brightly, as if they had beene so many Candles. We hauing no Weapons of defence, climbed vp suddenly into a Tree, for our owne safetie, where we were forced to stay aboue three houres. In which time, we could discerne plainely, that that this company of Wolues followed but this one She-Wolfe, as hath be ne said, and hee that made himselfe strongest against the other, by k eping them off, and often wounding them with his teeth: became at last fastned to the Female, none of the rest then stirring at him, neither killing or byting him. And this verily I think to be their customary vse, as I haue also heard credibly the like reported, by Collyers and Wood-fellers, who dwell ordinarily in Forrests, and hath assured me thereof.

Another proofe concerning the She-wolfe.

It hath (neuertheleſſe) beene also affirmed, that the She-Wolfe, being salt or proud (as we tearm it) and followed by many Wolues; could not be couered or lined, because they still hindred one another, by their byting and hurting. And hauing thus pursued her ten or twelue daies together, they being al wearied with trauaile, hauing eaten nothing, and gone such an extreame compasse of ground: haue couched themselues downe by her, and falne fast asleepe, which when shee her selfe hath espyed, she hath risen secretly and softly, gone and awaked the most Truant, scurny, itchy, and misshapen Curre in all the troupe, to make him possesse her. And then the other Wolues (awaking with their noyse) finding them coupled, haue taken and torne him with their teeth. And thus you may see, from whence came the Prouerbe, vsed by old, in-discreete and lasciuious Women, that make the like measure of their owne brutall Nature; affecting (more commonly) an euill fauoured and lothsome man, then one of comely feature, sweete, gentle, and honest disposition.

A vile & base nature noted in many Women

Also, it is commonly seene, that in a Country, where there is but one Male, and another Female Wolfe, who coupling together, and no other Wolues there to impeach them; the Sire of the young ones, cannot be slaine, and therfore such Whelpes as come of him by that coniunction, must needes see their Syre. We may then gather by this discourse, how farre these Prouerbes are from truth, and that this case deserued some consideration; to take away the error of such people, as assuredlie credited these idle vanities.

Another proofe concerning wolues.

The Sires of Wolues, and the Whelpes engendred by them, are of contrary Natures, for the young ones, when they are but a yeare old, and addict themselues to prey and purchase: although they haue not seen their Sire and Damme in two or three moneths, yet when they meet, they will do them reuerence, and vse a thousand flatteries to them.

Of Wolues & their young ones, & how vnnatural the Sire is to his owne whelps.

Contrariwise, the Sire-Wolfe, giueth no helpe (at most, very little) in nourishing them. For, when the yong ones sucke no more, but grow to some bigneſſe: then the Dam bringeth them food, which he taketh and feedeth on, not suffering the Whelps to eate a iot, vntill he haue filed his owne belly. But if she returne home, and bring no food with her; then doth the Male beate her outragiously. But then the Female hath this subtilie, not to bring home any food, so long as he keepeth in the Kennell: but hydeth it secretly, till he bee wandred abroad for purchase; whereby we may discerne their different Natures. All these thinges are written by the Lord of *Clanourgan*, and *Olaus Magnus*, Arch-bishop of *Westphalia*, which doe nothing approoue the common saying; That the Wolfe neuer seeth his Sire.

Different vertues in the Male and Female.

Seeing we haue formerly spoken of Vipers, I now call to minde some Serpents, which are oftentimes found, to breede in the blaines and botches of old Wolues, neere the backe bone, containing the length of a foote, and some as long as a mans Finger, and others lesse. These leane Serpents, by succeſſe of time, doe cause the Wolues death, and continuing in their rotten putrifaction, conuert themselues to Vipers, and Serpents very venomous. It may then well be said, in such a case as this, that these kinde of Vipers doe neuer see (such as engende-

Serpents and Vipers, which are often found in the raines of Wolues.

engendered them) aliue. But this concerneth not any of the other kinde, which are so much sought for by the Compounders of Treacle: whereunto so many vertues are attributed, against all poysons, infections of the Ayre, and many diseases, appertaining to the field Vipers.

White wolues engendred between a Hind and a Wolfe.

There are diuers diffetences of Wolues, for some are called White-Wolues, who being at their prey, and feeding on it: if they perceiue any thing which is more proper for them; they leaue the first purchase, and quite forgetting it, follow after the other. There is another kinde (although it should not be differing from the other) which is called the Man-kinde Wolfe, and liueth only by humaine Flesh. The reason whereof is, that when they haue once tasted of mans Flesh, by following Armies, and seeking such places where battails are fought; or when they haue eaten dead carkases saln from Gibbers. From that time forward, though they should perish and starue with hunger; yet will they not feede on any thing elie, especially if they be old. Heereupon they ranne at Children, and Sheepheards keeping their flockes; yea, they wil enter Townes and Villages, and cary Children out of their Cradles, or any they can meete within the streetes, hazarding Mens and Weomens liues, except they do the better defend themselues. And let them passe by whole Heards of Cattle, Sheepe, or other: yet will they not touch one of them, but Mans Flesh onelie, and chiefelie, where they haue been well resisted and beaten.

The mankind Wolfe, feeding on mans Flesh.

The bloody nature of the Man-kind Wolfe.

Some hold opinion, that a full-fed or glutted Wolfe, neuer doth any harme, or if any food remaine to him, which he hath hidden in the ground, and doe not feele himselfe hungry. They say beside, that many times he will play with his prey, as a Lambe, Sheep, Kid, Goat, Hare, or such like, euen as a Cat playeth with a Rat, before she eates it. But seeing we are entred into the play or sport of Wolues, I will describe an History, which was reported (my selfe being present) by *Monsieur de Humiere*, vpon Saint *Andrewes* day, 1563. before *Monsieur*, Brother to King *Charles*, who afterward was *Henry* the third, King of *France*. In *Piccardie*, in the Forrests of *Ardenne*, certain Gentlemen and Countrey Yeomen (belonging to diuers Parishes) assembled themselues together, to vndertake a hunting of Wolues, which had done them many harms and mischances. And as they had giuen chase to about a dozen of them: some were taken in Snares and Nets; others kild with Caliuers, and (among the rest) they slew a She-Wolfe, that was followed by a young Infant starke naked, aged about seauen yeares, of strange complexion, with faire curled Hayre, that (seeing the Wolfe dead) ran fiercely at them which had slaine it. But he was beset with so many men, that they tooke him, and found the Nailes (both on his hands and feete) bowed inward: and nothing he spake, but gaue forth an inarticulate voyce, like to a Calfe. They brought him thence to a Gentlemans House (a Man of good account, and well knowne) in a great Village not far off, where (not without much difficulty) they put Iron Manacles on his hands and feete. In the end, by hauing long fasted, he became more mild and tame, and, within the space of seuen months, they had taught him to speake. Then they walked abroad with him, to Cities, Townes, Villages, Noble-mens Houses, and Castles, & they that were his Guardians, got great store of Mony by him.

A strange History of a young Infant taken by a Wolfe.

The manner of finding the Childe in the Forrest.

Now, to hold the Reader in no longer delay, concerning how this Infant should come into the company of Wolues; you must vnderstand, that about the Feast of All-Saints (commonly called All-hallontide) the weather then beeing very cold, young Boyes, Girles, and poore Weomen of a Village (the name whereof I doe not well remember) went into the neerest Forrest Royall, to cut downe and gather sticks of Trees. It was at the euening time, the sky cold, dimme, and cloudy, which caused them to make hast, binding vp their burdens like little Fagots, and so intended to beare them thence: but the Guardes and Forresters comming vpon them, and they being fearefull, both of imprisonment and other hard vsage, fled, some one way, some another, leauing their Hatchets and burdens behind them. Among the rest, one

How the child came into the Forrest among the Wolues.

The Wolfe being glutted or full-fed, will doe no harme.

A poore Woman that cam to gather sticks, mother to the Childe.

one of the poore women, had brought her Childe in her Armes thither, being not aboue nine months old, not hauing any body in her House, to tend it when she was absent: for her Husband was a daily labouring man, that came not home to his house, but on Sundaies or Feast daies. Hauing set downe her Childe, and being frighted, as before is said; she made escape into the Forrest, as thinking their pursuite seuerely followed her. But perceiuing that safety friended her, and the watches of her eies descried no perill (for indeede, the Forresters were gone, and darke night drew swiftly on) she came againe to the place where she left her burden, which the Guards had caried away with them. Finding neither her Child nor Wood,

Sorrow perswadeth it selfe on any likely occasion.

yet seeking still about with teares and complaints; at length, throwing off both greefe and feare, her hopes gathered this perswasion: that the Forresters had seazed her Child for her other offence, and now it stood her on, notwithstanding, whatsoeuer amends or satisfaction they should demaund, to them she must goe, and re-obtaine her Childe.

The poor womans enquiry after hir child

Vpon this perswasion, she returned home to her dwelling, and enquired of all those that went to the Forrest with her, if they could tell her any tydings of her Infant. Hauing no comfort of them, she ran to the Village, where the Forresters made their vsual retreat, and found them in a Tauerne drinking Wine, the bundles of wood, Hatchets and other furniture (which they had brought with them from the Forrest) lying by them, and in teares she required her Childe of them. But they, reprouing and threatning her for her offence, by sollemne oathes and protestations; assured her, that they saw no such Childe. On the morrow morning, poore Soule, she went to the Forrest againe, and made another search, but all in vaine. And her Husband beeing returned from his labour, by reason of the Feastiuall daie, hearing the wofull losse of his Childe, and what informations the *Harpyes* of Iustice made against them (because it was alleaged, that thorow their default, the Babe was exposed to sauage beastes) after a long and boot lesse perquisition in the Forrests, the Father and Mother of the Childe, dreading least Law would punish them for the Childe, because they could yeild no better reckoning of it, forsooke the Countrey, and neuer any tydings was heard afterward of their being.

The Father & Mother of the Child, banish themselues.

Now, it may well bee presupposed, that the fore-remembred She-Wolfe, searching some prey to beare vnto her Whelps; found the Childe so forsaken of the Mother, as before hath beene saide, and carried it away with her. And (indeede) it is very likely, for a Wolfe will carry a Sheepe in her mouth, or a young Beast (how big or weighty soeuer it be) without any offence, halfe a mile and more, yet neuer resting her selfe, euen as a Grey-hound dooth a Hare. It is well knowne, that if she find a Horsse or a Cow dead, in any hollow or Dith: she will easily dragge it forth to feed on, which a Horse (well harnessed thereto) can hardly doe. And hauing brought this Infant to her young ones (as the She-Wolfe doth al young Beastes that shee can seaze on, to teach them how to looke their liuing:) the Whelpes, perchance beeing suffised, would play with the Child before they fed on it. The Damme being laid among her Whelps, the Childe finding the teates of the Wolfe, tooke one of them in his mouth, and suckt it, as weening it had beene the Dugge of his true Mother, which caused the Wolfe, (thence forward) to loue it as her own. For She-Wolues doe take delight and pleasing, when their teates are tickled, suckt, or plaid withall, and all Female beasts haue the like naturall inclination. For, if the teat or dugge be giuen to a Creature, although it be of a different and very contrary kind, yet it will loue the Giuer: As we haue noted in Bitches, that haue nourished Cats; Goats that haue fostred young VVhelpes; Kine, Serpents, and Lambs, Hennes, that haue loued them all their life time.

The Authors imagination in this case.

The ability of a Wolues carriage.

A supposition concerning the norishing of the Childe by the wolfe.

And so it may be, that thus it fell out with this She-wolfe, her VVhelps, and this younge Infant. And beside, albeit the whelps grew to foure or fiue yeares age: yet, in regard of the long continuance, and finding the Infant neuer to wander, but still their owne Dam was in his company; they would bee the more

The iudgement and knowledge of Wolues wher they affect.

more familiar, gambauld, friskt, and leap vpon him, after the maner of playing Puppies, and all other Wolues of that Countrey would neuer hurt him. I think also, that the matter which best preserued the Childe, was: that not only the She-wolfe, but her young ones likewise, tooke great delight in the Childes Excrements; for he should no sooner performe the office of Nature, but both she and her VVhelpes would runne in hast to him, to deuour his deiections; yea, they would eate the verie Earth whereon his Vrine ranne along, and so, while she kept society with him, shee made this the best and contentedst part of her prey.

The child was fed with raw flesh sixe yeares.

This Childe liued on raw flesh, about the space of sixe yeares, by that which himselfe declared afterward, as hauing good memory of all things happening vnto him. And hauing attained to the age of foure yeares, guided on still by Nature, hee kept no other course; so that they had much labour, to bring him to feed on other prepared meates, but rather affected still his former nourishment. He told them moreouer, that euery yeare the VVolfe had a Litter of VVhelpes, and he had the charge of keeping them, when she went abroad in quest of her prey. Also, that she would snarle, snappe, and bite the Male wolfe, when he came to look on them: by which meanes, both he, or any other Males, in that time resorted very sildome thither.

What hapned to the Childe after his taking, and how he came to be knowne.

After his taking, as before you haue heard; his naked body being brought to the wearing of Garments, himselfe enstructed how to speake, and made domesticall, hauing changed his brutish, to a more ciuill kind of life, appearing like to other Children in behauiour: by an especiall marke or note, to wit, sixe Fingers on either hand, he was knowne to be the Sonne of the fore-mentioned poore woman, and the age which hee then was of, agreed with the iust time of his losse. Hee was made a Heardsman of Sheepe, and other Beastes, for the space of other seauen yeares, in al which time, VVolues neuer made any attempt on the troupes committed to his charge: albeit he kept great store of Cattle, as Oxen, Kine, Calues, Horses, Mares, and Poultry. This was very well obserued, by the Inhabitants of the Village where he had dwelling, and therefore, that other Heardes might participate in this benefit or priuiledge: the Husbandmen of other Villages, & their Sheepheards, would driue and bring their flocks where he kept his, and desire him but to stroke his hands vpon them; which he would doe, with some of his Phlegme or spittle on them. After which done (let others coniecture as best shal please them) for the space of fifteene dayes; Dogges of the greatest fury, nor any VVolues, would by any vrgency touch them. By this meanes he got a great deale of Mony; for hee would haue a* *Double Trurnois*, for euery beast that he so laid his hand on, or stroaked their eares.

* The value of two pence in that Countrey.

But as all thinges haue a certaine period, so this Childe, hauing attained to the age of aboue foureteen yeares: the vertue which he had, to hinder wolues from doing harme to his Heardes of Beasts, or those that he stroaked on the backe, or handled their eares; was lost, and left him. I guesse that this happened, because he had changed his natural complexion and temperature at that age; and by hauing fed so long a time on other nourishment, then his former wolfish dyet. And this was wel obserued by himselfe, by reason, that wolues would not come so neere him, as they were wont to doe; but kept aloofe off, as being feareful of him. The former propertie fayling him, hee gained no more then the meanest Shepheard did, whereat he tooke such dislike: that hee forsooke his Pastorall life, and went abroad in the fields, to seeke his fortune. At length, he heard where warres were in hand, and there he became a Boy to attend on a Souldiour: afterward, hee prooued himselfe to bee a Souldiour, braue, bold, and verie valiant; but fell in the end to be a Theefe, excelling all other in craft and subtilty. Hee was slaine in the yeare 1572. by the followers to the Duke of *Alba*, being among the companies of *Genlis*, which he conducted in *Flanders*, against the King of *Spaine*, who made war on the States of the Low Countries: where he behaued himselfe manfully, and sold his life at a deare rate.

The alteration of the Childs natural vertue.

He became a Souldiours Boy, and then a Souldiour himselfe.

In what manner he was slaine in the Low Countries.

An admirable property, naturally infused into the Child.

Hauing ended the Historie of this Child,

One mans good fortune is no warrant to others in the like ſucceſſe.

Childe, ſo borne away, and nouriſhed by the Wolfe; I am of the mind, that notwithſtanding all the kindneſſe he receiued from her, as being a matter rare and extraordinary: yet, in regard of the detriments and annoyances, which they bring to all ſortes of Men, and in all Countries, except in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; that both Princes and Noble-men, as well as Countrey Yeomen and meaner perſons, ſhould ſtriue to exterminate the race of ſuch pernitious Creatures, which by their breath and ſight, not onely doe make men hoarſe and wheeze, if they meete them, but alſo doe bereaue them of all power to ſpeake or cry out. Great men then ought to be the firſt beginners, to haue the larger intereſt in honour: and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is the faireſt and moſt beneficiall kind of hunting, beyond all other. For Princes, great Lordes, and others, exerciſing themſelues in this paſtime: ſhall be the more hardy, valiant, and apt to Armes. In like manner, by this kind of hunting, they ſhall deliuer the Countrey from wicked and pernicious Beaſts, that (among a thouſand other diſcommodities) doe rob Kings and Princes of their young Fawnes, Hindes, and Fallow-Deere; yea, Husbandmen looſe al their young breeds about their Houſes, and in their Fieldes, which were determined and hoped for future profit, and enlargement of ſtore. And, a matter much more to be pitied, many times they ſet vpon young Children, Women great with Childe, and ſometimes on people of more ſtrength and ability.

The honor & benefit of hunting the wolf, in regard of his harmes & annoyances.

Good ſtrong Dogges, are fitteſt againſt them, or the Iriſh Grey-hound, or Grinnes, Snares, or pits, all aduantages are faire and commendable, the Beaſt is ſo much deſpighted. Hee is worth nothing, but vnprofitable to all Men. He is neuer tamed, but he will then doe (daily) a thouſand miſchiefes: for ſuch is his Nature, ſo long as he enioyeth life. But being dead, there may then ſome commodity be deriued from him. For his skinne, being prepared by a Leather dreſſer, is very good for Cloakes, the Furre (in cold weather) worne inwardlie, giueth great warmth to the body: and the hairy-ſide worne outwardly when it raineth, will neuer

All aduantages againſt a Wolfe, are tollerable.

A Wolfes skin may be good vſe made of.

be pierced thorow with any moyſture, how long ſoeuer it laſteth. A couerlet made of Wolues skinnes, and laid on any Bed whatſoeuer; it ſhall continually be free from Fleas, Bed-Punies, or any other Vermine. The moſt inconuenience is, that Dogs will euer be piſſing againſt it.

The Greaſe or Fat of a Wolfe.

The Fat or Greaſe of a Wolfe, is ſingularly good againſt all Aches of Gouts, Palſies, Luxations, Fractures, or verolicke anguiſhes. His Liuer, which is made like the Naile in a Horſe hoofe, being dried in an Ouen, and beaten into powder, and then drunke with Succory Water: recouereth the Liuer of a man, how altered or corrupted ſoeuer it be. *Galen* ſaith, that a Phiſition of his time, cured as many people ſubiect to the Collick, as could be brought vnto him, without refuſing any one: onely by cauſing them to drinke the Dung of a Wolfe. And ſuch as would not, or could not take it; did weare it hanging vpon their bellie, and there it expreſſed the ſame operation. There are alſo certaine little bones found in his Excrements, which being waſhed, and held vpon the tooth that is pained, and it appeaſeth the anguiſh immediatlie.

The Wolfes Liuer.

Wolues dung

An old woues head.

A Wolues great teeth.

The head of an old Wolfe, faſtned on the doore of a mans houſe, impeacheth all Charmes or Sorceries from entring therein. Alſo, the great teeth of a wolfe, are good for all diſeaſes in the throat, mouth, or teeth, if they bee but held therein a while.

The fleſh of a Wolfe.

It is a matter very certaine, and hath beene experimented, that if a Woman be in trauaile of Childe-bearing, how difficult or doubtfull ſoeuer it bee: let but a little Fleſh of a Wolfe bee giuen her to eate, and ſhe ſhall ſuddenlie bee deliuered, both of the Fruite and after burden; or if a Man that hath eaten any, ſtand hood-winckt by, it auaileth.

A wolfes right foote before.

A Wolfes right foote before, is verie Soueraigne Phiſicke for all paines in womens breaſts, and for the ſwellings of the Swine-poxe.

Vile diſcommodities enſuing by the Wolfe.

The Wolfe is of ſo wicked and peruerſe Nature, that if he come among a Heard, be it of Swine, Pigges, Sheepe, or Lambes: the whole troupe is ſure to dye, if he haue the opportunitie. And if it happen, that a Horſe doe ſet his foote where a wolfe hath trod: he will after-

afterward become heauy, dull, & sloth-full. Moreouer, if a man make any Gowne or other Garment, of a Beasts Wooll that hath been kild by a Wolfe, or if the Wooll of the Beast slaine by the Wolfe, be but mingled among any other Wooll, whereof the Gowne or Garment is made: it wil continually be lousie, or infected with Vermine.

The Conclusion of this Chapter.

Thus you see, what I haue learned and collected, concerning the seuerall Natures of the Viper and the Wolfe, as well by good experience which I my selfe haue made, as read in sound and approued Authors. As for the History of the Infant so carried away, and nourished by the Female Wolfe, beside the Princes presence, before whom it was reported verie faithfully: I haue enquired (since then) of many more, beside mine own vnderstanding it by the Lord of *Humiere*; As of *M. Iohn Kuffell*, Abbat of *Vigoeas* in *Lymosine*, a *Piccard* by Nation, and borne in the same place. *De la Vaquerie*, who assured me, that the History was very true, and that he himselfe saw the Childe, after it was taken from the Wolfe, and educated, as you haue heard. As much did the Lord of *Valon* tell me, a Gentleman of great honour, and who is yet liuing. For when this strange case happened, he had some imployment and commandat *Rocroy*, a frontire Towne of *Piccardie*, neere to the Forrests of *Ardenne*. He was then present at the killing of the wolues, and taking of the naked Childe. At this instant, he dwelleth in *Lymosine*, as ouerseer for the Lands and Seigneuries of *Monsieur de la Guiche*, sometime Great Maister of the Artillery of *France*; and at this present, he is Lieutenant to the King, and Gouernor of the Countries of *Lyonnois*, *Forests*, and *Beaujolois*, &c. And since this accident was within compasse of mine owne knowledge; I do not hold that rare or strange, recorded by *Titus Liuius*, beside other *Roman* Historians: that the first Founders of *Rome*, young and newly borne, to wit; *Remus* and *Romulus*, being exposed to disastrous fortune, were preserued and nourished by a She-Wolfe.

Eye witnesses approuing the truth of the History of the Infant & the Wolfe.

Titus Liuius concerning *Remus* and *Romulus*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether Lucius Apuleius, *Sir-named* Platonicus, *were transformed into an Asse, or no: And whether he were a Sorcerer or Magitian.*

THere needeth no further question or doubt, whether *Lucius Apuleius Platonicus*, were a Sorcerer, and likewise transformed into an Asse: because he was dealt with all in Iustice, before the Pro-consull of *Affrica*, in the time of the Emperour *Antoninus* the first, sir-named the Pittifull, and in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 150. As *Apollonius Thyaneus* (long time before him) vnder *Diocletian*, *An.* 60. was impleaded for the same fact. And more then three hundred yeares after, this fame still continued, euen to the time of S. *Augustine*, who was an *Affricane*; he also wrote and confirmed the same: auouching likewise, that in his time, the Father of one *Prestantius* was transformed into a Horse, and this is also affirmed by Saint *Augustine*.

Lucius Apuleius tried by Iustice before the Proconsull.

The testimony of Saint *Augustine*.

This *Lucius* (the Theame of our instant discourse) was learned, for, in his younger yeares, he studied at *Carthage*, where the *Romaines* had founded diuers good Schooles. Afterward, hauing passed his youth-hood, his Father sent him to *Athens*: where he learned the doctrin of *Plato*, and profited so well, that hee was sir-named a *Platonist*. Then his desires drew him to study Magick, and for his better proceeding therein, he transported himselfe into *Thessalie*; because, in that Countrey, there were Men and Women, that made profession of such enstruction; but yet very secretly, in regard, that (by the *Romain* lawes) all such were punished, as addicted themselues thereto. In briefe, hauing taried there so long time (as valued his succeeding trasformation, to learne those deuilish sciences) he returned home to his Fathers

Lucius Apuleius a Student at *Carthage* and *Athens*.

His passage into *Thessalie*, where he learned Magicke.

His going to Rome.

House: who thought he had lost him, and therefore sent him to *Rome*, for sound apprehension of the Latine tongue, to the end he might be prouided of some estate in his Countrey, by the *Romaines*. He was of so excellent a spirit; that (with smal paines, & in short time) he became so ingenious a *Latinist*: as he was reputed for one of the chiefest Aduocates, and most eloquent in pleading before the Senate; as is yet to bee seene by his famous Orations, remaining extant in our eyes.

His returne home into his own country, from Rome.

From *Rome* he returned to *Malaura*, a Cittie of *Numidia*, his owne Country, and a Colonie of the *Romaines*: his Father being yet liuing, named *Theseus*, who had exercised (in that Countrey) the estate of an *Ædilis*, with some other Offices for many yeares, and was verie wealthy. His Mothers name was *Salvia*, being of the linage to *Plutarch*, and the learned Philosopher *Sextus* his nephew, vnto whom, *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, had sometime bin Scholler and Auditor. Being there arriued, all the Orators of *Malaura*, and the neighbouring Citties, made a prize, which should be giuen to him, that could declame most elegantly. Easily did he win the honour from them all, in regard whereof: beside the prize, two Statues were erected to him, one at * *Oea*, and the other at *Carthage*.

The great eloquence of *Lucius Apuleius*

* One of the three Citties of the Country *Tripolis* in *Affrica*.

His Father beeing dead, in a small while he wasted the greater part of his goods, about his Magicall Artes, and to preuent pouertie; he compassed to marry with *Pudentilla*, a verie rich widdow (for long time) in *Oea*. With her he continued till she died, and soon after, her onely Son and Heire, whom she had by her other Husband. Matters passing on in this manner, made some to coniecture, that by magick art he had seduced *Pudentilla*; whom many worthy men laboured to possesse in marriage, onely in hope of her Sons great riches. It was reported also, that he had a Dæmon or familiar Deuill, because by such great and profound knowledge, he ordinarily resolued strange and difficult questions, exceeding the common capacity of other men. Moreouer, he had beene noted to doe many admirable things; as to go inuisible; other whiles to transforme himselfe into the shape of a Horse, or of a Bird; to pierce himselfe through the body with a Sword, yet without wounding, and diuers such like thinges. Which caused the *Ethnickes* of those times, to esteeme slenderly of the miracles, which the Disciples of the Primitiue Church performed, being of the second time; yea, or those of Iesus Christ: but they admired them of *Apuleius*, of *Thyaneus*, and others of the same stampe. In the end, he was accused by one *Sicilius Æmilianus*, the *Censor*, before *Claudius Maximus*, Pro-consull of *Affrica*, who was said to bee a Christian; but no condemnation was found or approued against him.

Imputations concerning *Lucius* in his marriage and otherwise.

Wonders performed by *Apuleius*.

Lucius accused before the Proconsull, and quitted.

Now, notwithstanding his learned defensiue Orations, the fame continued of him (to be a Sorcerer vndoubtedlie) yea, euen to the time of Saint *Augustine*, who liued about three hundered yeares after. And that which brought him in more suspicion among the Christians to bee such a one: was, that hee vsed the sacrificing, and the same manner of Priest-hood among the Paganes, in his Countrey of *Affrica*, whereof Saint *Augustine* giueth assurance. For the Priests of the Paganes at that time, were (well-neere) all Sorcerers: onely to make the people (by their false Miracles) to beleeue, that their Religion was true, and not dissembled. To approue the truth hereof, in the time of the said *Apuleius*, there was a certaine Image of *Iupiter* made, called *Phyleus*, that is to say; *Amiable*, composed by Art Magicke in such manner: that it wrought wonders, and gaue many aunsweres, and among others, this. *Hence-forward, let not the Christians bee suffered to dwell in Cities, nor any where neere about them: but let them bee driuen the furthest off that may be.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 7. cap. 18.

A strange Idoll made of *Iupiter*.

Rufinus in lib. 10. Cap. 33.

He wrote a Booke, which he entitled, *The God of Socrates*; wherein hee sheweth, that there was not any God, but a Dæmon, and of what kind, and after the maner of *Socrates*, he made himselfe familiar, by whom he was still aduertised, concerning things to come, or absent. And because his Booke should bring no scandall to the Reader; he rather chose to entitle it the God, then the Dæmon, or Deuill of *Socrates*: by which Booke, he gaue sufficient testi-

His Booke of the Dæmon of *Socrates*.

mony,

mony, that he was skilfull in Magicke.

For his transformation into an Asse, Saint *Augustine* holdeth it very certainly, hauing read it in diuers good Authors, and well deseruing beleefe, beside his owne being of the same Country. And this transformation happened vnto him in *Thessalie* (before hee had knowledge in Magicke) by a Sorcerer, that so sold him: and yet recouered him again, after he had done the drudgery of an Asse for some years, hauing the same strength, and behauiour in eating and braying, as other Asses had; yet his reasonable Soule (neuertheleſſe) remained sound and intire, as himselfe auoucheth. Now, because, this fact might bee couered, by reason of the rumour then bruited abroad to be so, and very likely: he composed a Booke, which he called *The Golden Asse*, intermedled with Fables and discourses, to demonstrate the vices of men in those times, which hee had heard spoken, or seene done, during his transformation; beside many paines and trauailes, which hee suffered in his transformation.

Aug de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

His transformation into an Asse.

His Booke of the golden Asse.

That it might be so, the said S. *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citty of God, declareth, that (in his time) there were certaine women witches, or Sorcerers on the *Alpes*, which would giue a kinde of Cheese to Passengers, whereby they were suddenly transformed into Asses, or some other Beasts of burden. And they would make them carry their luggage, to such places as themselues pleased; which being performed, they restored them to their former condition againe.

Aug. De Ciuit. Dei Lib. 18. Cap. 17, 18.

The Bishop of *Tyre*, the Historian, writeth, that in his time, which seemeth to be, about 1220. there were certaine English-men, whom their King had sent to assist the Christians, then warring in the Holy Land: who being arriued in the Hauen of *Cyprus*, a woman Sorcerer transformed a young English Souldior into an Asse. And he, being willing to returne to his companions in the Ship, was beaten back with Stones and Staues. Being thus returned to the Witch, he continued in this estate, vntill at length it was perceiued, that the Asse entred into a Church, and there fell on his knees, expressing such signes and actions, as could not but proceed from a reasonable creature. Vpon this speaking suspition, the witch (whom he serued) beeing apprehended by the authority of Iustice: restored him to his humaine shape againe, three yeares after his transformation, and shee in the open field was executed to death.

An English-man transformed into an Asse, in the Isle of *Cyprus*.

We read, that *Ammonius*, the *Peripatetick* Philosopher, at such times as he ordinarilie read and taught in the Schoole, had an Asse still present by: which was in the time of *Lucius Septimius Seuerus*, Emperour, and in the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, 196. Some said, that he had been first the Schoolemaister of *Origen*, and a Christian: but did not persеuere, fearing martirdome, as *Porphyrius* saith. I am of the mind also, that this Asse had formerly beene a Man, and could well comprehend what *Ammonius* did teach: for in such persons as are transformed, their reason still remaineth with them, as Saint *Augustine* maintaineth, and many other Authors.

An Asse that came to Lectures, read in the school.

Fulgosus writeth, that in the time of Pope *Leo*, who liued in the yeare 930. that there were two Witches in *Germany*, Hostesses of Innes, who made a practise or custome, of changing their Guests into Beasts. Vpon a time, they Metamorphosed a young Lad (who was a Mountebancke or Iugler) into an Asse, causing him to shew a thousand trickes and gambaulds before al Passengers, yet retaining still his naturall reason. One of their neighbours bought this Asse at a deare price, but they forewarned the Buyer, that they could not make any warrant of the Beast: onelie they feared, that if the Asse went into any Riuer or Water, they would be in danger of looſing him. On a day, the Asse escaping from his guide, ranne into the neereſt Lake, and plunging himselfe well in the Water; he recouered againe his former shape. And *Apuleius* telleth vs, that he regained his shape of Man, by hauing fed on Roses.

Baptist. Fulgosa in lib. 8. cap. 2.

A young Iugler turned into an Asse.

It is yet (at this day) to bee seene in *Ægipt*, that some will bring Asses into a publike place, where they will make them shew diuers feates of agility, and Apish-like trickes. Vnderstanding all that is commaunded them, and executing the same. As, to reueale the

Asses in *Egypt* that appeare to haue vnderstanding

faireſt Woman in the company, which they doe, and many other thinges (hard to be credited) which they perform, according as *Belonius* declareth, in ſuch obſeruations as he hath noted, and diuers other beſide, who haue bin there, and auouched euery thing to me. Thus then you ſee my concluſion, which is (concerning the Metamorphoſis of *Lucius Apuleius*) that he was changed into an Aſſe, and exerciſed Magicall Artes: albeit he was one of the learnedſt Men of his time, and neuer was prouided of any honourable eſtate, as (willingly) no Sorcerers will be. For they are but abiect & Wretches, and keepe themſelues concealed among the people, according as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith.

Sorcerers are euer wicked wretches.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of a Taylor, named Iohn Leyden, *a* Hollander, *who by his ſmooth tongue, was elected King of* Munſter, *in the Countrey of* Germany.

THe reaſon that moued me to remember *Iohn Leyden*, who made himſelfe a King, though hee was no more then a miſerable poore Tailor: was, in regard of a former Chapter, where I diſcourſed of ſuch, as abuſed the eloquence which Nature beſtowed on them, and (many times) came to violent deaths, according as this man did, of whom I will deſcribe the true Hiſtory, recorded by *Sleydan*, *Surius*, and others, that were in *Germany* at the very ſame time.

Authors being eye-witneſſes.

We muſt firſt vnderſtand, that in *Weſtphalia* (a Countrey of *Germanie*, ſubiect partly to the Arch-byſhop of *Cologne*, and partly to the Dukes of *Saxonie*) there is a faire, great, and opulent Cittie, named *Munſter*, ſeated vpon a goodlie Riuer. In which Cittie, in the yeare 1534. were abyding ſo many *Anabaptiſts*, as durſt boldly enterpriſe to make themſelues Maiſters of the Cittie: expulſing the Arch-byſhop, and all other of the Inhabitants, that would not take part with them, not ſuffering them to cary any thing away with them. They depoſed the Magiſtrates, creating others according to their owne pleaſures, which beeing thus done, people of many neighbouring partes reſorted thither, being infected with the ſame errour: and (among others) a Taylor, that was an *Hollander*, expert and eloquent, who would needs mingle preaching among theſe mutinies. So well he preuailed by his ſmooth ſpeaking, that he perſwaded them: *That GOD had appointed him to be King of Iſraell; and of Iuſtice, as Dauid was; and that he ſhould extend Gods Dominion and Rights ouer the whole Earth. But in the accompliſhing hereof, he muſt put all them to death, that would refuſe to embrace the Faith, and be ſubiect to righteouſneſſe.*

The bold and impudent Anabaptiſts of Munſter.

A poore Taylor would needes make himſelfe a King.

This Taylor beeing eſtabliſhed a King, omitted no occaſion whatſoeuer, to make himſelfe ſtarke drunke in all voluptuouſneſſe, which poſſibly hee could dreame of. According to the manner of the *Mahumetiſts*, hee married many Wiues; hee inſtituted his Court and Officers, euery one hauing charge and Office in his Houſe, and all cloathed in Gownes tiſſued with Gold and Siluer, euen as himſelfe was, and all came of thoſe goods which he had robd from the Churches.

The creation of his Court and Officers, in their pomp and magnificence.

He wore vpon his Head a Diadem of three Crownes, made of the beſt Gold that could be gotten, and then hee had a Chaine of Gold, enriched with precious Stones, and a Pommander of Gold hanging at it, whereon was engrauen a little Croſſe, with this Inſcription; *The King of Iuſtice vpon the Earth.* In briefe, his Sword was of ineſtimable price, and nothing wanting to adorne him moſt richlie: but it would require too long a time, to ſet down all the rablement of this Royalty ſo much admired, and then to be noted in that diſtracted Citty.

The King of Iuſtice on earth.

For the maintenance of his eſtate, when he had made attribution to himſelfe of all their goods and mooueables that were vnder his obedience, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Lay-men: hee ſent forth ſtrong bands of Souldiours (for he had both Horſe and Foote, at the leaſt

The defence and maintenance of his authority.

least fiue or sixe thousand) which were partly of *Munster*, partly of *Holland*, *Saxonie*, and other neere neighbouring places, all of the Anabaptists Religion, who ouer-ranne and spoyled the plaine Countrey, making all such their Prisoners, as they could entrap or seaze on, of what Age or Sexe soeuer they were. And this Taylor King, tooke the third part of the Monies, which ensued by their ransomes and other thefts: the rest was distributed among the Souldiours, who left neyther Horses, Mules, Mares, Colres, or any other kinde of labouring Beast whatsoeuer, (beside Sheepe, Kine, or other Cattle) within tenne miles compasse round about. They left not a handfull of Graine in any Towne or Village: prouiding themselues of all kind of Weapons, fortefying the Bulwarkes, Casemates, Spurs, Trenches, and Ditches, not omitting any artefice or defence of the Cittie.

Their thefts and spoyles.

The fortefication of *Munster*, and their courses.

To the end also, that their Heresie might spread it selfe in length and largenesse, the King commanded; that some should be sent vnto the neighbouring Townes, and this commaund was as speedily effected. Whereupon, one of his Prophets made a conuocation (by sound of Trumpet) of all the people, in the great Shippe of the great Church, so that there came about four thousand Men, and found there their Supper ready prepared, with no meane aboundance of all kind of meats, and being all set, they were serued by the King and Queene. At the ending of Supper, the King presented to euery one, a piece of Bread, speaking these words: *Take, eate, and declare the death of the Lord.* The Queene likewise presented them the Cup, saying; *Drink, and declare the death of the Lord.* When this company had supped, there were about a thousand more, who had stood as Guards all this while; and they sate downe to Supper, euen as the other had done. The whole Supper being finished, the fore-named Royall Taylor and Prophet, sitting on an high seate, demanded; if they would bee all obedient to the word of God? whereto they answered, yea. Then he added, that it was the wil of the Father, that certaine men should be sent from the cittie, to sowe the Doctrine abroad which they had embraced.

Fiue thousand men bidden to supper in a Church.

A very strãge kind of communion.

In a Roule brought before the King, the names of eight and twenty Men were rehearsed, of which number, eight were sent to *Suaburg*, and as many to *Coffeld*: eight more were commaunded to goe to *Susac*; and the other eight to *Vuaremdorp*. All these beeing good Townes of that Countrey, and had entertained Garrisons, to defend themselues from the surprises and inuasions of the *Munsterians* and *Anabaptists*. This being done, the King & the Queen with all their Seruants and delegate Apostles, went and supped againe at their owne liking. And as the King sate at the Table, hee rose, and gaue a lofty leape, saying: *That the Father had commaunded him some thing to be done.* And forthwith, hee imposed vpon a Souldiour, that he was a Traytour, and instantlie did cut off his head. Then returning to the Table againe, he did nothing but maintaine talke, of the bloody and horrible deed done by himselfe, which made the Supper much more execrable.

The sending abroad of his counterfeit Apostles.

The King at his supper performeth the act of a Hang-man.

Afterward, hee dispatched away his worthy Apostles, and the King gaue a crown to euery one of them (beside the Mony they had of their owne) to buy al necessary thinges: because they should leaue those places (where their doctrin would not be receiued) in testimony of their perdition. These things were full of admiration and folly, hardly to bee credited by posterity: but there is not any matter whatsoeuer, which such men wil not voluntarily execute, that are depriued of the light of truth, and their owne best sences, beeing made drunke with the dregs of the Deuill.

The Kings liberality to his Apostles.

On went those fond headed fellowes, according as he had commanded them, and cryed out horribly at their assigned places: admonishing the people to bee repentant, or else they should perish very soone. They would presume so farre as the iudgement Bars, and there spread a Gowne on the ground before the Magistrate, casting also downe the forementioned Crown: giuing assurance, that they were sent thither by the Father, to proclaim peace. Which if they receiued, they must then make all their goods in common: but if they refused so to do, they testified by that Crowne,

The behauior and doctrine of these idle-headed Apostles.

that they had diuorced peace, when she was presented to them. For they saide, the time (fore-tolde by the Prophets) was now come, wherin Gods pleasure was, that Iustice should bee exercised on earth. And when as the King (doing his office) had sowen and dispersed Iustice throughout the world: that then, Iesus Christ would resigne the Kingdome to his Father.

Horrible and blasphemous pretences.

These Apostles were taken, and first of all, examined without any punnishment, afterward, tortures were thought conuenient, to vnderstand their Faith and beleefe, and concerning the surprizall and fortifying of the Citty, with such like matters, as were very necessary to be enquired. Among other things, their answere was, that they onely had the true doctrine, neither more or lesse then other Christians. In breefe, none of these warlike Apostles, willing to be dismounted from their high horsed frenzies; were conducted to death, only one escaped.

The apprehension of the Apostles.

The false Apostles put to death.

Soone after the Citty was besiedged, by means of the Byshop, assisted by many Princes of *Germany*, as well Catholikes as Protestants, and especiallie the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*. The siedge continued before *Munster* (very neere) ten months, and was so strictly shut vp on all sides: as they imagined to tast of daintie delicates, when they could feed on Rats and Mice; yea, to eate dryed parched skinnes in stead of Bread; all which notwithstanding, the King felt no want of any thing. It happened, that as many dyed with famine, one of the Wiues to the King (moued with pitty towards the poore men) saide to some other; that the calamitie of these miserable Soules, appeared to her, not pleasing God. Which being vnderstood by the King: he brought her (with his other Wiues) to the place appointed, & there saw her head cut off. Whereat the other began to sing, and rendred thankes to the heauenly Father: so that the King himselfe began to dance, and perswaded his people to do the like, although they had no food to whet their teeth on.

The Citty of *Munster* besiged.

The Kinges Hangman beheaded one of his Queenes.

He had established by his lawes, the repudiation of wiues, and marrying of as many as a man would: in which case, he had more then two hundred causes in his Court of Audience, and onelie brought before himselfe. The dearth of all things grew so extreame (during this siedge) in the Citty: that two Men escaped out to the Byshop, of whom he learned, which side of the Cittie was most compelable. And heereupon, the Byshop exhorted the besiedged, to yeild themselues, because pardon should be granted to the poore abused people, and the more part of them would gladly haue gone forth: for the Byshop had appointed twelue expert Captaines, who gaue so diligent guard and attendance, that they who were within, could not scape any way. The Inhabitants of the Citty, in the presence of their King, made answere by *Bertrand Rotman*, that they would neuer forsake their first apprehension. Vpon this refusall, fifteene hundred men (conducted by the two Fugitiues) won one of the Bastions of the Citty, where they slew all them that were the Guards, and suddenly entred into the citty, where fighting awhile against the Cittizens, they opened the Gates to the rest of the Army. Then all the rest entred crowding in, and put all to the Sword; yet notwithstanding, pardon was graunted to some, that required mercy. The King, and *Knipperdolling* were taken, and the wretched beggarly *Bertrand Rotman*, who was (well neere) the sole cause of all the tragicall action: but breaking away very desperately, to thwart his resisters; he was massacred among them, and his Soule sent to the highest Disposer.

Pardon offered to the people.

The Cittie answere.

The Citty of *Munster* taken by the Bishops forces, and the King and his Conncellers.

After this, the King, his Councellers, *Knipperdolling*, and *Crechring*, hauing beene in Prison some moneths: to the mockery of the whole world, they were punnished, in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirtie sixe, with such a punishment as they had well deserued. For, being bound to the Trunkes of diuers Trees, they were nayled thereto all along, and then the Sword passing thorough their bodies, their liues were ended. Then were they enclosed in Cages of Iron, and so hanged on the top of the highest Tower in the Citty: the Kings body hanging in the midst, and higher then all the rest. Such was the conclusion of these wretched men, who (questionlesse) had brought the Land

The Taylor King and his companions put to death, and in such manner as they had iustly deserued.

Diuorce of Wiues allowed by his laws

Land to ruine and confusion, as hee retofore the *Gothes* and *Vandales* did: if the diuine prouidence, which euermore is assistaunt in our humaine actions, had not broken & dissipated their desseigns.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Order and manner, which ought to be obserued in laughter, and prouocation thereto. Of the cause of Laughter, with manie discourses tending thereunto.

It is both ciuill to laugh, & to procure laughter with modesty.

ALbeit, that it is the propertie of man (as all the Philosophers, and men of greatest knowledge haue written) to Laugh, or else, speaking in another manner, that man is a laughing creature: yet may not wee thereby inferre, that he ought to Laugh without reason, to no purpose, or out of measure; neither to prouoke others to laughter, but in good sort and ciuillie. For, such is the quality of people, without vnderstanding, Bouffons and dissolute persons, who by their Lyes, Tales, and villanous Ribaldries, doe scandalize honest Natures, & raise laughter in such as are as bad as themselues. For all things which incite laughing, and gladdeth the spirit, by yeelding pleasure thereto: doth not yet permit, that in this point, men should bee vnmindfull of greeuaunces, which are as naturall attendants vppon life. Therefore, we may well say, that Laughter is verie agreeable to men, and commendable also in the procurer, so it bee done in good sort, and at apt seasons.

To be merrie with a mixture of sorrow.

Occasions which haue bin deuised for laughter.

In regard whereof, we beholde many things, which men haue deuised to this effect, as Feasts, and diuers kinds of pleasing spectacles. And because wee affect such, as are the cause of those recreations wherein we take delight, the Kings in ancient times, the *Romaines*, the *Athenians*, and many more beside, to purchase the good liking of their people, & to feed their eies and minds in whole multitudes together; had a custome, to make great Theaters, and other publicke buildinges, where new Playes might bee exhibited, courses of Horses and Chariots, Combates of strange Beasts, Comedies, Tragedies, and Morisco Daunces. And yet these spectacles were not so disordered, but seuere Phylosophers would bee present at them; where manie times, by such delectations, or representations of that kinde, or else at Banquets; they founde a relaxation of their spirits, being formerly busied & wearied with high discourse, and Diuine thoughtes. As all manner of men, euen in these daies can affoord the like. For, not onely Labourers, and all such as take the greatest paines and trauell of body: but likewise religious holie men, yea, and prisoners, that awaite the stroake of death from houre to houre, would neuertheless, seeke some Medicine and remedie for theyr Recreation.

Senere Phylosophers present at pleasing shewes.

Euerie one desirous of merriment.

The causes of Laughter, are a certain kinde of deformity, in regarde, that wee laugh at such things, which do not concord in themselues, but seeme vnsightly, albeit they are not; I know not howe to expresse them otherwise. But whosoeuer considereth wel with himself in this case, will finde; that euen daily (as it were) the matter which is laughed at, is a thing that hath no conueniency, and yet notwithstanding it is not ill beseeming. I will shew ye, what means a discreet person ought to vse, for the mouing of laughter, and euen vpon what tearmes: because it is not alwayes conuenable, that he should vrge it, neither in such maner, as is vsed by Fooles, Drunkards, Sottes, Iesters, and namely Bouffones. And albeit such manner of people are fauoured in Courts, yet howsoeuer, they deserue not to be called wise or discreet, but euerie one by his name, and to be esteemed as he is. For this cause was it, that *Marcus Aurelius* dismissed one of his Sonnes Schoole-maisters (although he was learned) for Laughing out of measure in a Theater. And the Sonne to *Phillip* the Emperor, looked on his Father with an vnfriendly countenance, because he had likewise Laughed in the Theater disorderly.

A definition of the causes of laughter.

The manner and means to moue Laughter.

Examples alleged in this case.

It is fit likewise to be well considered, what limit and measure should be obserued in pointing, girding, or taunting. & who it is that is thus dealt withal, because he cannot induce or procure Laughter, by

No scorne or mockery is to be made of poore infortunat persons

by mocking or deriding a poore, wretched, or vnfortunate man, neither at any wicked, notorious, or publick badde bodie. For, in mine opinion, such people of the first degree, deserue rather to bee pitied and relieued, and the other to be seuearely punnished, then Laughed or mocked at. And manly Spirites, cannot easilie encline themselues, to Laugh at miserie or pouertie, except it bee in this lowe and down-cast condition, presumption, Pride, or Arrogancie bee too palpable,

Laughing & mocking very dangerous, & therefore to be wel regarded.

Care is to bee had also, of such as are rich, beloued, and respected of euerie one, because in Laughing at such, a man may beget very dangerous enimies. And therefore, it is fittest to Laugh and smile at such vices, as flowe from men that are not so miserable, as may moue compassion, neither so wicked and vnhappie, as death were more fitting for them; nor yet so great, as their smallest spight and enuy, may incurre too much daunger.

How a man may deriue honest cause of Laughter.

Heerewith we are to know, that in places where words do prouoke Laughter, they may list also to graue sentences, both of praise and dispraise, sometimes expressed in one and the same words. As, in commending a liberal man, saying; he makes his wealth common, at the command of his friends: the very same may be spoken to his disgrace, if hee haue gotten it by Theste, or any other euill purchase, because it is neither his to vse, nor theirs. Of a Ladie of honor, or voluptuous carriage, in condemning or commending, no more neede be saide, but that, She is a Lady of much.

Concerning newes and iests.

Report of Nouelties, and prety ieasts may bee vsed, with some immitation of them whome they concerne, reseruing alwayes the dignity of a discreete person, without dishoneste speeches, or actions of lesse qualitie. Not scruing the Countenance, nor writhing the bodie, but carried with such demeanor, and mooued in such manner, that he who vnderstandeth and beholdeth our motion, gesture, and words, may immagine much more then he seeth, or readily vnderstandeth; and thereby be the better induced to Laughter. As in a Nouell, which was related before the Duke *d'Aumale*, one made his complaint to the Maire *d'Auxonne*, the Capitall Town in the Vicounty of *Bourgogne*, because one had robd him of his Asse, saying; *My Lord, if you had but seen mine Asse, you would know what great occasion I haue to complaine, and much more then (as yet) you haue heard by mee. For, when he had his pannel on his backe, he looked verily like Marten.* And *Marten* then was the Maiors name. And another, that was rehearsed before King *Henry* the 3. of one, who meeting with a Hearde of Goats, made his stay, and (with a verie straunge countenance, because the foremost was a great Male Goat, leading the way, and hauing a long Beard) saide: *Behold this goodly Goate, doth he not look like Plato?* And an infinite other of like Nature, which can offend no man.

Report of a Nouell, that may yeeld no offence.

Laughing & weeping at one and the same things.

Some haue been noted oftentimes, to Laughe and weepe at one and the same thing. As a man is seen to be very ioyfull to succeed in the goodes of some deceased person: and neuertheless mourneth, after his reioycing with his friendes, both which do well agree with that which the Poet saith:

Hæredis fletus sub persona risus est.

Which is as much to say, as: *The teares of an heire, are nothing but smiles & ioyes.*

Anew maried Wife in the Country of *Lymosine*.

As a yong Maiden in the County of *Limosine*, shewing her self iocond & laughing on her wedding day: but when shee should be had out of her Fathers house, she hung about her Mothers necke, bitterly weeping; and held her so stronglie, as very hardly could her Armes bee loosed, only for beeing to depart out of her paternall dwelling. The like may be saide of *Iulius Cæsar*, for when hee was presented with the head of *Pompey*, Historians say, hee turned his lookes aside, weeping at so harsh and vnpleasing a spectacle, & said; *Hath there been betweene vs so long intelligence, for managing of the publick affaires? Such Community of fortunes? So many reciprocall Offices and Alliances? And yet could it bee immagined, that this Face would proue false and counterfet?* But breaking off this discourse, he was verie ioyfull, and laughed heartily, to see himselfe without a Competitor in the Empire of the world.

Iulius Cæsar hauing *Pompeyes* head presented him.

Many illustrious and great men, haue laughed in their chiefe aduersities, as *Alexander* the Great (according as *Plinie* testifyeth) who beeing on the very point and instant to giue the battel against *Darius*, the Disputing then betweene them, was for the whole Empire of the East, he

Alexander the Great laughed in his chiefest mishaps.

The laughter of *Hannibal*.

he laughed and reioyced with his frends. *Titus Liuius* hath left in writing, that whē the *Carthaginians* were reduced to such estate, as to pay tribute to the *Romaines*, all of them wept, except *Hannibal*, who had foreseene that fortune, because they of the *Barchan* faction wer his hindrance, that no succour could be sent him, he being in *Italy*. *Brutus*, by his continuall Laughing, faigned himselfe to be a fool, albeit he was extraordinarily wise. *Mark Anthonie*, in all the losses of his battels & estates, yea, during his very flights, would laugh continually.

Brutus & *Marcus Antonius*.

To speake now my iudgment, which of the conditions was more tollerable in the two Phylosophers, to wit; *Democritus* that Laughed ordinarily; or, *Heraclitus*, who wept in the like extreamitie? Surely I should say (yet submitting vnto more solid opinion) that that of *Democritus* was the most allowable: because hee found humaine condition to be vain and ridiculous; and therefore, was neuer seene in publicke, but with a smiling and mocking countenance.

Laughing is more allowable in a man, then weeping

Heraclitus, taking pittie and compassion on the same wretched estate, carried a sad face continually, and his eyes ouerflowing with teares. I affect rather the first humor (not that I take more delight in Laughing then weeping) but because it is more disdainfull, and accuseth vs far beyond the other: and me thinkes, euen but according to our owne merites, we neuer can bee sufficiently contemned. Plaints and Commisseration, are mingled with some esteem of the thing which wee mourne for.

Democritus preferred before *Heraclitus*.

Teares and smiles compared in our own condition.

Those things which we mocke at, are of vaine account, and without anie Value: and I cannot thinke, that there is so much infelicity in vs, as there is vanitie; neither so much maliciousnesse, as there is folly; for wee are not so miserable, as we are vaine. *Diogenes*, who trifled the time alone by himselfe, rolling his Tub, and nodding his head at Great *Alexander*, thought him & vs all, to be no better then Butter-flies, or as bladders blowne vp with winde.

What maner of thing Laughter is.

Now, albeit that no Naturlist, hath as yet expressed, what Laughter is, and whence it proceedeth: yet to content the curious Reader, I will deliuer my opinion thereof. To speak no more then truth, it is a matter of much amazement (as at any turbulent commotion) to behold so strange effects. As when a man seemes extraordinarily chearefull, yet his eyes to ouer-abound with teares, that the voyce, face, Lunges, and all the breast, shake, moone, and are blowne vp thereby, euen without any possibility (in many bodies) to maister such an assault: without a respect either of persons, place, or time, presented then before their eyes. No man could euer (as yet) satisfie me heerein; and I know not whither I shal satisfie you, or no, with such breuitie as I am bound vnto.

The Au hors Propolition, from what part laughing commeth.

This cause of so little apparance, consisteth (in mine opinion) in a tickling of the blood, which is in some more sensible then in others, according as they contain most of the biblious or sanguine Complexion: for other men can verie hardlie Laugh, that haue their bloud colde and fast setled as it were. Now, al that which maketh an ouuerture or opening in our apprehension, pricking sweetly, softly, & as it were, by stealth, is the propper subiect of Laughter, such as are wordes and fashions of making it, either by some folly, or at a sudden and industrious Nouelty. For that which contrarywise, is familiar to vs, and wee haue often tasted or knowne, looseth all power of motion in vs, and mooving is the chiefest thing of all. As it happeneth with our Comedians or Stage-Players, in double repetition of one and the same thing: or Mirthmakers, that are not skilled in diuersifying their Iests and merriments. For in verie deede, nothing but variety robbes vs of a former glutting, and begets a newe birth of liuely conceit; and such frequencie procureth the oftner motion, euen of it selfe.

The sanguine and Chollerick, & matter of nouelty

Variety is the best for prouoking laughter.

The blood then, which (as one sayth) *is the Father, Nurse, and Hoast of all pleasure*, is that which first of all, receyueth such an effect within vs; and then giueth encrease to his Laughing impression, as it taketh hold of our immagination, and disperseth it selfe lightly thorough the Veines, Arteries, and braine, euen to the puffing vp, or pressing downe of the body, yea, to start or gush teares out at the eyes, causing many prouokings in some, of those things that are pleasing to them, and engendering the like in others. Much like vnto a stone cast into the Water, which of one circkle maketh manie, and mul-

The Blood is the Father, Nurse, & entertainer of all pleasure.

Apt Similitudes to this purpose.

multiply ſo faſt, that the firſt looſing it ſelfe, re-deliuereth to this Element, his equality and ſmoothneſſe. And as a quaking or ſhiuering, which from one certaine place, runneth ſuddenly ouer al the body, when a man is vncloathed, vntill heate bee regained, and chaſeth it away. Thus is it eaſie to know, how Laughter beginneth, continueth, and redoubleth of it ſelfe.

Laughter enſuing by tickling.

It is not in all men alike, to Laugh on conſtraint, to wit; hee that is tickled vnder the Arme-pits, it is then attributed to a trauerſing of the breaſt or *Diaphragma*; the harme or offence whereof, produceth an itching, which (according to the authority of ſome Bookes) maketh men to dye with Laughter. It is not then to bee doubted, that theſe two kindes of Laughter, Naturall, and conſtrained, haue one and the ſame Original, neither doe ariſe of a ſuddenneſſe, ſurprize, or a tickling, not awaited or expected, or elſe by ſuch an inward maturity, that (as we vſe to ſay) ſtifleth by cuſtome, befor e-c caſion be giuen.

Two kinds of Laughter not alike.

Of tickling & prouoking to Laughter, in ſome that can endure it, and others not.

Which may appear to be ſo, by proof of them, who perceyuing that they muſt be tickled, or made to Laugh, by putting a mans hand to the ſole of the foot, or in the necke, do reſolue themſelues againſt it; and with a deliberate purpoſe, make a ſetling of their bloode; by this meanes, they ſhall in a manner, not be mooued a iot. On the contrary part, ſome cannot ſuffer it, when they ſtriue moſt to defend themſelues from it: aſwel, becauſe meere imagination giueth them ſuch a feeling, as by reaſon of motion, which preſſeth the Veines, & ſtill encreaſeth ſuch a tickling. So one ſaieth, that the beſt makers of witty Ieſts or conceites, are neuer the firſt Laughers; for thereby they ſhoulde beget loſſe of that perſwaſion, whichthey haue of others, that ſhall ſee or heare them. Therefore, a word to win Laughter, muſt be quickly decocted, woorking vpon ſome ſudden & vnexpected thing: whereof man only is capable, by a qualitie perticulerly giuen to him. In briefe, all that can be ſaid, concerning the cauſe of Laughter, is comprized in theſe foure Verſes:

Man only (among al creatures) capable of Laughter.

Within the Braine I breede, and to the Liuer fall,
By tickling I controule, and make all yeelde to me:
On Man I onely waite, but come before he call,
And in his face ſet ſmiles, how ſad ſo ere he be.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Nature of Common-Weales. And of their naturall mutability and inſtability, exemplified in Empires, Kingdomes, and other Eſtates.

BEfore wee enter into Diſcourſe of a Commonwelth wee muſt firſt conſider the Naturall mutabilitie and inſtability thereof; which conſiſting of men, muſt needes be ſubiect vnto the ſame mutation and corruption, whereto all men and humain things, are ſubiect by an inuiolable decree and Law of God, the Author of nature. He hath irreuocably ordained, that whatſoeuer is compounded, either Naturally of Elements, or artificially by the induſtrie of men, ſhall be diſſolued; and whatſoeuer groweth and encreaſeth, ſhall likewiſe decreaſe and periſh. Therefore we ſee, that all earthly things haue theyr beginning, their growth, and encreaſe, their ſtate and conſiſtance, their declination & decay; and finally, their diſſolution. For beſide infinite externall cauſes, by which they are ſooner or later corrupted and conſumed: euery thing breedeth in it ſelf an internall ſickeneſſe, which in the end, doth inceuitably bring it vnto corruption. The Iron and other Mettals breed a ruſt; Corne and other fruits, a Worm; Cloth, a Moath; Mens bodies, and other liuing Creatures, diſeaſes, which deſtroy them in the end. So in like manner, Commonwealth engendereth in it ſelfe, diſorders, diſcordes, and diſſentions, which ſooner or later bring it to ruine.

The naturall mutability & inſtabilitie of Commonwealths.

Euery thing hath in it ſelfe an inward ſickneſſe.

For the better explication heereof, & the Nature of Common-wealth it is further to be noted, that, as the health and integrity of euery thing, that is compoũded of different and contrarie qualities, conſiſteth in the equall temperature of the ſaide qualities: ſo by the diſtemperature and inequality thereof, groweth the corruption and diſſolution of the ſayde compound. For, where there is a continuall conflict of contrarieties (euerie one working according to his owne Nature

The Nature of Common-wealth.

A continuall conflicte of contrarieties.

ture and property) it cannot be, but that in time, one will abounde, and another decay; one weare and waſt another; and ſo in the end, one ouercome and extinguiſh the other, whereby the compoſition muſt needs, ſooner or later be diſſolued.

And this we ſee verified, not onely in all Naturall bodies, compounded of naturall humours or Elements (as in men, Beaſts Hearbes, Trees, Plants, and ſuch like) but alſo in the polliticke bodie, that is to ſay, in the Common-wealth it ſelfe, which conſiſteth in the Combination of perſons of different Sexes, Orders, Degrees, and qualities. As of men and Women, Prince and Subiect, Rich & poor, Noble and Baſe, Bound and Free, Good and Bad, and of inumerable perticuler men, differing among themſelues in profeſsion of Life, Faculties, Trades, and Occupations, in maners and affections: and yet all vnited and combined togither in the Communion of one Law and gouernment.

Wherefore, euen as mens bodyes, being compacted of contrary Elements, and affected with different and contrarie humors, are ſo much the more healthful ſound and dureable, by howe much the ſaide humors are better and more equally tempered amongſt themſelues (which neuertheleſſe, can neuer haue ſuch an exact and perfect temperature, but that in time, they will conſume one another; and conſequently, deſtroy the body with the effect.) Euen ſo, the polliticke bodie that is to ſay, the Common-wealth, is ſo much the ſounder, and flouriſheth the longer; by howe much the temperature of the diffrent Orders and degrees therein is better, and more equally compoſed. Which temperature, *Plato* calleth; *A Harmony conſiſting in an equal and concordant diſparity, or inequalitie*, wherewith the Common-wealth is (as it were with a certaine bond) knitte and vnited in it ſelfe.

But foraſmuch, as it is not poſsible, that the ſaide polliticke hermony & conſonance, can be for euer preſerued, in the continual diſcord and conflict of contrarie degrees, humors, inclinations, affections, and paſsions, it muſt needs follow, that the bond, that is to ſay, the hermony being interrupted and broken, the Commonwealth ſhall fal to diſorder, and conſequently decay. As both *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* do teach; and is alſo moſt manifeſt by the experience of all ages and times, and of all Kingdomes & Commonwealthes, either paſt or preſent. As to ſay ſomewhat briefely of both, wee ſee euidently in the ancient Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Iſraell*, of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Lacedemon*, and in the Commonwealths of the *Carthagenians*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and ſuch others; all of them famous in times paſt, & ſome of them no leſſe flouriſhing in all kindes of Learning and humaine VViſedome, then in Armes and militarie Diſcipline: yet now vtterly periſhed, inſomuch, that there is ſcant any monument or memory of them. And hath not alſo the like happned, to the mighty and potent Empyres of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes*, the *Greekes*, and the *Romans*? VVherof tne laſt which was the mightieſt aboue all the reſt, had ſo many changes in a few Ages, to witte; in ſixe hundered yeares ſpace, that it receiued all formes and kinds of gouernement.

Paſsing firſt, from Kings to *Decemuiri*, that is to ſay, ten Gouernors. From the *Decemuiri*, to Kings againe. From them to Conſuls. From Conſulles againe, to *Decemuiri*. From them, to the Tribunes of Soldiers. From Tribunes to Conſuls. From them, to Perpetuall *Dictatours*. From *Dictators*, to *Triumuri*. And from them to Emperors, vnder whome, the Empire being miſerably rent and torne with Ciuill warres, became in the end, to be a prey and ſpoyle to all barbarous Nations.

And, if wee looke to the Kingdomes and Commonwealths, which ſtande on foote at this day, as namely, our owne Countrey; and what changes and mutations there haue beene therein, ſince it was firſt Conquered by the Romaines: how many Kings it hath had at once, to wit, ſeauen? How oft it hath been conquered by ſtrangers; as by *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*? VVhat Ciuill warres and bloodie battels there haue been ſince the Conqueſt? Firſt, in the time of King *Stephen*. After, in the Barons wars. And after againe, betwixt the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, for the ſpace of aboue thirtie yeares, wherein we read, that onely one King, to wit; *Edward* the fourth, was preſent and fought himſelfe, in eight

or

Wherein, and of whome a Common wealth conſiſteth.

A Compariſon of the compoſition of mens bodies.

Plato in lib. 8. de Repub.

Of politicke Hermony & agreement.

Ariſt. in Polit. lib. 5. cap. 12. Plato in lib. de Repub. 80.

The deſolation and ruine of many auncient Kingdomes.

The often change of gouernors in the Romane Empire.

Titus Liuius.

The diuerſe mutations in *Britaine*, ſince the Romains conquered it. *Polidor. in hiſt Angl.*

The reuolutions and deuisions in the Realmes of *Scotland*, *Fráce Flanders*, and other Kingdomes adioyning.
Phil. Com. in hist de reb. gest. Lodo. cap. 10. Ioan. Las de Orig Scot. Froyard. Poplinier. Mercurius Gallo Belgicus.

or nine seuerall battails; and that, during the same time, there were slaine and banished, fourescore Princes of the bloode Royall. Againe, if we adde thereto, the depositions, expulsions, imprisonments, and murthers of Kinges, in diuers ages and times; and the frequent rebellions of subiects against their Princes, for exactions, extortions, and innouations. If we also consider in *Scotland*, our next neighbor, the like, or rather greater reuolutions, which caused the vntimely death of eight or nine Kings and Regents, in these two last ages. The great mutations and domesticall deuisions, which haue miserably distracted, & almost ruined *France*, no lesse heeretofore at diuers times, then now of late. Also the most frequent, or rather continuall commotions in *Flaunders*, seldom or neuer quiet in times past, and in great garboiles at this present. Againe, if we cast our eyes somewhat further, to the Countries next adioyning, as to the Empire in *Germany*, very potent in former times, and now much decaid. Or to *Spaine*, first subiect to the *Romans*, after to the *Gothes*, and then conquered by the *Moores* (solicited and brought in by the *Spaniards* themselues) then diuided into six or seuen seuerall Kingdoms & States. And now at length, after continuall ciuill war, for six or seauen hundred years togither; reduced again (not many years ago) to one Monarchy. Finally, for breuities sake (to range no further abroade then *Italy*, if wee waigh the innouations that haue succeeded therein, as well in this last age, by the bloody wars betwixt the *French* and the *Spanish*, for the States of *Millaine* and *Naples*, subiect somtimes to Kings and Princes of their owne, and now made Prouinces to *Spaine*) as also the mutation in former times, not onely in the saide States; but also in *Rome* it selfe, taken and sacked, or at least besiedged thirteene or fourteene seueral times, and in all other parts of *Italy*, miserablie distressed, spoyled, and ruined, partly by the frequent irruptions and invndations of barbarous Nations (as *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alanes*, *Hunnes*, and *Lombards*) and partly by inuasions of *Germaine* Emperours; and lastly, by Domesticall and ciuil wars, proceeding other-whiles, of the ambitions of Tyrants in many perticuler Cities; and sometimes, by the furious factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* (which, for some yeares, filled all States, Cities, Townes, yea, and priuate houses, with cruel slaughters and murders of parents, Kinsfolkes, Friends, and all sorts of people.) Sometimes again, by popular tumults and seditions, whereby there hath bin noted in *Geneway*, ten notable changes of that State, in the space of thirtie yeares. Sometimes the common people preuailing against the Nobilitie; and sometimes the Nobility against the people: by which meanes, they are brought now to so low an ebbe, that wheras they were able in times past, to holde competence with the State of *Venice*; yea, and took the duke of *Venice* prisoner in a battell at Sea (wherein they had 200. Gallies of their owne) they haue not now past 25 and the same also waged and payd by the Catholicke King. If we waigh and consider al this, we may draw from thence two notable documents.

The State of *Geneway* chaunged ten times in 30 yeares.

Rode. Toletan. Ioan. Vasseus.

The often changes and innouations of diuers States in *Italy*

Blond. Sabel. Lib Simonius. Guic.

Goths, Vandals Alanes, Huns, and Lombards, ruinating *Italy*.

Two Documents cõcerning the mutabilitie and chaunge of States.

First, the casualty and vanity of al humaine Power, Honor, Dignity, Dominion, and Glory, seeing they do not only perish sooner or later: but also are subiect (while they last) vnto such mutation, and accompanied with infinit corrosiues and afflictions. Which consideration may iustly moue vs, to lift vp our cogitations from earthly delightes, to the contemplation and desire of heauenlie, that are ineffable, incomprehensible, and eternal. For as *Seneca* saith; *Nothing is more contemptible, then man: if he doo not raise and eleuate himselfe aboue himselfe.*

Sen. Prasat. in L. 6. c. Natural. Q.

The other Document is, that considering the Natural mobility, inconstancie, and infirmity, as wel of anie Common-wealth, as of man himselfe, and of al humaine creatures, no humaine wit or power, is more able to defend any kingdom or Common-wealth, from declination and decay, then to preserue a man from al sickness and mortality, or earthlie things from corruption.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

Who was the first that vsed Circumcision: From whence it proceeded. Of the vse thereof: What people haue vsed it, and who do yet vse it.

IN this Chapter, the Christian Reader may Learne, by howe much the Christian Church is more happie, and full of holy Libertie, then the Iewes Synagogue; for therein were long Ceremonies, irkesome and tedious, Sacrifices of great cost and charge, & such commaundements, as no man was euer found, that did, or coulde accomplish that Lawe, but onely Iesus Christ, true God, and true man; and after it was fulfilled by him, the Law immediately ceased.

The Christiã Fayth much more happie then the Iewish Law.

In that Mosaicall Iewish Lawe, there were such commandements, as whosoeuer exceeded the least iot in the worlde, without hauing regard to euery true circumstance, was put to death. As hee that had kindled a little fire on the Sabaoth day, vppon some necessitie, was publickely stoned to death. That euerie infant male, that was not circumcised, at, or within eight daies after his byrthe, should perish, and neuer obtaine saluation, with many other such like commandements.

Seueritie of the Iewish Law.

This Circumcision whereof I speake in this Chapter, was practised first in *Abraham*, in the Lande of *Charan*, from whence he departed by Gods commandement, because the inhabitantes were Idolaters, and for many other ocasions, which the Reader may finde in the holye Bible, to be in that manner ordayned of God. *Abraham*, passing into straunge Countreyes, with his family which was great, leading a Pastorall life, abounding in Cattle, slaues, and many other moueables of great value; God inioyned him that hee should circumcise himselfe, his children, and al the males that wer in his house, as a signe that the true God was their God, in whom only they shold put their trust. This was the most auncient commaund that euer God made, before the Law was giuen, which was 292. years, or thereabout, after the Deluge. Moreouer, hee commanded, that all the male Infants of the *Israelites*, should bee Circumcised within the saide eight daies, vpon paine of death, vnto him that should not be.

Abraham was the first that vsed Circumcision, appointed by God, to him & his housholde.

Genes. 17, 23

The most ancient commandement of God before the Law.

The Iudaicall Circumsion was performed with a sharpe cutting stone, and not with any Knife of iron steeled, a thing which was most dolourous; and wherby the young tender infants sometimes got a Feauer, whereof they after died. Howbeit, they had enough to doo with other occasions, as the cutting and fall of the Nauell, whereby *Hippocrates* giueth assurance, that Children doe incurre diuers daungers.

How the Iewes Circumcision was performed.

Great dolors & dangers in Circumcision

Theuet, and manie others, who haue voyaged into the Countries where this Circumcision is vsed, doe say; that they haue seen store of yong people dy, grown to indifferent stature; and yong children of eight dayes old, onely by being Circumcised. Which may manifestly be proued by the sacred histories. The sonnes of *Iacob*, after they had fraudulently circumcised al the males in the City of *Sichem*, scituate in the land of *Canaan*, they tooke them the third day after their circũcision & made them passe the edg of the sword: for they well knew, that they were so sore and tormented with paine, as they could not stand vpon their owne defence.

Countreyes where Circumcision is still vsed.

Genes. 34, 26.

Next to our speaking of the originall of circumcision, and the first that suffered it to be done vpon himselfe, we come to the definition of the word. Circumcision is as much to say, as to make incision, and cut round about; and to speak more properly, it is a cutting away a part of the prepuce, and double skin, which couered the head or extreamity of *Virga Virilis*. *Moses*, the first Ecclesiasticall Historiographer of the world, hath giuẽ no other reason of this circumcision, but only that it was a certaine and assured signe, that God would be a protector & defender of the circumcised. But many holy men, learned, and of great Authoritie, haue stroue to yeelde a more pregnant answere. Amongst others, Saint *Cyprian* saith; *That as the time of publication of the Lawe drewe neere, GOD ordayned and appointed Circumcision, and wonlde haue*

The definition of circumcision.

Moses his reason for Circumcision.

S. *Cyprian* his reason why Circumcision was commanded.

that that part of the bodie, wherein the ſeed of voluptuouſneſſe lyeth, and the ſhape of Paillardiſe, ſhould be cut from litle infants. To the end, that they ſhould offer the firſt fruites of their blood to him, who ſhould ſhed all his, for our liues and ſaluation. And that the common Sacrifice of euerie one, ſhoulde preceede the great and ſinguler Holocauſt, which hee offered for our Redemption.

Another reaſon by S. *Paul* and *Origen*.

Another reaſon is alledged by Saint *Paule*, and afterward by *Origen*, to witte; *That all the circumciſed part, declared what ought to be plainly pure, cleane, & no way taxed with pollution. And euen ſo it behoueth, that our hearts ſhould be offred vp to God, wide open, pure, and clenſed from al ſinne.*

S. *Iohn Chryſoſt.*

S. *Iohn Chryſoſtom* ſaith; *It was the moſt ancient of all the Commandements that God gaue, and ſerued to the Iewes* (according as Saint *Cyprian* declareth) *to wipe away Original ſinne, as Baptiſme dooth at this preſent among Chriſtians.* But after the reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, Circumciſion ceaſed, and was no more vſed: but onely to baptize young Infants, as well Males as females; yea, Men and VVomen of all ages, that is to ſay, to be waſhed with the water of Baptiſme; and by that meanes, be receyued into the lap of the Church holy and Catholicke, out of which there is not any ſaluation.

At what time Circumciſion was aboliſhed

The Apoſtles condemned Circumciſion

There was a Counſell held by the Apoſtles, concerning the acte of Circumciſion; and they were of the minde, that the Gentiles by no meanes ſhould vſe it. Afterward, ſome Iewes, making profeſſion of Chriſtian Faith, cauſed themſelus to bee circumciſed; not that there was any need thereof, or commanded by the Apoſtles; but to the end, that they might the more willingly be accepted of other Iewes, to inſtruct and aduance them in the Faith, & to be admitted into the Synagogues, according as Saint *Paule* did to *Timothie*. But in the end, the Iewes that were conuerted vnto the Chriſtian Faith, left Circumciſion as vnprofitable, and a matter of great molleſtation to the Chriſtians.

Chriſtians being Ethyopians, do onelie vſe Circumciſion.

Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians, called *Abyſsines* who liue in great *Ethyopia*, they are cicatrized with the hotte Iron in the forehead, as wee may perceiue by them that are ſent to Rome, who remaine all in one houſe, behinde the Tribunall of Saint *Peter*, to whom Pope *Paule* founded a reuennew for their maintenaunce. But, beſides this cicatrizing in the foreheade, and Baptiſme, they are alſo Circumciſed, which is a verie great error. It is to be preſumed, that they haue neuer ſeene the Booke of the Acts of the Apoſtles, written by Saint Luke: or els, they haue not (as yet) receiued and approued it. I haue not read or heard of any Chriſtians, that haue vſed, or do vſe Circumciſion, but only the *Ethyopians*. Verie wel I know, that in the primitiue church, many Iewes (who had beene conuerted) would haue circumciſion to be continued. But this matter was diſcided at *Antioche*, where Saint *Peter* preſided, as hath formerly beene ſaide. And it was not knowne, that any Chriſtian vſed it, but the *Abyſsine* Church only, which helde very manie great Prouinces. Al the other Chriſtians, as *Maronites*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Greekes*, *Neſtorians*, and other of that Liuerie, neuer vſed it at all.

Hier. Giglo an Italian.

The Abyſsins being Chriſtians, onely vſed Circumciſion.

Yet this is not enough, for not onelie they which liue after the *Abyſsine* manner, tranſgreſſed the aduiſe & command of the Apoſtles; but haue added ſin vpon ſinne, and error vpon error; for they cauſe their females to bee circumciſed, whom they call *Cophles*. A thing, which was neuer practiſed in *Moyſes* Law, neyther was there euer founde any expreſſe commaundement to do it. I know not where the noſeleſſe *Moores* learned it, for they cut their females, although they be of Marriage eſtate, taking away a certain *Apophyſis*, or excreſcence of muſculous skin, that deſcendeth from the ſuperiour part of the matrix, which ſome cal *Nympha* or *Hymenea*, one growing on eyther ſide, euen ſo far as the orifice of the neck of the bladder, which ſerue the erection to coition. Many women both heere and elſewhere, haue cauſed themſelues to bee cut, as being ouer great, and exceeding Nature, but not for any matter of Religion. The Mahometans of *Affrica*, doo circumciſe themſelues, becauſe that a Prophet named *Homar*, commaunded them. And there are Weomen, that haue this Office of cutting them, but practiſe it not in the preſence of men; which act is thought well of in the women. And they go crying in the ſtreetes of Citties, Townes, and Villages, to make knowne what

Women that are circumciſed.

Mooren that haue no Noſes, doo Circumciſe maides mariageable.

Weomen in *Affrica*, that are Circumcifers.

what they can do, carying themſelues ſo wiſely in the deed, that they cut but a little of the ſuperficies; for otherwiſe, there would follow a great flux of blood. But the Turkiſh people of *Aſia*, and of *Europe* (ſubiects to the Emperor of Turkes) do not vſe it: except it be ſuch as are vnder the Dition of the *Sophye*, whom they tearme to be Turkiſh Heretickes.

Turkiſh Hereticks vnder the Sophy.

Plinie writeth, that the Egyptians haue from Antiquity, vſed Circumciſion, and they of *Cholcos*, as wel as the Iewes, which I hardly beleeue. Well it may be, that it was vſed by ſome Iewes, who liued among them, euen as they do at this day, liuing among vs. Count *Ferdinand*, in his voyage of *Mexico*, in the firſt Iſland where he landed, named *Aſcamill*, found, that the people of the Iſle vſed Circumciſion, and yet they were Idolaters, vſing oftentimes to ſacrifice men, and to eate the fleſh of them. Notwithſtanding, it could neuer yet be knowne, that eyther Iew or Chriſtian had beene there before him, nor ſo much as any tract of foote of man.

Plin. l.30.c.17

Sauage people that vſed Circumciſion

Neuer was Circumciſion vſed in ſo many Countries, as it is at this day, becauſe the Iewes haue lefte no place vnſought, where they could inhabite or get dwelling for their money; except it bee in *France* and *Spaine*; where heeretofore they regented liberally, and both were & are allowed euer heereafter to enter, but Circumciſion not ſo frequent as it hath bin. In like manner, the Mahometan law, which vſeth Circumciſion, ſpreading it ſelfe both in power and Doctrine, thorow the verie greateſt parts of the earth, giueth a large paſſage thereto; for, they which entertaine it in their Empires, are the moſt potent Monarkes of the world. As the Prince of Turkes; the Sophye of *Perſia*; the moſt mighty King of the *Tartars*; *Cham*, and al the great Kings of the *Indiaes*, which dwell in the Countreyes, where the Riuers *Indus* and *Ganges* run along, and likewiſe all *Affrica*.

A reaſon why Circumciſion is vſed yet to this day, in ſo manie Countries.

A large compaſſe of the world.

Such as haue conuerſed with the Turkes, do ſay; that they conſtraine not their Slaues or Captiues to be circumciſed: true it is, that they haue better entertainment, if it may be called ſo. But afterward, if they come into the handes of Chriſtians, they are ſearched; and being found to be cut, they are handled by the in ſelfeſame manner as the Turkes doe.

Slaues & captiues not forced to be circumciſed amongſt the Turkes.

And nothing can they ſay, but that in their hearts they are Chriſtians, & were otherwiſe forced.

Therefore, we are to thanke our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who hath beene ſo gracious vnto vs, as by his death and paſsion) to free vs from Circumciſion; graunting vs Baptiſme, thereby to waſh away Originall ſinne. And heerein it may bee euidently ſeene, how greatly the *Ethyopian* Church doeth erre, to vſe Circumciſion with Baptiſme.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Paradox, in the defence of Baſtardie: Approouing, that the Baſtard is more worthy to be eſteemed, then he that is lawfully borne, or Legittimate.

THE great Priuiledges, which I ſee are duely appertayning to Baſtards, and illegitimate Children, (whom the Italians in high contempte, do terme Mules-Foales) makes mee vndertake the boldneſſe, to preferre them before other; and to ſhew by good reaſons, that they are greatly ſuperiour to ſuch, whom we call legittimate and lawfull borne Children. Firſt of all (Gentlemen) I entreate yee to conſider, that Baſtards generally, are begot in more heat and vigour of loue, with more agreeable conformity of willes, and farre ſweeter Vnion of the ſpirites, then the moſt part of our Legittimate Children. Conſider withall, that their conception is performed by ſtolne opportunities, warie preuentions, watchfull diſcretion, and an infinite number of more ingenious deceipts, and amorous actions, then eyther needeth, or is required, in a ſetled condition of marriage, free from that fierie feare, which is the ſole ſpurre vnto a longing appetite. Such Conceptions (many times) are acted without anie gayetie of heart, without anie fauourie pleaſing of both the ſouls, or that height

Baſtards termed by the Italians Mules Foales.

The actiue, willing, and reciprocall loue in the act of Baſtardes.

of affection and delight, that makes an act well done, before it be halfe doone. Which is the reaſon (as I thinke) why we ſee many ſightly and formall Fathers, to haue Children dul of ſpirite, lame of diſpoſition, and deformed in body.

How Baſtards (for the moſt part) do yeeld preſage of themſelues.

Contrarywiſe, yee ſhall not find a Baſtard (for the moſt part of them) but he is ingenious, of ſprightly iudgement, and commonly acompanied with beſeeming corpulence of bodie, and ſome other faire fore-telling rules, of good aduenture and Fortune. Beſide, it ſeemeth as a certainty, that Nature had ſome peculier reſpect of Baſtardes, in ſquaring them forth ſuch liberall allowances, as to erect and builde magnificent houſes, in places of ſolemne and publick note, yea, in moſt celebrate and ſtupendious Cities, as hauing this care, that in following times, they ſhould riſe to great requeſt and honour. And that it muſt needs be ſo, wee may euidently diſcern by al Baſtard thinges, be it but in fruits, Horſes, or anie other matter to be alledged, that they are better, feater, and fairer then any other are.

Examples deriued from Baſtard thinges.

Of Mules.

To begin with Mules or Mulets, which are Beaſts that we cannot (although wee would) in reaſon blame or deſpiſe. For, what is he, who can deny, that theſe kinds of Beaſts do not endure all paines, and al turmoiles we can deuiſe to put them to? Notwithſtanding, they eate very little, beare heauier burdens, and pace more ſmooth, and for mens eaſe, then naturall Horſes do or can. And this is the reaſon, why reuerend and Religious Prelates, men of graue and great iudgement, eſpecially Phyſitions, for the eaſe and health of their bodies, make choiſe of their dayly riding on theſe Beaſtes, rather then other.

Of Baſtarde fruits, being grafted vpon contrary ſtockes.

If we ſpeake of fruits, we ſhal find, that the daintieſt and moſt excellent of all other, are ſuch as are grafted vppon contrarie ſtockes, which are called conſtrayned, or Baſtard fruits. They commonly, are greater, fairer, ſweeter, and more ſauoury, then ſuch as come of Naturall plants: & as for inſenſible things, we ſhal finde, that the name of Baſtard hath bin giuen to weapons of warre: witneſſe the Baſtard Sword, Croſſe-bow, Musket, Culuering, Cannon, and manie more, which would bee too troubleſom to recount.

Inſenſible things.

But let vs come to men againe, & beginne with *Romulus* and *Remus*, Founders of the verie greateſt Citty in the worlde, were they not both Baſtardes? What was *Iſmael*, *Hercules*, *Perſes*, and *Ramires*, King of *Arragon*: a Prince (beyond all other in his time) moſt vertuous and famous? What was King *Arthur*, & the Emperour *Alexander*, who for his deeds was ſur-named Great? And, not to alledge *Ingurth*, let vs ſpeake of *Conſtantine*, Emperor of the *Romaines*: of *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, and others of elder time, whoſe memories are not of inferior reputation, to them that haue beene accounted legittimate. But let vs come to moderne and preſent times, and wee ſhall finde, the greateſt houſes of Princes in *Fraunce*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, and elſewhere, to be renowned by Baſtardes: and Hiſtories are filled with their knightly deedes and valour: Witneſſe Duke *William* of *Normandie*, who Conquered *England*. The Duke of *Barſe*; the Lorde *Iohn Sforza*, and many more.

Examples deduced of men famous in diuers ages of olde.

Moderne and later times.

Let vs ſee howe manie learned men, the ſtolne pleaſures and ſweete embracings of women, haue yeelded vs. And we will not ſhame to beginne with worthy *Peter Lombard*, who yet to this day, (for honours ſake) is called, *The Maiſter of the Sentences*; who likewiſe hadde two Bretheren, adorned with the ſelfe-ſame Learning and ſanctity as hee was. Such embracinges likewiſe left vs, the skilfull *Iaſon du Main*, who was reckoned the verie incompareable Index or Protocle, of the direct Cannon, and Ciuill Lawes. VVee had alſo, by the ſame meanes, *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, who though a reuerend Abbot of *Flanders*, was ſaide to be his Father, yet in the iudgement of the beſt Learned, he was moſt deepe in Diuinitie, and more then meanely excellent, in the Arts of Grammar and Rhetoricke.

Examples of Learned men & great Writers.

The praiſes of *Eraſmus Roterodamus*.

His induſtry, not only ſtirred vp good Letters in *Germanie*, *Brabant*, and *England*, but alſo reſtored and amended infinite good Authours, which were before mangled and depraued; yea, his excellent Learned workes, furniſhed all the Studies and Liberaries of *Europe*.

I will not ſpeake of the Wiſe *Chriſtopher Longueil*, of *Malignes*; whome a Good and Vertuous Byſhoppe leſte vs, as a true *Cicero* of our time, beſides the great

great knowledge he had, in the Lawes imperiall. Shall I say any thing of *Iacobus Faber*, the restorer of *Aristotles* Phylosophy, and extirpater of the old most Barbarous Sophistry? Or of *Cælius Calgaguinus*, held of his time, as well for ciuility of good manners, as profound intelligences in the best Sciences and Disciplines) a most liuely splendor and Ornament, to the famous City of *Ferrara*?

Iacobus Faber the restorer of *Aristotles* Phylosophy.

Vndoubtedly, he that (borne in innocence) followeth the way of honor, and walkes in the pathes of Vertue, cannot be counted base begotten in this world. To aproue this, if a bad mā do beget such a good son, he cannot without his owne consent, imprint in his faire spirite, the blemishing spots of his own incontinency. But notwithstanding this, if he be so borne, what Bastard soeuer he bee: in a well disposed, holy, and vertuous life, he may bury the name & impudicity of his parentes, and all the remembraunce of their vnchast act. And what is he (so vnprouided of good iudgement) that had not rather be honest and ciuily manered, though he proceede of Parents touched with some shame, then be reputed a Villaine, and bad disposed wretch; yet descended of great and worthy progeny, as oftentimes we see it com to passe? As for the poore Bastard, he findeth not himselfe to be in any fault, neither hath broken holy Lawes concerning his Byrth. The error that is committed, redoundeth rather to his Parents, who (transported with ouer-much vnbrideled looseneſſe) would needs go against the ordinance of diuine Iustice. We shall finde beside, that illegittimate birth, hath beene the meanes of bringing proud minded sons, to benigne, humble, and affable cariage of themselues.

Vertue & honour are the best pathes to walke in.

The Bastarde is not in fault by reason of his birth.

So I conclude, that to bee a Bastarde, should breed no offence to any one. In regard that our blessed Sauiour (then whom, no person is to be thought more high, nor any, that euermore detested dishoneſt and hatefull thinges) was not displeased, but made choise of some poor sinners, in the ranke of his holie Genealogie, as it is reuealed by the testimonie of S. *Mathew*, the most faithfull and diligent Secretary to his Maiesty.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. XLIIII.

Of the disastrous end, and shamefull death, of two Mahometan Caliphs.

FOr better comprehension of this chapter, which treateth of two auaricious Caliphs; I thinke it most conuenient, to let the Reader vnderstand, before I passe any further, what office it is that a Caliphe holdeth. It is a dignity or estate, which people of the Mahometan Religion, vsed to conferre vpon such a man, whom they thought to be of holy life, a great and diligent obseruer of Mahomets Law, as also well learned therein; graunting him besides, to command as wholly in royall authoritie. At the beginning of this Religion, al Caliphes, were Kings: witnesse Mahomet himselfe, inuenter thereof, who was King of *Arabia*. *Homar* his successor in a great part of the East: *Hibrain* the lean or meager, King of *Bagadet* or *Babylon*. One named *Sophy*, was King of *Persia*; and since then, his successors haue kepte the Empire, euen to this day. Egypt was also held by Caliphes, vntil such time as *Saladine* expulsed them thence, and from the Realme of *Mossul* in like manner.

Concerning the dignity or office of a *Caliph*.

Mahomet K. of *Arabia*.

The Prince-Turke, although he be of the Mahometan Religion, hee doth not entitle himselfe *Caliphe*, but most Souetaigne Emperor, or the *Grand-Seigneur*. For, he hath people in the landes, which are called *Muphtis*, who do discide these doubts, and such points as may happen about the Articles of religion: & as they determine, he standeth resolued. To bee briefe, the foresaide two Caliphes, held each of them a kingdome in the Title of *Caliphat*. One of them was King of *Mossul*, Caliph of *Baldach*, the Capitall City of the Kingdom, otherwise called in holy Scripture *Susa*. This Cittie is scituated towards the East, making the Frontier of great *Armenia*.

The Prince-Turke.

Mar. Paulus in Lib. 1. Cap. 16.

We are now to know, that about the

The ſcituation of the kingdome of *Moſſul.*

yeare of Grace, when the Emperor *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, with many Chriſtians was gone into *Syria* againſt the *Sarazins*, and in the time of Pope *Gregorie* the 9. a great and potent Emperour came out of *Tartaria*, named *Alland* (yet cald by ſome others *Haelon*) with an Armie of foure hundred thouſand men on foot, & three hundred thouſand horſe, being ſvrged ſo to doo, by ſome Eaſterne Princes and Chriſtians, to refraine the audaciouſnes of the Sarazins, he being a warlick man, and endued with many Vertues. He was neyther Chriſtian nor Mahumetiſt, and yet a Pagan that worſhipped the Sunne and Moone.

Haelon king of the Tartars, ſtird to armes by the Eſtern Prince.

After he had fought againſt the people of *Condares*, the *Paricanes*, *Bactrians*, *Bomareans*, *Roſanes*, *Dahes*, and manie other puiſſant Realms of the *Scytheans*, he cam into *Arabia*, where he ſubdued alſo foure Kings; and ſo iourneying on in *Armenia*, paſſed neere to *Baldach*, the chiefe Cittie (as hath beene ſaide already) of the kingdome of *Moſſul*. This Citie was rich and opulent by reaſon of great traffick which the Inhabitantes made to the *Indiaes*, by helpe of a goodly Riuer paſsing through the middeſt thereof; and taking his Originall in the Cittie of *Chiſy*, by which riuer, within eighteene dayes they coulde ſaile to the *Indiaes*. There is made great quantity of Silke, and cloath of Gold & Siluer, with an infinite number of other faire and rich commodities.

Baldach a very welthy Citie, and trading to the *Indiaes*.

The Caliphe leuied forces for ſafetie of his Land.

The Caliph of *Baldach*, vnderſtanding that this Prince approached ſo neere his Lands, and with an army of ſuch power ſent into *Arabia* and *Numidia*, to make a leauy of Soldiers to place in Garriſons in all the tenable Townes of his Kingdom; and among others, in his capitall Cittie of *Baldach*. *Alland*, making no doubt of taking this Citty, did his beſt endeauour to get entrance: but founde it very difficult, in regard of their reſolution that defended it within. Neuertheleſſe, he made an Oath and Vow, that he woulde not budge thence, vntill he had taken the Citie. By meanes whereof, the ſiege laſted longer time then the Caliphe dreamt of: for victuals begin to faile them, although they were ſtill conueyed in ſecretly, but ſold at verie deare rates.

Alland maketh a Vow to take the City.

The Soldiers and other people, conſumed all their meanes in nouriſhing themſelues; and when they had no further ſupplies, they deſired but a quarter of ſuch things, as were not able to content thē, or but the leſt part of their wages before hand, onely to withſtande the ſtroke of extreame neceſsity. The Caliph made them anſwere, that he was naked of money; but he would impoſe a Taxation on the people; and therewith, they ſhould be paide. The inhabitants, by reaſon of the long ſiedge, were quite emptied both of victuals and money, as well as the Soldiers, who perceiued wel inough how matters went; and therefore, all of them (with one conſent) did conſpire againſt the Caliphe, that had a wonderful aboundance of Treaſure, and yet refuſed to helpe them, who had no cauſe of beeing there, but for the ſafety of his life. Wherefore, ſome ſelected perſonnes, in name of all the reſt, went forth ſecretlie to the enimy, capitulating with him, that they would ſurrender vp the Citty: conditionally, that it ſhold neither be pilled, nor burned, nor any one put to death, but only the Caliphe, and his houſe & treaſures to remaine at his diſpoſing.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Caliphe, and vpon what reaſon.

A purpoſe of ſurrendering vp the Cittie.

The Emperor of *Tartaria* being wiſe, and one of the diſcreeteſt Princes of his time: vnderſtanding, what they of *Baldach* had willingly offered, accepted their honeſt offer; and in the night time, hee ſent in thirty thouſand men, who tooke the *Caliphe*, ſleeping ſecurely among his mucke, and committing his body to priſon, ſaw all things ſafe looked vnto til the next morning. At which time, *Alland* entred the Citty; and the baſe-minded Caliph was preſented vnto him, of whoſe greedy Auarice he had been ſufficiently informed. Forthwith he cauſed him to bee brought along with him to a ſtrong Tower, where he had lockt vp his infinit treaſures, becauſe he would himſelfe be a witneſſe, whether they were anſwereable to the report, or no. After he hadde a while looked on his wealth, it mooued ſome admiration in him; becauſe hee found there 16000. Markes of Gold and in Siluer, three times as much, beſides numberleſſe precious Stones, and other Iewels of ineſtimable price. Hee tooke forth all the victuals which were there as carefully encloſed as his wealth, only for his owne bellies ſatiety; & then ſhutting vp the wretch himſelfe among his riches, would vſe no long Oration to him, but ſpake as followeth.

The Empetors acceptance of the offer, ſurprizal of the *Caliph*, and ſending to priſon.

The wonderfull riches of the Caliphe.

If

The speeches of *Alland* to the Caliphe.

If thou hadst not beene so much affected, to the preseruation of thy Riches, thou hadst the meanes of deliuering thy selfe, them, and the Citty also. Now vse thy Treasures as thou canst, which thou hast so dearelie loued, eate them, and drinke them, at thine owne pleasure. So, making fast the doors vpon him, he placed good and sufficient Gnards about the Tower, that no sustenance might any way be brought vnto him: and on the seauenth day, the poore and rich auaritious Wretch dyed. During which time, the Emperor soiourned in the Cittie, refreshing his Army, and people came from diuers Prouinces, and Kinges of neere neighbouring Confines, to conferre with him, bringing great store of prouision for his Souldiours, which he payed very truly and liberally for. I find it faithfully written, that this was one of the richest Armies, that euer was knowne to passe into *Europe*. Hee distributed the aboundant riches of the Caliphe, in part, among them that had yeilded the Citty, and the rest to his Army, reseruing not a iot therof for himselfe. Thus this infortunate man, was he that enioyed least of his owne Treasures, so greedily scraped together; and yet many people fared much the better by thē, after his wretched death.

The death of the Caliphe.

The distribution of the Caliphe wealth.

Fourescore yeares before, or there about, according to the *Sarrazine* Historie, there was another *Caliphe*, & King of Ægypt, who resided at *Cayre* (for, as I haue already said, the *Caliphes* did then raign in those quarters) and feared the great multitude of the Christians, which were come out of *Europe*, for recouery of the Holy Land. And because it was thought impossible (if they surprized *Palestine*) to preserue whatsoeuer was possessed in *Ægipt*, the power of the Christians beeing so much doubted: he called *Saladine* to his ayde, who was King of some part of *Tartaria*, a young Man, and couetous of glorie, honours, and principalities: who came with a worthy troupe of Souldiours, well invred to Warres, to helpe the *Caliphe*. It fell out so, that they re-conquered such places as had beene taken from him, and won one notable battel; wherein, such Christians as remained, capitulated for their passage, had promise to auoyde the Country. *Saladine* hauing ended the expedition for which he came, demaunded recompence; and paiment for his men of warre; who had (as yet) touched no Money, but two quarters, and so hee purposed present returne home againe.

Guiel. Anglic. Epiesf. Tyriensis

The Caliphe called *Saladine* to his assistance.

Saladine demandeth recompence for his paines, & men.

The vnthankfull *Caliphe* Priest, made him answer; that at the instant, his Cofers were emptied of Mony, by reason of his long Warres maintenance: and therefore he was voyd of all meanes, to recompence him as he had worthily deserued. But, after a small time of breathing and repose, sufficient recompence should be sent him. As for his Souldiours, he needed not to giue them any Wages, considering, they had dailie held the field, feeding on the Country, where-with they might well rest themselues contented, and the spoyles of the Enemy.

The ingratefull Caliphes answere to *Saladine*.

Saladine, who was aduertised, that the *Caliphe* had gathered vnualuable Treasures, and was somewhat impacient, that he could haue no other payment but wordes: suddenly smote him on the head with an Iron Mace, and slew him. When the Guards and others heard the death of this couetous Wretch, in stead of taking vengeance, they saluted him as their King, and exercised large liberalitie of those ill gotten goods, to al the Army, and chiefest Men of Ægypt. Whereby they made a setled assurance of their State; and after him, his Successours haue raigned peaceably in *Egypt*, for the space of four hundred yeares.

Saladine suddenly slue the Caliphe.

Saladine is made King of Egypt.

In like manner, it happened to a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Chanons of Saint *Sophia*, who suffered the *Grecian* Empire to bee lost; because no assistance of treasure could be had (from them that had gripply hoarded it vp a long time) for the Emperour *Constantine Paleologus*, besiedged by the *Turke*; to pay the *Hungares*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spanish*, and other Nations which came to succour him. So that, in the end, the *Turkes* became full possessors thereof, and they were all made Slaues, as all the rest of *Greece* was dealt with beside.

The Empire of Greece lost thorow couetousnesse

You may see then, what recompence auaritious men do iustly receiue; who may well bee compared to Rats, that liue in rich Mines, and gnaw on Gold and

Couetous mē compared to Rats in Mines of Gold and

and Siluer, and yet (notwithstanding) gaine no benefit thereby. But when they are taken, and vnbowelled, then their rich stuffing is found: and so they make others wealthy, though altogether against their wils. They are likewise resembled to Pipes, Channels, or Conuoyes of Waters from Fountaine heads, that disgorge their carriage for all other mens affaires, and keepe nothing for themselues. The same may we iustly say of such miserable minded men, of whose wealth no man can haue benefit, till after their death; as hath appeared by these two *Mahometane Caliphes*.

CHAP. XLV.

Of certaine Beastes, and other Creatures, that (by a naturall instinct) do beare enuie to Man, in some things, which they thinke may be profitable to him; yet kept or remaining in their power. And therefore doe striue (by all their vttermost meanes) to hinder him from enioying the benefit of them.

The opinion of the learned concerning Enuie.

MAny learned Diuines, Philosophers and Poets, haue left vs in their Writings, that there is not any greater torment, or passion of the Spirit, which more meagereth the body, or disfigureth the face, then Enuie. And truely, this vice is not onelie a possessor of men; but likewise of reptile creatures, Foure-footed beastes, waterie inhabitants, yea, of Dæmons. For there are many of them, that (by meere instinct of nature) do know some thinges to be abyding in themselues, which may returne som commoditie to Man, without any touch or preiudice, either to their life or health, or returning them the least discommoditie in the World, although it consisteth but in an Excrement, or some superfluitie issuing from their bodies. And yet notwithstanding, such is their mallice to man, as to frustrate him thereof: some will hide it vnder-ground; others deuour it, or in some other manner procure the losse of it.

Naturall enuy in Beastes and other creatures against man.

As an inducement to others, we wil begin with the *Stellio*, which almost is like vnto the Lizzards among vs; they hide themselues in Walles, and there is little difference betweene them, but onely in small spottes of their skinnes, which do resemble little Stars. But this *Stellio* will not looke a man in the face, as the Lizzard doth, and seemeth to take a delight therein. For he shunneth him by all meanes, except hee can hurt him, by byting, or otherwise; which is most venomous if he doe it. They are different also in their Excrements, for that of the *Stellio*, mingled among complexion or painting, raiseth ouglines & deformitie in them that vse it. Contrariwise, those Excrements of the *Lacertes*, or *Lizzards*, doe greatly embellish them that make vse of them among their Vnguents, such as they apply to their faces, to make them looke the more amiably. And questionlesse, if the *Stellio* did know, that his Dung were profitable to Man: he would take order, that it should (by no meanes) be found.

The *Stellio* is an euill creature.

Difference betweene the Stellio and the Lizzard.

Whereas, the Lizzard, louing men, and knowing that his ordure bringeth him som benefit: he empties it in a publike and cleanely place; as vpon stones, where it may be gathered of euery one, to make what vse he pleaseth thereof. The Stellio (indeed) doth as much, but it is to another end: for he leaueth it openly to be found, because it hath some neere resemblance with the Lizzardes, to the end, that when vse is made therof by man, it may make him more deformed and loathsome, then a confirmed Lazer.

The Excrements of the Lizzard.

The Excrements of the Stellio.

Beside what hath already beene said, he hath a propertie, which is, that euery yeare (at Spring time) he casteth his skinne, as Serpents doe: but knowing, that it serueth Man, as an assured and siguler remedie, against the wofull disease of the Falling-Sickenesse, to deprive man of the benefit, which (harmlesse to himselfe) hee might receiue thereby, so soone as he hath left or cast it off, presently he deuoureth it. And this is the reason, why they are so rare and deare, and that (for to be possessed of them) people giue such watchfull attendance in the Spring time, to get them,

An excellent propertie of the skinne of the Stellio.

In what manner the Stellio casteth his skinne.

Great difficulty in getting the skinne.

them, so soone as they are despoyled or throwne off, which is in the extreamest heat of the day, and in some remote place out of haunt, by rubbing himselfe against some stone. When he is discharged of it (as by their dilligent attendance they doe discerne) he would presently eate and swallow it, but that it requireth longer time: and therefore they seeke to entrap him, or hunt him, or else to kill him as he is feeding on it; and by these meanes they recouer it, yet not without great vigilancy and carefulnesse.

In the yeare 1586. there was a *Turke* at *Lyons*, who had to the number of a dozen of those skins, and none of them being greater then the finger of a Child of seauen yeares old, yet he sold them at ten Crownes apiece. A Gentlewoman of *Auuergne*, that was then at *Lyons*, being come thither, to be cured of the Epilepsie or Falling-Sickneſſe: an Apothecary named *Vymarde*, gaue her counsell in the case, and so shee bought two of the skinnes. They being beaten into powder, she was to drinke them in one and twenty daies: to wit, the weight of three graines, with an ounce and a halfe of Piony Water, euery morning fasting; after which, shee felt her selfe not touched therewith, in the least maner whatsoeuer.

A memorable History of a Gentlewomã at *Lyons*, knowen for a truth.

I my selfe saw three of these skinnes, which an Apothecary of *Paris* (a Man very excellently experienced in his Art, and curious in thinges that were rare and strange) named *Peter Cuethe*, shewed me. With one of them he pleasured a Knight of *Malta*, who was subiect also to the same infirmitie; and albeit he was a Man of threescore years old, yet it fully cured him. It may appeare to many, that these thinges which I write, are almost impossible; because they seeme to happen, against any precepts of the Phisition, and daily experience. But let such doubtfull men know, that secrets in nature are day by day discouered, which (before) were neuer dreampt or thought on, expressing rare and admirable effects, as hath beene obserued (well neere) in all ages.

A matter of truth, and knowne to the Authour.

The Hart or Stag enuious against Man.

The Hart or Stag likewise, is as enuious towardes man, as the Stellio is, because when he casteth his first Head, especially, that on the right side: he hideth it in the earth, or within some hollow Tree, or otherwise as best he may, but very subtilly, because men should derriue no benefit by it, which (indeed) is very great and excellent, if it can bee found. For I am well assured, that there is not any Antidote among the Apothecaries, nor remedy read in the Books of Phisicke, that can compare therewith, although it were the true Horne of a Vnicorne. For, if a man be distracted in his sences, or meerely mad, if he take the filing of this Horne, no more but seauen Grains thereof, in a draught of white Wine, or of Baulme-water, twenty daies together, it will perfectly restore him.

The vertue of the head or horn first cast by the Stag, as wel against all poysons, as many dangerous diseases.

Moreouer, whosoeuer taketh nine Graines of it fasting, with the Syrope of Lymons; vndoubtedly, that day he shall not be smitten with the pestilence. It preserueth from all poysons. And they that drinke of the Water, or haue it tempered with some of this Horne burned, standing steeped four & twenty houres: it both killeth and auoydeth all Wormes, in any that are offended with them. It is also very singuler, being Clysterized to dissenteriques. By approoued experience, it helpeth also the Falling-sickneſſe, if during thirtie dayes, the weight of twenty Graines be taken, either with some decoction, or soueraigne Water. But the partie must beginne to take it, the first daie, when the Sunne entreth into the signe of *Aries*. This Horne hath many other vertuous properties; As, to voide the stone out of the raines, and out of the bladder. The decoction thereof, not onely easeth the paine, but also intirely cureth the Gout: if wee may giue credit to the great *Grecian* Phisition, *Alexander Trallianus*. All which vertues, and many more, for breuities sake I am enforced to passe ouer: because I come next to the Mare, which beareth as much enuye to mens delights, as any of the former.

A prescription for the time of taking this medicine

When the Mare hath foaled, shee hath this bad qualitie, that with her teeth, she suddenly snatcheth or biteth from the young Foales fore-head, a little Morsell of Flesh there growing, about the bigneſſe of a small green Fig, which the *Greekes* vsed to call *Hippomanes*. And it hath so great and excellent

The malicious nature of the Mare.

Hippomanes, what it is, and wherefore it is profitable.

a property, that if either man or woman doe beare it about them, and can compasse the meanes, to conferre with him or her, on whom they dote so much in affection, as they are desirous of carnal knowledge or copulation; the weight of three Graines only, mingled among any Meates or Confections, will (in a very short while) vrge affection in him or her that receiueth the Drug; albeit they were (before) neuer so vnwilling. This *Hippomanes* is very difficult to bee recouered, and he must not be a dull or slothfull body, that goeth about to get it: but one that is most watchfull, and quicke of Spirit, which will appeare by his paines, if he endeuour to haue it. For, to speake vprightly, if it could bee easily come by; many notorious abuses would be committed thereby. But God who hath created all thinges to be vsed well, and for the benefit of man; taketh away all commodious meanes, from loose and voluptuous people, in easilie getting this peece of flesh, because they should not lewdly abuse themselues.

Dull or negligent persons cannot come by this *Hippomanes*.

This *Hippomanes*, doth not serue only to procure loose and veneriall loue; but likewise it causeth honest and vertuous affection: prouided, that it bee ioyned with the Stone called an Emerald, for then (by a strange & vnknown property to vs) it maketh men happie and successefull, in all their Negotiations; as also hardy, couragious, & martially disposed. A Gentleman by birth, an *Angeuine*, who made no meane esteeme of my friendship; often shewed mee one of these *Hippomanes*, which he wore about his necke, in a case of Christall, being dried, and about the bignes of a Filberd, somewhat hard, and blacke of colour. He hath bin so fortunate, that in fiue seueral combats or *Duelloes*, man to man: he was still the vanquisher, and himselfe little hurt. In the end, he was so louingly respected by the duke of *Anion* (who afterward was King of *France* and *Poland*) that when the said Lord left the Crown and Countrey of *Poland*, to claime his right in the Kingdome of *France*: passing thorough *Germany*, the Emperor espied this Gentleman attending on the King, but he grew so extraordinarily affected towards him, that he won both the Kings fauour and his, for abiding with him, which hee promised to recompence very royally, as afterward he did. The Emperor so dearly respected the Gentleman, that he aduanced him to a worthy mariage in *Austria*, where he had very rich & noble gouernments, and commaunded ouer the Emperors Armies against the *Turke*. The sum of all is, that all happinesse, which could accompany a man of honor, was found in him, and not only my selfe, but many more, not meanly or triuially acquainted with him, did imagine this felicity (next to Heauens fauour) to proceede from nothing else, but onely the *Hippomanes*, which he alwaies bore about him. One thing I am well assured of, that he was beloued of diuers worthy Ladies, from whom hee deriued many regardful fauours: which kindnes could not proceed form any beautie or handsomnesse in him, because hee was very hard-fauoured, and much crooke-backt. Himselfe told me many times, that it cost him much pain & diligence, to recouer the *Hippomanes*, relying vpon no mans trust, but his owne watchfull care, and awaited til the Mare was newly discharged of her Foale. He vsed such meanes, that he did cut it from the foals forehead, albeit the Mare both bit, and smote him often with her heeles: but when she found it gone, she would neither feed, nor let the Foal suck; but died within three daies after. Euery man may beleeue as best him pleaseth. I protest, that I do not set down any thing in this case, but what I heard frō him that had the thing it selfe, and shewed me the maner therof. But to come to our first purpose, the *Hippomanes* hath beene as well knowne to our elders, as to vs; as wee may read in *Virgill*. *Marullus* speaketh of one, that was not natural, but compounded: the composition wherof I wil not here set downe, because it is vnworthie to be declared. I hath as powerfull operation, in procuring affection, as the other: but most often, in such extreamity of louing, it maketh men mad and foolish, and therefore I refrain to set down any more. I think, that nature, the handmaid to God, produced the first *Hippomanes*, for a medicinable vse to such, who being ioyned in marriage, doe not loue one another or cannot enioy the benefit of marriage, by reason of natures coldnesse: in which case, it is a most soueraigne remedy, and I haue known it very successiuely practised in such a case.

Hippomanes procureth honest and vertuous affection.

The History of a Gentleman, that had an *Hippomanes*

This K. was named *Henrie* the third.

Opinion conceiued of the Gentlemans felicity, the Author himselfe being an eye-witnesse.

How the Gentleman recouered the *Hippomanes*.

Another *Hippomanes* described by *Marullus*.

The Authors opinion concerning the first *Hippomanes*.

A vse not to be discommended.

It is therefore preſuppoſed, that the Mare, by a meere naturall inſtinct; knowing what a helpe and benefit this *Hippomanes* would be to Man: as enuious, that he ſhould enioy ſo much goodneſſe by her, maketh as ſpeedie a deuouring thereof, as the *Stellio* doth of her skinne.

Rondelet. in Lib. de Piſc. 16. Cap. 17.

Now, not onely do theſe Foure-footed beaſts on earth, bear ſuch mallice to Man, but Fiſhes in the Water doe the like, as (very many) that haue frequented the Seas, haue ſeene and obſerued. Among other Fiſhes liuing in the Water, they haue noted the Sea-Hare to be touched with enuy, as much as any of the foreſaid Creatures, although ſhe ſeemeth to haue no vnderſtanding of the act. For it is a Fiſh, drouſie, ſleepy, ſnorting, lumpiſh, deformed, and vnwholſom. This foule fiſh, hath a kind of Curd within her, which ſo ſoone as ſhe ſhooteth or caſteth, ſhe preſently deuoureth it againe: onely becauſe ſhee hath a naturall vnderſtanding, that it hath many ſecret vertues, to help both Men and Women. For it is a ſinguler remedy to eaſe Women that haue the bearing downe of the Mother. And being taken inwardly, or applyed outwardlie, it is a ſoueraingne help againſt the byting of all venomous Beaſts. It prouoketh Weomens Floures, when they are verie grieuouſly ſtaied: and bringeth away a Child dead in the Mothers Wombe, with the after burthen or birth alſo. Being drunke with Vineger, it preſerueth againſt poyſon, and is ſuccourable for the Chollicke, frettings or grindings in the belly, and all clotted or congealed bloods. When it it is Clyſterized, it awaketh all Lethargies, and preuaileth againſt all benummings whatſoeuer. Receiued in drinke, it is good againſt all tremblings, ſwounings, and all griefes and defects in the Nerues. *Ælianus* hath recorded, that the Sea-Calfe hath oftentimes beene ſeene to ſucke her ſelfe, and draw her owne Milke: becauſe men ſhould haue no vſe thereof, in regard it is very much auayling againſt all the fore-named diſeaſes.

The Sea-hare that hath a Curd, naturally good for many cauſes.

Notes worth the obſeruation.

Aelianus in Lib. 3. Cap. 18 The Sea-Calfe.

The Vrchin or Hedge-hog well knoweth, that he is not followed by Huntſmen, by any deſire to eate his Fleſh, for it is of moſt vile digeſtion: but the purſuite is onely for his skinne, which hath many good properties. For, beeing burned, the Aſhes thereof is very helpfull for ſuch, as cannot auoide their Vrine, but drop by drop. It is alſo verie precious, for Vlcers or ſcarrified wounds, being put into them. Now, becauſe he would not affoord Man any ſuch remedy, hee ſhuts himſelfe (like a round Footeball) vp in his skinne, and ſo auoydeth his owne vrine in it; which conuerteth to venome, and killeth him in his skin. As for this beaſt, it ſeemeth that he is not much aſhamed of ſpoyling his skin; becauſe he looſeth it and his life together.

Of the vrchin or Hedg hog, and vertue of his skinne.

The *Lynx* likewiſe knoweth, that his Vrine is medicinable, for ſo ſoone as he yeildeth it, it conuerth into a Stone: and then he hydeth or couereth it with Earth, to the end it may not be perceiued by any man, and (indeede) it is a thing very rare, and hard to bee found. The Vrine of the *Lynx*, thus ſtonified; taketh away all ſpots and wrinckles. It whiteth, and maketh a faire colour in the faces, of ſuch as annoint themſelues therewith; eſpecially, beeing mingled with the Oyle of ſweet Almonds, there is nothing more aſſured, or that whiteth and taketh away all corruption of the teeth.

The Lynx, & the vertue of his vrine.

Euill Spirits doe beare mallice to Man, as well as theſe Creatures; not onely to procure his damnation, or depriuing him of the vſe of Gold and Siluer, which is found in Mines, and the bowels of the earth: but likewiſe, that (beeing in this Mortall life) he ſhould finde no remedy of bodily infirmities. For we finde, by good authority, that Spirits doe bite or nibble off the roote of a Plant, which is cald *Succiſa*, otherwiſe tearmed *Morſus Diaboli*, or Deuils bit: becauſe it hath beene iudged in all times, that the Deuill himſelfe byteth theſe rootes, and yet could neuer pluck them wholly out of the ground, whatſoeuer paines and diligence he beſtowed on them, yet ſtill they are found to be bitten, and al opinion hath held, that the Deuill is the Authour and doer thereof. It is an Heatbe ſufficientlie knowne, and frequent among vs, in the vſe of many, and ſerueth moſt conuenientlie, for the ripening of peſtilentiall ſores and Carbunckles, beingbru-

The mallice of euill Spirits to man.

Succiſa, or *Morſus Diaboli* and the vertues thereof, as it is to be applied to diuers grieuous diſeaſes.

ſed

ſed in a Morter, and laid thereon. The decoction of it in Wine, being drunke in the morning, it both healeth and preſerueth from the plague, ſeruing alſo moſt ſoueraignely, againſt the paines of the Mother. The powder of this roote, is good to kill all Wormes in the belly. It is likewiſe proper, for the taking away of al black ſpots, paleneſſe, & bruiſes. By theſe Hiſtories, borrowed out of *Ælianus*, an ancient Greeke Authour, thou mayſt (friendly Reader) obſerue the workes of God, worthy of admiration; and wherein he is to be praiſed and honoured.

Aelianus in lib. 3. cap. 18. 19. &c.

CHAP. XLVI.

The vnfortunate and ſucceſſeleſſe Loues, of Strato and Ariſtoclia: And of Achamas, the Sonne of Theſeus, with his miſerable death.

IN the Citty of *Aſtarta* in *Boeotia*, was a moſt goodly, rich, young and Noble Virgine, of whom, two gallant worthy youths became extraordinarily enamoured: to wit, *Strato*, the *Orchomenian*, and *Caliſthenes Aliarnus*, each of them coueting to enioy her in mariage. In the end, it was agreed, that *Caliſthenes*, becauſe he was of her Countrey, and a Kinſ-man, ſhould moſt conueniently enioy her. The day of Nuptials drawing neere, the Parents of *Ariſtoclia* (in regard of his intire kindneſſe and affection) inuited *Strato* alſo to the ſollemne marriage dinner. But he, whoſe fiery loue could not eaſily be quenched: had ambuſhed a troup of young Gallants by the way, in whoſe company he ſeazed on the Bride, as ſhe was going home to her Husbands houſe. And being poſſeſſed of her, he held her very ſtrictly in his Armes, purpoſing to make like rape of her, as *Paris* did of *Helen*. *Caliſthenes*, the new maried Bridegroom, laboured by all means to recouer her from him: but the yong Lady (being detained by *Strato* and his Friendes ſo violently) alſo tyred and ouer-ſpent with ſtriuing; dyed in his Armes. *Strato* beholding his deare affected *Ariſtoclia* ſouleleſſe, ſlew himſelfe vpon her body: giuing the world therby to know, how highly hee prized the life of his beloued *Ariſtoclia*, without whom he could not liue, and therefore requited her death with his owne.

* *Orchomenus*, a Towne in *Boeotia*, by a Riuer of the ſame name.

The violence of loue, when it exceedeth gouernment.

Achamas, the Sonne of *Theſeus*, after the ſacke and ſpoyle of *Troy*, came with certaine Shippes among the * *Biſaltes*, a people of *Thrace*, where hee was intirely beloued by *Phillis*, Daughter to the Lord and Gouernour of that Region: and her hee tooke to Wife, vnder condition, that (after her Fathers death he ſhould ſucceede in the Kingdome. It fortuned, that *Achamas*, being deſirous to viſite his owne Countrey, and to ſee ſome of his Kinred and Friends: deſired (with very earneſt inſtance) both of his Wife and Father in Law, that he might bee fauoured with ſo much liberty; promiſing to returne with all poſſible ſpeede. Hauing obtained his requeſt, *Phillis* bare him company a great deale on the way, and gaue him a little Casket or Coffer faſt lockt vp, entreating him; that in regard of the loue he bare to her, he ſhould neuer open it: but when he had an abſolute determination; neuer to returne to her againe. So, with many kiſſes, and mutuall embracings, they gaue a louing Adieu to each other, and parted. *Achamas* being arriued at *Cyprus*, hauing no reſpect of promiſe made to *Phillis*, for returning againe to her: ſet downe his reſolution, to continue there, and therefore was the more forward in deſire, to open the Casket that his Wife had giuen him. Which he had no ſooner done: but a ſudden furie ſeazed on him, inciting him to a diſtracted madneſſe, in which violent Phrenzie, falling with his bare breaſt on the point of his Rapyer; he ranne it quite thorough his body, and thereby ſuffered the puniſhment of his owne wilfull periurie.

Others do repute this *Achamas* to be the Sonne of *Antenor*.

* A free Country of *Macedon*, by the riuer *Strymon*.

The integrity of loue, teare full of obliuion.

Wilfull periury in loue, iuſtly reuenged.

The End of the Seuenth Booke.

The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kings of Poland; their Lawes, Customes, administration of Iustice, and all things else deserning memorie.

Of the name, manner, and situation of *Poland*.

POLAND, in elder times called *Sarmatia*, is saide to receiue that name of the word *Pole*, which (in that Language) is as much to say, as plain, smooth or eeuen. And so much the rather it is to be credited; because all the Country is plaine, spacious, full of thicke Woods, and very few Hils or Mountaines in it. The Earth is cold and freezing, whereby it produceth little store of Wine or oyle: but contrariwise, it yeildeth much Graine, and diuers other kinds of Pulse. It aboundeth in Cattle, Flesh, Honny, Milke, Butter, Waxe, and Fruits of all sorts. It affoordeth perfect Lead, and Salt in great plenty. It hath Mines of Iron, Gold, and Siluer, which are found in diuers Hilles, and in certaine Riuers: but there is no search made for them, onely thorow their negligence. There are also (in some places) pits of Brimstone and Sulphure: but as concerning any Bathes, producted by nature; *Poland* is very barren, and scarse of them.

Such commodities as Poland affordeth.

Zechus and *Lechus*, or *Lethus*, were the first that euer gouerned in *Polonia*, or builded there any Cittie or Castle. They both held the Regiment for some time, but after the whole race of *Lechus* was extirpated: the Barons of the kingdome, beeing assembled about the Successors of *Lechus*; concluded to liue at libertie, and without any farther check or controule. Neuertheleſſe, that Iustice might be administred to the people, and they gouerned as necessity required: they ordained twelue *Vaiuodes*, or *Paladines*, which order hath continued in that Kingdome, euen to our daies, but not without great hurt to the whol Land. For there was no change of these Officers, but the dignity lasted their life time: although they carried themselues badly in their authority, despising their betters, and euill entreating their inferiors. Among these *Vaiuodes*, such as were *Castillians*, Commaunders of Castles, Captaines, Iudges, and such like great Magistrates, holding these offices til they died: did what themselues pleased, whereby ensued, that this Kingdome could neuer haue any great progression in Armes, being so oppressed and kept vnder by such pettie, and no potent or mightie Lords. But, in no long while after, the faction of *Lechus* (growing in hatred of the *Vaiuodes* or *Paladines* gouernment) would needes haue one peculiar Prince. And therfore they made choise of a worthy and valiant man, named *Gracchus*, who dwelt at the foot of the *Samaritian* Mountaines, neere vnto the Riuer *Vistula*.

Zechus and *Lechus*, the first Rulers or Gouernours in Poland.

The election of twelue *Vaiuodes*, otherwise cald *Paladines*.

Magistrates during their life time.

Gracchus chosen to be the first Prince of Poland.

He builded a citty, calling it *Gracconia*,

(which is now corruptly named *Cracouia*) a Citty greatly blessed, both in beauty and scituation, as also infinite Merchandizes, which is there Traffiqued from all Nations of the World, it beeing the Metropolis of the whole Kingdome.

The Citty rounded with the riuer *Rudis*.

The Citty is round engirt with the Riuer *Rudis*, which entering into the Land by sundry Channels, spreadeth it selfe ouer all the Market places. It hath seauen Gates, and many honorable Pallaces, belonging to great men: and a Fort also, builded in a very conuenient place, wherein there is a most excellent colledge of Students. On the other side of the Riuer *Vistula*, vppon the shoare banck, directly fronting *Cracouia*, there is a Castle, cald *Casimira*, after the name of King *Casimirus*. This citty, as we haue already said, being the only Mistresse of the whole Land, is very beautifull, rich, and best edified beyond all other. The people, vniuersally, are wise, pleasing to Strangers, delighting much in their owne Natiue drinke, for there is verie small store of wine. The earth is plentifull in all good things; and in briefe, it is a fat and beneficiall Countrey.

Concerning the Cities building and behauiour of the people.

The gouernment of *Paladines* aduanced againe.

The race of *Gracchus* failing, it returned again to the gouernment of twelue *Paladines*, but with much infelicities: because, in contending for Competitors, diuers factions grew among them, and (consequently) Insurrections in Armes, to withstand one another, whereby great dammage happened to the whole Land. Among these turbulent Spirits, there was a *Polander*, named *Priaristaus*, a man expert in armes, of quicke apprehension, and one that could well fish in such troubled Waters. The people reuolted all to his faction, they made him their King, and he was the fift Gouernor of that Prouince, after the first *Lechus* or *Leschus*. After his death, another Gallant young Man succeeded him, tearmed by the *Polacks*, *Leschus* the second, who proued to be a Man of singuler prudence: but, made old with time, and dying, he left it to his Son *Leschus* the third.

A K. created againe, named *Priaristaus*.

This man made his Sonne *Pompilius* legittimate, but deuided the Kingdome betweene twenty other, that were his Bastards, to the great detriment of the Country. But *Pompilius* being the lawfull King, entred againe on the gouernment, and leauing *Cracouia*, appointed his Seate in another Citty, called *Gneza*: but finding it too molestuous, hee transferred the State to another Citty, named *Crusincza*. In this Citty he dyed of the Stone, according as himselfe had continually fore-told, that in such manner his death would be. And the chiefe Lordes being assembled in Councell, they concluded, that no more of *Pompilius* his Posterity should raigne ouer them: but (with one consent) made choise of a Countrey Gentleman, named *Piastus*, one of no great stature, yet strong, and well sinnewed. This was the first branch of those Kings, that continued to the time of *Casimirus* the second, and of *Lodowick*: of which selfe same race also, descended the Moderne Princes of *Slesia*.

Poland deuided among twenty Bastards.

Cracouia forsaken by the K. and the State transferred to another Citty.

Piastus chosen king of *Poland*

This *Piastus* accepting the gouernment, would take on him but the Title of Duke only, whose succession comming at length to *Boleslaus*, in the yeare D.CCCC.XC. IX. he was then made King by *Otho* the third, Emperour. But the Kingdome comming to another *Boleslaus*, successor to the former; he was expulsed thence, and dyed. Whereupon, the *Polonians* aduanced in his place, his Brother *Vladislaus*, in the yeare MLXXII. by the Title of Duke. But in yeare MCCXCV. the Title of King was taken againe, by *Primislaus* the second, who (at first) was Duke of the greater *Poland*, and of *Pomerania*, or *Pomerland*, and so continued the succession, euen to *Ladislaus*, the first begotten Sonne of *Casimirus*, who (while his Father liued) was designed to bee King of *Hungaria*, and of *Bohemia*. He tooke in marriage *Anne*, Daughter to the King of *Fraunce*, by whom he had *Lodowicke* and *Anne*. *Lodowick* succeeded his Father in both the Kingdomes, and tooke to Wife *Marie*, Sister vnto *Charles* the Emperour. But in the yeare of Christ, MCCCCXCII. the Barons of *Polonia*, (at a dyet) elected after the death of *Casimirus*, his Son *Iohn Albertus*. His continuance was but a while, therefore, by the greater part of the Barons, *Alexander*, Great Duke of *Lythuania*, was elected: who going in Armes against the *Tartarres*, died in *Vilna*, aged fiue and forty yeares.

Piastus refused the name of King, calling himselfe Duke of *Poland*.

The order & lineal descent of the Kings of *Poland* and *Bohemia*.

Alexander great Duke of *Lithuania* elected King of *Poland*.

Sigismund

Sigismund, his younger Brother succeeded him, in the year MC. and he had the title of King, in *Anno.* MCVI. and made great war vpon the neighbouring Nations; especially on the *Moscouites*, of whom he slew thirty thousand, in the yeare MDXIIII. He deceasing, *Augustus Sigismund* took his place, and after him, succeeded *Henry* the third brother to *Charls* the ninth, King of *France*, who was chosen and made King. But his brother dying, and hee affecting his paternall Kingdome, more then the other: forsooke *Poland*, and went into *France*, to his rightfull inheritance. The *Polanders* beeing thus forsaken, they made choise of *Maximilian* the second, being Emperor, to be their King. But he, not resoluing to accept it, and the kingdom standing on some doubtfull tearmes: *Stephano Battori*, Prince of *Transiluania* (beeing a man of great valour) came into *Poland* with a slender power, where he was created King, and so continued.

Henry, heire to the Crown of *France*, K. of Poland.

Stephano Battori, Prince of *Transilvania*.

1 Next vnto the King are the *Paladines*, and next to them, the *Castilians*, on whom (in very deed) dependeth the whole gouernment of the Prouince. Neuertheless, there are Iudges, both criminall and ciuill: and others, that take order for occasions of warre or peace, as in all other States and Kingdomes. They can make a very great Army of Horsemen, and they are reputed sufficiently valiant. In briefe, it is they that curbe and controule the *Tartarres*, from presuming into those partes and limits. It is to be noted, that the *Paladine* of *Cracouia*, is the chiefe of al other in dignity, and next to him, the *Castellano* of *Cracouia*, vnder whom are (well neere) infinite Captaineships.

The Gouernours in degrees next to the King.

The *Paladine* of *Cracouia*.

2 *Polonia* is deuided into two parts, the one being tearmed the Lesser, and the other the greater. In the lesser *Poland*, which is at the head of the Riuer *Vistula*, is the Citty of *Cracouia*, a verie Noble and famous Cittie. But the greater *Poland*, is that which containeth in it *Gnezna* and *Posnania*, two worthie Citties, with other especiall and honoble places.

Poland deuided in two parts, the greater and lesser.

Moreouer, it hath the gouerning of *Prussia*, and part of *Pomerania*. In *Poland* the very greatest Dukedome, is that of *Mazouia*, and it is feudatary to the King.

The Archbishoppricks of the Kingdom are two: the one in the Cittie of *Gnezna*, a Citty of the greater *Poland*; and the other in *Theopolis*, of *Russia*.

Two Archbishops Sees.

CHAP. II.

Of many famous and worthy men, who, hauing left gouerning in the Common-wealth: made their retirement, to a priuate and solitary kind of life.

One of the *Catoes*, hauing attained to the age of eight and fifty years; gaue ouer his publique charge and trauaile, in affaires of the Romaine Common-wealth, and went to weare out the remainder of his daies, neere to *Naples*, in a Country village, which then was called *Picenum*, but now it is named *Marca de Ancona*. Where he maintained his faculties, and nourished himselfe, which such reuennues, as his poore Landes and Liuing affoorded him. This good and vertuous *Cato*, keeping a simple Cottage, one while perusing his Bookes, and otherwhiles looking to his Vines and Plants: his Neighbours had written (with a Coale) ouer his doore, these wordes. *How happy a Man art thou (ô Cato) because thou onely knowest, what it is to liue in this world, among other men?*

This was not the Consull, for he neuer gaue ouer meddling in the publique occasions. Neither was it he of *Vtica*, that slew himselfe.

Lucullus the Consull and *Romaine* Captaine, continued at the wars against the *Parthians*, sixteene yeares together: during which time, he won much honour to Rome, many Prouinces to the Common-wealth, great renowne to himselfe, and mighty Treasures for his House. This man, after his returne from *Asia* to *Rome*, found the State full of partialities and dissentions, through the quarrels betweene *Marius* and *Sylla*. He resolued to leaue *Rome*, which forth-with he did put in effect, causing certaine places of sumptuous workemanship, to be builded neere *Naples*, along by the Sea side, in a place now cald *Castello di Lupo*. Ther he made his soiorning

Lucullus the Consull, Captaine against the *Parthians*.

Stabiæ, a Towne in *Campania*, destroyed by *Sylla*.

ning for the space of eighteene yeares, in quiet repose and silent pleasure; free from all the turmoyles and trauailes of State, and in this contentment he ended his daies.

The Emperor *Diocletian* forsaketh his Empire of Rome.

Diocletian, after he had gouerned *Rome* eighteene yeares, and had attained to very old age: he gaue ouer the Empire, from whence he dismissed himselfe into *Nicomedia*, with no other intention, but onely to returne home to his owne House, and there in peace and quiet to spend the rest of his life. So, he hauing taken his leaue and farewel from pomp and dignity, came to * *Salon*, which was the place of his birth, prouoked thereto (as I am perswaded) with the naturall loue, that all men do beare to their natiue Country, and there he dealt in husbandry ten yeares together. Two yeares after he had cast off the Empires Clog, the *Romaines* sent two worthy Ambassadors vnto him, to entreat (if he were so pleased) to returne to *Rome* againe. The Ambassadors being come thither, they found him in a gardē by his house, weeding his Beds of Lettice and other Hearbs: but when hee had heard their Legation, he made them this aunswere.

* A Region in *Bithynia*.

The answere of *Diocletian* to the Ambassadours of Rome.

My Friendes, do not you thinke it more honest and better, that hee who digged and planted these Lettice, should eate them peaceably and quietly in his owne house: then to forsake such wholesome fare, and returne to the tumults and rumours of Rome? I haue now made good proofe, both what it is to commaund, and what benefit ensueth, by labouring and deluing in the ground. Leaue me then to my selfe I entreat ye, in this priuate state of life: for I much rather affect, to maintaine my life by the labour of my hands, then to be troubled with the charge of the Romaine Empire. With this aunswere the Ambassadours tooke their leaue, and parted. At another time afterward, he made the like excuse, being inuited to the marriage of *Constantius*, by the Emperors *Constantine* and *Licinius*, alleaging his weakenesse, and infirmity of old age. But the Emperours sent againe vnto him, writing Letters full of terror and threatnings, that his excuses were not allowable in this case. Wherupon, he began to suspect, that they intended some shamefull death for him, because he had lend ayde and fauour to *Maxentius* and *Maximinus*. And therefore dranke a certaine poyson, whereof he dyed, being aged seauenty years and more.

Diocletian inuited to the marriage of *Constantius*, when excuses would not auaile him, poisoned himself.

Doris the *Athenian*, hauing gouerned the Common-wealth sixe and thirtie yeares, in vpright sincerity and Iustice; became aged, and weary with publike negotiations. Wherefore he dislodged from *Athens*, and went to a Countrey-House or Farme, which he had in a not far distant Village: and there, reading Bookes of husbandry in the night time, and practising the exercise of those enstructions in the day time, he wore out the space of fifteene yeares. Vpon the frontispice of his Gate, these wordes were engrauen. *Fortune and Hope, Adieu toye both, seeing I haue found the true entrance to rest and contentment.*

Doris the worthy *Athenian*, that forsooke State, and followed husbandry.

Scipio Affricanus, was one of the most deerest esteemed, and reuerenced Captaines, that euer Rome had; for, during the space of sixe and twenty yeares, being the continuance of his Warres in *Spaine*, in *Affrica*, and in *Asia*, hee neuer committed any dishonest action, neuer lost any battaile, nor euer failed in Iustice to any one. He subdued *Affrica*, ruined *Carthage*, conquered *Hannibal*, destroyed * *Numantia*, and re-established *Rome*; which Cittie, after the battell of *Cannas*, he (almost, or altogether) neuer vtterly forsooke. Notwithstanding, in the two and fiftith yeare of his age, parting from *Rome*; he retired himselfe to a small inheritance of his owne, between *Pozzuolo* and *Capona*, and neuer after would be seene againe in *Rome*.

The glory & honour of Rome, *Scipio Affricanus*.

* A Cittie of *Celtiberia* in Spaine, besieged foureteen yeares by the Romains, yet destroyed at last by *Scipio*.

All these excellent men, of whom we haue spoken, and an infinite number more, left their Kingdomes, Consulats, Dignities, Gouernments, Cities, Pallaces, Fauours, Courts; and Riches, to the end, that they might liue peacefully. And it is the more memorable, in that no slanderous tongne can auouch, that any of them forsooke their Countries, as being infamous, wretchedly poore, or banished: but onely beeing thereto moued, in pure and simple goodnesse, and on their owne liberall free will, for the more commodious order and direction of their liues, before death should tyrannize ouer them.

Vertue onely was the obiect of all these worthy mens intentions, and no enforcement by shame or villainy.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the impehfection of Politicall Science, with a consideration of the imbecilitie of Law-makers, &c.*

In the one & forty Chapter of the last Booke.

IN a former Chapter, we haue signified, that there are such multitudes of people, such difference of degrees, qualities & conditions, such peruersity of wils, humours, and affections in euery Cowmon-wealth: that no humaine wit is able to reduce them to that perfect temperature and hermony, which is requisite for the cõseruation of ciuill vnity and amity. To the end, that all may continually concurre, in the obedience of one Law, in one kind of gouernment, and liue therin contented, each one in his vocation, in security, peace, and plenty, which euery Law-maker or Gouernour of a Common-wealth ought to procure. Which may partly be iudged by the gouernment of a Family, be it great or little, becauſe it is many times turned vpside downe, and dissolued by the peruerse humour of some one or two, being not corrigible by any counsell, or chastisement of the head or Maister. What maruaile is it then, if in whole Kingdomes and Common-weales, among so many thousands of different persons, and of different humors: there are so many exorbitant and turbulent Spirits, that no wit or power of man can bee able to tame or temper them? And do we not see many times, that the couetousnesse, or the lust, or the treason, temerity or folly, or the ambition of some one man, endangereth or ouerthroweth a whole Empire? The Kingdome of *Macedon* was lost through the couetousnesse of *Perseus*, King thereof. The treason of one Count *Iulian*, offended by the lust of *Rodoricke*, King of *Spain* (who defloured his daughter) was the cause that the *Moores* conquered *Spaine*, and possest it sixe or seauen hundred yeares. The temerity of *Terentius Varro*, when he was Consull of Rome, & gaue battell to *Hanniball*: causeд the great ouerthrow which the *Romaines* receiued at *Cannæ*, to the great daunger of the Common-wealth, which (in the end) was vtterly ouerthrowne by the ambition of *Iulius Cæsar*.

Comparison by the gouernment of a Familie.

One man oftentimes causeth the destruction of a whole Empire

Plut. in Paulo Æmilio.

Rodericus Toletan. in Lib. 5. de rcb. Hispan. Cap. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

Titus Liuius. Dec. 3. Lib. 2. Post. in Iul. Cæsare.

But what should I speake of a King of *Macedon*, or a King of *Spaine*, a Consull of *Rome*, or a *Iulius Cæsar*; when the turbulent humor of a base fellow, or a pety Companion, such a one I meane, as a *Blacke-Smith*, or a *Iacke-Straw*, or a *Iack-Cade*: hath bin able to put al England in a garboile, to the great daunger of the State? Seeing then, that the fault or error of some one man, may ruine or endanger a Kingdome: how shal mans wit or pollicy bee able, sufficiently to preuent the inconueniences, which must needs grow thorow infinite faults and errors, that (in tract of time) are committed in euery Common-wealth, by so many thousands as are therein, through the folly or mallice of men?

The Garboils and tumults in England, raised by Iacke Straw and his fellowes. Stow, Haule Holinshed.

Furthermore, if we consider, what politicke science (whereby Common-wealths are instituted and gouerned) is able to performe, and how farre it may extend it selfe: we shall easily see, how little perfection and establishment any State can receiue, by the Law-maker or Gouernor thereof, be he neuer so politicke. For whereas other Sciences and Arts were (as *Aristotle* teacheth) inuented by some, augmented and amplified by others, and brought in time to perfection: it falleth out otherwise in the pollitick science, which is so vncertain & variable, that although the rules & precepts therof, were many hundred years ago deliuered by most famous Philosophers, and explicated & enlarged since, by infinite Authors, Ancient and Moderne; yet, both reason and experience sheweth, that it neuer arriueth, neither can reach to intire perfection. For, neyther one and the selfe-same pollicie, is fit and conuenient for all Common-wealthes, (as one Art or Science is not fit and conuenient for all kinde of Men) neither is a Common-wealth so durcable in one manner and forme of gouernment: that the selfe-same pollicy will euer serue for the same State. Seeing all Common-weales are subiect to mutation, & many times, one is

How farre Politick Science may extend it selfe.

Arist. in Lib. 1. Elench. Cap. vltimo.

All common weals subiect to alteration.

engendred by the corrupting of another, euery one requiring different lawes, and a different pollicie.

And although the Common-wealth doe remaine in one forme of gouernment, as either in a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or a Populare State: yet such is the variety of times, and instability of the humors and affections of men, that new Lawes and different pollicies will be necessary thereto. And therefore, whereas the *Romains* had foure kinds of lawes; as *Cicero* testifieth: yet one was *De abrogandis legibus*, to abrogate and repeale lawes; by the vertue and authority whereof, many lawes (made by very wise men) were afterward (by their posterity) annulled and repealed, as vnprofitable and inconuenient. The same may be obserued in the very Lawes of God, which haue varied, according to the different state of man and times: as it is euident by the Law of *Nature*; the Law of *Moyses*; and now lastly, the law of *Grace*. The reason whereof, S. *Augu.* giueth, saying. *It is not to be wondred at, that God made different Lawes, in different times: seeing that in one day, and in one house, and in one man, one thing is conuenient to amend another, and one thing to one man; and another, to another, and that the thing which is expedient now, will (an hour hence) bee vnlawfull and inconuenient.* Whereby it appeareth, that time, which breedeth certainty of iudgment, and experience in men, for the perfection of other Sciences and Arts: doth so change and abolish lawes and pollicies, that it causeth in Law-makers and Gouernors, ignorance, error, and confusion. For this cause, *Plato* affirmeth expresly, that no man, be he neuer so excellent of wit, or neuer so prudent & practised in affairs; can be able (without the inspiration and assistance of God) to make sufficient Lawes, for the perfect establishment of a Common-wealth. And therefore, in the institution of his owne written Common-wealth, and lawes thereof: he craueth helpe of Almighty God, and otherwhere saith. *As brute Beasts cannot be happily gouerned by Beasts, without the helpe of Man: so Man cannot be well and happily gouerned by man, without the helpe of God.* And againe, in another place he teacheth. *That as men cannot liue without lawes; so neither could men haue had sufficient Lawes from Prometheus* (that is to say, from the prouidence of men) *if Iupiter himselfe, the creator of all, had not sent Mercury to men with laws, to bee the Interpreter of his Diuine will.* Whereby he signifieth (mistically after his manner) that without Gods especiall assistance: no wit or prouidence of man can suffice to institute, and conserue any State or Common-wealth, either by the meanes of lawes or otherwise. This also *Salomon* well knew and acknowledged, who therefore craued Wisedome of Almighty God, for the gouernment of his people, adding. *Quis enim potest iudicare populum istum, populum tuum hunc multum? For who can, without thy help, iudge and gouerne this thy people, so many in number?* And againe. *Giue me (ô Lord) that wisedome vvhich assisteth thy Seat. For I am thy Seruant, a weake Man: Et minor ad intellectum iudicij & legum; And not of capacitie to vnderstand, what is Iudgement and Law.* Thus said this prudent King, considering, and humbly acknowledging his own imperfection. In respect whereof, Almighty God gaue him greater wisedome, honor, and glory, then euer had any earthly Prince.

But now, for the further proofe of this matter, let vs examine some of the Lawes, of three or foure of the most famous Law-makers that euer were: that, by discouerie of their errours, the weakenesse of mans wit, in the institution and administration of a Common-wealth, may the better appeare. And whereas some haue founded and instituted many Comwon-wealths indeede, and some in writing, to serue for Patterns to others: I will here speake only of foure, of greatest fame, of either sort two; As of *Solon* the *Athenian*; *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedemonian*; *Plato* the *Diuine*; and *Aristotle*, Master to *Alexander* the Great. When the Cõmonwealth of the *Athenians* (hauing beene gouerned for many yeares together by the Lawes of *Draco*) was falne to decay, through the excessiue couetousnes and rigor of rich men, whom the poorer sort (being loaden with debts, and not able to pay the) were forced to serue as Slaues, by the sentence of the Iudges, wherupon there arose daily infinite tumults and seditions: it seemed good to them all, to recom-

Foure kindes of Lawes among the *Romaines*. *Cicero de legib.*

The lawes of God haue varied according to the different state of man, and times.

August. De Confess. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Time breedeth maturity of iudgement.

Gods inspiration necessary for the making of good Lawes.

Plato in lib. 4. De Legibus.

Idem in Minoe Idem in Protagora.

2 Chron. 2. 11
2. Cron. 3. 7.
Wisd. 9. 4. 5.

Salomans humble ackeowledgement of his weakneſſe

The lawes of foure famous Law makers, examined & reproued.

The *Athenians* were gouerned many yeares by *Dracoes* lawes.

re-commend the reformation of theyr whole ſtate to *Solon*, a man ſo highlie eſteemed for his wiſedome, that hee was accounted one of the wiſemen of *Greece*: who perſwading himſelfe, that it could not be conueniently reformed, except the poore were releeued and eaſed of their debts, imparted his minde therein, to ſome of his friends firſt; who, perceiuing his reſolution, borrowed great ſtore of money, and employed it in Lande. Whereuponit folowed, that when *Solon* had publiſhed his New Law, (which he cald *Seyſacthia*, that is to ſay, *A diſcharge of Debts*) they remained exceedingly inriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much ſuſpected of deceite, as to haue ſecret intelligence with his friends, and part of their gaine.

The Reformation of the Cõmonwelth of the *Athenians* by *Solon*. *Plut. in Solone.*

And although it ſeemeth, that therein he had wrong (for he loſt by his own Law as ſome haue written, fifteene Talentes, which were owing him) yet he cannot be excuſed in two things. The one, in that he cauſed not his friendes to reſtore the money, which they had guilefully borrowed. And the other, that without examination of the perticuler cauſes & reaſons of euerie mans debt, hee ordained a generall abolition of all debts, good and bad; whereby, as well thoſe which were able to pay, as the vnable, were diſcharged: and all creditors (without diffrence) defrauded, contrary to all equitie and iuſtice. Which as *Cicero* ſaith, ſpeaking of the like caſe, *Requireth aboue all thinges, that euerie man haue his owne.* And that equall regard be had to the right, as wel of the rich, as of the poore. And that is no way obſerued ſaith he, *Cum locupletes ſuum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum, when rich men looſe their owne, and debters gaine that which belongeth vnto others.* Beſides, in this caſe, the neceſsitie was not ſuch, to breake Iuſtice ſo notoriouſly, becauſe the incõueniẽce might haue beene redeemed otherwiſe, without iniury to any. As partly by the means which he himſelfe alſo practiſed, to wit; by raiſing the money: and partly, by borrowing ſome great ſummes, with the which he might (at leſt) haue made ſome compoſition with the Creditours, in behalfe of the Debtors, and haue repayed the money after in time, by penalties, confiſcations, and ſome moderate taxes, whereby the poore might haue beene for the preſent releeued, and no man wronged.

Two foule errors of *Solõ*, about the reformation of the *Athenian Commonwealth*

Cic. in lib. 2. de Offic.

Great iniuſtice committed by *Solon*. *Cicero vbi ſup.*

How *Solon* might haue reformed the Comonwelth without the breach of Iuſtice.

Therefore, *Cicero* greatly commendeth *Aratus*, who when the Citty called **Syciona*, had beene oppreſſed 50. yeares by Tyrants, and himſelfe baniſhed with ſixe hundered others, of the verie richeſt men to bee found therein: firſt founde meanes to kill the Tyrant; and after, hauing called home all thoſe that were baniſhed: and finding difficultie, in reſtoring them to their goods & liuings (whiche were in the poſeſsion of other men, and had beene in fifty yeares ſpace, alienated by many Contracts, and bargaines of ſale, Dowries, Leaſes, and ſuch like) thought it not conuenient, either to take the ſaid liuings from thoſe that poſſeſſed them; or yet to leaue the other vnſatisfied. And therefore, he borrowed a great ſumme of mony, of *Ptolomy*, King of *Alexandria*; and examining euerie mans cauſe, and making an ineſtimate of the Lands, dealt ſo between the parties, that for ready mony, ſome of them were content to leaue their poſſeſsion; and others to ſell their right, and ſo surceaſe their claime whereby peace and concord was made. *Et ſic par eſt* (ſaith *Cicero*) *cum Ciuibus agere, & non alijs ſua eripere, alijs dare aliena. So it is fit to deale with ſubiects, and not to take from ſome their owne, & to giue it to others to whom it did not belong*, as *Solon* did, who therfore was to be blamed, not only for error, but alſo for Iniuſtice.

*Cic. vbi ſupra.

I omit other errours of *Solon*, which might be obſerued in the forme of Commonwealth, to come to the examination of one of his Lawes, whereby hee ordained: *That whoſoeuer in any publick ſedition ſhould be newtrall, and take neyther parte, ſhou'd remaine euer after infamous.* His reaſon was, becauſe hee thought it not conuenient, that any man ſhold ſo much loue his owne eaſe, as not to participate in the trouble of the Common-wealth, whereof he was a member. Which reaſon, togither with the law, *Plutarch* wiſely reiecteth; for that it would be an aſſured meanes, to put (as it were) Fire vnto Gun-powder. & to ſet all the Commonwealth on a flame, without hope of anie internall remedy.

An abſurde Law of *Solon*, forbidding newtralitie in a publicke ſedition. *Plut. in Solone.*

For (ſaith he) *euen as in a ſicke bodie, all the hope of helpe within it ſelfe, is to bee expected from the partes that are ſound. And there-*

*An old City of Peloponneſus neere Corinth. Cicero lib. 2. de Offic.

The wiſedom of *Aratus*, in reforming the Citie of *Sicyona*.

Idem in his Booke of inſtructions, for ſuch as deale in matters of State.

therefore, when the bodie is wholy corrupted, there is no helpe of remedie but from abroad: euen so, in a politick body, sicke with sedition, all the interal remedie, is to come from the whole and sounde partes thereof.

That is to say, from such as are newtrals, who may labour with the one part, and with the other, to compound the quarrell: for otherwise, where all is in tumult, no remedie can bee expected, except it come from abroad. And therefore, *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest and principall point of polliticke Science in anie Gouernor, to know, how either to prenent seditions that they neuer grow; or else quickly to appease them, when they are growne, be they neuer so little. For, euen as the least sparke that is, may fal into such a matter, that it may set a whole house on fire: so the least ciuill sedition, may fall among such persons, and in such a time, that it may put a whol Commonwealth in combustion, and vtterlie ruine it. And for this cause, wise Gouernors haue an eye, not only to dissentions concerning the Commonwealth, & publick matters: but also, to priuate quarrelles, though they be among meane men, because (many times) they redound to publicke detriment, whereof *Plutarch* recounteth a very notable example.

Solons Lawe reiected by *Plutarch.*

Ibidem. A principall point of politicke science, either to preuent seditions, or quickly to appease them.

Plutar. Ibidem. A Storie of the dissention of two young men of *Syracusa.*

Two young men of *Syracusa*, were so great Friends, that the one of them beeing to go abroad vpon occasion, recommended vnto the other the care of his Concubine. Hee in his friends absence, being ouercome with loue and lust, abused her. In reuenge whereof, his friend (at his return) corrupted the others wife; by which meanes, there grewe a great quarrell betwixt them. And the matter comming to the notice of the Senate, a wise Senator gaue aduise, to banniſh both, least their priuate quarrell might breed some publicke sedition. But his Counsell was neglected; whereupon followed, that the Friends on eyther side taking parties, made (within a while) such a tumult and ciuill warre in the Cittie, that the whole state was ouerthrowne thereby.

Good aduise neglected causeth much harme.

The danger that groweth toa Prince by maintaining diuision among his subiects.

But, as all priuate quarrels may proue daungerous to the Commonwealth, so most of all is it, when they grow betwixt the greatest personages. In which respect, *Phillip de Comines* greatly blameth such Princes, as do not seeke to compose dissentions and quarrelles, among some of their greater subiects: but rather nouriſh them, by fauoring one partie more then another, wherein they do no other (saith he) *but helpe to set their owne house on fire.* Whereof hee alledgeth two notable examples, the one of the Queene of *England*, wife to King *Henrie* the sixt, who taking part with the Duke of *Sommerset*, against the Earle of *Warwicke*, was an especiall cause of that Warre, which the Earle made (many years togither) against the King and House of *Lancaster*, to their vtter ouerthrow. *And therefore* (sayth he) *the Queene should haue done much more wisely, if she had shewed her selfe at the first indifferent betwixt the two parties, & holpen to agree them.*

Phil. de Com. Cron. du Rey Louis. Cap. 138

War in England betwixt the King, and the Earle of *Warwicke.*

The other example which hee alledgeth, is of *Charles* the seauenth, King of *France*; who, when hee was *Daulphine*, tooke part with the Duke of *Orleance*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in a priuate quarrell of theirs. In reuenge whereof the Duke of *Burgundy*, called *Henrie* the fift, King of *England*, into *Fraunce*, and helped to Crowne him, and his son after him, Kings in *Paris.*

Henrie the fift K. of England Crowned in France.

And whereas, *Phillip de Comines*, seemeth to take it for no inconuenience, that a young Prince, should sometimes for his sport and pleasure, nouriſh some iarres and quarrelles among the Ladyes and Gentlewomen of his Court, I cannot but dissent from him therin, because Womens iarres, may make mens wars. And experience hath taught, that mutations haue sometimes hapned in States, by womens quarrels. As in *Rome*, where *Fabius Ambustus* hauing married his two Daughters; the elder, vnto a Nobleman called *Sulpitius*, who was after made consull; and the younger to a *Plebeian*, called *Licinius Stolo*, who (by the Lawes) was not capeable of that dignity. It chanced, that a disgust fell betwixt the two Sisters; for that the younger, visiting the elder, who was then wife to the Consull, and holding her selfe to bee contemned of her, in respect of her meaner estate, lamented so pittifully to her Father, that to appease her, he practised with the people, to make his Sonne in Law, *Licinius Stolo* Consull, in derogation of the ancient Law and Custome, which excluded the *Plebeians* from the Consulship. And although the chiefe Senatours, oppoſed them-

Phillip de Comines, reproued, for alowing in a yong Prince, to nouriſh quarrels amongst the Ladies of his Court. *Plin. de viris illust. Tit. Liui. Dec. 1. Lib. 6.*

The trouble that often ariseth by the dissentions of Women.

themſelues thereto with might & maine, as to a great noueltie, and a matter verie preiudiciall to the dignity of the Senate, yet he preuailed; and not only procured a Decree, that from thenceforward, the *Plebeians* might be Conſuls, but alſo obtained the election of *Licinius Stolo*, his Sonne in Law. And this was done, to ſatisfie the diſdaine of a woman againſt hir owne Siſter.

The diſſention betwixt the Dutches of *Somerſet*, & Q. *Katherine Par* in *England*

But more dangerous and lamentable, was the quarrel of two Siſters in *England* in the time of King *Edward* the ſixt, one of them being Queene *Katherine Parre*, lately before, wife to King *Henrie* the 8. and then married to the Lorde *Thomas Seymer*, Admirall of *England*; and the other was the Dutcheſſe of *Sommerſet*, VVife to the Lorde Protector of England, Brother to the Admirall. Theſe two Ladies, falling at variaunce for the precedence which either of them chalenged; the one, as Qu. Dowager, and the other as wife to the Protector, who then gouerned the King and all the Realme, drew their Husbandes into the quarrell, and ſo incenſed the one againſt the other, that the Protectour procured the death of the Admirall his Brother: whereon alſo followed his owne deſtruction ſhortly after. For, being depriued of the aſſiſtance and ſupport of his Brother, he was eaſily ouerthrowne by the Duke of *Northumberland*, who cauſed him to be conuicted of fellony, and beheaded. Beholde what inconuenience followed, by the falling out of two women. Therefore *Ariſtotle* wiſely aduiſeth Princes, ***To haue care that their wiues doe no diſgraces, nor giue iuſt cauſe of diſguſt vnto the Wiues of their ſubiects, becauſe Commonwelths haue bin ouerthrown by ſuch meanes.***

Beholde the fruits of mallice & ſpleene in Women.

Ariſtot. in Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 2.

But what meruaile is it, if the quarels of weomen may bee daungerous vnto a Commonwealth, ſeeing a famous and pernitious faction in *Italy*, began by the occaſion of a quarrel betwixt two Boies, whereof the one gaue the other a box on the eare. In reuenge whereof, the father of the Boy that was ſtrucken, cut off the hand of the other which gaue the blow. VVhoſe Father, making the quarrell his owne, ſought reuenge of the iniury done to his ſonne, and began the faction of the *Neri*, and the *Bianchi*, that is to ſay, *Black* and *White*: which preſently ſpred it ſelfe thoroughout *Italy*, and was the occaſion of ſpilling much Chriſtian blood.

A quarrel began in Italie, betwixte two Boyes, which cauſed much blood-ſhed.

Tarcagnota hiſt Mund par. 2. lib. 15.

VVhereby we may ſee, how neceſſary it is, for Gouernors, to haue an eye vnto quarrels, though among mean perſons. And how dangerous it is for a Prince, to make deuiſion in his State, betwixt great perſons, to ballannce and counterpoize one of them with another, to the ende, that they ſhall not conſpire againſt him. As *Machiauel* counſelleth abſurdly, following the olde tyrannicall Precept; *Si vis regnare, diuide. If thou wilt Raigne, make diuiſion.* As though it ſhould bee alwayes in the Princes power, to moderate the ſame at his pleaſure, whereof no mortall creature can aſſure himſelfe, bee he neuer ſo wiſe or potent. And therfore, we may ſay of ſuch dangerous courſes, as ſaieth the Booke of *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Qui amat periculũ peribit in illo*, He that loueth danger, ſhall periſh in it.

The danger of *Machiauels* doctrine, concerning diuiſion.

Eccleſ. 3, 27.

Neuertheleſſe, to returne now vnto *Solons* Law, which condemneth neutrality in publicke ſeditions or factions; although in ſome caſes, the ſaid law would be pernitious to a Commonwealth: yet in ſome other, I holde it ſo neceſſarie, as that no man could do his dutie eyther to God or his Countrey, except he ſhould put the ſame in practiſe.

In what caſes neutralitie is to be allowed or diſallowed

As for example, if the quarrell were for matter of Religion, or touching either the ſeruice of God, or the publicke good of the Commonwealth; or for the iuſt defence of the rightfull Prince, and Gouernour thereof. In theſe caſes, all neutrality were vnlawfull. For, when there is queſtion of Gods ſeruice, to bee then neutral, were nothing elſe but to betray Gods cauſe, and to declare a Mans ſelfe to be his owne enemie. According to our Sauiours ſaying; *Qui non eſt mecum, contra me eſt, & qui non colligit mecum diſſergit. Hee that is not with mee, is againſt me: And he that gathereth not with me, ſcattereth.* And therefore, the Neutralles in that caſe, are thoſe whome the Holy Ghoſt calleth *Tepidi*, men that are lukewarme, of whom the Scripture ſaith in the perſon of God. *Vtinam eſſes aut calidus, aut frigidus. Sed quia tepidus eſt, euomam te ex ore meo. I wold thou wert eyther hot, or could. But becauſe thou art but luke-warme, I wil therefore ſpet thee out of my mouth.*

Neutralitie vnlawfull in deuiſions concerning Gods ſeruice.

Luke 11, 23.

Apoc. 3, 15, 16.

Againe in the other caſe, where the Controuerſie concerneth the good of the

Neutralitie condemned, in matters concerning the iuſt defence of the Prince or Cõmonwealth.

the Commonwealth, or the iuſt defence of the King or Gouernor: Newtrality in this caſe, were meere treaſon, and ſhold iuſtly deſerue not onely the note of infamy (as *Solons* Law ordained) but alſo any rigorous punniſhment whatſoeuer. And therefore in all ſuch caſes, all men are bound in conſcience and duty, without any delay, to declare at leaſt their good willes and affections, for maintainance of ſo iuſt a cauſe. And where perſwaſions will not ſuffice, then to employ all force, yea, and their liues, for ſuppreſſing of ſuch ſeditious wretches, rather then to ſuffer that they may any way preuaile.

Neutrality in priuate quarels condemned.

But in other caſes, as when ſome perticuler mens priuate diſſentions do grow to a publicke ſedition; or, when the contention is not betwixt the head, and ſome of the members, but betwixt the members themſelues; to adhere to either partie (as *Solons* Lawe commaunded) were no other, then in ſtead of Water wherewith to quench fire, to caſt on Oyle, to noriſh and augment it, to the great danger and detriment of the whole State. Therefore, in ſuch a caſe, the neutrall & indifferent man, may beſt helpe to remedie the diſeaſe of the Commonwealth, putting on (as *Plutarch* ſaith) the *Buskin of Theramines, which ſerued for both feet.* That is to ſay, dealing indifferently with both parties, to draw them to a compoſition; not for his owne eaſe, or to auoyde the participation of publick or common calamity, as *Solon* in his Law ſuppoſed of Neutrals, but to extinguiſh the fire kindled in the Commonwealth, or at leaſt, not to miniſter further matter therto, by any act of his.

Plutarch in his inſtructions for ſuch as deale in matters of State.

Thus then we ſee, how *Solon* erred in his Lawes and ordinances, though *Ariſtotle* ſeemeth to preferre him before all other Law-makers, cenſuring & controlling all the reſt, and excuſing him in that wherein others reprehend, and concluding him to be an excellent Law maker. So doth *Plato*, who for patternes of all ſuch as ſhall inſtitute Commonwealthes and Lawes, propoſeth *Minos*, *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, of which laſt man I meane to ſpeake.

Plato de Legib.

CHAP. IIII.

The Weakeneſſe of Law-makers, exemplified in certaine wicked and abſurd Lawes, of Lycurgus, Plato, *and* Ariſtotle. *With certaine Obſernations, no leſſe pious, then Politicall.*

Plato in Licurgo.

Licurgus was no leſſe famous for his royall Birth, then for his great wiſedome. For, he being Brother to *Polidectes* king of *Lacedemonia*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, at the earneſt requeſt of the people, in regard, that his Brother left no yſſue, but only his Wife great with Childe. And beeing earneſtly ſolicited by her, to marrie with her, with promiſe to deſtroy the Childe in her wombe, to the end, that his Kingdome might bee the more aſſured: hee did not only refuſe it; but alſo, when the Childe was borne, and proued a Sonne, he proclaimed him King, taking onely to himſelfe the tutelage of him, and the gouernment of the Realme during his minority. VVith intention in the meane time, to reforme it, beeing growne to great corruption, and almoſt vtterly decayed. And therefore, he aboliſhed moſt of the olde Lawes, and ordained newe; by the vſe whereof, the *Lacedemonians* flouriſhed many yeares, aboue all the reſt of the *Græcians*; inſomuch, that they hadde the Dominion of al *Greece*, for ſome certain time.

Lycurgus earneſtly ſolicited by his Brothers wife to mary with her.

Of the lawes of the *Lacedemonians*, reformed by *Licurgus.*

How *Licurgus* erred in framing his Cõmonwealth rather for warre then peace.

Neuertheleſſe, if we examine his Commõwealth, and the Lawes therof, we ſhal finde, that hee failed both in true prudence, & immortall Vertue. For whereas a good Law maker, ought to frame his Commonwealth, no leſſe to Religion, Iuſtice, and Temperance, then to Fortitude, that it may ſtand and floriſh, as well in time of peace, as in warre: his Lawes tended principally, to make the people valiant and warlicke: whereupon it followed, that the *Lacedemonians* flouriſhed ſo long as they had warres. But when they came to enioy peace, they fel to decay within a while, as *Ariſtotle* noteth, whereby the error of *Lycurgus* euidently appea-

Ariſt. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

appeared. For, as peace is not ordayned for warre, but warre for peace, as motion and labour is ordained for reſt (in which reſpect, *Cicero* ſaith: *Warre is to be vndertaken, ſo that peace may bee attayned thereby.*) So in like manner, a Commonwealth is rather to bee framed and ordained for peace, then for warre, and yet for both, that it may ſtand by both. In which reſpect, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians*, as *Plutarch* writeth, choſe *Pallas* for their Patroneſſe, who was called both *Polemica* and *Politica*, that is to ſay, *Warlicke* and *Ciuill*. As alſo the *Thebanes* had for theirs, *Hermonie*, which was helde to bee the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*: whereby they ſignified, that the hermony of a Common-wealth, conſiſteth in the conſonance and coniunction of Military and Ciuill Diſcipline. Which alſo *Iuſtinian* ſpecified, in the inſtitutes of the Ciuill Law, ſaying; *Imperatorium maieſtatem, &c. It is conuenient, that the Imperial Maieſtie bee not onely decked and adorned with Armes, but alſo defended with Lawes.*

Cicer in Offic. lib. 2.

Plut. in Phocione & pelopida.

Iuſtin. In ſtitut. in prœmio.

But in the Commonwealth of the *Lacedemonians*, this was no way performed. For the Lawes of *Lycurgus*, tending only to make them ſtrong, laborious, and valiant: could not make them Religious, iuſt, and truly temperate, which for Ciuill Diſcipline, and peaceable gouernement, is moſt requiſite. As for Lawes tending to Religion, we find none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his, but onely one more ridiculous then Religious. As hee that dedicated an Image to Laughter, which hee made a God, or (at leaſt) would haue to be worſhipped as a God, to make the people mery at their publicke Feaſts and meetings. And as for Lawes pertaining to Iuſtice, he made few, and one among the reſt, which opened a great gappe to Iniuſtice, and to all cozenages and deceipt. For he ordained that it ſhould be lawfull for any man, to ſteale any kinde of meate, ſo that he were not taken or diſcouered in the dooing of it. And that Boyes and Children ſhould haue ſo little allowed them to eate, that they ſhould be forced to proule & ſteale for their better prouiſion, to make them thereby the more induſtrious, nimble, & quicke of ſpirit: and others, more warie and watchfull, to keepe well that which they had in ſo much, that he which could ſteal moſt cunningly, was moſt commended.

Whereto the Lawes of *Licurgus* tended.

A ridiculous Law of *Lycurgus*.

Plut. in Licurgo

But who doth not ſee, that this was the next way to fil the Commonwealth with Theeues? For, is it likely, that they (who from their Infancie) are brought vppe in ſtealing & pilfering triſles, wil afterward (when they haue got the full habit thereof) not forbear to ſteale things of greater importaunce? Or, can Theeues practiſe their occupation with more ſafetie anie way, to become in the end moſt expert, and thereby pernitious to the Commonwealth, then with the warrant, and vnder protection of the Lawe? Seeing the penaltie ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the Iniuſtice of the fact, but for their lack of skil and dexterity in the performance, which muſt needs make euery one labor to excell in the act of Theeuery. Finally, when the Law not onely permitteth but alſo induceth men to deceiue ſomtimes, and in ſome thinges, doth it not alſo diſpoſe, and, as it were, direct them to deceiue as often, and howſoeuer they may? Therefore, good and wiſe Law-Makers ſeeke to preuent euils, and to cut off the occaſions of vice, and not to adminiſter matter or occaſion thereto, which in our corrupt Natures, breedeth a bridle to reſtraine it, and not a ſpurre to pricke it forward.

Cunning Theft and deceit allowed of in the laws of *Lycurgus*.

Contending for excellēce in theeuetie.

The care and reſpect of good Law-makers.

And this may alſo be ſaide, in reſpect of another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing to intemperance, and al kind of incontinencie. For, although hee ordayned ſome thinges notably, for the education of youth, tending (as it ſeemed) vnto the repreſſion of Concupiſcence and diſſolute life (as a verie ſpare and homely diet, hard bedding of Reeds, or as ſome write, no beds at al, continual labor and exerciſe, one only Garment for the whole yeare, and ſuch like) yet it appeareth, that his meaning was no other therein, but only to make them able to endure the labour and toile of warre.

Another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing iutemperancie and incontinency.

Iuſtine in lib. 3.

For he ordained other lawes, ſo much in fauour and furtherance of Luſt and all carnality, yea in the verie worſt kind, that it may be iuſtly ſaide, he made his whole Commonwealth, worſe then a *Burdello*. For he inſtituted certaine Wraſtlings & Daunces, with other exerciſes of Boyes and Wenches naked, to be done in publicke at diuers times in the yeare, in the pre-

Plut. in Licurgo

presence of both old and young men: but what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their Cittizens, a man may easily iudge. Especially, seeing both their Lawes and Customes permitted, that men should be enamored of Boyes, which was held for lawdable, and necessarie for their good education: it beeing presumed, that their louers woulde carefully enstruct them in vertue and honesty.

Absurd lawes of *Licurgus*, tending to lasciuiousnesse.

Furthermore, Adultery, which was punnished with death, not onely by the law of *Moyses*, but also by the law of the *Romaines*, and other Nations, as a thing pernitious to any Commonwealth, was not onely permitted, but also approoued by *Lycurgus* his law. Ordaining, that if an olde man married a yong Wife, shee might (with her husbands license) make choise with any yong man that she liked, to haue a childe by him, which hir Husband brought vp as his owne. And if a valiant or vertuous man (as good Souldiers were there termed) liked well of anothers mans wife, hee might demaunde leaue of her husband, to haue yssue by her, which was not denied, but thought conuenient for their Commonwealth, to maintaine a good race or breede of Valiant man therein, as *Plutarch* testifyeth, in defence of this Law of *Lycurgus*. This then being so, what meruaile is it, that al sinne of the flesh and beastlines, raigned more in *Lacedemon*, then any where else in *Greece*, as *Aristotle* witnesseth? Nay what wonder was it, that almighty God (of his iust iudgement) plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable ouerthrow at the plaine of *Leuctra*? Where they lost the Dominion of *Greece*, by the occasion, and for the punnishment of an horrible Rape, committed by two of their Cittizens.

Leuit. 20, 10. *Lex Iulia.*

Adultery permitted by *Lycurgus.*

Plut. in Licurgo

Arist. in Polit. Sib. 2. Cap. 7. The ouerthrow of the *Lacedemonians* at the plaine of *Leuctra*. *Plut. Narratione amator. Diod. Siculus in l. 15. c. 14. cap. 20. vii. 3.*

But to conclude, concerning *Licurgus* and *Solon*, I will not stand vppon other things, reproued by *Aristotle* in the lawes of *Lycurgus*: seeing it is euident inough, by that which I haue touched before; that these two mirrors of Law makers (for so were *Solon* and *Licurgus* accompted of al antiquity) may serue no lesse then others of meaner marke, for examples of mens infirmities, and weaknesse of wit in matters of Commonwealth. To whom, I will now adde *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who, although they founded no Commonwealths, as the other two did; yet, they framed (in writing) either of them one, wherein they laboured to shew, both the excellencie of their owne wit, and the perfection of humaine policy; yet therin notwithstanding, they euidently declared the weaknesse of both.

Licurgus and *Solon* accounted by antiquity, mirrors of Law-makers.

For, what can bee more absurd or impious, then the community which *Plato* ordained in his Commonwealth? Not only of goodes and possessions, but also of women? which was done to the end, that no man should haue any thing proper or peculiar to himselfe: insomuch, that fathers & mothers should not know their own children, neither yet any child know his owne Parents. VVhereby hee thought, to establish such a perfect vnity in the Commonwealth, that no man should be able to say; this is mine, or this is thine, but euerie man haue a generall care of all. Whereas, if that Lawe were put in practise, the vtter ouerthrow of the Commonwealth, and of all humaine society must needs follow theron. For Matrimonie beeing taken away, and such a promiscuous and beastly procreation introduced: the Naturall loue betwixt Parentes and their Children; Bretheren, Kinsfolkes, and Allies, all Consanguinity, Kindred, and Affinity, wold be quite abolished. Horrible Incest betweene Kinsfolkes, Brother and Sister, Father and Daughter, Mother and Son (which all Nations abhorre) would ordinarily be committed, and in occasion of quarrels (which somtimes could not be auoided) one Brother would kill another, the Father the Sonne, and the Son the Father, through want of knowing one another: beside very manie other inconueniences, declared verie perticulerly, and at large, by *Aristotle* in his Politickes. He proueth also very euidently, that the vnitie which *Plato* sought to establish in his Common wealth by law, would not follow theron, whereby appeared his double error. All which I omit for breuities sake, to speake a worde or two of another Lawe of his. Hauing ordained, that young men shold for encrease of their strength and agilitie of bodie, exercise themselues Naked at certaine times, and in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gimnasta*, he commanded also (not as *Licurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young Girles and Wenches should daunce Naked among Boyes; but farre more absurdlie) that

Plato in lib. de Legibus.

The impious Lawes of *Plato* in his commonwealth.

Promiscuous and beastly Procreation in the Lawes of *Plato.*

Arist. in Polit. l. 2. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Another most absurd *Platonical* Law.

that Weomen, in the flower of their youth, should Dance, Wraſtle, Runne, Ride, and do all exerciſes with yong Naked men, as well as they. *Which* (ſaieth he) *whoſoeuer miſliketh, vnderſtandeth not howe profitable it is for the Commonwealth.*

Plato accounted to be the Prince of Philoſophers.

But who coulde immagine, that the Prince of Phyloſophers (for ſo was *Plato* eſteemed) could ſo farre forget himſelfe, as, hauing inſtituted and framed his Commonwealth, to all kinde of vertue, as the onely meanes to arriue at perfect felicity: for which purpoſe, he gaue notable documents and Precepts; & made excellent Lawes concerning all vertues: and among the reſt, touching chaſtitie: who, I ſay, conſidering this, could imagine, that this Profeſſor, Maiſter, and teacher of Vertue; this commender and Commander of Chaſtitie; woulde not onely permit, but alſo ordaine a thing ſo contrarie to his owne profeſsion, to the end of his Commonwealth, and vnto his owne Lawes, Precepts, and Counſels, as the laſciuious Aſpect of naked women? Whereby, the fire of Concupiſcence being kindled in men, and the bridle of Naturall modeſtie taken from weomen: what elſe could followe thereon, but all beaſtlie diſſolution, and Carnallitie of life, as well in the one, as other?

Plato contrary to himſelfe, allowing young women in the companie of naked men.

For, Precepts are giuen, and Lawes ordained in vaine, againſt incontinency; when the occaſions, prouocations, and nouriſhmentes thereof, are permitted. Which whoſoeuer vſeth to admit, playeth with the flame, as the Flie doth, and commonly is burned thereby. How many do wee ſee daily ouercome with vice, and eſpecially that of the fleſh, becauſe they will not forbeare the occaſions? we may put fire to ſtraw when wee will, but we cannot quench it when wee will. It is in our owne power and choiſe to combate with our enemy, but the victorie is not in our hands. Euen ſo, we may eaſily enter into the conflict; and admit the allurements of ſinne when we liſt, but cannot ſo eaſily ouercome it, nor yet retyre our ſelues when we liſt: And therfore, in this kinde of combate, the veriеſt Coward gets the victory, that is to ſay, hee which flieth away at the firſt, or rather dare not abide, to ſee ſo much as the face of his enemies. In which reſpect, the Holy-ghoſt aduiſeth vs, *Fugite a fornicatione, Fly from fornication.* And, *Iuuenilia deſideria fuge, Fly from all the luſts of youth.* And again, *Sicut a facie Colubri, fuge peccata, As from the face of a Serpent, ſo fly & run away from ſinne.* Whoſoeuer delighteth to admit the occaſions; whoſoeuer, I ſay, doth not ſhut vp the doores and windowes of his eyes & ears, againſt the enticements of luſt, but is content to entertaine them into the ſecret Cabinet of his heart, although hee were ſtronger then *Sampſon*, holier then *Dauid*, and wiſer then *Salomon*, let him make account to be vanquiſhed as they were.

Lawes ordained in vaine againſt Vice, when the occaſions thereof are permitted.

What remaineth not in our power we haue no command of.

1. Cor. 6. 9. 2. Tim. 2. 22. Eccleſ. 21. 2.

Sin preuented, is halfe conquered.

Therefore *Ariſtotle*, *Platoes* Scholler, knowing how eaſily men are corrupted, by the hearing and ſight of wanton and laſciuious obiects; and eſpecially, Children (whoſe firſt impreſsions of good or bad, are hardly remoued euer after) ordained in his written Common wealth, that they ſhold be kept from the hearing of wanton talk, and from the ſight of laſciuious Comedies, and ſuch other repreſentations as might moue them to carnal cogitations, which enflame cõcupiſence to all inordinate appetites. In reſpect whereof, hee commaunded, that Magiſtrates ſhould not ſuffer in the Commonwealth, any diſhoneſt Images, or wanton pictures, which might repreſent anie vncleane or laſciuious act to the beholders. VVhich when I conſider, I cannot but lament the little care that is commonlie had thereof, in any Chriſtian Commonwealthes; where, not onely moſt mens mouths ouerflow with beaſtly and diſhoneſt talke, but alſo al places are furniſhed with wanton and laſciuious pictures and Images, euen as with ſpecial ornaments. Beeing kept likewiſe in their Bed-chambers, and moſt ſecret Cloſſets and Retreats, for ſatisfying their libidinous eies, and prouoking their ſpent and languiſhing Luſt, with the frequent and greedie aſpect of them. I am aſhamed to ſay the reſt, or that I haue ſayed ſo much, conſtrained thereto by the iuſt griefe, which I conceiue for ſo great an abuſe, that hauing beene forbidden and diſallowed by Paynims, is neuertheleſſe permitted among Chriſtians.

An excellent order taken by Ariſtotle, forbidding wanton talke, and laſciuious pictures. *Ariſt. in Polit. Lib. 7 Cap. 17.*

The final care in Chriſtian Commonwealthes bemoaned.

That which hath beene diſallowed by Paynims, is ſuffered by Chriſtians.

But to returne from whence I digreſſed. I conclude, that theſe *Platonical* laws had been more fit for a *Sardanapalus*, or a

Heliogabalus, if they had written of Commonwealth affairs: then for a *Plato*, who professed himselfe to bee a Physition of soules, a reformer of manners, a teacher of temperance, and the Schoolemaister of all Vertue; so blinde is man, be hee neuer so wise, without the light of Gods grace. But perhaps, some may thinke that *Aristotle*, his Scholler (who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vndertooke to censure and sindicate him, and all other Lawe-makers before him) saw clearer into matters of Law & Commonwealth, then they. Let vs then examine him a little, and we shall find, that he erred more absurdly, then anie one of them.

As may appeare by two of his lawes: whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame child, he should cast it out like a whelpe, and expose it to perrish. And the other was, that if a man had aboue a certain number of children, which number hee would haue to be determined, according to euery mans abilitie, his wife should destroy the fruite in her wombe, when she found that she had conceiued. Wherin he shewed himselfe more vnnaturall and inhuman, then the verie brute beasts. For as *Cicero* saith verie well. *These two thinges cannot agree together, to wit; that Nature would haue procreation; and yet, when the Creature is borne, that it should not be loued and conserued. Which appeareth euidently*, saith he, *in brute Beastes, whose labour and care in conseruation of that which is borne of them is such, that we may acknowledge the force and voyce of Nature therein. Wherefore, it is manifest, that as we Naturally shun and abhorre all kinde of griefe, so should we bee likewise moued to loue the yssue of our Bodies.* Elsewhere also he saith; *Whereas it is common to all liuing creatures, to haue a care of those things which they haue brought forth: Euen so Nature hath giuen specially to man, a loue to his Children, and a care to prouide them of all things necessarie.* Thus saith he, and common experience teacheth as much.

What then can bee more dissonant from reason and Nature, then that a mã who is borne, and Naturally enclined to Clemencie, Humanity, and Pietie; should shew himselfe vnkinde and inhumaine, not towards Beasts, but towardes men; not towards strangers, Friendes, or Seruants, but towards his own children? And that for no fault of theirs, but for some defectes or deformitie of bodie, which they could not remedy, but ought rather to moue pitty and compassion in a man, then rigour or crueltie. Beside, such corporall defectes doo not for the most part, hinder the operation of the minde and vnderstanding. Therefore, it may well happen (by execution of this inhumaine Lawe of *Aristotle*) that not onely a Father shalbe depriued of a good Sonne: but the Commonwealth also, looseth a necessarie and notable Member. For as *Seneca* saith: *Ex casa vir magnus exire potest, et ex deformi, humilique corpusculo formosus animus, & magnus. A notable man may come out of a poore Cottage: and a beautifull and high minde, out of a lowe and deformed body.* Could Corporall imperfections and deformities exclude *Æsope* from the number of Philosophers? Or take from *Crœsus* the reputation of a most excellent & wise prince? Hee Wrote of himselfe (hauing inuited *Anacharsis* the Philosopher to come to his Court) *That although Nature hadde made him deformed, Crook backt, one eyed, lame of a Legge, a Dwarfe, and, as it were a Monster among men: yet he thought himselfe so monstrous in nothing, as in that hee had no Philosopher in his Court, and of his Counsell.*

The like may bee saide of a notable, though verie deformed Byshop of *Cullen*; of whose great Wisedome and Vertue, *William* of *Malmesbury*, giueth testimonie, declaring the occasion of his aduancement, to that great Arch-Byshoppricke, in this manner:

An Emperor of Germanie, saith hee, *being a Hunting, and wandering by chance with verie few or none with him, in a Morning, vpon the Sunday before Lent, called* Quinquagesima, *came vnto a poore parish Church, dissembling himselfe to bee a Souldier, and desired to heare Masse. The Parish Priest, beeing a man so deformed of bodye, that he was* Peæ portentum Naturæ, *almost a Monster of Nature, saide Masse before him. And as the Emperor wondered with himselfe, that Almighty God, who is of infinite beauty and Maiestie, vvoulde suffer so deformed a creature to do him such high seruice, it chanced that the Priest, reading*

Plato professed to bee a Physition of soules.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 2 cap. 1, 2, 3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Two absurde Lawes of *Aristotle*.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 7 cap. 16.

Cicero de finib. Lib. 3.

Cicero in Offic. lib. 1.

The absurditie and inhumanitie of *Aristotles* Lawe, for the exposition of lame & deformed Children.

Deformitie of body doth not preiudice the beautie of the minde.

Sen. ad Lucul. Epist.

King *Crœsus*, very deformed of body, yet a wise and excellent Prince.

Gneuara in vita Mar. Aurely

Guliel. Malmes. lib. 2 cap. 10.

A Storie of a deformed Priest, made Archbyshop of *Cullen*.

ding the Verse of the Tract, which was that day; Scitote, quoniam Dominus, &c. Know you that our Lorde is God, and that he made vs, and not we our selues; *he pronounced that in such a different tune and voice, from that which he hadde reade before, that the Emperor tooke it as an apte answere to his present cogitation, and began to conceiue so reuerently of the Priest, (being further enformed of his life and vertue) that he made him Archbyshop of Cullen, much against his wil, &c.* Whereby appeareth the absurdity of *Aristotles* law. For, if it had beene in force, where this deformed Byshop was borne, the church had wanted a notable Pastour, and the Common-wealth an excellent and spirituall member.

Furthermore, it is manifest by *Aristotle* himselfe, that this Law of exposition of Children, is most vniust and iniurious vnto the Commonwealth. For, whereas he prooueth in his *Ethicks*, *That a man may not kill himselfe*: hee affirmeth among other thinges, *That hee which besides the course and forme of Law, doth hurt another, who neither defendeth himselfe, nor hurteth him, doth iniury to the Cõmonwealth.* Therefore, how much more iniurie is it, to destroy an innocent Childe, that can neither defende himselfe, nor hurt any other, and may (in processe of time) doo notable seruice to the Commonwealth?

The like also may be said of the other Law of *Aristotle*, concerning abortion, or destruction of the Childe in the Mothers womb, being a thing seuerely punished, by all good Lawes, as iniurious not only to Nature, but also to the commonwealth, which is thereby deprined of a designed Cittizen, as *Cicero* termeth it. So speaketh he of a Woman of *Miletus* in *Asia*, who hauing procured the abortion of her Child, a little before hir time of trauaile, was condemned vnto death. *Neque iniuria* (saith hee) *quia designatum Reip. ciuem sustulisset. And verie iustly, for that she made away one, that was designed to be a Cittizen of the Commonwealth.* In which regard, the Ciuill Law doth grieuously punnish all wilfull abortion, after Conception, whether the Childe haue life, or no: inflicting death, if the Childe were alreadie quicke; and otherwayes, banishment, with Confiscation of the Offenders Goodes, if they be Noble, or of account; and condemnation to digge in the Mines, if they be poore. Besides, our Cannonists do holde it to be a deadly sinne, either to procure abortion after conception (though the childe bee not quicke or voluntarily to hinder conception, or to cause sterility: because it is (say they) *Contra bonum prolis generandæ, Against the good of generation*, which Nature ordaineth, for the continuation of mankinde, and maintenance of humaine society. Therefore, whereas *Aristotle* himselfe aduiseth, that the abortion bee procured after conception, before the Childe haue life, adding this reason, *For that to do it after, were Nefas, a Wicked act.*

His reason excuseth not his absurditie in this Lawe, and condemneth him of wickednesse in the former, concerning the exposition of Children For, if it be a wicked act, to kill a quick Child before it be borne: much more wicked and cruell is the act; to expose it vnto destruction and death after it is borne, when it hath farre more sence and feeling of hurte; and Naturally mooueth more to compassion.

But perhappes some will say, that hee which exposeth or layeth forth a Child, dooth not kill it: for, that it may happe (as manie times it hath) that the Childe may bee taken by some other, and nourished: as it chanced vnto *Moyses*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, and diuers others.

Whereto I aunswere, that although the prouidence of GOD, ouercommeth manie times the mallice of man; yea, and turneth it to good: yet mans offence, is neuer a iotte the lesse, neyther can anie chance that happeneth after an acte, alter the Nature of the acte. I meane, it can neither rectifye it, if it bee ill done; nor make it ill, if so bee that it bee well done.

And therefore, I say, seeing reason and the Lawe of Nature commaundeth (as I haue shewed before) that euery one haue an especiall care, of the life & conuersation of his Children, he which not onely forsaketh his owne Childe, that hath not anie way offended him; but also exposeth it to the perill of death, cannot be excused of vnnaturall dealing, inhumanitie and impietie, although some stráger should chance afterward, to proue more

Psalme 100, 2

A note well strained, & in apt houre.

Aristotle vbi. Abortus. Armacha ibid.

Arist. ibid. vt supra.

Aristotle confuted by his own assertion

Arist. in lib. Ethic. 5 Cap. 11. Aristotle against himself

An obiection made & answered.

Exod. 2, 5. *Plut. in Romulo Iustin. in lib. 1.*

Arist. in Polit. lib. 7 Cap. 16. The absurdity of Aristotles law, concerning the destruction of children in their mothers wombe. Cic. in Orat. pro Cluentio.

A note well worth the obseruation in Fathers and Mothers.

ff. de pœnis Lib. Si aliquid patrag. qui abortionem.

more humaine and pious toward it, then the Father himselfe.

Well then, to conclude this point. I say of *Aristotle*, as *Augustus Cæsar* said of King *Herod* (when he vnderstoode, that among the Innocents which he had caused to be killed, after the birth of our Sauiour, one of his owne Sons was slaine) *It is better*, quoth he, *to be Herods Pigge, then his Sonne*. And this he said, in regard that Pigges were not killed in *Iudea*, because the Iewes did not eate anie Swines Flesh. And euen so I say, it were better to bee a Beast in *Aristotles* Commonwealth, then a man, for Beastes shoulde bee assuredly cared and prouided for by their Dammes: whereas the Children of men, should bee in daunger to be forsaken both of Father and Mother, and so perish.

Macrob lib. 2. Satur. cal. cap. 4.

Herods owne sonne slain among the Innocents.

And heere I cannot forbeare to say somewhat, of another Constitution of his, which I knowe not, whither it were more absurd or ridiculous. We made mention a little before, of a notable Law of his, forbidding in his Commonwelth, the vse of lasciuious Pictures & Images; least young men, and especialy children, might be corrupted in manners by sight of them. Neuertheless, he excepteth in the same Law, the Images and Pictures of certaine Gods: *In whom* (saith he) *Custome allowveth Luciiousneße*. Meaning no doubt, the painted and graued Stories of the Adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddesses, set foorth euery where amongest the Paynims, as well in publicke places, as in their priuate Houses and Temples. Wherein may bee obserued, the ridiculous absurdity of this great Phylosopher, not only in matter appertaining to Religion, but also in matter of Commonwealth; yea, and concerning his owne law formerly mentiond. For, what could it auaile, to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the minds of youth, when he expressely alloweth the vse of Lasciuious Gods pictures, which must needes corrupt them much more, and as it were, instill into them, vicious affections & wils together, with their Religion, and by example of their Goddes? For, by their immitation, they could not but hope to attaine, as well to perfection of Vertue, as to eternall beatitude and felicite, beleeuing as they did, that they were true Gods?

Another absurd errour of *Aristotle*.

Lasciuious pictures and Images of Gods, absurdly allowed by *Aristotle*.

If Gods do amisse, men presume to follow.

For, how could any man bee perswaded, that Adulterie deserued punnishment, or was not a great, yea, a Diuine Vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa*, in the shape of a Bull; or violating *Læda*, in the forme of a Swanne; or entering into the house of *Danae* (by the Louer) in a Golden showre? Would not anie man that were Religiously deuoted vnto these Gods, bee animated by sight of them to do the like? Yea, and Children, learning their Religion, and not only hearing, but also seeing euery where, by Pictures and Images, that such actes were committed by their Gods, could they imagine, that the same were euill, and not to be imitated?

Mens mindes corrupted amongest the Gentiles, by the sight of the lasciuious pictures of their Goddes.

This is verie well declared by *Lucian*, of his owne experience, who, in his Dialogues, maketh *Menippus* say thus: *When I was yet but a Boy, and heard out of* Homer *and* Hesiode, *of the Adulteries, Fornications, Rapes, and seditions of the Gods, Truely I thought, that those thinges were very excellent, and began euen then, to be greatly affected towards them. For I could not imagine that the Goddes themselues would euer haue committed Adultery, if they had not esteemed the same to bee lawfull and good.* The like also signifyeth *Chærea* in *Terence*, who beholding a Table, wherein was painted how *Iupiter* deceiued *Danae*, when he came in at the top of the house, saith; that hee was greatlie encouraged to defloure a yong Maid, by the example of so great a God. *At quem Deum?* (saith he) *Qui templa cæli summa sonitu concutit. Ego homunicio hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci & lubens. But what God was this? Euen hee, which shakes the highest Temples of the Heauens vvith Thunder. And therefore, might not I, that am but a poore wretch, doe the like? Yes truely, I did it, and that with all my heart.*

Lucian in Menippo.

Ter. in Eunuc.

These are the effects, that the sight of such Lasciuious Pictures of the Goddes, must needes worke in their minds which beholde them; and are withall, Religiously affected towards them. And therefore, *Aristotle* permitting these, and forbidding all other, to preuent thereby the wonderfull corruption of youth, may verie fitly bee compared vnto one, that should

Aristotles absurdity made plaine & manifest.

should make a Law to prohibite the burning of houses, except it were with some artificiall wilde fire, that could not bee extinguished. For such may be said to be the fire of Concupiscence, kindled in the minds of men or Children, by Religious acts or representations, which maketh such impressions, as neuer after can be rased out againe, so long as affection to the same Religion remaineth. Which maketh me therefore to conclude, that *Aristotle* failed and erred no lesse, or rather more absurdly, then the other Lawmakers, whose errors hee censured and controlled.

A verie true and apt Comparison.

Heereby two things are inferred, and do appeare euidently. The one, the weakenesse of mans wit, when it is not supported and directed by the grace of GOD. And the insufficiencie of humain lawes, through the weakenesse of the Law-Makers, who intending (manie times) to make good and wholesome Lawes, for benefit of the Commonwealth, doo ordaine things very inconuenient and preiudiciall thereto: which *Cicero* obserueth in some of the Wisest men of his time. *I can tell you* (saith hee) *of Marcus Cotta, whose Law concerning priuate iudgements, was abrogated by his own Brother, the same yeare that it was made. And the Lawes of* Licinia *and* Mutia, *made by two most wise Consulles, were in the iudgements of al men not onely vnprofitable, but also, pernitious to the Commonwea'th. As also the Lawes called* Liuiæ, *were abrogated by the Senate in an instant. And in like manner, I holde the Lawes* Seiæ *and* Apuliæ *to be nothing worth.* Thus farre *Cicero*.

The weakenes of mans wit, and the imperfection of Lawes inferd vpon the premises.

Cic. de Reip. in fragmentis.

The like whereof might be exemplified in euery Commonwealth, but this shal suffice at this time, concerning Lawmakers. Now let vs consider Law in it selfe, what it is; to what end it is ordained; and what it can perform in a Commonwealth, for the perfection & establishment thereof.

CHAP. V.

What Law is: To what end it was ordained. And what it can performe in a Commonwealth.

Plato, speaking generally of all Law, as well written as vnwritten, defineth it to be, *A reasonable rule, leading and directing men to their due end; for a publicke good, ordaining Penalties for them that transgresse, and Rewards for them that obey.* And *Cicero* more briefly thus: *Law is* (saith hee) *the highest or chiefe reason grasted in nature, commaunding those things which are to be doone, and forbidding the contrary.* And againe, *Law is the force of Nature; the vnderstanding and reason of a Wiseman; the rule of right and wrong.* And speaking more perticulerly of written Lawe, hee saith; *It is the reason & vnderstanding of a Wiseman, who ordaineth in writing what he thinketh good by way either of commandement, or of Prohibitions.* Lastly, the *Ciuilians*, most briefly and properly defineth it thus. *Lex est sanctio sancta, iubens honesta, prohibens cõtraria. Law is a holy decree*, that is to say, *A Decree which ought not to be broken, commanding good and holy things, and forbidding the contrary.*

Plato in Mino. & de Rep. et de Leg.

Cic. in lib. 1. de Legibus.

Idem.

The definitiõ of written Law.

Accurs. in instit. ff. de Legib. et Senat. cons. 3.

This Law, *Plato* calleth, *The soule, that giueth forme and life to the Commonwelth, and the Anchor that stayeth and assureth it.* And *Cicero* sayth; *That neither any house, nor Cittie, nor Nation, nor yet humaine kinde, can stand vvithout Law.* Nevertheless, how excellent or defectiue soeuer it is for a Commonwealth, yet it is to be vnderstood, that all Lawes whatsoeuer (which are meerely humaine) are Defectiue and insufficient, for the perfect Gouernement of a State. For whereas humaine Lawes consisteth eyther in Written Statutes or Decrees, or in the Commandements and Ordinances of a wise Magistrate (which Magistrate, *Cicero* therefore calleth, *A Speaking Lawe*, as he also calleth the Lawe, *A dumb Ma-*

Plato de Legib.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Legib.

All Lawes written or vnwritten, are defectiue.

The Magistrate a speaking Law: & the Lawe a dumbe Magistrate.

giſtrate) yet it is euident, that neyther of both apart, nor yet both concurring, can ſuffice.

The imperfection of written lawes.

For the firſt, whereas written Lawes are vniuerſall, and concerne the action of men, which are infinite and perticuler, it is not poſsible, that any Law-Maker ſhould extend his Lawes ſo farre, that they may ſufficiently prouide for all caſes that may occurre; but that hee muſt leaue place for the determination and iudgement of men, according to equity. As not onely *Ariſtotle*, but alſo the *Ciuilians* themſelues, doe teach, and experience is daily ſeene thereof. In the neceſſity of interpretation and mittigation of Lawes; in Diſpenſations, and in Appealations from Law to Conſcience; whereby the imperfection of al written Lawes, ſufficiently appeareth. And as for the ordinances of wiſe Magiſtrates, it is manifeſt (by that which I haue ſayde before, concerning the errours of wiſe Gouernors and Law-makers) that the weakneſſe and blindneſſe of mans wit, and the corruption of his Nature, is ſuch; that hee can neither ſee ſo clearely in all caſes, nor yet be ſo voide of affection and paſsion, that he can be able to determine, decree, and iudge according to equity. In which reſpect, *Ariſtotle* diſputeth, *Whether it were better, That a Commonwealth ſhould be gouerned by good Lawes, or by the wil of the beſt man?* And he preferreth the Gouernment of Lawes, before the other, ſaying; *The Law is (as it were) a pure and cleare vnderſtanding: whereas the vnderſtanding of the beſt man, is ioyned with ſenſual appetite, whereby it may bee corrupted.* And therefore, where the Law gouerneth, there God gouerneth: but where man gouerneth, be he neuer ſo wiſe and vertuous, there a cruell Beaſt (to witte; Concupiſcence and Paſsion) entreth into the gouernment with him, and manie times obſcureth his vnderſtanding. For which cauſe, the Magiſtrate ought in all caſes, wherein the meaning of the Law is cleare: to iudge and determine according to the preſcript thereof, as the Ciuill Law it ſelfe ordaineth. And *Cicero* ſaith: *As the Magiſtrate gouerneth the people, ſo ſhou'd the Law gouerne the Magiſtrate.* Whereupon I inferre, that ſeeing no Law-maker can ſo ſufficientlie prouide for the gouernement, and direct ruling of a Common-wealth, by the Letter of the Law; but he muſt leaue infinite caſes, yea, and the interpretation of the Lawe themſelues, to the determination and iudgement of men, who are alſo (on their part) defectiue, to wit; ſubiect vnto paſsion and error: It followeth then, that neither the Law without the Magiſtrate, nor the Magiſtrate without the Law, nor yet both concurring, can ſuffice for the perfect gouernment of a commonwelth, but ſhould bee to ſupply the defectes of each other. And therefore I conclude, that there is no ſufficient and aſſured meanes, to eſtabliſh any State by humain Lawes.

Ariſt. in Ethic. lib. 5. cap 10. Iul. lib. 1. ad dictum ff. de legib. & Senatus conſtit. 3 et Iul. Lib. 89 digeſt.

The imperfection of vnwritten lawes

Better to bee gouerned by good Lawes, then by the wil of the beſt man, & why. *Ariſt. in Polit. lib. 3 cap. 12.*

Where good Laws gouern God doth gouerne.

As a Magiſtrate ſhould gouerne the people, ſo ſhold the law gouerne the Magiſtrate. *Iul. Lib. 15 digeſt. ff. de legi. & Senat. conſtit. 3.*

Cicer de legibus

No ſufficient meanes to make a perfect Common welth, by humaine Lawes & Magiſtrats.

This will be more euident, if wee conſider, what are the eſpeciall ends whereto Lawes were ordained, and what they can perform. Two things are principaly intēded by them. The one, the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, by the deciſion of cauſes, controuerſies, and ſuites, betwixt partie and partie. The other, is the reformation of manners, and repreſsion of vice, for that it is pernitious to a Commonwealth. Of the firſt I haue already ſpoken ſufficiently, as well in the weakeneſſe of the Lawmaker and Magiſtrat, as imperfection of the Law, in the determination of cauſes. And therefore, I will a little further enlarge my ſelfe, concerning the latter; which is, ſuppreſsion of Vice, and reformation of manners: and I will declare, that humaine Lawes cannot ſufficientlie performe, either the one or other.

Two principall endes wherinto humain Lawes do tend.

A reference to the former diſcourſe.

If Lawes were able to reforme mens maners, or to repreſſe vice, they muſt do it, either by *Precept*, or by *Prohibition*, or by *Permiſsion*, or by *Rewarding*, or by *Puniſhing*, for in theſe fiue things, conſiſt al the force of human lawes, as the Lawiers do teſtify of themſelues. For the two firſt, to wit; *Precept* & *Prohibition*, they are altogether vnable and inſufficient, to bring the corrupt nature of man to any perfection or vertue. For, what other help haue we thereby, but only the knoledge of our duty? which knowledge alone, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *Helpeth litle or nothing to vertue, the praiſe and commendation whereof, conſiſteth in action and operation*. Becauſe it nothing auaileth, though wee know neuer ſo much, if we do not put our knowledge in practiſe. And as little it profiteth a ſickeman, to know what meat is good for him: when hee hath ſuch a loathing vnto it, that hee cannot eate it. Euen ſo, the

ff. de legib. & Senat. conſult. tit. 3 Iſidor. Lib. 5. Etimol.

The force of human lawes conſiſteth in Precept, Prohibition, Permiſsion, Reward and Puniſhment.

Ariſt. in Ethic. lib. 2. cap. 4.

the corrupt nature of man hath litle help or remedy by the knowledge of his duty: when vertue is so loathsome vnto him, that he cannot brooke it. For, as *Seneca* saith. *Nihil proderit dare præcepta, nisi prius amoueris obstantia præceptis. It is to little purpose to giue precepts, except thou first remoone the obstacles of them.* And therefore the Poet saide truely

Si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit inuitum, nouus vis, aliudq; cupido,
Mens alius suadet, video meliora, proboq;,
Deteriora sequor.

That is to say;

I would bee better, if I could; but a new and strange force draweth me against my will. Sensuality perswades me one thing, and reason another. I see and approoue the better, but I follow the worse.

Also, the Apostle speaking in the person of our corrupt nature, testifieth the same, saying. *Scio quia non habitat in me, &c. I know that there dwelleth no goodnes in me, that is to say, in my flesh: For I haue a good will or desire, but I cannot performe it. For I doe not the good which I desire to doe; but I do the euill which I would not do.* Thus farre the Apostle. Whereupon it followeth, that precept and prohibition of the Law (whereby wee haue the onely knowledge of good and euill) litle auayleth vs for the attayning of vertue; except the infirmitie and corruption of Nature, be cured by some other meanes. For *Animus* (saith *Seneca*) *vt ad præcepta posit ire, soluendus est. The Soule must be loosed from the bonds that tye and entangle it, or otherwise, it cannot follow the good precepts that are giuen.*

But what if the prohibition of euill doe hurt also, if it be not otherwise holpen? The Apostle prooueth this clearely. *Peccatum* (saith he) *non cognoui, &c. I knew not sinne, but by the Law, for I know not concupiscence, but because the law said: Thou shalt not lust. And sinne, by occasion of the Commaundement, hath wrought all concupiscence in me.* And how true this is; common experience may teach vs, seeing nothing is more proper and peculiar to the mallice of mans Nature; then desire to doe that which is forbidden, and commonly for no other reason, but because it is forbidden. Which the Poet signifieth elegantly, saying;

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipsa potestas
Semina nequitiæ languidiora facit, &c.
Nitimur inuetitũ semper, cupimusq; negata.
Sic interdictis imminet æger aquis. (ta:

He which hath leaue to sinne, sinnes lesse: for the libertie to sinne, weakeneth the very roots and seeds of sinne We alwaies striue to doe that which is forbidden vs, like to the sicke Man, who thirsts most after forbidden Water.

And another Poet saith to the same purpose. *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas. Mankind runneth head long to sinne, when it is forbidden him.* For euen as a torrent or Land flood, running a violent and precipitous course, and meeting with any stop by the way, becomes the more furious, and with re-doubled force makes it selfe passage, bearing downe all before it: Euen so, mans corrupt Nature, being carryed head-long with vnbrideled desires, and finding it selfe represſed or hindred, by any Law or Commaundement; breaketh down the bankes or bounds of dutie with redoubled fury, in such sort, that it committeth double offence, to wit; it doth not onely the desired euill, but breaketh the Law also. As the Apostle insinuateth, saying: *Lex iram operatur, &c. The Law worketh or causeth wrath, for where there is no Law, there is no breach of Law.* Whereupon Saint *Augustine* saith. *The letter of the Law killeth, for it makes a man rather know euill, then eschew it, and by that meanes, rather encreaseth then diminisheth sinne: because mans concupiscence or vnlawfull desire, is accompanied also with breach of the Law.* Whereby it appeareth, that the Law in commaunding or forbidding, helpeth not sufficiently the reformation of mans corrupt nature.

But can Permission, or conuenience with euill (which is another point of the Law) worke any greater effect? Who seeth not, that it dooth nothing else, but bewray the imbecilitie and imperfection of the Law? Because it is forced to permit that, which it gladlie would, and should remedy, but cannot. And therefore I will proceede, to treat of *Reward* and *Punishment*, wherein, as *Solon* was wont to say, principally consisteth the gouernment of a Commonwealth. And *Isidorus* saith; *Legis præmio aut*

Senec. Epist. 95 Precepts alone little auaile to the obtaining of vertue.

Rom. 7. 18. 19.

The precept and prohibition of the Law.

Senec. Epist. 95.

Rom. 7. 7. 8.

Prohibition (of it selfe) rather hurteth then otherwise.

Ouid. Lib. 2. de Arte amandi.

Mans corrupt nature thirsteth after things forbidden.

Horatius 1. Carminũ Od. 3.

An excellent comparison.

Rom. 4. 15.

In decretis ex S. August.

Permission sheweth the imbecility of the Law.

Isidor. Lib. 5. Etimol.

Of reward & punishment.

aut pœna, vita moderatur humana. Mans life is wholy gouerned by reward or punnishment of the Law.

Now then, for as much as these two haue all their operation, about the effects of Vertue or Vice, that is to say; about good or bad actions (which are onely rewarded and punished by Law) and not about the rootes and causes thereof, to wit; the good or bad habits or affections of the mind, from whence doe spring all good and euill actions: It is manifest, that though they may bee Motiues to good; yet they cannot bee effectuall and sufficient meanes to work it. For, so long as the cause remaineth; so long will the effects follow thereof, at one time or other. We see that trees are yearely lopped, and Vines cropped: yet while the rootes remaine sound, they bud afresh, and bring foorth new Boughes, Leaues, and Fruits. Euen so, although euill and sinfull Acts be punished in wicked men, yet if the causes from whence they proceede (to wit, inordinate affections and passions) be not taken away; they produce the very same effects sooner or later, openly or secretly. For, what commonly followeth on the punishment of a vicious Act, when the habit of the Vice remaineth: but that the offender sinneth more warilie another time? And how often do men offend the lawes, without punishment, yea, without any feare or danger thereof? *That Man* (saith *Cicero*) *who feares nothing but a Iudge and a Witnesse: what will he not do in the dark? Or when he finds a weak and rich man alone, of whom he may safely haue the spoile?*

Example by the yearely lopping of trees & vines.

Cicero de legib.

Furthermore, how many waies may the penaltie of the Law bee auoyded? Some escape it by their power, in which respect, *Anacharsis* compared Lawes to the Spiders Web: which takes onelie the little Flyes, while the great ones breake thorough it. Some againe auoyde it by corruption, either of the Iudge, Witnesse, or Iurie. And some by fauour or friendship. Others by negligence of Officers, which doe not execute the Lawes: And some by the Princes pardon. But what shall we say of such, who offend the Law, not onelie without punishment; but also with reward? To the ende, that this may the better appeare, and that wee may see

How many waies the penalties of politicall Lawes may be escaped.

Plutar. in Solon

(withall) what force Law may haue, for suppressing the mallice of mans nature: let vs consider the power of a contrarie Law, which encountreth euery Common-wealth, and impugneth Politicall Law, to wit, the Law of the Flesh, whereof the Apostle saith. *Video aliam legem, &c. I see another Law in my body, repugnant to the Law of my minde.* Rom. 7. 23.

And for as much, as this Law hath also her *Precepts*, *Prohibitions*, *Rewards*, and *Punishments*: Let vs put it in a Ballance with the Ciuill and Politicall Law, weighing the one with the other, that we may see, whether wil be like to ouer come, in a man deuoyd of Gods grace, & consequently in Common-wealths, that relye onely vpon humaine pollicie and power.

An exact cõparison of politicall Law, with the Law of the Flesh, to shew the aduantage of the later.

It is therefore to be considered, that the Carnall Law, flowing from the very bottome of mans corrupt Nature; is so much stronger, and more forcible, then the other, to moue and draw him: by how much it is more internall and familiar with him, and the end or scope thereof more agreeable, and consonant to his corrupt humour, will, and affection. For Politicall Law tendeth onely to *Bonum verum*, and *Bonum commune*, *A true good, and the common good*, consisting in sollide & perfect vertue: whereas the Carnall Law tendeth to *Bonum apparens*, and *Bonum priuatum*; *An apparant and priuate good*, consisting onely in a Mans owne profit, pleasure, and delectation, whereto euery one is (of his owne corrupt nature) enclined.

Whereunto the Politicall and Carnall Lawes doe tend.

The like also may be said, of the Statutes and Decrees both of the one and other, that is to say; their *Precepts* and *Prohibitions*: consisting in Commaundements Negatiue and Affirmatiue. Wherein the Carnal Law hath also the like aduantage, in respect of the greater facilitie of the precepts thereof, and difficulty of the things it forbiddeth. For, whereas the Ciuill and Politicall Lawe commaundeth vs, to loue our Neighbours as our selues, and to preferre the publique good before our priuate; to be temperate and continent; not to Steale; not to deceiue; nor to commit Fornication or Adultery: The Law of the Flesh, beeing opposite in all, commaundeth the contrary; as to loue our selues better then our Neighbours; to prefer

The Statutes of both the Lawes, politicall and carnall.

The opposition of the law of the flesh.

preferre our priuate good before the publique; to steale; to deceiue for our commoditity; and to commit Fornication and Adultery for our pleasure. And to conclude all, in one precept, it saith: *Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas. Eate, drinke, and be merry, for after death there is no pleasure.*

The Carnall Laws precept

The Statutes of the Carnall Law, the Holy Ghost layeth downe notably, in the Booke of Wisedome, speaking of wicked men, in these wordes. *Dixerunt impij, &c. The wicked said. Let vs enioy the goods that we haue, and vse the Creature in this time of our youth, without delay. Let vs fill our selues with Wine and Oyntments, and let vs not loose the floure of the time, &c. Let vs leaue euery where the signes of our mirth, for this is our part, and this is our lot. Let vs oppresse the poore iust Man, and let vs not spare the Widdow, nor haue respect to the hoary Haires of any. And let our strength be the Law of iustice.* These are the Statutes of the Flesh, which how much more consonant and agreeable they are to mans corrupt Nature, and how much more easie to be performed, then the statutes and decrees of Politicall Law, which commaunds and forbids the contrarie; I neede not to declare.

Wisd. 2, 6, 7. 8 10, 11.

The Statutes of the carnall Law.

But who knoweth not, that to learn Vice, a man hath no neede of any great wit, or of a Councellour, or of compulsion? who is so simple, that he hath not wit enough to be wicked? Whereas, to be vertuous, we neede not onely wit and capacity, Maisters & Teachers: but also Lawes, stripes, Prisons, Giues and Gibbets. And yet, as *Seneca* saith; *We may thinke we profit well, if we be none of the worst.* So that, he which is eyther left to his own corrupt Nature, or hath no other then humaine help: is drowned in vice and sinne, before hee come within a kenning of vertues port. *We are* (saith *Seneca*) *taken vp by the way; wee labour to come to Vertue, being already entangled and intercepted by vice.* And no maruaile, seeing men voyde of Grace, (for such I speake of) haue neither sufficient Armes to defend themselues, nor refuge where to saue themselues. For reason, which is their onely Weapon, not being strengthened by Grace: is so weak and brickle, that it breaketh at the first blow. And Morall Vertue (wherein consisteth all their hope and refuge) is so hard to be attained: that a man receiueth many deadly wounds of his Enemy, before he can arriue where it is. Besides, his danger is the greater, because his Warre is so domesticall and intestine; that hee is not secure from harme himselfe. For, he is to fight, not onely with the World and the Deuill, but also with his owne passions and affections, in so much, that his greatest feare may be; least he himselfe betray himselfe, and render himselfe Prisoner to his Enemy.

Mans prompt nesse and forwardnesse to learne euill.

Seneca in Epist. 75.

Seneca vbi supra.

Reason the only weapon, being strengthened by grace.

Furthermore, wee see that our proclinity to Vice, and auersion from Vertue, is such, that as it sufficeth to flesh a Dogge onelie once vpon a Sheepe, to make him a Sheepe-wurrier as long as he liues: Euen so, one onely tast of vice is enough, to make a man vicious euer after. Whereas contrariwise, many acts are requird, to the attaining the habite of any one vertue, and so timely is mans friendship with sensualitie, the Mother of Vice, and so late his knowledge and vse of reason, which leadeth to vertue: that he hath gone halfe the way to Vice, before hee know where Vertue dwels.

Vice is very easily learned but vertue very hardly.

By meanes whereof, he commonlie groweth to bee vicious very earlie; to wit, in his Childe-hood, and vertuous very late, if euer he prooue vertuous at all. For the way to vertue is long, and full of difficulties; but the way to al kinde of vice, is easie, and, as *Salomon* saith; *Complanata lapidibus, Made plaine with stones*, eeuen, and wel paued, short, and gone in a trice. *Hesiodus* saith, *Haud procul illa habitant, breuis est via quæ sit eundem. Vice dwelleth not farre from vs, the way is short, and all in a descent* Whervpon the Poet saith; *Facilis descensus Auerni; The descent to Hell is very easie.* Finally, of these two waies our Sauiour saith. *Lata porta & spatiosa via est, &c. The way is broad and spatious that leadeth to perdition, and many enter in thereat: but the Gate is strait, and the way is narrow, which leadeth to life, and few men finde it.* Thus we see, what great aduantage the Law of the flesh hath, of the Politicall Law, in respect of the facilitie that men finde, to fulfill the precepts thereof, which (in some) are nothing else, but to be vicious.

Men learne halfe the way to vice, before they know vertues dwelling.

Eccle. 21. 10.

Hesiodus.

Virgil in Lib. 6 Aeniad.

Mat. 7, 13, 14.

The aduantage that the carnall Law hath of the politicall law.

But

The Carnall Law hath her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers and Teachers.

But wanteth it any thing, wherewith Politicall Lawe is furnished? Hath not she them in as high a degree, and able to hold equall competence? Hath not this Carnall Law (thinke you) her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers, & Teachers, to publish and proclaime it, to plead it, to teach it? What say ye to all the Sect of *Epicurus*? Whose Doctrine consisted principally in the Precepts of this Law, and impugning (as much as he durst) the Ciuill and Politicall Law? In which respect, al *Epicurians* were banished out of many good Common-wealthes of *Greece*; as *Plutarch* testifieth, and that worthily. For *Epicurus* hauing made a demaund, in certaine questions which hee wrote, whether a wise man would not doe against the Political Law, if he might be sure to escape vnpunished? aunswered freely thereto himselfe, *Yes truly*. And writing to *Idomeneus*, one of his Schollers, he admonished him seriously; not to subiect himselfe to the Lawes and opinions of Men, when soeuer he might hope to auoid the penalty of the lawes. And *Metrodorus*, a Disciple and familiar friend of his, writing to his Brother: forbad him to go to the warres, or endanger himselfe for the good of all *Greece*; aduising him, rather to drinke good Wine at home, and entreate himselfe well, that his body might receiue all pleasure and contentment. Concluding, that the chiefe and soueraigne good, consisteth in the belly, and in the pleasures therof. This is the Philosophy that belongeth to the Law of the flesh, and experience sheweth, what number of professors there are thereof in euery Common-wealth. *Quorum Deus venter est*, as the Apostle saith; *Whose bellies are their Gods*. Whose endeuors tend to nothing, but to their priuate pleasure & commodity. Who imploy their wits, studies, and pens, to nothing so much, as to publish and promulgate the Carnall Law, in amourous and lasciuious Books, wanton Poems, and scurrillous baudy Ballads, which abound euery where, to the corruption of youth, and consequently, to the preiudice of the Commonweale, & to the great shame of Magistrates, that see and suffer it.

The doctrine of *Epicurus* & his followers.

Metrodorus a Disciple of *Epicurus*.

Idem in his Treatise, that a man cannot liue merily in the Sect of *Epicurus*.

Phil. 3, 19.

Youth corrupted by lasciuious books and ballads.

Moreouer, to the end we may see, that this Carnall Law will yeild in nothing to the Politicall: hath it not also Common-wealths wherein it gouerneth, and a prudence and pollicy appropriate vnto it? Yea, polliticke Princes and Magistrates that practise it, and politick writers that teach and maintaine it? Looke vpon all tyrannicall States, where all is ruled according to the precepts of this Law: doe Magistrates and Gouernours practise any other pollicy, but *Prudentiam carnis*; as the Apostle calleth it, *The Prudence and wisedome of the flesh*? And *Machiauell*, whose workes are so highly esteemed of many men at this day: doth he teach any other gouernment, then that which proceedeth from the principles of this law, to wit; from selfe loue, and perticuler interest? Yet this were not so much to be wondred; at if it had not also a Religion conforme to it selfe, with Doctors and Diuines, to Preach and defend it. For as Politicall Law, hauing the help and assistance of true Religion, is more perfect, and worketh far greater effects in the Common-wealth, for the establishment and conseruation thereof: So also hath the Carnall Law, being masked with the Vizard of some Religion, eyther true or false, is of farre greater force, to ouerthrow or destroy any Common-wealth. And therefore it seeketh alwaies, to haue eyther the apparance and shew of true Religion, (in which respect, *Machiauell* teacheth his Tyrant to be an Hippocrite) or else it serueth it selfe, with some new fangled and false Religion: which the Apostle signifieth, when amongst *Opera carnis*, *The workes of the flesh*, he numbreth Sects of Heresies.

The Carnall Law hath Common-weals wherein it gouerneth.

Rom. 8.6.

Machiauell de Principe.

The Carnall Law hath Religion and doctours and Preachers.

Gal. 5. 20.

But perhaps you will say, that the other Law (in rewarding and punishing) surmounteth this, and represseth it in such sort, that it can haue no force in any wel gouerned Commonwealth. Let vs then examine this a little, and we shal finde: that the Politicall Law hath no oddes of this in that point, for it hath rewards and punishments also, as well as the other. The rewards which this Law proposeth, are diuers; for it promiseth (for some thinges) the pleasure & delight which is taken in the action, with the which, the party thinketh himselfe so well satisfied: that he is contented (many times) to bestow his Mony, yea, to venter his life to obtaine it.

The rewards which the law of the Flesh proposeth.

Some-

Sometimes againe, it propoſeth ſome commoditie or benefit, which may accompanie or follow the fact. And laſtly, it findeth meanes (otherwhiles) to rob vertue of her reward, and apply it to it ſelfe: in ſo much, that there is no remuneration promiſed by the Politicall Law, whereof the Carnall may not ſometimes giue hope, to ſuch as follow it. As I will make euident, by compariſon of the one with the other: whereby it ſhall appeare, that the Carnall Law hath euery where the aduantage.

The two laws compared together.

Therefore (I ſay) that the rewardes propoſed for Vertue by the Politicall Law, are vncertaine, in reſpect of the other, for neither is ther any at all aſſigned for very many good actes, neyther are all thoſe rewards promiſed, performed. Whereas on the contrary, the rewards of Vice, are commonly more certaine, for eyther they goe before the act (as it falleth out in bribes, and many other caſes of vnlawfull gaine, where the reward is paid before hand) or elſe they accompany the fact (as in al caſes of intemperance and incontinency, wherein onely pleaſure is ſought, or in coſenages and deceipts, which bring preſent gaine) or elſe they follow vpon the deede, as when ſome vnlawfull act is done, vpon promiſe of future pay. So that, for Vice the reward is alwaies eyther aſſured, or (at leaſt) hoped for and expected; which is no ſmal Motiue to induce men thereto. But for vertue, neither is there any reward to bee had many times, nor yet hope of any by politicall Law, as we ſee by experience in very many Men, who liue laudably in the Common-wealth all their liues: and yet are ſo farre from hauing any remuneration, or from expecting any; that they thinke themſelues happy, in that they can eſcape the penalties of the Law.

The reward for vertue very vncertain.

The rewards of vice are certaine, for the moſt part.

Good men dy many times, yet neuer reſpected.

But let vs proceede a little further. Is there any reward for vertue, ſo aſſured by Politicall Law, that Vice cannot; yea, doth not abtaine it daily? Hath it not honour (many times) for reward, as well as Vertue? Who ſooner riſeth to the higheſt offices, and credit in ſome Courts: then the Miniſters of the Princes pleaſures, or Inſtruments of his wickedneſſe? As *Seianus*, vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*. Two Slaues, called *Narciſſus* and *Pallas*, vnder *Claudius*. *Tigellinus*, vnder *Nero*. *Pexennius*, *Cleander*, *Regillus*, *Iulianus*, and other Slaues, vnder *Comodus*. All which men, gouerned both the Emperours, and the Empire: to whom I might adde diuers other, if I thought it conuenient. For, whether wee looke to former times, or to the preſent: we ſhall finde euery where, as many aduanced by euill meanes, as by good. For no man is ſo wicked: but if he haue Mony, he may hope for any preferment whatſoeuer.

The miniſters of vice ſooneſt exalted to honour.

Suetonius in Tiberio, Claudio, Nerone.

Lamprid Hero. Pedro Mexia. de vitis Imper.

Curia pauperibus clauſa eſt, dat cenſus honores
Cenſus amicitias, pauper vbique iacet. (res,

Ouid. Eleg. 7.

The Court (ſaith the Poet) *is ſhut vp to poore men: but wealth giueth honours, wealth giueth friendſhip, and the poore Man lyeth euery where in the duſt.*

And if we conſider alſo, how Princes doe commonly beſtow their rewardes: wee ſhall ſee that merit is leaſt reſpected. Which *Phillip de Comines* ſheweth by a pleaſant example, of *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *Fraunce*, and *Charles* Duke of *Bourgundy*. Who, after the battaile (which was fought betwixt them at *Montlehery* in *France*) being determined to reward and puniſh ſuch, as had deſerued well or ill in their Armies, and finding, that diuers ranne away on both ſides, while the battel was doubtfull (ſome on the one ſide an hundred Miles Eaſt-ward, and others on the other ſide, as many Weſt-ward) the K. of *France* tooke from one of his Subiects, all his Offices and dignities for running away, and gaue it to another that ranne ten miles further then he. The Duke of *Bourgundie* depriued alſo one of his, of all his goods and authority, for the like cauſe, & within a while after, gaue him more then euer hee had before. *Whereby* (ſaith *Comines*) *it appeareth, that Princes beſtow their rewardes and fauours, not like Angels, but like Men, as they are.*

Philip de Comines in Cron. du Roy Louys. Ca. 7

Rewards giuen without any deſert.

Seeing then, that Vice hath not onely perticular rewards, either of gaine or commoditie, or of pleaſure at leaſt, (which contenteth ſome more then Gold) but alſo hope of the rewards due to vertue it ſelfe, eyther by the Princes error or infirmitie, or by his fauour, or

by

Kingdomes & Crownes oftentimes are obtained by wickednesse.

by purchase, or by accident and chance, (whereby many wicked men are also aduanced.) What aduantage can the Politicall Law haue of the other, by proposing reward, though it be neuer so great? Doe we not see Crownes and Soueraignties (wherin most men place the greatest felicity of this life) procured by murders, mischiefes, and most wicked meanes? And doth *Machiauell* propose any lesse reward to his Prince (for extreame wickednesse) then assurance in Soueraignety? So that the most wicked man that is, hauing hope to get or conserue a Crowne, (or rather, Soueraigne State) by some murder or mischiefe: what greater, or so great a reward, could he expect for all the vertue in the world, by obeying Political laws? Did not very many (in old time) get diuine honours, though they were most wicked men: as *Iupiter*, *Venus*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Tiberius Cæsar*, and diuers Emperours as bad as he? And so it would still fall out, if Christian Religion had not expelled Idolatry out of the world. Whereby we see, Politicall Lawes, without the helpe of Gods Grace and Religion (for I consider them here) cannot assigne so great a reward for vertue: but that the wickedst man in the world may hope also to haue it, though he follow and obey the lusts of the flesh.

Wicked men honoured for Gods in elder times.

Wicked men somtimes get rackes and topes in stead of dignities.

But a man may say, that many wicked men, which promise themselues great gaine or aduancement, by some wicked act: get nothing in the end, but rackes and ropes in recompence thereof. This I grant, but then let vs also consider on the other side, how many notable Men, eyther loose their liues in actions, for which they should bee rewarded, or, in stead of the reward which they deserue, get nothing but ignominy, banishment, hatred of their Princes or people, death, and vtter ruine? As *Marcus Coriolanus*, *Furius Camillus*, *Scipio*, *Cicero*, *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Dion* the *Sicilian*, and infinite others. Some of which men, were depriued of their Dignities, others banished their Countries, and others shamefully put to death by publike authoritie; after they had done great seruices to their Common-weales and States, wherein they liued. And did not *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*, discouer a great secret, concerning the humors of Princes, in rewarding seruices past, when he said; *Il perd souuent d'auoir trop bien serui*; *It ouerthroweth Men many times, to haue done too good seruice?* Signifying, that Princes are more willing to haue others beholding to them; then to bee themselues beholding to any. And some, as well Princes as others, are of such Nature, that when they see their obligation so great to any man, as they thinke that they cannot commodiously reward him, according to his satisfaction and merit: they hold him then but for an eye-sore, and seek to rid him one way or other. Therefore, how vncertaine and casuall is the reward of vertue by Politicall Lawes, seeing the distribution thereof is in the hands of such: as for some perticular respect, or interest of their owne, may not onely forbeare to reward, but also (some-times) vndoe and destroy those, that haue best deserued of them and the Commonwealth? Thus much of *Reward*.

Philip de Comines Cap. 92.

The vncertainty of the reward of vertue, by Politicall law.

Wicked men sometimes get rackes and topes in stead of dignities.

Vertuous mē disgraced and punished.

Read *Plutarch* in the liues of all these men

Now, to speake of *Punishment*, wherein consisteth the greatest force of any Politicall Law, for the repression of mans mallice: let vs see, what are the penalties or punishments, where-with the Law of the flesh terrifieth men, to diuert them from vertue, and to draw them to vice. For, although it cannot (of it selfe) inflict any punishment vpon the true louers of vertue, who tread downe and triumph ouer all power of the flesh, and Lawes thereof: yet it setteth vp certaine Scarre-Crowes, to fright such simple Soules as it deceiueth, proposing vnto them farre greater difficulties, labour, and paine, then there is (indeed) in the practise and exercise of vertue. Which difficultie, they hold for no other then continuall affliction, and (as it were) a penalty or punishment, inflicted vpon such as labour to be vertuous. By meanes whereof, they contemne the penalties of Politicall Lawes, esteeming them, not only more easie to bee auoyded, but also more tollerable to bee borne, then the other. I say, more easie to be auoyded, for that, neither there is a penalty imposed for euery offence, neither are those that be ordained, alwaies exacted vpon offenders. For, as I haue noted before, they are many times escaped, eyther

The penalties and punishments which the Carnall Law threateneth.

The Scarre-crowes and false frights of the carnall Law.

The escapes of the carnall Law.

ther by power, or by fauour, or by corruption of Officers, or by their negligence, or by their Princes pardō, whereas the paines that worldly men conceiue to accompany vertue, seeme to them ineuitable, except vertue it selfe be auoyded: whereto no man can arriue, but by the strait, narrow, and painefull way, which I haue before described.

Penalties of the politicall law seeme more tollerable to wicked men, then the penalties of the carnall law.

And againe, the penalties of Politicall Lawes, doe seeme to them more tollerable then the other, becausе al penal mulcts, consist either in payment of Mony, or in Infamy, or in corporall or Capitall punishment. If in Mony, they feare it not much; for they are content to buy their satisfying there-with, and many we see doe voluntarily begger themselues, to obtaine their pleasures. If the penalties consist in Infamy; what care they for it, who hold sinne for no shame, but as an honour? And (as the Psalmist saith) *Gloriantur in malitia; They glory in wickednesse. Et lætantur* (saith *Salomon*) *cum male fecerint, & exultant rebus pessimis, quorum via peruersa, quorum gressus infames sunt. Who reioyce when they haue done amisse, and exalt in the worst thinges. Whose waies are peruerse, whose steppes are infamous.* If the punishment be Corporall, or Capitall, they esteeme the practise of vertue more painefull. For, what affliction, Prison, restraint of liberty, torment or death, can seeme so grieuous to a Man giuen ouer to lust and pleasure, as to afflict himselfe by restraint of his owne will? To conquer and subdue his owne vnbrideled affections? To chastise his body, that it may be made obedient to the Spirit? To mortifie and crucifie himselfe? To dye to his Lust and Concupisence? Yea, and to bee (as it were) his owne Butcher and Hang-man? To execute all this vpon himselfe, not for once or twice, or for a day or two, or for now and then: but daily, continually, and without intermission: for otherwise, true vertue can neither be attained, nor conserued. Can any thing (I say) seeme more irkesome, or any punishment more corporall, or capitall, to sensual & fleshy men, destitute of grace? *Qui non percipiunt ea quæ sunt spiritus dei; Who haue no feeling or apprehension of matters belonging to the spirit of God?*

Psalme 52, 1.

Prou. 2, 15. 16

Nothing more tedious and irksome to euill men, then vertue.

A hard lesson for a worldly man.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Corporall torments, they think (with *Epicurus*) the greater they are, the sooner they dispatch a Man out of paine, & the lesse they be, the more tollerable they are, and death they hold for an end of misery. But the labours and paines, which they imagine to be in continuall exercise of vertue: they take for a continuall and neuer dying torment, & for an euerlasting death. So that, very many are so disgusted with the onely conceipt & apprehension thereof: that they will not take so much as a tast of vertue, to auoid any penalty of Law whatsoeuer: as we see daily in many Malefactors that are incorrigible. And again, diuers that haue already made some entrance, into the course and way of vertue, are thereby so wearied within a while: that they vtterly despaire, euer to arrine at any perfection therein, such men (I mean) as haue no light or help of Gods grace. Insomuch, that one *Sextius*, a Gentleman *Romaine*, of whom *Plutarch* writeth, hauing giuen himselfe to the study of Philosophy, and the practise of morall vertue, was within a while so discouraged: that his friendes had much a do to keepe him from drowning himselfe. *Æmelius Probus* testifieth, that the Son of the famous *Dion* of *Scilie*, being restrained by his Father, from the licentious life which hee had led (for some long time) in his Fathers banishment: did desperatly cast himselfe from the top of the house, and brake his necke.

Epicurus his opinion of corporall torments.

The great auersion of wicked men from vertue.

Plutar. in Lib. de Tranquil. anim.

Amelius Probus in Dione.

But put the case, that Subiects might be made vertuous, by the feare of punishment: what remedy is there for the Prince, when he is of a bad and maligne Nature? Truelie none, for he feareth no penaltie of the Law, being himselfe aboue the Law: and as for good councell, if any man dare giue it, hee dare contemne it. What good did the good councell and precepts, of the Diuine *Plato*, and of famous *Dion*, to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, the Father & the Son, called *Dionisius*? In requitall of their good enstructions, was not *Plato* solde for a Slaue, and *Dion* bannished out of *Sicilie*? What benefit reaped the wicked and cruell *Nero*, by all the good discipline he receiued from the wise *Seneca*? Did he exercise any lesse cruelty on him, then vpon all others? And what good effect wroght the good education, example, and enstructions, which the

No meanes in politicall law, to reforme a vicious prince

Dionisius Father and Son, two Tyrants of Sicily.

Nero & Seneca

Marcus Aurelius and his Son *Commodus*

Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* (called the Philosopher) gaue to his Sonne *Commodus?* Succeeding him in the Empire, was not he far more detestable and hatefull for vice, then his Father was renowned & beloued for vertue? If then there be no sufficient meanes, by lawes, education, counsell, or exhortation, to reforme the vicious and corrupt Nature of a wicked Prince: who seeth not, that (by consequence) there is no assured meanes, to make the Common-wealth vertuous? For though it bee neuer so well ordered and disposed in the body: yet it may receiue such corruption from the head, that it may perish thereby. For, as *Plinie* saith; *Euen as in Mens bodies, so in Common-weales, the disease is most grieuous and dangerous, which proceedeth from the head.* And we commonlie see, that the maners of the people, are conforme to the manners of the Prince.

The Princes life is a great example to the Common wealth.

Plin. in lib. 4. Epist.

Now then to conclude. What sufficient meanes there is in Politicall Law, to suppresse the Law of the Flesh, and to make the Prince and people truely vertuous? Is it precepts or Prohibitions? Nothing lesse. For, if they consist but in wordes; they are easily contemned. And (as I haue said before) Prohibition doth encrease the disease, that is to say; the offence and sin, rather then remedie it. And as for permission of euill, it doth but bewray the weakenesse of the Politicall Law, and shew the force of carnall Law: which the other is faine to permit, because it cannot redresse it. What then? Is it punnishment or reward? Neither of both. For, as I haue signified, either the offences are so secret, that they are not subiect to punishment: or the Law is deluded, and the penaltie many waies auoyded. Or if not, yet in respect of the paines, that wicked men imagine to be in the exercise of vertue, they are litle feared. And as for reward, what reward (ordained by Law) can so satisfie a sensuall man, as pleasure? Which he holdeth for his Soueraigne and chiefe good, and for the onely felicity of his life? In so much, that I haue heard some men, most wickedly protest and sweare, that if it were not for the pleasures of the flesh; their liues would be loathsome and hatefull vnto them. Therefore *Licurgus* (with great reason) despaired, to make either the King, or the Subiects in his Common-wealth, vertuous by the force of Lawes. For which cause, he ordained (as *Aristotle* saith) that the Kinges of *Lacedemonia* should not be perpetuall, but gouerne for a time: least some euill King, if his gouernment were for tearme of life, might destroy the Common-wealth.

No sufficient means in Politicall Law, to make the Prince and Common-wealth truely vertuous.

Al the premisses examined ouer in due order for a Conclusion.

The insufficiency of Politicall Law for the reformation of vice acknowledged by *Lycurgus*. *Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Sleepe and Rest; And what manner of seating, or lying in our Beds, ought to be obserued in our sleeping, as well for ciuility as for health.

BY good reason did *Galen* say; *That Sleepe is the repose of the whole body, and principally of the animall faculties, and without sleepe, a Man could not subsist: therefore there are certaine rules to be obserued in sleeping, as necessary as in eating and drinking.* For it is not enough, that a man sleepe seauen or eight houres in a night; rise early in the morning; shun sleepe after dinner, vpon an indigested stomack, &c. But he is to vnderstand withall, what comportement or behauiour is conuenient for him in sleepe. Beasts and other animals, do heeein lend vs some enstruction, for they do not fall downe backward, when they prepare to rest; but couch downe vpon one of their sides, and (almost ordinarily) on the right side, and according to Nature, neuer faile therein. Neuertheleese, albeit that men are endued with reason, yet very hardly shall three men bee found, lying in on Bed, or in one company, that do take their rest after one and the same manner. For one will haue his head raised high, another low. One lyeth to sleepe on the right side, and others on the left very ordinarily. Some on their bellies, or on their backs. In regard whereof, many people (thorow want of due obseruation) doe fall into grieuous diseases, which proue (oftentimes) incurable, or are found stifled in their sleeping, which falleth out too ordinary.

Galen his definition of Sleepe.

Beasts do giue enstruction for sleep.

Man onelie is disordered in the maner of his sleeping.

The man that desireth to preserue his health,

What behauiour is to be obſerued in ſleeping.

health, ſhould ſleepe on his right ſide, during the time of his firſt ſleepe to the end, that the meates may deſcend into the bottome of the ſtomack: becauſe it is fleſhy, and leſſe full of membranes then the vpper part; and ſo, by conſequent, more hot and proper for concoction. Afterward, for his ſecond ſleepe, hauing continued ſome foure houres, or therabout, on the right ſide: he may turne on the left, to the end, that the liuer may the better extend it ſelfe, and reſt vpon the ſtomacke. In doing thus, digeſtion is made perfect; becauſe the Liuer is hotter then the belly, and embracing al, ſerueth as if it were a warmth of fire. But if a man be conſtrained to keep his bed long, at one time & other, he muſt obſerue turnings, one while on the one ſide, and then on the other.

Of ſleeping on the belly, what inconueniences are cauſed thereby.

To ſleep vpon the belly auaileth nothing, except in ſuch as are of bad digeſtion, for ſuch manner of lying heateth the ſtomacke ſo well, that it facilitateth and accelerates concoction: but then it bringeth a great diſcommodity; to wit, that it filleth the eyes full of defluxions, and (conſequently) troubleth the ſight, hindereth the excrements alſo, in their auoydance out of the belly.

Of ſleeping on the backe and reines.

To ſleepe vpon the backe and reines, doth manie times engender ſtones & ſand in them, and being no way helpfull to digeſtion, cauſeth the Rhume to riſe, which coueteth moſt vp to the throat, and haſteneth a man to the Falling-ſickneſs, Apoplexies, and other capitall diſeaſes, beſide the puffing vp or ſwelling of the Lights, and the Midriffe or *Diaphragma*. Wherfore, of al healthful ſituations for ſleep, there is none better (as hath beene ſaid) then to reſt on the ſides: for beſide all other benefits enſuing thereby, the body being turned one while on the right ſide, and then againe on the left, feeleth pleaſure, contentment, and ſweeteſt eaſe.

Of ſleeping on the ſides.

The bodies figure in a healthfull mans ſleeping

The body then ought not to bee ſo much extended or ſtretched out, being turned on either ſide: but that the thighs and legs muſt be ſomewhat bended or retired, for ſuch is the figure of a healthfull mans ſleeping. The head ſhould not be laid too high, nor too low: for being raiſed too high, it prepareth a man to the Cough, and infirmitie of the Lunges, and cauſeth that he cannot ſleep ſoundlie. And being laid too low, it procureth broken and painefull ſleepes, and engendereth offenſiue dreames.

Of an apt Boulſter for the head.

Of ſleeping with open eyes.

To ſleepe with wide open eyes, indurates (all along) the Tunickles or couering skinnes of them, and ſo by conſequent, begetteth a ſhort or nere hand ſight, becauſe that the viſuall Spirit cannot penetrate croſſe-wiſe. It may alſo happen, that ſome thing falling ſtrangely into them, may greatly harme and periſh the ſight. And in any ſharpe or extraordinarie diſeaſe, to ſleep with the eyes open, it is an aſſured ſigne of death: except the party haue been long invred thereto; or haue had ſome great fluxe of the belly; or taken ſome violent purgation; or elſe hath endured long watchings.

Of ſleeping with the mouth open.

To ſleepe with the mouth open, is very contrarie and incommodious to the health of a man, becauſe hee draweth aboundantly to him (by the vocall Artery) all the ayre that it meeteth withall: which commonly (in the night time) is very impure and troubled. By meanes whereof, the Conduits whereby a man reſpireth, being ouer-moyſtened: either it maketh the voyce hoarſe, or dull and feeble. Whereas, if a man ſleepe with his mouth cloſed; then the exteriour ayre (by little and little, and not in any exceſſiue quantitie) entereth at both the paſſages of the Noſthrils, and ſo goeth on to the Lights, where it moderateth the heate of the heart. Which is the cauſe, that they which ſleepe with their Lippes faſt ſhut; doe feele themſelues the leſſe diſturbed. For they that ſleepe open throated, by reaſon of the breath, which entereth and iſſueth forth aboundantly: the tongue and roofe of the mouth becommeth very much dried, which makes them, both in the night time, and in the morning, to finde themſelues much altered.

Of ſleeping with the mouth cloſe ſhut.

The lips faſt ſhut.

Sleeping opē throated, how dangerous it is.

A good Compariſon.

In like manner, when the breath is ſome way kept and retained, concoction is made the more ſtrongly & ſoundly: euen as meat is the better boyled in a couered pot. There may happen many other inconueniences beſide, for in ſleeping open throated; a Feather may fall, and paſſe into the body, which will cauſe a continuall Cough, by reaſon that neuer, or very hardly, it can

A deadly Phtiſicke.

be auoyded, and ſo grow to a deadly Phtiſicke. A Serpent *Stellio*, Spider, or ſome ſuch venomous Creature, may alſo get his paſſage, without all meanes of recouery, as I haue knowne too often.

After what manner to hold the arms

As concerning the Armes, if they be held croſſe-wiſe, like the ſigne of the Croſſe, or elſe halfe courbed, and the hands reſting vpon the little belly; it is very healthfull. But one thing (kinde Reader) take as a warning, that it is a very euill cuſtome, to talke in the night time, and a notorious inciuility. For ſuch as are vſed to prattle at their wakings, doe very hardly fall to faſten on ſleepe againe. And ſo conſequently, ſuch wakings doe cauſe Crudities in them: becauſe their ſleeps haue not bin ſufficient, to boyle the meates receiued into the ſtomacke. Another reaſon is, that it impeacheth and interrupteth the reſt of others, who (perhaps) take little delight in talking at ſuch vnfit houres: but when once they haue made cuſtome of it, they keepe it as an eſpeciall habite.

Of talking in the night time, how hurtfull it is.

Of ſnoring or ſnorting in our ſleepe.

Some, in their ſleepe, are ſubiect to ſnore or ſnort, eſpecially fat and round bellied people. It is a thing very odious and offenſiue, to lie by ſuch a body, or in the Chamber where ſuch a one reſteth. A man were almoſt as good, to lodge in a Stye among the Swine, as neere or with ſuch perſons, eſpeciallie, ſuch as delight in liuing ciuilly and honeſtly. Therefore I will ſet downe a prettie receipt, which a *Portugall* Apothecarie (but yet a *Iew* by his Religion) taught me againſt this vndecency, and the receipt is thus. He that is ſubiect to this infirmity, halfe an houre before he goeth to reſt, let him eate a little Conſerue of an Hearbe called *Perſil d'Aſne*, *Aſſe-Perſelie*, or *Wilde Cheruill*. It is an Hearbe very ſufficiently knowne, and the Conſerue muſt be made of the root thereof. I haue made good experience of it many times. Or elſe let him gargarize a pretty deale of good Vineger, made ſomewhat warme, a quarter of an houre before he lyeth downe. This laſt remedy was practiſed by a Courtier (in the time of King *Charles* the ninth) with very happy ſucceſſe: for, if he had ſnored neuer ſo little (as he was much ſubiect thereto) hee had loſt the gracious fauours of a Gentlewoman, who admitted him to her owne Lodging, her Husband being abſent.

A pretty Receipt againſt ſnoring in ſleepe.

* *Myrrhis*, *Mockcheruill*, an Hearb like to Hemlocke. Some call it *Kex* or *Kexes*.

Therefore I would gladlie perſwade Fathers and Mothers; yea, Schoolemaiſters and others, who haue the charge of youth and young Children, to conſtraine and accuſtome them in their tender yeares, to honeſt, decent, and wholeſome lodging in their Beds: For, beſide the comlineſſe and ciuility, it is no meane propagation of their health. And let me tell ye more, thorough ſuch vndecent behauiour in bed; I haue knowne many vnhappy quarrels and debates, ſometimes betwixt the Husband and Wife.

The Authors friendly aduertiſement.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the conſtancy, of ſome Lacedemonian, Romaine, and French women: At the deceaſe of their Children, hurts, and nurſing of them.

THat Commonwealth may tearm it ſelfe happy, wher the Weomen are not only chaſt: but likewiſe endued with manly Spirits, full of conſtancy and magnanimity, for of ſuch Women (commonly) are Heroycall Children bred and borne. Which Argument giueth me leaue, to ſpeake of ſome Weomen among the *Lacedemonians*; then the *Romaines*, and laſtly the *French*; but firſt we will begin with the moſt generous *Lacedemonians*.

Of good and generous women come worthy Children.

Lacedemon, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, were all but one, to wit, a people and Country ſcituated in *Peloponneſus*, a Region of *Greece*, where *Lycurgus* had not onely beene King, but alſo was their Law-Maker. He left them many good lawes and Morall precepts, which while both the Men and Weomen knew how to keepe: they continued Lords of themſelues, liuing in all enfranchiſement and

The ſeuerall names, of *Lacedemon*, & ſcituation thereof.

What benefit enſued by keeping the Lawes of *Lycurgus*.

and libertie. But ſo ſoone as they wandered and ſwerued, from thoſe good manners which the ſaid *Lycurgus* had taught them: they became forthwith Seruants and Slaues vnto others. During ſuch time, as they were obſeruers of his Morall precepts; it happened, that the *Athenians* made Warre, in hope to ſubdue them; but as they were farre inferior to them in their forces, ſo were they as ſtoutly and valiantly reſiſted.

Of a mother and her onely Son.

Among the women of *Sparta*, there was one, that had but one only Sonne, who was grieuouſly wounded in the foote, and greatly complained, of the yrkeſome paines which thereby he endured: but his Mother ſaide vnto him. *My Sonne, if thou didſt ſet vertue before thine eyes; not onely would this anguiſh bee forgotten: but (in reuenge thereof) thou wouldſt ſhew thy ſelfe valiant.* But the Mothers of our Countries, doe cuſtomarily augment the grieuances of their Children, by teares and cockerings, too frequent among them. Whereas this worthy Mother, did breath her Spirit into his Heart, to teach him, how hee ſhould ſuffer harmes manfully, and not to complaine, like a cowardly woman.

Good & courageous counſell of a Mother.

Foolish Mothers of theſe times.

Two honorable minded Mothers.

Another *Lacedemonian* Woman likewiſe, hauing tidings brought her, that one of her Sonnes was ſlaine in the battaile, ſaid: *Why, he was one of my Sons too:* reioyſing in the generoſitie of her Son, and neuer mourning for his death. Contrariwiſe, another woman, hearing that her Sonne fled away cowardly; quoth ſhe. *He neuer was any Son of mine.* Intimating thereby, that ſuch Sons deſerued no acknowledgement, who degenerated from the vertue of their Anceſtours.

Another Mother worthy of immortall cõmendation.

I cannot forget another *Laconian* Woman, who had fiue Sonnes, and all of them loſt their liues, fighting valiantly for the freedome of their Countrey. She, going into the Subburbs of the Citty, to know the iſſue of the battaile, meeting with a Vant-currer, demanded how all matters went? And he told hir the fatall hap of her fiue Sonnes. *Wicked Slaue* (quoth ſhe) *this is no anſwere to my demaund. I pray thee to tell mee, in what eſtate ſtands the affaires of the Commonwealth?* Hee told her, that the victorie went with the *Lacedemonians*. *Why now* (quoth ſhe) *thou art an honeſt man, and I beare my Children death patiently.* Was not this a Woman full of honour, and endued with an incomparable Spirit; to prefer the welfare of the Commonwealth, before ſo many liues of her dear eſteemed Sons?

Cicero in lib. de Orat. 3.

Cicero alleadgeth another, who was a noble *Romaine* Lady, no leſſe to be eſteemed then the *Laconian* women. She beholding her Sonne, named *Spurius Caluidius*, that could go no other-wiſe, but euen as Beaſtes doe, on all foure, through the greateſt wounds he had receiued in the warres, fighting for his Countries liberty, and perceiuing him to bee aſhamed, becauſe one had ſcorned him for going in that manner; ſhe ſaid vnto him. *Thou ſhouldſt be the more iocond, and proud of thy valour, that made thee go in this crooked manner; then grieue at that poore ſpirit, that dare not ſhew his face where thou haſt beene.*

A moſt valiant Romaine Mother.

Generous women of *France*.

But let me tell ye, that neither *Lacedemon* nor *Rome*, contained all the generous Weomen: for in our Native Country of *France*, there haue bin very many, and yet are at this preſent, of whom I will (for breuities ſake) alledge but two. The firſt ſhall bee Madame *Margaret de Sauoye*, Wife to the deceaſed *Anne de Montmorency*, Conſtable of *France*, who had fiue Children, all worthily educated, and euermore moſt louingly affected vnto the Crowne of *France*, as beeing very remarkeable for their fidelitie, as alſo well prouided of honourable eſtates. When newes was brought her, that one of her Sons was dead, named *Mombrun*, whom ſhe moſt dearely affected aboue all the reſt, and was ſlaine in the battaile at *Dreux*, fought againſt the *French* Proteſtants, in the yeare 1562. and alſo that her Husband (being wounded) was there ſurprized: She ſaid. *Bleſſed be God, as well for the bad as the good, and gaue him hartie thankes, not onely becauſe her Sonne was ſlaine; but that her Husband remained wounded, and a Priſoner, for the ſeruice of his King, &c.*

The Battaile at *Dreux*, in Anno 1562.

The braue reſolution of *Margaret de Sauoy*.

Madame de Saint Blancar, Wife to the late magnanimious *Mareſchall de Biron*, was viſited by a Lady of great Birth, who brought with her very goodlie workes of Silke, which ſhee and her Daughters had wrought in Samplers.

Madame de Blãcar, wife to the *Mareſchall Biron*.

She brought with her alſo one of her Children; that daunced delicately, and played ſweetly on the Gitterne, whom ſhe ſhewed to the ſaid Lady Marſhall, that ſhe and her Children, ſhould learn to ſpend their time in the like delightfull exerciſes. Madame Marſhall made her anſwer; *That ſhee could not deuiſe any better works exerciſes, wherein to enſtruct her Sons and Daughters; then in the fear of God, and good maners; whereby their harts would become magnanimious, to do ſeruice for their King, according as their Father had formerly done.* And indeed, all the Male children iſſuing of her, were very braue minded and valiant men. As for her Daughters, ouer and beſide their happineſſe, to marrie with wiſe and worthy Knights: ſo were they well eductated in houſhold diſcipline, by their excellent breeding, and famous houſes of generous nouriſhing. As *Madame* the Counteſſe *de Chaſteauneuf*, whoſe Huſband is (at this preſent) Lieutenant to the King, in higher and lower *Lymoſine*. *Madame de Force*, & others that I know.

Madame *de Biron* of a vertuous & manly courage.

Let then great Ladies of blood, and others of meaner birth, bee aduertiſed by this diſcourſe, that if it happen, that their Husbands and Children dye, or become maimed in their Kings ſeruice, and for the good of the Common-wealth: they would not bee ſo weake hearted, as to lament, grieue, or beate their heads againſt walles, becauſe ſuch behauiour is not ſeene, but in Women of ignoble and ſlender worth. But fixing rather before their eyes, the generous Spirits of theſe *Laconian*, *Romaine*, and *French* Ladies, formerly exemplified; to account themſelues happy, when ſoeuer the like diſaſters ſhall happen to them. Conſidering withall, that they whom they eſteeme to be dead, do liue, and they ſhall ſee them again at the day of reſurrection, accompanied with much glory and honor.

A generous Exhortation of the Author to Ladies of greateſt birth and others.

The greateſt to any Chriſtian ſoule.

To *Iob*, all his goods and wealth were redoubled, onely his Children excepted, for he begat but ſuch a number, and in the like number he had them againe. Yet heerein the promiſe of God was as well accompliſhed, as in his other goods: for he knew that they were not dead, but ſhould be raiſed againe, and re-knowne of their Father and Mother. It may be preſumed, that ſuch women as are ſo full of ſorrow and vexation; do not beleeue any reſurrection. Otherwiſe they would embrace aduiſe and enſtruction, to teach their Sons & daughters al ſuch exerciſes, as might redound to the benefit of the Common-wealth. As their Sons to haue learning, to manage Armes and Horſes, with all vertues becomming man-hood. Their Daughter to feare God, and learne womens huſwiuery: not idle Samplery, or Silken follies, which (elſe-where) is the exerciſe of Eunuches & Slaues. I would wiſh them to hold as firme a purpoſe, as did Madame *Katherine du Salaignat*, Wife to the late *Meſſiere Geffrey de Saillet*, a braue and hardy Knight in his life time. She ſending her Sonnes (in their very young yeares) to *Paris* for enſtruction, was aduiſed by ſome familiar Friend, to keepe them (as yet) at home, becauſe they were but young and tender. She made anſwer. *That her Children reſembled Veſſels wholly new, wherein if good liquer were put at the firſt, they would ſauour thereof ſo long as Nature laſted.* In like manner, if Children embrace good doctrine in their young age, they will reliſh alwaies after thereof, euen to old age. Which they cannot doe, being kept vnder the Mothers Wing, as wee tearme it, where neither are like Maiſters, or commodious meanes, as is in ſuch places, wher all vertues are taught, to ſuch as will ſeeke for them. For this good Lady added, *That ſhe deſired rather to be without Children, then that they ſhold be not vertuous.* And indeed, ſuch did her Sons proue to be, and good Seruitours to their King, notwithſtanding all the partialities in *France*.

Example of the Lady Katherine de Salaignat.

A worthy preſident for all cockering and nice Mothers.

The bountifull mercy of God to *Iob*.

In the caſe of Death, how Parents ought to comfort themſelues

CHAP. VIII.

Againſt Obtrectation, or Detraction. And why it is more vnſeemly for men, to ſpeak euill of Women, then Women of Men.

ALl Diuines and Philoſophers, as well Auncient as Moderne, haue held, and doe maintaine, that detraction is one of the braunches of Enuy, which

Detraction one of the branches of Enuy.

which delighteth and nourisheth it selfe by calumny and lying: whereby people of honest conuersation, do continualy receiue most greeuous wounds; by giuing ouer light beleefe, to such as haue a felicity in lying. And therefore, *Diogenes* the Cinick being demaunded, what bite of any Beast was most hurtfull and dangerous, answered: *Amongst furious and wilde Beasts, none like the Detractor, and among tame or gentle, only the Soother and Flatterer.* Vpon the same words, *Themistocles* the *Thebane*, said; *There is no greater paine or miserie in the worlde, then to know and behold the honor of an honest and good man, to be in the mercy of a venomous tongue, there to be outraged by detracting speeches.*

Diogenes his answere, concerning Detractors and Flatterers.

Full wel we know, that vertuous fame and good renowne, is more precious then any treasure whatsoeuer. No lesse shame and wrong is done to a man, in taking away his honest name and good esteeme, then as if hee were robbed and despoiled of all his substance. But aboue all other, Detraction and calumny yeeldeth most pernitious effects, when Princes do willingly lend eare to deprauers; by whom, euen themselues doe become at length corrupted. For the enuious detractor, dealeth like a bad Painter, who when he hath made a mishapen Cocke, commandeth his Boy, to driue all Naturall Cockes farre enough off from his foule handy-worke. So hee, from such as he would command or gouerne, hee striues to keep off al honest minded men, for hee cannot worke his intent openlie, becausse hee stands in feare of their Vertue, whom he hateth in his heart. Hee maketh a shew of honouring, admiring, and affectuous embracing: but vnderhand, and behinde his backe, hee casteth forth and soweth all seditious slaunders. But if his claudestine, and secret-wounding reports of the absent, do not quickly beget the yssue of his intent: hee hath yet alwayes readye in his memory, that which in elder times was obserued by *Medius*.

Good fame is the greatest riches in the world.

Princes subiect to heare flatterers and Detractors.

An excellent Comparison of the deprauers.

This *Medius* of whom we are to speak was as the Maister, or chiefe of all the troope of flatterers, that houered about the mightie *Alexander*, euermore bandying against well disposed people in his Court. Hee gaue instruction, that no one should bee so bolde, as to backebite openly, or vse the power of calumnie too apparantly. *But rather in such sort* (quoth he) *that albeit the partie bitten doe recouer his harme; yet that the gripes or scratches may remaine incureable.* Euen so, by such scarres and gripes of lies and false accusations, or to call them better (according to *Plutarch*) by such Cankers and Gangreues, many great persons haue suffered themselues to be corrupted and retained still in their memory, detestable vntruth, deliuered of vertuous men, to their innocent ouerthrowe, and their owne great dishonor.

Of *Medius*, chiefe of the Flatterers about King *Alexander*.

The Wicked speeches of detracting *Medius*.

All the enmities and quarrelles, as wel among great as meaner persons, whence haue ensued so manie slaughters, as dayly are beholde with great greefe: neuer had any other ground or Originall, but onely detracting the honour or repute of absent people. Now, albeit this Vice in generall, is most infamous, and aboue all other, vnsightly and il-seeming in persons of honor: yet, of both the sexes, I hold it to be more inciuil and disgraceful to a man, then to a woman. Howbeit, I know, that there are manie people, that are of contrarie opinion vnto my present purpose of speech. My first reason is, that among all the Nations of the world, there is a natural Law, obseruing it selfe; whereby a dissolute life is not held as any Vice, defect, or infamie in men: but in women it is an opprobrie, & so extreame a shame, that she of whom an euil report hath once passed (be it true or false in the imposition) she standeth for euer blamed or branded. Therefore, a wel aduised man, wil neuer touch the honor of women.

Detraction the ground of quarrels and murders.

Detraction is more vnbeseeming in men then women, and the reasons why.

The first reason.

There is likewise another reason, to wit; That Women beeing imperfect creatures, and of little or no dignitie at al, in respect of men, it were verie requisite, that (seeing of themselues they are not capeable, to performe any vertuous action) some bridle or restriction were imposed on them, by shame and feare of infamy, that any good qualitie (though it were perforce) might bee planted in them. And it seemeth, that continency was thought more necessarie for them, then any other, for the better certitude of their Children. Now, because this hath beene enforced, euen by all ingenuous subtilties, Arts, and possible meanes or wayes, to make Ladies become continent;

The second reason.

Continencie thoght most conuenient in women.

timent; yea, it hath appeased, and (as it were) consented thereto by themselues, that in all other things they are of no validity, but continually they doe the contrary to all that they ought to do. Wherfore, seeing it is lawfull for them, to commit all other errours without blame, let them neuer bee taxed with those imperfections that they haue done, they being all permitted to them, which (in this respect) must not be iudged inconuenient, or carelessely regarded by them; prouided, that their Chastitie be preserued.

Women alowed to commit all errours, their chastitie reserued.

And yet for all this, I doe not inferre that it is lawfull for weomen to depraue or mispeake by any means: for, as I haue saide, it is one of the very greatest imperfections, and draweth vnto it more contempt and disgrace, then any other Vice whatsoeuer. But I would aduise honourable and worthy women, if at anie time it happen, that a Woman haue spoken reproachfully of them, or such as do appertaine vnto them, to tollerate & make no account thereof, for the reasons forementioned. But on the contrarie, it is a worke of piety, to offend their quarrel, if any do presume to defend their honor. And so much the rather, because it was neuer knowne, that euerie any Knight, who vndertooke the Combat, to support the honor of a woman, was at anie time vanquished.

An aduertisement to Ladies, and al other women.

An act of pietie to defend womens honor.

Wee haue some proofe thereof, by a History, which *Valentinus Barruchius*, a Natiue of *Tolledo* in *Spaine*, hath sette downe a in great Latine Tome, most exactly written, and in verie elegant phrase, the briefe whereof, is thus: A Daughter to the King of *England*, being maried to a Duke of *Sauoy*, & Prince of *Piedmont*; by not yeilding to the immodest requests of the Count of *Pancalier* (whome the Duke her husband, had left Regent and Lieutenant of al his Lands in his absence while he was busied in the wars of *France*, because hee was there Constable) falsely imposed on her the crime of Adulterie, which he saide she had committed with his Nephew. And being to combate against all such, as woulde gainesay the truth of his deposition, he presented himselfe in the Lists.

A History alledged by *Valentinus Baruchius* of *Tolledo*, concerning the false accusation of a Dutchesse of *Sauoy*.

In the end, as a matter proceeding from Diuine inspiration, a Knight of the Noble house of *Mendoza*, who although he was farre inferiour in bodily strength, not only in regard of a former long sicknesse, but also by so long a way of trauel, which had so tired himselfe and his horses: yet he accepted the cause and Combate, to maintaine the honor of that vertuous Princesse. He foiled him in fight, and made him confesse his damnable imposture. After which, partly by some grieuous wounds receiued, but more by meere spight and hatefull malice, he died within few daies. And yet the said Count was one of the most valiant and strongest Knights (of his time) in al *Lombardy*.

The Noble *Mendoza* of Spain, defended the cause of the wronged Princesse.

In *Fraunce*, about the space of threescore yeares since, the combat was granted by King *Frances*, first of that name, to two French Knights, the one named *La Chastaigneraye*, and the other *Iarnac*. It was a great quarrell to bee discided, because the Lord *de la Chastaigneraye*, had offended the honor of a Ladie, that appertained in blood to the Lord *de Iarnac*. These two Knightes, fighting in the single *Duello*, and according to the Kinges iudgement, the whole Court, and all the spectators, it appeared that *La Chastaigneraye*, would haue the vpper hande, as hauing made good proofe of his person, in diuers battailes, and single combates: yet notwithstanding, *Iarnac* slew *La Chastagneraye*, and, as manie people were perswaded in Conscience, by the iust iudgement of God, for hauing defamed so worthy a Ladie. If it might be permitted, I could alledge infinite other Histories, tending to this purpose: but feare of offending, is my onely hinderance. And therefore, I will conclude with the Prouerbe, more then true: *That neuer were Women depraued, but by a Knaue or a Coward.*

A Combate tried between two French Knights.

General opinion is often times deceyued in proofe.

An auncient Prouerbe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

How Pythagoras founde out (verie ingeniously) the iust measure and proportion of the bodie of great Hercules.

IT is verie memorable, & therefore not to bee let passe in silence, the ingenious inuentiō found out in a subtle and curious maner, concerning the true shape and measure of *Hercules* his body. When it was knowne, that the place where the Olympian Games were solemnized (from fiue years to fiue yeares) in *Achaya*, neere * *Elis*, & before the Temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, had been measured by *Hercules*, who hadde there made a *Stadium*, containing six hundred and fiue and twentie foote, by the measure of his owne foote. Vnderstanding also, that the other *Stadiums*, which his successors afterward ordained throughout all *Greece*, did hold the like length of sixe hundred and fiue and twentie foote, it appeared yet neuertheless, that they were much shorter, then that of *Hercules*. For, *Pythagoras* knew easily by this proportion, how much the foote of *Hercules* contained in greatnesse, from the ordinarie feete of other men. And hauing thus vnderstoode, the size or measure of his foote, hee comprehended thereby: that the whole bodie of *Hercules*, must needs be (according to that proportion) much greater then the bodies of all other men, in regard that his *Stadium* surpassed al the rest.

*A Towne in the west part of *Peloponnesus*, neere the Riuer *Alpheus* where the Olimpiā games were performed.

CHAP. X.

How the Iewes did continually, and from time to time, giue Law and Religion to such as were their Conquerours and Commanders.

SEneca fel into great admyration, so did diuers others, how it shold come to passe, that the vanquished Iewes, disperssed and scattered vnto the foure Corners of the world, should administer Law and Religion to their vanquishers. For, as concerning their subiectiō, they are a people that haue beene troden vnder foote by the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Græcians*, *Romaines*, *Turkes*, *&c.* and how many Maisters soeuer they hadde, yet they neuer changed or altered their Law. Amongst other people, in matter of their Law and Faith, hath beene found some semblable constancie: but that the subdued, transported, vilified, made slaues, led in triumph thorowe Empires; that such men, I say, should not only subdue the hearts of their Triumphers to God, but (in a manner of speaking) traine their Gods also themselues, in triumph after them, is verie admirable. That the Conquerour could not giue Law to the conquered, but that the vanquished hath done it to the victor; the subiect vnto the Prince; the Captiue to the Maister; and the condemned vnto the Iudge; Who would beleeue this, I pray ye, except he saw it? And hauing seene it, how can he say otherwise, but that GOD onelie did it?

But if *Seneca* could hear me peaceably, I woulde deliuer him from this astonishment and admiration, so strangely conceited, as thus. Those Gods which the Iewes had caused to be left to the people (commonly called inuiolable and immortall) consisted of dumbe and insensible Statues, disguised like men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some of them, resembled hideous Monsters. So that infamous Dæmons, possessed themselues of these Statues and Symulacres, and in them required

Seneca in his Booke of Superstition.

The Iewes euermore subiect vnto be made captiues.

A rare & vnusuall thing in common obseruation for the vanquished to be victor.

The Idols of the Gentiles wer Demons, without anie vertue.

red worse matters of men, then did the most detestable Tyrants that euer were. As, that a man should geld himself, lame himselfe, kill himselfe, yea, and that men should Sacrifice Women, Virgins, and Children to them.

The Transmigration of the Iews, was for the honor and glorie of God.

But when the people heard speech of one only true God, the Creator of heauen and earth; and that he would be serued in heart and spirit: these wordes, although they came forth of a poor slaues mouth, made Captiues of the men themselues that heard them, and subdued their Gods. What then shall we say of the Iewes transmigrations, and flitting from place to place: but that they were as so many Colonies and Preachers, to proclaime the true GOD, and euen as so many armies, to extirpate Idolles?

That it could be no otherwise, *Daniell* and his associats, being as the rest) transported into *Assyria*, he shewed vnto the King, that the Idoll Bell (which hee caused to be worshipped, and had daily deliuered him such quantities of bread made of the finest Flower, a great number of Sheepe and fatted Cattle, and six * *Amphores* of Wine) was no true God, though he himselfe worshipped him, and went euery day to adore him, as beleiuing that he deuoured all that meate and wine. He made it apparant to him, that it was but a meere manifest deceite, performed by his Priests & Sacrificers, who with their Wiues and Children, came in the night time, and eate vp al the Viands set before the Idoll, for which they were deseruedly punished.

Daniel discouereth the Idoll *Bel* to the King of *Persia*

* An ancient measure, containing 36. quarters.

After he had thus shewne to the *Assyrian* King, the vanitie of the Idoll *Bel*, the King tooke him, and shewd him a mighty great Dragon, which the *Babylonians*, and himselfe, as well as the rest, worshipped beside the saide Idoll *Bell*. The King saide to *Daniel*, *Thou wilt not say that this is of Brasse, like the other, this cannot be denied to be a God.* *Daniel* hauing obtayned leaue to kill the Draggon, without the help either of sword or staffe, with pitch, fat, and haire (which he boyled altogether) made rounde balles thereof, and threw them into the Draggons throate, which made him burst in sunder. And then said *Daniel*, *Behold what ye haue worshipped.* But for these thinges, the people threw *Daniell* into a denne of hungry Lions, of which Beasts hee was not deuoured, although he had nothing giuen him to eate, in the space of seauen dayes before. At the end of which time, the King finding *Daniel* yet liuing amongest the Lyons caused him to be taken forth, and forsaking all Idolatrie, worshipped the true GOD, the God of the Iewes. Were not these worthy slaues, that conuerted this great King, and thus triumphed?

The King shewed *Daniel* the great dragon.

Daniel killed the great dragon.

Daniel cast into the den of Lyons.

Daniel deliuered, and the K. conuerted.

Who gaue intelligence to *Cyrus*, K. of *Persia*, concerning the true God, the God of the *Israelites* and *Iewes*, and to cause him send home the captiued Iewish people, giuing them meanes to repayre the Temple, ruined by the *Assyrians*, commanding them also, to pray to God for his prosperity; but euen the same slaues of the Iewes? May we not likewise say as much, of *Alexander* the Great? He was broght to worship the true God, throwing and prostrating himself before *Iadus* the High-priest, who came before him with all the people of *Ierusalem*, hauing their heads and feete bare, to implore his mercie, and not to bee put to death by him, because they gaue him no aide with men and victualles, when hee besiedged *Tyre*. Notwithstanding, these conquered and halfe-dead *Iewes*, by their humble maner of behauiour, but Gods grace more especially woorking, caused that great and inuincible Monarch, to fall on his Knees before their chiefe Priest; and not onely so, but to embrace them with amitie, and graunt them manie gratious priuiledges. And to their Neighbors the *Samaritans*, who obserued not the same Religion, he gaue inhibition and countermand, of enioying the same immunities. And himselfe would confesse, that the Iewish Law was good, but the *Gracians* Law was of no worth.

Cyrus, King of *Persia*, beleeued in God.

Quintus Curtius in the life of Great *Alexander*.

Alexander inspired by God to his humility.

Did they not impose the selffame Law on the Egyptians, who likewise led them into Captiuity? Wee may read in the Greeke Histories, that after the death of *Alexander*, many of his Kindred, & some of his aduanced fauourites, possessed themselues (as best they could) on diuers portions of his Monarchy. And among the rest, *Ptolomy* seazed on Egypt, and on many other adiacent Prouinces. And purposing to do as muchon *Iudea*, he was impeached by the Iewish people, who would acknowledge no other superiour, but their High-priest and Sacrificer.

Ptolomie got the possession of Egypt, and spoyled *Iudea*

Where-

The Iews led Captiues into Egypt.

Whereupon, *Ptolomy* entred into *Palestine*, made there great deuastation and spoile, beating down diuers strong forts, and led away many thousands of them, as captiues into Egypt, where they were ill entreated, and employed in the baseſt & vileſt slaueries. All which notwithstanding, poore soules, they ceased not to cry and call to the *Egyptians*, that their Religion was false, and that they had manie monstrous Gods: As Onions, a Cow, a Crocodile, and others.

The captiue Iewes did shew the error of the Egyptians.

In the end, their declarations were so manifeſt, and their cries so violent on their Idolatries, that the verie wiſeſt men of the Countrey, with their King *Philadelphus* (one of the succeſſors to the former King, who led the poore *Iews* awaie as Captiues) lent eare vnto them, and found all true, which the miſerable and diſtreſſed Iewes had preached to them. In regard whereof, the King wold needs make more ample enquiry, concerning their Law and Religion. He caused al the Books of the Old Teſtament to be translated out of Hebrewe into the Greeke tongue, by seauenty Interpreters of the Iewes (moſt learned in the said tongues) seperately, so that they could not confer one with another, to know whether they agreed in their traduction of the Booke of the Old Teſtament, or no. When he had found a meruailous concordance in the seuerall translations, and had read, and read againe the saide Booke; hee acknowledged, that his Captiues the *Iewes* had saide nothing but the truth; and that there was but one God, the GOD of the *Israelites*, and the *Iewes*. Wherefore, he afterward embraced the feare of God in his heart, reformed his life, and set at liberty all the Captiue Iewes, throughout his Land. Thus you may see, how the vanquiſhed gaue Law and Religion to the victor.

The Bible translated out of Hebrue into Greeke.

The vanquiſhed gaue law to the Victor.

The Syrians warred on the Iewes.

When that the Egyptians had suffered the Iewes to liue in peace, the *Syrians* within a while after, conceiued hatred againſt the Iewes, and perceiuing Ciuill diſſentions to be among them, they also warred on them. *Antiochus* their King (by the meanes of Traitors) was brought into *Ieruſalem*, where hee placed Idols in the Temple, rauaged all *Iudea*, and ledde away a great number of Captiues, according as *Zonarus* declareth. Yet the poore captiued Iewes shewed vnto the *Syrians*, that they had done verie euill, in polluting the Temple of the true GOD, for which they should be seuerely puniſhed. As afterwardes it came to paſſe, for the saide King *Antiochus* was conquered by the *Romaines*, and paide tribute to them. Then could the *Syrians* and their King, remember the predictions of their poore captiues, whom they did gladly set at libertie, and entreated, that they woulde pray to God for them, being afterwards in the *Romains* safegard.

The Syrians instructed by the Iewes.

It were a matter impoſsible for me, to set downe all the Kingdomes, where the Iewes haue beene kept Captiues, & perſecuted: and yet neuertheleſſe, ſtill acknowledged, that they worshipped the only true God, and brought diuers kings and people to diſcerne their Lawe. And some verie speculatiue Diuines, haue bin perſwaded, that theſe Captiuities of the Iewes had not beene permitted by God, but onely to the end, that they shoulde beare teſtimonie in all the quarters of the earth: that the Hiſtories of the Olde-Teſtament were true, and that the God of the Iewes, was the only true God. Therfore, it was no ſuch matter of wonder, as *Seneca* made it, that euermore the Iewes gaue Law to the Conquerours, and ſuch as kept them in captiuitie. For the law of the Gentiles, was nothing elſe but vanitie and lies: but that of the Iewes, was grounded on the knowledge of the true God.

The captiuity of the Iewes vnexpreſſable.

The cauſe of the Transmigrations of the Iewes.

The Lawe of the Gentiles.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sorrow or Mourning for the dead. How it hath beene obſerued, and yet is to this day, in manie Prouinces and Countries of the world.

TO mourne and sorrowe for Parents, Kindred & Friends deceaſed, is not any matter of Nouelty, but moſt ancient. For it is found, that seauen score and ten yeares after the floode, and threeſcore yeares after the death of *Noah*, and in the year of the world, two thousand ſixtie, according to the calculation

The antiquity of mourning for the dead.

lation of *Carion*, and of other Chroniclers, that *Abraham* mourned and sorrowed for his wife *Sara*, the space of thirtie dayes. I thinke, that the Iewes afterward continued (and yet do to this day) the custome of mourning, for no more then 30 dayes. But Christians, belonging to the Church of God, vsed mourning a whole yeare, to wit; cloathed in blacke for the most part: but Women, were cloathed partly in white, and partly in blacke; especially in some Countreyes, which was done according to the diuersity of Nations. But the ancient *Romaines*, before they were Christians, mourned 9. moneths onely. Heere we are to know, that if a Christian man or woman, in those parts, wearing mourning, came to agree againe in a second marriage, during the yeare appointed for mourning, the Matrimony was stayed; but thence-forward, hee nor shee were bound to weare any more mourning.

Mourning vsed amongest the christians

Mourning of the Latine Christians.

The people of the Greeke Church, mourned a whole yeare, like to them of the *Latine* and *Romaine*, and neuer made any motion of a second marriage, during the limited yeares space: but did much more, for euerie day of that yeare, at a certaine appointed houre, all the people of the house, vsed lamentations, and very greeuous cries, for the party deceased. But at the renewing of the year, they left off their mourning habits, and Funerall sorrowings. In the times of *Terence* and *Plautus*, Commicall Poets, the like was practised.

The mourning of the *Greek* church.

Terence and *Plautus*.

They that inhabit the great Isle of *Iapparia*, and (wel-neere) thorow al the Prouinces, which are called *Malabria*, after that the dead mans bodie is publickelie throwne into a fire, and one of his liuing wiues therewith, the neareſt in Kindred to the deceased party, weareth a garment of Violet colour, and neuer putteth it off for a whole yeares space, eating also but one meale a day during that yeare.

The Mourning of the *Malabrians* & *Iapparians*.

They that are of the Mahometan Religion dwelling in the lesser *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrica*, do mourne no longer for any man or woman deceased, but onelie eight dayes; & that it is the limited time for mourning. Their Garments are of coorse wollen cloath, gray of colour (called among them, Chenine or Felte) and whereof couerings are made for horses. But such as will not weare them of this fashion, do carry a white Linnen Cloath, hanging down from the Turbant so low as the Girdle, and so go on with Teares and cries to the graue.

Postel. in lib. 2. De Repub. E.

The mourning of the Turkes.

If the deceased Turk be a man of qualitie, and had Dogges and Horses, before he bee brought foorth of his dwelling to buriall, they rub their noses with some sharpe graine or hearbe, to vrge teares out of their eyes, that they may appeare to mourne for their deceased Maister, & they are made to follow the bodye to the Graue, which commonly is without the Cittie, and so they continue on the mourning for eight dayes. Al which notwithstanding once euery day (during this short time of sorrow, at a certaine limited hour in the day time, all the Kindred and friends do meet at the graue, to pray to God for the dead mans soule. The eight dayes being ouer-passed, all mourning is laide aside, and then they make a Feast: which beeing likewise ended, the suruiuer may then seeke after a seconde match.

Beasts made apt to mourn for the dead.

The Turkes vse praier for the dead, and Feasting.

Some do Write, that the Parents or Kindred of the dead, during the space of a whole yeare, do giue order to certaine men, called *Saintons*, to read euery daie in the *Alcheran* ouer the Graue, for the saluation of the deceased parties soule. In like maner, that some women very much deuoted to the Mahometan Religion, do leaue diuers Legacies, to such as vse the wars, during the space of a year after their husbands death, to bring them home the heades of Christians, to offer vpon their graues. And commonly, they allow a * *Sultain* of Gold, to bee giuen for euerie head: but he must produce good witnes and testimony, and it must bee soundly verified, that it is a Christians head. Most vsualy they do but bring the skin or form of the face, but sildome the whole head. And this is the mourning of the Turkes.

Of certaine Turkish Women, cruelly superstitious.

*A Turkish Coin of gold, valewing 7.s. 6.d. Sterling.

It was my chance to find another mourning, of much longer continuance, then those formerly recited; which is vsed in a great Prouince named *Cormes*, subiect to the *Persian*, and professing the Mahometan Religion. This Prouince lyeth in so hot a country, that the inhabitants are wholy black. Neuertheless, the Lande is rich, abounding in Horses, gold, Siluer, and Precious stones, of inestimable value for many rare and beautifull embellishings. Notwithstanding, the aire is meruailous

Mar. Paulus in lib. 1 cap. 23.

lous vnhealthfull for Straungers, and therefore (very often) it causeth their death. The *Vice-Roy* of the place, knoweth well enough how to appropriate to himselfe (by way of Eschetage) what goods soeuer doe belong to strangers, being no Natiues of the Counery. And therfore when any one there dyeth, the wife of the dead man doth weare mourning the space of foure yeares, and neuer marrieth againe during that time. But all that long and irksom limitation, she hath certaine sequestred houres daily, to kneel in her Chamber, accompanied with some of her necrest kinred & friends; to make moanes, lamentations, and funerall complaints, for the losse of her deceased Husband. As concerning the Men of this Country, and so of *Turky*; I cannot giue ye any assurance, of their mourning for the death of their Wiues: because their King despenseth with them, for the marrying of manie wiues. But the women of this Prouince of *Cormos*, are much to be commended for their chastity, beyond many of them remaining among vs, who rarely will tarry a yeares space of mourning.

The women of *Cormos* doe mourne for their husbads death, the space of foure yeares.

CHAP. XII.

¶ *Of diuers Paganes, that tooke the matter very offensiuely, and a great dishonour to themselues; that any one should misprise, or contemne their Religion.*

Pausanias reporteth, that neere the Citty of * *Mantinea* in *Arcadia*, there was a Temple consecrated to *Neptune*, the enterance whereof was interdicted to men: and yet notwithstanding, it had no other guard or defence, but certaine little woollen cords, placed before the Gate, which caused such dreadfull fears, as the place thereby was accounted very reuerent. It chanced, that *Æpythes*, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*, a man slenderly affected to Religion, without any reuerence or respect, did cut the saide cords, and as he would haue entred into the Temple: the Waters of the Sea gushed foorth aboundantly vpon him, and wholy blinded him, so that hauing lost his eyes in this manner, he presently died. The auncient fame and report was, that the Waters were noted and obserued to rest in that Temple: And it was reputed to bee the greater Miracle, because the Sea was three miles, or thereabout, distant from that place.

Paus. in lib. to * A Citty of *Arcadia*, some times also called *Antigonia*.

Æpythes, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*.

In the Citty of *Cabiria* in *Beotia*, within a mile of *Thebes*, there stood a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and entrance thereinto was granted to none; but only the *Cabirians*. It so fell out, that *Mardonius*, one of the Captaines to *Xerxes*, entring thereinto with his Souldiours, to rob and bereaue it of the Treasures: both he & all the rest of his Army, were (in an instant) surprized with such a sudden fury, that casting themselues down headlong into very deep ditches, and from the tops of Rocks and Mountains, they all dyed most miserably. The like happened to the Souldiers of great *Alexander*, who hauing taken *Thebes* by power, they would likewise enter into the said temple: but being smitten with lightning from heauen, they ended their liues cruelly, which prooued a mightie terror to the Nation of that age. *Phlegyas*, King of the *Orchomenians*, or (according to *Virgil*) of the * *Lapithes*, hauing done infinite dammages in *Greece*, surprizing many Townes and Cities: became (in the end) so ouer-weening & foolish-bold, that he sacked the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, and slew *Philamon*, who brought a power of people to rescue the Temple. But it came to passe, that within no long while after, all the Counttey of the *Phlegyans* was vtterlie ruinated, by a violent earthquake, and flaming Arrowes shot from Heauen, which killed most of the people, & they few that remained, died of the plague. Vpon which sacriledge, and contempt of the Gods, *Virgil* saith, that their king *Phlegyas* is grieuously punished in Hell.

Paus. in Lib. 9. A Temple in *Beotia* dedicated to *Ceres*.

Another accidene concerning the same Temple.

* A people dwelling in a part of *Thessalie*.

Philamon a cunning *Harper*, Sonne to *Apollo*.

——*Phlegyas miserimus omnes*
Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras,
Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere Diuos.

Virg. in Lib. 6. de Aenid.

Which Verses were thus translated by *Masures*:

——Phlegyas in that place,
Forewarneth all, of his great misery,
And as sad witnesse of such wretched case,
In those dim shades he cryes out wofully:
Learne to do Iustice: And by my contempt
Of the high Gods, do you like fate preuent.

* Betweene the two Riuers, *Sybaris* and *Crathis*.

The *Sybarites*, people of a * citty in great *Greece*, (so called, by reason of a Riuer which passeth there along, named *Sybaris*) being desirous to vnderstand the future felicity of themselues and their Citty: sent to consult with the Oracle of *Delphos*, to be resolued in the matter. Whereto *Apollo* in his * *Pytheum*, gaue them this answer. *Your Land shall run to perdition, & your felicity shal haue end; when you begin to make more account of men, then of the Goddes.* The Ambassadors hauing heard this answere, made report thereof to the *Sybarites*: who tooke good courage to them, perswading themselues assuredlie, that such disaster should neuer happen to them, and therefore their felicity would be eternall. But within some pretty while after, it happened, that a Maister beating his Slaue neere to the Temple: the Slaue fled from him, & knowing that the temple affoorded refuge, ran thereinto, and mounting vp to the Altar, embraced the Image. His Lord pursued him, & hauing forcibly recouered him from the Statue, without any reuerence of the place, began againe to giue him many Bastonadoes. The seruant fled frō him once more, ran to saue himselfe at the Tombe of his Lords deceased Father: but then, in meer paternall duty, hee left punnishing any more, and pardoned the fault which hee had committed. All this being noted by *Amiris*, one of them that had bin Ambassador to *Delphos*: he cald to remembrance the former words of the Oracle, and declared to some other of his Friends, that the time for accomplishment of *Apolloes* answere; was euen now come. But they giuing no credit to his words; imagined that hee was become foolish. Which when he perceiued, he took hold of their supposition, and (soone after) counterfeited as if he were growne somwhat distracted in his sences. So that, making publike sale of all his goods, and getting a large summe of Mony together: he departed suddenly thence, & went to dwell in *Morea*, expecting continually the fate of his Country. It fortuned, that within no long time after, the Cittie of the *Sybarites* (by what accident I know not) was raced, rent, and torne, and vtterly made a heap of stones.

* The place where *Apollo* made answer.

The Historie of a slaue beaten by his Lord and Maister.

That which could not be gained in reuerence of the Gods, was for a Fathers sake won.

Amyris makes open sale of all his goods, fearing what was to follow.

King *Cambyses* his vnhallowed intent against the

Cambyses, the Son of *Cyrus*, sent fiftie thousand men to destroy the Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*: but by a sudden furious tempest, they were al quite ouerwhelmed with heaps of sand, before they could get thither, and so perished most wretchedly, without executing their pernitious desseigne. All they which were with *Quintus Cepio*, at the robbery of the Gold out of the Temples of *Tholouse* in France, to the quantity of one hundred & ten thousand markes of Gold, and 500. Millions of markes in Siluer: dyed euery Man of them (with all their kinred and Families) within that yeares compasse, and not aboue one of them, did carry so much as one piece therof home to his own house. *Strabo* hath left it written, that this Treasure of *Tholouse*, was a part of the *Delphian* riches. For *Brennus*, Captaine of the *Gauls*, being assisted by the * *Tectosages*, had ransacked *Delphos*: according as we find it recorded by *Iustine* the Historian. As then these *Tectosages* made their retreat to *Tholouse*, which was their auncient Country: the plague began to assaile them, and neuer ceased, vntill such time, (as answere came from the Diuines) that they had drowned al the Gold and Siluer (gotten by sacriledge) in the bottome of the *Thoulouzan* Lake. Out of which place it was (long time after) won and gotten, by *Q. Cepio* & his followers, who carried it thence to their owne deare detriment. The *Romains* hauing surprized *Carthage*, certaine of them despoyled the Statue of *Apollo*, of a costly robe of Gold worne about him: but the hands of him that cōmitted this sacriledge, wer fouud cut off, and fastned to the same garment. And *Brennus*, captain of the forenamed *Gauls*, entred forcibly into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*: and hauing committed it to publike spoile, was so furiously possessed, that he slue himselfe with his own hands.

Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*.

Aul. Gel. in lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Strabo in lib. 4.

People of the west part of *Narbon*, towards the *Pyrene* Mountaines. *Iust. in Lib. 32.*

The *Romaines* at their surprizal of *Carthage*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Seiane Horse. And of the admirable Statue of a Horse, erected in Altina, a Citty in the Country of Olympia.

Caius Bassus, in his Comentaries, and *Iulius Modestinus*, in his second Booke of confused Questions (agreeing with that which *Aulus Gellius* reporteth in his *Attick* nights) do relate a memorable History, concerning the *Seiane* horse, & in this maner. In the *Prouince* of *Argos*, there

Caius Bassus in Comment. lib 3 Cap. 10. Iul. Modest. in Quest. lib. 2. Cap. 1. Aul. Gellius in Noct. Attic.

there was a horſe bred, reported to be of the race of thoſe Horſes, belonging vnto *Diomedes* the *Thracian*, which horſe *Hercules* brought with him into *Greece*, after he had ſlain the ſaid *Diomedes*. This horſe was of a Bay colour, and of vnuſual greatneſſe; his Maine yellowiſh and long; his Noſthrils very wide and open; his eyes great; his legges well formed; his breaſt goodly, and his taile long: in briefe, hee was perfectly faire, well limbd, ſtout, and full of courage for the wars. In the time of his beeing but a Colte, great rumour ran abroad of him, in *Aſia*, *Iudea*, *Thebes*, *Pentapolis*, and all ouer *Greece*, procuring very many (from all theſe parts, and many more beſide) to trauaile to ſee him; others to buy him; and diuers to draw his figure or proportion. But this goodly Beaſt had ſuch an vnfortunate deſtinie, that whoſoeuer was his Maiſter; muſt needes periſh, with his Familier, Houſe, and Goods whatſoeuer. For proofe wherof, ſuch as bought him, and mounted on his backe (which were fiue worthy Knights) dyed all both miſerably and infamouſly. The firſt that bought and backt him, beeing then little aboue two yeares old: was *Cneus Seianus*, a *Romaine* Conſull, and of great birth, as alſo verie verie wiſe in gouerning the Commonwealth, who being to returne out of *Perſia* to *Rome*, followed the faction of *Octauius Auguſtus*; in regard whereof, ſixe moneths after hee had bought the ſaide Horſe, *Marke Anthonie* cauſed his head to be ſmitten off in *Greece*, and commanded that his body ſhould remaine without any buriall. Now, becauſe that *Cneus Seianus* was the firſt Buier and Maiſter of this Horſe, and alſo had (by his death) firſt experimented his fatall fortune: hee was therefore called the *Seiane* Horſe.

Great affection to a Horſe that had ſo fatall a deſteny.

Cneus Seianus, firſt bought the Horſe.

Afterward, a Romaine, named *Cornelius Dolabella*, Conſull alſo: bought this horſe at an hundred thouſand *Seſtertiaes*, which amounted to the value of two thouſand Duckets. But if hee had knowne, that hee bought misfortune at ſo deare a rate: he neuer would haue accepted him in giſt: For within leſſe then a yeares ſpace after hee had him, the vnfortunate *Dolabella* was maſſacred in *Syria*, in a mutiny of people that roſe againſt him, and being thus ſlaine, his body (in meere deſpight) was dragd along the ſtreets. *Dolabella* being thus dead, *Caius Caſſius*, who had great commaund in Rome, performrd many warlike exploits in *Aſia*, and had beſiedged and ouercom *Dolabella* in that ſedition: took the horſe for his owne imployment; but hee had not kept him any long while, till his troups being vanquiſhed, and his Armie quite broken, himſelfe dyed very miſerable.

Cornelius Dolabella the Conſull, ſecond Maiſter of the Horſe.

aius Caſſius, third Maiſter of the Horſe.

Thus writeth *Aulus Gellius*, howbeit, I haue elſe-where read, that at a Dinner, both Hee, his Wife and Children, were poyſoned, and all them dyed within an houre after. Vpon the death of *Caſſius*, this vnhappy and diſaſtrous Horſe happened into the power of great *Marke Anthony*, who found him ſo faire, and well fitting his owne minde, that hee gaue in recompence to the bringer of the horſe, as much as hee would haue giuen him if he had bought him. *Marke Anthonie* was vanquiſhed by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in a battaile on the Sea neere to *Actium*, and ſauing himſelfe by flight into *Alexandria*, (where likewiſe he was engirt, with ſharp beſiedging;) hee ſtabd his owne Sword into his belly, and ſo periſhed by a violent and contemptible death. When *Marke Anthony* was thus dead, a Knight of *Aſia*, named *Nigidius*, bought the Horſe, at a reaſonable price, becauſe now hee grew to waxe olde: but his ſucceſſe proued as deare and fatall, as any of the former owners, and much more notorious. For within the years time of buying this Horſe, as he rode with him ouer the Riuer * *Marathon*: the Horſe ſtumbling in the Water, could by meanes recouer himſelfe, but there, both Maiſter and Horſe were drowned, and neuer after any tydings heard of them. This Hiſtorie made way to the ancient and well known Prouerb, to wit; *He had the Seiane Horſe*, which continuallie was ſpoken of him, that came to any miſerable and vnfortunate end. As the like was otherwiſe vttered, *He met with the Gold of Tholouſe*, for the reaſons remembred in the precedent Chapter.

Mark Anthany the fourth Maiſter of the Horſe.

* A Towne & Promontory of Epire, where *Aug ſtus*, after he had foiled *M. Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, built the Citty of *Nicopolis*.

Belonging to a Towne ſo named, tenne miles diſtant from *Athens*.

Eraſmus Chilia. 1. Cent. Lib. 10.

A very admirable matter is likewiſe remembred, of the Statue of the Horſe of *Phormius*, erected in *Altina*, a Citty of *Olympia* in *Elis*. There ſtood a horſe of Braſſe, without any taile; yet appearing very goodly, and forged by the hands of *Dioniſius* the *Argiue*, in honor of *Phormius* the *Arcadian*, as was plainely giuen to

The Statue of *Phormius* his Horſe.

be vnderſtood, by certaine Carracters or Letters engrauen on his ſide. And the *Eliens* were verily perſwaded, and held it for infallible, that Stallions and Mares ſhould both beget and bring foorth the goodlier Beaſtes, if the act were performed before this Statue. And whether it conſiſted in ſome matter of enchantmēt, or any other vnknowne myſtery, I know not; but if a man rode on any Stallion by this Statue: his rider could not be able to ſit him, but he would breake al his Furniture, Bridle, Raines, Girts, &c. of what ſtrength ſoeuer, and neuer ceaſe till hee were at liberty, offering then to couer the Statue, as if it had bin a liuing Mare. And this was not don in the Spring time only, whē theſe beaſts are ſaid to be moſt thereto inclinable; but euen at other times likewiſe, contrary to the naturall cuſtome of Horſes. And he could not be had thence, but by violent ſtrokes, and great compulſion.

A ſtrange perſwaſion of the *Eliens*.

This is recorded by diuers good Authors for a truth.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of Lais, the famous Courtezane of Greece; And the Epitaph engrauen vpon hir Tomb.

Lais in her tender youth, taken & ſold among ſlaues

Lais the onely famous Courtezane in all Greece, and reputed as an honour to the *Corinthians*.

LAis was borne in a Towne of *Sicily*, named *Hiccara*, and being a young Girle, when *Nicias*, Duke and Captaine of the *Athenians*, ſurprized both *Catania* & *Hiccara*: ſhe was alſo taken by ſome of the Souldiers, and brought to *Corinthe*, where ſhe was ſold among diuers other Slaues, in the open Market. Being afterward enfranchiſed and ſet at liberty: ouer-much licence, want of reſpect and correction (being abſent from her Parents and Friendes, whoſe care ſhould haue extended, for her good education in honeſt and ciuill manners) was the onely cauſe of making a booty of her honor, to him that wold giue the moſt for it. So that, through wanton carriage in men, as forward as ſhee to all looſeneſſe: ſhe won the fame and reputation, of the moſt queint and witty Courtezane (of her time) in all *Greece*. Wherupon, the *Corinthians* did eſteem her as a great glory to them, and held themſelues to be not a little honoured by her, inſomucht, that they ſtiled her to be a natiue of their Country, and left it recorded in their Bookes and writings. Some ſay, that ſhee remained a great while in the Camp of King *Pyrrhus*, and went along with him into *Italy*: from whence returning againe to *Corinthe*, there ſhe made her retirement altogether. This amourous woman, was endued with ſuch exquiſite beauty, that the chiefeſt Painters (according as *Athenæus* reporteth) came expreſly to *Corinth* to ſee her, to draw her Picture, & beare thence the true figure of her face, breaſts, & whole body. She was of ſuch entiſing nature, that men of the greateſt wealth, would giue a knocke at her doore; yea, many Kings, Princes, and great Lords cam, not only from *Europe*, but from *Affrica* likewiſe, to ſerue, court and require her fauour. In briefe, ſhee was generally affected, highly eſteemed, and enflamed all *Greece*, to woe & win her. For either in ſpeaking, ſinging, dauncing, or what elſe, ſhe could performe it with ſo abſolute a grace: that ſhe meerly rauiſhed the harts of all men to behold her, and hardly could they refraine to be out of her company, ſuch a commanding power had her beautie ouer them. Notwithſtanding, ſhe would neuer yeild her ſelfe to one Man; albeit *Ariſtippus*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Diogenes*, were extraordinarily enamoured of hir. True it is, that *Ariſtippus* made his vant, that he had *Lais* alone in his owne priuate poſſeſſion; whereas others did deſire that they could haue the like fauor. *Demoſthenes* came once from *Athens* to *Corinthe*, in a diſguiſed habit, to ſee *Lais*, and enioy her if he could. But before ſhe would open the doore to him, ſhee bad him firſt ſend her 10000. *Drachmaes* (which valued 1000. Crownes, but elſe wher I haue read 8000.) for one nights lodging with her: he was ſo amazed at the demaund, that preuailing ouer the heat of his affections, hee went away, ſaying out aloud; *I will neuer buy repentance at ſo deare a price.* *Aulus Gellius* recordeth it in this manner. οὐκ ὠνοῦμαι, μυρίων δραχμῶν μετὰ μέλανος. That is to ſay: *I will not buy repentance with a thouſand Drachmaes.* This hee ſpake (as I thinke) according to the ſaying of *Diogenes*, to wit: *That euery Creature is ſad after the Veneriall Act.*

Athenæus a worthy Philoſopher of *Cilicia* in *Auguſtus* time.

From far and neere they came to *Corinth* to ſee *Lais*.

Lactan. in Lib. 3. Cap. 14.

Aul. Gel. in lib. 1. Cap. 14. Macrob. in Sat. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

I haue read that the *Drachmae* was a piece of Mony valuing three ſhilings ſixe pence.

One

The Answere of *Lais* concerning the Philosophers of Athens.

One day, in the presence of *Lais*, there was one that verie highly commended the Philosophers of *Athens* to be excellent Wisemen, lerned & honest. Wherto *Lais* answered thus: *I knowe not what great Learning is in your Philosophers, much lesse what they studie, or what Bookes they read: considering, that I who am a woman, and neuer was in* Athens, *do beholde them to come hither: & being Philosophers I can make them to bee Louers. And yet notwithstanding, they cannot make anie of my other fauourites, Philosophers.*

Aristippus the Philosopher, borne in *Syrenaica, of whom, I haue formerlie made mention, did yearely continue for the space of two moneths, in the time of the *Neptuanales* (Feasts Dedicated vnto *Neptune*) with *Lais* in Egypt. And beeing reprooued by a familiar frend of his, becausse he spent so much money vppon that woman, who would neuertheless entertaine *Diogenes* without anie salarie, returned this answere. *I giue bountifullie to* Lais, *because I would haue my fill of content with her; and yet not to hinder anie other from enioying her. Diogenes* on a time said vnto him: *Aristippus, thou thinkest that thou hast thy pleasure alone with Lais, and yet she is a common Whore: Either lead thy life like a Cynick, as I do, or else leaue hir I would aduise thee.* Aristippus presentlie replied. *Diogenes, Doost thou deeme it inconuenient, to liue in an house vvhere one hath dwelt before thee? Or to venter in the same ship, where many others haue formerly successefully sailed? Compare my case then on the contrarie, that feare not to affect the Woman, where many fauourites haue beene accepted before me.*

*Syrenaica, a Countrie in Affrica, called also Pentapolitana, of the fiue Cities Beronice, Arsinoe, Ptolomais, Apollonia, and Cyrena. Athen. in li. 13 Cap. 20.

Discourse betweene *Aristippus* & *Diogenes*, concerning *Lais*.

If *Lais* knew in hir youthful time, how to make sale of her kind entertainment to her Louers, and at so deare a rate, as beuty was sildom bought at the like cost: we must needs conceit, that when more mature and riper yeares came vpon her, she could much better skill of making hir Market, being so well plied with bountifull Pay-maisters. Moreouer, when her gallant flouring daies were passed ouer, that her faire complexion began to faile, and furrowed wrinckles appeared in her face: she flew not then so lostie a pitch, but was content to welcome both young and olde, rich and poore, faire and deformed, lusty bloods, and cooler spirits; and to be briefe, all goers and commers indifferently, without exception, and at how meane a price soeuer. As *Iphicrates* painted her forth, in liuely colours, by those Verses which *Athenæus* wrote of her, the substance whereof, are to this effect. *Lais is a very slothful drunken Woman, doing nothing but eate and drink all the day long. I thinke she hath experimented the behauiour and custome of Eagles, vvho when they are young, do seize on Sheepe & Hares on the highest Mountaines, lifting them aloft by the gripes of their Talents, but when olde age stealeth on them, then they leaue that bigger prey, and flie at none but young and smallest Birds.* Euen so, *Lais* beeing yong and gallant, had great sums of Money giuen for enioying her fauours; but when many yeares came on her, and blemished the beauty of her former cariage, she wold go then whither any man pleased, the *Carolus* or the *Sous*, serued insted of a Crowne of former offers, and old or yong was not to be reiected.

*Athen in li. 13. Cap. 20.

*Woorth an English penny, but valewing ten pence Tour.

Authors do not agree, concerning the place where *Lais* died; some say, it was at *Corinth*, she being aged 72. yeares, and that the *Corinthians* made her a magnificent Tomb without the Citie where she dwelled (for they did not allowe anie Whores or Harlots to abide within the City, neither vsed they to bury their dead within their wals) and that on the top of hir Sepulcher stood a carued Lionesse in Brasse, holding a male Goat betweene her former feete. Some others, do holde it assuredly, that hir death happened in *Thessaly*, whether she had followed one, named *Hippostrates*, whom *Athenæus* calleth *Pausanius*, and *Plutarch Hippolochus* the *Thessalian*. She doating in affection towards him, forsooke the Mount of *Acro-Corinthus* (continually bedewed with fresh springs & waters) & escaped secretly without the knowledge of anie of her louers, into the field of *Alexander*, where other women, being both ielious and enuious of her fame, forcibly drew her into the Temple of *Venus*, and there stoned hir to death with stones. *Athenæus* saith, with seats and stooles: for which cause, it was after called the Temple of *Venus* the Murdresse: otherwise tearmed ἀσεβείας ἀκαρεσίτιος. *Of Impious Venus.* Her Tombe was found in *Thessaly*, neere to the Riuer *Peneus*, whereon was made an Vrne of stone, and thereon was engrauen certain Greeke Verses, which were translated thus in Latine.

Variance amongauthors about the death of *Lais*.

*Athenæus vbi sup. Pausanias in Lib. 2.

*A high Hill in *Morea*.

Lais was skilful in making vse of hir vain time, yet stooped to al prices in her elder dayes.

Lais beaten to death with stones.

A Riuer running between *Ossa* and *Olympus*.

Roboris inuicti animi ſit Græcia quamuis,
Victa tamen formæ paruit illa ſuæ.
Laidis ipſe parens amor eſt, aluitq́, corinthus
Ac nunc ipſa tenet inclita Theſſalia.

By the Author thus turned into *French*.

Bien que la Greece ſoit d'inuincible courage,
Vaincue toutesfois a cede au viſage
De ſa chere Lais, belle comme la iour,
Braue et Pimpante en tout, fille du Dieu Amour:
Aux meilleurs de ſes ams Corinthe la nourrie,
Et ores ſes os ſont gardez en Theſſalie.

And thus by the Tranſlater into *Engliſh*.

Though Greece was of vnconquerable might,
Yet ne'rtheleſſe it yeelded, and gaue way
To the faire lookes of *Lais*, bright as the day:
Heate in all forme, the Loue-Gods deare delight.
Corinth gaue breeding to her better daies,
But *Theſſaly* keepes both her Bones and praiſe.

CHAP. XV.

Of Androchia *and* Alcida, *who were Siſters. Alſo of* Macharia, *Daughter to* Hercules: *Which Ladies, for the ſafety of their Countries, ſlew themſelues.*

Soph. in Antig. Pomp.

Ophocles maketh mention, in one of his Tragedies, that at *Thebes*, in the temple of *Diana Eulia*, were buried two Virgines; daughters to *Antipenus* the *Thebane* Cittizen; the one, beeing named *Androchia*, and the other *Alcida*.

*A Tyraunt whome *Hercules* draue out of the City *Orchomeni*.

It happened that * *Erginus*, King of the *Orchomenians*, hauing beſiedged the Cittie of *Thebes*, with full determination to ruinate it, in reuenge of the death of his Father *Climon*: the *Thebanes* conſulted with the Oracle, concerning theyr fortune in this extreamity. Afterward, when the two fore-named young virgins had vnderſtood from the Oracle, that if two ſuch Virgines were to bee found (of Noble Family) and would bee ſo courageous as to kill themſelues: they ſhoulde thereby be the cauſe of their Citties freedome, and ouerthrowe of the Enemie. Theſe two young Ladies, deſiring to be that happie paire of Virgins, and preferring their Countryes deliuerance before their owne liues: killed themſelues preſently, and the enemy returned aſhamed and foiled; whereby both honor and victorie remained to the *Thebanes*, to the eternall praiſe & memories of thoſe two worthy Virgins.

The rare reſolution of two famous Virgins.

Hercules eſcaping the power of * *Euriſtheus*, went into *Thrace*, where hee remained til the time of his deth. He being dead, *Euriſtheus* demanded his Children of *Seix*, Lord and commander of *Thrace*, who fearing their liues loſſe, ſent them to *Theſeus* at *Athens*, to whoſe eſpeciall care and truſt hee re-commended them. When *Euriſtheus* had intelligence ther-of, he proclaimed war againſt the *Athenians*: who as well for their owne ſafetie, as the Children of *Hercules*, determined conſtant reſiſtance againſt *Ceix*. But conſulting with the Oracle, which ſide ſhold be the Conquerour in this doubtfull triall, the Oracle gaue anſwere, that they ſhould haue the dayes victory, prouided, that one of *Hercules* his Children, muſt firſt die. This was no ſooner heard by *Macharia*, Daughter to *Hercules*: but inſtantly ſhe ſlew her ſelfe, and the *Athenians* were the Conquerors. Thus you may ſee, how the Deuill could get himſelf ſacrifices, and make humain creatures prodigall of their liues to him, in thoſe darke dayes of ignoraunce, when almoſt the whole world beleeued thoſe deluding Oracles: wherein, for any one truth, infinite Lies, Riddles, and Ambages, were deliuered vnto the poore ouer-credulous people.

*The King of Greece, the Theame of *Iunos* reuẽge on Hercules.

Macharia daughter to *Hercules* ſlew her ſelfe, for the Athenians deliuerance.

CHAP. XVI.

From whence came at firſt, our Orange and Cedar Trees. And how the Cedar is verie good and ſouerayne, againſt the poyſon of Serpents.

Oranges, Citrons, & Cedars offered to the Gods.

Ranges, Citrons, and Cedars, were neuer in ancient times known to be good to eat: but onely they were giuen as Offeringes vnto the Gods, and eſteemed moſt eſpeciallie for their beauty and ſight; & being ſhut vp in cheſts

chests or coffers, to yeild a pleasing sauor to Cloathes and Garments, as also to preserue them from Mothes & worms. Then, in regard that they first came out of *Persia* and *Media*: men vsed to call them *Persian* Apples, and *Median* Apples; Howbeit, *Iuba*, in his Histories, tearmes them Apples of Gold, or Apples of the *Hesperides*. In no long while after, men began to eate of the Cædar, and thereupon appeared, that a meruailous vertue was found therein, against the venome and poyson of Serpents & Aspicks. To approue the truth therof, we finde it credibly recorded, that two men, being condemned to death in Ægypt, their sentence was; that they should be exposed to Serpents, to bee deuoured by them, which kind of death had beene vsed among them from olde Antiquitie. The day being come wheron they should dye, one of them was (accidentally) visited by a friend of his in the Prison, who was champing and chewing a piece of Cedar in his mouth, and bestowed some little part thereof on the condemned Prisoner, which hee accepted very thankfully, and byting thereon, gaue some also to his deathes companion, in meere simplicity, and without knowledge of any secret vertue therein.

Iuba, in his Histories.

The Historie of two men condemned to death in Egypt.

They being brought to the place of death, and thrust out to the greedy Serpents; they would by no meanes come neere them, or touch them, but auoyded so farre as possibly they could from them. The Officers of Iustice beeing there present, began to examine, what might be the reason of this sildome seene wonder: whereupon they found, that the Cedar (eaten by both the Prisoners) was the onely cause. But in regard they intended a more ample proof thereof, on the next day following, they caused one of the condemned Men to eate of the Cedar againe, but gaue to the other his accustomed food, and bringing them both to the place of execution: all the people beheld, that the Serpent ran fiercely on him that was fasting from Cedar, tearing and renting him in infinite morsels; but left the other againe without any touch, who died also the day following by the same Serpents, according as his fellow had done before him.

Deuouring Serpents refused to touch poor condemned men, only because they had eaten Cedar.

CHAP. XVII.

How hurtfull a thing it is to endure fasting or hunger: And what the reason is, that aged people are more capable thereof, the youthfull bodies, yet without any preiudice. Also, whence it proceedeth, and vpon what occasion, that fasting is hurtfull to cholericke persons, and profitable to the Phlegmaticke.

PHisitions doe hold opinion, that two principall inconueniences doe ensue by Hunger and Fasting: the one is, þ the naturall heate is therby consumed; and the other, that the humiditie of the stomack is thereby weakened. The body that is most offended by these two harms, endureth hunger with exceeding great difficulty: but whereas these annoyances do cause no oppression, it is suffered with the greater ease. The Infant then that encreaseth, hath his naturall heat in sufficient strength, and radicall moysture verie subtile: which resolueth it selfe much more by equall proportion, in not enduring hunger then, then it can doe in any other degree of age.

Two inconueniences caused by hunger

Of naturall heat in Infants, and radicall moysture.

Moreouer the sensitiue vertue is then forcibly mooued, whereby it suffereth hunger with much passion and damage, which causeth both heat & the naturall Spirit to diminish mightily, & keeping nourishment then from him: is the maine hinderance to his growth and encreasing. By which occasion we may perceiue, that an Infant or young child is more iniured by hunger, then all persons else in any other age.

The hinderance of an Infants growing.

The young man, that hath attained to his intire and perfect encreasing, although his naturall heate bee as strong as that of the Infant: yet notwithstanding, he hath his naturall humiditie more grosse, and therefore it cannot so soone dissolue, as that in the Childe. In which respect, hunger doth no way so much offend a Man of middle age, as a young

Of the young man in his full state of encreasing.

younger Child or Infant. For it is vniuerſally obſerued, that in Adoleſcency, Youth-hood, or when a man is neereſt to his original: with ſo much the more paine and difficultie hee endureth hunger, becauſe his naturall moyſture is more ſubtile and reſolueable.

Of the Aged or old man, in his declining eſtate.

The old, or aged man, hath his naturall heat much abaſed or deiected, and his humidity greatly thickned or cloſed together, which cannot ſo eaſily reſolue it ſelfe. The ſenſitiue vertue alſo is highly decayed in him, and ſenteth nothing ſo perfectly, as when hee was an Infant, a Youth, or in his ſtrength and beſt of yeares. And therefore, hee endureth not ſo much paine and dammage then, as in the precedent conditions. But he who is the decrepite, or very old man, although he haue his naturall moiſture much more groſſe, his heate very feeble, and his ſenſible vertue farre more imperfect, then is in all the other Ages, as being Neighbour and neere to his extinction: yet for all that, how little ſoeuer he ſuffereth the accident or diſcommoditie of hunger; it endangereth the quite-quenching of his naturall heat, whereon immediatlie he dyeth. And therefore it is very needfull, that food ſhould be as often giuen to the decrepite man, as to the young Infant, but yet diuerſly. For the Infant muſt haue enough at euery time giuen him, and but litle to the decrepite man: becauſe, if he ſhould receiue ouer much, it would ſuffocate the ſmall quantity of heate remaining in him; as we ſee by a ſlender flame, when too much Oyle is put into the Lamp.

Of Decripite or the loweſt age of all.

The decripite old muſt be as often fed as a child, but in another kind.

How hunger is cauſed in man, and in al creatures els.

Hunger is cauſed in vs, and all other Creatures elſe, by reaſon that naturall heate continually conſumeth, and dryeth the humiditie of our members, which being conſumed, conſumeth likewiſe the moyſture of the veines, and their conſumption cauſeth attraction from the Liuer, and the Liuer from the ſtomacke. Theſe humours thus conſumed, the Soueraigne Creator hath ordained in vs, that the Spleene or Milt ſhould conuay the Melancholly humor to the ſtomack, which being eager and corroſiue, conſumeth likewiſe the ſubſtantiall humiditie in the ſtomacke it ſelfe, and ſo inciteth a deſire of foode, from whence enſueth the occaſion of Hunger. Which is very hurtfull to Chollericke bodies, becauſe whenſoeuer they ſuffer hunger, their choller deſcendeth into the ſtomacke, and wil not let them eate; but are poſſeſſed with fumes and vapours while choller ſo mounteth, which afterward (when they doe eate) corrupteth and putrifieth the meates receiued. But in Phlegmatique complexions, there is humidity enough in the ſtomacke, and in al the members. And therefore it is profitable for them to endure hunger; for by their ſufferance thereof, their bad and ill-affected humours are conſumed away by choller.

The Melancholly humor

The Chollerick humour.

The Phlegmaticke complexion.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *That there is not any thing in the World, which is more hurtfull to man, or procureth him more loſſe and danger, then the Tongue: with many notable Examples to that effect.*

Anacharſis the Philoſopher, being one daie conuerſing with his Schollers, concerning the tongue, ſpake thus vnto them. *Not without great Art and Myſtery (ô my Schollers) did Nature beſtow on vs two Feete, two Legges, two Armes, two Hands, two Eyes, two Eares, and no more but one tongue. As ſignifying thereby, that eyther togue, ſee, or heare, are offices which we can doe as often as we pleaſe: but to ſpeake well, wiſelie, and modeſtly, is more then we can eaſily attaine vnto.* He ſaid moreouer. *For no other occaſion hath Nature left our face vncouered, our eyes, eares, hands, feete, and al the reſt of our body, except the tongue: which ſhe impaled with Iawes, and walled about with teeth, and afterward defenced it with lippes: but onely to let vs vnderſtand, that (in this preſent life) there is nothing that deſerueth a ſtronger guard, then the vnbrideled tongue.* We haue no part belonging to our body, which Nature hath ſo ſurely Rampiard vp, as the tongue. Before it is placed a Bulwarke of teeth, to the end, that it ſhould be obedient

The ſpeech vſed by *Anacharſis* the Philoſopher to his Schollers concerning the tongue.

Nature left al our parts elſe vncouered, but the toong

The teeth ordained to punish the tong.

bedient to reason, which restraines it, (as with a strong bridle) within: but if it will not be kept backe, her intemperance may be iustly punnished, with a bloody gripe betweene the teeth.

Anacharsis at a Banket with *Solon*.

The same Philosopher banqueting one day with *Solon*, was esteemed to be wise, because being a-sleepe afterward, hee was noted by one or two: to hold his right hand on his mouth, and the left vpon his naturall partes of secrecie, as thereby declaring, that the tongue had neede of a much stronger Bridle, then the other partes of Nature. For the tongue containeth in it both good and euill; And *Salomon* saith: *Both life and death is in the power of the Tongue.*

Prou. 18.21.

If we vse the tongue well (saith *Erasmus*) *it is as a Horne of plentie or aboundance: but if it want a Gouernour, there is nothing more offensiue.*

Eras. in Enchir. Cap. 9.

The Philosopher *Pittacus* saide. *The Tongue resembleth to the world, the forme of a Launces point, but is much more dangerous: for the Launce woundeth the Flesh onelie, but the Tongue striketh quite thorough the Heart.*

Pittacus his comparison of the tongue

Affranius, another Philosopher, was one day demaunded, wherefore he spent the most part of his time, in walking among the Mountaines, hazzarding his life euerie houre, where so many wilde Beastes might suddenlie deuour him? Hee presentlie replyed. *Beastes haue no other weapons but their teeth, where-with to teare me: but Men cease not daily to commit outrage with their members, and to defame with their malicious Tongues.*

The answere of *Affranius* the Philosopher.

Plutarch, in his Booke of Banishment, declareth, that the *Lydians* had a Law among them, that such Men as had bad and wicked tongues: should be banished and confined for halfe a yeare, into some distant seperate place, without power of speaking to any one whatsoeuer. And many times it happened, that some of them chose rather three yeares slauery in the Gallies, then to be so bard of speaking for halfe a yeare.

Plutar. in Lib. Exil. cap. 4.

Demosthenes, a Man of great authoritie, and preualance in speaking; was much feared throughout all *Greece*, and therefore talked at his owne pleasure. In regard whereof, all the chiefe of the *Athenians* met together on a day, and at a meet appointed place, concluding to bestow a large recompence, and liberall Wages also on him beside. And calling him in among them, to let him vnderstand their bounty and beneuolence; one (in name of the rest) spake thus vnto him. *Demosthenes, we doe not bestow this great guifte, either because thou hast spoken, or that thou shouldst speak: but onely to the end, that thou shouldst hold thy peace.*

The manner how the *Athenians* recompenced *Demosthenes*.

Marke Anthony caused the Father of Eloquence to be slaine, vpon no other occasion: but because hee had spoken too aduantagiously on his behalfe. Which was manifestly declared by *Fuluia*, Wife to *Marke Anthonie*, when shee procured *Ciceroes* Tongue to bee puld out, for his false speaking, and pierced it thorough (in many places) with Needles. *Salust*, the Romaine Oratour, was verie odious vnto Strangers, and seuerely pursued by his owne Companions: because he neuer tooke Penne in his hand to Write, but it was against some especiall persons; neither would he open his mouth, but it was to deprane some others. The *Lydians* had an inuiolable Law, to punnish Detractors with death, but Homicides and Men-killers, they condemned them to labour in their Gallies. So that among those barbarous people, for one Man to deprane or defame another: it was reputed a far greater offence, then if he had slaine him.

Mark Anthony caused the death of *Cicero*.

Of *Salust* the Romain Orator.

The *Lydians* law against Detractours.

As King *Darius* sat one day at Dinner in his Tent, such as hee pleased to accept in companie at his owne Table, beganne to moone some Military Argument, concerning the warlike affaires of *Alexander* the Great. In which discourse, a Captaine, named *Mygdonius*, (one very highly fauoured of *Darius*) deliuered some reproachfull speeches of *Alexander*, whereupon *Darius* suddenlie saide. *Hold thy Tongue* Mygdonius, *and know, that I brought thee not with mee to this Warre, to defame* Alexander *with thy Tongue; but onelie to conquer him in Armes, if thou canst.* By which example, we may perceiue, how detestable and odious the Vice of Detraction is: because it is apparent, that euen Enemies themselues

An honorable mind in King *Darius* towards his enemy.

This *Mygdonius* is tearmed by some *Magnas*.

Ouer-much talke is a great blemish to Honor.

selues cannot endure, to heare disgracefull wordes of one another. *Pytheus*, Duke of *Athens*, was a very honorable Prince, full of courage and resolution: but yet so ouer-abounding in talke, that it greatly diminished the glorie of all his other atchieuements. A Philosopher beeing bidden to a sollemne Banquet, spake not one word while the feasting continued, which made euery one maruaile at his so long silence, and demanded, for what reason he was so sparing of speech? Whereto he returned this answere. *It is much better to know the time when a Man should speake, then barely how to speak: For nature hath taught vs the one, but wisedome is the enstructer in the other.*

Read *Plutarc.* in his little Tracte of too much talking. Of him that found the empty Bottle in the Temple of *Iuno Chalcoecos.*

No Man (at any time) repented himselfe for beeing silent, but many haue done it for too much talking, because one word hath sometimes beene the price of a mans life. Let him be a Witnesse, who interpreted the signification of the emptie Bottle, found in the Temple of *Iuno Chalcoecos* in *Lacedemonia*, after it was stolne thence: by ouer-lauish pratling, when no man demaunded any question of him, hee lost his life, with his owne consent. He could then haue wisht his wordes in his belly againe, but it was too late, and time past: for a word cannot be recouered againe, when it is out of the mouth, no more then a Bird, when she is let go at libertie: whereupon it was saide: *That Words haue wingges.* Sildome hath an vttered word returned any such seruice, as profit hath ensued by diuers neuer spoken: For wee may alwaies deliuer that wel, which is yet within vs, but neuer call that backe to mending, which is gone from vs.

Of *Dpimenides* the Painter of *Rhodes*, that trauailed into *Asia.*

Epimenides, a Painter, parting from *Rhodes*, trauailing into *Asia*, where hee continued many yeares togethet: but at length returned to *Rhodes* againe, yet no one in the Cittie could heare one word of him, concerning what he had done and seene in *Asia*. Whereat the *Rhodians* making no little maruaile, they entreated him, to acquaint them with some discourse of his long trauailes; whereupon, he gaue this answere. *I was ten yeares on the Seas, to make me apt for parting from place to place: Other tenne yeares I tarryed in Asia, to better my skill in painting: And sixe yeares afterward I studied in Greece, onely to learne how to hold my peace. Your comming to me now, is, that I should vse wordes to ye, and tell ye newes. Come to me no more (kinde Countrey-men) to any such intent: For you may see Pictures in my House, if you please to buy them, but I haue no newes to feede your eares withall.* In my poor opinion, he answered them like a verie wise man, for, by reporting matters of farre Countries, which are rare and diuers: people (of weake capacity) giue no credit to them; others, make a mockery, and most are doubtful of them.

Epimenides his answere to the men of *Rhodes.*

Reporters of tales & newes are sildome well credited.

Pythagoras being seriously questioned, what was the reason that hee kept so strict silence in his *Academie* (because in the space of two yeares, all Schollers that came to be enstructed there, might not speake one word, being thereto enioyned by his seuere commaund) returned this answere. *In the Schooles of other Philosophers, they teach their Schollers to speake; but mine learne onely how to bee silent.* And vndoubtedly, concerning the life of man, there is no higher or fairer Philosophy, that this World can affoord; then how to restraine the tongue, when it is most needfull.

CHAP. XIX.

What Feasts and Banquets were vsed in auncient times; And how Augustus prohibited in Rome, that any Man should inuite another to eate in his house.

AMong the *Spartanes*, there were certaine Banquets vsed, which they commonly tearmed **Phiditia*, and therein they fed on Bread and Swines Flesh sodden in Water, without any thing else for their first seruice. For their last course, which those Auncients called, the second Table: they were serued with Oliues, Cheese, and Figges. And to close vp the feast, they had certaine baked cakes, made of fine Flower and Oyle, cut vpon Bay-leaues: without any Perfumes at their Tables, curious backt meates,

**Common Suppers among the Lacedemonians kept in the open streetes.*

or

or choise sauces of sundry tastes, thinges in those dayes neuer heard or thought on, their Feasts & Banquets being much more modest then ours now are. In those elder dayes, thorough al the cities in *Creete*, on certaine dayes of the yeare; they were wont to make Banquets, common for who-soeur pleased to come to them. For maintenance whereof; euery Citizen gaue the tenth part of all his fruites, which were gathered duely at the Cities entrance, by some of the society thereto deputed. The care and charge of the whole Banquet: was referred to a worthy Lady, who had (vnder her) three or foure weomen of more inferiour degree, beside two seruants, that fed the Fire with wood. In the house appointed for the Feast, first of all were prepared two Tables for the Cittizens, and two other, onely for strangers. The assistants were all serued with equall allowance: but younger people had lesse flesh meates affoorded them, then the elder. At each Table there was appointed a Vessell full of Wine, well qualified with water, whereof they dranke in common, and after they had indifferently eaten, they had other wine brought them, of better qualitie then the first: whereof the grauer sort dranke so much as they pleased, but the younger: in more moderate manner.

Athenæus in Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Feasts in *Creet* free for all commers.

The manner and preparation of the Feasts.

The Noble Lady, who helde the supreame authority of the Feast, accompanied with some other Ladyes; brought the most delicious meates to them, that in times of warre or peace, had done any famous and remarkeable deede, as being those that best deserued honour. When this Dinner, or Supper (as it fell out to be) was ended, they would sit still, consulting first together on publique affaires and afterward on matters appertaining to the warres, with repetition of their names and seruices, that had best deserued of the Common-wealth; profited their Country; beene beneficiall to the Temples, and houshold Gods of euery Familie; and were dread-lesse of death in all good actions. These wanted not their due praise and commendation, to the end, that yong men hearing the memory of such vertuous persons, might adict them-selues to the like endeauours, and (finally) be pertakers of their glory. This beeing done, they arose from the Tables, and departed thence about their occasions.

The chiefe Lady and disposer of the Banquet.

Their Table talke, after Dinner or Supper.

A notable encouragement for youth full spirits.

The *Lacedemonians*, at their marriage Feasts, would permit no more but nine persons to dine together, which they did as in reuerence to the nine Muses. And this was conditioned also, that if any man talked at the Table, no wine should bee giuen him to drinke; so that if a man desired to drinke, hee must be sure to holde his peace. This law would serue to good purpose in these dayes, because both in our marriage Feasts and other Banquets, nothing is more vsually heard then noise, rumour and babling, and they are best esteemed, that can maintaine the longest pratling. The * *Nancratites* in the hallowed Feasts, which they celebrated in honour of their Father *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, in the *Pritaneum*, were all clothed in white Albes, then called *Pritanean* Gownes, and when they had heard the voice of the publique Cryer; they would al fal down on their knees to the ground, and hauing saide certaine priuate prayers, seate themselues at the Table, euery one receiuing two measures of wine; the Priests of *Apollo Pitheus*, and of *Bacchus* only excepted, who were allowed a double portion, as well of wine, as of all other thinges beside. Afterward the vse was, that euery one should haue a fayre large slice of very pure bread giuen him, and thereon a piece of courser Bread, with a morsell of Swines Flesh on it, beside a Cake of Barly Bread fryed, or else so much Meale fryed, or a messe of Pottage made of Hearbes, according to the season of the yeare, two Egges, a cantle of Cheese, dryed Figs, and a Cake crowned with a Garland. If any one (in these sacrifices) prouided any other meats then those aboue rehearsed, he was to be ammerced with a pecuniarie fine.

Marriage Feasts among the *Lacedemonians*.

* *Naneratis*, a Citty in Egypt.

The allowance of the Priestes.

The Dole giuen at the Feast, and no preparation else, was to be allowed.

The vse of making Feastes and Banquets (as *Aristotle* writeth) was inuented by *Italus*, a very auncient King of *Italy*, who kept company with grosse and boorish people, feeding among them, obliging them (by that meanes) to yeeld him the more obeysance, and he drawing thē also thereby to a more humaine, ciuill and pleasing kinde of life. *Suetonius Tranquillus* declareth, that the Emperor *Octauius Augustus* prohibited in Rome, that any of his subiects should inuite one another, to dine or suppe with him: but

Arist in Lib. 9. Cap. 16. The first inuenter of Feasts and Banquets.

Sueton. Tranq. in vit. Imp. Octa. August.

yet

yet they might so much honor one another, as to send part of his Viands to the others Table, but not to pertake in eating thereof. But being demaunded, what was his reason for making this Law, he answered. *The occasion that moued me to forbid Playes and Feastings, was for nothing else: but because in those plaies, Men cannot abstaine from blaspheming the Gods, and (at Feastes) one Neighbour defameth or backbiteth another.* *Cicero* writeth, that *Cato* the *Censor*, being at the point of death, deliuered these wordes. *Among other thinges done by me, not as became a good Romaine Cittizen, but rather like a presumptuous and barbarous Man; was this: I being once entreated by a friend of mine, that I would come and dine with him: suffered my selfe to be ouer-ruled, and went vnto him, which I ought not to haue done. For to speake vprightly, no generous and vertuous man, should goe to eate in the House of any Friend, or other: because, hee thereby looseth his owne liberty, and hazzardeth his reputation and grauity in extraordinary perill.* A certaine man demaunded of *Æschines* the Oratour, what hee should doe, to be esteemed a good and honest man? To whom he thus answered. *If thou wouldst bee a perfect honest Grecian, thou must go to the Temples willingly, and to warre vpon necessity: but to Feasts or Banquets, neither on thine owne free will, or any importunitie*; An answer well deseruing eternall memory.

Pericles, a man of great account among the *Athenians*, did so highly detest the custome of Feasts and Bankets, and the prouision appointed for them: as hee did neuer dine or sup with any Friend of his, but onely *Eurytolemus*, on the day of his Nuptials. And yet he was a man of great honor, very liberall, and maintained many people with his goods. Nor doe I (for all this) wholelie condemne Feasts and Banquets: prouided, that mediocrity bee obserued in them. For I hold it very vicious and vnseemely, to shun honest conuersation, and ciuill resort to feede together: as is obserued in Societies and Companies, as well Religious, as others, in their Refectories or dining Haules, as we vse to tearme them. For, not onely Nature, but amity also necessarily requireth; that we should support this Custome of Banquets, which the *Latines* (our betters) vsed to tearme *Conuictum*, of *Conuuendo*, as a familiar kinde of life, when men louingly feede together at one Table. Neuertheless, I much mislike, and iudge it worthy of great reprehension; to super-exceede both in pompe and superfluitie in our Feastes, with such diuersity of meates, as (many times) prooues to a mans vndoing. For nothing makes vs so much like vnto brute beasts; as gluttonous gurmandise, and study wholy applyed for the belly.

The Emperors answere for prohibiting bankets and Playes.

Cicero in lib. 4. de Offic.

The words of Cato Censorius, concerning one Friend inuiting another.

The answere of Eschines the Oratour.

Of Pericles the honourable Athenian.

The Authors generall conclusion on this Argument.

Conuictum à Conuiuendo.

CHAP. XX.

¶ *Of many Men, that by their Prodigalitie and lauish kinde of life, made expence of all their faculties in very short time.*

THe most Prodigall Man of Auncient times, was *Epicharides* the *Athenian*, sirnamed the Little Man; who in sixe daies, consumed all his wealthy Patrimony. *Paschisyrus* king of *Creete*, after he had spent all that hee had, and could make beside: at length sold his Kingdome, and liued afterward priuately, in the Citty of * *Amathunta*, where he dyed miserably. *Æthiops*, the *Corinthian*, sold to *Archias*, all his lands and inheritance, both what hee had in present possession, and was to enioy by his Birth-right: onely to maintaine his excessiue drinking. *Cleops*, King of Ægypt, hauing laide out vnspeakable expences, for the building of a mightie huge *Pyramides*, was brought to such extreame necessity; that for his owne meere maintenance, he was enforced to expose his Daughters virginity to publike sale, to make Money of her lasciuious and dishoneſt pleasures. *Marcus Tigellus* was so prodigall in expences, that all his Flatterers, Picke-thankes, Players, Pypers, and loose Companions, who deriued exceeding benefit daily from him: bemoand his death, & wept bitterly for him. Of him, *Horace* maketh mention, saying.

Epicharides the Athenian.

* A Citty of *Cyprus* dedicated to *Venus*.

Cleops, King of Egypt, that made sale of his daughters virginity.

Societies

Societies of Flatterers infinite,
That follow furnisht Tables day and night:
Sellers of Vnguents, sweets: And Mountebancks,
Lascivious Women, vsing wanton Pranks.
All these Horse-leaches rufully complaine
Tigellius death, whose life was all their gaine.

Horace in Satir 2. Lib. 2. et in Satyr. 3. Lib. 2.

Elianus in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

The prodigality and voluptuous life of *Pericles*; of *Callias*, the Sonne of *Hipponicus*; and of *Nicias*, brought them to extreame pouerty, and when Money failed them: they all three, (each after other) receiued Hemlock for their drink at their last banquet, and so ended their daies. Of *Callias*, *Atheneus* maketh mention, and *Aristophanes*, in his Comedie of Preachers, and *Lysias* writeth, that his Father *Hipponicus* was the very richest man in all *Greece*. *Demades* the Oratour, had gathered such a masse of Riches, as himselfe confessed, that hee felt not the want of any thing: neuertheless, in the end (thorow his intemperance and dissolution) he so wasted and consumed al his wealth, that he was banished from the Citty, because he had beene seauen times accused, for not payment of such fines, wherein the men of *Athens* had condemned him. And *Antipater* the Poet of *Sidon* mocking him, said: *He had nothing but his toong and belly left him, for he had wasted and offered vp all to his owne sensuality, &c.* * *Ctesippus*, Son to *Chabrias*, was so Prodigal, that after he had lauishly consumed all his goods: he sold the very stones of his Fathers Tomb, in the building whereof, the *Athenians* disbursed a thousand *Drachmaes*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, sir-named *Sura*, a man of Noble race, but of very bad gouernment, spent ouer-vainely, and foolishly (beside his owne possessions) a great sum of Mony belonging to the Common-wealth, when he was *Quæstor*.

Atheneus. in Lib. 4. Cap 12. Aristophanes, in Com. Predic. Lysias.

Volat. Anthrop. Lib. 15.

* Who after his Fathers death was brought vp by *Phocion*.

G. Cæsar * *Caligula* surpassed all Prodigals, in inuentions of profuse expence and dissolutions. He inuented a new kind of Bath, and diuers sortes (neuer before seene) of Viands and Banquetings: for hee would bathe himselfe in curious sweet waters, and cause Pearles of inestimable value to be dissolued with Vineger, and set before them that hee feasted, hauing his Breads and Meates all guilded ouer. Moreouer, he commaunded light Gallies or Foists to bee made (which were called *Liburnian* Foists) of Cedar wood, hauing all their poopes couered ouer with precious stones. He had large and goodly stoues or Hot-houses, with rare perfumed chambers in them, where he would sit and banquet in the night season: but in the day time, hee had variety of costlie Arbors, Bowers, and Vines, abounding in the plenty of their fruits, wherein he would sit with his Consorts of Musitions, sweetly singing among them. And when he pleased to take the open ayre, it was on the Sea-shoare of *Campania*, which was reputed (though beeing in *Italy*) to be the most pleasant and fertile ground in the whole World. As for his buildings and Houses of pleasure, abroad in the spacious fields, in groues, Woods, and other delightfull places: they exceeded all compasse of reason, for hee coueted nothing more, then to effect such things as appeared to be impossible. In briefe, in lesse space then a yeare, he consumed immense riches, with the twenty seauen thousand times * *H. S.* being an hundred thousand smal *Sestertiaes*, which *Tiberius* had left him, amounting to threescore and seauen Millions; and fifty thousand Crownes, allowing fortie sixe *Sols* to the crowne. But when Money began to fayle him, and he waxed needy: he then gaue his mind to leuying of toules, and excessiue tributes; yea, hee exercised rapines by diuers meanes, beside calumnies and confiscations of his subiects goods.

Caligula obserued no measure in his expences and prodigality.

* A Coine among the Romaines, whereof *Denarius* containeth foure, and was marked with H S. which signified 2. *lib. et dim. &c.*

The Emperour *Nero*, his Nephew, was not a iot inferiour to him in Prodigality, for hee obserued no order or measure in spending and giuing: accounting them to be wretches and anaritious villaines, that kept any written Register of their expences. But contrariwise, he esteemed them to be honorable and magnanimious, that could soonest runne thorough their whole estate in spending. He gaue to *Tyridates* (as a daily allowance) eight hundred thousand *Nummaes*, valuing twenty thousand Crownes of our Coyne, a matter almost incredible. He made a present of two goodly Pallaces; the one to *Menetrates*, a Player on the Harpe; and the other to *Spectillus*, the *Mirmyllon* Fencer or Sword-Player. He would neuer ride abroad, or on any iourney, without a thousand Chariots at the least. His Mules were shodde with

Suetan. in Lib. 6. Cap. 50. The prodigality of the Emperour Nero.

* So called of harneste bootes, called *Caligæ*, which he was wont to weare being a Child. *Dion in vit. G. Cæsar. Calig.*

Excessiue pompe and prodigalitie, not to any purpose.

Siluer, and all his Mulets Saddles and furnitures, were of Cloth of * *Canusium*, a Towne in *Apulia*. Moreouer, he neuer would weare any Garment twice.

* Famous for fine wool of crimson couller.

Iosephus, in his Hiſtory of the Iewes warres, maketh mention of the prodigalitie of the Emperor *Vitellius*; who helde the Empire no longer then eight months and fiue dayes. *If his life had beene of any longer continuance* (ſaith *Iosephus*) *I beleeue, that the whole Empire could not haue ſuffiſed his exceſſe and prodigallity*. This *Vitellius* was ſo diſſolute and prodigall, that he would haue foure ſeueral meales each day allowed him; which he thus deuided, into Breake-faſt, Dinner, Supper, and Collation. At ſuch time as hee came to *Rome*, his Brother made him a Supper, whereat hee was ſerued with two thouſand daintie and rare Fiſhes, and ſeauen thouſand as delicate Fowles and Birdes. Which pompe he exceeded in another Feaſt, of more exceſſiue and ſumptuous coſt; which he made at the dedication of the ground plot, that (for the admirable greatneſſe thereof) hee called the *Shield of Minerua*.

Iosep. in Lib. de bel. Iudaic. 3. Cap. 23.

The Emperour *Vitellius* and his foure meales daily.

A Prodigall (ſaith *Vpian*, in the firſt law *ff. de cura. furio*) *is he that hath no time or end of his ſpending: but ſcattereth and conſumeth his goods beyond ſence or reaſon, and is tearmed in Greeke* ἀσώτος, *becauſe that hee looſeth himſelfe, and waſteth his patrimony*. Our graue and worthy fore-fathers, did eſtabliſh Lawes againſt ſpend-thriftes and prodigalles. *Solon*, the famous Grecian, ordayned, that they ſhould be made infamous. The *Areopagites* and criminall Iudges of *Athens*, appealed prodigal perſons in iudgment, and being proued and conuinced for ſuch offendours, were puniſhed accordingly.

A Prodigall defined by *Vlpian* the Lawyer.

Lawes in ancient times ordayned againſt prodigall perſons.

The Auncients, called the ten men, prohibited by their lawes, that prodigals ſhould haue the gouernment of their owne goods, but all ſuch authoritie was taken from them: and a Guardian or Ouer-ſeer was appointed thē by the Iudge, as is to be ſeene in the law *Iulianus*. *ff. de cura. furio*. Therefore they could not ſell or alienate (by any valuable meanes) their Lands or goods, neither make any tranſport of them: moreouer, they were diſabled by the Law, of making any wils or Teſtaments, as appeareth plainly in the Law. *Is cui bonis. F. de verb. obliga.*

Such a law would now doe well, to curbe the Prodigals of theſe times.

Whereupon, they were compared by the Iuriſconſultes, to madde men; *Scilicet, quod furioſum exitum pariat prodigalitas*.

And as for the paine and puniſhment due to waſt-full ſpend-thrifts, the Grecians had a law, whereby it was eſpecially ordained, that whoſoeuer conſumed his patrimony lauiſhly; he might not be permitted Buriall in the Graue of his Father, but abroade, among ſuch as were ſtrangers and vnknowne. The Law of the twelue Tables, interdicted all prodigall perſons, from any adminiſtration of their owne goods; and in the end, all the Lenders (by commaund of the Iudges) might let them haue no more monies, on pawnes or otherwiſe: but Suruayers or Comptroullers were ſet ouer them, according to the example and order for mad men or Lunaticks, and all mannaging of their owne affayres, was alſo prohibited them in this forme or manner. *Quando bonatua paterna auitaque nequitia diſperdis, liberoſque tuos ad egeſtatem perducis; ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico*. In this very manner, *Q. Pompeius, Pretor*, perceiuing that *Q. Fabius*, (Sonne to *Q. Fabius* the Great, ſirnamed *Allobrogicus*, becauſe he conquered the * *Allobroges*, and *Bituitus*, Captaine and Duke, or King (as ſome write) of the * *Aluernes*) was extraordinarily diſſolute and prodigall in his expences: depriued him of his Fathers Lands and goods. For euery one pitied, and much lamented, to ſee ſo much Gold and Siluer waſted in lewdneſſe and luxurie; which rather ſhould haue ſupported the ſplendour and Nobilitie, of ſo glorious a race and Family, as were the *Fabij*.

Alexan. de Alexandrin. in Die. Genial. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.

The law of the twelue Tables againſt all prodigall ſpenders.

Valerius Maximus in Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

* People of Sauoy and Daulphiny.
* People of France.

Dion writeth, that the Emperor *Tiberius* did ſet a Tutour, ouer a certaine Senatour, who was void of all good gouernement; to order him, as if he had beene his pupill. *Iouianus Pontanus*, in his Booke of Bounty or Liberallity, maketh a queſtion, to wit: which of the two, either the prodigall perſon, or the auaritious, is worſt and moſt pernitious? Whereunto, himſelfe maketh anſwere thus. *This doubt* (ſaith he) *is very eaſily diſcided. For firſt of all, the Prodigall perſon is benificiall and profitable to many, on whom he beſtoweth his goodes bountifully: whereas the couetous Miſer is not commodious to him-ſelfe, but maketh*

Dion in Lib. 57

Iouian Pōtanus in Lib. de Liberalit.

vſe

The Niggard is not good to himselfe, or any other.

vse of his goodes, as if he had them not, at least-wise very sparingly. He will not eate halfe so much, as is needfull for the meere maintenance of his owne life: which makes him looke with a wanne, pale, and meager complection. In the second place, the Prodigall giueth liberally, and guiftes passe from him with a free, generous, and good heart: especially, when he exceedeth not the bounds of reason, and his gifts are giuen to some honest and commendable purpose. But the couetous mans gifts are quite contrary, with a griple and pinching heart, and a villaines disposition. Moreouer, as the greedy wretch encreaseth his store day by day; euen so doth the Prodigall change his naturall inclination and manner of life, as well by course of time, as age drawing on him: which at length letteth him know, that he must needs become poore, and fall into want. Whereby many times it comes to passe, that his manners grow to better reformation then before, and yeares diminishing his lauishnesse; by little and little he recouereth health and strength againe. Whereas (on the contrary) Auarice is an euerlasting and incurable disease. By which reasons it appeareth, that couetous and auaritious Misers, are of a more vile, base, and abiect condition; then those that be prodigall.

The nature of the couetous mans gifts.

Couetous wretches of more base quality then Prodigals.

CHAP. XXI.

The Magnificent Triumphe of Antigonus Epiphanes, made in despight of the Consull Paulus Æmylius his Triumphe, for his victory obtained against the Macedonians.

ANtigonus, King of *Syria*, sir-named *Epiphanes*, that is to say, Famous or illustrious, hauing heard recitall deliuered of the magnificent Triumphe, made by the Consull *Paulus Æmylius*, for the victory which he won against the *Macedonians*, when *Perseus* their King was taken Prisoner: he conceiued such enuy and disdaine thereat, that in meere vanity and arrogancy, hee resolued to make another Triumphe, that should farre excell and goe beyond the Consuls. Vpon this occasion, hee made it publiquelie knowne throughout his Kingdome, that on such a day, as he purposely appointed; he would be in person at *Daphneia*, a Citty of *Asia*, where wonderfull sports and delights were to be performed. Which caused, that not onely the people of Greece, but infinite numbers also (from other Regions) repayred thither; and the order of the royall intended spectacle began in this manner.

Polybius in the 26. Booke of his Histories, calleth him *Epmanes*, that is to say, mad, or vnreasonable.

First of all, as the formost leaders to the famous troups following, marched fiue thousand young men, supposed to bee the very Gallantest Spirits in all Greece, they being armed according to the Romaine manner. After them followed as many of *Mysia*, armed as the Custome of their owne Countrey required: beeing pursued by three thousand *Thracians*, and fiue thousand *Galatians*, and they were seconded with many other, who, because they carried certaine Bucklers or Targets of Siluer, were sir-named * *Argyraspides*. Next vnto these, marched twenty fiue rankes of *Gladiatores*, Sworders, or Fencers, and subsequently a thousand knights, whose Horses were all barbed and caparasoned with Gold and Siluer, and each of them a Garland of Gold on his head. After them followed another thousand Knights, who were tearmed Fellowes, or Companions, and with them another company, that were called Friends to the King: who likewise had a thousand Noblemen following them, and a thousand other braue Knights, called the Kings Band. In the next place, marched fifteene hundred Knights, armed all guilt with Armor, ouer which Armor, each man did weare a military Roab or Mantle, embroydered all with Gold & Siluer, and enriched with many costlie Figures of Beastes. Then followed an hundred Chariots, each one drawne by sixe Horses, and forty other Chariots, each drawne by foure Horses.

The order & proceeding in this purposed royall triumph

* Some doe hold these Warriours to be of the Isle *Taprobane*.

Fellows, companions, and Friends to the King.

One wonderfull sumptuous Charior, drawn by ten Elephants, followed next, being pursued by sixe and thirty other Elephants; beside eight hundred gallant Youths, wearing Garlands or Crowns of Golde on their heads, embellished with many precious stones, and then followed a thousand fat Oxen, and 800.

The spare Chariot that was to serue the King whē he pleased.

teeth of *Indian* Elephants, carryed by Men, purposely thereto appointed. After these, were borne aloft, an infinite number of Statues and Images, not onely of Gods, but of Dæmons likewise, and of many men, that had beene most excellent in any profession whatsoeuer, which Images were attired in rich Garments of Gold and Siluer, beside other costly deckings of vnualuable Stones and Iewels. And at each Statues feete, hung a little Tablet of Gold, wherein was engrauen the Name, Titles, and honourable actions, that had beene performed by the party whom the figure expressed, and for whose sake it was thus dignified. Other Images were carried also; as of Day, Night, Heauen, Morning and Noone, beside an infinite number of Vessels of Gold and Siluer, reputed to be of inestimable worth, al which were carried by Slaues and Bond-men.

Memory continued of worthy deeds, to example others in the like.

Then followed sixe hundred Pages, attending on the King, all cloathed in Gold; next to whom, came two hundred Ladies, each bearing a golden Bottle in her hand, casting perfumes and sweet waters euery way about her: On them attended fifty Litters of Siluer, and as many more of Gold, wherein sate fourescore other Ladies, attyred in most sumptuous manner, exceeding al possibility of expression. This Triumph continued thirty daies, during which time, *Antigonus* caused diuers kindes of Playes and sports to be exercised, and al this while, it was lawfull for any, that were so minded or pleased, to enter into the publique * *Gymnasium*, and there to annoint himselfe with fifteene sortes of vnguents; as of Saffron, Spicknard, Cinamon, *Telin*, *Amaracin*, Lillies, &c. Beside, in sundry places, were prepared aboue a thousand and fiue hundred Tables, couered most royally, with all possible diuersity of precious dainties and delicates, where euery man might freely feede, without any exception.

The Kings Pages & chief Ladies to beautifie the show.

* A place for all kindes of exercises, either of minde or bodie.

CHAP. XXII.

That Gold and Siluer were not in any frequent vse, among our reuerent Auncestours: And at what time they began to be imployed more largely. Also, what deuises were found out by Timotheus *the* Athenian, *and* Condalus, *Captaine to* Mausolus, *for the gaining of Mony.*

THE vse of those Mettals, called Golde and Siluer, which were found in *Thrace*, neere to the Riuer * *Pangæus*; was very rare and strange among our fore-fathers. For the *Lacedemonians*, beeing desirous to guilde the Image or Statue of *Apollo* * *Amycleus*: made diligent search thorow all *Greece*, and yet could not finde any Gold: And therefore they were constrained, to send and buy some of *Croesus*, King of *Lydia*. *Hiero*, the Tyrant of *Syracusa*, hauing likewise vowed to dedicate a Table of Gold, to *Apollo Delphicus*, caused search to be made throughout *Greece* and *Italie*, without finding any: nor euer had done, but of * *Architeles* the *Corinthian*, who (by little and little) in a long space had got it together. The people of * *Phocus*, hauing afterward sacked the Temple of *Delphos*, and *Alexander* carrying thence the prey or booty into *Asia*: the vse of Gold began so fast to encrease, that diuers Vessells were made thereof, euen from such as they washed their handes in, to them that they vsed in the Kitchin. The first stamp that euer was beaten vppon Gold Coine, was at Rome, in the Temple of *Scipio* the *Affricane*.

* A Promontory of *Thrace*, whereof the Riuer receiued name.

* A Citty of *Laconia*, wher *Castor* and *Pollux* were borne.

* He is called (by some) *Archimedes*.

* A little cõtry of *Greece*, by the Gulfe, *Crissæus*.

The first stamping.

The *Athenians* making long warres against the people of * *Olynthus*; Mony beganne to faile very greatly in the Armie; which the Souldiours perceiuing, and with what difficultie it was to bee expected from *Athens*: they entered into a mutinie or tumult, for appeasing whereof, *Timotheus*, there Captaine, bethought himselfe of a new and sudden deuised meanes. Hauing first couenanted and agreed with such Merchants,

* A Citty of *Thrace*, neere to the Country of *Athens*.

The deuise of *Timotheus* to pay his Souldiours.

chants, as were (in this case) to fit and furnish him, vppon this faithfull promise, of exchange and repaiment when time better serued: he caused Mony of Copper to be made, wherewith he paied his Souldiours. And within no long while after, when Mony of Siluer was sent from *Athens*; he not onely satisfied the Marchants & Victualers liberally: but also receiued in all the Copper Coyne againe, and gaue due restitution for it in Siluer.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Aristotle writeth in his Pollitiques, that *Condalus*, Captaine to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, being in *Lycia* (a Prouince of the Lesser *Asia*, scituate betweene *Pamphylia* and *Caria*) with an Armie, and want of Mony growing greatlie among them: hee inuented a meanes, though some-what ridiculous, yet well aunswering to his owne expectation. He knew very perfectly, that the people of *Lycia* tooke delight (aboue all thinges else) to weare their lockes of Haire very long: Whereupon, he called diuers of the chiefest persons of that Prouince to him, and saide vnto them, after this manner. That much against his mind, and to his no little greefe, he was constrained to acquaint them with a Commission, which hee had (that instant) receiued from his King, and which hee likewise knew, could not chuse but be greatly offensiue to them. For King *Mausolus* (qouth hee) commaundeth, that all the *Lycians* must be presently shauen, and all their goodlie long Lockes be powled from their Heades, to be sent vnto him into *Caria*: because hee will haue a new and strange kinde of Apparrell made of them, in honour of the King of *Persia*.

Condalus his conceite for present supply of mony, by a politique Oratiō made to the *Lycians*.

Pretended pitty is oftentimes the greatest preuayler, in matters of no meane moment.

Condalus continuing on his speech, pretending much compassion towardes them in this case; further added. That if they would follow his councell, he would finde out a meanes, whereby, not onely their faire Haire should bee saued; but the Kinges intent should also be answered, without cutting them off in any such manner. Whereunto the *Lycians* aunswered, that they would gladly follow his direction in all things; prouided, that their Lockes of Haire might be kept from defacing. *Condalus* then aduised them, to prepare Money among them (appointing a round and indifferent summe, which they might gather by the poule, eyther more or lesse, according as their Lockes were in fashion) and then to send that Money into *Greece*, where plenty of such haire he would easily help them to, and afterward send it to King *Mausolus*, and cause it to bee receiued, as if it were their owne. The *Lycians*, with all possible hast that might be vsed, leuyed such a Masse of Mony together; as (without any great dicultie) would haue bought them goodly Perriwigs; yea, if they had beene all of Gold. Which summe of Money they deliuered to *Condalus*, who, feigning as if he sent it into *Greece*; discharged all his Souldiours wants there-with, and yet no way displeased the people.

Folly accounteth nothing deare, so it selfe be satisfied.

CHAP. XXIII.

What a commendable thing it is, euermore to speake the truth; And what a detestable vice lying is, with many examples concerning each Argument.

Epimenides the Philopher was asked by the *Rhodians*, what thing that Vertue was, which Men cald Truth? whereto he aunswered. *Truth is that thing, whereof (more then al other) the Gods doe make profession; and the vertue thereof heateth the Heauens; illuminateth the Earth; maintaineth Iustice; gouerneth the Common-wealth, and cannot endure any wicked thing neer it, but maketh all doubtfull matters to bee cleare and apparant.*

Epimenides his answere, concerning truth

The *Corinthians* also demaunded of *Chilo* the Philosopher, what this Truth was? And he replyed. *It is an assured Gage, which neuer diminisheth it selfe: A Buckler or Shielde, that neuer can bee pierced thorough: A time, which neuer is troubled in it selfe: An Armie, neuer daunted or dismaied: A Floure, that neuer fadeth*

Chilo his answere of truth to the *Corinthians*.

fadeth or withereth: A Sea, that neuer feareth Fortune: And a Hauen, wherein no Man ſhall euer ſuffer perill. The *Lacedemonians* likewiſe entreated *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher, to reſolue them what Truth was, and he made anſwere. *It is a perpetuall health and welfare; A life without ending; A Sirope that healeth all infirmities; A Sunne alwaies ſhining; A Moon that neuer ſuffereth Eclipſe; An Hearbe euer growing; A Gate neuer ſhut againſt any; And a iourney, wherein no Man can waxe weary.* Æſchines alſo ſaid of Truth. *It is a vertue, without which, all ſtrength is feeble and infirme; Iuſtice bloody; Humility a Traytreſſe; Patience counterfeit; Chaſtity vaine; Liberty a Priſoner; and Piety ſuperfluous.* And another Philoſopher, beeing demaunded by the Romaines, what he thought Truth to be; gaue them this anſwere. *Truth is the Center, whercin all thinges doe reſt; The Sea-mans Card, whereby all the Marriuers doe gouerne themſelues; That Wiſedome, which is the guide and directer to all Men; A height, on the top whereof is all fulneſſe of repoſe; And a light, whereby the whole world is illumined.*

Anaxarchus his anſwer to the *Lacedemonians*

Aeſchines concerning truth

The opinion of a Romaine Philoſopher.

The Emperour *Auguſtus*, in the Triumphe which he made of *Marke Anthony* and *Cleopatra*; brought with him to Rome a Prieſt of Ægypt, aged threeſcore yeares, who in all the daies of his life, had neuer told any lye. In regard whereof, the Senate preſently ordained, that he ſhould be made free, and ereated Great Prieſt: Alſo, that a Statue ſhould be erected for him, and placed among thoſe of the moſt renowmed mē of all the Ancients. *Spartianus* relateth an example much diſſemblable from this laſt, and ſaith. In the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, there died a Man in *Rome*, named *Pamphylus*, who (as it was moſt euidently iuſtified) neuer told any matter of truth in all his life time; but euermore had his chiefe delight in lying, which cauſed the Emperour to giue commaund, that no Graue ſhould be graunted to his body: but his goods were confiſcated, his Houſe ruined, and his Wife and Children baniſhed out of *Rome*, to the end, that no memorie might remain in the Commonwealth, of ſuch a venomous Beaſt. At the time when theſe two notable effects hapned, the *Romaines* were Mortall enemies to the *Ægyptians*, whereby may worthilie be obſerued, how wonderful the power of truth is: in regard that the *Romaines* would aduance a Statue, in the honour of their enemy, onely becauſe he was a Man of truth, and depriue their Cittie-born ſon of a Sepulcher, becauſe he was ſuch a notorious Lyer. It is no way to be doubted, but that a true man may freely walke, and practiſe in all places, without feare of being accuſed by any perſon. He may alſo (in ſafetie & dreadleſſe) reprehend any Lyer, and ſpeake boldly in face of all the world, going alwaies with an erected and dauntleſſe countenance. But the Lyer is fled of all Men, like to a noyſome peſtilence, and ſo long as hee liueth; yea, after death likewiſe, he is infamous to all Poſterity. His reward and wages, is, that if hee chance to ſpeake truth, no man wil beleeue him: For, by being ſo knowne a Lyer, truth (in his mouth) ſtandeth alwaies ſuſpected.

The Emperor *Octauius Auguſtus* triumphing ouer *Mark Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*.

Spartianus his report of *Pamphilus* the famous Lyer of Rome.

An excellent obſeruation of the power of Truth.

Difference betweene the true man and Lyer.

CHAP. XXIIII.

What a benefit the Inuention of Letters was vnto man: Who firſt found out and deuiſed them. Of the Hebrue Charracters, & what ſignification they haue of themſelues, differing from all other Letters elſe in any Nation.

IF thoſe men may iuſtly be ſaid to merit praiſe & commendation, that were the firſt deuiſers of liberall and mechanical Arts, and they likewiſe, that found out diuers Doctrines and enſtructions, not onely appertaining to the rule and direction of the Soule, but likewiſe for bodily vſe and behauiour: how much more great and eſpeciall honor then is due to him, that was the firſt Inuenter and deuiſer of Letters? Thoſe incomparable Inſtruments, which haue bin the certaine guards and conſeruers, of all other inuentions whatſoeuer: for without them, not any deuiſe could haue beene preſerued, whereto we may adde moreouer, that Letters haue made Men halfe immortall.

Diuerſity of merit, according to the nature and qualitie of things.

Such

The power and prerogatiue of Letters, and what hath enſued (by their meanes) from times of Antiquity.

Such hath bin their power and prerogatiue, that matters of a thouſand yeares paſt, are (by them) ſo familiarly preſented vnto vs; as if there had beene no diſtance or deuiſion of time. By them are apprehended all kindes of Diſciplines. They make knowne to men of this inſtant age, whatſoeuer our graue fore-goers learned and made vſe off, or any famous actions by them perfourmed: And thoſe thinges which theſe dayes affoord (as deſeruing future knowledge) by them, are left as Legacies to vtmoſt poſteritie. They ſhew and repreſent vnto the eye, matters once done, euen as if they were in continuall action, and as full of life in the inſtant, as in the precedent: which neuer could haue beene done, if Letters hadde neuer beene deuiſed. For neither *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, nor a great number of other wiſe Philoſophers, had carried ſuch reputation with vs, as now they doe; but onely by their ſacred meanes. For concluſion then, we may very well ſay; that the onely beſt and greateſt thing (among all humaine inuentions) was that of Letters. Whoſoeuer is doubtfull, or maketh any queſtion in this caſe; let him but reade and conſider what is left written to vs, whereby he ſhall well perceiue: that all thoſe famous memories and antiquities, had beene vtterly loſt, and no record remained of them, but onely by Letters.

No memory had remained but by Letters, for elſe, all precedent accidents had bin vtterly loſt.

Seeing then, that they are the cauſe of ſo great a happineſſe; reaſon (in meere Iuſtice) requireth, that we ſhould know, to whom wee are beholding for them. And yet I finde it to bee a matter of no meane difficultie, becauſe opinions are ſo various and doubtfull in this caſe. The *Gentiles* doe much diſagree heerein with our Chriſtians, and Chriſtians alſo haue not well concorded together. *Pliny* ſetteth downe many opinions, and then addeth his owne, which (in my iudgement) commeth much neerer to truth, then the other. Firſt of all he ſaith, that Letters were found out by the *Aſſyrians* in *Aſſyria*: but others doe affirme, that *Mercury* founde them firſt in Egypt. Some (beſide) are of the minde, that the *Pelagians* brought them into *Italy*; or elſe that they were carried into *Greece* by the *Phœnitians*, with *Cadmus*, who was their Captaine, who had no more of them then, but ſixteene in number: but in the warre of *Troy*, *Palamedes* added foure more vnto them. After *Plinies* report of all theſe, and ſome opinions beſide, he concludeth according to his owne iudgement: *That Letters were eternall*, which is as much to ſay, that they had beene from the beginning of the world.

Diuerſity of opinions about the inuention of Letters.

Pliny. in Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Cadmus Captaine of the *Phœnitians*, brought Letters into Greece, being then but ſixteene in number.

Now, concerning the bringing of Letters into *Greece* by the *Phœnitians*, *Herodotus* and diuers others doe affirme it. The Egiptians alſo doe make their vaunt, that the inuention of Artes and Letters came firſt from them. *Diodorus Siculus* is of the minde, that *Mercury* founde them out in Egipt. Howbeit, the ſame *Diodorus* ſaith in his 4. Booke, that ſome are of opinion, that the *Ethiopians* had Letters firſt of all, and that the Egiptians receiued their firſt vſe of Letters from them. Vpon this Argument, there are diuers other, as well Iewes as Chriſtians, who doe plainly auouch, that *Moyſes* was the firſt finder out of Letters in the world: for he was much more ancient, then any letters or writings among the Gentiles, becauſe the ſame *Cadmus* (of whom we haue formerly ſpoken, and that he ſhould bring Letters into *Greece*) liued in the time of *Othoniell*, Duke and Captaine of Iſraell, and raigned forty ſeauen years, after that the written lawes were giuen to *Moyſes*, as is euidently prooued.

Herodotus, for the *Phœnitians*, bringing Letters into Greece.

Diod. Sic. in li. 4

Moyſes ſaid to be the firſt inuenter of Letters.

Othoniell, Duke and Captaine of Iſraell.

They that are of this opinion (among whom were *Eupolemus* and *Artabanus*, *Ethnique* Hiſtorians) doe maintaine, that the Egiptians learned Letters of *Moyſes*, and that they gaue them firſt to the people of *Phœnitia*, from whence (afterward) *Cadmus* tranſported them into *Greece*. The fore-named *Artabanus* iuſtifieth, that the man, named *Mercurius* or *Mercury* (whom al do affirme to haue taught Letters in Egipt:) was *Moyſes*, but called *Mercurius* by the Egiptians. *Philo* the Iew, a man of great authority, maketh Letters to be more auncient: for he ſaith, that they were found out by *Abraham*. But the truth is, that they were inuented by *Adam*, or (at leaſt) by his Sonnes, or Sonnes Sonnes, in the firſt age of the world, and before the Flood. Then were they conſerued to *Noah* and his Succeſſors, euen to the comming of *Abraham*, and ſo afterward to *Moyſes*: And this is the iudgement and opinion of S. *Auguſtine*. More-ouer, this is yet further verified, by the authoritie of *Ioſephus*,

The Egiptians learned Letters of *Moyſes*.

Moyſes called *Mercurius* by the Egiptians

Adam or his Children the firſt inuentors of Letters.

Auguſt. in Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

sephus, in saying; *That the Nephewes of Adam, the Sonnes of* Seth, *made two Collombes, the one of Stone, and the other of Earth, whereon they wrote and insculpted all the Artes.* He also affirmeth, that himselfe had seene one of those Pillers in *Syria.*

We finde also, that Saint *Iude* the Apostle, alleadged in one of his Epistles, the Booke of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. So then, it is not to be doubted, but that *Adam* and his Sonnes (who were all so wise, and had intelligence in so many thinges) were the onely first Inuenter of Letters. And that *Noah* also, who was both lettered and learned, preserued them with him in the Arke. Howbeit, that afterward, in the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babell*: it might come to passe, that the greater part of the World lost the knowledge of those Letters, which remained onely in the Family of *Heber*, of whom (afterward) the Hebrues descended, who, as we haue alreadie said, lost not their first Language. Saint *Augustine* auoucheth as much, in his book before alleadged; the like doth *Eusebius* also, in his first Booke of the Euangelicall preparation, and the greater part of the learnedst men of our times.

Preseruation of Letters frō *Adam* and his Sonnes to *Noah.*

The stock of *Heber* lost not their first language.

Eusebius in lib. 1. de Præparat. Euan.

Wherefore *Philo*, and such beside him, as supposed, that *Moyses* was the Inuenter of Letters; were greatly deceiued in their owne imaginations: because it is a matter most notorious, that the Bookes and Histories written by *Moyses*, were not the first before all other, nor before the Philosophy and Wisedome of the Greekes, as Saint *Augustine* prooueth sufficiently in the saide Booke; and *Iosephus* also, against *Appion* the famous *Grammarian* of Ægypt: and likewise *Eusebius* and *Iustine Martire.* He and they should haue concluded then, that Letters were before the time of *Moyses*; because we finde it written, that *Moyses* learned in Ægypt, all the Arts and Sciences of the Ægyptians, which he could not haue doone, except there had beene Letters before. And yet we know moreouer, that there were Hierogliphicall Figures, whereby (as we formerly prooued in the first Booke) they had vnderstanding of one anothers mind.

Philo the Iew and diuers others deceiued in their opinion.

Iosephus cont. Appion. Gram.

Moyses learnd the Arts of the Egiptians

We will therefore set downe our resolue, that Letters were from the dayes of *Adam*, and afterward, that *Abraham* had knowledge of them in *Syria*: and thence it ensued, that *Plinie* varried in so many opinions before related. It shall be needlesse therefore, to make any further curious search, as touching the Originall and causes of Charracters and Letters: because they may be made according to any mans mind or will; euen as now-adaies wee see, that Ciphers, Figures, or what else, are formed, after the fancy of the Writter or Deuiser, and sometimes signes or shapes in stead of Letters.

The Authors conclusion concerning Letters.

Originall and causes of charracters and Letters.

So saith Saint *Hierome*, in his Prologue before the Booke of the Lawes, and that when *Esdras*, the great Scribe and Doctour of the Law, re-writ and restored them againe: hee found new Charracters or formes of Letters, whereof the Iewes did make, vse to the time of Saint *Hierome*, euen as yet they doe to these dayes of ours. And those *Hebrue* Letters or Charracters, haue a secret propriety, not incident to the Letters of any other Nation: for the voyce, sound, or name of each one of them, yeildeth a signification of some thing else beside.

Hierom. in Præfat. Lib. de Leg.

Hebrew Letters haue a priuate propriety to thēselues in signification.

The first Letter, which is tearmed *Aleph*, doth signify Discipline. The second, named *Beth*, signifyeth a House. *Gymell*, which is another Letter, relateth replenishing, or aboundance. And *Daleth*, Tables or Bookes. All the rest of the Letters, doe interpret some one thing or other, which I forbeare to speake of, to auoyd prolixitie. Such as are more curious Inquisitours into these occasions: let them read *Eusebius*, in his first Booke, *De Preparatione Euangelica.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How our Auncients wrote, and whereon, before the inuention of Paper, and with what Instrument. How Paper and Parchment were first found out, and by whom.

WE haue ſpoken briefely in the precedent Chapter, concerning the inuention of Letters: it now remaineth, that we ſhould ſay ſomewhat, of the matter whereon our fore-fathers vſed to write. Now, albeit wee cannot exactly ſet downe, what it was that our firſt Fathers (in the firſt Age, and before the Flood) did write vpon, as being a caſe very doubtfull; to wit, whether then they had the vſe of Letters, although we haue made proofe thereof by the authority of *Ioſephus*, aſſiſted by ſome other reaſons beſide: yet it euidently appears (according to the generall iudgement of Writers) that ſuch as wrote in thoſe elder times, had not, neither knew what Paper was; but onely did write on Leaues of the Palme or Date Tree, from whence followed the common word (yet vſed) the Leaues or Leafes of Bookes. Afterward they wrote vpon other Leaues of Trees, but principally ſuch as came eaſieſt from each Tree: as the Birche, the Platane, the Aſh, and the Elme. From theſe Trees they tooke the inner-moſt Rinde, which groweth betweene the Wood and the thicke blacke Barke, and theſe ſoft skinnes being ſubtillie ſmoothed and plained: of them they formed the Leaues of their Bookes, ioyning them artificially one within another, that they might the more firmely hold together. And becauſe (in thoſe reuerend daies) the Latines tearmed thoſe inner-moſt Rindes of Trees, by the Name of *Libri*: it thence enſued, that they gaue the Title of *Liber* to one of their Bookes, though afterward they refuſed all further vſe of thoſe meanes.

Within ſome while after, they found out another helpe for Writing, which was vpon Plates of Lead, ingeniouſlie made thin and plyant: whereof, ſome Men (that were more curious and ſpeculatiue) made likewiſe Collombes or Pillers, as well as Bookes, whereon they regiſtred all publique actions. Thoſe Ancient Fathers, found out yet another manner of Writing, which was on Linnen Cloath, ſmoothed and polliſhed with a certain kind of colour. But heere we are to obſerue, that they vſed not then to write with Pennes; but with a little Cane or Reede, which yet is called by vs (as then) in Latine *Calamus*, and wherewith ſome doe ſtill vſe to write.

Afterward, another kinde of Paper was deuiſed to write vpon, which they made of diuers little Shrubs of Trees, cald by them *Papers*: by reaſon of another addition thereto, to wit; of a certaine kind of Ruſhes, growing ordinarily in the Moores and Mariſhes of *Nylus*, and the name of this Ruſh in *Latine*, is called * *Papyrus*. *Pliny* ſaith, that there is yet growing in *Syria*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*, certaine Papers or Ruſhes, that haue ſundry little Leaues, Rindes, or Skinnes, growing naturally betweene the Pith and Barke: which beeing cunningly drawne out with the point of a needle, and intermedled with a kinde of Glue, made of Meale (verie finely ſearced or boulted) and tempered with boyling Water and Vineger; Paper is made thereof, apt and very good to write vpon. But that skinne which is neereſt to the Pith, maketh the beſt and ſmootheſt Paper: whereby we may gather, that according to the ſorts and differences; ſo are the Papers diuerſly named. And in regard that this Reede, Ruſh, or little Shrub, was named *Papyrus*; the Name of Paper hath ſo continued, and was likewiſe impoſed on thoſe kinds of Paper, which were (ſince then) made of Shreds, rags, and ſmalleſt peeces of Linnen Cloath, paſt all kind of ſeruice, and fit for no other vſe.

Marcus Varro ſaith, that the firſt Inuention of making Leaues of Paper, either of Shrubs, Ruſhes, or otherwiſe: was found out in the time of *Alexander* the Great, and at ſuch time alſo, as the Cittie of *Alexandria* was firſt founded. Notwithſtanding, *Pliny* prooueth it much

Doubt of that whereon our firſt Fathers wrote before the flood.

Firſt writing was on Palme Tree Leaues.

The firſt manner of writing Bookes.

Liber, the inward peele or rinde of a Tree.

Plates of lead made apt to write vpon.

Linnen cloth polliſhed with a colour, to write on.

No Pens written with, but Reeds.

* *Papyrus* is a great Ruſh in Egypt, growing in Pennes or Moorish grounds: whereof (in elder times) they made leaus to write on, & whereof the firſt paper was made and now is vſed for printing Paper. *Plin. in lib. 13. Cap. 11. 12.*

Mar. Varro. in Lib. 7.

much more auncient, by thoſe Bookes which *Cneus Terentius* found, by digging in one of his Inheritances, which Books had formerly belonged to *Numa Pompilius*, King of Rome, and had beene hidden in a Temple, where himſelfe was buried, and the leaues of thoſe Bookes were made of the ſaid Ruſhes or ſhrubbes. It is held for a certainty, that *Numa* liued long time before *Alexander*. And yet *Titus Liuius* reporteth otherwiſe of this Tombe, affirming, that two ſuch Tombs were found by *L. Patilius*. *Lactantius* and *Plutarch* doe heerein agree with *Titus Liuius*: and yet notwithſtanding, the intention of *Pliny* is moſt approued.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 11.

Numa Pompillius his Tomb and Bookes.

Tit. Liuius. dec. 4. Cap. 9.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 9.

Now concerning the word *Carta*, or *Charta*, ſome doe holde, that this name came of a Citty, ſcituated neere to *Tyre*, which was called *Charta*, or *Cartha*; whence *Dido* (altring the name) called it afterward * *Carthage*. I read alſo, that thoſe reuerend men of former times, did write on waxed Tablet-leaues, made thin ſmooth and ſlippery: they likewiſe formed their letters, with ſharpe pointed Bodkins or Punchions, which they tearmed Table-Pinnes, but others called the Stiles, whereon, he that (by expertneſſe) wrote moſt perfect, was ſaid to haue a good ſtile in writing, deriuing the worde from the inſtrument, and not by the integritie in Art or method.

* A famous citty in *Affrica* enuironed almoſt with the Sea, and rebuilded by Queene *Dido*.

Writing Tables vſed in elder dayes.

Moreouer, it is to be noated, that before ſuch Paper (as we vſe to write on) was inuented: an auncient cuſtome was obſerued, (without ſeeing any other help or meanes) to write onely vpon Parchment, which they made of Sheeps Skins, whereof *Herodotus* maketh relation. The inuention thereof is attributed (by *Marcus Varro*) to the people that inhabited the Country of *Pergamus*, or *Pergama*, who had (at that time) * *Eumenes* to be their King; where-vpon (in Latine) it bare the name of *Pergamenum*, which we do commonly call Parchment. And whereas in Latine alſo, it was called *Membrana*: yet it appeareth to take name of the Inuenter. Notwithſtanding, in my iudgment, ſuch skinnes were written on long before the time aſſigned by *Varro*; mentioned (after him) in like manner by *Pliny*: becauſe *Ioſephus* writeth, that the Bo'ks of the *Hebrewes* (which were long before the dayes of *Eumenes*) and many other Bookes beſide, were written on ſuch Skinnes.

Parchment written on, before our kindes of Paper.

* That ouercame *Antiochus* by *Sardes*.

Plin. in Lib. 12. Cap. 9.

Ioſephus in Lib. 12. de Antiquit

In like manner, when he declareth, that *Eleazer*, Prince of the Prieſtes, ſent the Bookes of the ſacred Scriptures to *Ptolemeus Philadelphus*, with the ſeauenty two Interpreters, that they might bee tranſlated out of the Hebrew tongue into Greeke, he ſaith; King Ptolomy *was amazed, and wondred very much, at the ingenious coniunction of thoſe Skinnes of Parchment*. Whereby may be obſerued that the lines written on Parchment, were much more eaſily perfourmed, and of longer continuance; then on any other Skinnes or Leaues whatſoeuer, althogh they were of greater antiquity. In regard whereof, vſe of Parchment neuer failed, neither euer will, eſpecially for ſerious ſeruices: albeit, the Paper which is now in vſe among vs, perhaps is eaſier and cheaper to be had, and may better fit the paſſage of infinite Letters, which ordinarily are entercourſed vpon all occaſions, and neceſſitie of haſt.

Ptolomie Philadelphus, and the 72. Interpreters.

Parchment of longer continuance then Paper.

Hauing thus farre proceeded in diſcourſe, concerning the firſt inuention of Letters, Paper, Parchment and writing: me thinkes, I ſhould very much forget my ſelfe, if the famous Art of Printing ſhould paſſe vnſpoken of, whereby ſo many Bookes are Imprinted, with no meane expedition, and which I doe ingeniouſly confeſſe, to be the beſt inuention in the world. By one Authour, the deuiſer therof is ſaid to be an *Allemaigne* or *Germaine*, of the Citty of *Mentz*, named *Iohn Fauſtus*, (although *Polidore Virgill* doe call him *Peter*) yet others tearme him *Iohn Cuthemberg*, confeſſing him alſo to be a *Germaine*, and a Knight, and that the firſt impreſſion of any Booke, was in the yeare of our Lord, 1453.

Concerning the incomparable Art of Printing.

At what time the inuention of Printing was found out, and by whom.

About which time alſo, or ſoone after (as *Volateranus* affirmeth) this worthy Science was brought into *Italy* by two Brethren, named *Conrades*, printing firſt in *Rome*, and in the houſe of the *Maximes*: where, the firſt Booke that euer was printed, was S. *Auguſtine de Ciuitate Dei*, & next, the diuine Inſtitutions of *Lactantius Firmianus*. Exemplaries of them were not long ſince (and I thinke yet are) in the Library of the moſt reuerend Biſhop of *Sarno*, the Lord *Luodouico Gomes*, a *Spaniard*, a man of ſinguler learning, being Auditour of *Roua*, Regent of the Penetentiarie, and Referendarie of both the Signa-

The firſt Bookes printed in *Rome*, in the yeare 1465.

Printing began in *Venice* in the yeare 1483.

Signatures. After that, *Nicholas Gerſon*, being a Frenchman, honoured *Venice* therewith, in the time of Duke *Auguſtine Barbarigo*. And, as an inuention of ſuch merit could not be concealed; ſo ſucceeded it to many Countries, and by diuers worthy men, who beſide their Art of Printing; were learned and iudicious Correcters of errours and falſifications, eaſily ouer-ſlipped by vnskilful worke-men. Among theſe men of noat, are eſpecially commended, *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, who made a freſh reſtoring of the Latine tongue: *Francis Priſcianez*, at *Rome*: *Baldus*, *Colinetus*, *Frobenius* and *Oporinus*, at *Baſile*: *Sebaſtian Gryphius* at *Lyons*: *Robert Stephanus* at *Paris* and *Antwerpe*; and *William Caxton* at London in England, beſides many more, whoſe names I omit, for breuity.

Especial men excellent in Printing, in diuers Countries.

By theſe famous helpes, and furtherers of Learning, a number of Bookes hidden, obſcured and vtterly loſt (as it were) receiued freſh life and light again; to the no meane enſtruction and benefit of many men, whoſe learning hath made it ſelfe manifeſt (onely by the meanes of Printing) througout all Chriſtendome, yea, and elſe-where: whereas, before ſo ſacred an aſſiſtant was inuented, much greater paine and labour was imployed; whereof the fruit could neuer be ſo generall, or any ſuch perfection appeare in Learning. And, if we doe graunt, that this deuiſe was not the chiefe and principall cauſe: yet aſſuredly (I am of the mind) it was the very greateſt and moſt abſolute; becauſe, with much leſſe paine and labour, Bookes (full of imperfections) haue beene found to be corrected, and purged from thoſe macculations, blots, and blemiſhes, which ordinarilie doe attend on writing. Againe, if written corrected Copies had paſt from ſom one or two: yet they were ſo rare to come by, and not to be peruſed by many earneſt and deſirous mindes; that it hindered much forward endeuour, which this vniuerſality hath liberally friended. But, to ſpeake truely, ſince immeaſurable Licence tooke hold of Imprinting Bookes, eſpecially of Fables and fruitleſſe labours; it hath beene iudged by ſome (yet none of meaneſt wiſedome) that Printing might well haue beene ſpared from ſo general knowledge, or neuer beene vſed at all; rather then ſuch idle toyes ſhould paſſe the Preſſe, to the preuarication and impoyſoning of diuers good minds, eſpecially the younger ſort, who rather affect ſuch vaine deuiſes, then ſtudies much more commendable, and fitting for them.

Printing was the onely meanes to make learned men euery wher famous.

Very great errors formerly committed in the writing of Bookes, which (by Printing) haue beene iudiciouſly corrected.

An obiection againſt the ouer-general vſe of Printing, where by much hurt hath enſued

But leauing further ſpeech of Printing; Hand-writing muſt not bee condemned, hauing (in theſe dayes) attayned to more intire perfection, then euer was knowne in former times. Whereof *Quintillian* hath giuen good rules, well deſeruing obſeruation; likewiſe the learned *Eraſmus*, in his Booke of good and true pronounciation. And heerein *Eraſmus* muſt be my directour, becauſe he ſaith: *Blinde men haue beene inſtructed in good writing*. For they had Tables made of Porphirie, Bone, or of ſome Mettall, wherein were inſculpted the letters of A. B. C. D. E. &c. Then the blinde partie tooke ſome ſharpe pointed Inſtrument in his hand (made apt and able to vſe impreſſion, yet with eaſe and facilitie) and his hand being guided by the enſtructers: vſe and practiſe framed a ſhape of each Letter in the blinde mans minde, according to the remembrance of true forme and faſhion, wherof cuſtomarie acquaintaince (by heed and attention) gaue an Image, and of euery Letter really in his memory, which afterward he could (with eaſe) forme vpon the Table, or any thing elſe of reſpect, whereto his minde ſtood moſt affected. Wherin might appeare ſome defect or impediment, but yet it would be well made, and indifferently leageable. After which often experimented proof, he may write vpon Paper, in true order and Method: or any elſe, that (blind-folded) ſhal make vſe thereof, concerning any matter that beſt fitteth his fantaſie.

Of writing, and the perfection thereof in theſe dayes.

Eraſmus Rotterd. in Libde ver. pro.

Blinde men that could write very perfectly, and by what manner of practiſe.

Vſe is the Mother of perfection.

CHAP

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the first Libraries in the world: As also, what Pictures and Portraitures of memorable men, were obsequiously preserued in them.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the first Bookes and Libraries that euer were in the world, must needes bee among the Hebrue people. For, as it is certaine, that Letters were by them first knowne, and vse made of them: so is it likewise to be presumed, that they were not neglect or careless in keeping them, or whatsoeuer they committed to writing. This is iustified by the authority of *Iosephus*, before alleadged, as also, by that which we reade in the holy Scriptures. *Isidorus* relateth, that after the *Chadæans* had burned the Library of the *Hebrewes*, with all the Bookes of the Lawes: the *Hebrewes* being gon backe againe to *Ierusalem*, the Prophet *Esdras* (being thereto lightened by the blessed Spirit) repaired that losse, by writing those Bookes ouer againe, reducing them into the number of two and twenty Bookes, according to the number of the Alphabet letters. Whereby may be gathered, that after *Moyses* had written: the *Hebrewes* had a Library, wherein they preserued the Books of the Law, as well those which we haue of the old Testament, as the rest, whereof wee haue already made mention. Among which, was the Booke of *Enoch*, alleadged by Saint *Iude* the Apostle in his Epistle, spoken of also before: And the Book of the warres of the Lord, whereof memory is made in the twenty one Chapter of *Numbers*: And the Booke of the iust seruants of the Lord, alleadged in the first Booke of the Kings: and the Booke of *Samuell*, recorded in the last Chapter of the first Booke of *Paralipomenon*: And the Booke of *Nathan* the Prophet, with many other beside, which appeared to haue bin burned and lost. Therefore we may plainly perceiue, that the *Iewes* had Libraries, and that those which appertained to the *Gentiles*, were both after the other, and of later time.

The first Libraries among the *Hebrue* people.

The *Chaldeans* burned all the Bookes of the *Hebrues* Librarie.

The Prophet *Esdras* re-writ the Bookes, according to the number of the *Hebrue* Alphabet.

Iude. Cap. 1. ℣ 4.

Numb. 21. 24.

2. *Kings.* 1. 18.

1. *Chron.* 29. 29

The Iewes had Libraries long before the Gentiles.

All the *Grecians* doe declare, that hee who first made any publique Library, was named *Pisistratus*, a Tyrant ouer the *Athenians*: but afterward, it was greatly increased by those people. In following time, when *Xerxes* came to *Athens*, he carried thence all those Bookes, and transported them into *Persia*: but a long while after, the King *Selucus* (called *Nicanor*) bought them, and caused them to be carried backe to *Athens* againe. This affirmation proceedeth from *Aulus Gellius* and *Isidorus*; adding moreouer, that this Library was afterward very largely increased. Notwithstanding, that Library of *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, which the King *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made; was (in very truth) the most excellent of all other in the world beside: because therein was the old Testament, and all the sacred writings of the seauentie two Interpreters, and a great multitude of all other bookes whatsoeuer. Yet *Pliny* auoucheth, that King *Eumenes* made another Library in the Citty of *Pergama*, in enuy of that which *Ptolomie* had founded. *Aulus Gellius* and *Amianus Marcellinus* doe say, that in the Library of *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, there were seauen hundred thousand Bookes. *Seneca* doth (in a manner) agree concerning the number, which although it seeme to be excessiue, yet notwithstanding, whosoeuer hath read of the expences and great cost, which the Kings of *Egipt* haue wasted, in the making of Obeliskes, Pyramides, Temples, Houses, Shippes, and other thinges of inestimable charge (some part of which matters are spoken of by *Budeus*, in his Annotations on the *Pandectes*, and *Lazarus de Baif*, in his Art of Nauigation) this Library will not appeare impossible to their iudgement.

Pisistratus of *Athens*, made the first publique Libratie.

Aulus Gellius. in L. b. 6. Isidor. in lib. 6.

The Library of *Alexandria* in Egipt.

Aulus Gellius. in Lib. 6. Amian Marcel. in Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Budeus in Annot. de Pand. Lazar. de Baif. in Ars Nauals

Bookes were brought to this Library from al the Nations of the whole world, and also in all Languages: and they that had the charge thereof, were all of them very learned men. One part was appointed for Bookes of Poetry, others also for Historiès, and elsewhere for all the Sciences and faculties: but all this learning

learning thus brought together, was burned by the Soldiers of *Iulius Cæsar*, when he pursued *Pompey* thither, and fought against the people of *Ptolomie*, who was brought vnto *Cleopatra*. As for that other Librarie, which was made by *Eumenes* in *Pergama*: *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Marke Anthonie*, that it consisted of two hundered thousand Bookes.

Cæsars Souldiours burned this goodly Library.

Plutarc. in vit. Marc. Anton.

The Lybrarie which we read of in *Greece*, *Strabo* saith, that *Aristotle* was the first that made a Collection of Bookes together, and framed a Library of Bookes in the Citty of *Athens*. But therein he contradicteth the other Historians, who doe all maintaine, that it was *Pisistratus*, who liued long time before *Aristotle*. Therefore it is to be vnderstood, that *Straboes* meaning aymed at some one particular Man, who was neither King or Prince, as *Pisistratus* was: howbeit, it may be pregnantly coniectured, that *Aristotle* was therein much succoured and assisted by *Alexander*.

Strabo in lib. 7. Cap. 18.

Strabo contradicteth other Authors.

Later Libraries and Letters, wherein the Cittie of *Rome*, and the first that erected a publique Lybrarie there, was *Asinius Pollio*, of whom *Pliny* saith: *That of the Spirits of Men he made a publique matter.* The first man that brought thither any great quantitie of Bookes, was *Paulus Æmilius*, when he had vanquished *Perseus*: And next to him, *L. Lucullus*, from the bootie of *Pontus*. *Iulius Cæsar* also augmented and enriched the Lybraries, which he committed to the charge and keeping of *Marcus Varro*: but all the Lybraries in *Rome*, were afterward burnt and brought to nothing, by the frequent Warres, and often spoyles made of the Cittie. And yet this great losse was repaired againe, by the Emperour *Domitian*, for he caused search to bee made thorough all Countries, for Bookes of any Nature whatsoeuer; yea, he sent into Ægypt, to haue the Lybrarie that remained there, to bee transported to *Rome*. Whereby it verie plainely appeareth, that all King *Ptolomies* Bookes were not destroyed (as formerly hath beene said) because a great part of them were afterward recouered. And *Paulus Orosius* doth heere perswade me, when he saith; *Foure hundred thousand of the Bookes were burned*: And by the confirmation of other Historians; we finde, that there were seauen hundred thousand in all, and three hundred thousand doe then appeare to be saued; howbeit, some would faine enforce, that they were all burned.

The first publike Library in *Rome* made by *Asinius Pollio*.

Paulus Orosius in lib. 9.

But returning to the Lybrarie of *Rome* againe, the same *Paulus Orosius* saith, that in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, it was once more burned: neuertheless, *Gordianus* the Emperour regained a great number of Bookes, to the estimate of seauentie and two thousand Volumes. And that (which is much more notable) hee enioyed them by the last Will and Testament of * *Seranus Samonicus*, to whom they first appertained, according as *Iulius Capitolinus* recordeth. There were many other great and goodlie Lybraries among those of elder times, as well priuate and meane persons, as Princes and great Lords. But the first Librarie among the Christians, was that (as *Isidorus* testifieth) of *Pamphilius* the Martire, whose life is registred by *Eusebius*; and that he had thirty thousand volums in his Library.

Romes Library burned again in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*.

* This man was fetched from the Plough, and made Senator of Rome.

The first Lybrary among the Christians.

We read of a common Custome obserued among those graue Men, chiefely in their Lybraries: where they preserued the Pictures, Portraites, and Statues, of such men as had been most excellent in Learning. *Pliny* also saith, that *Marcus Varro* (euen in his life time) so merited by his learning: that his Statue was kept in the Library of *Asinius Pollio*. *Cicero* wrote to *Fabianus* the *Gaule*, that he should buy him some Statues and Portraites, wherewith to grace and beautifie his Lybratie. The younger *Pliny*, writing to *Iulius Seuerus*, saith; that *Herennius Seuerus* (a very excellent learned man) placed in his Librarie (among other Pictures) those of *Cornelius* and *Titus Arius*; sufficient testimony haue we of all those things.

Pictures of famous learned men preserued in Libraries.

Plin. in lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Plin. secundus in lib. 4.

Al the Libraries in Rome burned and spoyled.

Domitian the Emperor restored the Libraries losse.

Now, concerning these recited Lybraries, and those of many other learned men, and of Princes also, in imitation of their example: they were all destroyed and rauaged by the *Gothes*, *Alaines*, and *Vandales*, vntill such time as

(by the goodneſſe of God) both in our daies, and thoſe of our fore-fathers, many learned and ſtudious men liued, whoſe paines and endeuours created infinite others, from whom haue proceeded heapes of huge Volumes; albeit I thinke them not the tenth part, compared with thoſe which their graue Auncients left in Writing. Beſide, ſuch as haue beene found, were ſo vncorrected, corrupted and badlie written: that had it not beene for the indulgent trauaile, of diuers great and worthy perſonages, they could hardly haue beene reduced to any order and perfection.

Who were the notorious deſtroyers of Libraries and Learning.

Our Bookes' not equalling the tenth part of our Ancients.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heeretofore giuen by the Romaine *Emperours, as they haue beene found regiſtred in the Bookes* De Iuriſprudentia, *abbreuiated and re-collected by commandement of the Emperour* Iuſtinian, *to wit: Of the* Gothes, Allemaignes, Germaines, Alanes, Vandals, Affricanes, Gætes, Girpides, &c. *and of many other Nations, appertaining to the ſame kinde of Argument.*

THE Romaine Emperors, in their Imperiall Titles of honour and renowne, did not onely obſerue and giue vnto themſelues, the Names or Appellations of thoſe Prouinces wonne by them, and reduced vnder the yoake of their Empire: but likewiſe of ſuch Nations and people, as left their own Countries (in abounding multitudes) and entred on the Landes and poſſeſſion of others, thence to chaſe and expell the naturall Inhabitants, to plant there their owne abiding, by giuing them ſundry battailes, and ſome way ſurmounting, though not wholly exterminating them. Vpon which reaſon, *Iuſtinian* would entitle himſelfe, of the *Goths*, *Allemaignes*, *Vandales*, and of others. Of which Nations, I purpoſe to ſpeake in ſome meaſure, what people they were, and whence they came: becauſe (at length) they ruined the great Romain Empire. Whereto I am the rather induced, to enſtruct ſuch as are little skilled in Hiſtories (not onely Coſmographicall, but likewiſe Geographicall) how thoſe people did not onely weaken and ruinate the ſaide Empire: but alſo did caſt out the true and naturall Dwellers, of the verie greateſt part of our Hemiſpheare.

Vaine Titles affected by the Romaine Emperours.

Strange people and Nations that weakened and ruined the *Romain* Empire.

Moreouer, they compelled the Emperours to graunt them places, wherein to liue (afterward) in peace and quietneſſe: for theſe Nations were the cauſe, whereby many Countries changed both their manners, Language, and Religion, which matters are neceſſarie to be ſpoken off, as nerely appertaining to our argument.

We will begin then firſt with the *Gothes*, becauſe they were the firſt, that forſooke their owne Natiue Country: which was called *Gothia*, or *Gothland*, as ſignifying a good Land, it beeing a Northerne Prouince of *Germanie*. This Land abounded in Graine, Fruites, Cattle, Woodes, Riuers, Mettalles: but eſpeciallie in Copper, and Skinnes ſeruing to make Furres. At all times, and as yet (to this inſtant daie) is to bee diſcerned, the Kingdome of *Sweſſia*, or *Sweuia*, hath beene comprized vnder the Dominion of the *Gothes*. As the Countrey was fertile in Fruites of the Earth; euen ſo were the Weomen thereof likewiſe in Children: for, as they were ſtrong, and of great ſtature, ſo had they vſually two Children at a birth, which was the cauſe then, and ſo it yet continueth, that they had more people, then could well liue together, the Countrey not beeing ſufficient to yeilde ſuſtenance for ſo many. In like manner, they were very great feeders, eating much more then they that liue in the Eaſterne or Meridionall parts.

Of the *Goths*, their original, Country, and nature.

More plenty of people, the the Country was able to feed and noriſh.

Theſe people of the *Gothes*, perceiuing, and aduiſedly pondering on the fore-ſpecified reaſons: leuyed the more part of the youngeſt and ſtrongeſt men of their Countrey, to the number of three

A leuy of three hundred thouſand able men among the *Gothes*.

three hundred thousand; and marryed such as were not, to ridde themselues of the charge of Daughters, as well as of Sonnes, for the Countrey ordinarily abounded in the Feminine, more then in the Masculine Sexe. So, being well prouided of all necessaries for Warre, and leauing a chiefe Commander at home, of the Royall linage: they wandered abroad thorow the Fieldes, to winne by power, or compasse by Loue, some new habitation wherein to liue.

The Gothes wander to seeke a new dwelling.

Trebellius.

Many Authours, and, among the rest, *Trebellius* saith, that the first rumour of this their straying, was vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Flauius Claudius*, about the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, two hundred seuenty two. And that they passed thorow *Germany*, *Hungaria*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Gaule*, and so farre as *Italie*. They lost many battailes, and wonne likewise as many, against the Romaines and other people, maintaining themselues so well: that they raigned in *Italie* (euen in despight of the *Italians* and Emperours) the space of seauentie and one yeares; as *Procopius* auoucheth. At length they went into *Spaine*, whence (afterward) they would not remooue: for the Catholique Kinges of Spaine that then raigned by succession, and raigne yet to this present, descended from the race and line of their Kinges, who were (indeed) very generous people.

Procopius, concerning the Gothes in Italy and Spain.

Now, it is to be imagined, that in regard of such a mighty muster of men, the Countrey of *Gothia*, or *Goth-land*, or the Neighboring Borders, remained not without Inhabitants, or the rule of Kinges: For there were euen then left behind, so many as the Land was able to nourish, who had their Kinges in authority ouer them, and strength sufficient to with-stand any inuasion of the Country. As for the conquering Armies abroad, they continued in honour for a verie long time; albeit, they lost great store of men in battailes, encounters, surprizals, and passages of Riuers: for these disaduantages were still supplyed, by the daily birth of Children among them, because they had their Wiues in all places among them. And perhaps some Straungers mingled among them, who wearing their habites, and learning their Language; helpt still to encrease the frie of this people.

The reason of the Gothes maintenance and continuance.

The conquering Armies abroad in trauaile.

Such as haue beene named *Ostrogothes*, were a people of the same Countrey of *Gothia* or *Gotteland*, from a place which is called *Ostrogothia*, the principall Cities whereof, are *Scheing* and *Lincops*. This people made their warre apart by themselues, beeing separated from the Gothes, yet ranuging abroad in the wide World, according as they did.

Of the *Ostrogothes*, & their Countrey.

The *Westrogothes* (in like manner) came out of a Countrey called *Westrogothia*, among whom, the chiefest Cities, yet to this present daie, are tearmed *Scaris* and *Veruen*. *Wisigots*, or *Bisigothes*, came forth of a Countrey named *Visbi*, the very principall whereof, is yet stiled *Visbi*. I was the more willing to make this description, because I haue heard of diuers (who are but slenderly experienced in Cosmography) that they do term those *Ostrogothes*, to be *Gothes* Orientall, or of the East; and the *Westrogothes*, Occidentall *Gothes*, or dwelling in the West, and so contrariwise of the other. Albeit, they are all descended, and came out of the Kingdome of *Gothia*, or *Gotteland*, according as *Munster* hath very well obserued.

Of the *Westrogothes*.

Wisigots or *Bisigothes*.

The error of some young Cosmogrephers.

Munster.

The *Vandals*, in the erronious iudgement of *Procopius*, a learned Greeke Authour, are saide for to be of the verie same Nation; and that all the seuerall people of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Alaines*, *Hunnes*, and diuers others, (whom I am heereafter to describe vnto you) were derined out of one and the selfe-same Land, and are all comprehended vnder the name of *Sauromates*, or *Sarmates*, and haue no other difference, but onelie by the names of their Captaines or Kinges. But I must maintaine against him, that the Land of the *Vandales* is distant from *Gothland*, aboue the space of two hundered leagues, and therefore they cannot bee one people with the *Gothes*. True it is, that this Nation is Septentrionall, or in the North, as the others are, and in a Maritime Countrey also, named yet to this day *Vandalia*, as I haue al-

The errour of *Procopius* concerning the *Vandals*.

Gothes and Vandals two seuerall people.

ready ſaid, yet very far off the one from the other.

The trauailes of the *Vandals* into diuers Countries.

This people did (almoſt) as much hurt to the Romaine Empire, as the *Gothes* did, for, ioyning diuers other people with them (as the *Alaines*, *Suabes* and *Franconians*:) they trauerſed the *Rheine*, *Gauderichus* beeing then their King, and paſſing among the *Gaules*, waſted and ſpoyled them very greatlie. Then went they into *Spaine*, and (in deſpight of the *Gothes*) tooke poſſeſſion of that part of the Countrey, which ioyneth to the Kingdome of *Granada*, and is (to this day) called *Vandalia*, or (by corrupting the Word) *Vandaluſia*, albeit the *Spaniards* mince it more nicely, and nick-name it to be *Andaluſia*. To be briefe, they were (after much waſt and ſpoyle) expulſed foorth of *Spaine* wholy, in the yeare foure hundred thirtie one, vnder another of their Kinges, named *Genſericus*, and paſſed thence into *Affrica*, where they raigned ſeauenty ſixe yeares. From thence they were compelled to auoyde, in the ſeauenth yeare of the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, in *Anno. Domino.* 528. by the valour of one of his Captaines, named *Beliſarius*.

They poſſeſſed Spaine & Affrica, which in the end wer deiected by them.

The *Vandals* expulſed out of *Affrica* by *Beliſarius*.

The *Hunnes* alſo departed out of their Countrey, for the ſelfe-ſame cauſe as the Goths did, about the yeare one hundred ſixtie eight, onely to ſeek ſome other Land, where they might liue after the *Scythians* Religion: firſt getting poſſeſſion of *Pannonia*, where they alwaies ſo ſtrongly kept and guarded it, that (according to their owne name) it became to be called *Hungaria*. This people came from that part of *Scythia*, which was tearmed * *Hunos*, no long diſtance from the Riuer *Tanais*: but it is in a miſerable eſtate at this day, and vnder ſubiection of the *Moſcouite*. Hauing vſurped *Pannonia*, they kept it manfully againſt the *Romaines*, and two hundred yeares after, *Attila* their King, accompanied with ſome people of the *Allemaignes* or *Germaines*; as *Bohemians*, *Gepydes* or *Gyrpides*, *Schleſites*, *Werlies*, *Thuringians*, *Gothes*, *Oſtrogothes*, and others, making (in all) about the number of ſixe hundred thouſand Men: paſſed thorough *Allemaigne*, which they very much endammaged.

The *Hunnes* of *Scythia*, and their trauails.

* *Hunos* a part of *Scythia*, inhabited by the *Hunnes*.

Attila King of the *Hunnes*.

Then went he into *France*, where hee loſt a battaile, in which periſhed a great number of his men. This battaile was giuen him by the *Romaines*, *Gaules*, and certaine *Gothes* allyed together, and he loſt (as ſome Authours doe affirme) aboue two hundred thouſand men. At length he iournyed into *Italie*, which he (wel-neere) vtterlie ruined, and retiring afterward home into his owne Countrey of *Hungaria*: he dyed within ſome few following moneths, and on the day of his Nuptials, which was in the yeare of Ieſus Chriſt, foure hundred forty three.

The great loſſe that *Attila* ſuſtained in *France*.

Of the *Lombardes*, and whence they deſcended.

The *Lombardes* were a Northerne people, iſſuing out of *Denmarke*, as *Euſebius* maintaineth, and no other reaſon had they to leaue their Natiue Countrey; but onely a deſire to winne ſome other. There happened in the time of one *Seno*, or *Sweno* (yet ſome tearme him *Snio*) a very great dearth or ſcarſitie of victuals in the Land, and becauſe the people endured it verie impacientlie: it was concluded by the King and his Councell (to eaſe the Country of ſo many men as were ready to famiſh) that all ſuch perſons as were vnable, eyther for Warre, or labour of the Ground; ſhould be ſlaine, whether they were old or young. But this ſeuere Edict being reuoked, they then reſolued to make a leuy of all ſortes of people, that (by the helpe of Armes) might trauaile to finde out ſome other dwelling, ſo to diſcharge the Countries heauy burthen.

A very ſeuere and cruell Edict, but ſpeedily recalled, and better meanes deuiſed.

This being put in Execution, they trauailed ſo farre, and carryed themſelues ſo couragiouſlie in trauerſing diuers Landes: that they came at laſt into *Italie*, and there conquered the Countrey, which was called *Iſtria*, making themſelues abſolute Maiſters thereof. Now, becauſe theſe people were long and taule of ſtature: the *Italians* and *Iſtrians* tearmed them long *Barbarians*, which by corruption of the Word, and ſucceſſion of times, made them to be called *Longbardes*, or *Lombardes*. Some are of opinion, that vnder the raigne of *Valentinian* the Emperour, they beganne to make themſelues firſt knowne; which was about the yeare of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt,

Iſtria in *Italy* conquered & new-named *Lombardie*.

Christ 385. and that they became Commaunders in *Istria*, in the yeare 570. Likewise, according to *Petrus Diaconus*, the Emperours made peace with them, in the yeare, seuen hundred and thirtie, and euer since they haue held that Countrey, which at this day is named *Lombardy*.

Petrus Diaconus concerning the *Lombardes*.

Let it heere be further noted, that where (in any Historie) mention is made of people tearmed *Daces*, or *Danians*; the Nation of *Danemarke*, is thereby vnderstood. Out of which Countrey, many great Armies haue trauailed at sundry times, and haue mightily troubled diuers Kingdomes: among which, they continued a long time in *England*, but were thence expelled, about the yeare eight hundred sixtie, as is generally granted.

Daces or *Danians*, people of *Danemarke*.

The *Normanes* were people of *Nordwegia*, or otherwise called *Normania*, a Northerne Countrey, being much addicted to crueltie and inhumanitie, because they vsed many great Piracies on the Seas. An hundred and fifty thousand Men (of this Nation) bestowed themselues in Vessels on the Sea, and tooke possession of that part of *Gaule*, or *France*, which was then named *Neustria*, now *Normandie*, and this was done in the yeare of Iesus Christ, sixe hundred; and others say, eight hundred eightie foure, and in the time of *Charles Le Gros*. But be it howsoeuer, they haue (since then) kept it against all encounters of the Emperours, Kings of *France* and *England*, preseruing it still by the name of *Normandy*, and themselues reckoned to be people of vndaunted courage. There are diuers others, that doe sauour of this their first Originall, and doe yet proule vppon the Seas, committing many Thefts and Robberies.

The *Normans* issued from *Nordnegia*, or *Normania*.

Neustria now named *Normandy*, & hath so continued long time.

The Nation which we call *Suisses*, *Suesses*, or *Sweues*, but more vulgarlie *Zuitzers*, and are (at this day) auxiliarie vnto the *Freneh*: came out of *Suetia*, *Sweuia*, or *Sweueland*, a Northerly Region like to the other. They likewise, by reason of the dearth of foode among them: departed foorth of their owne Countrey, about the yeare of Grace, eight hundred, and went so farre as the *Rheine*, which they would haue passed; but were hindred by the *Franconians*. Thence went they to the Land of the *Heluetians*, who despising the *Suesses*, (because they were poorely and wretchedly apparrelled, rude in their feeding, and not looking like Souldiours) suffered them to wander about their Countrey.

Suesses or *Zuitzers* came out of *Sweuia*.

The *Suesses* despised by the *Helueti ans*

At length, perceiuing the kinde sufferance of the *Helueti ans*: they sought to abide in a certaine Canton of their Land. Which when the *Helueti ans* noted, they demaunded of them; to what end they thus wandered about the World? They answered, That they were poore people, and sought but to weare out their liues in trauaile, by deluing or labouring in the Earth. And seeing that there was wast ground in those partes, vnlaboured, or any vse made of (it being Hilles and Vallyes, enuironed with diuers Lakes) they desired the *Helueti ans*, to permit them to labour in those rough Fieldes, as yet not cultiue: and they should receiue the gaine and benefit thereof, onely allowing them but nourishment for their paines. This was all that they seemed to pretend, iustifying their requests with many sollemne Oaths and protestations. Their desire was granted, and not long after, the Countrey wherein they liued, was not onely called *Suessia*, in regard of the *Suessians* there dwelling: but likewise the Auncient Inhabitants had the same Name giuen them, and (in truth) the Country is very mountainie, and vnapt for riding.

Their pouerty among the *Helueti ans*, & their request to them.

The *Helueti ans* did grant the *Suesses* request.

Iustinian, and other Emperours, (both before and after him) entitled themselues Lordes of the *Allemaignes*, by hauing receiued some victories against the *Allemaignes*. But this may not be saide (as some haue done heeretofore) that those victories were obtained against the *Germaines*: for euen at this present daie, when that wee speake or Write of *Allemaigne*; therein is comprehended all the Nations, which are contained throughout *Germanie*, and that doe speake the language of the *Teutones*. But as concerning *Allemaigne* it selfe, and *Allemaignes*; the Romaines neuer vnderstood, or meant any other people, then those

Of the *Allemaignes* and whence they were derined.

The true *Allemaignes* were of *Suaba*.

of *Suaba*. And, to speake vprightly, they euer haue beene (and are) the true and Auncient *Allemaignes*; as *Cornelius Tacitus* plainely confirmeth. *Drusus Nero* was the first, that styled himselfe *Germanicus*: for hauing rather angered the *Germaines*, then foyled them, as diuers other Emperours afterward did. Moreouer by *Germanie* is to be vnderstood nine and forty great Prouinces, as well of the lower part, as of the higher part of the said *Germanie*, comprizing the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Heluetians*.

Drusus Nero Germanicus.

Germany containeth 49. great Prouinces.

Ouer and beside the fore-named Titles, they vsed the word *Analicus*, which by translation, implyeth *Alaines*. Many haue supposed, that these were a people of *Germanie*, but therein they were and are deceiued: for *Ptolomy* knew them well, and placed them in a part of *Scythia*. *Capitolinus* bestowes them in *Dacia*; *Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, & *Dionisius* the Poet, doe graunt them a being in *Sarmatia* of *Europe*.

Of the *Alains*, and what people they were

Iosephus, in his last Booke, affirmeth their aboad to be betweene the riuer *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotides*: and saith moreouer, that (in his time) these *Alaines* or *Alanes*, accompanied with the *Hircanians*; both robbed and spoyled all the Region of the *Medes*. As for my selfe, by that which I haue gathered, from such as haue written on the actions of the *Gothes*: I am perswaded, that those *Alaines* were their Companions, and that oftentimes (in their Warres) for their owne aduantage, they sundred themselues from them, as one while they did with the *Vandales*. But questionlesse, their descent was from *Scythia*, according to the affirmation of *Ptolomy*.

The *Alaines* companions with the *Goths* in their wars.

If we shall speake of the *Gepydes*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupedes*, and what people they were: there are opinions enow concerning them. Some say, that they were (at the first) of *Scythia*, and came thence (as the *Lombards* did) into *Italy*. But hauing made a more curious and diligent search; I find, that they were a people of *Germanie*, being then called *Gepudij*, or *Sepusij*, and (according to *Ptolomeus Mataueſtus*) now at this day, *Siebemburgs*; who followed the *Gothes*, the *Vandals* and the *Normanes* also, they being erring and vagabond people. Till at length they ventred on the Seas, and went to inhabite the Isles of the *Orchades*, whereof *Thille* is the latest inhabited, as *Volateranus* auoucheth, and now is subiect to the Kings of *Scotland*.

Of the *Gepides*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupedes*.

Gepudij or *Sepusij*.

The *Getes* haue beene, and are yet a warlike people, instantly much molested by the *Turkes*; but they found the *Romaines* work enough to doe, consisting of *Transiluanians*, *Wallachians*, *Moldauians*, and other Countries about the Riuer *Ister*, which falleth into the *Pontick* Sea.

Of the *Getes*, a famous warlike people.

I may not be forgetful of the *Bourguignons*, because I my selfe descended of that Nation. *Orosius* holdeth, that they are deriued out of *Germany*; And *Volateranus* saith, that *Iouinianus* the Emperour vanquished such a people, which liued by the Riuer of *Rheine*. But there is nothing more certaine (according as I haue gathered by the *Germaine* Histories) then that they issued from some remaines of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Hunnes*, who beeing altogether chased by the *Romaines*; threw themselues vpon that part of *Gaule*, which they stiled after their owne name, and there (perforce) entthroned themselues. For afterward, they could so well resist the *Romaines*, that they were constrained to yeild them tolleration, and let them liue in the saide Countrey amongst the first Inhabitants. There they builded Fortes, Villages, and Townes, which they tearmed Bourgs or Bouroughes of *Gothes* and *Hunnes*. And then coueting (corruptly) to speake it in one Word: from *Bourg Goth Hunnes*, they came to be called *Bourguignons*, as much to say, as a warring people.

Of the *Bourguignons*, and whence they are issued.

Bourgougne named after the *Bourguignons*.

Ætius, Lieutenant to the Emperour *Theodosius*, gaue them a battaile in the yeare of Christ. 435. and won the day: but it cost him so deare, that he would neuer after meddle any more with them. About the yeare 430. they receiued and embraced the Christian Faith. These people grew on in great ciuility, and became as much addicted to Learning, as to Armes: For they haue a goodly vniuersity, founded by one of the Dukes of *Bourgongne*, wherein many Lectures are read of all the Sciences, to Schollers of all Nations, at *Dola*, the capitall City of that part of *Bourgongne*, which is vnder commaund of the house of

Of their own first names.

Attius fo'led the *Bourguignons*.

A faire vniuersity, builded by a duke of *Bourgougne*.

of *Austria*, and there they hold a Parliament also. As for the other part of *Bourgongne*, in obedience to the crown of *France*: *Digeon* is the Metropolitane Citty thereof, where likewise is held another Parliament. And these two *Bourgongnes* are maintained in very good peace, albeit they are in obedience to diuers Princes.

Digeon the Metropolitane Citty.

The fore-named Emperours did also stile themselues by names of *Franques*, as hauing fought with and repulsed the *Franconians*, who were risen vp in armes, and departed out of their Countrey of *Germany*. But so slender were their impeachings, that they inuaded the *Gaules*, which then were Prouinces of the *Romaines*, notwithstanding, all the best meanes they could make. They were entitled *Affricanes* likewise, for hauing obtained some Conquests in *Affrica*: And *Parthians* also, for hauing wonne some victories ouer the *Parthians*. *Stephanus* ranketh them among the people of *Scythia*: but I neuer knew, or read, that the *Romaines* made the *Parthians* tributary, being their best Friendes, for they had more victories ouer the *Romãs*, then euer the *Romans* had against them. They did not leaue their Countries, and sought after a new habitation, eyther for pouertie or necessitie: but rather to conquer Kingdomes and Prouinces; as *Media*, *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Caramania*, and many other. The Riuer *Euphrates* was the limits between them and the *Romaines*: but those *Romaine* Emperours, vpon the declining of their Empire, were Princes full of follie and vain-glory, attributing Titles to themselues, without any matter of right or merit.

Of the *Franks* or *Franconians*

Affricanes and *Parthians*.

Stephanus.

Euphrates the boundes betweene the *Parthians* and *Romaines*.

They gaue themselues also the Title of Happy and Prosperous, albeit they were (oftentimes) the most infortunate men al of other, as wel in their home affaires, as the Negotiations of the Empire. For (day by day) they lost their Prouinces, which precedent Auncient Captaines (endowed with many vertues) and worthy *Romaine* Consuls had won, by no meane expence of paines, and effusion of their blood.

Titles full of vanity and fond selfe-conceit.

Moreouer, the most part of the Emperors, beheld their Wiues, Children, and Friends, murdred and massacred; yea, and themselues subiect to no better fortune in the end: as *Iustinian*, who was cast out of his Empire by *Florianus*. They would likewise be called *Inclytes*, that is to say; Princes of glorious renowne, victorious, triumphing, and euermore *Augustus*, as much to say, as enlargers of the *Romaine* Empire: but, as I formerly said, these were but such Titles as Flatterers gaue them, for the greater number of those Emperours, after that these stiles of honour were imposed on them; could boast of no such happinesse, but rather came farre short of any such felicities.

The misery of most of the Romain Emperors.

The signification of *Augustus*.

Thus haue ye briefely seene the originall of all those people, which those Emperours made vaunt to haue foyled and vanquished: howbeit, though they were tearmed barbarous by them, yet (by little and little) they rent and tore their Empire in pieces. At this day they are all become ciuilized, and (well-neere all) Christians: onely the *Parthians* excepted, who are *Mahumetists*, partaking in the Turkes Religion.

Those Nations are become Christians.

But hauing spoken of so many Nations, who are al said to be deriued from the *Scythians*: wee may not omit to say some-what of the *Picts*, who (by the opinion of most Writers) do beare the name of a people of *Germanie*, that had their Originall out of *Scythia*, descending of the * *Agathyrsi* in *Sarmatia*, that vsed to paint and couler their faces, and thereupon were named *Picts*. Before they entred into *Brittaine*, they inhabited the Isle of *Orkney* for a long time together, ferrying ouer into *Cathnesse* daily, multiplying so in power and number: that (getting vp further into the Land) they possessed *Rosse*, *Murreyland*, *Merne* and *Anguss*e, whence passing into *Fife* and *Louthian*, they droue thence the *Britaine* Inhabitants, who were onelie poore people, that liued by nourishing & breeding Cattle This their entrance into *Albion* (for so was it then called) was in the yeare of the Worlds Creation 3633.

The originall of the Picts, & their comming into the Isle of *Orkney*

* A rich people bordering on the *Scythians*.

They were named Picts, of painting their faces.

Cruchneus Camelenus is said to be the first King of the *Picts*, and that he builded a famous Citty on the banke of the Riuer cald *Caron*, appointing it to be the chiefe Citty of all the Pictish Kingdom. He builded also the Towne of *Agneda*, afterward called *Edenbrough*, of *Ethus*, King of the *Picts*, and the Castle, named

Cruthneus Camelenus first King of the *Picts*.

The

The Castle of Maydens, because the *Pictish* Kinges kept their Daughter there, vnder strict custody, and in all good exercises, till their meete yeares for marriage.

Concerning the warres, strifes, and bloody contentions betweene the *Albion Scots* and *Pictes*, thorow all their Kings raigne, till their vtter ouerthrow, and quite dissolation of *Pictland*, by *Kenneth* the victorious King of *Scots*: I referre it to fitter time and place, onely letting ye know, that this subuersion & and vtter ruine of the *Picts*, happened in the yeare of our redemption, 839. in the sixt yeare of King *Kenneths* glorious raigne, and 1168. yeares after their first Plantation in *Albion*.

Kenneth King of *Scots* quite desolated *Pictland*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What benefit Musique bringeth to a Common-wealth; And how it hath beene naturally giuen to al Nations in the world, and (by the iudgement of some Historians) hath cured diuers infirmities and diseases of the mind.

The folly of some ouer-curious Law-makers.

VEry certain it is, that some Law-makers, peeuish, troublesome, and ouer-hard in many matters, whereof *Lycurgus* was one: did expel Musick out of their Commonwealths, affirming, that it made people effeminate, negligent, and idle. But I am of a quite contrary minde, and dare maintaine, that such as will truely consider Musique, and what it is in it selfe: shall finde, that it can make men bold, hardy, modest, and chast, especially being wel and vertuously vsed. Vnder this kind of Musique, I comprehend not onely that which is sung by Art and mellodiously, as by the voyces of Men, Weomen, or Children: but also I presuppose (within the same compasse) all Instruments; as Flutes, Lutes, Viols, Drums, Trumpets, Organes, Virginals, Harpes, and others. And there is not any thing, that maketh men more ciuilly minded, or preserueth them in better concord and amitie, then Musique.

The Authors comprehension of Musick.

Polybius declareth, that the great Common-wealth of the * *Cynethenses* in *Arcadia*, falling from the delight they formerly had in Musique: grew soone after into seditious humors, & ciuil wars among themselues, wherein there wanted not any kind of crueltie. And when all their Neighbors round about them, were meerely confounded with admiration, as wondring how these people should become so harsh, barbarous, and rude, considering that all the other people of *Arabia*, had by them been reduced to curtesie and humane tractability: *Polybius* was the first that took notice thereof, and auouched, that it onely proceeded, by leauing the vse of Musique, which (from all Antiquity) had euermore beene prized and honoured in *Arcadia*, more then in any other place of the World. For it was especially ordained, by the customes and decrees of the Countrey, that euery one should make vse thereof for the space of thirty yeares; yea, vpon very great paines and penalties. *And this was the reason* (saith *Polybius*) *that the first Law-makers among those people, ordained and appointed continuall vse thereof: onely to cause ciuility & humanity, in regard, that (of their owne naturall disposition) they were wilde, fierce, and barbarous, as all people inhabiting the Mountaines, and cold Countries are.*

Polib in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
* A Citty in *Arcadia*, nere *Lepreum*.

A Common-wealth quite ouerthrowne by leauing Musicke.

Lawes and Customes for the vse of Musicke.

Perhaps the like iudgement might passe on the *Gaules* of former times, whom *Iulian* the Emperour tearmed the barbarous people of his daies: which Nation (neuertheless) became afterward so courteous and tractable, as any other people whatsoeuer in *Europe*, whereat all Straungers wondred not a little. And yet it is generally knowne, that no people did more practise Musique, or sung more sweetely, then they: nay, and that which goeth farre beyond this, they could daunce any daunce in *France*, were it *Ionian* or *Lydian*, that is to say; consisting of fiue or seauen notes or strains. Which were expresly forbidden to Youth, by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, because they had a great power and preuailance, in softning and humbling the hearts of men. They would also exercise their Children to the * *Dorion* Musique, which was the first or chiefest note, to maintaine them in an harmonious sweetnesse, accompanied

Of the Gauls

Iul. imp. in Epist. ad Antiot.

The Gaules were generally addicted to Musick.

Plato in Lib. de Leg. et Republ.

* A certaine kind of Musick representing grauity.

panied with grauitie, which was the *Dorion* proper effect.

Dances vſed in the Leſſer Aſia.

Such prohibition might better haue beene vſed in the leſſer *Aſia*, where they had no other dances, but of fiue or ſeuen ſtraines, eſpecially in the Countreyes of *Ionia* and *Lydia*. But people inhabiting the Northern parts; cold, Mountainous, and Rocky, who are ordinarily more ſauage, or leſſe courteous then the Inhabitants of the South, or dwelling on Plaines, neuer can be better qualified or ſoftened, then by vſing the *Ionian* & *Lydian* hermony, which was alſo forbidden in the Primitiue Church: and nothing was there permitted to bee ſung, but of the firſt note, which is now moſt of all frequented in Churches. And like as men do diſarme ſauage Beaſts of furie & violence, to make them of a more tractable Nature: euen ſo, the *Lydian* and *Ionian* Muſicke or hermony, diſarmeth the verie rudeſt and moſt barbarous Nations, of all their former, ſauage, and cruell Natures, cauſing them to become milde, pliant, and affable. According as it fell out with the *Gaules*, who (it may be) could not haue beene tamed & made obedient vnto the ciuill Lawes and Ordinances of a Monarchy, if their former ſterne Nature (which the Emperor *Iulian* ſaid, was ſo high, and vnſufferable of ſeruitude) had not bin mollified and ſweetned by Muſicke.

Songes of the firſt note or ſound, not vſed in the primitiue church

The ſtern nature of the Gaules, ſoftened by Muſicke.

Muſick, is one of the members of the Mathematickes, as beeing a Science attracted from numbers: becauſe that by them, the proportion Hermonicall is found out. *Platoes* will was, that Children ſhould learne to ſing, for recreation of their owne ſpirites, and to prayſe God by Hymnes. And in truth, there is nothing that more taketh away offenſiueneſſe, or eaſeth matter of great and laborious trauaile (as woorking in the ground, Maſonry, Carpentry, and exerciſing other Arts, painefull to the bodie) then ſinging doth.

Muſick a mẽber of the Mathematiks

Muſicke maketh all labor ſeeme light and eaſie.

In like manner, all Artezans, following any Trade or profeſsion, doe vſe to ſing: as Hay-makers, Harueſters, Gardiners, Deluers, Children and Weomen weeding grounds, doe weare awaie the irkeſomneſſe of their labour by ſinging, either in heate or colde, Winds or Rain, it maketh paine the more ſupportable to them.

Soldiers, euen when they goe (manie times) to be ſlaine in a battell, will yet ſing by the way: the beating of Drums, and ſounding of Fifes and Trompets, giueth courage to the Soldier for his cariage in Warre, making him hardie, bold, and valiant. Nor is it to bee doubted, that Nature gaue Muſicke and melodie to man, but onely for his good and benefit; as yong Children do apparantly manifeſt vnto vs: for, when their Nurſſes would haue them to ſleepe, and keepe them in their Cradles: euen when they are moſt impatient and froward nothing ſooner aſſwageth and preuayleth with them, then mellodie and ſinging. In ſo manie Barbarour Nations, as haue bin diſcouered in former Antiquitie, and in our dayes, in that part of the earth which is called the New-found World, Flutes haue beene found among them, Drums, Hoboyes, and other Inſtruments, and both priuately and publickely, as alſo in their Temples, ſinging of Pſalmes hath beene obſerued.

Nature gaue Muſicke vnto man for his benefit.

Muſicke in Countries of the Newe-found world.

Many creatures, as diuers kindes of Birds, when they are in any chearfull diſpoſition, will ſing to ſolace and delight themſelues: as the Nightingale, the Tarine, the Thruſh, Linnet, Blackbird, and others; among which Birds, many haue beene taught to ſing by men, as daylie in moſt places is diſcerned. As concerning foure-footed Beaſts, diuers of them doe take much pleaſure in Muſicke, as namely Camels: for if ſuch as guide and Gouerne them, doe not ordinarily ſing or whiſtle to them, they will not trauel with any ſpirit or chearfulneſſe. All ſuch as haue beene in the Eaſt Countreyes, and noted the Carauannes, which are troops of Camelles laden with Merchandizes, haue affirmed as much. Horſes that are dreſſed by their Keepers, and daily ſung vnto as they do it, are made verie manageable, gentle, and apt for the Saddle. Aboue all other Beaſts, the Hart or Stag how wilde ſoeuer he bee, if hee heare a man play on a Violl, or on a Lute, he wil (by ſtealths) draw neerer and neerer, yea and ſuffer himſelfe to bee touched, as I my ſelfe haue ſeene by experience.

Birdes that take delight in Muſicke.

Camelles are pleaſed with ſinging.

The Hart or Stag, a great affecter of Muſicke.

Muſicke hath mighty power and Authority ouer the ſpirits and affections of men: and amongſt many examples, the firſt may be of *Timotheus*, who by pleaſing ſounds and chaunges of his Inſtrument,

PAGINATION INCORRECT

The reason why *Alexander* went from a Banquet.

ment, constrained *Alexander* (as ouerioyed with pleasure) for to depart from a banket. Next, we may speake of *Agamemnon*, who was loath to part from his Countrey, and go to the siedge of *Troy*, becausse he was doubtfull of the modesty of his wife *Clytemnestra*; and therefore, he left a Musition on the Harp with her; the sound whereof, should incite her to bashfulnesse and continence, so that *Ægistus* could not abuse her, without killing the Musition. But in speaking of this Harper, it maketh me to remember the Royall Psalmist *Dauid*, who of himselfe, was a man verie strong and seuere, yet much guided and detained by his Psalterion. Nor are we to thinke, that the hermonie of this Instrument, was common or vulgar, whereof the sacred Scripture maketh mention so many times, and which was iudged only (among al other) meete to celebrate the praises of God. It is composed of seauentie two stringes, in forme trlangulare, and the consonaunce thereof, is incompareable.

Agamemnon & his Wife *Clytemnestra*.

K. *Dauid* delighted highlie in his *Psalterion*.

It was ordained by *Moyses*, that God should be praised in his Temple, with voices and Instruments; and Christians (afterward) made continuance thereof by singing Psalmes, both with voices and Organs, which greatly incited Deuotion in the verie dullest minds. It was an especiall note of ciuilitie among the *Grecians*, euen as it is to this day after any feast or Banquet, to play vppon some Musical Instrument, or to sing anie *Ode* melodiously. Which obseruation, reached into *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, and *France*, where much more account is made of a cunning Musition that can sing wel, play on Musicall Instruments, Dance, vse lostie trickes, yet keepe both tune and time, that the cadence of his feete may fit with the Instrument, then of any ydle, neglect or ignorant fellow.

Moyses apoin ted Musick in the Temple of God.

Musick obserued amongest the Grecians

Manie haue attributed the inuention of Musicke, and playing on the Lyre or Harpe, to *Orpheus*; others, to *Amphion*; the Grecians to *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*; but others, to the people of *Arcadia*, becausse the men of that Countrey, were naturally addicted thereto. The Hebrewes, as *Moyses* and *Iosephus*, doe say; that *Iuball* the Sonne of *Lamech* (who liued in the yeare of the worlde, 1040. manie Ages before *Amphion*, and al other Musitions, was the Father of all that play vppon the Harpe and Organs; and that he did first finde out the concords of Musicke; nay more, that hee carefully addicted himselfe, and played both on the Psalterion, and on the Harpe. As concerning my selfe, I will not deny, that all the fore-named men were good Musitions, but that any one man of them should bee the sole inuenter, I can verie hardly therein bee perswaded.

Of the first Inuenters of Musicke and Instruments.

Gen. 4, 21.

That no one man could be the onelie Inuenter of Musicke.

Rather I am of the minde, that euerie singuler man, according vnto the Ages wherein they liued, made addition of their skill and knowledge; and so broght it to the perfection wherein we now find it to bee. And in these verie dayes of ours, there haue liued men so excellent and skilfull, as haue added diuers Rules, which neuer were knowne before, and brought the name of Musick to admired perfection, some inuenters whereof are knowne, but other vncertaine.

Musicke brought vnto perfection in our dayes.

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, I am desirous to set downe two seuerall experiences, concerning the efficacy and might of Musick: which my self saw practised vpon two Gentlewomen; one of them being *de la March*, neer to *Garet*, young, vertuous, and passable for beautie. This Gentlewoman fell into such a furie (by reason of a reporte made vnto her, of her husbandes inclination, to change and nouell affection) that at euery sudden moment of time, shee woulde throw her selfe headlong into the fire, or out at a Window, or into a Fish-ponde neere to her house; out of which, she had beene rescued two seuerall times; and therefore committed to more dilligent keeping.

Two experiments made of the power of Musicke.

A Gentlewoman distracted with iealously cured, and how.

Physitions could returne no good by their paines and endeuours, but a religious *Capucine* passing that way, and craning his *Passade* or Almes, at the doore of this Gentlewomans house; and hearing the strange accident befaln her, gaue them aduise, that some skilfull man, well experienced in playing vppon the Lute, should vse his cunning by her, and not to part from her in some prettie length of time, becausse it would proue verie helpfull to her. Further hee added, that in the night time, some pleasing Ditties might well consort with the Musicke, which accordingly was performed; and within lesse then three months space, the violent passion forsooke her; and she remaineth

The aduise of a *Capucine* frier.

maineth at this time found both in mind and bodie.

The Historie of another Gentlewoman of Honor.

I likewise knew another Gentle-woman of honor at *Rohen*, whose name may best be knowne by *du Parreau*, that al her life time, did neuer vse the helpe of anie Physicke, how great or grieuous soeuer her infirmities were. But in all hir diseases, griefes, hurts, Childe-weakenesse, and lamenesse, shee neuer desired anie better Physition, then one that could artificially play on the Taber and Pipe, and him shee would entitle her true Physition.

Griefes and great infirmities cured by Musicke.

This Gentlewoman being well entred into Age, it happened, that an extreame paine seazed on her knee, immagined to proceede from some taste of the Gowte. Whereupon, she would haue her Taborer instantly, to play her a pleasaunt and liuely Carranto. The Taborer being verie willing to please his Mistris, made such hast to touch his Taber, and sounde his Pipe in the best manner: that striuing to exceede himselfe in Art and dexteritie, both in readinesse of his winde, and agility of hand, he fell down in a swoond vpon the Floore. Hee being disabled from playing any longer, and all there present wondering not a little, to see him lye in such straunge estate, without anie recouery of strength or knowledge, for the space almost, of three quarters of an houre: the Gentlewoman her selfe, euen then complained, that her paine and affliction was neuer so extraordinarilie on her, as in the time of the Musicks so suddaine cessation.

A strange accident vnto a Taborer.

The Taborer hauing recouered strength and iudgement againe, and indifferentlie refreshed with a sprightly Cup of Wine, fell afresh to his former skilfull Musicall playing, and the Gentlewoman felte her paine immediately to leaue her. I my selfe was in the Chamber when these accidents happened; and do auouch vppon my credit, that the Gentlewoman thus liued an hundred and six yeares.

The Authour auoucheth the trueth of this Historie.

In briefe, in all well pollicied and ordered Commonweales, men should enstruct their Sons and Daughters in Musicke, because it mollifieth angrie hearts, asswageth sadnesse, preserueth people in kinde concord and amitie, healeth many melancholy diseases, and is no mean exciter of the minde to deuotion. *Plato* was of the minde, that the Heauens (in their motion and stirring) doth make so great and melodious an hermonie, that if man could be able to vnderstand it, he would neuer be wearied with abiding in this world.

The Authors conclusion.

Musicke and melody in the heauens motion.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Gold, the properties & excellency thereof: Where it is found: How it is extracted, purified: and what paine is bestowed in getting it.

ME thinkes, I shoulde offer great wrong to Nature, if hauing written on so manie sundry things, I shold not say somewhat concerning Gold, it beeing the most excellent of all other mettals, yea (in a maner) surpassing all things created in this neather world. For, it is saide to be immortall, exempted from all rust and corruption; insomuch, that lying hidden in the earth, in the Water, or in the most putrifyed heape of filth, for so manie yeares as any one pleaseth, yet it wil neuer receyue or tast of any imperfection; or let it be continually kept in the fire, yet it neuer diminisheth, neither receiueth any change or alteration.

Gold reputed to be immortal and free from filth or putrifaction.

His colour carrieth resemblance with the beames of the Sunne, which reioyceth or cheareth melancholy people. It hath no euil sauour or tast neither soileth their hands that meddle with it, as all other Mettals else do; which likewise float aloft aboue Quick-siluer, but Gold only goes to the bottome. If it be receiued into the bodie, it neuer offendeth the stomacke, be it either in powder, or solidly in Morselles: but contrarywise, giueth cheerefulnesse to the heart, and comforteth the vital spirits, whereto other Mettals are often offensiue.

The colour, properties, & perfections of Gold.

Therefore, let no man enter into anie meruaile, if the World doth make such estimation thereof, and prize it aboue all other thinges. For, as concerning the matter whereof it consisteth, a Learned Authour sayeth: *That it is composed of*

The matter wherof Gold is composed, being two Elementarie substances.

of two Elementarie substances, iustlie and equally proportioned. These substaunces then so mingled, being equall and vnited in proprietie, can endure nothing elſe, but this amiable and concordiall Commixtion, which perfecteth it selfe in the fermentation and knitting togither, making such an interligation, and absolute vnion of the one with the other; that it appeareth meerly impossible to dissolue or seperate them. So that, bee it that this ensueth by the influence of the Celestiall bodies, or by the diuturnity and power of time, or by the admirable operation of Nature; or elſe, that all these are therein assisting: yet notwithstanding, these Elementarie substances do conuert themselues into a Mettally bodie, which is tearmed Golde. The temperature whereof, with the Colligation and Vnion, maketh it so firme and solide, that not only it begetteth a common and vulgar permanencie: but receiueth likewise an incorruptible temperature, as it were, hauing (I know not how) some what in him, that enricheth and honoureth him, with al the forenamed excellent properties.

Elementarie, conuerted Metally bodies.

Merchants saile by Sea, trauell on the Land, with infinite cares, dangers, and paines, only to get this Gold. The maine intent of Soldiers, that expose themselus euerie moment into the pawes of death, or danger of her perpetuall thraldome, is only to winne Golde. For be it, that they surprize a Citty by assault, or winne the day by triall of battaile: they wil seeke after no other Luggage or Mooueables, but Gold onely: and if prisoners labor to redeeme their liues, the ransome must be Gold only. Schollers, and men experienced in all Arts, their studie & practise is to no other end, but to gaine Golde. If a payment be made to anyi great person, it must be in faire Gold. If guifts to Princes, none fitter then Golde. If but betweene Friend and Friend, the courtesie doth best expresse it selfe in Gold.

All actions & endeuours tend vnto nothing more, then to the getting of Gold.

Kinges, Emperours, and Princes, by the meanes of Golde, haue made themselues redoubted and dreadfull, and conquered manie potent Prouinces. Let *Phillip* King of *Macedon* remaine as a testimonie; who causing a re-search to bee made in the Mines of Gold which were in his Countreyes (that formerly had bin throughly digged, and quite giuen ouer) found yet so much remaining, as yeilded him the whole Conquest of Greece, and *Alexander* his Sonne afterward, of all the East. And many times, by the meanes of this excelling Mettall, the same King *Phillip*, caused impregnable places to bee surrendred to him, which he neuer could haue surprized by power.

Kingdomes & great Prouinces wonne by Gold.

To approue the truth heerof, *Plutark* reporteth of the same *Phillip*, that he hauing besiedged a place, by Nature so inexpugnable, that his owne followers aduised him to withdraw from thence: he demaunded of him that had best experience of the saide place, if there were no meanes, to let an Asse (laden with Gold) but goe about it. Whereto aunswere was made, yes doubtlesse. Then *Phillip* assured himselfe of taking the place, for he that was the Commaunder in it, comming to parlie, and touching the Gold, submitted himselfe to King *Phillip*, & the place also.

Impregnable places made passable by Gold.

The *Indiaes*, which be so farre off, are sought for with danger of death, and vnspeakable trauails of so manie thousands of men, which the Kings of Spaine haue continually sent thither: onely for the Mines of Golde, and rich sands so frequently found in the Riuers. Which neuer would be so fiercely followed, if I were able to recount, how manie men and women grow negligent of their own honor and good fame, onely by the base affection of Gold. But let vs nowe see, where this Golde is found; and in what manner it is come by: which I will relate in a Chapter by it selfe, least this should be offensiue to the Reader by length.

The reason why the Indiaes are so much trauayled & sought after.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

How Mines of Gold are known where they are: And in what manner the Golde is taken forth & washed.

IT would require too long a labour to relate all those Regions where Golde is found; for I am perswaded, that if men did bestow their paines in seeking, Mines wold be found (almost in euerie Country: yet more in some one, then in other; and of greater ease to be obtained. In manie parts of Germany, Gold is found, as in *Bohemia*, *Transyluania*, *Lauris*, *Sibebourg*, and many other Countreyes. In *England* in some few places. In *Macedonia* in a place called *Syderocapsa*. In diuers parts of *Affrica*, as in *Ethyopia*, and beyond the rest, in the New worlde, which we improperly tearme *India*, where Gold is had with much lesse labour, then amongst vs.

All Countries supposed to haue Mines of Golde, but not alike in quantity.

Yet howsoeuer it be, nothing can be obtained without labour; and wee must not thinke, that when men are in the *Indiaes*, they finde Ingots readie made to their hands, and gather vp Golde, as we do stones vppon the High-wayes. Surely it cannot be so, for we finde by the Spanish Histories, that the more part of the Naturall *Indians*, do meerely dye with labouring in the Mines of Golde, as being ouer-enforced and constrained vnto hard toyles, and verie badly vsed by the Spaniards.

Men find not Ingots of gold ready made to their hãds.

Now adayes, no such plentie of Gold is brought thence, as formerly hath bin, for that which was sent hither, and in so great quantities, had long time before beene gathered by the *Indians*. And so much the rather, because the greater part of their Idolles, were made of massy Gold; the verie soles of their Shooes, Vessels, and wearing Garments. Their Temples and Royall Pallaces, were all couered quite ouer with Golde, as ours are with Lead, and manie other mooueables, which were too long and tedious to relate.

No such store of Gold now as in former times.

The Newe World emptied of her Gold.

Next, the great and admirable ransomes of manie of their Kinges, I passe ouer in silence, as being at large discoursed in diuers other Bookes. But nowe at this present, a new kind of search must bee made for Golde, with much difficult labour, and great expence of time, especially, to recouer anie such quantitie. Therefore, let vs examine the places where it is to be had, and what proceeding is vsed therein.

Mettally matters haue their propper seating in Mountaines, in the same maner, as Trees haue their roots, Trunkes Braunches, and Leaues. And those hilles, whose toppes tend towardes the South, and their feete stretch towardes the North, dooth giue a demonstration to haue Mettall in them, beecause Mettalles doe engender themselues of a verie thicke and grosse humour, which may bee knowne by the colour and sauour; for, it yeeldeth a Blacke coloured earth, in regard of the Golde and Siluer, and such is the sauour also.

Matters of Mettals, are in Mountains and discerned by colour and smell of the earth.

If yee breake two stones, of one and the same hill, if any Mettall be beneath in the bowelles thereof, yee shall apparantly perceiue, that the Stones will sauour exceedingly of Sulphure. Whereby is to bee vnderstoode, that the first creation or composure of Golde, is in the verie top and highest part of Mountaines, or other loftie places, because the Sunne there purifieth that, which is ouermuch earthy. But when Raynes and Torrents, doe (by little and little) distill vppon the hilles, they beare the Golde along downe with them vnto the lower partes of those hilles: whence likewise ensueth, that the earth rifting by the Raine, Golde therein encloseth it selfe.

Gold is created in Mountains or high Hils, and in what manner

Hauing declared sufficiently (as I think) the true Originall of Golde, and of his Mines, I come now to relate, how it is come by, as wel in *Germany*, as in *Calicut*, *Peru*, and other Prouinces, be they in the East, West, North, or South, in which places there are diuers diuersities of Mines. Because they must either fish for Graines of Golde in the Riuers, or

Howe manie diuersities of Mines of gold there are, & how they are seuerally termed.

delue and digge in the Rockes & Mountaines, according vnto the places where such Mines are discouered. For knowledge whereof, it is to bee vnderstoode, that there be Mines, which are tearmed pendant or hanging Mines; others called lying or setled; others, oblique, or winding diuers waies: and others beside, that are streaming or gliding gently along in the earth or water.

Of Pendant Mines.

The pendant Mines, be those which are found in the sommitie or superficies of hilles or Mountaines, and haue (from thence) earth vnderneath them. Those that bee called lying or set'ed, are such as are beneath in the bottome, or playne firme ground, being carried downe thether by torrents and outragious Raines.

Of lying or setled Mines.

Of oblique or winding Mines.

And the other which are sayde to be oblique or Circkling, haue their courses thwarting or trauersing, eyther in those which hang, or in the Lying Mines. And all of these, doo disperse and spred themselues (by the meanes of little Pearling Gullets of Warer) into the neerest neyghbouring Riuers: from whence ensueth, that there are Riuers, generallie thoroughout the World, wherein is Sande and Grauell, appearing as if it were Azure and Golden in Colour, and therein are pure and fine graines of good Gold.

Of riuers that haue pure & fine graines of Golde, and how they wer discerned.

But returning to the pendant or hanging Mine, it behooueth heere to know, after what maner the *Indians* (and diuers other Nations, where such matter is in vse and practise) do gouerne and carrie themselues, in getting or deriuing this Mettall out of the earths entrailes.

Before we enter vppon the worke, it is necessarie to knowe, that in the Easterne Countreyes, where the people are Idolaters, such men as intend to goe and digge for Gold, and neuer were before at any Mines opening: doe abstaine from their Wiues, & all other pleasures of the body, vsing verie solemne Fastes and abstinences, adoring the Sun with earnest prayers. And this they doe, not onely because they hold a firme opinion, that Gold must needes be a sacred thing: but also to arme and settle themselues against Diabolicall Visions and illusions, which they are often subiect to in solitarie places, where they raise vp and finde so precious a Mettall, as they that haue beene in *Peru*, and the other Neighbouring Countreyes, confessed to haue seen, during the time of their there present abiding.

Ceremonies obserued by Idolaters in getting Gold out of the earth.

Diuelish Visions and Delusions.

Gold there is found in the earth, and in Rockie places, bee they the plaines or hilly grounds, where there is no verdure, but all naked and bare. In such partes as are without Water, as the experimented and skilful in the Veyns of Mines (knowing for a certainty what can be in such an earth) do first wash the place very cleane where they purpose to digge; which being done, they delue about eight or ten foote in depth, and as much in length and largenesse; then, in a certaine vessell made of purpose, they still doe wash the earth, as it is digged vp. If thus by washing, they finde any Golde, they continue on the labour: but if they find none, they will not yet giue ouer, vntill by digging deeper, they finde out the Rocke, which they breake and pierce thorough with their Instruments, vaulting it daylie as they goe on, with Engines and strong defences of Woodde, that the earth or stones may not fall downe vppon them.

The first maner of digging for gold, in groundes haue no Water.

Of digging til they come to the Rocke, and what is done after.

Concerning such Mines as are sought for in plaine grounds, they beginne digging (so neere as posibly they may) vnto some Brooke, Riuer, Current, or Lake: becausse thereby (in washing the earth) they may the sooner perceiue the Gold; or when any commeth to them, for otherwise, the labour would be too insupportable. And this is the reason, that the richest men in the *Indiaes*, haue store of Slaues, whom they onely employ in digging and deluing, beside other laborers, that bring or draw vppe the earth in Baskets, and others that carrie it to the Water in Panniers or Dossers. In the Water, bee it Riuer, Lake, Brooke, or Spring, there are diuers other slaues, that stand vp aboue the Knees, washing the saide earth (as it is brought vnto them) in Siues or Searces, making vse of no more water then is needfull, and so dexteriously seperating the Golde from the Earth, that as the earth (by little and little) glydeth away, so the Golde remaineth behinde in the Siue or Searce, then afterward, making (as it were) a second kinde of seperation, it is put into a Vessell by it selfe, and more earth broght to washing in like maner, and vsed accordingly. Heer is to be remembred, that they which wash the Mettall in these Siues or Searces, are most commonly Women, who haue

Of Mines in plaingrounds

Rich men in *India*, haue storeof slaues and how they are imployed

Of washing the earth in Siues or Searces.

two

two men, ſtanding ready to fil their ſiues; two others, which bring the Earth or Oare to them; two more for lading, and two for fetching, drawing it vp from the Diggers. So much ſhall ſuffice for the firſt manner of bringing Golde from the Mine.

Other means and waies for the finding out of Gold.

There are other meanes, and in another manner; as alſo the place where the Golde is founde, is altogether different. Conſidering, that there are riuers, wherin both ſande and Graines of Golde are found; which for the more eaſe in recouering, if the Riuer bee ſmall and little, the *Indians* labour to emptie and draw it drie. Then taking the ſande and Earth in the bottome, they waſh it in ſuch ſort as hath been declared.

Of Golde found within Brooks or Riuers.

But if the Riuer or Spring bee ſuch, as it cannot bee made drie: they chaunge and turne the courſe ſome other waie, quite from his Naturall Bedde or Current. Which beeing done, they go to ſeeke for Gold in the very middeſt of the Channell, amongeſt the Pebbles and Flintes: and more profite returneth by this kinde of Fiſhing, then by waſhing the digged Earth, as I haue truely found by obſeruation.

Fiſhing for Gold, is better then waſhing the erth

But howſoeuer the Mettall of Golde is thus found out in Riuers, or in the Plaine Fieldes: yet it is helde for moſt certaine and infallible, that it was firſt bredde in the Sommetie and toppes of Hilles or Mountaines; and the vehement ſhowres and falles of Raine (when this Earth was baked and conuerted into Golde, by the radiant and ſplendant beames of the Sunne) by ſofte and ſlow ſlydings, carried it downe into neere adioyning Riuers and Brookes, which lye apt and readie to receyue whatſoeuer is ſent downe by Torrents from the Mountaines; as alſo, into the vnder-ceuen grounds.

The powerfull beames of the Sunne, createth gold

Therefore, there is no further queſtion to be vrged, but that Golde hath his Originall in the ſuperficies of the Earth, and breedeth in the moſt ſecret partes thereof. So that Mines are oftentimes made like vnto Cauernes and Grottes; whereof, and likewiſe of Mines in the Mountaines, wee doe now purpoſe to ſpeake.

Gold hath his Originall in the ſuperficies of the erth.

The *Indians*, doe vſe another kinde of meanes for the finding of Golde, which is much more daungerous; and is alſo obſerued in thoſe Countreyes, falſelie called the Weſt *Indiaes*: yea, it is likewiſe vſed in the Northerne Regions, towards the higher *Sueſsia*, *Gothia*, and partes of the *Varines*, all ioyning to the kingdome of *Norway*.

This manner of emptying Mines, is obſerued in thoſe that are pendant, to wit; Mines of the Mountaines. In which labour, diuers Engines are employed, and vaulted Tables vſed, to hinder the daunger hourely to bee feared, becauſe great perilles dooth ordinarily happen. For, ſome haue beene noted, in VVorking to vndermine the Rocke, to be on the ſuddaine murdered, with the fall of great Stones, breaking out of the hollowe riftes. Others, that climbe and grapple along the ſharpe ſteepie Rockes, with Doſſers and Baskets faſtened vnto their backes, ſeeking for the Oare of the Mines, to carrie it vnto the VVater, by beeing altogether vnable to holde theyr owne waight any longer, fall downe and are deſtroyed.

Mony Gold is gotten out of pendãt Mines which properly are called Mines of the Mountaines.

Great danger in the pendãt or Mountaine Mines.

But, that this buſineſſe might be put in execution, with much leſſe daunger, ſome haue inuented a verie great wheele, guided and directed (in ſome places) by Horſſes: but for lacke of ſuch help, men do therein employ their ſtrength and induſtrie. By the meanes of this wheele, they let downe and mount vppe againe, the Deluers and Diggers in the Mine; and thoſe alſo that carrie the Oare to waſhing. This VVheele ſerueth likewiſe, to conuey away the VVater which the Diggers happen to light on, verie deepe in the Earth. Another great daunger which I do obſerue in this ſearch, is the noyſome exhalations yſſuing out of the Mines, whereby many people haue been ſtifled, not being able to endure ſo groſſe an Ayre. Many times alſo, rauines and invndations of water happeneth, ſuddenly breaking foorth, by ſome ouerture of the ſounſe or Spring, and ouertaketh or rather ſurmounteth them ſooner, then they can haue reſpite for giuing warning to them aloſte, for drawing of them vppe. And therefore, thoſe as bee employed in this laborious paines & trauaile, commonly are ſuch as haue deſerued the Halter: or elſe, theyr owne Slaues, whoſe Liues are of leſſe eſteeme vnto them, then are ſome of theyr beſt Beaſts.

A commodious Wheele for eaſe of Workmen in the Golden Mines.

The noyſome ſauors & exhalations in Mines.

The qualitie of ſuch as vndergoe the greateſt danger.

Wee are further to knowe, that the Golde which is found in the *Indiaes*, is not so much charged with Mettalles, as that which is hadde in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Affrica*: becauſe it is farre more pure, and yeeldeth not ſo much labour to the Purifier. For that Golde of the Indiaes, is fined or purified only by fire: but that elſwhere (ouer and beſide the fire) is beaten and re-beaten with the ſtrokes of hamours; and then in the end, refined with ſtrong Water. Alſo, rarely or ſildome do they find any pure Gold in the Mine: but it is intermedled with Siluer, or ſome other Mettals.

Gold in graines being founde in Riuers.

As for the Golde in Graines, which is found in Riuers and perling Brookes, they vſed (in ſome parts) to gather it with the helpe of Sheepes skinnes, that hadde the Wool on them: but becauſe it appeared to bee ouer-laborious, the vſe of Quicke-ſiluer was deuiſed; whereby it is eaſily knowne among the ſand. From which maner of trying or finding Gold, the Fable of the Golden Fleece was inuented, which *Iaſon* and his *Argonantes*, ſayled for to *Pontus*. And hauing attained ſo farre as the Riuer *Phaſis*, where the Countrey people found out and gathered their Golde, with ſuch Wooll skinnes: they deriued thence, many good Golden Arguments, and could tel ſtore of Tales, at their returning home. But bee it howſoeuer *Iaſon* and his followers Fleeced, and got all the Golde from the *Colchians*, which they had gathered for manie yeares together, with their ſheepskinnes: And then gaue it out in a mockery, that they had conquered and woonne the Fleece of Gold.

The Interpretation of the Fable of the Golde-fleece

CHAP. XXXI.

Whence the diuerſitie of Golde proceedeth: His Medicinable Vertues. Of viſions and illuſions that are mette withall in Mines. And of the deceite that is committed in the compoſition, which is called Aurum potabile.

Opinion conceiued of one kind of Gold only.

SOme do hold, that in the whole vniuerſall Worlde, there is but one kinde of Gold only; and that (generally) whereſoeuer it is found, or whence ſoeuer it commeth: if it be well refined and purified without anie commixtion, it is continuallie good Gold. Alſo, that that which is drawne out of the verie coldeſt Regions in the world, is as good as that of the verie hotteſt parts. And that of the Eaſt is no more excellent, then the other of the Weſt. But when Finers, Gold-ſmiths, and Monnoyers, do attribute diuerſitie of Names thereto, eſteeming one kinde to bee of much greater price and value then another (as we may note for example; one is tearmed Ducate Golde, another Crown Gold, another Maille Golde, or *Or de Maille*, another Piſtolet Gold, valewing xxi. Carrats, another eighteene, and ſo of others; ſome more, ſome leſſe:) Queſtionleſſe, theſe Names and dignities, did receiue their birth and Original in diuers Countries, where Gold had beene adulterated and ſophiſticated, by the vnfaythfulneſſe of Workemen, and multiplyed with other minglings of Metals, of much leſſer value, and farre inferiour in puritie to the other. Which multiplication, hath beene inuented, according vnto their will and humour, that laboured to augment our moderne Moneyes. As for Ducates, Crownes, * *Philippus*, * *Angelots*, and * *Portugaloiſes*, they were diuerſly forged of pure and impure Gold, and the inuention hath not beene Moderne.

Original of the diuers kinds of gold, and of their ſeueral terms by valewatiō.

Multiplication began in Moderne monies.

*A Golden Coine worth iii.s Sterling.

*Our Engliſh Angell.

*The Portegue, worth iii. li.x.s.Sterling.

For wee finde, that from the time of the Romaines Greatneſſe, the Commonwealth

mon-wealth being not able to supply the expences of their warres: did sometimes diminish the prices of their moneyes, for an ouer-plus gaine and aduantage. Likewise, they sophisticated their purest Siluer, enter-mingling it with an eyght part of Copper, onely because they wold encrease it.

Opinion contrary to Antiquity & men of skil in Metals.

Some (neuertheless) contrarie to the opinion of Antiquitie, and of many, verie skilfull in matter of Mettals, doe say the conttary, to wit; That the Easterne Golde is much better then the Northerne; and better in one Country then in another. But as for my selfe, I holde the first Opinion, as beeing perswaded, that Nature neuer tooke delight in making one Elementarie substance of gold, more fine or perfect then another. For, hee is so much the neater and purer in his qualitie, as the Elements are simple, whereof hee is framed or composed.

There is only but one kind of Gold, and the reason to aproue it.

It is no shame then to vs, if we hold Golde in such excellent estimation, farre aboue all other Riches, and valew it in our iudgement, to bee more precious then all other Mettalles whatsoeuer. For, Nature consulting with her selfe, to compose it of an equall quantitie, truely correspondent to the Symmetrie and iust proportion of the Elementes, yeeldeth it readilie purifyed from the verie Originall, according as the selfesame Elements were truely simple. And by Coniunction of those Elements, beeing in Vertue equall together, was engendered such a Delicate and perfect mixtion of indissoluble Vnion, composing the Connexion so intirely and faithfully: that it formed an incorruptible Paste or substaunce, which is permanent vnto all Eternitie both in goodnesse and excellencie.

The purity of Golde from the first Originall therof.

Gold cannot endure an excrescence of fowle Commixtion.

And this is the cause, why it cannot bee Conquered by the iniuries of Antiquity, and that it will not containe in it selfe, neyther endure anie excrescence and superfluity of fowle commixture. For, although it remaineth as buried in the Water, or in the Fire, for some long space of time: yet notwithstanding, it is neuer blemished, neyther receyueth anie other qualitie or defect, as I haue formerly sayde. This is the priuiledge, which is alone perticuler vnto Golde onely, aboue all other Mettalles whatsoeuer.

Now, albeit the Græcians haue spoken nothing of his properties and Medicinable vertues: yet the *Arabians* were not therein forgetfull, because they appointed it in prepared Medicaments, to euacuate sullen and Melancholie Humors.

The Medicinable properties & vertues of Gold.

Item, to make an actuall Cautere, especiallie in his Soueraigne qualitie, it must onelie be done with Golde: for the Wound which it maketh and Vlcerates, is much more the sooner healed. Golde held within the mouth, maketh the breath good and sweete. The File-dust of Golde, pounded or beaten smalleſt on a Marble stone, is verie good in such Medicines, as are giuen for the re-growing of Haire againe, after it hath been formerly lost: or for Ring wormes and Tetters, when it is so small beaten, as it may bee scarse discerned vnder the Thumbe Naile: then putting it into the eyes, it is very soueraigne for clearing of the sight. It is drunke also, for a preseruatiue against the accidents and dauntings of the heart.

Cauterizing with Golde.

Gold maketh sweet breath.

Gold restoreth lost haire

Gold preserueth the eye-sight, & comforteth the heart.

Water, wherein an Ingot of Golde (made red hotte in the Fire) hath beene some few times quenched: or, wanting an Ingot, a Ducate, Portugue, or some such other thick and great piece of gold: that Water, mingled with wine, helpeth the Quartaine Feauer, purgeth the Melancholy humor, diminisheth the puft vp Spleene or Milte, and is also a singulare remedy against the Dropsie.

Gold quenched in Water, helpeth the Quartain Ague & Dropsy

Nor are those reports to be reputed as Fables, concerning euill Spirites or Dæmons, which haue bin seene and hearde in Mines: for this is the most irkesom and dangerous thing, that hurteth and offendeth the poore Mettally Pioners. And manie times, they behold the rowling of great stones from the maine Rocke, their Engines suddenly broken all to peeces; their Ladders ouerthrowne, and the Cords (whereby they holde) broken in sunder; so that the parties fall beyond all recouery.

Spirits haunting Mines, are verie dangerous to the poor Pioners.

Others haue bin rapt and transported suddenly away, and neuer after eyther seen or heard of. These hurtful spirits, are thought also to do them infinit small seruices, as to them that draw vp the Mine, and cleaue the great stones of the Rock, (which is thought sometimes impossible

Spirites seruiceable for a while, and hurtful afterward.

to be done, without such strange help) & counterfetting a thousand voices, with as manie Apish and fantasticke trickes, for the pastime and pleasure of such poore people in their labour. But verie soon after, except they be aduised and careful of themselues, a peece of the Rocke fals on their heades, and then this ioy is conuerted into teares and sad complaintes. And this happeneth more in the *Indiaes*, and amongst those Idolaterous people, then where any Christians are, or frequent.

More among the idolatrous Indians, then any wher els.

Belonius reporteth, that when he was in *Greece*, at the Mountaine of *Syderocapsa*, where the Mines are, that appertaine to the Turke: himselfe went to peepe in, at one of the spiracles or breathing holes of a Mine, which had formerlie beene, (but not for a long while) of great reuennew to his Maister, who was a Iew; but as then hee was constrained to forsake it, because it was haunted with a Mettallie Spirit. And because he had very often shewne himselfe, in the forme and likenesse of a Goate, with faire and goodlie Hornes of Golde, they called that hole or Spiracle, *Hyaris Cabron*, which was at the top of a Village, named *Pianits*, in the same Mountaine, and neer to the Brook, tearmed *Rotas*. But this was such a discontented Deuil, as none might be suffered to labour there, neither in company, nor alone.

Belonius his Historie of a metally spirit.

An angry discontented spirit.

He affirmeth also, that in other Mines, there were diuers other mettally Spirits, that would doe no harme to anie of the Workemen, but helpe them many waies in their labours. *Munster*, who had visited sundry Mines in *Germanie*, records the verie same. To yeelde a reason for these matters, I cannot: but referre it to such as are better seene in such thinges, then I am my selfe: yet Saint *Augustine* speaketh verie amply thereof, in his book of the Cittie of God.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

But before I end this Chapter, I wold aduertise the well minded Reader, to beware of certaine gadding Emperickes or Mountebankes, making profession of Physicke, who giue vnto sickely people a kinde of powder, or a certaine liquor to drinke, which enforceth the bodie for to purge so violently both vpward & downward, that verie many haue died thereby. Concerning mine owne iudgment heerin, I take it to be *Antimonie*, though they please to tearme it, *Aurum Potabile*. For, if it were Gold, it could not do any harm: for whatsoeuer proceedeth of Gold, cannot but be good, and free from hurt. But vnder the shaddow of his Sacred vertue, such Conseruers haue taken occasion, to commit thereby verie great abuses. As there are some also, that Nursing young Children after their owne manner, doo let them champe double Ducats in their mouths: and then their slauer or spettle is to bee preserued: affirming it to be verie helpeful to diuers diseases.

Deceite committed by Quacksaluers & Empericks.

Aurū Potabile.

Yong Children driuell or slauer.

But because these are euident and apparant tromperies; I am of the minde, that it wil not passe any long time vnpunished.

Thus you see, what I haue Collected out of manie good Authors, both Ancient and Moderne; as also the iudgement of approoued good Metallers, concerning the true History of this so excellent & much affected Mettal: which althogh it looke sometimes verie pale, it only proceedeth thorough the enuie and desire, that euerie man (Naturally) beareth vnto it.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Interpretation of these three seuerall Titles, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, *which are three diuers kindes of Gouernement in a Commonwealth, to vnderst and which of them, is the best and most expedient.*

I Did purposely insert this Chapter, to declare the great errour of manie in these our dayes, who beholding seditious troubles to offend the authoritie of Soueraign Princes (without any cause or subiect) in too manie countries, and parts of Christendome; would haue Common-weales formed, according to their perticuler affections, some being *Democratiques*, others, *Aristocratiques*, and are all vtter Enemies vnto absolute Monarchy. Nowe, beecause these three

The Authors reason for this Chapters inserting.

three wordes are not easily vnderstood, except it be by such men as haue knowledge in the Greeke tongue; the courteous Reader shall finde my honest furtherance therein; albeit *Monsieur du Verdier*, Lord of *Vauprinaz*, hath written and related somewhat thereof, yet very succinctly. But I will alleadge the reasons both of the one and other, to the end it may be knowne, which of these kindes of Common-wealth is the best, and likest to be of longest continuance.

These three words not easily vnderstood by euery man.

Democratia, or popular estate and preheminence, is a Common-weale, where the free and poorest (beeing the greatest number) do ouer-rule and commaund all the rest. *Aristocratia*, is that which we may interpret in our language, to be the power of the most vertuous, and in Latine, *Optimarum Principatus*: in regard, that they are reputed to be very good and vertuous, as commonly wee hold our best Gentlemen to be. This forme of gouernment taketh place, when as few Noblemen are approoued vertuous, either in learning or good manners; to sway the Soueraignetie of the whole body, and minister Lawes to the rest of the people, as well in generall, as in perticular. *Monarchia*, is that awefull authority, when one alone hath the sole power ouer all the people, both Nobles and others, commaunding absolutely.

The definition of *Democratia*.

Of *Aristocratia*

When this kind of gouernment is allowed.

Of *Monarchia*

This forme of gouernment in any Common-weale, is called Royaltie. And me-thinkes, now that I haue giuen yee the signification of these three Titles: it would not much varry from our purpose, to set downe which of them is the most profitable to the people, tollerable, and of longest continuance. For many reasons and Arguments may bee produced on either side, some whereof will seeme to be receiueable: which neuertheless are not, and therefore I hold it fittest, to let them bee tried by open euidence.

The Soueraigne authority of Royalty.

Many thinges seeme good, that are not so indeed.

First then, such as approue the estate of *Democratia*, or popularitie, will alleage vnto vs: that there haue been *Democraties*, of the very worthiest men in Armes, and that by the Lawes of the very greatest Iurisconsults, Oratours, and Artezans, there should not be any other Common-weales, where the faction of a few Lords among them, or the iealousie of one sole Monarch, should hinder the subiects in any great attempts. And, which is more, it appeareth, that the true note of a Common-wealth, should consist in a popular estate onely: for then, all the people enioy the publike good, each man partaking in common good fortunes, spoyles, wages, and conquests. Whereas a few Lords in *Aristocratia*, and one alone in Monarchy; conuert the publike benefit to perticular interest. In briefe, if there be nothing more to bee desired, then that Magistrates should be obedient to the Lawes, and subiects to Magistrates: it appeareth also, that these may be best obserued in a popular estate, where there is nothing else but Law, who is the Lady and Mistresse of all. These are the principall points that can be alleaged, to vphold popular authority, which carrieth a goodly luster in apparance: but indeed, all these reasons are nothing else in effect, but meer Spiders webs, soft, gentle and cunningly wouen, yet of no validity or strength at all.

Their reasons that defend the sway of Popularity.

Generall benefit of the people.

Law the Lady and Mistris of all.

To refute that which hath been said, of a popular estate, or Common-wealth, we will begin with the first Allegation: that therein hath been found more Law-makers, Orators, good captaines, and Handy-crafts men, then in any other. It is very certaine, that the cause of so many Law-makers in this estate, proceeded from the contrarietie of Lawes, one repugnant to another, which Magistrates suffered to liue in suspence, during the time as they exercised their Offices; neuer caring or respecting, whether they were beneficial or hurtfull, but onely that some memory might remaine of them, after the expiration of their authority. This was an ordinary custome in *Rome*, as may be noted, when the Consull *Cassius* proclaimed by the sound of a Trumpet; that all the *Latines* and *Hernians*, which had no Houses in Rome, should auoide and get them gone. *Virginius*, his companion in rule, caused the contrary also to be published, to make the people capable of such a Law as he would promulgate, and to flesh the Inhabitants (in the hart of the Citty) against the Strangers. By reason of these two contrarie Lawes, some were found, that studied

A refutation of the reasons formerly alleaged.

The cause why there were so many Law-makers.

Example of the Consull *Cassius*, and *Virginius* his associate.

The cause of such store of Captaines.

studyed how to glose and accord these differences, and they that medled most busily therein, were termed great Lawmakers. If (in this condition) such great Captains haue bin found; it grew by nō other occasion, but that in such popular estates, ciuill Warres were orderlie very frequent. Heereof let *Rome* be a Witnesse, where oftentimes the people were beheld in a heape on the one side, and the Nobility on another side, sometimes in three deuisions. Or, if they had peace among themselues; then they were at Warre with their Neighbours. And indeed, through this continuall exercise of Armes, there were many good Captaines and Souldiours made; but with the dear expence of the Cittizens blood and liues.

War is more beneficial for Souldiours, then Citizens

Of Oratours, and eloquent Speakers.

For Oratours, because any people that commonly are without Letters or learning, or any store of iudgement, doe affect such as praise them; he that can best please by those meanes, tickling the eare with finery wordes: shall be sure to be esteemed among such people, and eloquence is very dangerous, except it be well vsed. For the attaining of which degree, Oratours haue ordinarily no other obiect, but contend in the Art of Rhetoricke, who shall speake smoothest. And it is no matter of meruaile, if excellent Orators bee found in popular estates: for there was a *Demosthenes* in *Athens*, and a *Cicero* in *Rome*. Moreouer, to aske counsell of the people, as anciently it was don in popular Cōmonweales: were nothing else, but to request Wisedome from furious mad men, and it hath long past as a well knowne Prouerbe; *Wise Men propound, and Fooles giue resolution.* Moreouer, we know very well, that in an assembly of people; nothing can be kept secret, which is a most pernitious thing. The difficulties ensuing, by conuentickling a multitude of people in one place, the disorder among croudes and throngs, the variety of voyces, and inconstancy of men of many minds; all these I passe ouer.

Ignorant people affect praises.

Confusion is among multitude of people.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 7. & 8.

The people, of their owne Nature (saith *Titus Liuius*) are insolent and excessiue in all liberty and licence, when matters goe well with them; and as deiected or downe-pressed are they, vpon the least losse: for vicious and impudent men, are aduanced among them, but the honest and vertuous are thrust out by the eares. As for in-Iustice, the people say, let no care be had thereof: prouided, that profit may bee deriued from iudgements, and sold to the faireſt offerer: that good meanes may bee had, to ruinate, Rich, Noble, and honest men, hurrying them without any cause, but meere capitall hatred to such good mindes, contrary to the many-headed humour and Nature. For this cause, the popular estate or Common-weale, is the sourse and refuge of all turbulent spirits, mutiners, seditions, and exiles: who giue councell, comfort and resistance to the sillier sort, to make hauocke and spoile of the greater.

Bad men aduanced, and good men no way regarded

A popular estate is the Nurse of infinite mischiefs

But yet there is a more capitall plague, attending vpon those popular Commonweales, to wit: impunity of wicked persons, prouided, that they bee Cittizens, that is to say, petty Kinges. For in a popular estate of the Romaines, it was prohibited to all the Magistrates, on paine of death: to condemne a Cittizen to naturall or ciuill death, or to depriue him of his libertie or Bourgeship, or to whip him with Rods, were his offence neuer so foule. Yet we read, that *Verres* was accused, attainted, and conuinced, to haue robbed, stolne, and committed an hundred thousand concussions, or publike extortions, and false iudgements: neuertheless, by parting out of *Rome*, & leauing a good moity of those thefts behind him; he was quitted. And yet *Rutilius*, *Metellus*, *Coriolanus*, the two *Scipioes*, and *Cicero*, they could haue no better fauour then banishment. *Ephesus* also could banish the vertuous* *Hermodorus*: *Athens* expulsed iust *Aristides*: *Themistocles* died in exile; *Miltiades* in Prison; *Socrates* was put to death; and * *Phocion*, the most intire and vertuous man of his age, after he had bin chosen fiue and forty times chiefe Captain and Commaunder, neuer receiuing any blame or taxation; yet notwithstanding without admittance of any answere, he was condemned to death, with forty other famous men, onely because they were his friends. States & degrees were there sold also, euen as they did at *Rome*: for *Marius* durst boldly bring Sumpters laden with Money, to buy the voyces of the people; and *Pompey* did the like.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 7. et 8.

Vices which doe ordinarily accompany popular Common-weales.

Offenders spared, and Innocents banished.

*He caused the twelue Tables to be made.

*He was Scholler to *Plato* and *Xenocrates*, and of wonderfull constancy & grauity.

Degrees and Offices bought with Mony.

The

The concuſſions beſide were an incredible matter, made in the face of iudgement, and before the eyes of all beholders.

Extortion & in-iuſtice committed in the iudgment place.

Much conformable to this, was that of *Statocles*, and *Democlides*, *Athenians*, who when they took poſſeſſion of their Offices. *Come on* (quoth they) *let vs now goe to the Harueſt of Gold.* If then ſuch eſtates, degrees, and Iuſtice it ſelfe were ſo vnworthily ſold, in two ſuch great Common-weales, enriched with the ſpoyle of other people: what then may men iudge of the popular preheminence, where the poore are alwaies needy, wretched and indigent? Wee haue an example of the *Megarences*, who hauing expulſed their Prince *Theagines*, eſtabliſhed ſuch an irregular popularе gouernment, that it was law full for the poore to liue in rich mens Houſes, as *Plato* hath very well recorded.

Example of the *Megarences* to their Prince.

Plato in lib. de Leg.

Now we are to know, that if the Common-weales of the *Romaines*, *Athenians*, or others, hadde ſome time of flouriſhing: it was onely occaſioned, by hauing (in thoſe tempeſtuous daies) a Senate, full of men of honour, as alſo of worthy and vertuous Captaines, that kept the people from diſordering themſelues, and ſerued (indeed) as a bridle to them; As in *Rome* there a *Mennius Agrippa*, a *Camillus*, a *Papyrius Curſor*, a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Scipio*, a *Cato*, a *Scaurus*, and a *Pompey*. In *Athens*, there was a Senate of the *Ariopagitæs*, *And a Pericle* (ſaith *Thucidides*) *who was the true Monarch thereof, though in apparance it was meerely populare.* In briefe, the popular eſtate can haue no long ſubſiſting; if there be not ſome eſpeciall Wiſe-men, that haue an eye to the gouernment.

The reaſon why any popular eſtate hath ſome time of continuance.

Thucidides in Lib. 4.

But ſome will obiect vnto me, and ſay: doe we not ſee the Lordes of Leagues and Confederacies, that they haue built vp a goodly popular eſtate, and continued in the gouernment therof, more then three hundred and fiftie yeares? Are they not alſo (by theſe meanes) warranted not onely from tyranny, but likewiſe haue giuen chaſe to Tyrants, inſulting on their Neighbors? To a double demaund, we muſt needes returne a double anſwere. Firſt, the Country it ſelfe, and naturall diſpoſition of the people, is very conuenable for a popular eſtate. In the ſecond place, they that are moſt quarrellous & mutinous, doe goe to the ſeruice of other ſtrange Princes: the reſt of the milder people, apt and eaſie to be ordered, they haue no great care how the State ſtands.

Lords of Leagues and Confederacies, in their gouerning.

Moreouer, all the Lords of Leagues, and popular Common-weales, do enter into confederation offenſiue and defenſiue, and are vnited ſtrictly together: Not much vnlike to ſuch as walke in darke nights, or goe ouer ſlipperie places, where is danger of downe-fals, they hold one another faſt by the hands; and in this manner they maintaine themſelues, againſt the power of Monarchies, as the *Athenians* and *Thebanes* did in thoſe elder daies. Yet one thing more may not bee forgotten, the foundation of their popular eſtate: was builded and cimented with the blood of Nobility, and of thoſe that were the very richeſt.

A very apt comparſon.

Our auncient Predeceſſours, for the better aſſurance of their eſtates, did ſtriue to equalize all their Cittizens in Goods, Honours, Power, and recompences, and if there were ſome one, more iuſt, more vertuous, and more wiſe then the reſt: if he were not baniſhed, he was vſed as badly, for al things poſſible was taken from him, euen as it was a common practiſe in the Common-weale of *Athens*. It is an act of great in-iuſtice, to take away the goods of a rich man (which he hath obtained by his care and induſtry) and make them equall to another, of no merit or worthy qualitie. It is alſo contrary to the Law of God, who hath expreſly commaunded, that the proprietie of mens goods, ſhould be kept to themſelues. It behoueth not then to ſay, that nature made al things in common: for the law of the Mother, can no way be contrary to the commaundement of the Father.

Equality is alwaies moſt reſpected in a popular Common-wealth.

Gods law for the propriety of mēs goods.

And as for the power of commaunding, wherin popular men would equal one another: there is much leſſe apparance then in goods: for wiſedome and prouidence is not giuen by an equall diſtribution, and therefore (on meere neceſſity) election muſt bee made in a popular eſtate, of the moſt ſufficient Magiſtrates, for the better commaund and

Danger of electing Magiſtrates and Officers in a popular eſtate.

The reaſon why the common wealth of the *Switzers* hath continued ſo long.

and deliuery of Iuſtice. But who is he then, that perceiueth not at firſt ſight, that among men there are ſome, who haue leſſe iudgement then brute beaſts: yet others againe, who haue the diuine Carracter ſo clearely, that they appear rather to bee Angels, then Men? All which notwithſtanding, they that ſeeke after equality; would haue authoritie giuen to furious, ignorant, and inſenſible Men, as well as to the wiſe, and beſt vnderſtanding. For the voyce of ſuch aſſemblies is not poyzed by weight, and euermore the number of Fooles, wicked and ignorants, is a thouſand times greater then people of reſpect: therefore *Salomon* ſaid truely, *Hardly ye ſhall finde one among a thouſand.*

Equalitie of Authority in all men.

For concluſion, ſeeing it is not in the power of good Cittizens and wiſe politiques, to change the populer eſtate into Monarchie; the principall foundation of popular ſway, conſiſteth in the ſtrict obſeruation of Edicts and Ordinances. For in as much as the popular eſtate is eſtabliſhed, contrarie to the courſe and order of Nature, which beſtoweth commaund and preheminence on the verie wiſeſt: this appeareth incompatible to the vulgar people, who will not receiue any commaund in a collectiue name, neither ſet good lawes and ordinances before their eyes, as bright Torches for their better direction; therefore ſuch an eſtate muſt needs be quickly ouerthrowne. And this is the reaſon, why thoſe Lordes of Leagues doe ſo ſtrictly keepe Edicts and Ordinances: otherwiſe, their eſtate had long ſince beene ſunke. Now, in regard that this Chapter ſeemeth ample enough, and (I hope) not wearyſome to the Reader: the matter of *Ariſtocratia* and *Monarchia*, ſhall be handled (by themſelues) in the following Chapter.

A remedy for the maintenance of popular eſtate.

Where lawes and ordinances are not ſeuerely kept, the ſtate can hardly indure

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Monarchia ought moſt eſpecially to be preferred, before Democratia or Ariſtocratia.

BY naturall reaſon, that Seigneurie or Dominion is cald *Ariſtocraticall*, where there be many Cittizens, and the leſſer part of them doe hold the eſtate: or more properlie, where the beſt and woorthieſt people are onely receiued and aduanced. And yet it may be ſaide, that ſoueraignetie ought to be giuen to the richeſt perſons only, as to them that haue therein the greateſt intereſt: conſidering alſo, that they beare much heauier charge then the poorer ſort, who hauing nothing to looſe, meere neede maketh them to forgoe authority. It appeareth then, that *Ariſtocratia* ſhould be preferred before the popular eſtate, but not before *Monarchia*. And yet doubtleſſe, they that doe well conſider what *Ariſtocratia* is; will finde it full of maine incommodities. That it muſt needes be ſo, make ſome obſeruation. In a great Common-wealth, ye ſhall haue many Lords that wil command, and the more Lords there be, the greater ſtore of factions: among whom, deliberations being difficult to reſolue on, they rather vaniſh away like ſmoake, then are ſeriouſly conſidered. For this cauſe is it, that *Ariſtocraticall* authorities haue bin much longer durable and aſſured, wher there haue bin the fewer Lords: As the *Lacedemonians* with thirty Lordes, and the *Pharſalians* with one and twentie, did long time maintaine their rule, but others not halfe the while.

The meaning of the Ariſtocraticall gouernment.

The reaſons of them that maintaine *Ariſtocratia*.

The fewer Lords, the firmer gouernment in *Ariſtocratia*.

It may be obiected vnto me, that they which gouerne the *Ariſtocratical* eſtate; muſt be prouident, valiant, wiſe, and rich. I anſwere, that it is very hard to finde ſuch men there, but at length they will be touched with ambition: and if there happen any to be conſcientious, or religiouſly affected; as commonlie they are the feweſt in number, ſo ſhall they

An obiection and anſwere thereto.

they be ſure to haue the leſſe reſpect & partakers. In which regard, wicked and ambitious men gaining eminency; their concluſions paſſe for autenticall, and they may the eaſier tyrannize ouer the people.

The inconueniences happening in the eſtate *Ariſtocraticall.*

But to be briefe, it is daily ſeene, that the more heads there are in gouerning, the more diſputes there will be, and the leſſe reſolution. For this cauſe, and to ſhun the inconueniences before alleadged; the Seigneury of *Venice*, doe refer the managing of their State affaires to a dozen perſons, but more often to ſeauen: eſpecially, for the deraining of matters in ſecrecy, wherein lieth the ſoule and ſafety of any Eſtate.

The Seigneury of *Venice.*

Let vs put the caſe, that the priuate Councel in *Ariſtocratia* ſhould be ſo ſecret, that nothing could touch the ayre or wind: yet it will bee a very difficult thing, for ſo few Lordes, to maintaine their eſtate againſt all the people, that haue no part at all in their honourable qualitie, conſidering, that euen the Lordes themſelues doe continually deſpiſe popularitie, and the poorer ſort alſo cary as cõtemptible hatred againſt great men. So that, thorough the meaneſt ſedition of Lordes among them, (which is ineuitable, if they bee people of martiall ſtomacke and diſpoſition) the moſt ambitious and troubleſome, will fall into the peoples mercy, and then comes the downefall and ruine of *Ariſtocratia.* And this was the onely occaſion that ouerthrew many Seigneuries and Common-weales; as of *Gennes, Sienna, Florence, Coloyne, Zuricke, Straſbourg, Lindaw*: And the ancient * *Phocenſes*, * *Samians*, * *Cnydians*, * *Mytileni-ans*, and many other.

An allegation concerning councell.

The ruine & ouerthrow of an *Ariſtocraticall* eſtate.

If an *Ariſtocraticall* Common-weale haue warre againſt a Stranger, and doe come to the loſſe of a battel: the eſtate ſtands in danger, and as little aſſurance haue the Stangers alſo, fearing to bee foyled by the other. To which dangers the popular eſtate is not ſo much ſubiect, each man hauing a part & intereſt in the State. *Ariſtocraticall* gouernment then, is not onely in danger of Straungers as enemies: but alſo of the people, who muſt be contented, or reſtrained by power. To content them, without giuing them part in the eſtate is verie difficult: and impoſſible alſo to accept them in honorable charges and offices, without changing the eſtate of *Ariſtocratia*, into popular rule. To reſtraine them by might, is no matter of certainty, or eaſie when to be performed: becauſe it were an open entrance into feare and diſtruſt of them, that rather are to be won by benefits and courteſie. For otherwiſe, the leaſt warre of Strangers againſt the Seigneury, or of Lords among them; will make the people vndertake Armes, onely to throw off the yoake.

People very hard to be ordered and kept in quiet.

For this reaſon, the *Venetians* (to maintaine their *Ariſtocraticall* eſtate) do beſtow ſome ſmall Offices on part of the people, contracting loue and alliance with them, & vſe borrowings of them; to binde them the better for the States maintenance, yet wholely diſarming them. And to the end, that they may be the more milde and plyable: they grant them freedome, and all kindes of pleaſures, yeilding ſometimes the right of Bourgeſhips, to the richeſt Cittizens. Alſo, if they haue War againſt a Stranger; they haue appointment therein, at what rate ſoeuer it be. But aboue all thinges elſe, they labour to quench partialities and hatreds among their Gentlemen, which procureth: that the rich beeing drunke with pleaſures, and the poorer ſort hauing meanes to Traffick, and exerciſe thẽſelues in all Mechanical Arts, with commodity of the Maritime partes, and naturall ſtrength; they can haue no great occaſion, but much leſſe the power of rebelliſhing among themſelues.

The wiſedom and diſcretion of the *Venetians* among themſelues.

Partialities and hatreds qualified among Gentlemen.

Theſe are the onely meanes, which (next vnto God) hath principally maintained their eſtate: and not the Nature of *Ariſtocratia*, as many haue imagined. And yet notwithſtanding, within theſe foure hundred yeares, or there-about, they haue hardly out-ſtood many ciuill Warres and ſeditions, of the *Bocchouians, Falerians, Tepolians, Baiamontanes*, and cruell factions of the *Iuſtinians, Sceuolaes, Selians, Baſſianes*; the murders of eighteene Dukes, and a great number of Senators, as may be read in their own Hiſtories.

Troubles happening within foure hundred yeares.

If the worthy men that gouerned this Common-wealth, were generous and martiall minded: they ſeized the State, as *Cæſar* did at *Rome*, and as *Sylla* before him.

* A Ilde country of *Greece*, by the gulfe *Criſſeus.*
* An Iſle before *Ionia*, ouer againſt *Epheſus.*
* A Citty of *Caria.*
* A Cittie in *Lycaon.*

him. Or as *Hanniball* at *Carthage*, who mooued Warre against the *Romaines*, whereby he became the cause of ruinating the estate of his Countrey: in regard of the *Barchian* faction, which was quity contrary to him, and hindred, that men and succour should bee sent vnto him in *Italy*. We may perceiue then, that the principall foundation of *Aristocratia*, consisteth in the mutuall amity of Lords: for if they agree and consent together, they will maintaine and gouerne much better then the people. But if there be any faction among them, there is no estate more difficult to be kept, for the reasons before specified; and namely if the Lords be Martiall, for men of war doe brooke nothing so badly, as peace.

Daunger of Martial Commaunders in an *Aristocraticall* estate.

The principall foundation of *Aristocratia*.

It is no maruaile then, if the *Aristocratia* of the *Venetians*, *Ragusians*, and *Lucanes* haue continued some ages: considering, that they doe not addict themselues to armes, neither hold any thing in more recommendation, thē Trassick, and vse of Mony. And, to speake all in one word, there is not any forme of *Aristocratia* more sightly or assured, then that which maketh choise of Lordes of reputation and vertue, or (at least) that are not infamous: especially when due care is had, of substituting another honest man, in the place of him that dieth, and by true election, as continuallie is done in *Venice*. Thus you see the commodities and discommodities of the *Aristocraticall* estate: Let vs now speake somwhat concerning Monarchy, which all the best and chiefest men haue commended before al other commonweals.

The long continuance of some *Aristocraticall* Common-weales.

Care of new election is an especiall matter.

It may be obiected vnto me, by such as approoue *Aristocratia* or *Democratia*, that in *Monarchia*, when the death of the Monarch happeneth: new desseignes doe thereon ensue, new Lawes, new Officers, new Friends, new Enemies, new Habits, and new forme of life. For Princes delight to please themselues, by changing and remouing (well-nere) all things, to make speech of their own nouelties: which oftentimes causeth great discommodities, not onely to the Subiects in perticular, but likewise to the whole bodie of the Commonwealth, holding the forme of Monarchy.

The discommodities ensuing by *Monarchia*.

If things do not fall out in this manner, but that the Prince is the wisest that can be wished: yet the alliances & loues made with the Predecessor, do vsually end in him. And such fauours and respects beeing finished, Princes doe thereon betake themselues to Armes; and then the strongest assayleth the weakest, or (at the least) will giue him Law. Which cannot so fall out in Estates Popular and *Aristocratical*, where perpetuall alliances are made, considering that the people dye not. This occasioneth, that those other Princes, and particulers, do continually affect rather to contract with a Seigneury, then with one Prince, for the assurance of Treaties and Obligations, whereto the Successours of Princes stand not obliged.

Fauours of one Prince, sildome succeede in another.

The affection of Princes & perticulars.

Moreouer, Monarchies that make their Kings by election, do oftentimes fall into ciuill Warres, by diuisions among such as aspire to the Crowne, which draw after them the ruine of the whole Estate many times: considering that euen in the right of succession, there is no meane perill, if there be diuers in the same degree, who sometimes do murder one another, or make diuision among the Subiects, whereof too many examples are extant to our eyes; yea, it often falleth out, that the lawfull Successour is expulsed, by him that hath no right at all. But admit we the case, that there is not any contention in *Monarchia*, yet if the Monarch be a Child: there will be deuision for his gouernment, betweene his Mother and the Princes, or else among the Princes themselues. And if the Child haue a Tutour or Guardian, by ordinance of the Predecessour, or else by Custome: there is then some daunger, least this Guardian should make himselfe Sole Commaunder, which is the most to be feared, if he marry with the Mother of his Pupill. And although (to auoyde this daunger) the gouernment be giuen to the neerest, and the Childes Nursing to his Mother: yet notwithstanding, there haue some Mothers beene found to be Murderers, and haue not onely made sale of the estate, but also of their Childrens liues. And sometimes the Tutour continueth in the gouernment, and leaueth nothing vnto the King but the bare Title: as the

Of wars and their sources in *Monarchia*.

If the King be a Childe, what dangers are depending thereon.

Danger in the Mother of the Prince.

The danger in Tutors and Guardians.

the Duke of *Northumberland* did to the K. of *England*, *Edw.6.* And as *Apelles* did to yong *Phillip* King of *Macedon*; who could not enioy his owne eſtate, till hee had ſlaine his Tutor. I know likewiſe, ſome one will tell mee, that many times it commeth to paſſe, when a yong prince attaineth to the Crown, he wil not alow the gouerment of Maiſters, that are placed neere him for inſtruction, but bee ruled by his owne fanſy, being addicted to Playes, Maſques, and ſuch like. In briefe many times his Court ſhews like a meer *Burdellae*, falling into a thouſand Vices, and the people following their Prince in imitation. If the Prince be a Soldier, he may expoſe his perſon and kingdome to many hazards. Admit that none of theſe aforeſaid things doe happen, yet it hath bin obſerued, that Princes being wiſe & well mannered, when they ariſe to the Monarchie, Soueraignty hath had this hard fortune, that the very wiſeſt haue proued fooles, the moſt valiant turnd coward, and the very beſt to be moſt bad.

Vices whereunto Monarchies are oftentimes ſubiect.

Of a Martiall minded Prince.

A wiſe & well ordred Prince

Contrariety in the natures of Princes, & their ſeuerall dangers.

If the Prince be ſubtle and wicked, he will eſtabliſh tyrany; if cruell, he makes a butchery of the Commonwealth; If couetous, he will haue both the haire & the hide of his ſubiects; If Prodigall, he will ſuck both the blood and Marrow, to glut ſome dozen of Horſe-leaches that attend about him. And if he be ignorant and ſottiſh, then is tiranny ſo much the more to be feared, when as he hath neyther Maiſter nor Companion that dare make head againſt him. Theſe are the dangers that attend on Monarchies.

Tyranny ſildome dreameth on maiſtry.

But yet there is much more perrill in the Eſtate *Ariſtocraticall*, and a great deale more too, in the popular condition: for theſe daungers which wee haue propoſed, ceaſeth for the moſt part, wher the Monarchy is deuolued by ſucceſsiue right. But ſeditions, partialities, and ciuill wars are ordinary, and continualy (as it were) ariſing in greatneſſe, for the vnher-handing of Offices in the commonweale Seigneurall and Popularly, then in the eſtate of Monarchy, which will endure no ſedition for Offices, or for anie Eſtate, except after the Princes death, and but ſeldome then too. But the principall point of a Commonwelth, which is the right of Soueraignty, cannot bee, neither ſubſiſt (to ſpeake properlie) but only in Monarchy: for none can be Soueraigne in a Commonweale, but one only. If there be two, three, or more, the one is no Soueraigne, becauſe one can neither giue, or yet receiue lawe of his companion. And although we may imagine a body of many Lords, or of a people, to hold Soueraignty: yet it is moſt certaine, that there is not any true ſubiect, or any ſupport, if there bee not one head with Soueraigne power, to vnite one with another, which one ſimple Magiſtrate neuer can do, without Soueraigne Preheminence and authority.

Seditions, ciuill wars, and partialities for Offices, in *Democratia* & *Ariſtocratia*.

The right of Soueraignety is onely in *Monarchia*.

Imaginations are alwayes irregular and offenſiue.

The difficulties are daily noted, which continually haue accompanied popular Commonweales and Seigneuries, when both the one and other do hold contrary parts, and by diuers Magiſtrates: Some calling for peace, others war; One will haue this law, another a quite contrary; One wil haue this man to be chiefe, another aimes at his friend and partaker, and the like in diuers other matters.

Contrary opinions in popular Common weales, very hard to be reconciled.

Moreouer, in a Seigneurall and Popular eſtate, the greater part are continually made to beleeue thinges, howbeit, the wiſe and vertuous are alwaies the leſſer number: by which means (diuers times) the more ſound and better ſort of people, are conſtrained to ſtoope vnder the greater, to pleaſe the appetite of ſom ſeditious fellow, or effronted Oration-maker. But the Soueraigne Monarch, hee can alwayes ioyne with the more healthfull ſpirited and meaner part, making choiſe of wiſe men, and ſuch as vnderſtand the State affaires: wheras quite contrary, neceſsity compelleth the popular and *Ariſtocratical* eſtates, to entertain and embrace both fooles and Wiſemen together.

Wiſe men cõſtrained to ſtoupe to Parаſites.

Monarchia alwayes alloweth the beſt councell.

When the Common-wealth of the Romaines was in perrill, they made a Soueraigne Magiſtrate, according to which dignitie, hee had no Appellation, but commanded ſoueraignely, and they tearmed him Dictator. The *Venetians* created a *Prouidadore*; the *Lacedemonians* an *Harmoſte*, & each of them did ſo, conſidering *Monarchia* to bee the moſt aſſured eſtate. Me-thinkes, that theſe reaſons, and manie other, which might bee drawne in perticulerly, are ſufficient to ſhew, that amongeſt the three kindes of lawfull Common-wealths, the right of Monarchie is moſt excellent; and among them of Ryot and Diſorder, the popu-

Comparиſon by diuers cõmon-weales.

popular eſtate is the moſt vicious. Lawfull borne Monarchie, as a ſtrong and potent bodie, may eaſilie maintaine it ſelfe: but populare qualitie, and Dominion of a few people (as being very weak and feeble) are ſubiect vnto many diſeaſes, and muſt of neceſsity bee gouerned by dyet and preſcriptions. Neuer were *Ariſtocratiaes* and *Democratiaes* ſeene to continue ſo long as *Monarchiaes*, which we finde (by writing) to haue endured a thouſand or twelue hundered yeares, as thoſe of the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, and others: but the Popularly or *Ariſtocraticall*, three or foure hundered yeares onely.

Monarchia is more durable then all other kinds of Common-wealth.

Compariſon of both kinds.

Therefore, it ſhall be needeleſſe to inſiſt any longer, in approuing *Monarchia* to be the moſt aſſured eſtate: conſidering, that a Family (which is the true Image of a Common-wealth) can indure to haue but one head only, as wee haue approoued. And all the Lawes of Nature are our guides to Monarchy; be it, that wee reſpect the little Worlde Man, who hath but one bodye, and but one Head, as chiefe of all the other Members: on whom, dependeth the wil, motion, and vnderſtanding. Or bee it, that we looke vppon the great world, which hath but one Soueraigne God. If we eleuate our eyes to Heauen, wee ſhall ſee there but one Sunne. If we deſcend to ſociable Creatures, we may plainely perceiue, that they cannot ſuffer many kinges, or many Lordes, how good ſoeuer they be.

Monarchia is figured and repreſented in the Stars, and in other Creatures.

This is the very ſame example, which *Solyman*, King of the Turkes, vſed in *Anno Dom.* 1552. hauing heard the lowd acclamations and ſhouts of ioy, which the whole Armie made for the *Sultane Muſtapha* his Son, at his returning from *Perſia*. Commanding him to bee ſtrangled in his Chamber of preſence. When he was dead, he threw his bodie foorth before the whole army, and cried out a-lowd, *There is no more but one God in heauen, and one Sultan on Earth.* Two dayes after, he did put to death *Sultan Gobrus*, becauſe hee wept for his Brother, and *Sultane Mehemet* the third, becauſe hee fled away for feare, and would leaue no more but one only, to ſhun the inconueniences enſuing by many Lordes and Commanders. Euen ſo we haue beheld all the people vpon Earth, from the ſurtheſt date of Antiquity, and when they were guided by one light onely: to like nor allow of any other forme of Commonwealth, but abſolute Monarchy.

Read the Hiſtory of the Turkes, and there this example is at large related.

An example deriued from Antiquity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Vertues & ſecret properties of the Nut-megge: That it was vnknowne to our ancient predeceſſors, vvith diuers obſeruations, worthy due regarding.

THERE are manie things, which beeing ordinarily worn or carried about a man, do impaire & grow vnto leſſe eſtimation: as ſom precious ſtones, which though they are of a hard and ſolide matter: yet notwithſtanding they waxe old, and looſe much of their valew.

There are very few things but they growe aged by vſe, and loſe their vertue.

Cinnamon, Cloues, and Pepper, borne about vs, do drie of themſelues, and looſe their ſweet ſauour. Contrarywiſe, the Nut megge (on whoſe behalfe I haue written this Chapter, termed by the Latines, *Nux mixſtica*) being worne or carried about a man, doth encreaſe it ſelfe, and becommeth much the better. I found this rare effect of Nature, in the lower *Germanie*, where the Inhabitants of thoſe Countreyes, doth vſuallie hang Nutmegs about their Childrens necks; and beeing ſo worne fiue, or ſixe yeares together: they were then much more Oyly and moyſt, then they were the firſt yeare. After I had conſidered on diuers reaſons inducing to this purpoſe, I could finde but one eſpecially which I will declare: ſubmitting my ſelfe neuertheleſſe, to any other, that can alleadge a better, and more profitable.

Where the Author made his firſt obſeruation of the Nutmegge.

Nutmegges (doubtleſſe) beeing long time kepte in Spiceries, bee it in places dry or moiſt, and well packt vp togither, do yet dry of themſelues, become fuſtie, full of holes, and of bad taſt, euen like to worme-eaten and rotten wood. Neuertheleſſe, a young man bearing a nutmeg about

How Nutmegs looſes their Vertue and ſauour.

about him, & expoſed to the open aire; dooth encreaſe and make it much the better thereby.

The reaſon how a Nut-megge is bettered by wearing, about a Child & yong man.

Now, to comprehend whence this proceedeth, we muſt vnderſtande, that this is not proper to all Nutmegs, worne by all men indifferently: but it is to bee conſidered, of ſuch as is about an infant or elder Childe, a youth, or anie other young man, not hauing attained to the age of fortie yeares, as commonlie the *Belgians* are, and thoſe of the nether *Germany*, beeing of verie good habitude, euen as vulgarly they are. This is eaſilie knowne, by the goodlie proportion of their bodies, the chearefull countenance and complexion of their faces, and firm fleſhineſſe of their limbes, by their Ordinarie appetite to feeding, ſtrong digeſtion, and beeing liuely diſpoſed in all their ioynts and members; alwayes trauailing couragiouſly, rarelie troubled with ſickneſſe or diſeaſes, ſhunning and auoyding the riotous exceſſe, and lauiſh deſire of gourmandizing, whereof they are verie carefull, mingling wholeſome Spices continually amongſt their meats; and ſcarſely anie one of them, but wearing ſome about them, eſpeciallie Nut-megges.

The ordinary diſpoſition of the *Belgians*.

The yonger ſort do weare them about their Neckes, becauſe they hold opinion: that they make ſtay of the Rheume which falleth downe on the ſtomacke, and is a griefe enſuing by ouermuch eating and drinking; ſuffocating thereby, the Naturall heate. And becauſe ſuch Nutmegs as are worne about the necke, for the ſpace of foure, fiue, or ſix yeares, (ſome more, ſome leſſe) do neither waſt or conſume, but appeare to bee more weighty and Oily: it ſeemeth to proceed by this commendable temperance, from whence it exhaleth a vapour ſomewhat delicate and humecting, wherewith the Nut-megges (which they weare) are plenteouſly ſtored, which cauſeth that their Oyly nature, cannot by no meanes becom dry, but rather is much the more encreaſed.

The reaſon why Nutte-megges are worne about the necke.

Nor is this to bee accounted any way ſtraunge, becauſe wee finde in Learned mens writings, that from the bodies of diuers perſonnes, haue yſſued very ſweet and odoriferous ſweats. Among whom we read of *Alexander* the Great, whoſe Garments receyued a wonderful ſweetneſſe (as one recordeth) from his verie bodie, and ſo continued in them moſt pleaſingly, without any other Arte or cunning. I my ſelfe ſawe an *Indian* at *Nantes*, who though he was ſtark naked, and his bodie ſeeming of a wilde Oliue colour: yet, when mens handes were ſtreaked thereon, they brought thence a ſweete ſauour, very anſwereable vnto Ciuit.

The Sweates of ſome mens bodies are very ſweete and pleaſant.

A naked Indian at *Nantes*.

As for Maides and young Women, ſuch matter is not acknowledged of them: and therefore I thinke, that the hinderance proceedeth from this, that Naturall heate is more imbecille, and of leſſe power in them, then it is men; and their exhalation is nothing ſo temperat; and in regard alſo, that they are fuller of Excrements, as hath beene declared in the precedent Chapter. But if wee ſhall ſpeake of aged people, they do reſemble trees ouer ſpent with yeares, full of Putrifactious humors: which maketh them white-headed, wrinkled, and full of defects, hauing no more ſtrength to grow or encreaſe, whereby to produce matter of anie worth. Otherwiſe, they are ſo drie, that no exhalation at all commeth from their bodies; for age is nothing els but a meere exſiccation of the Radicall humour, and an extinction of the Naturall heate. Whereby may appeare, that they can no way better a Nutmeg by their exhalation. The Reader may content himſelfe (if he pleaſe) with this reaſon, which many learned men haue approoued, ar well as my ſelfe. It ſhall now not be much amis, to diſcourſe a little further of the Nut-megge, concerning the manner of his growth, in what Countreyes; and likewiſe of the faculties thereof.

Concerning Maids and young Weomen.

Aged men or weomen haue loſt their temperature.

A definition of Age.

That Nutmegges were vnknowne to our reuerend Auncients, is verie eaſie to be comprehended: becauſe, neyther *Theophraſtus*, *Dioſcorides*, nor *Galen*, did euer make any mention of them. And it ſerueth to no purpoſe, to alledge, that they haue ſpoken of *Macer*: for, I ſay, that the * *Macer* of the Greekes, was not the *Maces* of the *Arabes*, which is a hide or skinne that dooth couer the Nutmegge. And it is verie likelie, that if they had hadde anie knowledge of the *Maces*, queſtionleſſe they woulde haue lefte ſomething Written thereof. Neyther could wee attaine vnto anie know-

Nut-megges and Maces vtterly vnknowne vnto our Auncients.

* Not Maces, but a reddiſh Aromaticall and aſtringent Rinde of a certaine Indian roote.

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knowledge in this caſe, till after that the *Arabes* had gotten vnto ſome authority, who taught manie medicines, vtterly vnknowne to the Grecians, becauſe they were much neerer vnto the *Indiaes* then they.

A deſcription of the Nut-megge and Mace Tree.

The Tree which beareth theſe Nutmegges, and the Maces is as great as a Peare tree, hauing the like Leaues, but ſhorter and rounder. It carryeth his Nutlike fruite, couered with a very hard rinde: which (when the ripening ſeaſon is come) cleaueth or openeth of it ſelfe; and ſheweth the filme or skinne, that encloſeth the Nut-megge, like a ſcale or ſhell; and that is it which wee call the Maces or Mace. I meane not the exteriour or outward rinde, albeit (in diuers parts) they vſe to Confect it with Suger, and is much commended in the Countrey where it groweth, that the ſmell & taſte thereof, is verie wholeſome againſt the paine of the Collicke, and the diſeaſe of the Reines.

The outward Rinde of the Nut-megge.

The fruite being ripe, and the ſayde rinde exteriour opening (like to the ſhel or ſcale that encloſeth the Cheſtnuts of *Lymoſine*:) the Mace appeareth as red as Scarlet, wonderfull goodly to beholde, eſpecially, when the Trees are wel charged and laden, and beare more then is their vſuall cuſtome. The Nutmeg drying, the Mace ſtill keepeth cloſe and faſt about it, till looſing his red colour, hee begetteth another, which is like a Golden Complexion: And theſe Maces are ſolde at three times dearer rate, then the Nutmegges.

The firſt appearing of the Maces, & alteration of their coullour afterward.

This Tree that beareth theſe Nuttes, groweth in one of the Iſlands of the *Molucques*, which is called *Bandano*. It is found alſo in diuers other places, as in *Banda*, *Bandornica*, *Herma*, *Tharod*, *Machedad*, *Lyzamath*, *Cares*, and in *Zeylan*, which are the moſt fruitfull Landes, and better then anie other. The people of the Countrey do vſe to gather them, ſome more in one place, then in another, according as they can get them: for, in the moſt parts of all the Iſlands, all thinges are in common, without any priuate claime. This is affirmed by *Garcias d' Horta*, who trauailed himſelf into thoſe parts.

In what places the Nut-megge Trees doe vſually moſt grow.

They that be freſh, and not drie, withered or worme-eaten, are the beſt nutmegs; likewiſe, they that were waightie, maſsie, oyly, & abounding in moiſture: ſo that by pricking them with a pinne or Needle, they ſend forth a ſweete ſauour. Nutmegges (according to the *Arabians* opinion) are hot and drie, in the ſecond degree compleat: they are aſtringent, & (by champing in the mouth) doe make the breath ſweet: they take awaie ſpottes and blemiſhes out of the face, ſharpen the ſight, and ſtrengthen the Liuer and ſtomacke: they diminiſh the Spleene or Milt, prouoke Vrine, ſtay the courſe and Flux of the Belly, expelling all Windineſſe, and helpe greatly againſt the Diſeaſe of the Mother, proceeding of Frigiditie. In briefe, they haue the very ſame Vertues and properties, as the Cloaues haue. Nutmegs do yeilde a licquor or iuice, being freſhly pounded, heated in a pan, and preſently preſſed: which iuyce being let ſtand til it be cold, becommeth like virgin wax, and ſenteth very ſweetly. This vnguent is very ſoueraigne for cold Gowts, and to make a man gracious in the fauor of Ladies. Thus much haue I gathered concerning the Nut-meg.

The choyce of Nut-megs.

Naturall properties of the Nut-megge.

A ſoueraigne Oyntment made of Nutmegges.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradox purpoſely written in the defence of Warre, approuing and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace.

BEcauſe many ſufficient men haue (heeretofore) verie plentifully diſcourſed on the praiſes of peace among which, wee haue *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, *Romulus Amaſeus*, *Claudius Ptolomeus*, and *Adriano Bentiuoli*; all of them (with others of no leſſe elegancy) hauing ſpoken ſoundlie, and to the purpoſe, as being Orators of no leſſe learning, then fluent and eloquent in the tongues: the two firſt in *Latine*, and the other in the *Tuſcan* language, all hauing diſcreetely employed their paines: yet notwithſtanding, all their defences beſtowed on the behalfe of Peace, I cannot forbeare to maintaine the contrarie, and

Such Authors as haue written in the defence of Peace.

Opposition made against the former defences.

and will approue with resolued corage, that they haue done mightie iniurie vnto themselues, in making such description of commendations, by multiplicitie of ydle arguments, which now I will not trouble my selfe withall, either to improue or confute. But so many onely will I produce and aduertise yee of, as shall happen to my memorie, in fauour of honourable combustion & war, and appeare to the manifest discredite of Peace.

The apparant harmes and iniuries ensuing by Peace.

For the first of my reasons, I say, that in the time of Peace, Millitarie Discipline is lost, and commeth to nothing: which (neuertheless) hath beene at all times in reckoning, and allowed as a matter most necessarie, for Conquest, enlarging and conseruing of Empires, Prouinces, and the verie greatest and ciuillest Iurisdictions thoroughout the world.

* A Field ten miles distant from *Athens*, where *Theseus* slew a terrible Bull.
* A long Mountaine passing from *Leucadia*, through the midst of *Greece*
* A Towne of *Bœoti* a by *Cytheron* neere to *Thebes*.
* A Towne in the borders of *Ionia*, and an Isle called *Achillea* in *Pontus*.

Witnesses hereof, are * *Marathon* *Salamina*, * *Thermopylæ*, * *Platææ*, * *Leucæ*, and many other places, not meanely renowned by the Heroycall Actions of Armes. By the meanes of warre, *Horatius Cocles* was made immortall; and the three *Decij* helde for three Demie Goddes. Hence arose the great & infinite praises (so sweetly sung and Celebrated by Poets, and our ancient Historians of both the *Scipioes* and honourable *Marcellus*. To whome, I would gladlie see who can be iustly compared, vnder Correction of whatsoeuer hath beene said by fore-named Authours, in honour of their Gowne-men, the onelie especiall louers and fauourers of peace.

Auncient customes for the habits of Cittizens.

We see also by experience, that (welneere) all auncient Statues or Figures, both were and are formed in military habits. And it was not lawfull (by the customes of all elder and noble Nations) for a Cittizen to weare any other Garment, then a party-coloured coate: vntill hee had slaine, or (at least) vanquisht two of his Countreyes enemies. In this case, the *Carthagenians* had a most notable obseruation; for, looke how manie times a Soldier had beene seene in the face of the enemy so many Plumes, helmets, or Horsses, should bee bestowed vppon each seuerall man: but contrarywise, as often as they were absent from the field, so manie Lambes and Capons were sent them, as remembrances of their

Worthy encouragement for Souldiers: and as great disgrace to Cowards.

crauenly cowardise. Likewise by publick agreement, it was not lawful for any mã to marry, except hee had first serued in sundry foughten battailes, or performed some one or other honourable exploite, in the defence of his Country.

Law for marriage.

Let vs consider the great honor which Warre maintaineth euen to this verie instant, to such as either haue or do bear Armes for safety and defence of our holy Christian faith. In memorie whereof, Noble and famous Orders of Knighthood were auncientlie established. As Knights of *Ierusalem*, of *Rhodes*, of *Malta*, of Saint *Iames*, of Holie *Lazarus*, of *Iesus Christ* in *Portugall*, of the Round Table, and of the Garter in England, with diuers other Dignities for Religious warfare, onely for the performance of meruailous and excellent Actions. Whereas contrary-wise, the mindes that were thus fired to haughty atchieuments, in the sloathfull times of peace, would too easily (euen of themselues) be conuerted to proud and insolent attempts.

Honour perpetuated by decrees of Armes.

Orders of Knight-hood to entermize the memory of Armes.

To prooue this true, that they which in the times of Warre, doo accomplish deeds of Vertue, and in the dull daies of peace) fall into quite contrary behauiours, we may perceiue by great *Marius*, the Conqueror of the *Cymbrians*. When warre did set an edge vpon his true temper, he had not his equall for valour and prowesse: but, in the trifling times of peace, he was the most wicked and dangerous man in all the Countrey. In like manner, wee shall finde it for most certaine, that Peace quencheth whatsoeuer is good in anie man; and quickneth or giueth life vnto all such thinges, as are in him most hurtfull and dammageable.

Examination of the seuerall times of Warr and peace.

Peace the quencher of all goodnesse in men.

Let mee moue a question (in meere Courtesie) vnto such as are the greatest blamers and deprauers of warre. What can they call Hatreds, Quarrelles, and Seditions, but the onelie true and perfect Instruments, whereby Nature oftentimes helpeth to perfourme manie verie lawdable actions? Ye may immagine, that it was not without very great reason, that VVarre (by the Latines) was called *Bella*, Fayre, Pleasaunt, and Commodious: for such indeede is the true Nature thereof, albeit our new vpstart gaine-sayers dooth affirme, that

Concerning Hatreds, Quarrels and Seditions.

The name giuen to warre by the *Latines*

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it is meant in a contrarie ſence. But if it were lawfull, to compare the loſſes in peace, with them that enſue onely by warre: the report would be pittifull, and the remembrance verie Tragicall.

Famous Armies deſtroyed by the meanes of truce.

How many goodly Armies haue bin broken, defeated and deſtroyed, by the meanes (I will not ſay of peace) of truce onely? Which, though it bee Warres neereſt Kinſman, yet it is ſworne enemy vnto all Vertue and Valor. The ſtrength and powers of Truce, miniſters the meanes (euen as Peace doth) to leſſen and impaire Citties, Townes, and whole Prouinces, by ſtraunge Lawes and Ordinances: beſide, it engendereth infinit ſecret hatreds, and vpholdeth Princes in roughneſſe and ſeueritie againſt theyr Subiects. In time of peace, the diſpoſitions of men, which (but for it) would be highly exalted with enflamed deſire to expreſſe their brauerie and roialty, do become ſleepie, drowſie, penſiue, ſlothfull, laſciuious, and effeminate.

Princes made rough and ſtearne to their people, by peace.

Warre, fauoured and allowed by god himſelfe, and what names were giuen him.

But to prooue that Warre hath bin fauoured and eſteemed by our Lorde God himſelfe, tell mee (I pray yee) was he not called by the Children of *Iſraell*, *The Great God of Battailes*, *The Lorde of Hoſtes and Armies?* Looke in the Olde Teſtament, how manie mightie ouerthrowes and ſlaughters were executed in his Name, vppon them that were the Aduerſaries of his people? Howe manie were ſlaine by *Moyſes*, *Ioſuah*, *Gedeon*, *Sampſon*, and diuers other? Howe manie ſlew *Abraham*, *Dauid*, *Iudas Machabeus*, and they that wer in thoſe times? What ſhall wee ſay of Saint *Michaell* the Arch-Angell; who (euen in Heauen it ſelfe) made ſuch a ſharpe Conflict againſt the Draggon? And, to continue on this diſcourſe, euen to the New Law, if GOD had beene diſpleaſed with Warre, would hee haue commaunded his Apoſtles to ſel their cloaks, and buy each of them a Sword? If Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, had hated Soldiers, or Militarie Diſcipline, would he haue apointed them this Law and Ordinance (when they demaunded of him, what way they ſhould take, whereby to attaine to the ſaluation of their ſoules) *That they ſhould content themſelues with their Wages*, and *not rob or pille from the poore people*. Hee woulde then rather haue commaunded them, to leaue that eſtate, and betake them vnto ſome Hermitage; or elſe, to deale in ſome affayres of Merchandize, or in ſome ſuch like employments. No, content your ſelues (quoth hee) in your Garriſons, with your ordinarie pay, and offer no ſhame, violence, or extortion, to any one. For your calling (which is the Art Militarie) will not let or hinder ye from your ſaluation: becauſe manie of your profeſsion, haue thereby wonne their ſafeſt ſecurity.

Examples alleaged out of ſacred Scripture in the old Teſtament.

Examples out of the new Teſtament.

The implication of S. *Iohn Baptiſts* words to the Souldiers, according to the authors interpretatiō.

This in briefe, and in my conceipt, is that which bleſſed Saint *Iohns* words intended, if I bee no bad Paraphraſtor Interpreter. If hee had beene willing to diſcommend Warre, yet he wold haue forborne it: perceyuing what pride and inſolence was crept into rich mens mindes, during the pampring daies of peace and no way ſo ſoone to be cured or corrected, as by the worthy diſcipline obſerued in warre.

Warre is the only bridle to many notorious inſolencies and abuſes.

How many haue beene obſerued, of great Gentlemen, Merchants, Countreymen, and other of all conditions, who were woont to bee moſt proud and arrogant: ſuddenly to become kind and tractable, onely by meanes of the bridle of Warre? This is it, which deliuereth vs from a number of miſhaps by theeues ydle Vagabonds, Gameſters, Pipers, Players, young Rogues, Cozeners, Ruffians, and High-way watchers. It ſerues to whet and waken the ſpirites of Men, making their bodies to become more ſtrong, light, nimble, pacient; yea, and emboldened againſt all hard and ſiniſter fortunes.

The *Cimbrians* had a great felicity in Warre.

Conſider the ſweetneſſe and delight which the *Cymbrians* founde in VVarre, vſing it as the Conſeruation of theyr Countrey: and when they went to fight, they woulde ſing as chearefullie, as if they had beene going vnto a wedding. Immagine what pleaſure was taken therein by furious *Hanniball*, Valiaunt *Marcellus*, Vertuous *Scipio*, Courageous *Camillus*, and that Victorious *Alexander*.

Warre the Schoole for publique affaires, and ingenious prouidence.

I ſay moreouer, whoſoeuer is ignorant in taking good order for publique affayres, there is no place or Schoole, wherein hee may more eaſily attaine thereto; then by noting the preparation and conducting of an Armie. Beſides, whoſoeuer knoweth not the deceiptes, ſleights, and trickes of ingenious prudence,

dence, or how to ſtand vpon his guarde, to know what he ſhould auoyd, and what he ought principally to followe: let him but liue in war a month or two for pleaſure; and in that time he ſhal lern more then all the Bookes of Peace ſhall euer be able to teach him.

Lessons to be learned in a Field of Battaile, for any mans benefit during life.

Furthermore, hee that couets to vnderſtand the true Nature of inuiolable obedience, ſtrict diligence, incompareable vigilance, vnſpeakeable promptitude of heart, and ineſtimable ſtrength of the bodie: let him but vouchſafe ſo much leyſure, as (for a while) to follow a field well manned and prepared, there to obſerue carefully, what hee may behold for his owne benefit. If hee finde not himſelfe well ſatisfied; yea, & more then contented in verie few dayes, I will yeeld, and looſe my credite in this cauſe. Which therefore ſhall ſerue me to conclude withall, maintaining ſtill that war is to be preferred before peace, as deerly beloued, and with choiſeſt praiſes commended. Beſide, our Prayers ſhould continually bee made to God, to create ſuch chearfull hearts in our Princes, that wee may not any long time, remaine in want, of ſuch a precious and vnvaluable Iewell.

The concluſiō

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Indian Beare: And of thoſe Beares in our owne Natiue Countreyes, howe different they are in their ſeuerall Natures.

All kindes of Creatures haue their contraries appointed, to appeaſe their hurtfulneſſe.

NAture hath verie many times expreſſed hir care and prouidence (as a dutifull handmaid atending on God) whē there are any ſtore of hurtfull creatures in ſome country, that may impeach the inhabiting of men, or Liues of other beaſts and animals, to engender ſome other of contrary kinds, to deſtroy the ouer-abounding of ſuch harmefull things. As we may obſerue in Serpents, which do deuoure vp Toads & Lizards: Serpents alſo themſelues, are eaten by Storks, and many times they themſelues do feede one vpon another. Cats alſo do deuoure Rats, and ſo in diuers more beſide. I ſpeake this the rather, becauſe we finde recorded in the generall hiſtorie of the *Indiaes*, that in *Quiloa*, a certaine Countrey of the New-world, there are ſuch extraordinarie ſwarmes of Antes, that they conſume the ſeeds and rootes of all Trees and plants. So that, if there were no Beares (which Nature in eſpeciall fauour hath there appointed, and in great plentie) ther could not be any poſſibilitie of dwelling there, becauſe they would make the Countrey to bee quite barren.

Quiloa a Region in the New-found World.

The Beare of this Region, liueth only (without anie other foode or Paſtorage) by eating thoſe Antes, whoſe beddes and Neſts hee eaſily findeth, and ſo with his tongue (which is verie broade and large) hee is ſo quicke and readie in licking of them vp, that hee is onely nouriſhed by them. There are alſo great ſtore of thoſe Bears, but they are not fierce, wild and harmefull, as thoſe of other partes: for they will not ſet vpon men, neyther mount vppe vpon Trees, to deuoure the young ſprouts and fruites, but are verie eaſily made tame and tractable by the *Indians*.

The Indian Beare feedeth on *Antes* only.

The Indian Beare is gentle and tractable.

There is no need of plucking out their eyes, or boaring their lippes, to thruſte Rings of Iron thorough them, onely to tame them. For euen of themſelues, they are (well-neere) Domeſticall: and, if it were not for theſe Beares, neither men, and great ſtore of other creatures, could not liue there: but they encreaſe in thoſe parts ſo aboundantly, that they ſuffice to deſtroy the plentie of Antes; in which reſpect, the Countrey may well account it ſelfe to be moſt happy.

The errour of *Ariſtotle* and many other learned men beſide.

I haue not well beene informed, whether it bee the Nature of the Beares in this Countrey; that (according as hath beene reported) the ſhee-Beare yeildeth or whelpeth a Male of Fleſh, vvithout anie forme or apparance of life: and that the Damme, onely by the Vertue of licking, giueth it true ſhape.

Of this opinion, were manie Learned and graue men, as *Ariſtotle*, *Plutarke*, *Plinie*, *Elianus*, and *Du Bartas*: but it is a manifeſt errour, as experience hath plainly declared vnto vs, becauſe in manie encloſed places of *Germanie*, and of *Fraunce* alſo, Beares of both ſexes

A ſtrait obſeruation by Nature.

are kept, which haue engendered young ones, verie well formed in all their members. For, it is an order, obſerued by nature verie ſtrictly in our terreſtriall Animalles, that in theyr paſſage out of the Matrixe, they are fully compleated in all their parts, without any need of further forming, encreaſing verie well in thoſe three dimenſions, length, largeneſſe, & depth.

Concerning teeth in yong Infants, that they are not bred after their birth.

It ſerueth to no purpoſe, to alledge, that Childrens teeth are engendered or formed after their birth. For I anſwere, that they bring then with them from the Mothers wombe: as I haue ſeene in the diſſection of many young infants, newly borne and dead, whoſe gummes beeing opened in the pitches and hollowes of the Iawes, the Teeth haue beene plainely found.

A view of young whelps in the Dams belly.

But indeede, no outward appearance is made of them, vntill certaine moneths determined by Nature; in which time, they grow greater and ſtronger, & pierce their paſſage through the gummes For mine owne part, in the Mountaines of Saint *Claude*, in *La franche Counte de Bourgongne*, I haue ſeene a ſhee-Beare ſlaine: whoſe Belly being preſently opened, three young Whelpes were there found, fully formed and hairy, and (as I thinke) verie ſoone to haue beene whelped, and that which is affirmed by eye-teſtimony, I hope hath no neede of further probation. The teſtimonie of *Scaliger*

The teſtimonie of *Scaliger*, a great Phyſition and Phyloſopher, alſo affirmeth; That he being once at the taking and killing of a Shee-Beare on the Alpes, the young Whelpes in her belly were found to be wholly formed, as I haue formerly iuſtified by mine owne ſight.

How long time the She-Beare goeth with her yong and manner of her whelps.

Plinie ſaith, that the thirtith day after her conception, the ſhee-Beare deliuereth her young ones: but *Elianus* ſayeth, within three moneths after, which is the more likely and credible, becauſe all great creatures, do beare their burthens longer, then ſuch as are ſmall and little. When they are broght into the world, they are about the bigneſſe of Weezels: and there is good apparance, that they can be no bigger, becauſe they are carried no longer time, as Kine doo theyr Calues, Mares their Foales; and other great Beaſts their young ones; and theſe Shee-Beares hath commonlie three or fiue.

How the She-Beare coupleth with the Male.

So ſoone as ſhee hath conceiued, ſhe commeth no more into the males ſight. When deſire of coupling with the male is kindled in her, ſhee is ſo greatly aſhamed thereof: that ſhe hideth her ſelfe in the remoteſt obſcure places, and the male neuer ſeeketh after her. At length, being preſſed by Nature, and deſire of generation, ſhee commeth to finde the male, and tumbling and playing before him, lyeth directly vpon her backe; and ſo hee coupleth with her, euen as men and women vſe to doe. And this is the reaſon, why it ſhould not bee accounted ſo ſtraunge, that Beares haue had actuall dealing with VVomen, wandering thorow the Forreſts and Mountaynes, and coneeyued by them, as I ſhall declare more at large in the next following Chapter.

Beares haue dealt carnally with women.

Actions performed by Beares.

They helpe themſelues with their Pawes and Feete, euen as men do with their handes and feete; for, they can goe vpright along while together, and hurle or throwe ſtones with theyr formoſt Pawes, ſmite with a Staffe, and whatſoeuer elſe themſelues will doo, as well as we.

Beares troubled with head-ach.

They are a'moſt continuallie troubled with paine and Ache in the head, and in ſuch violent manner, that oftentimes (as madded therwith) they throw themſelues downe from very high rocks their heads going forwardes, couering their eyes with their pawes, beecauſe their ſight is verie feeble, and by couering their eyes, they ſeeme to find ſome eaſe.

Beares haue bad eye ſight, and how they helpe it.

They eſpie out ſuch places, where Bees doe make their Honie and VVax, onely to make them angrie, and to the end, they may bee pricked and pierced by the Bees ſtinges, both in their heade, and about their eyes: wherby their ſight is amended, and their head greeſe much aſſwaged.

The feeding and hunting of Beares.

They feede indifferently on all kindes of Foode, be it Fleſh, Fruites, Hearbes, ſprouts of Trees, and Honey. They will aſſaile and kill (if they can) all wild and ſauage Beaſts; as Harts, Hinds, Boares; yea, and VVilde Bulles manie times.

When the Female is bagde with young.

The Shee-Beare feeling her ſelfe to be bagde, or conceyued with yong (which moſt commonly is in the winter time) with-draweth her ſelfe into her Caue, which ſhee prepareth in a ſtrong defenced

How long time the She-Beare fasteth, and of her comming forth of her Caue.

fenced place, far from common resort, and well couered with earth, boughes, and braunches; entring thereinto alwaies backward, because it should not be knowne, or found by Huntsmen. There she remaineth forty daies together, without any food or sustentation; doing nothing else, but licke her right paw, whereby she liueth all that while. Afterward, she commeth forth againe, and then eateth all the Antes she can come by: yet not for any nourishment (like to to the Indian Beare) but onely to prouoke her to vomit, to the ende that she may feed the better. Which when she hath done, she then seeketh after food, and because she hath continued the space of forty daues, and eaten nothing: her intestines are fast clunged together; so that, no meate can haue entrance, but is instantly cast vp againe, and therefore she eates the Hearb called * *Aron*, which giueth dilatation and open spreading to her bowels againe.

*Calues foot, Ramp, Starch worte, or Cuckoe-pint.

As for her Whelpes or young ones, they do not teate or sucke, like to other Creatures, because *Munster* reporteth (but I know not from whom) that one *Demetrius* a *Moscouite*, who was sent thence as an Ambassadour to *Rome*, declared for a certainty to some perticuler Men of credit: that in his Countrey of *Moscouia*, there were great store of Beares, big in stature of body, and very fierce, that after their birth (for the space of foureteene daies) liued without eating any thing, continuing in so profound a sleepe, that nothing could waken them, no, though they were prickt and pierced very deepely. After that time is passed ouer, they do then awake, and fal to licking of their formost paws, and liue (onely by this licking) till the Spring time, when they begin to come abroad with their Dammes, and nibble on tender Hearbs, as they see them do.

Fables reported by *Demetrius* a *Moscouite* Ambassadour to *Rome*.

Nature hath giuen breasts or dugges to She Beares.

Now, to speake vprightly, I can hardly be induced to beleeue this, because Nature hath giuen Breasts, or Dugges to She-Beares, as I my selfe haue seene, and then they should haue their Milke in vaine.

When a She-Beare & her young ones are pursued.

Moreouer, that if they be pursued by Hunters, hauing their young ones in their company, and they vnable to escape, in regard of their weakenesse: the Damme carryeth some on her back, and one in her mouth, and so climbeth vp vpon a high Tree, to preserue her selfe and them in this manner. This maketh me to remember, that which is recited by *Ælianus*, of a She-Beare and two Lyons.

*Aelianus in lib. 3. cap. 30.

He saith, that he heard it reported by one *Eudemus*, that a She-Beare of * *Pangæus*, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, chanced to finde a Denne; wherein were young Lyon-whelpes, and neither the Sire or Damme there present, to defend them from this She-Beare, therefore she killed them, & afterward departed thence. Within a short while after, the Lyon and his Lyonnesse returned to their den, bringing preyes to nourish their young Whelpes withall: but finding them dead, and gathering (by their sente) how they were murthered; they instantly pursued the Shee-Beares footing by the smell, and discerning her a farre off, drew neerer and neerer still, deuising their best meanes, how to entrap her. Which the She-Beare also perceiuing, and knowing her strength farre in-sufficient, to deliuer her from these displeased Lyons: forthwith shee began to climbe a Tree, and got vp to the very top thereof. These enraged Beasts seeing they could compasse no amends from the murdresse; tormented themselues exceedingly, and the Lyonnesse lying downe at the foote of the Tree, kept it as besiedged, to be reuenged on her Enimy. But the Sire or male Lyon, he ran vp and downe from Hill to Dale, making the Mountaines to tremble with his loud out-cryes, and all the other Beasts to be very fearefull. At length, hee lighted on a man a Woodseller, who was hewing downe a Tree in the Forrest, and perceiuing the Lyon to make towards him; with extreamity of dismay, the Axe fell out of his hands, and faigne he would haue fled for his owne safety. The Lyon approaching neere vnto him, made signes of humble and gentle fawning on him, and in such pleasing manner, as we see Dogges to do: licking his hands and garments, oftentimes prostrating himselfe at his feete, euen as if he implored his help in some vrgent occasion.

* A Promontory of *Thrace*

A strange History of a She Beare and a Lyonnesse.

Beasts discouer the killers of their young ones, by their sente or smel that did the deed.

The Lionesse lyeth downe to beleager her enemie.

Admirable humanity in Lyons, to doe themselues good.

At length, he took him by the cloaths with his teeth, as if hee would bee his guide and conduct to some place, often

parting

The Lyon giueth directions to the mã, to goe along with him.

patting his paw vpon the Axe, that the Wood-feller ſhould take it vp againe: which the fearefull man being not able to comprehend (though the beaſt ſtill vrged it by diuers perſwaſiue ſigns) the Lyon took it vp with his teeth, and carried it himſelfe. So, winding his taile about one of the mans legs, he conducted him, firſt to the place where the young whelps lay murdred, which was not far from the Tree whereon the ſhe-Beare was mounted. Thither alſo he brought him, and the Lyonneſſe ſeeing them comming, ſhe aroſe (with chearful diſpoſition) to meete them, equalling, or rather exceeding the Male Lyons affability to the Man. In briefe, both the beaſts made ſuch apparant ſignes to the Carpenter, that hee not onely ſaw the She-Beare aloft on the Tree; but gathered alſo by their moanes, that ſhee had killed their young Whelpes, and therefore they would haue him to cut downe the Tree; becauſe, by no means elſe, they could be auenged on her. The man did quickly cut downe the Tree, & as it fell, ſo did the She-Beare: which was ſo ſooner on the ground, but inſtantly they rent her in infinite peeces, returning many gratefull ſignes to the poore Carpenter, and conducting him ſafely to his former working place againe.

As expreſſing what loſſe in nature he had ſuſtained, by ſo euident a teſtimony.

The She-Bear diſmembred in many pieces.

But returne we now againe, to the naturall diſpoſition of the Beare. He will neuer eate the Fleſh of any Beaſt, which he findeth dead, or readily killed for him. It is ſaide alſo, that if a man counterfeit himſelfe to be dead, and retaineth his breath while he ſmelleth to him; hee will not doe him any harme. He driueth all Rats out of his Denne, and will not abide therein, if there bee but one left in it. He will neuer eate any Hony out of the Hiue, where he findes the Bees to be dead.

The Beare vſeth to eate the fleſh of no beaſts, but ſuch as he himſelfe killeth.

Munſter, ex Demetri.

Munſter declareth (by direction from the fore-named *Demetrius*) that a Beare ſaued the life of Man, in the very remoteſt and vaſteſt Forreſt of all *Moſcouia*, in the yeare, one thouſand fiue hundred and thirty, and after this manner. A man inhabiting in a neighbouring Village, went into the Forreſt to gather Waxe and Hony: becauſe in thoſe Countries, the Bees vſe to make their Hony in hollow Trees in the Forreſts, whereof there are no meane number, and hee thereby maketh his beſt benefit, that is moſt diligent in ſearch, and getteth the greateſt quantity.

A prety Hiſtory, and no way vnlikely, of a mans life ſaued by a Beare.

The poore Countrey-man, ſtanding with his Legges extended abroad in a hollow Tree, for his better gathering of his Hony-Combs: the ſlender hold (which ſupported his feete) chanced to breake, and downe he fell further into the hollow of the Tree, till hee was vp to the Chin in Waxe and Hony; deſtitute of all ſtrength for helping himſelfe, or hope of any ſuccour, becauſe no Paſſengers frequented that way (at leaſt-wiſe, very ſildome) that might heare his wofull complaints, ſo that he continued there for the ſpace of two daies.

The poore Country man in great diſtreſſe in a hol low tree.

Now, it fortuned, or rather, the eſpeciall Grace of God ſo directing, that a Beare came by the Tree, and ſmelling the Honny, climbed vp the Tree, and deſcended downe to the place where the poore man was. The Beare beeing fearefull when he beheld the man, turned to get vp againe out of the Tree: but the poore man caught hold on one of his hinmoſt feet, and held ſo ſtronglie with both his hands, that the Beare brought vp himſelfe and the man out of the Tree, and both fell downe together on the out-ſide of the Tree, ſomewhat aſtonied with the fall, but no way hurt, the Beare returning into the Woodes, and the man to his home. Thus the Beare ſaued the poore Countrey-mans life, without declaring any ſigne of hurting or offending him.

When hope is weakeſt, heauen is the ſtrongeſt.

A very great and memorable deliuerãce

Bachiles Anchiſius ſaith, that in the Northerly Countries, there are white Beares, that liue both in Waters, and on the Land: beſide, that either with hurling ſtones, or branches of Trees, or with their clawes, they will break open the Ices in Riuers, and in the Sea, only to catch Fiſhes to feed on. Moreouer, that they are not ſo malicious or harmfull, as other Beares are, neither are luſtfull, or ſeeking after women: As one, whereof I am now to ſpeake, and wherby a Lady conceiued, after the maner of women, witneſſed for truth, by *Ioannes Saxonius*, in his large Hiſtory, and *Ioannes Magnus*, Arch-biſhop of *Vſpalia* in *Swetia*; & laſtly, by Arch-biſhop *Olaus*, his

Bachiles Anchiſo, or *Anchiſius*, concerning white beares.

Ioannes Saxonius. Ioannes Mag. Epiſc. Vſpal. Olaus Epiſc. Vſpal.

his Succeſſour, who in his Writings auoucheth the very ſame, according as I haue ſelected it from them in this enſuing Chapter.

CHAP. XL.

Of a Lady of Swetia, *that was conceiued with child by a Beare, and afterward what enſued thereon.*

IN a part of the Kingdome of *Swetia* or *Sweuia, there ſtood ſometime a goodly Caſtle, builded neere vnto a Mountaine, by a wealthy Lord, and one of great authoritie. This Lord had a very faire Daughter, who walked abroad in an euening, accompanyed with ſome other Gentlewomen, to take the open ayre in the Fields. As they walked together, pleaſantly talking and diſcourſing; a Beare (by chance) had ſtrayed abroad from the thickets on the Mountaine, of verie huge ſtature, fierce and terrible, making directly towards this faire troup, who (in great feare) when they eſpyed the Beare, fled, ſome one way, and the reſt another, for their beſt deliuerance. The Beare laying hold on the chiefeſt Ladie of all the reſt, lifting her forcibly vpon his backe: ran (ſo faſt as he could) into the thickeſt of the Forreſt, not meeting any reſiſtance by the way, becauſe the fore-ſaide Ladies came foorth alone of themſelues, not hauing any man in their company.

*Swetia borderеth on Bauaria, Haſſatia, the Riuer Rhene and the Alpes.

The lady ſurprized by the Beare, and carried away to his Denne, notwithſtanding all her vttermoſt reſiſtance.

Now, albeit the Beare had thus wandered abroad, in ſearch of ſome prey, for appeaſing his hunger: yet (referring the maine point heerein, to Gods mercifull and omnipotent preſeruation) the Beare, mooued by ſome inſtinct of nature (farre differing from that in Beaſts of the ſame kind) would not kill her for his foode, but carried her to his Caue, which was in a very darke and deep vally. There his wonted, rough and ſterne nature, became conuerted into louelike embracings and careſſes, which were ſo extreamely purſued and continued: that the Lady apprehended his luſtfull intention, which, though it was monſtrous and vnnaturall, yet it qualified ſome part of her former feare. And, as ſhe durſt not (in this extreamitie) reſiſt the fury and power of the Beare, dreading each houre the loſſe of her life: ſo (queſtionleſſe) much againſt her will or liking, ſhee was enforced to conſent, and endure ſuch companying with him, as you may better imagine, then I expreſſe.

Behauiour of the Beare to the Lady whē ſhe was in his Den.

The Beare would daily iſſue forth of his den, hunt and kill all kinds of Beaſts, and bring them home as food for himſelfe and the Lady: who (in this vrging neceſſity) was glad to eat raw fleſh, wilde Fruits, and ſome other foodes familiar to men; as Cheeſe, Bread, and ſuch like victuals, which he would get from thē that kept Cattle in the fieldes, or ſuch as trauailed to Faires and Markets. Her daily drinke, was Water of a cleare running Brooke at the Caues entrance, ſhaddowed with a louely thicket of young Trees: and thus ſhee liued, in hope that (one day) God would deliuer her. Many times (while the Beare was abroad at his prey and purchaſe) ſhee purpoſed to make an eſcape thence: yet durſt not attempt it, leaſt hee ſhould againe recouer her, and then kill her; beſide, ſhe feared the rauenous fury of other ſauage Beaſtes, whereof no meane ſtore frequented the Mountaine.

What kind of nourishment the Lady had in the Beares Denne.

The Ladies diuers determinations to eſcape from the Beare.

As thus ſhe ſpent ſome moneths in this hapleſſe manner, it fortuned, that certaine Huntſmen (purſuing their delightfull ſporting ouer the Mountaine) with their Grey-hounds and Beagles, followed this Beare ſo mainly; that he being falne into their ſnares, they there ſlew him. And although this was vnknown to the Lady, yet when ſhe heard the voyces of men, and they appearing to be neere the Caue: ſhe came foorth vnto them, to their no little dread and admiration. Yet looking more aduiſedly on her, they perfectly knew her, and had heard of her loſſe, with generall ſuppoſition of her death: whereupon they conducted her home to her Father and Mother, who ſcarcely knew her, her complexion had been ſo greatly altered. In this time, Nature (who ſometimes worketh wonderfull things, and

The happy manner of the wofull Ladies deliuerance from the Beare.

The Lady was brought home to her Father and Mother.

and contrary to common order) had disposed to of the Beasts seed in her bodie; that she being growne great, and generally expected to be deliuered of a monster: it prooued to bee a goodly Male Childe, not any way pertaking in the Sires bestiall forme or appearance, saving that his body was much more hairy all ouer, then is seene in other Children. He was carefully nursed, and the name of *Beare* imposed on him: but when he grew to mans estate, hee became so strong and powerfull, that euery one stood in great feare of him. The Huntsmen that killed the Beare, his begetter, would often boast in his company, after what manner they had deliuered his Mother: but hee was the Deathsman of them all, saying; *Albeit, he had receiued such a fauour by them, yet notwithstanding, he stood bound in nature, to reuenge the death of his Father.*

The Lady was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, and he was named Beare.

Beare slew al them that killed the Beare his begetter.

This Man begat *Trugillus Sprachaleg*, who was a very valiant Souldiour and Captaine; and he begat *Vlfen*, a man of high deseruing: of whom, the Chronicles of the Countries of *Dannemarch*, *Swenia*, and *Gothia*, doe make most large mention, for he was the Father of *Suegus*, who was King of *Dacia*; whereupon, all Histories doe affirme, that al the Kings of *Dacia*, and of *Swenia*, proceeded from this race, and all the fore recited Authours (who are of the same Countries) doe maintaine as much. Concerning my selfe, I haue seene many tame and domesticke Beares, amourous of Women, and She-Beares to be the like of Men, although their eyes haue beene pluckt out, and very few are ignorant of the truth in this case: therefore this history sufficiently approueth, that these beastes doe couple after the manner of men.

The discent of Beare, according to the reporte in Chronicles.

The Kings of *Dacia* and *Swenia* descended of a Beare.

The Authors affirmation out of his own knowledge.

Now, let vs admit the Beare to bee cruell and vile in all his actions; yet notwithstanding, Nature hath bestowed diuers medicinable properties, on some peculiar parts of his body. His head is held venomous, to such as eate thereof, and to procure raging madnesse: in which regard, the Inhabitants of these Northerly Countries, doe vse to burne those heads, and the Ashes of them are exceeding good, for them that haue the Foule-euill, or Falling-sickenesse, by often washing the diseased parties head, with Lye, made of the saide Ashes or Cinders. If they be mingled also among Hony, it will cause Haire to grow againe, where it hath long time wanted: euen as the Fat or Grease of the Beare doth the like, when men haue lost their Haire; helping likewise the paines of the Sciatica, and other Gouts. Also his Flesh is wholesome to bee eaten, and hath no euill tast. The *Scythians*, *Getes*, and other Notherne Countries, do fasten Beares heads on the Gates of their Cities and Townes, perswading themselues; that they doe preserue them, from being hurt by their enemies. Thus you see, what I collected out of good, ancient, and approoued Authors, concerning the Nature of the *Indian* Beare, and those of other Countries, better knowne to vs.

Sundry medicinable properties belonging to certaine partes of the Beare.

For the foule euill or falling sickenesse.

For restoring lost haire, & helping the Sciatica and Goutes.

The *Scythians*, *Getes* and Notherne Nations.

The End of the Eight Booke.

The Ninth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Great Turks *Court, more commonly cald (in these daies) the Court of the Gret Signior: His Pompe, State, Officers, and Attendants; As also their daily Wages and Allowances, according to their degrees, and places of Seruice, &c.*

WE haue alreadie spoken sufficiently (though briefely) concerning the Originall of the Turkish Empire, and in what manner they attained to such height and greatnesse: Our purpose therefore, in this present Chapter, is, to discourse onely of the Gouernment, and Order obserued in the Court, vsually tearmed by themselues, the *Porta* or Court of the *Grand Signore*; whereto I am the more willingly induced, because the Pompe, Might, and Maiesty thereof, may bee publikely discerned.

In the 25. Chapter of the first Book.

The great Signior maketh his most abiding in Constantinople, with some briefe discription thereof.

The Cittie of *Constantinople*, wherein the Great *Signior Turke* (with his Court Royal) maketh his most residing; was in former times called *Bizantium*, and new *Rome*, containing now in circuit, about eighteene Miles. It hath seauen small Hils, not of any great height, and it is rounded with old ruined wals, being full of Houses, though none of the best, yet composed of Clay, wood, and some few of stones. There are many Groues or Thickets of Trees in the Citty, vn-inhabited, consisting of Cipresse Trees, and diuers others there growing in like maner. In *Constantinople* is the *Serraglio* of the *Signior Turke*, which is a singuler thing, & very great, as we shall relate hereafter. There is the *Serraglio* of Weomen, for the Great Signior; The *Serraglio* of *Ianissaries*; The Patriarkes Pallace; The Pallace of *Constantine* the Emperor, which is partly ruinated; The Church of Saint *Sophia*, which was builded by the Emperour *Iustinian*, of admirable fine stone, and curious Marble, as yet (though very ancient and excellent) is to be seene, part whereof, the Great *Signior* imployeth as a Stable for his Horses. There is also the *Moschea* of the *Sultane Mehemet*, which hath an *Amarato* (that is as an Hospitall or Almes-house) ioyned vnto it, wherein is entertained and lodged men of all Nations and Religions, that will enter into it, and there they are allowed three dayes acceptance and food, as Hony, Rice, Bread, Water, and a Chamber to rest in. There is belonging to this Hospitall, goodly Bathes, and rare Fountaines or Springs of Water, very delightfull to behold. There are also the *Moscheaes* of *Sultane, Baiazeth*, of *Sultane Selim*, and of diuers other Lords, which are very beautifull and and costly builded: whereby it appeareth, that when they pleased, they knew how to make houses, and Pallaces most magni-

Il Serraglio del Signior Turco.

The Pallaces in Constantinople.

The goodly Church of S. *Sophia*.

An Hospital for people of all Nations, and three dayes entertainement.

Diuers *Moscheaes* in the Citty.

magnificent and sumptuous.

There is likewise the * *Hippodromo*, which is a place, where anciently they vsed to breake and run their Horses, in the forme of a Theater or circle in the midst of which *Hippodromo*, there standeth a sharp Spire or Pinnacle, being an ingenious Piller, made in the fashion of a Needle, very faire, well wrought, and without any Lime or Morter: yet made of fine Stone, and framed in such manner, that it riseth aboue fifty fadome in height, obseruing still the true shape of a Needle, and resting vpon foure round Bals of Marble. There is also a Piller of Brasse, in forme of a Serpent with three heads: and a *Hercules* of Brasse, brought thither from *Hungaria*; and in the midst of all these, standeth a frame or deuise, made like a *Colossus*, of diuers kindes of beautifull Marble, whereon is curiously engrauen, the Histories of all the forenamed thinges; and others, that were wont to be in the Theater or *Hippodromo*. Thorow the Citty, there are diuers tracts or pathes of Antiquity, Arches, Colloms of Porphiry, Springes fetcht from *Danubie*, & other neere neighbouring Riuers: many Gardens with goodly Houses in them; many *Moscheaes* belonging to priuate Lordes, and great store of Bathes, annexed to the *Moscheaes* of publike Magistrates, and other priuate persons.

On the other side of the Sea, and at the head of the *Serraglio*, are the hils of *Asia*, containing the iourney of two miles, little more or lesse: which *Asia*, vnder one name only is now cald *Natolia*, and there (on the shoaring banckes) are diuers little Castles, termed *Scutari*. Next, there is that which they call *Chalcedonia*, seated in a corner of the *Hellespont*; where diuers notes of Antiquitie are to be obserued, and (in many places) the foundation of auncient Churches may be seene, as well of Christians, as of the Gentiles, being now goodly places, and abonnding in Fruits. The site or scituation of *Constantinople* is such, as not only it exceedeth all description, equal to the due merit thereof: but also can as hardly be conceiued in thought, in regard of the beauty and delicate composure therof, so that (vndoubtedly) it may rather be reputed diuine, then otherwise, and whatsoeuer hee be that shall behold it, will iudge it worthy to be preferred, before all other sited Cities in the world.

In the Citty, beside *Turkes*, there are *Iewes*, being * *Marrani*, fled, or repulsed out of *Spaine*; and these are they that haue taught, and do yet teach, all kinds of Trades to the *Turkes*, and the most part of all the Shoppes and Boothes for Trades, are kept and exercised by those *Marrani*. There is a place named *Biscstano*, where is bought and sold all kinde of Cloathes, and Turkish Commodities, Silkes, wollen and Linnen Cloath, Siluer and Gold wrought into all formes, Bowes, Slaues, Horses, and all kinds of thinges else to be had in *Constantinople*, which continually are brought to this Market, and which is euery day kept open in full sale, except Friday onely. *Constantinople* is in *Thrace*, and the terminations thereof are in this manner. On the East, is the *Propontis*, and mouth of the great Sea, from the streights of *Hellespont*, to *Bosphorus Thracius*. On the West, is part of *Bulgaria*, and part of *Macedonia*. On the North, *Bassina*; And on the South, *Ægæum Mare*, with part of *Macedonia*, which turneth towardes the Riuer *Nessaua*, anciently called * *Nessus Fluuius*. This most Noble Citty is inhabited with *Turks*, who (by the writings of diuers approoued Authours, for confirmation, and many of the *Turkes* themselues also) had their Original from *Scythia*, which now is part of *Tartaria*, a Northerly Region, and deuided into two parts by the Riuer * *Tanais*; one part whereof is in *Europe*, & the other in *Asia*. That part of *Europe* is confined (on the one side) with *Pontus*, and on the other side, with the *Riphean* Mountaines, being backed also with *Asia* it selfe, and with the Riuer *Thaspis*. By *Ptolomie*, these two *Scythiaes* are named, the one, *Intra* * *Iamnum montem*, and the other, *Extra Iamnum*, as is more at large elsewhere to be seene.

This people, being parted from *Scythia*, as formerly hath been said, and beginning (in their own confines) to make commodities and irruptions, proceeding on still further: in short time they ouer-ruled a great part of *Asia*; but in regard they knew not how to maintain themselues vnder one Head or Commaunder, they could not make any firme

* A counsing or running place for Horses.

The curious Needle in the *Hippodromo*.

The three headed Serpent of Brasse

The great *Colossus*.

Antiquities in passage thorow the citty.

Gardens and goodly Houses.

Priuate *Moscheaes*.

The hils of *Asia*, now called *Natolia*.

Castelles *Scutari*, *Chalcedonia* in the *Hellespont*.

The site or seate of *Constantinople* exceeding description.

* A Nickename for Infidell Renegado Spaniards.

The *Biscstano* or chief Market-place in *Constantinople*.

In what manner *Constantinople* is bounded or limitted on all sides.

* Wher stood a Citty of *Thrace*, built by *Constantine*.

*: A Riuer of *Scythia*, parting *Asia* from *Europe*

* In the lesser of the Isles called *Baleares*.

The *Turkes* issuing forth of their owne confines.

firme or ſetled foundation. Which being well perceiued and conſidered by one, who was named *Ottheman* (a man of more condition then common baſeneſſe, being of high ſpright and valiant minded) he conſulted with his owne thoughts, that if he could compaſſe the arme and furtherance of ſome ingenious man that had authority: hee might eaſily haue the people and whol Country vnder obedience, and encreaſe the fame as occaſion ſtil ſerued. Hereupon, he diſcouered his priuate intention to three men, whom he thought more apt and conuenient for this buſineſſe, then any of the reſt: promiſing them, that if he could compaſſe the hope he aymed at; both they and their of-ſpring ſhould be continued and maintained in ſuch high ſtate and dignity, anſwerable to ſo great a benefit as he receiued by them. Moreouer, that not any one of their poſterity, ſhould be vnder-handed, or left to the mercy of Law, except they offended very grieuouſly. The conditions were accepted by theſe men, and they conſpired together againſt the chiefeſt Soueraignety: in which progreſſion, what by art, craft, threatnings, & much expence of blood, all was obtained to their full deſire. Theſe three men, one of them was named *Michaele Greco*, made a *Turke*: of whom are deſcended the *Marcalogi*, & one of them (is at this inſtant) *Saniack* of *Boſsina*. The ſecond was called *Malco Greco*, a Renegado: of whom alſo came the *Malcozoli*, and there is but one onely left of them, who is *Saniack* in *Grecia*. The third was *Aurami*, a Natiue Turke, the deſcendants of whom were tearmed *Euracaſſi*, and it is not knowne, whether any of them bee left, or no. When the Race and Family of *Ottheman* failed, theſe other pretended right to the principalitie, and therefore they were very highly reſpected. This *Ottheman* came to the Gouernment, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, or there-about, and liued in the regiment, twenty eight yeares. After whom ſucceeded *Orchanes*, who liued twenty two yeares in the dominion. Next, *Amurath* raigning twenty three yeares. After him *Bauazeth*; Then *Cyrſcelebes*, or (as others will haue it) *Calapine*, who liued ſixe yeares. Next him was *Mahomet*, who raigned foureteene yeares. Then *Amurath* the ſecond, who ruled one and thirty years. Then *Mahomet* the ſecond, who raigned two and thirty yeares, and was called the firſt Emperour of the *Turkes* in *Conſtantinople*. Next, *Bauazeth* the ſecond, who raigned one and thirty yeares. Then *Selim*, eight yeares; To whom ſucceeded *Sultan Soliman*, who raigned forty ſeauen yeares: And after him, *Selim* the ſecond, raigning eyght yeares. Then *Amurath* the third, who raigned one and twenty years. Next to him, *Mahomet* the third, ruling nine yeares: And laſtly *Achmeth*, or *Achmet*, who came to the Empire, being but ſeuenteene yeares old, and raigneth yet at this preſent.

Ottheman, a man of bold and ſprightly courage.

Ottheman diſcouered hiſe cret purpoſe.

Very liberall and large promiſes.

The conditions accepted and proſecuted.

The *Marcalogi* deſcended *Michaele Greco*

The *Malcozoli*, of *Malco Greco*.

The *Euracaſſi*, of *Aurami*.

Succeſſion that enſued after *Ottheman*.

Orchanes. *Amurath*. 1.

Bauazeth. 1. *Calapine*.

Mahomet. 1.

Amurath 2. *Mahomet*. 2.

Bauazeth. 2.

Selim 1.

Soliman

Selim. 2. *Amurath*. 3.

Mahomet. 3.

Achmeth or *Achmet*, the Turke or great *Signior* now raigning. 1613.

1 THE Great Signior hath a *Serraglio* in a part of *Conſtantinople*, at the two Seas deuiſion, which containeth (in circuit) about three miles: and therein is his chiefe Seat and Court, which is called the *Porta*. This *Serraglio*, becauſe it was begun to be builded by the *Soldane Mahomet*: when hee dyed, hee would haue it leuelled with his *Moſches*, and that a thouſand Aſpers ſhould be dailie paied towards the charges, which Aſpers doe amount to twenty Ducates, and this payment is as yet obſerued. In the ſaid *Serraglio* are very many goodly Chambers, but one (aboue all the reſt) appointed for the Great Signior, and wherein he ſleepeth, where doe attend ſixe Youthes (ſuppoſed by ſome to be Weomen) who onely doe awaite on his perſon. Of theſe ſixe, two are appointed daily for ſeruice in the Chamber, and of the Signior, and by them at night time, the Office of Guard is performed, one ſtanding at his head, and the other at his feete (continually vigillant) with two lighted Torches in their hands.

Of the Porta or Court, wherin is the great Signiors chiefe State.

Six youths that wait on the great Signior in his Chamber, & order of their ſeruice.

Theſe two doe helpe in the morning, to put on the Signiors Garments, the vppermoſt whereof being called *Caſtanno*; hath two Pockets: into one whereof, the Pages do put a thouſand *Aſpers*, and into the other, twenty Ducates of Gold euery morning, which Mony, if (in the day time) it bee not giuen away by the Signior; it remaineth to them that maketh him vnreadie at night,

The guarding and watching of him in his ſleeping in the night time.

What Money he daily carrieth about him, being put into his pockets by his Pages.

for he neuer putteth on thoſe garments againe, neither weareth any twice, as is credibly affirmed. When he rideth abroad on pleaſure, either to hunt, or any other ſportfull exerciſe, beſide the forenamed Mony which he carryeth about him; the *Caſnadar-Baſhae*, who is his chiefe Treaſurer, rideth next behind him, who carrieth great ſums of Mony, which the Signior commaundeth to be giuen away. The Offices of the fore-named ſixe young Pages, are altred according to the *Signiors* will and pleaſure. One of them is called the *Chiuchter*, that is he which carrieth the Pantofles of the Signior; The ſecond, *Scilichtar*, who beareth his Bow and Arrowes; The third, *Chiocadar*, who carrieth his cloak or Mantle; The fourth, *Saraptar*, who carieth his Vial of water; The fift, *Schemeligh*, who beareth his ſtoole or ſeat; And the laſt is *Oda-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Chamber. Theſe Pages haue firm and ſetled allowance of Wages; ſome fifteen, and others twenty, but the *Oda-Baſhae* thirty Aſpers daily.

The Turke *Capagaſſi* Eunuch, that is he which is chiefe of the *Porta* or Court, hath threeſcore Aſpers daily.

The *Caſnadar-Baſhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Treaſurers, hath threeſcore and ten Aſpers daily.

The *Chilergi-Baſhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Diſpenſers or Stewards, hath forty Aſpers daily.

The *Saraidar-Baſhae*, Eunuch of the *Serraglio*, when the *Signior* is in Prograce, hath fifty Aſpers daily.

Twelue Eunuches, ſubiect, or at commaund of theſe fore-named, haue ſome ten, and ſome fifteen Aſpers each man daily.

In the next place, we are to ſpeake of fiue hundred young Women, from the age of eight, to the yeares of twentie, who are kept in a *Serraglio*, and are the choiſe delights of the *Grand Signior*. They haue ten and twelue Aſpers daily each one of them, and are enſtructed in diuers Arts, according to their ableſt apprehenſion: but moſt eſpecially in Reading, Writing, and Doctrine of their Law or Religion, and in riding. Their Maiſters or Tutours, are ancient *Taliſmani*, called *Cozza*, that is to ſay, Doctours of the Law.

Theſe young Women, at the time of *Bairomo*, which is (among vs) the Feaſt of Eaſter, are all allowed Garments by the Great Signior, which are of Silke and of Cloath, without any forme of Liuery. Their Head Attires are all of Gold, and they haue Semitaries and Bowes, like *Amazones*: but they neuer go foorth of the ſaid *Serraglio*, till they attaine to ſuch yeares, as the Signior thinketh them apt for ſome Office, and then they are made eyther *Spacoglani*, or *Scilichtari*, or of ſome greater degree, according to their carryage, or grace that they haue won with the Signior. Euery tenne of theſe Women are kept by an Eunuch, called *Capoglano*, that is to ſay, chiefe of the younger Women, and euery one of them hath a night-Slaue, and toucheth not him that lyeth neereſt him. They lodge in goodlie Roomes, like great and ſpacious Hauls, verie full of lights, and their Eunuches doe ſleepe in the middeſt of thoſe Roomes. There is a Garden belonging to the *Serraglio*, containing in compaſſe more then a mile, whereto appertaineth fiue and thirtie Gardiners, called *Boſtangi*, who are decayed and aged *Ianiſſaries*: and theſe *Boſtangi* haue (from three to fiue Aſpers) each man dailie, and euery one hath a Liuery of Turkiſh Cloath, and a Shirt yearelie allowed him. When they depart out of the *Serraglio*, they remaine *Ianiſſaries*, or *Solachi*, or *Capigi*, or otherwiſe, according to their qualitie.

The *Boſtangi-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Gardiners, hath fifty Aſpers daylie allowed him, and many other royall fauours beſide.

The *Protogero*, who is as Lieutenant to the Gardiners, hath twentie Aſpers daily, and euery ten hath a chiefe, called *Boluch-Baſhae*. Out of this Garden, which is very great, well laboured, and full of excellent Fruits of all ſortes, there is yearely gathered ſuch plentie: that the benefit made onely thereby, ſufficeth for the Signiors expences in dyet, beſide a good ouer-plus remaining for other vſes. Neere to the Garden, doe two Foyſtes or ſmall Barkes continually attend, which are rowed by the Gardiners, when the Signior pleaſeth to ſollace himſelfe on the Water, and the *Boluch-Baſhae* gouerneth the Helme.

There

The *Caſnadar-Baſhae*, the *Signiors* chiefe Treaſurer.

The ſix yong Pages, and what belongeth to their ſeuerall Offices, and their wadges.

Capagaſſi Eunuch.

Caſnadar-Baſhae, Eunuch.

Chilergi-baſhae Eunuch.

Saraidar-Baſhae, Eunuch.

Twelue Eunuchs.

Fiue hundred young Women, who are Concubines to the great *Signior*, and kept in an eſpeciall *Serraglio*.

Taliſmani Cozza, Doctour of the Lawes, Schoole-Maiſters to the Concubines.

Offices beſtowed on Concubines when the *Signior* pleaſeth.

Eunuchs and Night-Slaues that attend on the Concubines in their Lodgings.

Boſtangi, Gardeners belonging to the Womens Serraglio, and their daily allowance.

Boſtangi-Baſhae chiefe Gardiner.

Protogero, Lieuetenant to the Gardeners.

Boluch-Baſhae.

Foyſts for the Signiors recreation on the Water.

Aſſi Baſhae, chiefe of the Cookes.

There is one called *Aſsi-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Cooks, with fifty Cooks vnder him, that haue each man fiftie Aſpers by the day, vnder Cookes four, who haue ſixe Aſpers; and ſixe others, eight Aſpers each man.

Canalgi Baſhae Maiſter of the Confectionarie.

Canalgi-Baſhae, is chiefe of the Confectionarie, hauing forty Aſpers daylie allowed him: and he hath thirty other Companions, who haue ſome fiue, others ſixe Aſpers each man.

Caſnagir-Baſhae, the chief Butler.

The *Caſnagir-Baſhae*, who is Maiſter of the Butlers, or chiefe Butler to the Great Signior, hath forty Aſpers daily. Morning and Euening hee bringeth in his hand, the Cuppe which the Signior drinketh in, and hath an hundered *Caſnegeri* vnder him, who haue from thirtie, to ſixtie Aſpers each man daylie.

Mutpachemin, the chiefe Steward.

The *Mutpachemin*, who is the chiefe Steward, hath fortie Aſpers daily, and keepeth a Clearke vnder him, that hath twenty Aſpers daily.

Ianiſſarie-Wood-carriers.

An hundred decayed *Ianiſſaries*, which with Carts doe carry Wood to the *Serraglio*, they haue from three, to fiue Aſpers a man daily, and are cloathed alſo.

Sacca, water-bearers.

Ten *Sacca*, which carry Water on Horſes in Bouges, haue each man from three, to fiue Aſpers daily.

The *Signiors* daily expences for his women, &c.

The expences which is graunted by the Grand Signiors allowance, to his women and their Eunuches, with other perſons, to the number of a thouſand, or thereabout, amounteth to fiue thouſand Aſpers euery day.

His Stable of Horſes in the *Serraglio*.

There is a Stable in the *Serraglio*, with two hundred Horſes for the Signiors perſon, and two hundred men to manage and keepe them, who haue from fiue, to eight Aſpers each man daily.

Capigi-Baſhaes, Captaines of the Gates, who cõmand ouer the *Capigi*.

Three *Capigi-Baſhaes*, who are Captaines of the Portes or Gates, that haue an hundred Aſpers by the day, and are cloathed yearely. Vnder them they commaund two hundred and fifty *Capigi*, that haue each man from fiue, to ſeauen Aſpers dailie. Each *Capigi-Baſhae*, ſtandeth obliged (with a third nũber of the *Capigi*) to keepe a Guard at the Gate of the Grand Signior, beeing changed ſtill day by day. And when Ambaſſadours, or others doe come to kiſſe the Grand Signiors hand: all of them are preſented with Garments, or elſe Money, according to the degree of him that is brought to that honor.

Capigichecheſſi, Protogero to the *Capigi*.

A *Capigichecheſſi*, who is as *Protogero* of the *Capigi*, and hath forty Aſpers daily.

Baſhaes Viſirs, chiefe Counſellors and States-men to the great Signior.

Foure *Baſhaes*, called *Viſirs*, that is, chiefe Councellers to the Signior. He that is greateſt in authority, hath foure and twenty thouſand Ducates by the yeare, and the other of them, haue ſixteene and eighteene thouſand yearely each man. They hold (beſide) ſo much Land of him, as yeildeth three times more benefit, then is their allowance and prouiſion of Money: whereto are added the rich garments giuen them by the Signior; the great preſents of Suters, and others; beſide the royalties held by their Offices, which are infinite. Theſe *Baſhaes* liue and goe cloathed very pompouſly, hauing Slaues, both Men and Women, to whom they giue Wages, Horſes, Garments, Head-attires of Gold, Girdles of Siluer, according to ſuch Office and degree, as they hold about them: and by theſe (with his owne prouiſion) is each *Baſhae* ſerued, euen as the *Signior* is ſerued by his attendants. They haue fiue and twenty, or thirty Secretaries granted them by the Signior, who are men of good eſteem, and haue fiue and twenty or thirty Aſpers ech man daily, beſide Slaues, ſome more, ſom leſſe, according to ech mans quality and eſtate. Theſe *Baſhaes* doe go in and out to the Signior, about matters and occaſions of State, & are they (in briefe) that gouerne and manage all things after their owne liking.

Secretaries allowed by the *Signior*, to attend on his foure *Baſhaes Viſirs*.

Mophty, the chiefe Prieſt or Biſhop.

Next, there is the *Mophty*, who is the Interpreter and chiefe of the Law or Religion: And he is not troubled with any other matters, but in caſes belonging to Religion, and concerning their Faith. His Office and Dignity is, as preſenting the perſon of the chiefe Prieſt or Biſhop.

Cadi Leſchieri Taliſmani, Doctours of Law for the Army.

Two *Cadi Leſchieri Taliſmani*, who are Doctors of the Law for the Armie, one of *Greece*, the other of *Natolia*, and they hold very worthy Offices. They ſit at the Court gate, and do proceed or go before the *Baſhaes Viſirs*, albeit the other are more eſteemed. They are Executors of the Lawes, and with conſent of the *Baſhaes*. They place and diſplace the *Cadi*, who are as Poteſtates and chiefe Magi-

Magiſtrates thorow the Countries. They hold in Lands (each man) about ſeauen thouſand ducates yearely, and do keep two hundred or three hundred Slaues ſeuerally: being alſo allowed by the Signior, ten Secretaries, and two *Mochtur-Baſhaes*, who performe the Office of Cauallery, and liue on the royalties, whereof they haue good ſtore.

Cadi, Maiors or Poteſtates through the Land.

Mochtur-Baſhaes, as Maiſters of the Horſſe.

There are two *Diſterdari*, or rather, (as we vſe to tearme them) Gouernors of the rents and reuenues. One of them hath the collection, & keeping of thoſe accounts, which come from one third part of *Greece*: to wit, thoſe parts which are towardes *Danubie*; and next, from *Aſia*, *Soria*, and *Ægypt*, with Landes of ten thouſand Ducates yearely, albeit, (with their royalties) hee raiſeth three times as much. The other hath charge of the other two third partes of *Grecia*, but when the great Signior goeth forth into the Field: he remaineth as his Vicar and Lieutenant in *Conſtantinople*, and hath ſixe thouſand ducates in lands, whereof he maketh three times the value, and their ſeuerally Offices are of great dignitie. They keepe vnder them fifty Clearkes, with many coadiutores, who haue care of the *Caſna* accounts, that is, of the Signiors Treaſure: and theſe Clearks are allowed wages by the Signior, from fifteene, to fifty Aſpers each man daily. Alſo theſe *Diſterdari*, each one of them hath 1000. Slaues, & the other fiue hundred: Likewiſe, the Clearkes, they haue from two, to twenty Slaues, each man allowed him.

Diſterdari, Maiſters of the Rents & Reuenues.

The great *Signiors* Vicar and Lieuetenant in Conſtantinople.

Caſna, the Treaſure belonging to the *Signior*.

Two *Roſunamegi*, Maiſters of the Clearkes, that receiue the Monies, and make diſburſement thereof again when need requireth, who haue xxv. aſſiſtants betweene them. Theſe two men are allowed forty Aſpers apiece; and the fiue and twenty haue from eight, to ten Aſpers each man daily.

Roſunamegi, Maiſters, or Clearke-Comptrollers

Deſnadar, weighers of Money.

Deſnadar, wherof there are two, whoſe office is to weigh the Aſpers and Duckates, with fiue and twenty Aſpers allowance daily for the one, and thirtie for the other.

Saraffieri, bankers or Money-Changers.

Sixe *Saraffieri*, as Bankers or Lombards, who know the true eſtimate of Gold and Siluer, and haue from ten to fifteene Aſpers, each man daily.

Then there is a *Neſſangi-Baſhae*, who ſigneth the Commaunds, and publique Writings, with the Signe or Marke of the Signior. His Office is, as Great or chiefe Chancellour, and he is a man of much reputation. He ſitteth in the *Porta*, next to the *Beglerbey*, and hath eight thouſand ducates of annuall Lands, beſide very honorable places, with aboue three hundred Slaues.

Neſſangi-Baſhae, the Lord high Chancellor.

There is a *Caſnadar-Baſhae* abroad, or at large, as common Treaſurer, with ten *Caſnadri* vnder him: himſelfe hath fifty Aſpers daily, and the ten other fifteene each man.

Caſnadar-Baſhae, Treaſurer at large.

The *Deſtermin*, who is as Surueyer of the Lands, and keepeth a Regiſter of them all. He hath forty Aſpers dailie, and vnder him are ten Clearkes, rewarded from ten, to fifteene Aſpers dailie each man.

Deſtermin, Surueyer of the Lands.

Then there are foureſcore *Mutaſerache*, who are as Demy-Lances or light Horſemen to the Signior, carying their Launces alwaies, whenſoeuer he rideth abroad, and acknowledging no other Head or Commaunder, but the Grand Signior himſelfe onely. Afterward, when either by art or deſert, any one of them can attaine ſo farre into his fauor; he is made *Aga*, that is a Captain. The meaneſt of them haue ten, and the better ſort, foureſcore Aſpers a man daily.

Mutaſerache, Demie-Launces or Light-Horſſe-men.

There is a *Chiaus-Baſhae*, who is chiefe of the Sergeants for the Army, and holdeth ſuch credit with euery man: that when he is ſent by command from the Signior, to any *Baſhae*, *Saniack*, or *Cadi*, with order, to cauſe the head of any one to be ſmitten off: he is obeyed, without receipt of any Letter by him, or commaundement in writing, and euen no otherwiſe, then as if the Signior himſelf were there in perſon, and commaunded it to be done. This man hath an hundred Aſpers by the day, and keepeth an hundred Slaues vnder him, for whom he is allowed from fiue & twenty, to forty Aſpers for each man daily.

Chiaus-Baſhae, as Sergeant Maior.

A very great and eſpeciall preheminēce.

The *Mechter-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of them, that doe diſplay or ſpread abroad the Tents or Pauillions, and the Tapeſtry that couers the Floores in the Court, with ſuch like buſineſſes thereto belonging. He hath forty Aſpers dailie; one *Protogero*, and fiue and twenty Aſpers allowance: threeſcore *Mechters*, waged from fiue, to eyght Aſpers

Mechter-Baſhae, Maiſter of the Tents and Tapiſtry.

Aſpers each man, and their yearelie Lieueries from the Signior.

Aga, Captain of the *Ianiſſaries*.

The *Aga*, that is, Captaine of the *Ianiſſaries*, who hath a thouſand Aſpers and more daily, and ſixe thouſand Duckats in Lands yearely. This *Aga*, when Court is kept, which is commonly twice or thrice euery weeke, ſtandeth obliged, to feede the *Ianiſſaries*, with Bread, Rice, Mutton, Hony, and Water. He hath a *Checaya* vnder him, or rather a *Protogero* of the *Ianiſſaries*, who is as his Vice-gerent, and hath two hundred Aſpers daily in ready Mony, and thirty thouſand in Lands yearely. He alſo hath a Clearke of the *Ianiſſaries*, called *Ianiſſariaßis*, waged with an hundred Aſpers daily.

Checaya, Vicegerent of the *Ianiſſaries*.

Sechmem-Baſhae, Maiſter of the hunting Hounds.

The *Sechmem-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Hounds for Hunting: he hath an hundred Aſpers daily, and to the number of almoſt two thouſand *Ianiſſaries* vnder him.

Zagarzi-Baſhae for the Beagles.

The *Zagarzi-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Beagle-Hounds, beeing allowed fiftie Aſpers daily, and hath about ſeauen hundred *Ianiſſaries* vnder him.

The number of the *Ianiſſaries*, and their allowances & Commanders

There are to the number of twelue thouſand *Ianiſſaries*, that haue from three, to eight Aſpers wages, each man daily allowed them. Euery ten haue their *Oda-Baſhae*, and euery hundred haue their *Boluch-Baſhae*: but theſe chief Men of the tens and hundreds, do ride on Horſebacke, the *Oda-Baſhaes* beeing allowed forty Aſpers each man dailie, and the *Boluch-Baſhaes* ſixtie, the reſt of the *Ianiſſaries* doe goe on foote, beeing cloathed once ayeare by the Signior, in coorſe Azure cloath.

The *Ianiſſaries* dietting together.

Their dwelling is in two partes of *Conſtantinople*, freely giuen them by the Signior, wherein dwell they that haue no Wiues; but ſuch as be married, do inhabite diuers places of the Citty. For their liuing together in friendly manner, euery Man layeth downe his perticuler proportion; And they haue a Steward, and a Cooke, who make preparation of their dyet: but ſuch as come ſhort in ſtipend to the reſt, are bound by obligation to attend on the other, and take their leauings.

How they go to the Field by hundreds.

Euery hundred of them, when they go to the Field, do carry their Tent or Pauillion with them, being all Foot-men: and part of them Shot, other Halbardiers, and ſome that vſe the Semitary onely, euery three Men hauing a Horſe, for carriage of their neceſſaries. When they grow into yeares, or (in ſome other reſpects) their ſeruice ſeemeth not pleaſing to the Signior: they are caſhiered out of the *Ianiſſaries* Booke, and are tearmed *Aſſareri*, that is to ſay; Guards for Caſtles, & then they haue Commaders appointed them for that purpoſe, who are called *Caſtillians*, with equall allowance to the wages which formerly they had, ſo that no one of them falleth into diſtreſſe.

Aſſareri, keepers of Caſtelles.

Some of them there be who ſpeede ſo ſucceſſefullie in the Warres: that they come to be made *Vauoides*, and exalted to great Dignitie. They begin the exerciſe of Armes when they be but young Lads, and are enſtructed by the moſt expert: beeing choſen of healthfull diſpoſition, ſtrongly limbde, yet quick and agile, but (aboue all) courragious, and much rather to bee cruell, then any way pittiful. In theſe men conſiſteth the ſtrength and full firmeneſſe of all the Turkiſh Armies: who becauſe they are continually exerciſed thereto, and (altogether) become one ſole body as it were, are (indeede) to bee feared and doubted.

Vauoides are ſubordinate Rulers or Lords, aduanced by their merits in ſeruice.

Solacchi Foot-men to the *Signior*.

Of *Ianiſſaries* there are elected an hundred and fiftie *Solacchi*, who are as Foot-men to the Signior, with allowance from fifteene, to twentie Aſpers each man daily: and they go euermore about his perſon, at all times when hee rideth abroad.

Solach-Baſhaes, Maiſters of the *Solacchi*.

Two *Solach-Baſhes*, are chiefe of the *Solacchi*, and ride on horſebacke; being allowed thirty Aſpers daily each man, and the *Solacchi* are vnder obedience to the *Aga* of the *Ianiſſaries*.

Aga of the *Spaccoglani*.

The *Aga* of the *Spaccoglani*, a very honourable Office, hath in Lands and day Wages, ten Duckets continually, and great ſtore of Slaues, with a *Checaia* vnder him, or elſe a *Protogero*; who hath (betweene Lands and Wages) an hundred Aſpers daily, beſide a *Ianzgi*, that is, a Clearke, hauing thirty Aſpers, and ſufficient regalities.

Ianzgi, an attendant Clearke.

There be of the *Spaccoglani*, who are young luſtie men on horſebacke (for ſo meaneth the Word *Spaccoglano*) three thouſand, beeing waged from twentie, to fortie aſpers each man daily, & euery

Spaccoglani, young Gallants on Horſbacke, and their ſeruice.

Education of the *Spaccoglani* from their Child-hood.

twenty hath a *Boluch-Bashae*. These do serue on Horse-backe, with fiue or sixe Slaues, and as many Horses for each man; giuing their attendance alwaies (and lodging likewise) on the right hand of the *Signior*. They are men of sufficiency, ouer whom the *Signior* appointeth no head or Controller, but onely himselfe. They are first brought vp or educated, in the *Serraglio* of yong Boyes, and as they grow in yeares and goodnesse, choyse is made of them, and so they do attaine to this degree, which serueth as a Ladder for them, whereby to mount to much greater grace, fauor, and preferment.

Aga of the *Silichtari*.

The *Aga* of the *Silichtari*, who hath thirty Aspers by the day, and vnder him a *Protogero*, a Cleark, and a *Checaia*, that are allowed thirty Aspers each man daily, and more.

The differēce betweene the *Silichtari* and the *Spaccoglani*.

Of these *Silichtari*, there are three thousand, who ride on horseback likewise, and lodge on the left hand of the Signior, hauing from twenty, to fiue and twenty Aspers each man daily: with foure or fiue Slaues, and as many Horses, beside Lands for their better maintenance. These men are educated in the same manner, as the *Spacchi* or *Spaccoglani*, and there is no other difference betweene them: but that the *Spacchi* attend on the right hand, and these on the left, of the Signior.

Olofagi-Bashawes, Commaunders ouer the Souldiers.

Two *Olofagi-Bashaes*, who are chiefe of the Souldiours, with two thousand *Olofagi*, that serue on the right and left hand of the Signior. The two chiefe Commaunders, haue an hundred and twenty Aspers each man daily, and the other, from eight, to sixteen each man. Moreouer, the two haue vnder them, a *Checaia*, a Clearke and a *Protogero*, with Slaues and Horses, the one more, the other lesse.

Agaes of the *Caripoglani*, poore young men.

Two *Agaes*, Maiesters or Rulers of the *Caripoglani* (who are poore young men) with fourscore Aspers of allowance for each man. Their *Protogeri* haue thirtie Aspers, their Clearks fiue and twentie: And they haue vnder them, about two thousand *Caripoglani* (who are waged from seauen to foureteene Aspers each man) and they haue Slaues and Horses beside.

Bracor-Bashaes chiefe Groome of the Stable.

Two *Bracor-Bashaes*, who are Maisters or chiefe Quiries of the Stable, one aboue the other in Office. The better hath fiue hundred Aspers by the day, & the other two hundred; beside *Protogeri* and *Checaiaes*, and others that are waged from thirty, to forty Aspers dailie each man.

Seracchi, as Sadlers.

Then there are to the number of sixteene thousand; some tearmed *Saracchi*, who make Bridles and Saddles; others *Ceissi*, Seruants or Groomes of the Stable; others *Carmandari*, that attend on the Mules; others *Denegi*, that waite on the Camels; and *Caurilagi*, that feed the Heards of Horses in diuers places, who are waged from two, to twentie Aspers each man daily.

Ceissi, Grooms of the Stable. *Carmandari*, Muletters. *Denegi*, Cammellers. *Caurigili*, Herds for Horses.

Peichi, Foote-Poasts or Lackies.

Next there is betweene thirty and forty *Peichi*, Foote-Poasts, or Lackyes, who were brought vp (from their younger yeares) in knowledge of the miles, & dispatch much ground in short while, and with wonderfull swiftnesse. When the Grand Signior, is to ride abroad, they are continually ready, because they are imployed still in many businesses.

Foure thousand choice Horses for the *Signior*.

Of elected and choise Horses, there are about foure thousand, for the person of the Signior: which are ridden by the youthes of the *Serraglio*, and by the Eunuches, as a daily practise and exercise.

Zachergi-Bashaes, chiefe Faulconers.

There is a *Zachergi-Bashae*, Maister of the yong Hauks, and another *Zachergi-Bashae*, Commaunder of all the Faulconers. The first hath an hundred and fiftie Aspers daily, and the other but fourescore; with their *Checaiaes*, *Protogeri*, and others, that are waged each Man daily, from ten, to fiue and twenty Aspers. Vnder these, are about two hundred *Zaniglieri*, one hundred wherof, haue onely tenne Aspers each man daily: but the rest hold Landes, or else exemption from taxations, and follow the fields as pleaseth the Signior.

Zaniglieri, attendants on the chiefe Faulconers.

Gebegi-Bashae, Maister of the Armour.

The *Gebegi-Bashae*, is Maister of the Armour, hauing threescore Aspers daily, a *Protogero*, and Clearke, with twenty Aspers each Man dailie. Vnder him are a thousand and fiue hundred *Gebegi*, waged from seauen to foureteene Aspers dailie each man, and they all goe on foot with the Signior to the Field.

Topci-Bashae, Maister of the Musketiers.

The *Topci-Bashae*, is M. of the Musketiers, hauing threescore Aspers dailie;

a *Protogero*, and a Clearke, with twenty Aſpers, each man daily. And vnder him are two thouſand *Topci*, waged from ſix, to ten Aſpers, each man dayly going on foote.

Arabagi-Baſhae Maiſter of the Cariages.

The *Arabagi-Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Carts, Waggons, and Carriages, hauing fortie Aſpers daily, a *Protogero* and Clearke, at twentie Aſpers allowaunce, each man daily: & vnder him, are 3000, *Arabagi*, waged from three, to ſix Aſpers each man daily.

Mechter Baſhae, Maiſter of the Drums & Trumpets.

A *Mechter Baſhae*, is Maiſter of the Trompets and Drummes, hauing thirtie Aſpers daily allowance, a *Protogero* and Cleark, at twelue Aſpers a man daily. Vnder him, are a thouſand and two hundred *Mechters*, partly on foote, and partly on horſebacke, from three to fiue Aſpers, each man daily.

Imcrelem-Aga, the *Signiors* Standard-Bearer.

Imcrelem-Aga, who carrieth the grand Signiors Standard, hauing two hundred Aſpers daily, and he is (beſide) Captaine ouer all the *Mechters*.

Arpaemin, Purueyor of grain and Corne.

The *Arpaemin*, hee is Purueyer for Corne, hauing a *Protogero*, and a Chancellor: himſelfe hath ſixtie Aſpers, the *Protogero* thirty, and the Chancellour twenty daily. This *Arpaemin* hath xx. perſons vnder him, who are allowed dayly amongſt them, eight hundred Aſpers.

Saraemin, Prouider in generall.

The *Saraemin*, is Purueyer or prouider in common: for hee looketh to the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*, and al the waies whereby the Signior paſſeth foorth to Warre. He hath charge alſo of publick Buildings; of Springs, Wels, and Water-conduct. He is allowed fifty Aſpers daily, and hath foure hundred men vnder him: among whom, is giuen a thouſand Aſpers: hauing a *Protogero*, and a Clearke alſo, with 38. Aſpers, allowed each man daily.

Baratemin, Steward of the *Signiors* commands.

The *Baratemin*, who is appointed to deliuer the Signiors commands in writing, and to receiue his houſe moneyes: hauing fortie Aſpers daily, and attended with two Clearkes, and two Ouer-ſeers, with twenty Aſpers daily each man.

Dragoman, the Interpreter of Languages, or Maiſter of the Ceremonies.

The *Dragoman*, who is Interpreter of all Languages, which Office is as highly reputed, as is the Vertue and Wiſedom of him that exerciſeth it. He hath fiue hundered Ducates in firme Prouiſion euerie yeare, beſides, his enioyning as much in Landes, and aboue foure times as much in extraordinarie fauours, being alwayes verie eſpeciallie reſpected of them.

The Womens Serraglio, *differing from the other.*

The great *Signior* his ſecond *Serraglio* of weomen & for his Children.

2. OVer and beſide all the forenamed matters, there is another *Serraglio* of the Signiors Women, containing in circuite more then a mile and a halfe: being richly furniſhed with diuers goodly Chambers, and other retirements, wherein the Signiors Children are kept, ſeperately one from another, with their Mothers, and a great number of Eunuchs allowed for their keeping & ſeruice. There is alſo the *Sultana*, that is to ſay, the chiefe Mother, or the Signiors Wife, by whom he is ſaid to haue his firſt Child.

The *Sultana* or the *Signiors* wife.

In this place alſo, are three hundered young Damoſels, brought thither Virgins, and deliuered to the gouernement of many Matrons: which Virgines, are enſtructed in al kinds of curious imbroidery and workes: and euery one is allowed from ten to twentie Aſpers daylie, as wages, and euery yeare, at the two *Bairanoes*, they haue coſtly Garments of ſilk giuen them. Among theſe, hee maketh choiſe (to his owne liking) of ſuch as hee will admit to his priuate companie: and when he hath lien with any of them, hee giueth her a rich head attire of Golde, & ten thouſand *Aſpers*, placing hir then in another lodging, ſeperate from the other Virgins, encreaſing ſtill hir ordinarie wages.

Three hundred Virgins for the Signiors vſe.

His reward to each virgin after her company.

To this *Serraglio* belongeth an *Aga* of the Eunuches, who hath an hundred ſcore *Aſpers* for him & his: three *Capigi-Baſhaes*, and a hundred *Aſpers* amongeſt their *Capigi Ianiſſaries* at the Gates: among whom are daily giuen ſix hundered *Aſpers*. The *Saccaes*, that bringeth in Water, who haue in al forty aſpers daily. Theſe Damoſels are thus ſerued and enſtructed, till they be fiue and twentie yeares of age, the Matrons beeing their Miſtreſſes, and the ſeruants are the verie yongeſt of them. When they are fiue and twenty yeares olde, if the Signiour pleaſe to make no more vſe of them, they are then married to the *Spaccoglani*, and ſom other of the Slaues about the court, according to the qualitie and degree on cyther

Attendants on the *Serraglio*, and their wadges daily.

How long the Damoſels continue for the *Signiors* vſe, and what becommeth of them afterward.

either part, and insted of the ones losse, another is admitted.

The Serraglio of Children.

THere is another *Serraglio* neere to* *Pera* consisting of about foure hundred Children who are waged each one from sixe, to ten Aspers daily, and are cloathed with Silke twice euerie yeare. These Children haue an *Aga* and Eunuches, euen as the great *Serraglio* hath, with *Capagi*, young Ianissaries, and an hundred Maisters of diuers Artes and professions: amongst whom, are giuen eight hundred *Aspers* daily. They are not so Nobly borne, neyther of so seemelie presence or ingenuity, as these that bee with the Signior: and yet neuertheless, many of them do attaine to greatnesse: and choise is made among them of many, that are admitted to the great *Serraglio*. Especialy, in *Adrianople*, called by some *Andrianople*, there is a *Serraglio* of three hundred Children with Wages, *Aga*, *Eunuchs*, *Capigi*, *Ianissaries*, & two hundred Maisters, that haue amongest them, two thousand and eight hundred *Aspers* daily.

These children are of a third or more inferiour quality; and therefore, are the more respectiuely enstructed and restrained, euen as all the rest (in ciuill manner) are of them, according vnto their spirit and behauiour, choise is also made for their further aduauncement. There is likewise in the same Countrey, another *Seraglio*, newly made with a goodly great Garden belonging to it, and seated on the Riuer *Mariza*: wherin ther is about three hundred yong *Ianissaries*, who dispend each man yearely, a thousand and two hundered *Aspers*. They haue an *Aga*, allowed fortie *Aspers*, a *Protogero*, and a Clearke, each thirty *Aspers* daylie. In diuers other places of *Adrianople*, there are Gardens, continually belonging (euen as in *Deposito*) to a thousande and fiue hundered young *Ianissaries*, selected out of these youths, as they grow to yeares and qualitie: hauing *Agaes*, and Clearkes on whom are bestowed six thousand *Aspers* euerie yeare, or very little lesse.

There is then an *Aga* of the *Azamoglani*, called young vntutord or vnciuill *Ianissaries*, that abide in *Constantinople*, and haue threescore *Aspers* dayly: there being vnder his commaund, about fiue thousand of these wilde-headed *Ianissaries*, who are cloathed twice euery year, and haue Maisters for their instruction; among whom, is spent tenne thousande *Aspers* yearely. These do attend about the Ship-wrights, bringing them wood to supply their building, and diuers other affayres beside. Some practise Cookerie, and so become seruants to the *Ianissaries*, whereby (at length) they attain to bee *Ianissaries* themselues. Euerie fourth yeare, the Signiour sendeth into *Greeia* and *Natolia*, to take and surprize Children from the Christians, and then ten or twelue thousand of these men are sent out at a time, that doth bring verie many christian children back with them: who are then conueyed vppe further into *Natolia*, towards *Bursia*, now called* *Mysia*, or into* *Caramania*, where they are brought vp in digging the Ground, because they may bee invred to labour, and also to learn the Turkish Language. These Children are thus kept three or foure yeares; and then sent out to allure other in like manner: being then giuen to the gouernment and Discipline of the *Aga Azamoglani*. No wages or allowance is granted to these by the Signieur, so long as they abide in *Natolia*, because they are both fedde and cloathed at their cost, in whose seruice, they delue the grounds, or doo any other labours for them.

I thought good to make mention (in this place) of all the *Serraglioes*, because they are as appendixes on that belonging to the Signior, and reckoned in the whole expences, returned into the books of charge, belonging to the great *Serraglio* of the Signior. Into which accounts are also called the Moneyes laid out for cloathing (twice yearely) the *Bashaes*, the *Cadileschery*, the *Defterdari*, the *Beglerbeyes*, and the *Nessangi-Bashaes*: which expences, allowed to them that be in extraordinarie, do amount to, and exceed the summe of a Million of aspers yearelie.

Of the Arsenale, *or Store-house of Munition.*

3. THere is also an *Arsenale* on that part of *Pera*, not of anie bigge

* *Galatea* or *Galatia* in *Gallogreecia*, in *Asia* the lesse, ioyning to *Phrygia* and *Lydia*.

Maisters for enstructing the youths in the *Serraglio*.

* A Citty of *Thrace*, built vpon the Riuer *Hebrus*. The Serraglio of Adrianople.

* In Thrace, rising out of *Rhodope* by Adrianople, into which Riuer the head of *Orpheus* was cast.

Gardens belonging to young Ianissaries.

Azamoglani, are young *Ianissaries*, that be (as yet) rude and vntutord.

Attendants on the Ship-wrights.

Ianissaries imployed by the Signior for the stealth of Christians Children.

* A Country in *Asia* by *Hellespont*, bordering on *Troas*.
* Now called *Narsinga*, in *Asia minor*, betweene *Persia* and *India*.

Aga Azamoglani.

All the *Serraglioes* are limbs or branches of the *Signiors* great *Serraglio*.

Charges allowed extraordinarily.

The *Arsenale* in *Pera*.

bigge or large circuite, which hath on the Sea-shore, to the number of ninetie two Arches, and containeth so little ground within: as not onely the Galies, but also their other appurtenances, and Timber for worke, can hardly bee there placed. In this *Arsenale*, do about two hundered men labour ordinarily euerie day; who, with their Maisters and Ouerseers, haue daily two thousand *Aspers* among them. There are a thousande *Asapi*, who haue foure thousand Aspers among them.

Workemen in the *Arsenale* and their wadges in their seuerall degrees and places.

Proti, or Workemaisters, to the number of fiftie, who when they are idle and labour not, haue sixe Aspers dayly, but when they work, twelue *Aspers* each man.

The *Emino* hath fortie Aspers, the Clearke fiue and twenty, with ten clarks more vnder him, that haue an hundered Aspers daily. All these, when neede requireth, do performe their seuerall Offices. But if they intend badly vnto theyr Trades, or labour not effectually in the building of Gallies, whereby no such benefit ensueth on their paines, or like expedition as is vsed among vs: if the fault be found by any Christian, he is well recompenced, and the other verie seuerely punished.

Care for furtherance of labour.

Of the Beglerbey.

4. AS Commander ouer the *Arsenale*, and all the rest, there is one that is called the *Beglerbey* of the Sea, as much to say, as Lord of Lords, an Office newly created: for, in times past, he was alwaies woont to bee called Captaine of the Sea. He that was *Saniack* of *Callipolis*, and is now the first that had the degree of *Cairedinbei*, was called *Barbarossa*, and afterward created the 4. *Bashae*. To him is giuen the gouernment of all the Nauie, and he hath in prouision euerie yeare (both in Lands and Ducates) fourteene thousand, collected on *Rhodes*, *Negropont*, and *Mytelene*, albeit he gathereth a double aduantage. There is not any other especiall man, appertayning to matters of the State, and charge of the Sea, that deserueth Annotation, and therefore comming to land affaires, I will proceed in this manner.

Beglerbey of the Sea is chiefe Commander in the *Arsenale*.

His authority and yearely allowance.

There is one called the Beglerbey of *Graecia*, wherein is comprehended all the Countreyes which the Great Signiour enioyeth in Europe. This Beglerbey, is the greatest of all the rest, hauing in Lands sixteene thousand ducates yearely, but his benefite amounteth to twice as much more.

Concerning the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia*, and his authority.

Hee sitteth in the *Porta*, behinde the chiefe *Bashae*, and is of great reputation with euery one. He hath beside his slaues (which are aboue a thousand) a *Defterdaro*, Landed at three thousand Ducates yearely: An hundred Clearks, that keep the Bookes and accounts of the Landes, assigned to the *Sub-Bashaes*, *Cadi*, *Spacchi*, and others; among whom, is yearely giuen ten thousand Ducats. Thirtie seauen *Saniacks*, who are al vnder his obedience: and haue each man from fiue to twelue thousand Ducats yearely

His dignity in the Court, & his attendants A *Defterdaro*.

Sub-Bashaes *Cadi Spacchi*, &c.

Saniacks.

These men, are distributed into the Prouinces, where they remaine so long as pleaseth the Signior; and are thence translated or changed (as hee thinketh good) into some other Prouinces. Their Office, is to gouerne the *Spacchi*, to see them well exercised in Armes, and to be kept in due obedience. Foure hundred *Sub-Bashaes*, who haue in landes among them, foure hundred thousand Ducates. Thirtie thousand *Spacchi*, who are Souldiers on Horsebacke, diuided for best order of seruice: partly of the Beglerbeis of *Grecia*, and partly of all the *Saniacks* of *Grecia*. They haue (one by another) in Lands, two hundred Ducats, and each one of them, for euery hundered of Ducates, is bounde to keepe a man armed on Horsebacke, with his Launce: and beside the saide armed man, they haue, some two, some foure, and others fiue Seruants and Horses. These *Spacchi*, are all slaues to the Signior, and the sonnes of slaues, and of *Spacchi*.

The Office of the *Saniacks*.

Exercise of the *Spacchi*, and their employment.

The *Beglerbeys* and *Saniacks* of *Grecia*.

Next, there are twentie thousand *Timariotti*, who haue from tenne to fortie Ducates in Lands, each man yearely: but because their compensation ariseth not to an hundred Ducates each man, they are not called *Spacchi*. These haue a horse and two or three seruants for each man, seruing distributiuely to all the *Saniacks* of *Grecia*. That which they call *Timari*, is the assignation or appointment of lands, the Rents, Fees, or Reuennews of which assignations are deriued, partly from the Fee-farme, letting, or deuising: but the greater

Timariotti, are such as liue vpon timarros, holding Land in Knight seruice vnder the *Signior*.

Timari, assignation of Lands, Liuings, Farmes or States, lately conquered by the *Signiors* Forces.

greater part, is from the tenths of all the reuennewes granted from the Turkes as well as Christians, and from the leauies which are fiue and twenty Aspers (*Per poule*, as we vse to say) of the Christians onely, and from the impositions on cattell, Trees, and other things, which taxes are ouer and aboue those, that are paied ordinarily to the Signiour. Sixteene thousand *Archengi*, those are aduenturers on horsebacke, set downe thorough the Countrey of *Grecia*, and bounde to follow the warres without any pay; and therefore are empted from all taxations: the Cities and Townes are tied to find their prouision of victuals onely, from place to place where they serue.

Archengi, are aduenterous seruitours on Horsse-backe.

What number serue the *Signior* thorow *Grecia*.

There are in *Græcia*, that is, throughout the whole Country therof in towns, Villages, and other places, as well of Turkes and Christians, enioyned to seruice, about the number of threescore & eight thousand.

Next, there are six *Beglerbeyes* in *Asia*, and one by himselfe in Egypt. The first, is called the Beglerbey of *Natolia* which (in elder times) was *Asia minor*: he hath fourteene thousand Ducates in Landes annually, but hee maketh much greater benefit thereof. This man hath vnder him, and in his gouernment, *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, all *Asia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*; all which Prouinces (vnder one Name only) is at this day cald *Natolia*. His place in the *Porta*, is next to the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, and he hath (beside his own proper Slaues) aboue a thousand more vnder him; and twelue *Saniaks* landed from foure to six thousand Ducats each man; *Spacchi*, ten thousand; from fiue to ten Aspers, each man dayly, besides much more in Landes, and those serue vnder him, according vnto euerie ones degree.

1 The *Beglerbey* of *Natolia*, and the places vnder his cõmaund.

His place in the Court.

The Beglerbey of *Caramania*, which aunciently was *Celicia* and *Pamphilia*, with tenne thousand Ducats in Landes. Hee hath vnder him seauen Saniackes, from foure to fiue thousande Ducates, each man in Lands. And fiue thousande *Spacchi*, from fiue to tenne Aspers, each man daily beside their lands.

2 The *Beglerbey* of *Caramania* and his command.

The Beglerbey of *Amasia* and *Toccato* which was *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, with eight thousand Ducates in Landes. Of Saniacks he hath eight from six, to eight thousand Ducates each man in Landes: *Spacchi*, foure thousand, from fyue to ten Aspers daily each man, and lands.

3 The *Beglerbey* of *Amasia* and *Toccato*.

The Beglerbey of *Aladula*, which is a place betweene *Soria*, *Caramania*, and *Toccata*, anciently called *Paphlagonia*, & is the one halfe of the lesser *Armenia*. He hath ten thousand ducates in landes, and *Saniacks* seuen (sometimes four, & sometimes six) from foure to six thousand ducates in lands: *Spacchi* six thousand, from 5. to ten Aspers daily each man & lands. In this Prouince of *Aladula*, it is sayde, that when the Signior was there, beside the stipendarie men; thirtie thousand other personnes were obliged to ride on with him, at the charges of two villages onely.

4 The *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*, and his command.

The Signiers being in *Aladula*.

The Beglerbey of *Mesopotamia*, vnder whom is the rest of *Armenia Minor*, and part of the greater, the other appertayning to the Sophie, and the *Cords*, which confyneth with *Bagadeth*, or *Baldacco*, anciently called Babylon. His Landes amount to aboue thirtie thousande Ducates: and beside his owne slaues, hee hath more then two thousand. Vnder him are twelue Saniackes, landed from foure to sixe thousand Ducates yearelie each man: *Spacchi*, ten thousande, from ten to fyfteene Aspers each man daylie, and verie well landed, because they liue on the Sophies Confynes, with whome they haue continually bickerings.

5 The *Beglerbey* of *Mesopotamia*, and his command.

The Beglerbey of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, Landed foure and twentie thousand Ducates. Hee hath aboue two thousand slaues, and twelue Saniackes vnder him, Landed from fyue vnto seauen thousand Ducates: *Spacchi*, twentie thousande, with Aspers from tenne, to fyfteene each man daylie, and good Lands.

6 The *Beglerbey* of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, and his commaund.

The Beglerbey of *Cairo*, whose iurisdiction extendeth so farre as *Ameth*, that is in *Arabia*, and the Arabiaes are possessed by the Signiour, in the same manner as hee is possessed of *Albania*, where hee challengeth no such obedience, as all other States and Countries doo yeelde vnto him of his owne: yet, *Arabia Fœlix* is nowe in farre more subiection to him, then the other. He hath thirtie thousand Ducates in Lands, and Slaues aboue foure thousand. Sixteene Saniackes, Landed from sixe vnto eight thousand Ducates each one of them; and sixteene thousande *Spacchi*, from fifteene

7 The *Beglerbey* of *Cairo*, & his large extendure.

fifteene, to twentie Aſpers daylie each man.

Betweene *Amech*, and the Countrey of the *Sophie*, there are ſome *Arabian* Lords, that owe no obedience to anie bodie. The reſt of the Sophies land, confineth on *Meſopotamia*, wherein is *Maldacco*, paſsing *Meſopotamia*, the Sophye alſo confineth the plaine of *Naſinam*, then toucheth *Eſdum* and *Erſum*, which are principall places in *Armenia Maior*, and confine with the **Hyberi* and **Georgiani*. In theſe *Armeniaes*, both the great and leſſer, are many of the ** Cordi*, people liuing in the Mountaines, yet warlick and Martiall: thoſe of the greater *Armenia* being in obedience, partly to the Signior, and partly to the Sophie, but thoſe of the leſſer, not to any one. **Trabiſonde* confineth with the *Georgiani* and *Mengrelli*, and part of the *Hyberi*, which people were anciently called *Colchians*. ** Azemia*, which in elder times was *Aſſyria*, belongeth to the Sophie, and hee is the abſolute Lord thereof.

Lords vnder no controule.

* A Region in Aſia, enuironed with the Hill *Caucaſus*.
* People of *Scythia* in *Aſia*.
* Mountaine people of both the Armeniaes.
* In the edge of Macedonia by the Euxine Sea.
* *Aſſyria*.

In this *Natolia*, I mean in the whole Country which the *Signio* poſſeſſeth in *Aſia*, Citties, Townes, and Villages belonging both to Turkes and Chriſtians, are ſeauenty two thouſand, beſides them in Egypt, whereof there are great ſtore.

The whole Country of *Natolia*.

Of the Saniacks.

5. THe *Saniacks* aſſuredlie (as I haue alreadie ſaide) haue gouernment in the Prouinces, committed vnto them by the *Beglerbeys*, and are men of much reputation and great eſteeme, eſpecially in warlicke occaſions, whom I will alſo ſet downe, by the names of thoſe places, which are giuen and aſsigned vnder their regiments.

The Saniacks are warlike men and of great account

Firſt, the *Beglerbey* of Grecia, apointeth his *Saniacats* to theſe places: firſt toward *Solonichi*, & then follow the other of *Caffa*, and of *Siliſtria*, *Nicopolis*, *Vidin*, *Samandria*, *Seruia* and *Belgrada*, *Sournich Boſſina*, and *Erſech*, which is *Seruia*, and called a Dukedome; *Scutari*, *Valona*, *Iauina*, *Carlali*, *Lepanto*, *Morea*, *Negropont*, *Trica'a*, *Callipolis*, *Chricheliſſa*, that is, forty Churches, *Viſa*, *Cirmē*, *Chioſtandill*, *Volcitrin*, *Priſdren*, *Ocria*, *Alazaaſſar*, *Elbaſſan*, *Voinug*, *Cinghene*, and *Taiazza*. Theſe are thirty, which were wont to be fiue and thirty; but the fiue are vnited to the propinquent places, as *Philippolis*, *Sophia*, *Dyrrachium* or *Durace*, *Albania*, and *Scopia*.

The *Saniacats* of the *Beglerbey* for Grecia, according to their names and places.

Natolia, that is *Aſia Minor*, hath *Pontus*, *Bithinia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*. The Saniakats of this Beglerbey, are in *Chiothachia*, and the reſt in *Chiogaeli*, as *Bolu*, *Caſtamoni*, *Anguri*, *Cangri*, *Therchieli*, *Mateſſeli*, *Aidineli*, *Hallaice*, *Buga* and *Magneſia*, which appertained to the Sultane *Maſtapha*, the Signiors firſt borne ſon, and which place is halfhemd in with the ſea.

The Saniackats belonging to the *Beglerbey* of *Natolia*.

Amaſia and *Tocatto*, that is *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey, is in *Amaſia*, and the reſt in *Chiorma*, *Gianich*, *Charaiſſer*, *Saſum*, and *Trabiſonde*.

Saniackats of the *Beglerbey* of *Amaſia*.

Caramania, that is *Cilicia* by the midſt of *Cyprus* and *Pamphilia*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey is in *Giogna*, and the other ſtretch into *Naranda*, *Axar*, *Eſchiſſar*, *Verſageli* and *Siuraſſar*.

Saniackats of the Beglerbei of *Caramania*.

Aladula, that is *Armenia Minor*. The Saniakat of the Beglerby is in *Maras*, & thoſe of the other, in *Sarmuſſacli*, *Albiſtancraſsi*, *Adana & Terſis*.

Saniackrs of the *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*.

Dierbech, which is *Meſopotamia*, and part of *Armenia Maior*, for the reſt belongeth to the *Sophy*, and to the *Cordi*. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey, is in *Dierbech*: and the reſt haue their abiding in *Charaenit*, *Argui*, *Tolgich*, *Caſſanchief*, *Meridin*, *Charput*, *Muſſul*, *Eſrum*, *Payburt*, *Eythlis* and *Maxiuancuaſsi*.

Saniackrs of the *Beglerbey* of *Dierbech*.

Soria and *Iudea*. The Saniakat is in *Damaſco*, and the other in *Melathia*, *Diuitghi*, *Antep*, *Antiochia*, *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Chama* or *Aman*, *Camps*, *Scepheto*, *Ieruſalem*, and *Gazara*.

Saniackats of the *Beglerbey* of *Soria* and *Iudea*.

Egypt, with part of Deſert *Arabia*, to *Alziden l'Almach*, with all *Arabia fœlix*, where are many Arabian Lords, which are partly at the deuotion of the Grand Signior, and partly to no bodie. The Saniakat of the Beglerbey is in *Cayro*, & ſome other places.

Egipt and the Saniackats of her *Beglerbey*.

All the fore-recited Saniacks, Beglerbeyes, Baſhaes, and other Officers, haue Lands and Wages (as hath beene ſaide) firmely in ordinarie pay: and get much more extraordinarily, liuing chiefely by the benefit of their ſlaues, whome they muſt of neceſsity cloath, and allow ſome Wages to keepe them from ſtealing. What the Rents and Reuennews of this Signior is, may bee conſidered by the mighty

A brieſe Summary of all the forenamed Officers and Offices.

Yearely Reuenues comming into the the Grand *Signior*.

mightie expences he is at daily, the whiche reuennewes is collected of the *Carazo* or impoſitions, procceding frō thoſe ſubiectes that are not Turkes, yeelding yearely a Million and a halfe of ducates. The Cuſtomes or towle for cattell, yeeldeth eight hundered thouſand Ducates; and the Mettall Mines affoord ſixe hundred thouſand Ducates.

There are infinite other Cuſtomes and payments, impoſed on Salte, Commands, dead folkes goods, guifts, the reuennewes of Egypt, beſide other Moneyes, Rents, and Tributes, which are ſo much, as not only do ſupplie the expences ouer and aboue the Landes and readie Moneyes, and bringing daily into the great *Caſnar* or Treaſurie, aboue twelue thouſand Ducates, beſides other great aduantages, and ouerplus ſummes of Moneyes. And it is ſuppoſed, that the leaſt reckoning of the ordinary reuenues, may be about fyfteene thouſande Millions of Gold: Fiue whereof onelie enter into the *Caſnar*, but the other ten remaine for the Miniſters of the warres employments.

An ineſtimate of the whole in generall.

CHAP. II.

Of the Lawfull meanes, whereby to compaſſe the eſteeme and reputation, of beeing truely and excellentlie Couragious & valiant.

A demaund made to *Auguſtus*, and his worthy anſwere.

IT was demaunded of *Auguſtus*, in what hee could beſt obſerue the valour of a man of war. *Thus* (quoth he) *vvhen his effort and endeuour, hath reliſh* (in common) *with that of his Fellowes, but that ſome perticuler matter appeareth in his attempt, which is no vvay due to the Armies general victory, wherein himſelfe fighteth vnder the Captaynes charge, yet as if himſelfe were no chiefe in reſpect.* Such a man among the *Albanians*, was *George Caſtriot*, who hadde to deale with two of the verie greateſt, and moſt dreaded Princes of the Eaſt, againſt whoſe Iniuſtice he oppoſed himſelfe onely, and manie times wonne verie goodly victory ouer them: yea, and compelling them ſometimes to require peace, yet without anie other aide, then his owne perfect valour, accompanied with Diſcretion and Equity. Which yet (neuertheleſſe) at length hee loſt, both to his owne ruine and all *Albania*, by the entermiſes and medlings of the Pope, and of the Byſhop of *Durace*, who conſtrayned him (iniuriouſly) to breake his faith promiſed vnto Mahomet the ſecond, being at that time in Warre againſt the Venetians.

George Caſtriot, ſurnamed *Scanderbeg*.

The Pope & Biſhop of *Durace* medled in Warre matters.

He could freely auouch, that (as naked and all alone) hee vndertooke warre againſt the Great Signior, and that hee did it onely by the bright beautie of his courage: which could no way gather apprehenſion of ſurmounting, fighting in ſo iuſt a cauſe as the Chriſtians generall quarrell againſt the Turk. And he might alſo as freely confeſſe, that the loſſe of his eſtates, and of his ſonnes (which hee had not till after his death) was onlie conceiued in the wombe of a Popes and Byſhoppes raſhneſſe, who more enflamed with ſpleene, then ſtrengthned with men of armes, ouer bare the modeſtie of this poore Lord, who died in a weake eſtate, yet not wholly troden downe; but in leauing nothing to his heires, whereby to make a freſh reply vpon Mahomet. Hee ruined Chriſtianity in *Greece*, thorough the inſolencie of theſe two men of the Church, who were more apte to command a ſedition, then anie way to apeaſe it, and had more Cowardiſe in giuing bad counſell to their friends, then corage to helpe them out of the loſſes bredde by them, euen as in a fourſe of infallible and vndrainable misfortunes. Whereinto alſo they threwe *Hungary* headlong, hauing counſelled a young King vnaduiſedly to violate peace with the Great Turke: who (thorough this error onely) is at this day victorious, and remayneth poſſeſſor of the *Hungars* whole eſtate; & afterward fell vpon *Auſtria*, where hee hath (almoſt) as great a ſhare as the Emperour. And he, though endued with perfect valiancie, hath had much payne and care to repaire thoſe wide gaps and breaches, which theſe raſh & preſumptuous men made, without any neceſſitie or ouuert profitable conſideration vnto Chriſtendome, but well-neere to the vtter

The freedom of confeſſion imputed to *George Caſtriot*.

Chriſtianity ouerthrowne in *Greece*, by two Church mens meanes.

Further harmes that enſued by them, in *Hungaria*, and elſe where.

ter subuersion of the Easterne people in those parts.

Leonides also is one of them, to whom iustly may be attributed the glorie and perfection of intire man-hood, considering, that without any curious inquisition for himselfe, eyther of good or euill, and careleſſe of any intention for prayse or misprision: he vndertooke to oppose himself (at the *Thermopyl'e*) against great king *Xerxes*, the astonisher of the world, who had filled all *Greece* with horrour and affrightments, both of Soldiers and horses, hauing no lesse prouision (beside this equipage) of power & fighting men on the Sea, which they did nothing else, but meerely smite and beate with their Oares, euen as if hee would haue compelled the insensible Elements, to the vnderstanding and fauouring of his enterprizes.

Leonides, King of *Lacedemon* slaine at *Thermopyle* fighting against *Xerxes*.

All which notwithstanding, the worthy *Leonides*, accompanied onelie with foure thousand men, fought against him with such sprightly resolution and Vertue: that he left vs more matter and subiect of amazement, then capacity of immitation. I must send ye amongest the Greekes, there to admire the whole History, which is the most remarkable in al Antiquity.

Leonides vndertaketh the fight with 4000. men.

Brasidas must not be forgotten, who trauersed the Campe of the enemie, at the siedge of * *Methone*, and by a necessary endeauor, accomplished and woon immortall Fame and Renowne, which serueth yet (to this day) for a common Prouerbe, by the wonderfull perfection of his courage, whose picture is plentifull among the Greekes, only with this Motto.

A valiant Captaine of *Lacedemon*. * The Citty *Modon* by the Sea side in *Peloponnesus*.

Be as valiant as Brasidas.

Hysparmenes, Captaine to *Darius*, is woorthy to holde ranke amongst them, that not onely had a beame, but an entire Starre of true valiancy. For, his Master, and the fortune of all *Asia*, bowing vnder the yoake of Great *Alexander*, he would not yeeld himselfe vnto the Conquerour, though his Castle was no longer holdable, the Cittie of *Susa* beeing brought in subiection to the *Macedonians*, to whom he made this answere. *I do not resist against Great Alexander with any hope to ouercome him: but only to Conquer mine owne misfortune, which may well suffer me to dye, yet not at the discretion of any other, then of my selfe, who would force the fortune of your Master, if hope were answerable to my dutie. Yet, all that I can hope, is now not lawfull, because the royal Darius is dead.*

Darius conquered by great *Alexander*.

* A noble Citty betweene *Persia* and *Babylon*, where was the sumptuous Pallace of *Cyrus*.

Hyrtius Mela, purchased most signale glorie, in perfection of courage, when seeing the Cittie wherein he dwelt, called * *Praneste*, wholly destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, and by his Guest *Sylla*, who (in the right of Hospitality) graunted him both grace and life: hee valiantly made refusall with this exclamation against the Tyrant. *Is it possible, O thou most barbarous and cruel of all men, that thou wou'dst be so bloody to thine Hoste, as to let him liue, after so many cruelties which thy rage hath exercised on an innocent people? Thou art not pittifull to me, but onely to afflict me more, & wouldst bestow life on me once, to make me thereby dye a Million of times. Hast thou slaine my Companions, Fellow Cittizens, Kindered and Friends, and wou'dst thou now compel mee to liue?* Speaking these words, hee stabbed with a Poniard, *Mutius Listrio*, the principall Instrument and Organ of *Syllaes* cruelties; yea, the only Authour and motiue of *Prænestes* ruine. To whose Ashes, this good and Famous Cittizen, sacrificed his owne life, by the death of the deerest Friend vnto the Tyrant, who instantly commaunded, that hee should be massacred & thrown into the common Sinke, or Lay-stall of the Citty.

* The Citty *Palestrina* of *Latium* in *Italy*.

The couragious wordes of *Hyrtius Mela* to *Sylla*.

Hyrtius Mela slew *Mutius Listrio*, the causer of his Citties ouerthrow.

Quintus Curtius, that Honourable Romaine Knight, did a deede of absolute and respectiue manhoode. For, when he had Learned from the Oracle, that the wide gaping Gulfe in the midst of *Rome*, which infected the Cittie with pestilence and most noysom aires, could no way be closed againe, but by the Voluntarie leaping of a man into that infernall and darke downefall, he gladly threw himselfe thereinto, for to end the Romaines miserie, and saue the liues of infinite people of all degrees. The Inscription on his Brasen Statue was thus.

The memorable act of *Quintus Curtius*, for the deliuerance of his Country.

This was the acceptable Sacrifice to the Goddes, and the Sauiour of his Country. This was the Heire to the vertues of the chiefest Romaines, *and the scandal of al cowardly men. This was he that could not die, but by being profitable to the liues of his Fellow-Cittizens.*

His Statue of Brasse yet standing in *Rome*.

Cneius Cepio, made his manly corage to appeare, in a matter worthy to be obserued. For, when hee beheld a huge mighte Elephant, stouping and make offet to seize on *Domitius* his Captaine: he preuented him quickly, by throwing himselfe vnderneath his bellie, which he stabd with so many stroakes of his Poniard, that the Elephant being faynt with paine, violence of his wounds, and losse of blood, fell downe dead, and with his fal, crushed him also to death, who made no spare of his owne life, to speede his Generals with safety.

Domitius rescued from a dangerous Elephant.

A Noble nature in a true hearted Souldiour.

Fulnius Nassus, was carefull to winne himselfe faire reputation in Arms, when the Romaines his Companions and warfellowes) being vanquished by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thrasymena*, and flying away like Cowards, hee stept betweene their pursuite and attaint, allowing them time for running, by making a wall, as it were, of himselfe and his horse in a narrow passage, where the flight of the one side, and following of the other, was meerely logd vp. The death of his horse was frightfull and terrible to the Horses of his enemies, and a safegarde also for himselfe, that he could not suddenlie bee surprized by many *Numidians*. So that, thorough his long resistance, euen vnto death, he saued the remainder of the Romaines liues, that fled from foorth their owne field of battell.

Fulnius Nassus an honourable Romaine. *A Lake in *Hetruria*.

The liues of many preferred before any care for his owne.

The valour of *Mutius Scæuola* cannot be conflicted by eternity of ages. For he (all alone) amazed a victorious Prince, ready to possesse himself of Rome, which must needes haue yeilded in verie fewe dayes, or be compelled to render or ruin it selfe. by falling into the *Tarquins* handes, and the people of *Hetruria*, verie desperate enemies.

Mutius Scæuola, a perpetuall mirrour to all posterity.

This braue and Couragious *Scæuola*, (without any communication of his desseigne) threw himselfe into his Enemies Army, not as a friend, but as an open enemy. He fought for King *Porsenna* in all places of the field, he found his Royall Pauillion, and slew the intendant on his affayres, as guessing by the riches of his habite, and the honour generallie done vnto him, that it had beene the King himselfe. Hereuppon, hee was apprehended, and brought before the King *Porsenna*, who suddenly conuerting rage into admiration, and admyration into pardon, sent backe Noble *Scæuola* to *Rome*. And which is much more, he raised his siedge, as beeing fearefull, that some other courage, more fortunat then that of *Mutius*) should make a second attempt, and so prooue to bee his death indeede. But what gratitude did *Scæuola* returne for this high fauor? that you shall perceiue by his owne wordes, which are these: *Sir, for the kindnesse I haue receyued from your Maiesty, I purpose neuer to rest vnthankfull. Let me then tell ye, that there are yet in Rome, foure hundered gallant young men, who haue proiected how to kil you, or else to loose themselues in the aduenture.*

He slew the Secretary to King *Porsenna*, as taking him to bee the King.

The gratulation of *Mutius Scæuola* to K. *Porsenna*.

Androcides the *Samian*, made the most aduantageable essay in Courage and perfection of valour, that anie of vs can desire to accomplish. For, being prisoner vnto *Eupolemus* the great Pyrate, who (vnaduisedly) had tolde him, that the verie next Night, hee purposed to surprise the Cittie of *Samos* (as doubtlesse the enterprise would haue beene infallible, because all the ablest fighting *Samians* were restrained in *Peloponnesus*) hee preuented him halfe a day before, by giuing him so strong a blowe with a Candlestick e vnder the eare, that so dyed the losse of his Countrey, and he together that had intended it. A matter questionlesse exceeding beleefe. that a man to saue a Cittie, and the Inhabitantes, would run into such a certainty of death, whereto hee meerely prostituted his life, because hee would not behold the place of his birth and Natiuitie, in the mercie of such an infamous and outragious Pirate.

Eupolemus the proud Pirate, that intended the subuertion of *Samos*.

It is in such actions (you my braue masters, & dainty sweet perfumed Courtiers, that true courage makes it selfe to be best seen: and not in committing effronteries and impudencies in our publicke streets,

To such as are rather dishonour to Princes Courts, then any credit at all.

A noated humour in ouer-many idle Gallants.

A deuise how to be beneficiall both to Prince and Country by care, forward ne∫∫e & manly behauiour.

The vſuall brauadoe of *Scipio Africanus*.

The worthy anſweres of *Seleucus* to his Paraſites and Flatterers.

Bertrand du Gueſclin a famous Souldiour of *France*.

Practiſe and example are the beſt noats of good men, and to renowne their names to endleſſe poſterity.

Courage cannot be reproued by weakneſſe.

Sophoc in Trag. de Antiq. Pomp.

Of a vertuous Souldiour and man indeed, how he maketh his beſt appearance.

A very excellent compariſon.

ſtreets, in bawdy-houſes, yea, and in the frequent company of our beſt friendes. We are like to Lyons, that make no acknowledgement of their foſtering nurſes, Gouernors or Guardians, if the colour and faſhion of their garments be neuer ſo little changed. If all their humors that keepe vs company, do not iumpe and correſpond with ours; immediately one is an Aſſe, another a Nouice; this fellow hath no complement, that neuer came where courage was; either hee is too ſad, or too merrie, or elſe he hath no taſte of our Court ayre: theſe are our moſt familiar diſcourſings; yea, and (many times) all that we can ſay. Make a little better ſearch into your ſelues henceforward, for ſom ſuch faire occaſions to appeare in, and that our outward ſhewe may not be by ſtarts and paſsions, but on well formed and compleat deſſeigns. Regard aduiſedly, wherein we may be profitable to our Prince and Countrie; and thereon immediately reſolue, to effect ſome ſuch one thing or other, as may be worthy each of the other. Let it appeare (then) that we are Captaines indeed, leſt we be not reckoned worſe then ſilly Soldiers: and let it be ſeene, that we are neceſſary helpes then, when men woulde iudge vs vtterly vnprofitable. Let it bee noted, that we haue courage then, euen when it faileth in our fellowes: and yet without accuſing them of any cowardiſe but onely by attempting and executing more then they. Let vs then (in good earneſt) performe the *Rodomontado* of *Scipio Affricanus*, who was wont to ſay: *I ſeeke not to be known to man by man, but I wou'd only make my ſelfe known to al the world.*

Seleucus hearing and perceiuing, that euery man boaſted and flattred him, that he was worthy to inherit the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*, returned this aunſwere, *You ſhould bid me ſatiſfie the credulity, which you haue conceiued of my valor, and then you would quickly emptie mee of courage in aſſyring, when you but make me to remember Alexander, who perfourmed more then a man can thinke, or ante way is able to do.* He alſo ſaid, *Aſia is yet the ſame field of battaile, where his Captains diſputed about his heritage: but no man was to bee found, that could anſwere his deſeruinges.* Let vs ſtriue to imitate the valiancy, and neceſſarie courage of *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, who conquerd the fortune, enuy, hazards of war, and furie of the victorious. Let vs read the hiſtories of ſuch as (heertofore) oppoſed themſelues, againſt the good ſucceſſe and vertue of the Engliſh men. Let vs not make eſteeme only, but forme in example and ſinguler ſtudy, the valor of thoſe ancient knights, that made this State of ours inuincible, and drew it out of decayed ruines, yea, out of a bottomleſſe gulfe, wherin it appeared to be ſunk, and (welneere) wholy ſwallowed. In dooing ſo, it is not to bee feared, that although we were no more then perticuler men, or Gentlemen, or Capitaines, or Soldiers, yet we ſhould attaine to worke woonders, and to arriue before the eyes of Commonweals, of Empires, Monarchies, and of their Princes, by whom (at length we ſhould be admired, ſought for, acknowledged, and recompenced, acording to our owne wiſhes, and contrarie to the mediocrity of a wel gouernd hope Aboue all, our courage declares it ſelfe, not-checkable by a weake man, or one that is not ſo valiant as our ſelues, prouided, that it be ſtil vnder our own charge, and can commaund in ſome ſuch caſe, where it may well come off with dutie diſcharged. Otherwiſe, it will happen to vs, as *Sophocles* ſaid:

> Who lets his furious tongue walke liberally,
> In checking ſome diſordered quality:
> And hath no reaſon but his owne bare braine,
> Muſt looke himſelfe to finde the like againe.

I haue ſeene ſome to miſprize their own companions ſo mainly, that they offred much iniurie to Armes, and to the whol companie, whereof themſelues were but poore dependants, ſeeming more in outward ſhew, then inward ſubſtance. For, a Vertuous Souldier, or he that is a man indeed, ſhould alwayes bee conſorted with iudgement, to ſupply the defects of ſuch as are leſſe then himſelfe, and ſay; that although they bee not qualified in ſome one kinde, yet in ſome other, they owe nothing to him. One may bee a worthy Seruitor on Horſeback, another on foote, euerie way equall to him, and ſo likewiſe in the other degrees of Manhood.

The eie is the moſt excellent part of the countenance, yea of the whol body: and yet notwithſtanding, if a man were compoſed of eies only, he would rather be a monſter, then any piece of perfection &

excellencie. Let vs neuer note then, whether a man be inferiour to vs in anie one vertue: but rather consider, that manie other Vertues are needfull for vs, which we bestow no paines to purchase. Let vs expresse contempt of vile and detestable men, that serue as spurs to whoring, Sodomy, Flatterie, and softnesse, which (among vices) are not onely enemies to true and perfect valour, but to the generall society of men, and Authours of scandall to all Nations. Ignorance is not to be counted as a Vice, when it is accompanied with simplicitie and naturall care for the auoyding of euill. But mispriſion of Vertue, and disdayne to compasse it, is not onely an odious brutality amongest true men: but (which is much more) a crime punishable by fyre and sword, and all other inflictions Customarily due, to the perseuerance of foule and guilty offenders or euil doers.

What kind of men are most to be contemned.

When Ignorance is not to be reckoned as a vice.

There is no necessity, that a valiaunt man should be apt to spleene or offence, through the riots of a Court Minion, of a Buffone, or of some young Sir, that hath not as yet learned how to be silent, or when to speake to purpose. A Gentleman of couragious perfection indeed, should bee of the humour of inuincible *Hercules*, of whom *Homer* deliuereth testimony in the first Booke of *Odissaes*.

Of taking offence or displeasure.

He made no more account of frowards words,
Then of the Flie, that filly harme affords.
He differed (in all) from common kinde:
And Fortunes frownes with him were as the wind.

Homer in Lib. 1 de Odyss.

Hee ought likewise, in all his other actions, to correspond with these precepts.

The constant wise, is euer like himselfe,
And neare shrinkes courage at the losse of pelfe:
The death of Children cannot make him dye,
But, when help fails, Hope doth the place supply.

The picture of a constant wise man.

He should not conceite, that he is to deale with some small enemy, but rather to crie out with couragious *Brasidas*, of whom wee haue alreadie spoken. *O God, there is not anie thing of so weake power; but, if it durst defend it selfe: it could finde meanes whereby to preserue it owne life.* Hee vsed these Words, in regarde of a Mouse that bit him by the Finger, as he thrust his hande into a Fraile of drye Figges.

The words of noble *Brasidas*.

Demetrius beeing at *Thebes*, aduisedly noted a man that was Lame of all his Members; and of whom, a Court Musk-Minion, made a subiect of scornefull Laughter, saying: *This is not he, that hath (til this day) tarded our victorie, for Nature hath made him a Cripple. It is true* (answered *Demetrius*) *but how dooſt thou know, whether reuenge and disdaine haue any other weapons then hands onely, considering that mine haue done no seruice at al for the surprizing of this Cittie?*

That the meanest or silliest creature is not to be despised

CHAP. III.

Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue, for beeing well attended with Gentlemen and valiaunt Captaines of true perfection.

RInces that seeke the Conseruation of their subiects, and to leaue peaceable estates and dominions vnto theyr Children, ought Religiously to ordaine (next to the establishment of Iustice) that lawes should be allowd to perticuler families, wherby children may bee educated euen from theyr infancy, as destenied to the inclination of such Artes, as (by manifest experience) their nature is subiected vnto, by the secret power of the more or lesse great blessings of God, and as it pleaseth him to extend or shut vppe his graces in one more then tn another. Yet notwithstanding, as accommodating the diuers inclinations of men, to perfect that great hermony which maintaineth the world, and combineth humain societie with so strict a bond, that (as it often commeth to passe) the very greatest haue neede of the meanest mens help, & al sciences, yea, euen the silliest, do tend to one selfesame end, by diuers precepts & contrary manners, yet all for the seruice of nature. For otherwise it would fal out, that common weales would conuert into deserts: and men (being apt but to one exercise only, how excellent soeuer) should haue no commerce togither, but only in words & vse of the Elements, which being wholly contrary (as it seemeth) in that common concord,

Lawes for the education of Children, euen frō their Infancy.

The blessings of God not limitted to any bounds or measure.

No one exercise, how excellent soeuer, is fit for all men.

concord, for fortifying and maintaining this great building; and the lesser also, which boasts his owne mirror and liuely figure: doth teach vs, that wee ought to haue a generall vertue of profiting: and yet neuertheles, that it is necessary therein to make vse of diffrent effects and proprieties. This was well knowne to *Hesiodus*, when he said:

Hesiodus his verses, thus translated out of *Greeke*.

The very darkest sullen night,
Helpes Nature with as deere delight,
As the brightest Sun-shine day,
That the Gods most honor may.
They both most necessary be,
Healthfull alike in each degree.

Let me then tell ye, that neuer (throughout all the ancient Monarchies) was the like inuented, for the institutiō of youth; as the Discipline vsed by the Great Signior, towards the *Amasoglants*, and children of the tribes. The only euill (which is great, in regard of God, yet litle acording to his estate & maner of gouerning) is, in that Christians are compeld to renounce their Religion, to imbrace that of *Mahomet*, which (at this day) is the verie greatest, and most respected in all the East. Take off this defect, and thēn there is not any thing (I say) in the worlde, neither did all former ages euer afford the like For you may behold in *Constantinople*, a *Carauani* or numberlesse troope of yong Boies, that are carefully tended by Maisters of all estates in al such things as they are most apt vnto, without any constraint of Nature, and for the space of a yeare, they are permitted all kinds of exercises; to the end, that becomming iudges of themselues, each one may afterward pursue his owne instinct, and best inclination. Some are found to be fit for warre, and they are as quickly recommended to Maisters meete for such enstruction: yet with so great an obseruation, that time shall rather bee wanting, then care of their employment. Such as are noted to please themselues, in the composing of ships or gallies, with paper sailes, and packthred tacklings, or anie other stuffe, more assiduate to their yong fancies, then other; they are forthwith bestowed in the Sea *Arsenale*, & instructed in al affaires fit for the sea. These docible and debonaire spirits are differently employd: some to Phisick, others to priesthood, & som beside to iudiciary seruices. Finally, such as are of so grose tēper, that no faire apprehension shineth in them, are imployed in Gardening, a midle sort in Architecture, Painting, & Horology. They that seeme wholy disgraced by nature, are instructed in Carpentry, Taylory and twisting of Cables, making of sails and many other mean offices: which are by their aptnesse (in them) very gracious in the great Signiors respect, & begeteth them both lands & perpetual pensions.

The institution obserued by the great *Signior* for youth.

How young Boyes are tended by diligent Maisters.

The pursuite of seuerall inclinations.

For Warre.

For making of Ships and Gallies.

Phisick, Religion, & Law.

Gardening, Painting, and Clocke making.

It is necessary in a Christian Oeconomy, to make the like practise, as we plainly behold in the fabrick of man. If we look vpon our bodies, or those of beasts, wee may perceiue many members to haue their distinct operations; without the intrusion of any others office, or that the enuy of inferiors discontent themselues at the dignity of their superiors, or any of them (either through discord or partiality) do refuse to lend one another their assistance. It behoueth I say, that in well ordered Commonweales but especialy among Christians, the same course shold bee kept and maintained one with another: and although our charges and estates are different, yet that wee should euermore continue vnited in our spirits; and with a iust desire, to supply the defects of our associates, and also to assist them. For it is very requisit, that we shold be all like to trauailers, wandering by diuers wayes, yet all to arriue at one hauen in the end.

Our Christian rule or disposition, compared to the body of man, or of Beastes.

Gouernmen in Christian Commonweales.

The stronger are to support the weaker.

But aboue all, a King ought to constrain his Nobility, to cause young Gentlemen to be enstructed in good Letters, for Capacity of administring the great and soueraign Magistracies of his kingdom: for therby must needs ensue, that dignity wil be more venerable, iustice in better respect, and iudgements more legittimate. We may see (to our shame) that at this day the greater part of Magistrates in all our Parliaments of *France*, receiue their originall from plaine *Plebeians* and Yeomen, who neuer could haue honour so liuely imprinted in their brows and souls; as they that naturally are heires, to I know not what admirable and holy vertue, which (with no meane aduantage) appeareth rather in young spirits of Nobilitie, then in them of the thirde ranke, who alwayes haue but feeble Conceptions, and neuer eleuate or rayse their thoughts, except it bee to euill, as either to sedition, or infamous and dishoneſt

The especiall Office and duty of a King.

The disgrace of *France* at this present day.

Owles are no way to bee compared with young Eaglets.

againe. Whereto wee may ad alſo, that their courages are cowardly, ſtanding amazed and confounded at the ſmalleſt accidents; neyther are they ſo apt to outſtand tumults and ciuill inconueniences, as Sun-bright Nobility, which euen of it ſelfe is engirt with ſome celeſtiall flame, that cauſeth the vulgar people to apprehende more in their oppoſition againſt them, then in thouſands of poore ſpirits that are of their owne quality, whoſe fathers at the beſt, were but Farmers, keepers of Granges and Dairies, which they helde at a certaine price, and annuall Rent.

The worth of Sunne bright Nobility.

Nobilitie then doth ſhame to it ſelfe, by not ſeeking to appeare in the venerable authority of the Senate: conſidring, that Preſidents and Counſellors in Courtes Soueraigne, ſeeme to be voluntarie Tutors to the Prince, and as Noble Guards to his inuiolable Greatneſſe. By this meanes they would free them from the gripes of a huge heape of wretched Officers, and they ſhould neuer be ſubiected to the mercenary iudgment of their ſubiects, who miſtake themſelues verie ſuddenly, and diſpoſe both of the liues and goods of Gentlemen drawn into action: euen like to their Shop keeping fathers, in their eſteeme of paltry wares. In this manner, the King ſhould haue a more ſound, ſure, and ſtrong election of men meete for warre, which now adayes hee cannot haue: becauſe Gentlemen doo (indifferently) imploy all their ſonnes to ſuch trades, as is impoſsible in conueniency for them, conſidering the diſsimilitude of their natures, repugnancy of their humors, and contrariety of their ſpirits, which is more, or which is leſſe apt vnto one office then to another. I doubt not, but at length thorough the great ſcarſity to be found of martiall minded men: all ſorts of Gentlemen will not know howe to appeare in the diuerſitie of warre hazards, whither they be ciuill or ſtraunge. Yet I may verie well ſay, that there are many carried thereto, contrarie to the firſt conception of their *Genius*, who (neuertheleſſe) being apt to diuers thinges: can accommodate their ſpirits therto, albeit it is much leſſe natural to them, then ſomthing els. This is the reaſon why *Ariſtotle* ſaide, that lukewarme water was cold, in regard of that which is boiling, and yet eſteemd hot, in conſideration of that which is ycie. This is asmuch to ſay, as that the moderat ſpirits of gentlemen, pertaking in the thirde or fourth degree of heat, may ſerue for warre. If ſo, much better then ſhould they be apt and profytable for the affayres of State and pollicy. Such alſo, as encline to the fourth or fift degree, do pertake of an influence more ſtrong and pregnant for war, then anie other exerciſe elſe. This is to bee diſcerned in the Nature or caſe of our infancie, which telleth vs by our yongeſt carriage, what will be the inclination of our moſt ſolide age, and inciteth, nay, meerely exalteth vs (with a certaine violence) to acknowledge that which ſhall (one day) be either neceſſary or profitable at the leaſt. According to the ſaying of *Heſiodus*.

Of preſidents and Counſellors in the Courtes of Kings.

Heſiodus, concerning our yeares of infancy, expreſſing thereby, what our ſtroger age will be.

All Infant Pleaſures, Playes, and Ioyes,
All youthfull Apiſh trickes and toyes,
Our Cradle power, which breaks no bands:
Our firſt eſſayes in riper houres,
Our weakneſſe, ſtrength, or what elſe ours,
As in a painted Table ſtands:
For following yeares therein to ſee,
What good or bad ſucceſſe will bee.

Baſe gripple Slauery, is alwayes enemy to Gentility.

How Princes and Lords ſhould educate their Pages.

Princes and great Lordes ought to enſtruct their Pages in ſuch exerciſes, as do beſt anſwere vnto the condition of true Gentlemen, and ſhould make no vſe of their ſeruice, in ſeruile, baſe, or abiect occaſions: as in theſe daies they do, without any care of gouernment, or preſcribing them ſome honeſt forme of conduction. I proteſt, as I ſee the carriage of theſe ill taught times, I had much rather place my ſon or Kinſman, with a Spittle Maiſter, or Hoſpitall Keeper, then with a Prince: conſidering how badly Pages are entertained, and ſo ſlenderlie enſtructed in anie vertuous actions, as wee cannot diſtinguiſh them from common Lackeyes, but by the outward appellation, beeing elſe employed for all vſes; euen all one, with the verie fouleſt condition Varlet of the houſe. One while they are Gourmands, by ſome Groome of the Chamber; another while beaten by a Scullion of the Kitchen: and beaten they bee at euerie moment, but not to any good purpoſe; and more for Ceremonie, then with any vertuous intent of their Correction. They are baſelie reputed, and badly nouriſhed, whereby they conſtraine them, yea, and of themſelues are meerely conſtrained to forget and

A great error in the Gentry of theſe daies.

Pages very hardly diſtinguiſhed from common Lackies.

Many are made capable of warre, againſt their naturall inclination.

What ſpirits are reputed fit for Warre, by pertaking in the degrees of heate.

The little care and respect that Gentlemen haue of their Pages.

and declines, from their owne first faire and naturall disposition, to shake and get by vnlawfull meanes, such things as are most needfull for them. Some teach them how to be dissolute at their Table, for a Trencher can be no sooner offered: but it is presently swept ouer with the Nailes and Fingers; yea, with the whole hand, and tongue too sometimes. Afterward, perhaps Nature beeing scarse halfe contented: poore Youthes, they trot after their Galloping Maisters, who rid a great deale of ground in a very short while, whē their Pages follow not so fast with their feet, as with frequent and disordred passions. By which meanes, Youth neither do or can learne any thing among them, but forgetfulnesse of vertue and good manners, by the example of indiscretion & folly in their Maisters.

The Page is heere put to the Lackies Office.

These are tearmed our graceless Gallants.

Moreouer, we may see our streetes crowded with a heap of young Gentlemen, who haue much adoe to maintain themselues: and yet they must haue attending Pages, to trudge with Tokens or Loue-scripts, to Madame or Mistris *Many better*. And then come they poasting after, euen through the chiefest parts of the Citty, not shaming to let the world see their graceless insolence. Now, the very great hurt of all, consisteth in this, that the whole multitude of Pages (as well those about Princes, as them that follow great Lords and lesser Gentlemen, beeing themselues ill bred, and worse disciplinde:) are compelled to bastardise their naturall splendour, by putting on a new habite, of disordred, shameless, and monstrous behauiour; that (afterward) they looke rather like wilde and barbarous *Albanians*, then any true borne Gentlemen of blood. By which meanes, Commonweales are afflicted, Kinges lewdly serued, Magistrates scarcely obeyed, the Lawes dispised, and confusion embraced.

The maine & chiefest inconuenience aboue all other.

Of Gentlemen, still in the Princes sight.

Beside, a Gentleman brought vp out of the Princes eye, beginneth to grow disdainefull of him, when hee once apprehendeth (and malliciously enough) that he is not in any obligation to him: he waxeth proud, and such a man soone forgetteth al proportion and measure. The very highest degree of such a mans seruice, is to domineere and rule, to mount into the Seat of his Maister, Lord, or Prince: for, whatsoeuer hee seeth beneath, or on either side, is nothing to him, and the World (all this while) honoureth none more, then such a man.

The nature of an ambitious man.

The Pagans opinion concerning Generosity.

An especiall duty imposed on Princes.

What endeauors are blessed of God.

Vertue the onely first mouer of Courage.

The ouermuch neglect of Princes in these dayes.

The checkroule should be held in the Kings owne hand, for the election of his followers.

How beit, the Paganes did euermore acknowledge, that Generositie is more familiar with good, then vicious men, and, that valour is more domestick and naturall to a man that is temperate, peaceable, and milde, then the proud and ambitious, who is of the condition of a weake stomacke, which coueteth more meat, then it can resolue and digest. Princes ought to be respectiue, of such a rich and sanctified enstruction, and not admit such ouerture to the desseignes of Gentlemen; ouer greedie and couetous, in aspiring daily to some nouell degree, yet no one of them seeing the way, by the eye of his owne power, or Iustice of his merit. Thus all runs wrong, for God blesseth no Mans actions, but his that doth well, & withdraweth his eye from wicked inclinations: who wil haue no other King, then the State, or any Law, but such as may bring him in some benefit. Vertue is the *Primum mobile* of courage, that seemeth (by his owne power) to attract all things to it selfe, that is required in the perfection of valour: which is onely borne to be enstructed, and enstructed to serue, and (by seruice) to yeild it selfe not onely beneficiall, but necessarie also.

Princes in these daies, are faultie of too little care, that Nobility should be more forward in the exercise of vertue: and themselues also doe lend most imployment, to such as are more commēded to them, then fit for vse. Vertue giueth no more hire to the intercessions of a Courtier, made honorable and rich altogether; then to one of her owne breeding and bringing vp. Hence should arise all the Officers of a Crowne, and hence are aborted all the Creatures of a King, that leaneth wholly to passion, & nothing to vertue. He ought then to hold the list in his owne hand, to foresee each man in his profession and degree, and hence he will deriue: that his Financiers or Cherker-men, shal bee without fraud, his Councellours free from partialitie, and his Gouernours voyde

voyde of faction. All their ayme and ſcope, will be to iuſtifie by their effects, the good choyſe and lawfull election, which the Prince hath made of ſuch perſons. And although they ſhould come ſomewhat ſhort of merit, yet would they ſtretch their endeuour; to deſerue the voyces of the honeſteſt Men, and the grace of their ſecond Creator.

Such as ſerue God and their Prince.

Honor aduanced, is the peoples beſt contentment.

When a Man of Honor is aduanced, the people doe looke on it with a pleaſing eye, and diſcerne (therein) the wiſdome of their Prince: who inſtantly is exalted to admiration; from admiration, to intire loue of his Subiects; and from thence to the bleſſing of GOD, who plauſibly entertaineth the ſuffrages of the Common-weals ſuppliants, for the health and preſeruation of their Prince. Contrariwiſe, all is in diſorder, when bad men hold the beſt places of credit: then the people mutiny; the Princes iudgement is ſcandalized; common affection cooleth; the curſſe of God embraceth, and bringeth the lateſt cauter that cleaueth to this euill. Aboue all, I wiſh that he, of whoſe ſeruice a Prince ſhall make vſe, ſhould haue the feare of God before his eyes, without which: all Wiſedome will eaſily bee conuerted into craft; valour into violence; Iuſtice into Crueltie; Pollicy into Monopolies; and without which (I ſay) all thoſe things which heauen hath beſt beſtowed on vs for the beſt, will only be Inſtruments of the worſt. Without this, our very affections, are as ſo many violent torments, and cruell Hels both to the Soule and Body, and our reaſon is nothing elſe, but meere trumpery and deceipt. O what inflictions could I wiſh to ſome *Machiauelliſts*, who maintaine, that ſuch as bee bound to Conſcience, reaſon, and Lawes, are no meete Seruants to attend on Princes: but that flattery is to be preferd, both aboue Lawes and Nature.

The Seede that yieldeth Kings the beſt encreaſe.

What enſueth by the aduancement of bad and vnworthy men.

The feare of God is to be preferred before all things elſe whatſoeuer.

The opinion of ſome wicked *Machiauelliſts*.

If it be ſo, that thoſe bleſſed Quires of Gods Booke, do beare witneſſe, that *No Man can ſerue two Maiſters*. Commaunding vs alſo elſe-where; *To feare God, and honor the King*: it is then a matter very euident, that the moſt part of all other Seruants, doe yeilde nothing elſe but eye-ſeruice onely. And this is the reaſon, that Kinges are euill ſerued farre off, and betrayed in ſecret. They that being Seruants to their King, will alſo do ſeruice to God; they euermore walke after one manner. They ſerue to content their Conſcience, and not they eye of their Maiſter. They propoſe God before their eyes, as both the Beholder of their actions, and ſearcher of their harts. They waite for his grace and Wages: being aſſured of recompence and reward on his part, when they doe their dutie, although it bee to vnthankfull Maiſters. This is the Seed from whence Kinges ſhould gather all hope, of being maintained, ſtrengthened, and wel ſerued. From hence ought they alwaies to chuſe their Councellors of State, and al thē, to whom they will communicate their power and authoritie.

Inſtructions giuen out of Gods Booke, for the ſeruice of Kings.

The Prince that deſireth to accompliſh all theſe things, both for the quiet of his owne Conſcience, and happy adminiſtration of his Eſtate: muſt be ſure to haue no Flatterers about him, vnprofitable perſons, Loue-Brokers, voluptuous and Epicurian Courtiers, that make the publike Purſſe, ſerue for the expences of their perticular Luxurie, gurmandize and pomp, while (in the mean time) the vertuous, and ſuch as haue deſerued much better of the State: remaine far enough off, ſlenderly known, without Grace, and without Honour, (I meane no other, then that of their owne proper merit) who neuertheleſſe are (oftentimes) ineſtimable, and more worthy of adminiſtration; then of the blind and briske (let mee not ſay faint-hearted) fauours, which the Princes of theſe times vſe towardes ſome young Gallants, that ſmell more of Ciuet, then the Cannons Powder, and much more of the Woman, then Man: yet vnworthy of eyther Sexe, their depraued Natures are ſo highly ſubiected to infamous Vices, which ſunder them frō thoſe common proprieties, that do let vs know a Man, to be truely a Man, and a Woman, truely a Woman. I am perſwaded, that it was of them, which that Great Man ſpake, on the *Grecian* Theater, ſaying:

Especiall obſeruations for a Prince, that would be ſerued with good men indeed.

These are Carpet Squiers, not Knights fit for a Field.

You Swiniſh men, that haue no other care,
But onely for ſuch food, as you prepare
To gorge your foule polluted trunkes withall:
Meere Swine you are, and ſuch your actions all.

A Mirrour for many, that dare not behold it.

Like

Like them you run, such is your leaden pace;
Nor Soule, nor reason shineth in your face.
Stabled you are within the Courts of Kings,
Not fit for Councell, Armour, or such things
As to your Natures are contrary quite.
Easily you can faire Ornaments disgrace,
Therefore you fit not such a royall place:
Kings loose themselues, that doe in you delight.

Great men will not willingly looke vpon serious and weighty considerations.

But why do I seeke to enstruct Gentlemen, seeing they striue (as much as possible that they may) not to behold any lawfull action: because their Soules should bring no iudgement against themselues for the excesses which they haue committed? It is enough for them, to make some essay of that which is written in Saint *Iohn*, to wit. *That if all Testimonies of Scripture, and lawfull imitations doe faile vs: yet notwithstanding our Conscience, and Nature it selfe doth sufficiently shew, what is our dutie.* Looking thorow all Windowes of Equity, Iustice, and Reason; Pagane Authours tooke knowledge, yea, and did set down in Writing: that there were Furies, who inflicted reuenge on the iniuries, as also on the sinnes of Men, which is nothing else, but the torments of vile and wicked Consciences.

The Window of Equity, Iustice, and Reason, acknowledged by the Pagans.

This is the worme whereof the Prophet *Esay* speaketh; it is the Worme (I say) that neuer dyeth, but byteth and teareth without intermission. These are the Tapers and Torches, which terrifie and burne our harts: This is that which is called, the remembrance of our wicked and abhominable liues. *Epicurus* himselfe, being an enemy to the Deitie, could yet confesse, that the very great paine of such as sinned, was, that they had sinned: for the punishment of wickednesse, is wickednesse it selfe. The Man that is attainted with this great scruple in his Soule, is of no worth, neither can be valiant, or come any thing neere to that happy quality. For he that is a perfect knight indeed, ought not onely to win the Conquest of his Enemies: but must also triumphe ouer the Passions of his owne Soule, which must be cleane, and exempt from all vnlawfull desires, or absurde and base villainies. That which was presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*, is well worthy to be followed by him, in whom I would decypher perfect valiancie, as thus.

The confession of *Epicurus* concerning Sinners.

The Anatomy of a true and perfect Knight indeed

Though in rich *India*, or a further Land,
Thou art adorde, and dost o're men commaund,
Although the *Medes* and *Arabes* stoupe to thee:
Yet, if not iust, valiant thou canst not be.
Thou art no Man, if terror sway thy Soule,
Nor can be valiant, if weake thoughts controule.
Such follies leaue thee to thy selfe alone,
In torment, sadnesse, and despairing mone.
But when thou dost o're-maister fond desires:
Then thy faire Soule to her true pitch aspires,
And makes thee meet for Kingdomes, or all Nations;
Hauing once conquerd thine owne priuate passions.
,, Vertue doth neuer fight, but for successe.
If then base thoughts the Soule of Man possesse,
And be not trod downe, at their first rise:
In suffering them, the greatest perils.
Then boldly check thy inward dull conceaits,
Shun those deepe blames that on neglect awaites,
Let not the Lawes reproue thy care and heed:
So shalt thou be a Man, in name and deed.

The present, giuen to the Emperor *Theodosius*.

This other of *Claudian*, is very little different.

If that action, which is tearmed valiance,
Be not in vertue: then tis impudence.

Knights of greatest courtesie, Captaines most remarkable, and Kinges of highest fame, did euermore accompany their Armes, and strengthen them by a gentle and liberall knowledge in Vertue: whereby they could best decipher such about them, as were most or least apt for Warre seruices, making distinction of their valour, according to the circumstances and ordinary manner of Souldiours; were it in apparrelling themseluss for fight, or in firming the breaches happening in their Field, or in exercising and applying themselues to some other seruice, conuenable to the time, place, and commaundement giuen them. By this meanes, Men of merit addressed themselues vnto the Prince, who made profession to be carefull and respectiue, of euery perticular wise and hardy mans courage, and vpon good note thereof: to render double recompence, that is to say, by benefits, and by iust commendations. For hee must neuer hope to see vertuous Men flourish, or their actions in true apparance: if they be not recompenced, and some way satisfied.

Vertue hath alwayes bin the best ground to builde all actions on.

The eye of the Prince to be fixed vpon each mans due worth and merit.

The Prince that desireth to finde valiancy in his men of Warre, ought to imitate the discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, the *Romaine* Emperor: who would haue his Souldiours to be well armed, wel enstructed, and continually to haue some Mony in their Purses, but (by no meanes) of that humour, as *Iphicrates* the

The Warre-discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, Emperor of *Rome*.

Iphicrates of contrary mind to *Alexander Seuerus*.

the Captaine wished his Warre-followers to be, to wit; auaritious, amourous, and full of voluptuousnesse. For he was wont to say, that as they were persecuted by those three violent passions; euen so would they prostitute thēselues, and forsake all perill, to satisfie their own desseignes, and the free compassing of their base desires.

Iulius Cæsar concerning his Souldiers.

True it is, that *Cæsar* wished his Souldiours, to haue faire and rich Armes, because they might haue the more occasion to be knowne, for auoyding the shame of flight; & not to fight so much for the worth of their Armes, as for their liues. But he was deceiued, considering as *Thucidides* saith. *The valiant Man is alwaies himselfe, and his vertue appeareth much more, when he is disaduantaged and afflicted: then when he strengtheneth himselfe with some apparance, if it be not necessary.*

The saying of *Thucidides*.

The Great *Turke*, who continueth (euen at this day) the Military Arte of the *Romaines*, and causeth it to be much more obserued, then the *Spaniards* doe, (who are in very deede, but Apes of the *Turkes* conduct) hath so admirable an obseruation: that a troupe of an hundred thousand men, do resemble rather a peaceable Congregation of people, assembled together to heare a Sermon; then an Army to fight against the World. The Great Turke (I say) is euermore accompanied with an incredible multitude of valorous men, which he winneth out of *Tartaria*, and areat his Wages and endlesse pay; like as the *Switzers* are in *France*. He helpeth himselfe also with the Souldiours of *Mysia*, of *Europe*; of the *Albanians*, sometimes called *Epirotes*; of the *Thessalians*, now called *Fullaires*; and of the *Arabes*, that tearme themselues *Alarbes*. All these glorious Nations (for their Armes) are so cherished hy the *Othomans*, that there is no day ouer-passeth them: but they doe receiue some honourable and notable reward and respect, from the Generals of the Turkish Armies, who imploy them at euery moment, in verie great and perilous enterprises, wherein (neuertheless) all these Men do carrie themselues, with such prudence and iudgement, as is not to be a little wondred at.

The Great *Turkes* ordering of his Souldiours now adayes.

Tartarians continually in pay with the *Turke*.

The only encouragement of Souldiours, when they are well payed and respected.

New and fresh Armes is prouided them, vpon the quickest and suddainest returne, and albeit their successe hath not answered to the premeditated desseigne: yet, in the very least performance of well doing, they are not lest vnacknowledged, but vsed, as if the attempt had beene happily ended. Hence ensued those great Stratagems at *Modon*, *Chaly*, *Siget*, *Schaffarin* in the *Georgie*, and at *Traueils*. In all which places, they surmounted the valour and fortune of the *Romaines*, the hardinesse of the *Parthians*, and the cunning and industry of the Christians; whose troups resembled Carauans of Goates, that make motion with their mouths on all thinges indifferently, how profitable or hurtfull soeuer they be.

Good will wanteth not though successe oftentimes faileth.

The *Persians*, who seeme to be more ciuillized then the *Turkes*, and yet (notwithstanding) are lesse prouident and capable of great matters, doe shut vp their Children of good Birth, in certain places of the Field-Countrey, which they call *Spitaf Kier Belti*, that is to say; *The entrance into the Signeury of vertue*, where they haue Maisters to enstruct them, according to their inclinations: but at the charges of their Parents, vntill such time as it may be known, whether the Youths wil afterward be beneficiall to the *Sophy*, or no. For thenceforward, they are taken and maintained at his expences, to the number of two thousand, and are then called, *Spiers Kiram Sophi*, that is to say; *Children of the Signior Sophy*.

Comparison of the *Persians* with the *Turkes*, and the education of their Children.

Children of the *Signior Sophy*.

These people, whom we tearme barbarous, and their Kings, called Tyrants by vs; I feare shall find (at the latter day) more grace in the grace of the Soueraigne Iudge: then the Princes and people of *Europe*, who make no account, or verie little (at the most) of the Youth that is vnder their Empire, or the order and discipline Oeconominall of the State, which is much lesse obserued with them, I will not I say then among the common people of *Asia*; but euen among the *Toupinambous* & Magistrats, who doe enstruct their Children in the Historie of their Ancestours, the Father telling to his Sonne; what fights they haue had against their Neighbors; what victories were obtained; and the routes which they endured. All these thinges are deliuered with fatherly exhortations,

Christendom hath lesse care of youth, then Heathen Nations haue.

Enstructions of Pagane Fathers to their Sonnes.

hortations, to continue them in well doing, for publike benefit, and to shew themselues iealous imitaters of their fore-goers, who (they tell them) are in Heauen, full of Glory and Triumphe: because they continually maintained the cause of their Countrey, and defended their poore Cottages, from the inuasions of their ordinarie Enemies.

The care of the *Parthians* for their yong Nobility in former times.

In former times, the *Parthians* had such diligent care, for hu-banding the Spirits of their young Nobility, that the more part of their Lawes discoursed on nothing else. By which meanes they were inuincible, and euermore equall to the Romaine Empire, yet there was more Soueraignety, and lesse Barbarisme, in the commaundes of the *Arsacides*, their Kinges: then in the Empire of the *Cæsars*, who were (almost all of them) so abhominable, as all the Vices of the World, did beget their most monstrous qualities, from the imperfections of those Tyrants of *Europe*.

Comparison of the *Parthian Arsacides* with the Romane *Cæsars*.

Finallie, they lost Europe at length, yeilding it to the transport of the Mahometanes, who keepe it (at this day) more stronglie, then we doe the rest. And, if we obserue no better discipline, then that which now wee doe: it is to bee feared, that before many yeares passe ouer our heades, the *Rheine* will scarcely serue for Frontiers to the *Othomans* Monarchie, who extend the Threds of their ambitious couetousnesse, not onely vpon *Germanie*, which can hardlie defend it selfe; but on the rest of Christendomes happinesse; yea, ouer all that is further off from the East, then the East is from their felicitie, and the West from ours. Because it is impossible, yea, almost vniust, that the hand of God should bee succourable to such, as obserue no Equity; but contemne his Lawes, despise Soueraigne Magistracy, making themselues in all, and by al, vtterly vnworthy of his diuine blessings, which must be sought for with humble and lowly harts. The Paganes themselues do confesse.

The couetous ambition of the *Othomans*, for enlarging their Dominion.

The writing and confession of the Pagans.

The Goddes, by prayers are satisfied,
When some iust Soules are applied,
To satisfie their Deities:
For generall iniquities.

Ouer and beside all, the onely meanes to haue men valiant, is, to make no account of Cowards, and such as are but prating companions, nor to admit them (in any manner whatsoeuer) to any Offices and dignities of War: though (in these daies) the quite contrary is practised: for Regiments are giuen to simple Clearks, that surrender them againe the very same day; Treasurers places are bestowed on impudent persons, and the Princes lodging is kept by such, as scarsely are any found well willers. All degrees are valued by Mony, buying & selling are openly allowed, so that there is no recompence or respect made of true valor; onely hee that hath wherewithall, may bee a Gouernour in some place, which he may likewise sel again, to the most-giuer. In all the Empire of the *Turk*, which is more (by halfe) then ỹ the *Romans* had: there are but 210. Forts or Holds, which also are seated on the Frontiers, as well of the Sea, as of the firme Land. At euery three yeares end, the Gouernors are changed, or receiue new power to bee longer continued. They can receiue no other dead-payes, then the Soldiers of the old bands, who being ouer-spent in war, or laden with wounds, or crazed by age: are to be receiued into the *Grand Signiors* fortresses, where an honorable pension is bestowed on them, which they tearme *Timar*. Hereby ensueth, that all men are made vse of in this bright Monarchy, for such as are aged people, gouty, or lame, do keep the walles, while the younger doe fortifie the Prince and his Lieutenants in the Fielde, hoping (one day) to haue entertainment in those Fortes. By this means, Souldiers are neuer in miserable quality in the great Turks iurisdictions, which maketh them the more hardy & valiant: knowing, that (in their retreat from seruice) they shall neuer want, by any discommodity (whatsoeuer) happening to them.

The only meanes to be assured of such as are valiant men.

All degrees and Offices passe currant for mony by buying and selling.

The *Turkes* Fortresses, and Gouernours of thē.

All men are made vse of in the *Turkes* dominions, that no one may be seene in any miserable condition, for the discouraging of others.

For, beside those Fortresses on the Confines of *Asia*, and *Europe*, there are fiue *Mosquaes* in *Notalia*, some whereof were builded by the *Mahometane* Emperors, and others by their *Bashaes*, and the least reuenues belonging to any one of them, is forty thousand Ducats of annuall Rents. There is a publike Schoole, where the poore are enstructed, and beside, there is a verie goodly House, well fitted with most exquisite Bathes, where,

Fiue *Mosquaes* in *Natolia*, for young and old, that none may be seene in pouerty.

where, all that are billeted by the *Aga*, Colonell of the Infantery; are nourished, maintained, and well tended, being sickly, weake, or aged, and al things are so well ordered, as no one can bee wearie, or dislike of their entertainement, or iudge it other then it ought to be.

The bestowing of honourable charges for the wars.

All honourable charges of men for the Warres, are imparted to such, as haue best reputation among the Souldiours. If at any time some offence be committed, vnworthy of the former opinion conceiued of mans valour, he is dismissed from his authority: yet without any infamous note, or desperate hope of being againe reintegrated, by course of time, which moderateth all thinges, and changeth the councels and humours of Princes, who appeare (by an indifferent chastisement) to haue satisfied both the Law and their owne lenity, in one selfe-same subiect.

Abra-Bashat, repealed frō his place, and *Sinan-Bashae* aduanced thereto.

Thence came it, that *Bashae-Abra*, hauing disordred himselfe in the *Georgie*, was repealed and disgraced, and *Sinan-Bashae* placed in his stead, who succeeding in the room, of a Man ill handled for his faults: stood bound (by all these considerations) to behaue himselfe so well, that the Great Signior could receiue no mislike in his cariage, for hee regained what his Predecessour had lost, beating and chasing the *Persians* with so large an vsury of vengeance; that his Military seruices performed in the vpper *Asia*, were little indebted to thē of *Alexander* the Great, although he was of no such temper. Long time after, returning home with triumphe and victory, in the Cittie of *Constantinople*: he was slaine by a Foole, that begd an Almes of him, and which *Sinan* made himselfe ready also to giue him. Wherein may bee obserued, that this great and fortunate Mirrour dyed, in doing the Office of a Christian, and not of a Turke, that is to say; in giuing an Almes, and rendring Iustice to the *Porta*. After his death, the other was admitted to his charge againe; and then he redeemed the iniuries formerly receiued, by such worthy actions of seruice, as surmounted the obliuion of his first defects.

Sinan-Bashae cōming with triumph and victory to *Constantinople* was slaine by a Foole.

Sinan-Bashae being dead, *Abra-Bashae* was readuanced.

I referre now to your owne iudgements, if these people (which we call barbarous) may not iustly (and in good earnest) make vs blush, considering, that the greater part of them, which hold great charges among vs in these daies: doe declare themselues vtterly vnworthy of them, and because there is no punishment for them, men are as little regarded, as a Varlet of the Chamber. Hence ensueth it, that the Prince is miserable, and confusion is so great among his Followers, that were it not for the huge throng and multitude of Noblemen, which ardently accost and company him, to couer this imperfection: within short while we should be buried in the State ruines, which in the end must needes fall out, if no better order be prescribed for Souldiours, and some endeuour vsed, for maintaining daily a sufficient number, that may serue as a bound or banke, against the tempestu ous billowes of Strangers, who doubtlesse will triumph ouer vs continuallie, vntill we haue prouided for this important necessity, wherof (notwithstanding) no account at all is made.

Barbarous Nations may iustly make vs Christians to blush at our behauiour.

Danger of Buriall in the ruines of the State.

Though it bee most true, that the Romaine Empire began to loose it selfe, from the day when Millitary pollicy was violated, for afterward, they that durst not so much as dreame of *Italie*: made no doubt at all to assault it, yea, and to force it, to the shame and confusion of them, that contemned the order religiously obserued by their Predecessours. The infamous corruption in State Councellours of Princes, was the only cause thereof: yet some others are perswaded, that the vniuersall generous ruine, ensued perticularly to them; when they sold their Country to their enemies, as *Æneas* and *Antenor* did, of whom (I think) they are descended. For all was set to sale for Money, both the offices of Magistrats, and seats of Iudges.

By what meanes the Romain Empire began to confound it selfe.

The infamous corruption in Councellors of Estate to Princes.

And euen so is it in these daies, honours of Warre cannot be had, without such manner of commerce, so that (at length) publike commoditity wil be brought into a monstrous Caos, the first Sepulcher of the Elements. Armes will be made subiect to Mony, euen as they were among the Romaines, whose *Prætorian* troupes sold the Empire for good ready Mony, as bringing it to the common Out-cry, faireſt offerer, and lateſt

Warre honours are bartered, bought and sold, euen as they were among the Romains.

lateſt Purchaſer. So that, it may be ſaid of *France*, as a Prince of *Affrica* was wont to do of *Rome*: *Oh goodly City to be ſold, if any man had Mony enought to buy it.* And very certaine it is, that if the King of Spain had neuer ſo little intelligence in this Kingdome, as hee hath had too much: he ſhould not neede to deſire it. He can forme Creatures enow heere, to be buyers for him, and (it may bee) that haue long ſince bought the Pillers of the State, with Monies meete for ſo glorious an exploit. We are all carried thither, the Market beginneth to open, the Traffiques hope is not a little, neyther is there any danger in the delleign, for impunity raigneth generally. The wicked doe thruſt good men out of all fauour, accounting them vnprofitable Members, and deſertfull of no Name, among ſuch a number of ſtrange *Cabaliſts*, who thinke France to be no better then a Mart or Staple: where gaine is preferred before Honor; Mony before Merit; an Enemy before a Friend; a Seruant before the Son of the Family; and a Seruant, before a Domeſticke borne.

The ſaying of an *Affricane* Prince, concerning *Rome*.

Bad men thruſt better deſeruers out of all fauour and reſpect.

Behold what may be ſaid, on the behalfe of perfect valour, and the ſolid or neceſſary meanes, for the gaining of worthy men: to make Kinges triumph, perpetuate their eſtates, and leaue eternity to their Monarchies. My hearty wish and deſire is, that ſome benefit may enſue by my poore trauaile (as infallibly will) to our *French* Nobility, if this may be communicated (how little ſoeuer) to the eyes of their ſouls, which hauing heretofore been eleuated to the honeſt ſearch of vertue, and eſpeciallie that which ſhold be moſt familiar with them: will render them abſolute in the perfection of this diſcourſe, whereof I couet more to be the God-Father, then the true Father indeed. Becauſe all the wonders of honor, grace, and valiancy therein alleaged, haue beene ſelected from the Oracles and Miracles of the onely renowned Princes in the World, of whom I haue figured the very faireſt conditions. To the end, that ours of this Age, may commendably enuy ſuch glory, and go as far beyond theirs, as they did all other whatſoeuer.

The Authors Concluſion and wiſh, to the Nobilitie of *France*.

The vertues of other Princes, ought to be a ſpurre to ours in theſe dayes.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Wiſedome, Prudence, and Pollicy; and what difference is betweene them. Alſo, a conſideration of the difficulties & dangers, incident to matters of State.

BEcauſe our preſent intended diſcourſe, may ſtand cleare from obloquy and detection: we wil firſt declare what Wiſedome is, and wherein it conſiſteth. For Pollicie being but (as it were) a branch thereof; it ſhall therefore be conuenient, firſt to conſider the nature of the root or Tree, that thereby we may know the property of the braunch. And to this end, it is to be conſidered, firſt whence wiſedom is, and afterwards, what it is: whereby it will appeare, that true wiſedome, and (conſequently) true Pollicy, can no way ſtand with wickedneſſe.

Pollicy is but a Branch of wiſedome.

For the firſt, it is euident, by the doctrine as wel of the beſt Philoſophers, as of our holy Scriptures; that wiſedom is the eſpeciall guift of God, which *Plato* taught, not onely concerning abſolute wiſedom (conſiſting in the ſpeculation and knowledge of diuine things) but alſo of ciuill or politicall Wiſedome and Prudence: which he ſaith. *Is neither giuen to man by nature, nor taught by Philoſophy, nor got by induſtry or experience.* And therefore in his Book of Politicall Lawes, he craueth it of Almighty God as his eſpeciall guift, acknowledging: *That no humain wit can (without his perticuler inſpiration and aſsiſtance) ordaine ſufficient Lawes for the gouernment of a Common-wealth*, as partly hath beene elſewhere approued.

Wiſedom the eſpeciall gift of God, according to *Plato*.

Plato in Lib. 4. de Legib. & in Minoe.

Wiſedome not giuen by Nature, nor taught by Philoſophy, nor got by induſtry.

This alſo our Scriptures doe aboundantly teach, deriuing al wiſedom from Almighty God, as from the Fountaine thereof, ſaying. *Omnis ſapientia à Domino Deo eſt, All Wiſedome commeth of the Lord. Et à Deo profectaeſt ſapientia, &c. Wiſedome came from GOD, and it ſhall abound in the mouth of the faithful man, and the gouernor or Lord of all will giue it thee.* And againe, *Fons ſapientiæ verbum Dei in excelſis. The Fountaine of wiſedome*

Eccleſ. 1. 1. 6. God the only Author and giuer of wiſedome, according to the Scripture. Eccleſ. 25. 3.

is the word of God on high. That is to say, the Son of God, who is therefore called *Sapientia Patris, The Wisedome of God the Father.* For this cause S. *Iames* aduiseth vs. *Si quis vestrum* (saith he) *indiget sapientia, postulet à Deo, & dabitur ei. If any of you lacke wisedom, let him aske it of God, and it shall be giuen him.* And *Salomon* craued it of Almighty God, and obtained it. And Iesus the Son of *Sirach* saith of himselfe. *Cum adhuc iunior fum, &c. When I was yet yong, or euer I went abroad, I desired wisedome openly in my prayer. And I profited by her, therefore will I ascribe the glory vnto him that giueth me wisedome.*

Iames. 1, 5. 1 King. 3, 9.

Salomon and Iesus the sonne of *Sirach* obtained wisedome of God by Prayer. Eccles. 51, 13. 17.

Seeing then true wisedom is (according to the opinion both of Philosophers and Diuines) and especiall gift of Almighty God: it must needes follow, that it haue no communication with sin and wickednesse, or with any thing offensiue to God. And therefore *Plato* (with all his followers) doe teach, that for as much as true wisedom is nothing else, but (as it were) *The light of the chiefe and true good* (that is to say, of Almighty God) *reflected vpon the soules of Men*: no Soule defiled with sinne, is any whit more capable of this light of true Wisedome, then the ayre (beeing ouer-cast with Clouds) is capable of the Sunne. And this Doctrine of *Plato* agreeth notably with our holy Scriptures, which teach, that *In maleuolam animam, &c. Wisedome wil not enter into a wicked soule, nor dwell in the body that is subiect to sin.* And therefore it is said, *That God giueth wisedome to such as feare him.*

Plato in Timæo, et in Epist. ad Syracusin. What wisedome is, according to *Plato.*

A soule defiled with sinne not capable of wisedome. Wisd. 1. 4. Eccles. 43, 33.

This will be more euident, by the consideration of what Wisedome is, and wherein it principally consisteth. Therefore, first to speak of the Doctrin of our holy Scriptures, and after, of the opinion of Philosophers: *Iob* hauing asked, *Where is Wisedome found, and where is the place of vnderstanding?* Answereth himselfe, saying; *Ecce timor Domini, ipsa est sapientia, & recedere à malo intelligentia. Behold, the feare of God is wisedom it selfe, and to forsake euil is vnderstanding.* Thus saith *Iob*, which the Preacher confirmeth, saying. *Omnis sapientia timor Dei, et in omni sapientia dispositio legis. The fear of God is all Wisedome, and the performing of the Law is perfect wisedome.* That is to say (as we read in the Greeke Text) *Factio et operatio legis, The doing & working of the Law*, signifying: That all wisedom consisteth in the feare of God, and in the execution of his Law, which is as much to saie, as in the keeping of his Commaundements; whereof three reasons may well be giuen.

What wisedome is, and wherein it consisteth, according to our sacred Scriptures. Iob. 28, 12, 13, et 28.

Eccles. 19, 20.

True wisedome consisteth in the feare of God, and the execution of his Law.

The first, because hee which feareth God, & fulfilleth his commandements, hath the ground and principall part of wisedome, for in all his actions he principally respecteth two things: the one, the glory of God (for which, Man and all other creatures were chiefely ordained) and the other, the eternall good of his owne soule, which most importeth him. For, as our Sauior saith; *What shall it profit a Man, though he should winne the whole world, if he loose his own soule.* Therfore the Preacher saith well, *Sapiens est animæ suæ sapiens: He which is wise, is wise for his Soule.* The second reason is, for that he which feareth God, and keepeth his commandements, doth therin work wisely, not onely for his eternall good, but also for his temporall and worldlie good: Seeing thereby hee conserueth himselfe, in the protection and fauor of him, who is the Authour and Giuer as well of the one as other, and hath an especial care of such as fear and serue him. For, as the Psalmist saith, *Oculi Domini super metuentes eum; The eyes of the Lord are vpon them that feare him. Et aures eius in preces eorum, And his eares are open to their prayers.* Such also is his loue towards them, and the regard he hath of them, that, as our Sauiour saith; *Hee numbreth the very haires of their heads. Et custodit* (saith the Psalmist) *omnia ossa eorum; He keepeth all their bones, to the end, that there shall not any one of them perish.*

The principal part of wisedome, to respect in all things the glory of God, and our eternall good.

Mat. 16, 26.

Wisd. 37, 18.

He which truly feareth God, is wise, for his temporall good, and why.

Psalme 33, 17. Psalme. 34, 14

Math. 10, 30. Psalm. 34, 19.

Therefore, as no man is, or can bee counted wise or happy, who (by contempt of Almighty God, and breach of his Commaundements) exposeth himselfe to his indignation, whereby both he and his may vtterly perish: so he likewise, that by the feare of God, and obseruation of his law, obtained his continuall fauour and protection, is not only truly wise, but also truly happy. Which *Aristotle* himselfe acknowledged, who teaching, that true wisedome and felicity, doe chiefely consist, in the contemplation of God and heauenly things: affirmeth the wisest man to be the happiest of al other, because he is most grate-

No man is wise in exposing himselfe to Gods indignation.

Arist. in lib. Ethic. 10. Cap. 7. Idē Ibid. cap. 8.

full

The law of God, is the rule of all prudent actions.

The difference betwixt wisedome and Prudence.

The object of wisedome.

The diffinition of wisedome.

Cicero. in Lib. 2. de Offic.
August. in lib. 14. de Trinit. Cap. 1.

The Office of Prudence.

Basil. in princip. Prouer.
Arist. Moral. Nicom. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. & Ethic. Lib. 6.
Tho. Aquin. 22. q. 47. 2.
Cicero de nat. Deor. Lib. 1.
August. Lib. 83. quest. 31.

The definition of Prudence.

Arist. in Lib. 6. Ethic. Cap. 4.

The end of euery action truely prudent, must needs bee good.

The meanes of euery prudent action, to be good and iust.

Arist. in Ethic, Idem. l. 6. ca. 12.

full to God, best beloued of him, and protected by him continually.

The third reason, why the fear of God, & the keeping of his commandements, is true wisedome, is: because the Law of God is the true rule, whereby al prudent actions are to bee measured, for it comprehendeth in it selfe, and teacheth all true vertue and goodnesse, without the which, there can be no true Prudence, as shall appeare by the circumstances due and requisite thereto, according to the Doctrine of Philosophers. Wherein is to bee noted, that though Wisedome and Prudence (in common speech) are commonly confounded: yet there is betwixt them this difference, that Wisedome hath for her object, not only humaine, but also Diuine things. And therefore is defined, both by Philosophers and Diuines, to be *Scientia diuinarum humanarumque rerum, et earumque illarum rerum sunt causæ. The knowledge of things diuine and humaine, and of their other causes.* Whereas the office of Prudence, is duely to consider, and wel to direct humaine affaires, and is called by *Thomas Aquinas, Sapientia in humanis rebus, Wisedome in humaine things:* consisting, as *Cicero* and S. *Augustine* teach, in the knowledge of *Things good, bad, & indifferent*, and is defined, *Rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque Scientia, The knowledge of things to be desired or fled.* Or as S. *Basile* saith, *Eorum quæ agenda et non agenda sunt cognitio; The knowledge of those things which are to be done, or not to be done*: whereto three circumstances are principally required.

The first is, that the end of euery action bee truely good, which *Aristotle* teacheth, to be the first & principal circumstance requisite to Prudence. And he affirmeth, that whosoeuer applieth his wit to worke for an euill end: although he haue neuer so good successe therein, yet he cannot bee called truelie wise or prudent, but crafty and subtile.

The second circumstance is, not onlie that the end of euery action bee good; but also, that the meanes to attaine to that end, be correspondent therto, that is to say, that they be all good and iust, yea, wel and iustly done. To which purpose, *Aristotle* prescribeth circumstances, of due time, place, and manner, to be considered in euery Prudent action.

Teaching withall, that whosoeuer fayleth in any one of the circumstances: is not vertuous, nor (by consequent) prudent, because Vertue & Prudence are so ioyned, that the one cannot possibly be without the other. *Macrobius* assigning (out of *Plato*) six parts of Prudence; accounteth circumspection for one, which (he saith) consisteth in consideration of the circumstances of euery action, that the same be most lawful good, and iust. Whereupon Saint *Basile* saith. *Quisquis prudentiam recte sectatus fuerit, &c. Whosoeuer followeth the rule of Prudence truly; he shal neuer swerue from vertue, nor fal into vice.* The third circumstance to bee considered in euery prudent action, is, that whereas there are certaine degrees of goodnes in things, some being good, others better, and one the best of all, (wherto all other things are to be referred, which is called by the Philosophers *Summũ bonũ, The chiefe good*; And also, *Finis bonorum, The end of al good things*) it is (I say) especially required in *Prudence*: to make a true estimate of the worth of euery thing, & not only to reiect things absolutely euil, or of euils, to chuse the least (as the *Lacedemonians* said, he had done, that married a very little wife) but also of good thinges to chuse the best: preferring those things which are absolutely good, before all other goods whatsoeuer, and making the chiefe good, the scope & end of al his actions.

Now then, seeing these three circumstances are requisite to true Prudence, to wit; to chuse a good end; to practise good & vertuous means; and to esteem euery good thing in the degree that it deserueth: it is euident, that he who feareth God, and keepeth his Commandements, performes all these three things, not only in euery particular action, but also throughout the whole course of his life, tending in al things to goodnes and vertue, vsing al iust & vertuous means, and esteeming euery thing according to the true worth thereof. For, he preferreth the Soule before the body; eternall things before temporall; the goods of the body, before the goods of Fortune; and the goods of the mind before them both. Finally, he referreth and directeth all his actions, and the whole course of his life, to the seruice and glory of God, whom both diuines and Phi-

Vertue and Prudence so ioyned, that they cannot be seperated.

Macrob. in somno Scip. Lib. 1.

Basil. in princip. Prouerb.

Cicero de finibus. Lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. & 5. Et Offic. Lib. 3.

Prudẽce preferreth the greater good before the lesse, and the chiefe good before all other.

Plutarch. de amore Frater.
Arist. Ethic. Lib. 6. Thom. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 47. ar. 1.

How he that feareth God, practiseth the three chiefe pointes of Prudence.

losophers do teach; *To bee the beginning and end of all Creatures*, as partly hath bin before declared.

Apoc. 1. 8. *Arist. Metaph. Lib. 1. Trismegist. in pœman. Cap. 3.*

But here (perhaps) some will say, that there are necessarily required to Prudence, certain other parts, which I haue not yet mentioned: As sagacity of wit, a good memory, and a sound iudgment, whereby wise men do prudently consider, iudge, councell, ordaine, and execute, and that these partes (as *Aristotle* teacheth) proceede partly of a naturall hability, and partly of long experience. In which respect, he most approoueth the iudgement and councel of old men. Whereupon it followeth, that it sufficeth not to Prudence, to feare God, and keepe his Commaundements: except a Man haue (withall) the other partes aboue mentioned, which many good & holy men want, either in respect of som naturall defect of Wit, Memory, and Iudgement, or for lacke of experience.

A difficulty proposed concerning other parts of Prudence. *Arist. Ethic. lib. 8. Cap 9, et 10.*

For the better satisfaction hereof, one thing is to be considered, to wit, the naturall imbecility of mans wit, which is such in the wisest worldly man that liueth; that he knoweth not what is conuenint for himself, and much lesse for others, whereby he seeketh (many times) that which turneth to his owne ruine. Therefore, the most necessary part, for consummation & perfection of humain Prudence, is some supernaturall and diuine light, to illuminate the vnderstanding of men, to moue and encline their wils to make choice of that, which may be most conuenient for thē and others. Without which light, the wisest worldly men (I mean such as haue most excellent talents and parts of nature, and are wicked withall) are but like to blinde men, and go (as it were) groping in the dark. Wherefore the Preacher saith, *Error and darknesse are appointed for Sinners*: that is to say, ignorance and blindnesse are connaturall to wicked men. And againe. *The way of the wicked is as the darknesse, and they know not where they shal fal.* Whereas on the contrary side, *The way of the righteous* (that is to say, of those that feare God, and keep his commaunments) *shineth as the light, that shineth more and more vnto the perfit day.* And for this cause, the Psalmist saith of the Law of God; *That it is cleare and bright, and shineth light to the eies.* That is to say, the light of grace, whereby the naturall good abilities of Gods Seruants are encreased and perfited: doth also prosper their actions, so farre forth, as God Almighty thinketh it necessary for their good, his glory, and the execution of his will. Whereto I adde, that also the defects of nature may be, and many times are, supplyed by the light of Grace, in such sort, that Gods Seruants do many times, attaine to performe all the parts of Prudence, though they haue no natural ability for the same, such being the effectes of Grace, that it perfecteth humaine nature: which although it aspire and tend to perfection, yet it cannot possibly attaine thereto, without some supernaturall help. And for the better proofe of the matter in hand, I will lay down some examples of Gods seruants, who, notwithstanding either their naturall defects & imperfections, or their want of experience: haue (by the conduct of Gods grace) most wisely behaued themselues, in most important matters. Who seemed more vnfit to vndertake the iudgement of great causes, then *Daniel*, whiles he was a child of 12. years old (as *Theodoret* testifieth) or, as other ancient Fathers affirm, not much older, and therefore no lesse vnripe in experience, then in yeares? And yet neuertheless, being assisted by the spirit of God, he confounded the adulterous Iudges in the cause of *Susanna*, which he most prudently determined. Besides, the Scripture witnesseth, that God gaue such profound knowledge and wisdom, not only to him, but also to *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*, while they were all Children: that they far surpassed all the wise and learned *Chaldeans*.

The good abilities of nature are encreased and perfected by Grace.

The defects of Nature may be, and often are supplied by the light of grace.

Examples of diuers, in whō grace supplyed naturall defects.

Daniel being but a Child of twelue yeares olde, iudged the cause of *Susanna*. Dan. 13. 7 heed. in Cap. 1 Ezech. *Ignat. Mart. in Epist. ad Magnes. Sulpicius Seuerus in Lib 2. Sacræ Histor. August. in Ser. 242.* Dan. *Cap.* 1. *Ananias, Misaell* and *Azarias.*

And was there euer any glorious enterprise, more wisely continued, more couragiously attempted, or more heroycally performed, thē the ouerthrow of *Holofernes*: slaine by a holy Woman, no lesse timerous of nature, then weake of iudgement, and void of experience, through the infirmity of her Sexe?

Iudith heroycally and wisely perfourmed a glorious enterprise Iudith. Cap. 7, 8, 9, &c.

Againe, what sufficiency was there in *Moyses*, for the performance of so great a charge, as Almighty God laid on him; first, in his ambassage to *Pharao*, and afterward in the gouernment and conduct of his people, thorow so manie kind of daungers and difficulties? This

Exod. 3, 10, 11. *Moses* acknowledged his insufficiency for the conduct of Gods people.

was

The satisfaction of the difficulty proposed.

No man is so wise, that he alwayes knoeth what is conuenient for himselfe.

The light of Gods grace necessary for the perfection of Prudence.

Eccles. 11, 16.

Prouer. 4, 18, 19.

The wisest worldly men are as it were blind-fold.

Psalme. 19, 8.

was acknowledged by *Moyses* himselfe, who confesseth his owne in-sufficiencie and weaknes, saying to Almighty God; *Quis sum ego, &c. Who am I ô Lord?* That is to say, what is there in mee? *That I should goe vnto Pharaoh, and that I should conduct the Children of Israell out of Egipt?* And againe afterwardes, being vtterlie discouraged, with the consideration of his want of eloquence and vtterance, & of his other infirmities; he desired to be excused, saying. *Obsecro Domine, mitte quē missurus es, I beseech thee, ô Lord, send else whom it please thee.* Wherupon God did not only promise him his owne continuall assistance: but also appointed *Aaron* to help him, and to speak for him to the people in al occasions, promising withall, to be the mouths of them both. Besides, *Iethro*, Father in Law to *Moyses*, did also afterwardes (by Gods great prouidence) teach him a notable point of pollicy, for gouernment of the people. Wherin may be noted by the way how sweetely Almighty God guideth his Seruants concurring with them, and mouing them sometimes immediatlie by secret iuspiration, and sometimes by the help and meanes of others. Whereby, *Moyses* being (as it seemeth) altogether vnskilfull, and vnexpert in matters of State: did (neuertheless) many years most prudently and happily gouern the people of God, as well in warlike, as in other ciuill affaires.

In like manner, if we consider either the yeares of the education of *Dauid*, when (being very young) he was called from the Sheep-coat to the Court, and shortly after annointed King. If we weigh withall, his wise, victorious, and glorious gouernment for forty yeares together: we must needs confesse, that the same proceeded of Gods assistance, and not of his own sufficiency, whereof Almighty God admonished him by *Nathan* the Prophet, saying. *Ego tulite, &c. I tooke thee from the Pastures, when thou followedst thy flockes, and made thee King of my people of Israel. And I was with thee, and assisted thee in all things whersoeuer thou didst go. I kild all thine enemies before thy face, and haue magnified thy Name among the great ones of the earth.* Thus spake the Prophet *Nathan* in the person of Almighty God: and this *Dauid* himselfe, (who best knew himselfe, & the fauors which God had done him) gratefully acknowledged: calling almighty God *His Protector, his stay, his refuge, his buckler or shield, his strength, his hope, his glory*, and humbly beseeching him in all his occasions; *to illuminate him, to protect and defend him, to direct his course, & to guide his steps*. I omit diuers other examples for breuities sake, seeing by these it sufficiently appeareth, how true that is which the Psalmist saith *Lex Domini sapientiam præstat paruulis, The Law of GOD giueth wisedome to Children*. That is to say, to simple and ignorant men, & the reason is, for that the Law of God containeth the precepts of all true Wisedome and Prudence: teaching vs, what is our duty to God, to our Neighbour, to our Superiors, Inferiors, & equals: how to command, how to obey; to what end to direct our intents and our actions; how to liue, how to die; and lastly, how to arriue (after the storms and tempests of this life) at the secure port of eternall felicity, whereto true wisedome directeth and addresseth her whole course.

And this is not only to be vnderstood of the written Law of God, that is to say, the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (in the which as Saint *Chrysostome* saith, *Non est syllaba vel apiculus, &c. There is not a sillable, nor so much as a tittle, wherein there is not hidden some great treasure*) but much more it is to be vnderstood, of the Law of God vnwritten, infused into the harts of Gods Seruants. Whereof Almighty God said by the Prophet: *Dabo legē meam, &c. I will giue them my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their harts*. Which vnwritten Law, is (as S. *Augustine* saith) nothing else, but *Ipsa præsentia Spiritus Sancti, &c. The very presence of the Holy Ghost, &c. by whom Charity is spread and printed in our harts, which charity is the consummation of the Law, and end of the Commaundement.*

Thus saith S. *Augustine* of the infused law of God, which doth not only teach men true wisedome (as doth the written Law) but doth also giue it them: making them the temples of God, and habitacles of the Holy Ghost. By whose Grace, the good Talents of many Seruants of God are encreased and perfected, their defects supplied, their infirmities cured, the eies of their vnderstanding illuminated, and their iudgements dire-

Glossa interlin. How God supplyed the defects of *Moses*.

Exod 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. &c.

God concurreth with his seruants sometimes immediately, and sometimes by meanes of others.

1. Sam. 16, 11, 12.

2. Sam. 2, 4. *Dauid* directed and guided in all his Gouernment by Almighty God.

2. Sam. 7, 8, 9.

Dauid gratefully acknowledged Gods assistance.

Psalme. 17, et 143.

Psalme. 17, 16, 15, 24, 133.

Psalme. 10, 8. How the law of God giueth wisedome.

The written law of God full of all wisedome. *Chrisost. in Psal.* 14.

The infused law of God.

Ierem. 13, 12.

August. in Lib. de spir. et Litera. Cap. 21.

The infused Law both teacheth and giueth true wisedome.

directed. By meanes whereof, they are replenished with heauenly Wisedome, and enabled to performe all the parts of true Prudence, to wit; to deliberate maturely; to iudge soundly; to counsel securely; to ordaine and commaund exactly, and execute effectually. And so they work in al things, no lesse prudently then happily, being mooued and led by the onely Author of wisedome and happinesse: in whose hand are the harts of all men, and vpon whose wil, dependeth the successe of all actions whatsoeuer.

The parts of true Prudēce.

Therefore I will inferre heereupon certaine conclusions. The first, that, as the Preacher saith, the fear of God is not onely *Initium & radix*; *The beginning and roote*; but also *Plenitudo sapientiæ*; *The consummation and perfection of Wisedome*. For those that sincerely fear God, haue (consequently) the light and helpe of his grace, whereby they may, and many times do arriue to the perfection of Wisedome and Prudence: whereas otherwise, there is no possibilitie of attaining thereto, all humaine wisedome being (of it selfe) lame and imperfect, vncertaine, and subiect to infinite errors. So that, wicked men, though they haue neuer so good partes of wit and iudgement naturally, and may by the force and meanes thereof, doe many things prudently and wisely: yet, forasmuch as they alwaies play the Fooles notably, in that which importeth them most, to wit; in thinges pertaining to their eternall good or euill, and do also erre very blindly and absurdly (many times) in temporall affaires; they neuer haue any perfection of wisedome, nor can be counted truely wise.

The first conclusion.

Eccles. 1.15. 20. The feare of God is the beginning & perfection of Wisedome, and why,

All humaine wisedome is of it selfe lame and vnperfect.

The wisest worldly man is a foole in that which most imports him.

Whereas on the other side, the Seruants of God, who haue alwayes good naturall parts, and the light and help of grace withall, do not onely worke most prudently alwaies, in matters that concerne their eternall good or euill: but also deale in all things whatsoeuer, with farre more light, certaintie and securitie, then wicked Men, of like good parts and Talents naturall. And although the Seruants of God haue (sometimes) some naturall defects of wit and iudgement; yet forasmuch, as such also doe alwayes discharge the partes of true Prudence, in matters which import thē most, and may haue also, and many times haue (with the help of grace) such a supplement of their naturall imperfections, that all of them may, and many of them doe, performe the Office of prudent and Wise men in all affaires, which wicked men neither do, nor possibly can doe: I will therefore conclude, that the perfection of humaine Wisedome, consisteth in Gods grace, and that the very simplest Seruant of God, may more truely be accounted Wise, then the wisest, I meane the subtilest and craftiest wicked Man whatsoeuer.

How the seruants of God are wise.

Why the simplest seruant of God is wiser then the wisest wicked man.

The perfection of humane wisedome consisteth in Gods grace.

This the Royall Prophet acknowledged in himselfe, comparing the Wisedome and Prudence which God had giuen him, by the obseruation of his commandements; with the Wisedome and Prudence of his Enemies, and of the wisest Worldlings, saying. *Super inimicos meos, &c. Thou hast made me (ô Lord) wiser then mine enemies, through thy Commandement or Law, and I haue vnderstood more, then all they which taught me. I am wiser then the aged, because I haue sought to keepe thy Commaundements.*

Dauids acknoledgement in himselfe.

Psalme. 119. 2. 3.

The second Conclusion is, that (as the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus* signifieth.) *Non est sapientia nequitiæ disciplina, & non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia. The knowledge of wickednesse is not wisedome, neither is there prudence whereas the counsell of Sinners is.* For, seeing true Wisedome consisteth in the feare of God, & in the obseruation of his Commandements: nothing that is offensiue to God, or contrary to his Law, can stand with true Wisedome. And againe, see in Prudence and Morall Vertue are so conioyned, that they cannot be separated; yea, and that not onely the end of euery prudent action, but also the meanes must necessarily bee good and vertuous: it must needes follow, that whatsoeuer is vicious, impious, or wicked, is excluded from true Prudence. In which respect, Prudence is called in the Scriptures, *Scientia Sanctorum*. And therefore *Salomon* saith. *Principium sapientiæ timor Domini, & scientia Sanctorum Prudentia. The fear of God is the beginning of Wisedome, and the knowledge of holie things is Prudence.* Hereupon also follow two other Conclusions, concerning policy. The one that no true pollicy can admit

The second conclusion.

Eccles. 19, 22. Nothing that is offensiue to God, can stand with true wisedome or Prudence.

Prouer. 9, 10. Prudence called in Scripture the knowledge of holy things.

The third Conclusion.

No true Pollicy admitteth any impietie.

admit any impiety, wickednesse, or offence of God. The other, that all policy humaine (without the light and help of Gods grace) is vncertaine and defectuous. And for the better vnderstanding heereof, it is to bee considered, that as Prudence is a part of wisedome: so Pollicy is a part of Prudence, and that Prudence also is diuided into three partes. The first, Personall; the second, Oeconomicall; and the third, Politicall. Personall Prudence, consisteth in the speculation and practise of such things, as belong onely to perticuler men. Oeconomicall prudence, respecteth all thinges belonging to housholde affayres. And Pollitical prudence is that, which considereth matters appertaining vnto commonwealth, and this kind of Prudence is properly called Policy.

Pollicy a part of Prudence.

Prudence deuided into three parts.

Personal Prudence.

Oeconomical Prudence.

Politicall Prudence.

Pollicie cannot disagree from Prudence.

Therfore, as Prudence (being a branch of Wisedome) cannot disagree from the Nature thereof, no more then the braunch from the Nature of the tree; so also, Pollicy being a part of Prudence, must needs bee conforme and agreeable together; in which respect, euerie Politicall Art must needs bee prudent, and euerie prudent act (concerning Commonwealth) must needes bee Politicall. Whereuppon it followeth, that seeing true Prudence excludeth all wickednesse and impiety, true Pollicy also dooth exclude the same.

The fourth Conclusion.

All humane pollicie is vnperfect and defectuous, without the light of grace.

And againe, seeing true Wisedome and Prudence are the especiall guiftes of God (as I haue shewed) and that without the light and helpe of Gods grace, al humaine wisedome is full of imperfection, obscurity, vncertainty, and error, it followeth also by the like consequence, that the like iudgement is to be giuen of all humaine policy, to wit: that it is (of it selfe) imperfect, vncertaine, obscure, and erroneous; and to be perfected, assured, rectified, and guided by the light of grace, which is the point that I haue especialy laboured to proue th roughout this whole discourse.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in matters of State, without any regard of Gods assistance.

Therefore, to conclude this Chapter, I cannot but lament and wonder at the imprudence of two sorts of men. The one is of those, who make no doubt to deale in matters of Policy & State, without any care or regard of Gods help and assistance; yea, and with offence of god. Whereby they expose not only the matters (which they mannage) to dangerous errors, yea, and to all euill successe: but also, the Princes whom they Councell, and the Common-wealthes where they gouerne, to Gods indignation, and consequently to vtter ruine, as hath beene formerly proued.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in the greatest matters of State, without experience.

The other sort of impudent men (in my fancy) are those, who are so far transported, eyther with conceit of their own wit and sufficiency, or with a desire to deale in great matters, that they aspire to nothing more, then to meddle in matters of State, yea, and boldly embarke themselues in the very greatest that doe occurre, before they haue any experience or practise thereof in the world, or haue so much as reflected vpon the Naturall imbecility of mans wit; and the weakenesse of humaine pollicy, or of the insuperable difficulties and dangers incident to matters of State; which are such, as do many times, ouerthrow & disgrace the most wise and experteſt Negotiators.

What happeneth to those which vnaduisedly seeke great imployments.

And therefore it happeneth verie often to those, who so greedily and vnaduisedly seeke such employments, as it doth to man, that (in faire weather) putteth himselfe to Sea, in a little Boate or Frigot for his recreation; and vpon the sudden there ariseth a storme which carrieth him into the miane Sea, and so tosseth him too and fro: that he not onelie looseth all the pleasure which he expected, but also escapeth verie hardlye with life. And therefore, with many a sighe and heauy grone, he looketh back to the Land from whence he came; but neuertheles is forced to go whither the winds and tempest carry him, and perhaps perisheth in the ende, by violence of the storme. Euen so I say, it fareth manie times, with those that embarke themselues vnaduisedly in matters of State: for, within a while, they find themselues so perplexed, that they desire to returne to their former repose and quietnes. But yet they are forced to goe, whither the course, streame and current of theyr affaires doth carry them; yea, and sometimes perish amidst the manifolde dangers, which commonly doe accompany State-matters, the practise whereof may well be compared to the practise of Phisicke. For, althogh some Physitions exercise their Science, with more iudge-

Expectation of pleasure endeth often times in paine

The danger of dealing in matters of State.

The practise of matters of State like the practise of Phisick.

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ment and better successe then others: yet none is so skilfull and fortunate, that he can alwayes warrant the cure of his pacient, and young beginners many times kill three, before they saue one. Euen so, young Statists, how expert soeuer they be, can neuer warrant the good successe of their plots and designments: but (for the most part) at the first do marre many matters, before they make one. Insomuch, that I account him no lesse happy then wise, who can be the wiser not only by other mens errors, but also by his owne. And, as I hold him for the Wisest man, which erreth the least: so I take him for the happiest & best at ease, who meddleth the least, or not at all in matters of State, seeing there was neuer any that dealt in many, but he erred in some. And sometimes we see, that the least errour worketh both his ouerthrowe who committed it: and also, the ruine of whole Kingdomes and Commonweals. Wherefore, I conclude with the *Spanish* Prouerbe, *A quel es Rey, que nunça vio Rey, Hee is a King that neuer sawe King.* That is to say, hee is a happy man, who neuer had to deale with the affayres of Princes, or State-matters.

Young Statists marre many matters before they make one.

He is the wisest that erreth the least, but he the happiest, that medleth least in matters of State.

I speake not this, to dehort or diswade all men from the dealing with matters of State, which is a thing so necessary for the seruice of God and Princes, and for the good of a Commonwealth, that it is both honourable, yea, and highly deseruing, when it is done with circumstance conuenient and requisit thereto. But my meaning is to signifye with what great consideration and circumspection all men ought to vndertake such Negotiations especially young men, who haue not had any experience or practise thereof, and therefore cannot haue the mature and ripe iudgement, which is necessary thereto. For which cause, the *Athenians* did ordaine, that no man (vnder fifty yeares of age) should bee called to giue aduise in the affaires of their Commonwealth. And although a man may be (as verie manie are no doubt) sooner ripe and able, to mannage anie matter whatsoeuer: yet reason and experience teach, that the yonger a man is, and the lesse practise he hath, the more he is like to erre. Wherefore I craue thy patience (gentle Reader) while I set downe heere a few general Rules for yong beginners, as well for their enstruction: as also, for the discouery of the difficulties, which occurre in the gouernement of a Commonwealth.

Dangerous for very yong men, to deale in matters of State.

Plutarch in his Treatise, whether an old man should deale in matters of State.

CHAP. V.

Certaine general Rules or Aduises, no lesse pious then Politicall, for the instruction of such as desire to manage matters of State, and haue no experience thereof, to the end, that they may deal therein with lesse danger and difficulty.

FIrst, hee that meaneth to apply himselfe to matters of State, must see that his intention be clear & pure, that is to say: that hee bee not moued thereto by vainglory, ambition, couetousnesse, or any vicious or vnlawfull desire, because they are ouerweake foundations to vpholde waightie affayres, being accompanied not onelie with the offence of God; but also, with passion; whereby mans iudgement is blinded, and many times drawn to error. And therefore, the chiefe and principall intention of a Statist ought to bee, the seruice of God and his Prince, and the publicke good of his Country, whereto euery man ought principally to direct & leuell all his actions, which otherwise, cannot be truly vertuous and wise, nor yet haue the assistaunce and blessing of Almighty God, which for the good successe of all mens affaires, is most exquisite. For, as the Royall Prophet sayeth: *Nisi Dominus ædificanerit domum in vanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam. Except the Lord do build the house, they labor in vaine which build the same.*

A pure and good intention most necessary for a Statist.

What the intention of a Statist ought to be.

Psalm. 127, 1.

This foundation being laide, any Negotiation, be it neuer so waighty and important, may be built thereon, for foure reasons. First, for that a mans reason and iudgement being free from passion and selfe loue, he shall the more clearlie and soundly both deliberate and worke in all occasions. Secondly, for that it is most likely, that Almighty God (seeing his good

The commodities of a good intention in vndertaking matters of State. Foure especiall Reasons.

good and holy intention) will concur & co-operate with him in all his Negotiations.

Thirdly, though it would not please Almighty God (for his secret iudgements) to blesse and prosper his actions: yet vndoubtedly, his good intentions shall not faile of their due recompence and reward.

Lastly, for that in case hee fall into the great difficulties and dangers, which are incident vnto dealing in matters of State, yet he shall haue the comfort and consolation of a good and cleare Conscience, which as the Poet could say, is *Murus ahæneus, A Brazen Wall*, and the most assured Anchor in all the stormes and tempests of this life. *Quæ etiam obruta delectat*, saith *Seneca*, *which euen when it is oppressed or ouerwhelmed, dooth then delight*. Thus much concerning the first rule.

Horat. in Lib. 1. Epist. ad Mecenat. A cleare conscience is a Brazen wall. *Seneca, in lib. 4. de Benefic. Cap. 21.*

Secondly, it shall be conuenient for a young Statist, well to weigh and foresee the difficulties and daungers, which he may (by all likelyhood) incur by dealing in matters of State, either thorough the nature and condition of the matters which he is to handle, or thorough the treachery and perfidiousnesse of those, with whom he is to deale; or thorough the malice and emulations (either publicke or priuate) which in Courts neuer want; or thorough the iealousy of Princes, who (as *Comineus* well noteth) *Doe easily suspect and distrust their best Seruants, in matters concerning their State*. Or lastly, thorow the vncertaintie of the successe of businesse, which is in no mans hand to warrant, as hath bin sufficiently proued. By all which meanes, we see (many times) most important matters miscarry, to the great grief, disgrace, yea and vtter ouerthrow of the Negotiators, especially if they haue not foreseen the same. Whereas, by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps haue preuented inconuenience; or, at the lest, haue bin better armed, to beare their misfortune with patience.

The difficulties and dangers to be considered in matters of State.

Phil. Com. Cron. Lodouic. 11. Cap. 26.

The benefit of fore-sight and prouidence in Statists.

Therefore, *Plutarch* worthily compareth improuident and vnaduised Negotiators, to one that shoulde fall (before he were aware) into a Coal-pit or Mine; where, though perhaps hee escape with life: yet commonly hee receyueth some hurt, or (at the lest) is wonderfully astonished and amazed, not onely with the fall, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place, which, to those that go in of purpose, and with resolution to endure it, is nothing so offensiue or noysome.

Plutarch in his Treatise of instruction for Statists.

Three things to be considered of Statists.

Thirdly, he ought alwayes to obserue three things. The first, is the imbecility and weaknesse of mans wit: the second, the vncertainty of the successe of al mens actions. The thirde, the prouidence of God, in the disposition of all humaine affaires. These three things I say, euerie Statist should haue continuallie before his eyes, to the end, that seeing his own infirmity, and vncertainty of the successe of all his designments, hee may consider his danger, as well of error in his determinations, as of euill hap in his actions; and consequently, haue recourse to the remedies ordained for the same, by the prouidence and mercy of God. According to the aduise which old *Tobias* gaue to his son, for the direction of his whole course of life, to whom (amongst manie other notable precepts) hee gaue this. *Aske Counsel alwayes of the wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable. Blesse thy Lord God alwayes, & desire of him that thy wayes may bee made strait, and that all thy purposes & councels may prosper.* Thus said *Tobias*, or rather the Holy-Ghost by his mouth, aduising notably two things, necessary to be practised of all men, for the remedy of their naturall imbecilitie, to wit; to aske councell of wise men, and to craue the assistance of God. Because we are neither so absolute of our selues, but that we neede (in all thinges) Gods helpe and assistance; neither yet so gouerned and guided by Almightie God, that we ought to contemne the helpe of man, such being the course of his diuine prouidence in humaine affaires, that hee doth his will not only in men, but also by them, and with their co-operations. In which respect, Saint *Paul* did not stick to call himselfe, and the other Apostles, *Adiutores Dei, The helpers of God*, in the conuersion of the Gentiles.

The counsell of *Tobias* to his Sonne. Tob. 4, 18. 19.

Two things to be practised of all Statists.

1. Cor. 4, 9.

Therfore, as it were great folly, pride, and presumption in man, so to trust in himselfe, or in humaine Wisedome or power, as to neglect the prouidence and assistance of God: so wer it on the other side, extreame negligence, yea, and a tempting of God, so to relie vpon him,

Extreame folly in man, to trust wholy in humane wisedome & power. A tempting o God, to contemne humaine helpe and counsell.

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as to contemne all humaine helpe and councell. Which we may learne by the example of *Moyses*, who though he was enstructed, inspired, and conducted by almighty God himselfe: yet refused not the good councell of *Iethro*, for the maner of his Gouernment, which almighty God also allowed in him.

1 *Reg* 20. 2 *Reg.* 19, *et* 16. 1. *Reg.* 21. 22, 22.

On the other side also, King *Dauid*, although hee tooke the councell of his Friends, Councellers, and Seruants, as of *Ionathan*, *Achitophel*, *Ioab*, and others; and vsed also his owne prudence, as well in the deliberations, as in the execution of his affaires: yet hee neuer omitted to consult with almighty God by his Prophets and Priests, when he might conueniently do it, yea, and as I haue signified elsewhere, continually craued the assistance, illumination, and direction of almighty God in all his actions whatsoeuer.

Concurrence of humaine diligence with diuine helpe necessarie. Iudg. 7, 18, 20.

And this concurrence of Diuine help with humaine diligence, is notablie expressed in the Scriptures, where it is signified, that *Gedeon* gaue order vnto his Soldiers, to crie in their conflict with the *Madianites*, *Domino & Gedeoni*, *For the Lord, and for Gedeon*. And *Gladius Domini, & Gedeonis*, *The sword of God & of Gedeon*. And againe, in the relation of the great victorie, which *Asa* K. of *Iuda* had against the *Ethyopians*, the Scripture saith: *Cadente Domino contriti sunt, et exercitus illius præliante*, *They were vtterly ouerthrowne, the Lord God smiting them, and the Army of* Asa *fighting*, which is as much to say, as man doing his endeuor, and God giuing the successe. This also the very Paynims knew, and obserued so well, that *Plutarch* noteth it seriouslie, in the battaile betwixt *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, and *Paulus Æmilius* the Romaine.

Paralip. 14, 11, 13.

Plutach in vit. Paul Æmyl.

For, whereas *Perseus* when hee should haue fought, withdrew himselfe from the fielde, vnder colour of Sacrificing to *Hercules*, he saith; *That God doth not fauour such ydle fellowes, as presume on his helpe, and wil do nothing themselues. For God* (saith hee) *hath so ordained, that he which wil hit the marke, must shoote, & hee which will winne the Goale, must run, and hee which wil haue the victorie, must fight*. And therefore, God fauoured and helped *Paulus Emilius*, who craued force & victory with his weapons in his hands:

Presumption is no way permitted by God.

Gods assistance blessing mans endeauour.

A Dios rogando (as the *Spanish* Prouerbe saith) *y con la maça dando*, *Praying to God, and laying on load with his Club*.

But to say somewhat heere perticularlie of an especiall meanes to winne the helpe and assistance of GOD, nothing behoooueth a Statist more, then daylye to re-commend his actions vnto his Diuine Maiesty, by feruent and deuoute Prayer, the force and benefit whereof, is vnspeakeable, no lesse in all kind of temporall matters, then in spirituall. For the which, wee haue not onely our Sauiours Doctrine and warrant: but also, infinite examples of holie and wise men, both in Diuine and humaine Histories. While *Iosuah* fought with *Amalek*, *Moyses* prayed vpron the Mountaine, and obtained of God the Victory. The two *Annaes* beeing barren, were by Prayer made Mothers; the one of the Prophet *Samuel*, and the other, of the Virgine *Mary*.

The benefit and necessity of prayer, for the good successe of matters of State.

Math. 6, & 7. Marke. 11. Luke. 11. Exod. 17. 12. 1 Sam. 1 12. Luke 1, 13. Examples of the great force of deuoute prayer *Ioan. Damas in Orat. de nat. B. virg.* *Aug in Lib. 5. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 26.* *Procop de bel. Goth. Euagrius in lib. 4. cap. 23.*

Salomon, by Prayer obtained Wisedome. King *Hezekias* recouered health, and had victorye against the Assyrians. The three Children also (by praier) were deliuered from fire. And to speake of later times, *Theodosius* the Emperor, sirnamed the Great (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) preuailed against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, more by Praier, then by force. And the like also is testifieth by Graue Writers, as of *Narses* the Eunuch, Lieutenant to *Iustinus* the Emperour, whose great victories were attributed vnto his zealous prayers, and manly endeuours exercised in armes.

In like manner, the famous victories which *Heraclius* the Emperor gaue vnto *Cosroes*, King of *Persia* (of whom hee recouered *Ierusalem* and all the East parts) are ascribed by the best historiographers that write thereof, to the earnest Deuotions and Prayers which hee dailie vsed; and commaunded also to be performed, for his good successe in that warre. We read in our English Histories, that King *Ethelred*, elder Brother to the famous *Alfred* or *Alured*, founder of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, beeing encamped against the *Danes*, and aduertised by his Captaines (when he was going to heare Diuine Seruice, and to perfourme his duty to God, as dayly hee was accustomed to doo) that his Brother *Alfred*, with the residue of his Captaines, had ioyned

Paul. Diacon. Lib. 18. Cedren. Theophan. Naucler. Baron. Anno. 621. 622 623. Guliel Malmesb de gest. reg. Angl. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Roger de Honeden. Annal. par. 1. An 871. Baron. An. eodem.

ioyned battail with the enemy, and were in great daunger to be ouerthrowne: he had no sooner ended his Diuine Orisons, but he came himselfe in person, and finding his Soldiers ready for flight, recalled them backe to the battel, thrusting himselfe into the middest thereof. *Cum virtute* (saith the Historie) *& Dei miraculo*: By whose valour, and the myraculous helpe of God, the *Danes* were put to flight, and their King slaine, with diuers of their Nobility, and manie thousands of the Soldiers.

Guliel. Malmes. vbi supra.

To this purpose also may serue, those examples of the famous victories of *Edward* the third, King of *England*, against the French, at *Cressie* in *Piccardie*, and of the Christians against the Turkes, at *Lepanto* in our dayes; as also, of manie other admirable victories which I refer the Reader vnto. And will end concerning Prayer, with this sentence of Saint *Chrysostome*. *Vis orationis* (saith he) *Vim mignis extinguit, &c. The power of praier hath extinguished the force of fire, shut vp the mouthes of Lyons, giuen victories in warre, appeased stormes and tempests, expelled Deuils, opened the gates of Heauen, broken the bands of death, cured diseases, reconciled enemies, deliuered Cities from Earth-quakes, and defended them as well from the punishments of God, as from the Treasons and attempts of men. Finallie, it hath ouercome al sorts of euils.* Thus saith Saint *Chrysostome*, of the wonderfull efficacy of prayer, and thus much concerning Prayer and Diuine helpe.

Chrysost. de nat. Dei Hom. 5. The testimony of Saint *Chrisostome* concerning the force of Prayer.

Now, to speake a word or two more, concerning humaine councell, the Holyghost giueth a notable aduice, saying: *Fili sine consilio nihil facias, & post factū non penitebis. My Son, do nothing without aduice and councell, so shall it not repent thee after the deed.* And againe, *Qui agunt omnia cum consilio, reguntur sapientia. They which do all things with Councel, are gouerned with wisedome.* And this point I hold to be absolutely necessarie, not onely for young men, or others of small experience: but also for the eldest and most expert. For, *Nemo omnibus horis sapit, No man is wise at all houres.* And as the Prouerbe saith, *Two eyes see more then one.*

The necessity of humaine Counsell. Eccles. 32,20.

Prouer. 15,31.

Therefore the famous *Scipio Affricanus*, did euer consult all his affaires with *Caius Lælius*. And *Cicero* confesseth, that in his Consulship, hee did nothing without the aduise of the Phylosopher, *Publius Nasicius*. And for this cause, Princes haue diuers Counsellors, to the end, that matters being pondered by diuers, all circumstances may be duly examined and considered. For as *Salomon* saith, *Vbi sunt plures consiliarij, confirmatur cogitationes. Plots and designments are confirmed and established, where there are many Counsellors.* For some find out one inconuenience, and some another; some one remedy, and some another; whereof I shall haue occasion to say more heereafter.

Plutarch in his Treatise intituled, whether an olde man should deale with matters of State.

Prouer. 15,22 Many Counsellors necessary for Princes.

Therfore, I conclude for the present, that a yong Statist following the rule and councell of *Tobias*, that is to say, fixing his heart and hopes vpon Almightie God, adding the continual vse of deuout and feruent Prayer, to humaine councel and diligence; and ioyning thereby, *The Wisedome of the Serpent, with the simplicity of the Doue*, Piety with Pollicy, guiftes of Grace, with ability of Nature; and finally, the Wisedome of God, with the Prudence of Man, shall deliberate and worke in all occasions, no lesse happilye then wisely. And this shall suffice for the third rule.

The conclusion concerning the concurrence of deuoute praiers and humane councell. Mat. 10,16.

Fourthly, it importeth greatly, that after mature consultation of any matter of State, and serious re-commendation thereof, to Almighty God, no time of action be fore-slowed with needlesse delayes, after the matter determined. For time may so alter the state of any affaire, be it neuer so well and wiselie resolued: that the opportunity of execution may be vtterly lost, and the businesse it selfe withall: And therefore, the common Prouerbe aduiseth, *To strike vvhile the Iron is hot.* For the Poet could say, *Nocuit differre paratis, Delay is alwayes hurtfull, to those who are ready to execute.* But especially in matters, wherein there is any competence of enemies, who euer watch diligently to take all opportunities: and do often helpe themselues very greatly, by the negligence and delayes of their aduersaries.

Time not to be fore slowed or lost.

Lucan. in lib. 1. The danger of needlesse delay.

And although this aduise is necessary in all matters of State, yet is most behouefull and requisit in warlick affairs, wherein we see many times, that speede and diligence is more important, then great force. For speed being commonly accom-

Speedy execution is most necessary in matters of Warre.

accompanied with sudden terrour and feare: doth open the way to small force, and enable the same to woorke great effects. And therefore *Agathocles*, one of the Tyrants of *Sicily*, hauing but a few Soldiers, and exhorting them vnto the speedie and sudden inuation of *Carthage*, said: *In repentino metu non modicum victoriæ momentum. Sudden feare will be of no smal moment and importance, for obtaining of the victory*. Which was proued to be true by the euent, and is dailie seene by the experience of surprizes, camisadoes, and all other sudden enterprises of warre.

The force of sudden feare.

Iustin. in lib. 42.

To conclude this aduise, one generall rule is to be held, that to temporize or delay time is neuer good, but in three cases. The first, when matters are not maturely consulted, and well digested: wherein (neuertheless) al due diligence is to be vsed, least time and opportunitie of action, bee lost and spent in consultation.

In what cases delay is necessary.

The first case.

The second case is, when there is som iust and important impediment of the execution. The third, is in cases of extreamitie, which surpasse a mans power and wisedome to helpe; for then the only remedy is to temporize and win time, which produceth many accidents, that could neuer be foreseen or immagined, and discouereth soueraigne remedies, for the most desperate diseases. And therefore *Pericles* was wont to say, *Time is the wisest Councellor that is.* Thus much for the fourth aduise.

The 2. case.

The 3. case.

Plutarch in Pericle.

Time the best Councellour that is.

Fiftly, let euery young Statist consider, and measure his owne ability, to the end, that he do not vndertake anie matter aboue his reach or capacity: for no man (how excellent soeuer he bee) is so perfect, that he excelleth in all thinges. And therefore the Poets faigned, that the Goddes themselues had not al giftes alike; but that some excelled in one, and some in another. And the Apostle saith, that God distributeth his gifts vnto men, diuersly. *Diuidens singulis prout vult. Diuiding them to euery one as pleaseth him*, to the end we may haue need one of another. And this also, common experience teacheth; for some excell in depth of iudgement; others, in sharpenesse of wit; others, in eloquence; others in memory; others, in Science and learning; and of them, some in one kind, and some in another.

A mans owne abilitie well to be weighed

1 Cor. 12, 11.

Now then, it is conuenient for euery one, as well to weigh his owne Talents, and how they sort with the businesse in which he is to be employed. As if he be to perswade, whether hee haue the guift of vtterance and eloquence. If he bee to passe Couenants and Conuentions of Leagues or Marriages; whether he be a Lawyer. And if he be to treat on matters of warre, whether hee be a Soldier, and so in like cases. For otherwise, hee shall proue, *Asinus ad Liram, An Asse at an Harpe*, as the Prouerbe saieth, and not only disgrace himself, and them that sent him: but also, loose his labour and businesse.

A Statist ought to measure the matters he vndertaketh, with his owne ability.

They that erre in this point, are those (commonly) which either haue such an inordinate desire to be medling in great matters, that they care not what they vndertake, so they be doing; or else haue an extraordinary conceit of their owne wit and sufficiency. And therefore, it shall be good for euery one, to moderate in himselfe, as for the first, the desire of dealing; so for a remedy to the later, it shall be secure for any man in my fancy, not to relie wholly vppon his owne opinion, concerning his sufficiency, but partly vpon the iudgement of others, receyuing rather imployment from his Prince, or other superiours, then offering or intruding himselfe thereto, til he haue made some good triall of himselfe. For by that meanes, if the busines speed well, hee shall haue the thankes and honor of it: and if it succeede otherwise, hee shall auoyde a verie great part of the blame.

Who they are commonly that vndertake greater matters, then they can performe.

A young Statist should not make him self Iudge of his owne sufficiency.

But if he find, that his superiors know him not so well as he doth himselfe, and yet would employ him in matters, wherin hee hath neither experience nor abilitie, it shal be lesse shame for him to confesse his defect, and either to refuse the Commission, or to craue an associate, furnished with the parts that he wanteth then to accept the charge, and so faile in the performance.

Better for a Statist to acknowledge his owne defect, then to accept a charge which he cannot performe.

Moses being commanded by almightie God, to go in Embassage to *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, for the deliuerie of the Children of *Israel*, humbly excused him selfe, as vnfit for such a waighty charge, by reason of the impediment of his speech: for the remedy whereof, God

Exod. 3, 10, 11 12.

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Instruction both for Princes and Subiects.

gaue him an assistant, to wit; his brother *Aaron*, who being verie eloquent, might speake for them both. Whereby, not onely Subiects, which are to be employed, may learne to consider and acknowledge their owne defectes: but Princes also may learne so to employ their Subiects, that one may haue the partes another wanteth, and supply each one the defects of another.

A yong Statist ought to begin his practise with small matters.

Sixtly, it shall not be amisse (in mine opinion) for a young beginner to enter into his first practise, with matters of small importance, and to proceede vnto greater by degrees, as his experience and ability shall growe and encrease. Like vnto the wise Physition, who when hee beginneth to practise, taketh easie cures in hand, and medleth not with inueterat and dangerous diseases, vntill hee hath got both experience and credit. And so woulde I wish a young beginner in matters of State, to flye businesse of great weight and difficulty; and rather to procure at first, some honorable Commission or Embassage of congratulation, or condoling, including some ouerture of an important treaty, rather then to deale in the treatie it selfe, which requireth great practise, Experience, and Wisedome.

A yong Statist like to a Phisition.

A yong Statist compared to the Iuie Tree.

The assistance of wise & sincere friends, most necessary in great imployments.

And, if hee be imployed in any such treaty, I wold wish him to be contented, rather to be a second or an assistant, then chiefe in Commission, and so to growe (for a while) like the Vine or Iuy, by the support of another tree. Or, if his dignity be such, as cannot admit a seconde place; then, to procure (so much as may be) to haue such assistants, as are not only men of sounde iudgement and Wisedome, but also his sincere friends. Such being commonly the emulation and ambition in Courts, that he may otherwise make account, that his owne associates and Companions, will curiously obserue euery little errour of his, and take aduantage thereof for their owne better credits.

The practise of the *Lacedemonians* in great employing Ambassadeur. *Aristot. in Lib. Polit. 2. Cap. 7.*

To which purpose is to be considered that the *Lacedemonians* vsed to choose such to send on their Embassages, as wer eyther publicke, or at least of secret enemies: to the end that one of them might serue as a spie ouer the others actions. And the like may still be vsed, and is (no doubt) many times. And *Philip de Commines* noteth of *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *France*, that he was woont sometimes when hee sent a great Ambassadour, to giue secret Commission (apart) to some meaner man in his company, vsing the other for a shew, and for matters of complement; or perhaps to the end, that he should beare the greatest part of the embassage charges, as commonly great men do, rather then for the dispatch of important affaires. And the like of both these examples may well be practised by Princes, when they send great Ambassadors, and especially when he that is chief in commission, is raw & vnexpert. And therefore, it shalbe conuenient for such a one, to consider the same, to the end, that hee may the better looke and regard his owne carriage, and procure (as I haue alreadie said before, to haue about him, wise and assured Friendes: least otherwise, his owne assistants, may let him commit some grosse and absurd errors; and so handle the matter, that all the Negotiation, shall turne to their owne Honour, by the discouerie of his imbecility.

Phillip. Com in Cron du Roy Lewis. Cap. 16.

The practise of King *Lewes* 11. of *France*, when he imploied a great Ambassadour.

The danger of associates in Commission, when they are not sincere friends.

And this hee may feare, not onely in his associates and fellowes in Commission, but also in his followers and Seruants: among whom, some one of more spirit and talent then the rest, may seeke to make aduantage of his maisters weakenesse. As chanced to an Ambassador (whom I knew) whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of aduises; when occasion required, preuented commonly his Maisters Letters with his owne. Besides, being imploied by his Maister, to procure aduises and intelligences, he concealed the most important matters from him, and VVrote them himselfe to some principall Councellours, whose good grace hee gayned so farre thereby, that they procured his aduancement at his home return: whereas, the Ambassadour himselfe, was helde altogether vnworthy of further honor and preferment, and liued euer after in disgrace.

The treachery of seruants to be feared in weighty imployments.

Many matters not to be vndertaken at once, by a yong Statist.

Seauenthly, I would aduise a young beginner, not to charge himselfe with many matters at once, as some do, that that cannot endure to see any man employed, but themselues. Whereon it followeth, that some one or two businesses succeeding il (as cōmonly among many some do)

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A yong Statist like to a man of a weak Stomack.

do) they receiue more disgrace thereby, then reputation or thankes for all the rest, though they succeede neuer so well. Therefore, it is wisedome for anie man (especially for such as be Nouices in affayres of State) to take but fewe matters in hand, and to dispatch them well. Like to a man that hath but a weake stomack, who is to take heede, that he neuer ouerlay it with quantitie: nor yet to pester it with diuersitie of meates, because one thing will let and hinder the digestion of another.

An aduertisement to the Fauourites of Princes.

And this I wish to bee considered especially, by such as are the fauourites of Princes, who (manie times) desiring to haue al in their owne hands, do not stick to charge themselues with much more, then they can attend to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great detriment, as well of perticuler men, as of the State ingenerall. Whereby also, they expose not onely themselues, but their Princes likewise, to such hatred of the Nobilitie and people, that thereon doth follow (manie times) commotions, and rebellions, insomuch, that their Princes are either forced to abandon them to their enemies, or else to perish with them. As to omit forraigne examples, we haue seene by experience in England, in the times of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second against whom, the Nobilitie and Commons did take Armes, for the hatred they bare to their fauourites, *Pierce Gauestion*, the two *Spencers*, *Robert de la Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and others theyr Adherents: vpon whose persons they discharged their fury, exercising all kind of cruelty on them, except vpon the Earle of *Oxford*, who saued his life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his dayes in banishment. And heereto also may partly bee ascribed, the vnfortunate endes of both those Kinges, who were afterwards deposed, and cruelly and Treacherously murthered.

The danger that the Fauourites of Princes doe incurre by hatred of the people.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl.

Secrecy in matters of State, most necessary.

Eightly, nothing is more necessary in handling matters of State, then Secrecy, I meane matters intended and consulted, before they come to execution: for, they are like to a Mine, which hauing any vent, is wholly frustrate, and of no effect. Therefore, *Peter* King of *Arragon*, being demanded of Pope *Martine* the fourth, what hee meant to do with the great Fleete, wherewith hee afterward recouerd *Sicily* from the *French*, made this aunswere vnto him: *That if he thought his Shirt did know it, hee would burne it.*

A generall rule to bee held concerning Secrecy.

But, because I am to speake of this point of Secrecie heereafter, I wil heere onely giue a generall rule to bee helde and practised by young Statistes: which is, not to communicate anie important matter of State, to any man whatsoeuer; except he is to be imployed, or his councell to bee vsed therein. For, whosoeuer fayleth in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shall euer haue credit with Princes, who esteeme nothing more in their Seruants, then Secrecy. Insomuch, that a Prince in these dayes (whom for some respects I forbeare to name) caused a faithfull seruant of his (whom he also loued dearly) to be killed, for feare he should reueale a secret, which (by chaunce) hee came to know: whereby we may perceiue, howe dangerous a thing it is, to bee pertakers of Princes secrets. And therefore, *Philippides* the Comedian, beingwilled by king *Lysimachus* to aske some fauour of him, beseeched him to doo him what fauour else he pleased, so that he imparted none of his secrets vnto him. And thus much for this point.

Princes esteeme nothing more in their seruants then Secrecy.

Dangerous to be pertakers of Princes Secrets.

Plutarch in his Treatise of talking too much.

Ninthly, a young Statist is to haue especiall care, to auoyde all kinde of vnlawfull employments, as to be an Instrument of any wickednesse for his Princes seruice: for, beside the offence to God, (who will assuredly punish the same sooner or later) he may well thinke, that his Prince also will neuer after trust him, howsoeuer hee bee satisfied with the seruice for the present. For, Princes manie times are contented, to take the benefit of a seruice done by euill meanes, and yet (euer after) holde suspected, and hate the enuious and mallicious nature and disposition of him that did it: for, they make vse of such men, no otherwise then as of poyson, onely to serue theyr turne, though they detest the malignitie of it. And therefore, *Augustus Cæsar* was woont to say, *I loue the Treason, but I hate the Traytor.* And all wise Princes hold it for a rule, that where there is no bridle of Conscience, and feare of God, there is no fidelity towardes man to bee expected.

Vnlawfull imployments by Princes to be auoyded.

Plutarch in his Apotheg. of Kings and Captaines.

Princes loue the Treason but hate the Traitor.

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He that is falſe to God, will not be true to man.

We read, that *Conſtantius Cæſar*, father vnto the Emperour *Conſtantine* the Great, hauing commanded, that al ſuch chriſtians as would not adore his Gods, ſhould depart from his ſeruice: did (neuertheleſſe baniſh all thoſe that denyed their Faith, and retained the others in his ſeruice and fauour. Whereof hee gaue this reaſon: *That thoſe who had ſo little Conſcience as to bee falſe vnto their GOD, could not be true to him.* And *Henrie* the fift, King of *England*, preſently after his Fathers death, baniſhed from the court all ſuch as had beene Councellours, Inſtruments, or Companions of his ryots before, perſwading himſelfe, that they were not to bee truſted about his perſon. And ſo it commonly falleth out, when Princes are wiſe, and enter into due conſideration of themſelues, and of their conſciences.

Polidorus Virgil. in Henry. 5.

When Princes are wiſe and learne to know themſelues.

But ſuch other Princes, as giue themſelues ouer vnto deteſtable Vices and ſinnes, and maketh no Conſcience of anie thing, do not onely diſauowe theyr owne Commiſsions, after that ſome Wicked acte is committed by their order: but alſo vſe to picke quarrelles, or to take verie ſmall occaſions, whereby to make away the Inſtruments of their owne Wickedneſſe, eyther to rid themſelues of the ſuſpition, reproach, or infamy thereof, or for the iealouſie which they haue of the maligne Natures of their Inſtruments; or for feare they may diſcouer their practiſes if they liue; or ſometimes for ſome other reſpects, God ſo diſpoſing (by his moſt iuſt Iudgements) to make them onely ſerue for the Executors of his Iuſtice vppon thoſe, who preferred their owne ſeruice before his.

Princes ſometimes diſauow their commiſsions after the fact.

Gods iuſtice vpon euill inſtruments.

So did *Alexander* the Great at his fathers Obſequies, command publicke Iuſtice to be done vppon thoſe, whom hee himſelfe had ſecretly employed for to kil him. So did *Tiberius* the Emperour, diſauow his Commiſsion giuen vnto a Soldiour, to kill *Agrippa*, telling him, that hee ſhould anſwere the matter before the Senate: As hee did alſo put to death *Sejanus* his great fauourite, and Inſtrument of much miſchiefe. And in the like ſorte, dealt *Cæſar Borgia* with a fauourite of his. And ſo alſo haue ſome in theſe our dayes, by diuers and ſundrie deuiſes, beene made awaie in many ſeuerall Courtes and Countreyes, when they had ſerued the appetites of ſome great perſonages, whome (for iuſt reſpects) I will heere forbeare to Name. Which may ſerue for an aduertiſement and warning vnto all men, to take heed how they ſuffer themſelues to be imploied by any man, in matters which are vnlawfull and offenſiue vnto GOD, *Et fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum, Happie is hee, who can take heede by other mens harmes.*

Iuſtin in lib. 12.

Cornel. Tacitus, in Lib. 1. Annal.

Happy is he that taketh heed by another mans harmes.

The tenth aduiſe which I giue vnto a young Statiſt, is, that if his Prince doo him the honour, to make him of his Councell, to conſider well, what is the dutie of a Councellour, to which purpoſe, I will alſo ſet downe ſome Rules. Wherein neuertheleſſe, I meane not to frame an exact Councellour, as *Cicero* did an Orator, and *Xenophon* a Prince, and *Caſtigliane* a Courtier; neyther yet do I take vppon me, to aduiſe old Councellours, whoſe experience muſt needes ſurpaſſe mine. But onely to giue ſome aduertiſements, vnto ſuch as haue not anie great experience or practiſe in matters of State. And forasmuch, as it requireth ſome larger diſcourſe, then were fit and conuenient to proſecute in this Chapter, it ſhall ſerue for the ſubiect of the next.

Of the dutie of a Councellor, more at large to bee handled in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Other Generall Rules for a young Statiſt, aduanced by his Princes fauour to bee of his Councell. What hee is to conſider in himſelfe, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to bee conſulted. And firſt, concerning the Councellour himſelfe.

THE poyntes which (in my fancy) are principally to be conſidered by a young Councellor, though they might be diuided into

The points that are to be considered in a yong Councellor, reduced to three heads.

into manie members, yet may be well reduced to three heads. The first, concerning himselfe; the second, concerning his Prince, and the third, touching the matters that are to be consulted. Of all which I will say somwhat, with such perspicuity and breuity that conueniently I may.

Eight points to be considered in the Councellor himselfe.

A Councellor ought to be truely vertuous and Religious.

God doth assist and illuminate good men in matters of Councell.

Numb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, &c.

As for that which toucheth himselfe, he is to regard chiefely eight points. The first, that he procure by all good means, not onelie to haue the reputation of vertue and religion: but also to be (indeed) truely vertuous and Religious, for two causes. The first, to obtain thereby the assistance of Gods grace, which howe necessarie it is, for the illumination of mans vnderstanding: appeareth in our former Chapter of true Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicie, to bee the especiall guiftes and graces of Almightie GOD, and no otherwaies to bee obtayned, but by the obseruation of his commandements.

Vertue giueth reputation to the possessors thereof.

The other cause, why it behoueth a Councellour to bee truely Religious and Vertuous, is, for that such is the force of Vertue, that it giueth credite to the possessors thereof, and dooth make them more easily to bee beleeued: and their councell the better accepted. And therefore we see, that all men of discretion and iudgement, do demaund Councell rather of those that are reputed wise and vertuous, then of wicked men, who onely haue a reputation of Wisedome. For, as Saint *Ambrose* sayeth; *Where Wisedome and Vertue are conioyned, Magna erit consiliorum salubritas, There is all good and wholesome councell to bee had. And all men* (saith he) *are willing to heare the wise and vertuous man, as well for the admiration of his wisedome, as for the loue of his vertue.* In which respect also he saith, that men addresse themselus commonly for Councell, to those who are more vertuous then themselues. *For no man* (saith he) *hath reason to thinke him who is inferiour vnto himselfe in manners, to bee his superiour in Wisedome and councell.*

Ambros. de Offic. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Where vertue and wisedom concurre all good councell is to be expected.

Ambros. Ibid.

Furthermore, such is the dignitie and authoritie of Vertue, that euill men bear a reuerend respect thereto, and stand (as it were) in awe of good men. Whereof we haue an example in *Herod*, who although he held Saint *Iohn* Baptist in prison, and would not followe his councell in the matter of his Diuorce: yet, for the reuerence which hee bare vnto his Vertue, hee consulted many other thinges with him, and followed his aduice therein. And, as the Holye Scripture sayth also, *Metuebat eum, Hee feared him.*

The dignity of vertue is such, that euil men beare respect thereto.

Marke. 6. 20.

And no doubt but wise and Vertuous Princes, much more esteeme and respect the councell of wise men that are vertuous; then of others, of equall wit and iudgement, that are vicious and wicked; knowing that, as *Salomon* sayth, *Consilia impiorum fraudulenta, The Councelles of the wicked are fraudulent.* And that hee who hath no care of his Conscience, and dutie towardes God, will haue no lesse care of his dutie towardes men.

Prouer. 12, 9. The counsell of wicked men is euermore fraudulent.

The second point, is, that hee also giue satisfaction vnto the worlde of his wisedome, by the good and wise gouernment of his family. For no wise Prince can thinke him a fitte man to Councell him, or to gouerne vnder him, that cannot gouerne himselfe and his owne Family. And therefore, *Basilius* the Emperour aduised his Sonne, to choose those for his Councellours, who hadde giuen proofe and experience of theyr Wisedome, in the good conducte and direction of theyr owne priuate affayres.

A Councellor ought to haue great regard to the gouernment of his Family, and priuate affayres.

Ambros. in Lib 2. de Offic. Cap. 112.

Whereuppon also, Saint *Ambrose* sayeth, *An idoneum putabo, qui mihi & consilium, qui non dat sibi? Can I thinke him fit to counsell me, that cannot Councell himselfe?* For, hee that is a Foole in his owne businesse, can neuer bee wise in the businesse of other men. And therfore Saint *Paule* declaring the dutie of a Bysshop, requireth, that hee bee such a one, as gouerneth well his owne family. For, *Si quis* (saith he) *domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam habebit. If a man cannot gouerne his owne house, how shall hee gouerne the Church of God.*

No man fit to counsell another, that cannot counsell himselfe. 1 Tim. 3, 4, 5.

The third point is, that in all his speeches and Conference with his Prince, hee vse all sincerity, trueth, and playneesse, without Flatterie. For, although the common Prouerbe say; *Obsequium amicos, Veritas odium parit, Flattery gayneth*

A Councellor ought to auoide all flattery

Terent. in Andr.

neth friendes, and Truth hatred: yet, as there is nothing more pernitious to Princes thē flattery; so (by consequent) there is nothing more vnfit to bee vsed of Councellors. Whose office is, and especiall care should bee, to vndeceiue their Prince in all things, wherein he is any way deceiued, and to labour therein so much the more, by how much the lesse other men do it. Seeing one of the greatest infelicities of Princes, is, that all, or most Men flatter and sooth them in all things; and few or none dare deale sincerely or plainely with them. In which respect *Seneca* saith; *Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat. What wants he that hath all? A Man to tell him the truth*. Which therefore the faithfull Councellour should doe, for otherwise, the Prince shall liue in continuall errour and ignoraunce of his owne Estate, and especiallie of his imperfections, yea, and in great perrill of ruine. For, as *Quintus Curtius* saith. *Regum opes, &c. The States of Princes are oftener ouerthrowne by flattery, then by force*.

Princes that haue all, want one to tell them the truth.

Flattery the ruine of Princes States. *Quint. Curtius. in Lib.* 8.

Neuertheleſſe, if the Councellour haue occasion to admonish his Prince, in any error or fault of his: he ought to doe it with great discreation and moderation. Vsing (as *Parisatis*, Mother to *Cyrus*, was wont to say) words of Silke, and launcing the sore (like a good Chirurgion) with such dexteritie: that hee may cure it, and not exasperate his Prince, and make him lesse capable of his good councell. Those that offend in this kind, are commonly such, as presume ouer-much, either on their owne wits and power; or on their Princes weakenesse; or on his ouer-great fauour and familiarity; or on the neede that he hath of them: or else perhaps, are of nature seuere, insolent, and passionate, for such sometimes doe forget themselues, yea, and take a pride in contradicting or admonishing their Princes, with lesse duty and respect, then were conuenient.

How a Councellor ought to admonish his Prince of his error. *Plutarch* in his Treatise of Flattery.

Who they are that commonly ouer-shoot themselues in admonishing or contradicting their Princes.

Such a one was *Calisthenes*, of whom *Arrianus* Writeth, that he made himselfe odious to *Alexander* the Great: *Tum ob intempestiuam libertatem, tum ob superbam stultitiam: Both for his vnseasonable libertie of speech, as also for his proud follie*.

Arrian. in Lib. 8. *de rebus Alexand.* Vnseasonable liberty of speech odious to Princes

Such a one also was a Philosopher, that liued in the Court of *Dionysius* the elder, a Tyrant of *Sicilie*. For, whereas the Tyrant (being delighted with his own Poems) was wont to impart them publiquely to certaine Philosophers, which liued in his Court, to haue their opinions: there was one among the rest, who could not flatter, nor endure the vanitie of the Tyrants humour; but told him plainely, that his Verses were nothing worth, and that it was a shame to heare them. Where-with the Tyrant was so offended, that he commanded his Guard to take him presentlie a way, and to carry him to the Mines, to worke there among other condemned persons.

Plutarch.

A pleasant example of a rude Philosopher, and the Tyrant *Dionisius* of *Sicily*.

Afterward, the same Philosopher being released, & returned to the Court, at the suite of his Friends: it chanced, that the Tyrant caused a certaine Poeme of his owne, to bee read againe in the presence of him, and all the other Philosophers, commaunding them to speake their opinions thereof. All the rest extolled the worke to the Skies; some praysing the inuention, and others the vaine and grace of the Verse, euery one striuing who should commend them most: vntill it came to the turne of this Philosopher, who, in stead of giuing his censure, called suddenlie to the Guards of the Tyrant, saying; *Come Maisters, carry me away to the Mines, for I cannot endure this extreame folly*. The Tyrant being (as it chanced) in a good humour, tooke it not ill: but was content to put it off to a iest, and laughed well at it.

A bold, plaine and resolute Philosopher.

But this Philosopher seeking to auoyd *Silla*, fell into *Charibdis*, for, by flying base flattery, he fell into another extremity, to wit, impudent insolency, which is no lesse vnfit and absurd for Councellors: who are to imitate the discreet & prudent modesty of *Hæphestion*, Councellor to *Alexander* the Great. For, although he alwaies admonished *Alexander* discreetly and freely, as occasion serued: yet he euer did it in such sort, that it seemed rather to be *Alexanders* will and pleasure he should so do, then that hee challenged any such right to himselfe.

The discreete modesty of *Hæphestion* Councellor to *Alexander* *Quint. Curtius. de reb. gestis Alexand.*

The like stile ought a Councellour to vse, in contradicting or admonishing his

In what manner Princes are to be spoken too and admonished.

Prince, obseruing exactly his disposition and humor, because no man is alwayes disposed alike, either to receiue contradiction, or to heare of his faults, especially in the presence of others. And therefore, fit time and place is alwayes to bee chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be vsed of the Princes praises, for some good parts of his: which (in such case) is no flattery, but a spurre to Vertue, and may serue for a preparatiue to the pill of admonition, which hee meaneth to giue him. So that hee deliuer it in so good tearmes, and with such dutifull respect, that the Prince may perceiue, it proceedeth not of passion, or of a spirit of contradiction, or of audacious insolencie, or of contempt (al which are to Princes most odious, but of intyre loue and affection, for so will hee (if hee be wise) take the admonition in good part, and say with *Salomon*, *A wound at a Friends hand, is better then the Kisse of an enemy.*

All speech proceeding of passion, insolency, or contempt, are odious to Princes.

A wound at a friends hand better then the kisse of an enemy. Prouer. 27. 6.

To conclude, a Counsellor may hold this rule, to speake alwayes in this manner freely vnto the Prince himselfe, although it be of his errours, but neuer to others of him, otherwise then in his honour and commendation. And though the Prince bee neuer a whit the better, for the admonition, yet it may suffice his Councellor, to haue done his dutie, and not to be pertaker of his Princes faultes, as otherwise he should be, if he shoulde not (in all dutifull maner) aduise and admonish him, as occasion should require. And therefore, though he should feare to incurre his displeasure for his plainnesse, yet he ought to discharge his conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* did to *Eurybyades*, who took vp a staffe to strike him from his free speech: *Strike mee so, that you heare me heereafter.*

How a Councellour ought to speake to his Prince, and of his Prince.

Councellours by conuiuency, are pertakers of their Princes faults.

Plutarh in Themistoc.

Finally, a Councellor should not expect, that his Prince should alwayes follow his aduise, nor afflict himselfe much if he do not. For, though Princes giue vnto their Councellors great libertie, to say what they will: yet they do reserue a greater to themselues, that is to do what they list. And thus much for the third part.

A Councellour ought to be constant in his opinions.

The fourth point that a Councellour is to consider in himselfe, is, that it behoueth him to be graue and constant in his opinions, for lenity and inconstancie is a most euident signe of folly. And to this end, it shall be necessarie for him, maturely to deliberate, and fully to consider the matter propounded, before hee deliuer his opinion. For, as *Seneca* saith, *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio et ira, Two thinges are contrarie to Councell, Hast, and Anger.* And againe, *Deliberandum est diu* (saith he) *quod statuendum est semel. The thing that is once to be determined, is to be dliberated by leysure.* And to the same purpose *Aristotle* saith, *That a Wiseman ought to councel slowly, and to execute speedily.* Therefore, he excludeth verie young men from councell in matters of State. *For that* (saith he) *their naturall heate maketh them ouer-hastie and headlong, in giuing their opinions.* Besides, by reason of their want of experience, there doth not occure vnto them many reasons or difficulties to be considered: in which respect, they resolue easily and speedily, and with lesse iudgement. Whereas ancient men, both by reason of their colder humour, and also of their greater experience (which ministreth vnto them more matter of discourse, and more doubts to be resolued) do determine slowly, and with far more iudgement. So that speedy resolutions, are arguments of weakenesse of witte, or want of iudgement; and therefore, to bee shunned of all Councellors, as one farre more proper vnto Women: whose Councell (men commonly say) is neuer to bee taken, but vppon a suddaine, whereof I shall declare the reason heereafter.

Lenity and inconstancy, an euident signe of folly.

Seneca in Prouerbijs. Ibidem. Arist. in Ethic. Lib. 6.

Why young men are not fit to giue councell.

Why old men resolue slowly and maturely

Weomens councell to be taken on the sudden.

The fifte point, is, to auoyde the other extreamitie opposite to lenitie, to wit; Obstinacie and Wilfulnesse, which is no lesse vnfit for a Wise Councellour, then the other. For, obstinancie is euermore accompanied with contempte of others mens Opinions, and contention, and is therefore a verie great Enemie vnto Resolution, which can neuer bee taken, where Obstinate and Contentious men, do meete together in a Councell.

Obstinacy in opinion vnfit for Councellours.

This Defect, proceedeth commonlie, either thorough great Pride and Presumption of a mans owne witte, or elsse, of a false conceite, that manie men haue, that it is a shame for a Wise man to chaunge his opinion, which is farre otherwise. For althogh a wise man ought not

From whence obstinacy in opinion proceedeth.

Folly for a wise man not to change his opinion, when there is iust cause.

not to doe it lightly, and without great reason; yet, when there is sufficient cause, it were great shame and folly not to do it. And therfore *Seneca* the *Stoick*, who, according to the opinion of those of his Sect, held; *That a wise man neuer changeth his opinion*: expoundeth it in such sort, that he includeth in the opinion of a Wise Man, a necessary exception, to wit; if nothing happen that may alter the case. And therefore hee also saith, that, *It is the property of fooles, to assure themselues (ouer-much) of their counsels and determinations. And that a wise Man knoweth, what sway errour beareth in the affaires of Men; How vncertain all humaine things are; And how many accidents hinder good and wise designements.* Whereupon he concludeth; *That it is no shame for wise men to alter their opinions when occasion requireth.* And *Plato* compareth a wise man to a good Gamester, *Who doth accommodate his play to the chances of the Dice. And so* (saith he) *should a wise Man accommodate his counsels and course of life to the occasions, which changing and varying with the time, doe often require new deliberation.*

Seneca in lib. 4. de Benefi. Cap. 34.

A necessary exception to be vnderstood in the opinion of a wise man. Idem. Ibid.

Plato in Lib. 10. de Rep. Cap. 9.

A wise man compared to a good Gamester by *Plato*.

Neuertheless, it is heerein to be considered, that this change (with the occasions) is conuenient only, when the occasions change the fundamentall and chiefe reason of the first resolution. For whereas in all matters of councell many reasons may concurre to one end, whereof some may be more important then other, and some one (perhaps) the ground and foundation of the rest: it falleth out other-whiles, that chaunge of times and variety of occasions, doe alter some considerations and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamentall reasons of the matter, in which case, the resolution is not to bee changed. For otherwise, men should be like Weather-cockes, which change with euery winde: seeing time alwaies produceth some new difficulties, and changeth some part of the reasons in all matters, that require any long time for the execution. Whereupon, there may follow some alteration of circumstance in the designement; though the resolution may stand good for the principall.

In what case a wise man may change his opinion.

While the chiefe and fundamentall reasons of the designement doe stand good, the councell is not to be changed.

Time alwaies affordeth new difficulties.

Wherefore, it were great temeritie and lenity in any Man, to condemne other mens councels, because some of the Motiues that induced them thereto, haue failed, or because the successe hath not (in the beginning) answered their expectations. As may appeare by the wise *Phocion* of *Athens* who hauing disswaded the *Athenians*, from a certain enterprise which succeeded well, and beeing reproached therewith by some of his Aduersaries, said: *I am right glad of the good successe, yet nothing repenteth me of mine opinion.* This he said, partly, because he fore-saw a bad sequell of their good beginning (as after it fel out) and partly, because a wise man dischargeth his part and duty, if his councell be wel grounded vpon good and sound reasons, although the successe bee not so good as he expected. Considering, that the euent of all mens councels is onely in the hands of God, and cannot assuredly be fore-seene; but much lesse warranted by the wisedome of Man.

A Councell not to be condemned, because some of the motiues haue failed.

Plutarch in Timoleon, et in Phocio.

A good beginning hath many times a bad sequell.

To conclude this point, a Wise man ought alwaies so to ground his opinions and councels vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice: that whatsoeuer succeedeth, he shall haue no iust cause to repent or retract the same. And therefore *Aristides*, hauing said to *Dionysius* the Tyrant (who demaunded one of his Daughters in marriage) *That he had rather see her burned, then married to a Tyrant*: would neuer retract or recall his words againe, although it did cost him the life of his Sonne. For, when the Tyrant had slaine his Sonne, and asked him, whether he was still of the same minde, concerning the marriage of his Daughter? He answered. *Although I am sorry for that which hath happened to my Sonne; yet I doe not repent me of that which I haue said.* Which constancy of *Aristides*, *Plutarch* greatly commendeth: *As proceeding* (saith he) *of a notable and compleat vertue.* And thus much for this fift point.

Councelles grounded vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice, neuer to be repented.

Plutarch in Timoleon.

The constancy of *Aristides*.

The sixt point necessary in a Councellour, is Secrecy, whereof I haue said somewhat before, and heere adde: That Councellours must vnderstand, that their mouths are sealed vp by their Princes, as *Hephestions* mouth was by *Alexander* the Great, who hauing shewn him a secret Letter, said nothing else to him, but tooke off his sealing Ring, and put it to his lippes. This (I say)

Secrecy most requisite in a Councellor.

Plutarch. in Alexandrio.

say) a young Councellour must vnderstand, to passe betweene his Prince and him, when his Prince doth him the honour, to make him of his Councell, or to treat with him of matters of State. Wherof secrecy is (as *Valerius Maximus* saith.) *Optimum & tutissimum vinculum, The best and surest bond.* And therefore it was so much esteemed among the *Persians*, that they honoured *Silence* for a God. And such was the care and respect that the *Romaines* had thereto, that when King *Eumenes* came into the Senate, to demaund assistance against King *Perseus*: it was neuer vnderstood, (as *Liuie* witnesseth) either what he said, or what any answered, vntill the warre (which the *Romans* made at his request) was ended. Such being the secrecie of the Romaine Senatours (though verie many in number) that, as *Valerius* saith, it seemed, that *Not so much as one Man heard, that which was committed to the eares of so many.*

Secrecy the best and surest bond of matters of State. *Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

The *Persians* honoured Silence as a God. *Amian. Marcellin. in Lib. 21.*

Tit. Liuius. in Lib. 42.

The admirable secretie of the Romaine Senate. *Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

Neuertheless, great discretion is to be vsed herein: for a Man may as wel be ouer-secret in some cases, as too open. I haue noted sometimes, that some great Princes and Councellors, for fear of discouering their designements, haue eyther for-borne to take sufficient information and enstruction, of such as could best informe them, and might haue beene trusted, whereby they haue gone blindly to work: or else they haue sought to inform themselues in clouds, by such darke and obscure questions, that they haue beene falsly and ill informed. For the parties with whom they conferred, making a false coniecture of their drift, and aunswering them according to their owne sense (far otherwise then they would haue done, if they had knowne their meaning) haue abused them against their wils.

Some men are ouer-secret, and some too open.

The danger of taking information by obscure questions.

Again, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play, as a man may say, wily beguile thēselues. I knew a Councellor, who being commaunded by his Prince, to giue him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy: thought to informe himselfe of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning should not bee so much as guessed at. But the party with whom he treated, being of an excellent iudgment, presently vnderstood it, and though he answered him to his great satisfaction: yet, not thinking himselfe any way bound to secrecy (because the Councellor neither had taken his oath, nor his word, nor had shewne any confidence in him for that matter) wrote it to a great personage, with whom he had correspondence, by which meanes, it was (within a month) so publike, that it came into the *Gazetta* of *Rome*, & from thence was published throughout Christendome, as the Councellour himselfe hath sithence told me. So that, in seeking information by Riddles, & obscure questions, two inconueniences may be feared: the one, to receiue a false information; and the other, to discouer the designement against a mans will.

Some intending to be secret, do thereby discouer their secrets.

An example to very good purpose in this case.

Information by Riddles.

Therefore, to preuent these inconueniences, that when information must needs be taken (as in some cases it is absolutely necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forraign countries, vnknowne to him who would lay the plot) it shall be conuenient, if a sufficient enformer may bee found, who is knowne to be of sincere conscience: to deale plainly with him, & to shew confidence in him, taking (neuertheless) his oath for secrecy, to binde him the more, and to vse other meanes of courtesie and benefits to oblige him; yet to do this with the leaue of the Prince, for the Councellors better discharge. But when such a confident and sincere enformer cannot bee had; my opinion is, that although it shall be good, to vse all possible meanes, to vnderstand what may be learned, without discouering the intention: yet neuertheless, no great foundation is to be made of an information taken by such a meanes, except it be of a matter of fact, wherein, no man (that knoweth the truth) can falsly enforme, except he will wilfullie lye. For, in matters of discourse, depending vpon the iudgement of the enformer, be hee neuer so wise: small reckoning is to be made, whē he doth not fully vnderstand the intention of the propounder. Thus much concerning the sixt point.

How informations are to be taken in important matters.

When a confident informer is not to be found.

An information little to be esteemed, when the Informer doth not fully vnderstand the drift of the propounder.

The seauenth point, which a Councellor should consider in himselfe, is, that in the deliberation of all matters whatsoeuer: he be cleare and free from all passion and perticuler affection, that

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A Councellour ought to be free from passion and perticuler affection.

is to say, from all respects, eyther of loue, hatred, or enuy to any. And this I say, for wise Princes are wont, exactly to obserue the humours and dispositions of their Councellors, & to make small account of the aduise or persons of such, as they finde to be subiect to any of the foresaid imperfections. And with very great reason, for, as *Salust* saith. *Non facile animus, &c. The minde doth not easily see the truth, where passion and affection beareth sway.* Beside, passion not only blindeth the vnderstanding of Man, but also dooth so corrupt his will: that although he see the truth, yet he will not embrace it. Which *Iustine* obserued very well in King *Antiochus*, for, when *Hannibal* had councelled him to inuade *Italie*: his Councell (saith *Iustine*) was reiected, partly, because the chiefe Councellors and Fauourites of *Antiochus* feared, that if it were admitted, *Hannibal* might grow in more credite and fauour with *Antiochus*, then they; and partly, because *Antiochus* himselfe doubted, least his owne glorie might (in some part) be obscured, if he should be thought to doe any thing by *Hannibals* aduise. So pestilent is the passion of enuy and emulation; that it maketh a Man (sometimes) Enemie to his owne good, no lesse then of the publique.

Salust. in Catelin. Passion and affection doe blinde the iudgement.

Iustin. in lib. 19.

Enuy maketh a man sometimes enemy to his owne good.

Therefore *Aristides* of *Athens*, being sent Ambassadour with *Themistocles*, who was his Enemy, willed him at their departure out of the Cittie: that they might leaue all their emulations behinde them at the Gates, least their priuate passions might hinder the publique good of the Common-wealth. And so in like manner, all Councellors that haue any perticular quarrels, or disgusts among themselues: should leaue them at the Councell Chamber doore, when they enter in. And the like may also be said, of the respects of priuate friendship, or of other mens greatnesse and fauour with the Prince: which respects are (many times) no lesse hurtfull in Councels, then Enuie or Hatred. For they make men conceale their owne iudgements, because they will not disgust some Friend or great Man, that holdeth a contrary opinion. In so much, that it falleth out many times, that some fauourite of the Prince, hauing once vttered his conceit, albeit none of the wisest: carryeth after him all the rest without contradiction, and so the best opinions are either concealed, or not so well debated as were conuenient.

Plutarch in his *Apothegs* of Kings and Princes.

Councellors should leaue their quarrels at the Councell-Chamber doore.

Respects of other mens greatnesse pernitious in Councels.

For the preuention and remedy of this inconuenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*, vsed to propound their most important matters to their Councellors, first by Writing, commaunding them: to set down their opinions also in Writing, with their reasons, and not to communicate the same with any other. Afterward, if they thought it needfull, they assembled them in their presence, to heare them debate and defend their owne opinions; which proceeding (in my fancy) was very prudent. For so, euery Councellour gaue his opinion freely, without passion, or respect to any other & (for his owne honour and reputation) defended it so far as reason would beare him, whereby, matters were thorowlie debated and discussed.

A prudent practise of the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, & of *Phillip* the second, last king of *Spaine*.

The freedom of euery Councellors opinion to be giuen

To conclude this point, Councellors must say of all perticuler respects, as *Popilius* the *Romaine* (being sent Ambassadour to King *Antiochus*, his old friend) saide vnto him of their former amity: *Facessat priuata amicitia, &c. Farewell priuate friendship, when publique matters are in hand.* This (I say) should Councellors, when they come to the Councell-Table, both say and practise, laying aside all priuate and perticular respects, eyther to one or other, or vnto themselues. As hauing nothing else befor their eyes, in all their deliberations: but the publique good; to wit, the the seruice of God, their Prince, and their Countrey.

Iustin. in lib 24. Priuate friendship not to be respected, when publike matters are in hand.

What Councellors ought to haue alwayes before their eyes.

The eight and last point, which I would wish a young Councellour to consider, concerning himselfe, is: the daunger of punishment, both humane and Diuine, which he shall incurre, if he seduce or corrupt his Prince by euill Councell. Because the Prince himselfe, if euer he haue the grace to see his own errour: cannot but hate and detest the Authour and Councellour thereof. As did King *Henrie* the fift, who repenting the riotous course of his youth: banished from the Court, all those which had

The dangers that Councellors incurre, by giuing euill councell to their Princes.

Euill Councellors hateful sometimes to their Princes.

had misled and seduced him, as I haue partly noted before. And though he escape the disgrace and punishment of his Prince: yet he may iustly feare the hatred of the people, and his owne destruction to ensue thereof, as I haue also signified before (vpon another occasion) in *Pierce Gaueſtone*, the *Spencers*, and other Councellours of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second.

Polid. Virgil. and Iohn. Stowe in Hen. 5.

To whom I may adde *Emſon* and *Dudley*, put to death by King *Henry* the eight, in the beginning of his raigne, to satisfie the importunity of the people: who demaunded Iustice against them, for the euill councell they had giuen to King *Henrie* the seauenth, in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniarie penalties.

Euill Councellors hatefull to the people, and punished by them. *Io. Stowe. in Henry. 8.*

And *Plutarch* also noteth, that the Councellours and Fauourites of *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, *Nero*, and other Tyrants, were racked, flayed, burned, and other-wise most cruelly tormented by the people. *And iustlie* (saith he) *for that he which corrupteth or ſeduceth a Prince, deſerueth no leſſe to bee abhorred of all Men: then one that ſhould poyſon a publique Fountaine, whereof all Men muſt drinke.* Seeing, that vppon the Princes example and authority, dependeth on the good or euill estate of all his Subiects. And therefore, hee which misleadeth the Prince, doth notable iniurie to the Common-wealth: and oweth the penaltie thereof, as well to the people, as to the Prince himselfe. In which respect, *Plutarch* also noteth of *Tigellinus*, a wicked Councellour and Corrupter of *Nero*, that the people (after the death of *Nero*) made continuall instance for his punishment: as for publique debt due to the Common-wealth, which at length they obtained of *Otho*, Successour to *Galba*.

Plutarch in h's Treatise that Philosophers should conuerse with Princes.

The wicked Councellors of diuers Tyrants notably punnished.

A wicked Councellor like to one that poysoneth a publique Fountaine.

Plutarch in Otho.

The punishment of a wicked Councellor, is a debt due to the Common-wealth.

But though neither the Prince nor the people, doe exact this debt of a wicked Councellour: yet hee shall be sure to pay it eternally to Almighty God, if he respect not, and satisfie his Iustice otherwise. For, if *Not onely they which doe euill, are worthy of death* (as the Apostle saith) *but also thoſe, Qui conſentiunt facientibus, which conſent thereto:* much more guiltie are the Councellors of euill, who are either the principall Authours thereof, if they inuent it; or abettors and associates in the highest degree, if they approue and ratifie it. And therefore, how hatefull such are to Almighty God, it appeareth by the examples of *Achitophell* and *Haman*, the one Councellour to *Abſolon*, and the other to *Ahaſuerus*, whose wicked councels God did not onely *Fruſtrate* and *Infatuate*, as the Scripture speaketh: but also punnish most exemplarely in this life, making the one of them his Instrument, to execute Iustice vpon himselfe, and turning the wicked councell of the other, to his owne destruction. Also the like may bee obserued in Gods iust punishment, vpon Cardinall *Wolſey*, and some other Councellours of latter times.

The danger of eternall damnation to a wicked Councellor.

Rom. 1, 31.

2 Sam 7, 23. Heſter. 7, 10.

Haman and *Achitophell* punished by Almighty God in this life for their wicked councell.

And *Phillip de Commines* seriously noteth, how a Councellor vnto the Duke of *Bourgundie*, called *Monſieur Contay*, hauing giuen cruell Councell vnto the Duke (to put to death certaine Hostages of *Liege*) liued not long after. Which some (who were present, and heard him) did in a manner prognosticate, saying; *That they would warrant him, he would not liue a yeare to an end.* Which (saith he) fell out to be true, for he dyed within a short while after. Thus then it appeareth, how true the Latine Prouerbe is: *Conſilium malum conſultori peſſimum, Euill Councell is worſt to the Councellor.* This shall suffice for those points which a young Councellour ought to consider in himselfe.

Phil. Com in Cron du Roy. Louis 11. Ca. 28.

What *Comineus* noateth of a Councellor to the Duke of *Bourgundy*.

Hoſiodus. Euill Councel wurst to the Councellor.

CHAP. VII.

What a Councellour ought to conſider in his Prince: Namely; his Conſcience; his Commodity; and his Reputation.

A Councellor is to consider in his Prince, (principally) three thinges: his Conscience, his Commondity, and his Reputation. Of which three, I place a Commodity in the midst, because it is to bee ballanced and weighed with both the other:

A Councellor is to consider in his Prince, his conſcience commodity, and reputation.

other: seeing, nothing can bee truelie commodious, which is not agreeable to both, and no temporall commoditie can recompence the losse of eyther of them.

What the word Conscience signifieth.

And first, to speake of Conscience. The word *Conscience* is diuersly vnderstood, and commonly taken for an Act, consisting in the application of our knowledge to our actions. For that, *Conscientia* is *Scientia cum alio, Knowledge with another thing.* In which sense, Conscience may erre, when we erre in Knowledge, or apply our true Knowledge erroniously to our actions. And therefore I will not treat of Conscience heere in this sense; but onely as it is the first natural habite in the Soule of man, which neuer erreth. And so *Conscience is the surest and highest part of reason, whereby we doe naturally discerne betwixt good and euill, reiecting the euill, and approouing the good.* Whereupon groweth remorse and repentance in our Soules, after an euill act; and contentment, after a good. In which respect, *Origen* saith, that Conscience, is *Rector & pædagogus animæ, &c. The Gouernour and pedagogue of the Soule, whereby it is diuerted from euill, moued to good, admonished, reproued, and chastised.*

Thom. Aquin. 2. P. 24. Q. 2. Ar. Cap. 4.

Idem. 1. P. 79. Q. 79. Ar. 13. in Cor.

The definition of Conscience.

Remorse of Conscience.

Origen. in Lib. 2 in Epist. ad Rom. Cap. 2.

Saint *Basile*, as *Thomas Aquinas* noteth called it *Naturale iudicatorium, The Naturall facultie of iudgement.* Whereof S. *Augustine* speaketh, when he saith, that there are in the Soule of Man, *Certaine infallible rules, true and incommutable lights of vertue*, wherby euery one conceiueth and iudgeth truely, of the generall principles of the office and dutie of Man. S. *Chrisostome*, speaking of Conscience, saith. *Almighty God hath placed it in the Soule of man, as a Iudge, which is euer vigilant, and attentiue to his actions, incorruptible, inexorable, inflexible, and searching into his very cogitations and intentions.* Whereupon it followeth, that after any sinne or offence is committed, a mans owne Conscience iustly iudgeth and condemneth him, without any other Accuser or Witnesse, then himselfe.

S. Basil. apud D. Thom. 1. P. Q. 79. Ar. 13. Ca.

August in lib. 2. de Lib. arbit. Cap. 10.

Chrisost. To 2. concio 4. de Lazaro.

Conscience placed in the soule of man as a Iudge of his actions.

Lastly, *Thomas Aquinas* calleth it *Lex naturalis, A naturall Law*, or the Law of Nature, by the light whereof, the verie *Paintims* know those thinges which are commaunded by the Law of God, as the Apostle testifieth, saying: *The Gentiles who haue not the Law* (that is to say, the written Law of God) *doe by nature the thinges contained in the Law, they hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselues. Which shew the effectes of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conscience also bearing witnes, and their thoughts accusing one another, or excusing, in the day of Iudgement.* Thus saith the Apostle. Whereby it appeareth, that those which liue according to the rule of reason, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature (which are alwaies conforme one to another) do according to Conscience: and and on the contrary side, those which decline and swerue from any of them, do against conscience.

D. Tho. quod li. 3. Ar. 6. 1. Conscience is a natural law, alwayes agreeable to the Law of God. Rom. 2. 14, 15, 16.

Who doe according to Conscience, or against Conscience.

Now then, forasmuch as eternall felicitie dependeth, vpon the integritie & puritie of Conscience, in which respect our Sauior saith; *Beati mundo corde, &c. Blessed are the cleane in heart, for they shall see God:* it followeth, that nothing can be truly commodious, which is contrary to Conscience. For, whatsoeuer hindreth our greatest good & commodity, that is say; our Saluation, and draweth vs also to the greatest miserie that can be, to wit; to eternall damnation: the same is not good and profitable, but mischieuous and pernitious. For, as I noted (else-where) out of our Sauiors words; *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he loose his soule?* And therefore Saint *Augustine* saith very well, that hee which counceleth a Man contrary to his Saluation, hath *Pallium consulentis, & venenum perimentis; The Cloake of a Councellor, and the Poyson of a Killer.*

Math. 5, 8. Nothing truly commodious that is against Conscience.

Mat. 16, 26.

August. in Psalme. 119.

Whereupon it followeth, that the first and principall thing, which euerie Councellour ought to regard, is, that his counsell be so grounded vpon Conscience: that God be not offended, nor his Princes conscience wounded therewith, which latter were (of it selfe) no small infelicity, though God should not otherwise punish the euill act. For, as on the one side; *There can be no greater happinesse in the life of Man, then the tranquility and quietnesse of Conscience*, as S. *Augustine* saith: So, on the other side, there can bee no greater miserie or torment, then *Nocte, dieque suum gestare in pectore testem, To carrie day and night, the*

The principal thing that a Councellor ought to regard.

No greater happinesse in this life, then tranquility of Conscience.

August de Ciuit. Dei. in Lib. 21.

Iuuenall.

Testimony

Testimonie of a Mans wickednesse in his owne breast.

No greater misery, then a tormented Conscience.

The worme of conscience byteth at one time or other.

Chrisо. in 16. Luc. Concio. 4. Why the sting of Conscience is frequent, and not continual.

And although Princes do not alwaies (at the first) feele the pricke of Conscience, while the pleasure or commodity of wicked councell is yet fresh: neuertheless, afterward they are stung, and vexed there-with at one time or other. Such beeing the Nature of the Worme of Conscience, that though sometimes it seem to sleepe: yet otherwhiles it gnaweth and biteth bitterlie, as Saint *Chrysostome* witnesseth. *Least if it were continuall, it should not bee supported, and if it were not frequent, it might quickly be contemned or forgotten.* But howsoeuer it may seem to sleep in prosperity, it neuer faileth to prick and sting in aduersity, giuing testimony to wicked men, of Gods iust iudgement vpon them. For, as S. *Gregorie* saith; *Culpa claudit oculos, & pena aperit; Offence, or sin shuts the eyes, and punnishment openeth them.* To which purpose also, *Iob* saith; *Cum reddiderit Deus, tunc scient; When God shall reward him, according to his deserts, then he shall know it, that he hath sinned.* The Children of *Iacob*, being taken for spies, and detained in *Ægipt*: fel presently into acount of their sin; in selling their Brother *Ioseph*, saying; *Merito hoc patimur, &c. We suffer this worthily.* And *Mauritius* the Emperor, seeing his Children slaine before his face, and himselfe also designed for the slaughter, acknowledged Gods Iustice, saying; *Iustus es Domine, &c. Thou art iust ô Lord, and thy iudgement is right, and full of equity.* The like may be noted in *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, of whom I haue formerly spoken, and infinite others, whom I omit for breuities sake.

Gregor. in Iob. 21. Sinne shuttes the eyes, and punnishment. openeth the. Iob. 21, 19.

Gen. 42, 21.

Nicephorus. in Lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Guicciard. in Lib. 1. Cap. 22. Num. 6, 7, 8.

Remorse of Conscience breedeth hatred of the euill councell and of the Councellor.

Guliel. Malmesb. in Lib. 2. Cap. 6. Matth. westmonast. 28. 934.

And this al wicked Councellors ought well to consider and feare, in respect of the hurt that may ensue thereby, as wel to themselues, as to their Princes: because the worm of conscience breedeth not onely remorse, & repentance of the euill act; but also hatred, both of the councell and the Councellor. As it did King *Adelstane*, the first Monark of *England*, after the entrie of the *Saxons*, who being seduced by the bad councell, and false suggestions of one of his fauorites: banished his Brother *Edwin* vniustly, commaunding him to bee sent to Sea, with onely one Seruant, and in a Boat without Oare or saile, wherein he perished. Which when King *Adelstane* vnderstood, he fell into the account of his owne offence, and so much repented it, that he not only tooke vpon him seuen yeares harty contrition: but also grew by little and little, to detest and abhorre his fauourite, who had councelled him thereto, insomuch, that in the end, he did cut off his head, taking occasion vpon certaine words of his. For he beeing his Cup-bearer, and cõming one day to giue him drinke, in a sollemne publique Feast: chaunced to stumble with one foote, and yet to recouer himselfe with the other, saying; *So one Brother helps another.* Whereupon, the King remembring the losse of his Brother, was so moued therewith: that hee caused him presently to be taken and executed.

A memorable example of K. *Adelstane*, and his Cup-Bearer.

Furthermore, a Councellor is to consider, that counceling his Prince against his conscience: he endangereth not only his Princes Soule, but also his temporall state, exposing him and it to the iust punishment of Almighty God, vpon whose will dependeth the States of all Princes, as I haue largly prooued already. Beside, no man knoweth, for how small an offence, in the sight of man; God may punish a Prince in his person or State. *Moyses*, for a litle distrust in the promise of God, dyed before he entred into the Land of promise. King *Saule* was reiected of Almighty God, and dispossessed of his kingdom; for reseruing some part of the spoile of *Amalecke*, at the request of the people, contrary to the commaundement of the Prophet. *Dauid* was punnished with the losse of 70000. of his Subiects, for numbring them. And *Ezechias* for his vaine glory, in shewing his treasure to the Ambassadors of the King of *Babylon*: was threatned by the Prophet, with the spoile of his Pallace, and captiuity of his posterity, which afterward was fulfilled.

How a wicked Councellor endangereth the State of his Prince. No man knoweth for how small an offence, God will punnish a Prince in his person or State.

Num. 20, 14. 1 *Reg.* 15, 11. Deut. 1, 33.

Example of *Moyses, Dauid, Saul*, and *Ezechias.*

4. *Reg.* 20, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

But of al other acts against conscience, for which God punnisheth Princes and their States, none are more pernitious to State: then such as are committed, with intention and hope to benefit the State. For, how little soeuer some of them may seeme to be in their owne nature: yet they haue one circumstance, which doth greatly agrauate them, and maketh them very haynous in the sight of

No wicked councel more pernitious to State, then that which is giuen for the benefit of State, and why.

of God, seeing that wicked pollicies do commonly proceed, of distrust or lacke of beleef in the prouidence of God. For no man, who sincerely believeth, that all States depend vpon Gods will and prouidence, can with any reason perswade himselfe: that any thing which is offensiue to god, may be good for state. And therfore no maruaile, if Almightie God, who of his Iustice punisheth sins many times, euen by the same meanes whereby they offend him: dooth often turne the wicked pollicies of *Machiuillians* to their owne ouerthrow, ordayning that (as *Salomon* saith.) *Quod timet impius veniat superemm; That which the wicked man feareth, may fall vpon him.*

God doth iustly turne *Machiauillian* pollicies to the ouerthrow of the contriuers.

Prouer. 10, 24

An example of *Pharaoh*, Exod. 1, 16.

So it fell out to *Pharaoh*, who fearing leaſt the Children of *Israel* might multiply ouer-much, to the daunger of his State: oppressed them wrongfully, and commaunding that their Male children should be cast into the Riuer, as soone as they were borne. Neuertheleſſe, the more they were oppressed, the more they encreased and multiplyed: and, thorow the special prouidence of God, *Moyses* was saued drowning, and nourished by *Pharaohs* owne Daughter. And by his ministry, the Children of *Israell* wer deliuered, Ægypt spoyled, and *Pharaoh* himselfe with all his Army drowned. So it also fell out to the *Iewes*, who fearing leaſt Christ (if he should liue any time) would draw so many to beliue in him, that the *Romains* might easily destroy their Nation and Temple, for want of people to defend the same: resolued to kill him, and so drew vppon themselues & their Temple, the destruction which they sought to prevent. God so disposing, for punishment of their wickednesse, that the *Romanes* did afterward vtterly destroy their Temple and Countrey, as I haue amply related before. And Herevpon S. *Augustine* notably saith; *That while for feare of loosing their temporall State; they contemned the eternall; they iuſtly loſt both.*

Exod. 12, 36. Exod. 14, 28.

An example of the *Iewes*. Iohn. 11, 57.

August Traſt. 40. in Ioan.

Also, the like Iustice and iudgement of Almighty God, may bee noted in King *Astiages*, who fearing that his Daughters issue might deprive him of the Kingdome: thought to prevent it, by the murther of her Sonne *Cyrus*, commaunding *Harpagus* to destroy him as soone as he was borne. But God so disposed, that the Child was saued, contrary to the expectation of them both, and that afterward, he dispossessed *Astiages* of his Kingdome, with the assistance of *Harpagus*, whom *Astiages* had made the Instrument of his wickednesse. So also it happened to *Amulius*, who thinking to assure his owne State, by the murder of his two Nephewes, *Romulus* and *Remus*: caused them to be layed foorth in the Woods, when they were new borne, to the end, that they might be deuoured of wilde beastes, or perish other-waies. Whom (neuertheleſſe) it pleased God to preserue them, and by the meanes of *Romulus*, to dispossesse *Amulius* of his Kingdome.

Iuſtin in Lib. 1. An example of King *Astiages*.

Iuſtin. 3, 4. in Lib.

Plut. in Romulo An example of King *Amulius*.

But to speake of Christians. In the time of the Emperour *Valentinian* the third, *Attila* the *Scythian*, and King of the *Hunnes* (who called himselfe *Flagellum Dei*, *The Scourge of God*) inuaded the Romaine Empire, with an Armie of eleauen hundred thousand men, and hauing already possessed himselfe of all *Pannonia*, (called *Hungaria* euer since) passed thorough *Germany* into *Fraunce*, vsing all kindes of cruelties vppon all sortes of Christian people, threatning vtter ruine and destruction, as well to Christian Religion, as to the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, the famous Captaine *Ætius*, beeing assisted with *Theodoricke*, King of the *Gothes*, and diuers other Princes; presented him battaile in *France*, not farre from *Orleans*. In which battaile, there were slaine an hundred foureſcore thousand on both sides, and *Attila* ouerthrowne in such sort; that he had no meanes to saue his owne person, but by retyring himselfe into his Campe, where hee fortified himselfe. Neuertheleſſe, hee might haue beene eyther slaine or taken, and Christendome thereby deliuered of a most potent Enemie; if *Ætius* would haue done his endeuour thereto. But he preferring reason of State, before true Christian zeale, and Gods seruice, spared him, fearing leſt if he were vtterly ouerthrown: the *Gothes* (who had already conquered all *Spaine*, and a great part of *France*) would be far more daungerous to the *Romaine* Empire, beeing then free from the feare of *Attila*, who was cõmon enemy to both. For which respect, he suffered him to escape with

Paul Diac. in Lib. 14. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, that termed himselfe the scourge of God.

An hundred and foure score thousand men slaine in one battaile.

The famous Captaine *Actius*, preferring reason of State before conference destroyed himselfe, and endangered the Romaine Empire.

the Reliques of his Army into *Hungary*: which (by the iuſt iudgement of God) turned as well to the deſtruction of *Ætius*, as to the great daunger of the Empire. For *Ætius* being returned moſt triumphant to *Rome*, fell ſhortly after into the diſgrace of the Emperor, who ſuſpected; that he had ſpared *Ætius*, to the end, to make himſelfe Emperour by his aſſiſtance, whereupon he ſlew *Ætius* with his owne hand. And *Attila* hauing (within a while) repaired his Army: was more terrible and noiſome to the *Roman* Empire, then he had bin before. For he came into *Italy*, putting all to Fire and ſword: he razed *Aquilleia* to the ground, tooke *Pauia*, ſacked and deſtroyed *Millaine*, and marched towards *Rome* to beſiedge it. Which he had done, if he had not beene diuerted from it by Pope *Leo* the great: who going himſelfe in perſon to him, perſwaded him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and to retire himſelfe into *Hungary*, which he did preſently. But to return to *Ætius*; we ſee herein the bad ſucceſſe of his policy, & how it turned to his owne deſtruction, when he preferred reaſon of ſtate, before conſcience, and the ſeruice of Almighty God.

Attila more hurtful to the Romaine Empire, then before his ſparing by. *Aetius.*

Blondus in Decad. 1. Lib 2. Sabellic. Ennead. 8. Lib. 1. Baron. An. 452.

Here to I may adde ſome others of later time, of whom I haue alſo ſpoken before, vpon other occaſions; as *Cæſar Borgia*, the Mirror of *Machiauels* Prince: who determining to poyſon Cardinall *Cornetti*, poyſoned his own Father and himſelfe. In like manner, the Queen of *Hungarie*, thinking to maintain her ſelfe and her Son, in the vniuſt poſſeſſion of that kingdome, againſt *Ferdinand*, then King of the *Romains*, and afterward Emperor: craued ayde of *Solyman* the great Turke, by whom, both ſhe and her Son were depriued thereof. Hereby it may appeare, how daungerous and pernitious all Councelles or attemps againſt conſcience, are to State, in reſpect of the offence of him, on whoſe will depend all States, and who, as *Iob* ſaith; *Apprehendit ſapientes in aſtutia eorum, &c. Ouertaketh the wiſe Men of the World in their owne craft and ſubtilty, and the counſell of the wicked is made fooliſh.* Therefore it may be truely ſaid of *Machiauillian* Princes, and their wicked Councellors, as the Prophet ſaid of the King and Councellors of Ægypt, *Stulti Principes, &c. The Princes are Fooles, and their wiſe Councellours haue giuen fooliſh Councell; the Lord hath caſt among them the Spirit of giddineſſe, and hath made them ſtagger and erre in all their works, like a reeling and vomiting drunken Man.*

Caſar Borgia the mirrour of *Machiauels* Prince. *Guicciard. in Lib. 6. Hiſt.*

The Queene of *Hungary*. *Surius in Commen. An. 1542.*

Iob. 5, 13.

Eſay. 16, 9, 10

As for reputation, which is alſo called *Honour*, *Eſtimation*, *Fame*, *Good-Name*, or *Credit*, no ſmall regard is to be had thereto, when there is any queſtion of the Princes commodity: conſidering, that of all externall goods, it is the principall and moſt precious, and (as *Thomas Aquinas* affirmeth) *Moſt like to the goods of the minde.* Wherevpon *Salomon* ſaith: *Melius eſt bonum nomen, quam diuitiæ multæ, A good Name is better then great Riches.* Which is moſt euident in matter of State, for that reputation conſerueth the States of Princes many times, no leſſe (or rather more) then wealth and force.

The reputation of the Prince greatly to be regarded of a Councellor, and why.

D. Thom. 22. 9. 73. Ar. 2 & 3. Prouer. 22, 1.

In which reſpect, *Tiberius Cæſar* was wont to ſay, as *Tacitus* noteth. *That although the deliberations of all other men, doe commonly conſiſt in the conſideration of vtility and profit: yet the State of a Prince is ſuch, that he ought principallie to reſpect Fame and Reputation.* And the reaſon is, for that the loſſe of reputation, is not onely the ſigne, and (as I may ſay) the preamble of a Princes fall: but alſo the occaſion thereof many times. Becauſe, therewith decayeth and falleth (commonly) the affection of frends, and the reſpect, feare, and obedience of Subiects, whereuppon followeth the ſubuerſion of States.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 4. Annal.

The danger of the loſſe of a Princes reputation.

Now then, whereas the reputation of Princes conſiſteth eſpecially in foure things, to wit; Wiſedome, Valor, Vertue, and Power: all councell (tending to commodity) is to bee weighed with the eſtimation thereof, for nothing that may impaire the honour of the Prince in any of theſe, can be accounted truelie commodious for him. Therefore *Phillip de Comines* aduiſeth, touching the Princes Wiſedome, that if he bee not verie wiſe, and of good partes: great care be had, that Strangers be not admitted to his preſence, eſpeciallie to treat with him, leaſt the diſcouerie of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemiſh his Reputation, and animate his Enemies to contemne him. For the French Hiſtoriographers affirme, that

Wherein the reputation of a Prince conſiſteth.

Phillip. de Com. Cap. 57.

Du Haillan in Charles le ſage.

that the opinion which men had, of the Wisedome of *Charles* the fift, King of Fraunce, called the *Wise* mauayled him more against the English, then his force, in so much, that the dispatches which he made in his Chamber, were more feared then his Armies in the Fielde.

The reputation of valour in a Prince.

The like also is to be said, of the opinion of Valour in a Prince, which maketh him no lesse redoubtable vnto his Enemies, then beloued of his Friends and Subiects. Where as the opinion of his effeminacy or base mindednesse of mind, maketh him contemptible to all men, and often causeth the deposition and destruction of Princes: as it did to *Sardanapalus*, the great *Assirian* King; to *Chilperick*, King of *Fraunce*; to *Wenceslaus* the Emperour, and to many others beside.

Iustin. in Lib. 1. Paulus Aemilius in Chilper. Nancler. Chron. 1400.

And as for vertue (wherein I include Religion also) *Aristotle* teacheth, that the onely reputation and opinion thereof: is a notable stay and prop to a Princes State. In respect, that all Men commonly conceiue, that a vertuous and religious Prince, is in the fauour and protection of Almightie GOD. And therefore *Achior*, chiefe Captaine of the *Ammonites*, councelled *Holophernes*, when hee made Warre vpon the Children of *Israell*: *To informe himself, whether they had committed any great offences towardes their God, whereby they might loose his fauour. Assuring him, that otherwise it would bee in vaine to assaile them, because their God would defend them.* And the like conceit it seemeth, that *Leolin*, Prince of Wales, had of *Henrie* the third, King of England, for, when certaine Bishops (who were sent to treat with him, to reduce him to his obedience) threatned him with the Kings great power and forces: he answered. *That he feared more his Prayers and Almes-giuing, then his Armies.* Meaning, that hee doubted, least in respect of his Piety and Charity, God would protect and assist him: and that otherwise, he would little esteeme his force and power. So much it importeth a Prince, to haue the reputation of vertue and Religion, which serueth for a Bridle to his Enemies, both Domesticall and Forraigne, to with-hold them from all attemps against him. Beside, it causeth that his faults and errors are eyther not beleeued; or more easily excused, and the blame thereof laid vpon his Councellors.

Aristot. in Lib. 5. Polit. The reputation of vertue and Religion.

Iudith. 5, 20, 21.

Matthæus Paris. in Henric. 3

Piety and Charity great beauties in a Prince.

And for these causes, *Machiauell* also councelleth his Prince, to procure (by all meanes) to haue the reputation of a religious, iust, and vertuous Prince: though he teach him withall, to bee a most wicked Tyrant. Wherein I cannot omit by the way, to note the absurditie of his doctrine, notably repugning and contradicting it selfe. Seeing, he will haue his Prince to seeme a Lambe, and be a Wolfe, and to make shew of a Saint, and yet to be a Deuill indeede. Which is more possible, then, as the Comicall Poet saith; *Cum ratione insanire; To bee madde with reason. For all feigned thinges* (saith *Cicero*) *fade and fall away like Flowers, and nothing that is dissembled, can long last.* Where our Sauiour himselfe also confirmeth, saying expressely of Hypocrisie. *Attendite, &c. Beware of the Leauen of the Pharises*, That is to say; *of Hypocrisie. For nothing is secret that shall not be reuealed, nor any thing hidde that shall not bee knowne.*

Machi. in Princ. Machiauell counselleth his Prince, to seeke to haue the reputation of Religion and Vertue.

The absurditie of Machiauels Doctrine.

Terent. in Eunuch.

Cicero de Offic. Nothing that is dissembled can last long.

Math. 16, 6.

And this is more euident in dissembling and hypocriticall Tyrants, then in any other sort of Men. Because, so violent is the flame of tyranny; that it breaketh through the weake and clouen Walles of Hypocrisie, and discouereth it selfe to the World. Such being the State of publique persons, and especiallie of Princes (whose actions are subiect to the eyes and censures of all Men) that their least faultes cannot passe, eyther vnknowne, or vncontrouled of the people.

Tyrannie cannot be hid or concealed.

The least defects of Princes are commonly noted and knowne to their Subiects.

As *Plutarch* affirmeth, notably aduising Princes, to haue an especiall regard vnto all their actions: because their very least defects or imperfections are noted. Which he confirmeth with examples of diuers Princes; as of *Pompey* the Great, noted of singularity, for scratching his Head with one Finger; *Lucullus*, censured to be ouer-delicate in his Dyet; the famous *Scipio*, blamed for much sleeping; and *Cæsar*, for going ill girded. What shall wee say of tyrannicall Actes, such as *Machiauill* commendeth in his Prince: I meane Murthers, breach of promises, and

Plutarch in his Instructions for those that manage matters of State.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

No hypocriſie can ſuffiſe to couer Tyrranny.

oaths, frauds and deceipt, and all kind of in-Iuſtice? can any man of reaſon think, that the ſame can be couered with any Cloak of Hypocriſie? Or can a people be ſo ſimple or ſenſleſſe, as not to know and ſee a tyranny, when they behold the manifeſt effects, and ſee too heauie a weight thereof in themſelues? Therfore, what elſe can follow of Hypocriſy in a Tyrant, but that his Subiects ſhall hate him much more, and the ſooner conſpire his ouerthrow, as of one no leſſe odious to God then to man? wher by the Scripture ſhal be fulfilled, which ſaith; *The heauens ſhall reueale the iniquity of the Hypocrite, and the Earth ſhall riſe againſt him.*

Hypocriſie encreaſeth the hatred of God and man againſt a Tyrant. Iob. 20, 27.

The reputation of true & not of feigned vertue requiſite in any Prince.

Now, concerning the reputation of Vertue, which is neceſſary for the conſeruation of a Prince: it muſt be grounded vpon true vertue, and not vpon vain ſhewes, & hypocriticall diſſimulations. For, as true Religion, Iuſtice, & Vertue (ioyned with princely power) do engender in the Subiects admiration, reſpect, reuerence, & loue towards their Prince: euen ſo impiety, in-iuſtice, and intemperance in him, do breed in the ſubiects either hatred, or cõtempt of his perſon. For of the crimes of impiety and in-Iuſtice (as periury, deceipt, and crueltie) proceedeth hatred; and of the vices of intemperance (as laſciuiouſneſſe, drunkenneſſe, and ſuch like) is engendred contempt, whereof I purpoſe to diſcourſe more at large hereafter. Neuertheleſſe, I think good to ſay ſomewhat more in this place, concerning one ſpeciall vertue, very requiſite in a Prince for his reputation: to wit, truth, fidelity, and conſtancy, in the exact obſeruation of his oaths, promiſes, and word. Wherof I am the more willing to treat, becauſe *Machiauill* alloweth and commendeth all maner of falſhood, deceipt, treachery, and periury in a Prince, when he may hope to gaine, or to benefit his ſtate thereby But how impious and abſurd his doctrine is in that behalfe, yea, and how pernitious to Princes & their States: it will the more euidentlie appeare, if we conſider, how dangerous and damnable all falſhood and deceipt is to any Common-wealth, for the conſeruation whereof, nothing is more neceſſary then truth and fidelity, as well in the Prince, as in the people.

What true vertue in the Prince worketh in the ſubiects.

What are the effects of vice in a Prince.

Concerning truth and fidelity in any Prince, in his Oaths, promiſes and word.

Falſhood and deceipt, dangerous and damnable.

Therefore *Cicero* teacheth, that *Fides*, which we may call *Fidelitie* (conſiſting, as he ſaith, in *Veritie, and conſtant performance of vvordes, Promiſes, and Couenants*) is *Fundamentum Iuſtitiæ*, *The Foundation of Iuſtice*, which is the eſpeciall prop and ſtay of State. In which reſpect, he calleth it; *Commune omnium præſidium*; *The common defence or refuge of all Men.* And alſo ſaith, that *Nullares vehementius rempuplicam continet, quam fides. Nothing doth more firmelie vnite and hold together the Common-wealth, then Fidelitie.* And *Valerius Maximus* calleth it; *Venerabile numen, & certiſſimum humanæ ſalutis pignus*; *A venerable and Diuine power, and the moſt ſure pledge of humane ſecuritie.* And the Romaines ſo much eſteemed it, that they builded and dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddeſſe, in which Temple, all Leagues, Truces, Couenants, and important Bargaines, were publiquely made and ſworne: which were ſo religiouſly obſerued, that whoſoeuer brake them, was held for a curſſed and damned Creature, and vnworthy to liue in humaine ſocietie. And with great reaſon, for, if falſhood and fraud were permiteed to haue courſe in common-wealths: what Traffique or Commerce with Straungers or Friendes? What aſſurance in Leagues with Forraigne Princes, in Contracts and Marriages, in Promiſes and Bargaines, and in buying and ſelling? What Loue? What Society? What Common-wealth? Which conſiſteth in the communication of Commodities one with another; and flouriſh ſo much the more, by how much euery one tendereth, and deſireth the publique good, more then his owne: in which reſpect, it is called *Reſpublica*, that is to ſay, *Weale-publique.* And therefore, if truſtie and faithfull dealing ſhould faile among Men: there wold be no more ciuill ſociety amongſt men, then amongſt Tygers and Beares, Foxes and Wolues, Cats and Dogges. Which the Apoſtle inſinuateth notably, when hee exhorteth the *Epheſians*, and (in them) all other Chriſtians, to vſe all Sincerity and truth one with another, becauſe wee are all combined in one Myſticall Bodie. *Propter quod* (ſaith hee) *deponentes mendacium, &c. Therefore, laying aſide all lies, let euery*

Cicero in Lib. 1 de Offic. Wherein Fidelity conſiſteth.

Idem. pro Sext. Roſ.

Idem. Lib. 2. de Offic.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Dionif. Halicar. in Lib. 2. Tit. Liui in Lib. 2. et 3.

If falſhood & fraude were permitted amongſt men, no Common-wealth could ſtand.

Reſpublica, the Common-weale or Publique good.

euerie one speake the truth to his Neighbour; Quoniam sumus inuicem membra; Because wee are all Members one of another.

Fidelitie most necessary in the Prince for conseruation of the Common wealth.

Heerevpon it followeth, that fidelity is not only necessary in the Subiects, but also in the Prince, for the conseruation of the Common-wealth. For, seeing nothing is more requisite, for maintenance of the Politicall body, the vnion of the head with the members thereof, that is to say; of the Prince with the people, and nothing more necessary thereto, then their trust and confidence one in another, which cannot be, where there is no fidelity: It followeth, that nothing is more requisite, for conseruation both of the Prince and people, then fidelity in both; without the which, neither can the subiects assure themselues of their Princes protection, nor the Prince be satisfied of his Subiects Loyalty.

Truste & confidence one in another most requisite

And to speake heere particularly of the Prince, it is to bee considered, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous: not onely vnto the Common-wealth, but also to himselfe. As it will be euident, if wee weigh the force and effect, of the good or bad example of the Prince, and how potent a Motiue it is, to induce his Subiects to vertue or vice. Seeing, as *Salomon* saith, *Qualis est Rector Ciuitatis, tales sunt habitantes in ea; What manner of Man the Ruler of the Cittie is, such are they that dwel therein.* Therefore (I say) that as the example of the Princes fidelity, dooth redound both to the good of the Common-wealth, and also to his owne securitv (because the people doe learne thereby, to be not onely faithfull vnto one another, but also dutifull and loyal towardes him:) euen so, the example of perfidious and double dealing in him, dooth worke the contrary effect, and teacheth his Subiects to be no lesse faithlesse and treacherous toward him, then fraudulent and treacherous one to another, which may turne as wel to his destruction, as to the hurt of the Common-wealth.

The force of the Princes good or bad example in the Commonwealth.

Eccles. 10, 2.

How the fidelitie of the Prince redoundeth to his owne good.

A perfidious Prince teacheth his subiects to be traiterous to himselfe.

But perhaps some *Machiauillian* will say, that although the Prince (for his owne commodity) do vse sometimes to violate his faith: yet he may so seuerely punnish it in his Subiects, that no inconuenience shall followe of his example, eyther to the Commonwealth, or to himselfe. Whereto I answer, that the Prince cannot (with reason) expect, that the seuerity of Lawes, or other politike meanes, shall represse any vice in his Commonwealth: which shall bee anie way Authorized by the example of his owne practise. For as the Poet saith:

The Princes bad example ouer-weigheth good Lawes.

Totus componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, vt vita regentis.

Claudian.

That is to say, *All the world is framed after the model of the King, and no Lawes or Edicts can so much moone the mindes of men, as dooth the life of the Gouernour.* Which *Plutarke* confirmeth notablye, saying: *That euen as a Squire or rule must be straight in it selfe, before it can make other thinges straite: So the Prince, who is (as it were) the rule of his Subiectes, ought first to rectifie himselfe, before hee go about (by Lawes or other meanes) to rectifie his Commonwealth. For, he that is falling* (saith Plutarch) *is not fit to vpholde others, nor hee that is ignorant, to Teach; nor he that is incorrigible, to Correct; nor he that is himselfe disordered, to put others in order.*

Plutarch de doctrina principum.

The Prince is the rule of his subiects.

Thus saith he, giuing to vnderstand, that a vicious Prince, who seeketh to make his Subiects vertuous by rigor of Lawes, laboureth in vaine, like to one, that buildeth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other, and so destroyeth more in one day, then he can builde in many. For so do the bad example of the Prince, corrupt more in a day, then his Lawes can correct or amend in a yeare.

A bad Prince who maketh good lawes, but teareth with one hand, and pulleth down with the other.

This the ancient *Romans* so well considered, that their Magistrats & Senate were most exact and punctuall, in the obseruation of Oaths and promises euē to their very enemies: for the regarde they had, not onely to Iustice; and to their own reputation: but also the consequence of their good example in the Commonwealth, as vpon other occasions, I haue formerly proued, by the examples of *Marcus Attilius Regulus, T. Veturius & Spurius Posthumus*, Consuls, and of *T. Mutius* and *Q. Emilius*, Tribunes of the Temple.

The Romaine Senate and Magistrats most exact in the obseruation of Oaths and promises.

The like notable examples of perticuler men among Paganes, may alſo be alledged, whereof I will onely relate one or two, for breuities ſake. *Sextus Pompeius*, Sonne to *Pompey* the Great, hauing warres with *Antonius* the *Triumuir*, and meeting with him at the Sea ſide, vpon a treatie of peace: inuited him to Supper in his Gally, giuing him his oath for his aſſurance. And beeing ſecretly demaunded by *Metrodorus*, the Pyrate, whether he ſhould weigh Anker, and ſet ſaile, and ſo make himſelfe Lord of all the World? Aunſwered. *That it was not his cuſtome or condition to forſweare himſelfe*: eſteeming it neither honourable nor profitable for him, to gaine the Empire of the World by periurie.

Sextus Pompeius would not breake his Oath, to be Emperor of all the world. *Plutarch in Anton.*

No leſſe care of fidelity had *Licurgus*, Brother to *Polidectes*, King of *Lacedemonia*. For, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, of the Kingdome after his Brothers death, at the inſtance of the people, vntill his Brothers Wife (who was great with Childe) ſhould be brought to Bed, and the Child of years to gouerne. And being ſollicited by her, to marrie with her, vpon her promiſe to kill the Child in her Womb, thereby to aſſure his State: he not onelie refuſed it, but alſo proclaimed her Sonne King, as ſoone as he was borne, taking only the tuition of him, vntill he came to age, as partly hath been before declared.

The care which *Licurgus* had of his fidelity. *Plutarch in Licur.*

An vnnatural motion of a Mother.

I needs not adde heereunto any examples of Chriſtian Princes, whoſe Religion both teacheth and bindeth them, to be more exact and preciſe then Painims in this caſe. Neuertheleſſe, I cannot forbeare to ſpeake of a notable act in this kind, of the moſt Chriſtian and vertuous Prince *Ferdinand*, Brother to *Henry* the third of that Name, King of *Caſtile*. This *Ferdinand*, being left by his Brothers Teſtament, Tutour to his Sonne King *Iohn* the ſecond (an Infant of eight moneths old) and being vrged greatly by the three States of *Caſtile*, to take the Crowne to himſelfe: he would by (no means) conſent thereto, ſaying. *That he would neuer be falſe, eyther to his Brother dead, or to his Nephew liuing, to whom he had promiſed his fidelity*. For which faithfulneſſe (no doubt) God bleſſed him, and (within ſixe yeares after) gaue him the Kingdome of *Arragan*, whereto he was choſen by the free election of the Nobility and Commons of the Realme. Beholdthen, how great reſpect, not onelie this Chriſtian Prince, but alſo the Paganes before named, had to ſincerity and fidelitie, as well for the cauſes before mentioned: as alſo for the verie deteſtation and hatred of perfidiouſneſſe, being a vice (of it ſelfe) moſt odious, and vnworthy of Princelie Dignitie.

Ferdinand, Brother to *Henry*, King of *Caſtile*.

Lucas Marin. Siculus, de Reb. Hiſp. Lib. 11.

The care of ſincerity and fidelity manifeſted.

For whereas all other vices and ſinnes (for the moſt part) are, or may bee attributed either to frailtie or errour, whereby they ſeeme (many times) the more woorthy of pardon: perfidiouſneſſe is euer preſumed, to proceed from a treacherous, maligne, vile and baſe nature, and therefore not excuſable in Princes, whoſe proceedings ought to be (in al things) Reall, Generous, Noble and Heroycall. In which reſpect, one falſe and trecherous acte, may ſuffiſe to ecclipſe, and obſcure the glory of many great vertues in a Prince. As *Plutarke* noteth in *Alexander* the Great; who cauſing certaine *Indian* Souldiours to bee ſlaine, after they had rendered themſelues vnto him vpon his worde: *Spotted and ſtained* (ſaith he) *the renowne of all his glorious Conqueſts and Royall vertues, with the ignominie of that one Acte.* And the reaſon is, becauſe ſo delicate is mans credite and reputation, in matter of truſt and confidence: that it is like vnto a Glaſſe, which beeing once broken, is not repayrable. And therefore, he that is once knowne for a Lyer, is not beleeued when he ſaith true: and he that is once reputed to bee falſe, is euer after held in ſuſpition. And according vnto the generall rule of the Law; *Semper preſumitur malus in eodem genere malo*; *Is euer preſumed to be wicked in the ſame kind of wickedneſſe*. Wherevpon it followeth, that a faithleſſe Prince is hated of his Subiects; ſuſpected of his beſt Friends; irreconciliable with his Enemies; beloued and truſted of none; and betrayed or forſaken of all Men in his greateſt neceſſities. And that worthily, ſeeing hee himſelfe giueth the euill example, which other Men follow to his own vtter ouerthrow and deſtruction.

Perfidiouſnes is a ſigne of a baſe and vile nature.

Plutarch in Alexandro.

Once falſe, euer after is ſuſpected.

L. 1. Si cuiſ. de accuſat. Bart. in li. Coſſus de Sena.

The dangers, which accompany perfidi ouſneſſe in a Prince.

But

The Politick or *Machiauillian* obiectiõ.

But the Politick or *Machiauillian* will ſay, that a wiſe Prince hath ſufficient remedies againſt theſe inconueniences, to wit; ſtrong Gards, Garriſons, Forts, and Fortreſſes, beſides his owne policy, aſſiſted with the prudence of faithfull and vigilant Councellors, whereby hee may ſecurely make his commoditie in all occaſions, without feare of anie damage that may enſue thereof o his perſon or ſtate.

The inſufficiency of *Machiauillian* remedies.

Thus ſaith the *Machiauillian*, moſt abſurdly, as it will appeare, if wee conſider whence groweth the daunger that the Prince incurreth, by perfidious and deceitfull dealing, which being moſt hatefull, not only to man, but alſo to God, doth draw vpon him both Diuine and humain puniſhment, againſt the which, neither theſe, nor any other *Machiauillian* remedies can warrant him.

Falſhood hatefull to God and man.

And firſt to ſpeake of the offence of God, and diuine punniſhment enſuing thereon. We finde in holy Scriptures, that nothing is more deteſtable vnto almighty God, then a deceitfull or double man. And therefore, the Holyghoſt ſaith in the Parables, *Os bilingue deteſtor, I do deteſt a double tongued mouth*. And againe in the ſame Booke; *Abominatio Domini eſt omnis illuſor, Euery deceyuer is abhominable before God*. And the Royall Prophet, coupling the deceyuer with the blood-ſucker, ſaith of them both. *Virum ſanguinum & doloſum abominator Dominus, God doeth abhorre the blondie and deceitful man*. And ſpeaking of the guilefull tongue of *Doeg*, hee threatneth the vengeaunce of God to him, and all ſuch, ſaying: *Lingua doloſa, propterea, &c. A deceiptful tongue, God will therefore deſtroy thee eternally, he will plucke thee vp, and remoue from thee from thy Tabernacle, and root thee out of the Land of the liuing*. Lo thẽ, how odious fraudulent and double dealing is to Almightie God, who being *Ipſa veritas, Truth it ſelf*; exacteth nothing more of man (created in his Image) then verity and truth. But much more of a Prince, then of any other priuate perſon, becauſe the Prince is his Image, not only by reaſon of the naturall guifts of his ſoule, as all other men are: but alſo in reſpect of his Office, whereby he repreſenteth his perſon (as his Lieutenant) in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, whereof Fidelitie and truth is the Foundation, as I haue ſufficiently declared before.

Prouer. 8, 13.

Prouer. 3, 32.

Pſalme 52, 9.

Pſalme. 11, 8.

God exacteth nothing more of man, then Truth.

A Prince is the Image of God in two reſpects.

Wherein (neuertheleſſe) it is to bee vnderſtood, that although all real, plaine and true dealing bee moſt requiſite in a Prince: yet hee is to vſe great diſcretion and prudence therein, becauſe infinite occaſions do occurre, wherein Princes ought to conceale and couer their intentions, with more care and circumſpection then all other men, eſpeciallye in matters to be executed. Wherefore, great difference is to bee noted, betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the trueth, which the Latines do ſignify in two proper words, to wit; *Simulatio* and *Diſſimulatio*. Whereof the firſt, which we may tearme *Simulation* or fiction, is euer vnlawfull, and therefore neuer to bee vſed. But the latter which we may call diſcreet diſsimulation, is both awfull & commendable; yea, and ſo neceſſarie ſometimes in Princes, that it may well and truly be ſaid: *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare: He which knowes not how to diſſemble*, that is to ſay, diſcreetly to couer and cloake his intentions when occaſion requireth, *knoweth not howe to raigne*. But I ſay with *Salomon* who was himſelfe a moſt wiſe and potent Prince; that, *Non decet principem labiũ mentiens: A lying lip or mouth, doeth not beſeeme a Prince*. In which reſpect, he alſo prayeth to Almighty God; *Verba mendacia longe fac à me, O Lord preſerue and keepe me far from lying words*. And againe in another Parable, he ſaith; *Qui nititur mendacijs, paſcit ventos; He which truſts to lies, feeds the winde*. That is to ſay, as Saint *Auguſtin* expoundeth it, *Fit eſca ſpiritibus malis, He becomes the meat or prey of euill ſpirits*, or of the Deuill, whoſe imitator, or rather whoſe childe hee maketh himſelfe. For, as our Sauiour ſaith, the Deuill is *Mendax & pater eius, A Lyer, and the Father of lyes*; and is therefore called *Diabolus*, which ſignifieth a deceiuer.

Great prudence to be vſed of Princes in plaine-dealing.

Great difference to be noated betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the truth.

The difference betwixt diſſimulation and diſcreete diſſimulation.

Diſcreete diſſimulation commendable in a Prince.

Prouer. 17, 7. A lye moſt vnſeemely in a Princes mouth.

Prouer. 30, 8. Prouer. 10, 24.

Auguſt. cont Creſcon. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

A lyer the Child of the Deuill. Iohn. 8, 44.

What then ſhall wee ſay of ſuch a Prince as *Machiauil* frameth, to witte; a moſt treacherous, perfidious, and periured perſon? Can he deſerue to be called the Image, Lieutenant, or Miniſter of God, whoſe ſimilitude and likeneſſe he defaceth in himſelfe; whoſe Commiſſion he abuſeth, & whoſe holy name he ſhamefully prophaneth? What elſe can he expect at the hands of God, but ſeuere

Machiauels Prince perfidious and periured.

A heauy and fearefull expectation.

ſeuere punniſhment, not onelie in the world to come, but alſo in this life, if he repent not?

This may appeare by manifold examples, whereof I will alledge ſome out of approoued Authors, both auncient and Moderne, to ſhew the impious abſurditie of *Machiauels* doctrine, allowing perfidiouſneſſe and periury in a Prince, as neceſſary ſometimes for the benefite of his State.

Gen. 49, 7, 8. *Simeon* and *Leui* curſſed by their Father *Iacob*, for violating their league with *Sichem* and *Hemor*.

But firſt, to ſpeake of our holy Scriptures. We read in *Geneſis*, that *Simeon* and *Leui*, the Children of *Iacob*, wer curſed by their Father at his death, becauſe they had violated their league made with *Sichem* and *Hemor*, whom they deſtroied with all their Citty, contrary vnto theyr promiſe and couenant. *Maledictus* (ſaith *Iacob*) *furor eorum, quia pertinax, &c. Curſed be their furie, becauſe it was obſtinate.* And propheſying further of the temporall puniſhment, which God woulde inflict vpon their poſterity for the ſame, he added. *Diuidam eos in Iacob, & diſpergam in Iſrael. I will diuide them in Iacob, and diſperſe them among the Children of Iſrael.* Which was fulfilled afterward, as Saint *Hierom* witneſſeth, for that their Tribes had not their habitation apart, as the others had: for the Tribe of *Leui* was diſtributed in diuers Cities, amongſt the other Tribes, to bee their Leuites and Prieſts. And the Tribe of *Simeon*, had their dwelling with the Tribes of *Iuda*, & (as the Hebrewes affirme) ſerued for School-Maiſters in all the other Tribes, and got their liuing onely by teaching Children.

Hierom in Traditionibus Hebraicis in Geneſim.

Pererius in Geneſ Cap. 49.

In like manner, the punniſhment of God was notable vppon King *Saules* poſterity, for his breach of League which *Ioſuah* made with the *Gabaonites*. Wherin it is to bee noted, that although the *Gabaonites* craftily circumuented *Ioſuah*, and induced him by fraud and deceipt to make league with them, putting on their olde ſhooes, and torne cloaths, and affirming, that they were a people dwelling in a farre Countrey, and that being mooued with the fame of his victories: they were come ſo many dayes iourney to meete him, that they had worne out their ſhooes and cloaths in their voyage; whereas they dwelt not farre off, and in the very Land of promiſe, which GOD had giuen to the Children of *Iſrael*. Nertheleſſe, when *Ioſuah* diſcouerd their deceipt, he had ſuch regard to his Oath, that hee would by no meanes violate it. But anſwered to the Children of *Iſrael*, when they murmured againſt him. *Iuraimus eis* (ſaith hee) *We haue ſworne vnto them, in the name of the Lord God of Iſrael; and therefore wee may not touch them, leaſt the wrath of God fal vpon vs, if vve breake our Oath.*

2. Reg. 21, 17. Ioſuah. 9, 18. Saul's poſterity punniſhed for his breach of league with the *Gabaonites*.

The great regard that *Ioſuah* had of his Oath and league with the *Gabaonites*.

Ioſuah. 9, 19.

Thus ſaith *Ioſhuah*: whereby we may learne, how great is the Obligation of al iuſt and lawfull Leagues, or other Couenants paſſed by Oath, and how daungerous is the breach thereof, in reſpecte of Gods iuſt and ſeuere iudgements, vpon the offenders in that behalfe. Whereof the experience was ſeene, aboue three hundred yeares after *Ioſuahs* time, in the breach of that league by *Saule*. For the which, the Children of *Iſrael* were afflicted with three yeares famine in *Dauids* time, and ſeauen of *Saules* Children and family, were deliuered into the handes of the *Gabaonites*, and hanged by them in puniſhment of *Saules* offence.

The obligation of lawfull leagues.

The iudgement happened 300. yeares after, in *Sauls* time.

2. Reg. 21. 9.

Furthermore, we read in the Booke of *Machabees*, that *Andronicus* a Fauourite of King *Antiochus*, was by the iuſt iudgement of God, and the commaundement of *Antiochus* himſelfe, ſhamefully put to death: euen in the verie ſame place, wher he had killed *Onias* the Highprieſt, who had rendred himſelfe vnto him vpon his promiſe of ſecurity. Alſo the examples heereof, are verie notable amongeſt the *Ethnicks*, who obſerued (dilligently) the iudgements of God, vpon traiterous and perfidious perſons. And therefore when *Tiſſaphernes* the *Perſian*, made war againſt the *Grecians*, and brake Truce, which he had made with them for three months, *Ageſilaus* reioyced greatly, ſaying; *We are beholding to Tiſſaphernes, for making the Goddes his enemies, and our friends, therefore let vs boldly giue him battell.* And ſo he did, and gaue him a great ouerthrow.

2. Mac. 4, 38. *Andronicus* puniſhed for his Treachery towards *Onias*.

How the *Paynims* obſerued Gods iudgements vpon perfidious perſons.

Polæn. in Lib. 2.

Plutarch alſo recounteth a notable hiſtorie, of *Cleomines* King of *Lacedemonia*, who hauing made truce with the *Argians* for ſeauen dayes: ſet vpon their camp in the night, and taking them vnprouided by reaſon of the truce, made great ſlaughter of them. But being reproched with his breach of promiſe and oath, he ieſted at it, ſaying; *That hee ſware Truce*

Plutarch in Apoph. Lacedæm.

Gods notable iudgement vpon *Cleomines*, for his periury.

for

A shamefull repulse giuen by women.

for the dayes, but not for the nights. But so it fell out (saith *Plutarch*) in punishment of his falsehood and periury, that it serued him to no purpose. For whereas, he assailed the Cittie presently, hoping for to take it with all facility, hee had a shamefull repulse by the women which dwelt therein. And afterward falling furiously mad, he tooke a Knife, and ript vp his owne body, from the very heele to the heart, and so dyed laughing.

Plutarch in Dione. *Calippus* punished by Almighty God for his periurie.

The same Author also signifyeth, that one *Calippus*, being iustly charged with a conspiracie against *Dion* of *Sicilie*, and hauing denyed it with manie solemne Oaths) in the Temple of *Ceres*, was (by Gods iust iudgement) slaine with the same Dagger wherewith *Dion* was killed before by his consent. I omit diuers other examples, which might be alleadged out of prophane Historiographers, to adde a few out of Christian & more Moderne Authors.

Matters in controuersie decided by Oaths at the Tombes of Martures in the primitiue Church.

The seuere iudgements of God vpon men, for the sinne of periury, haue been alwayes so incident among Christians: that the custome was in the Primitiue Church, to discide matters in Controuersie by Oaths, at certaine holy places, and the Tombes of Martyrs, where Almighty God did ordinarily extend his Iustice vpon periured persons. Which Custom (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) was in vre in his time, at *Millain*, whereof he saith, *Nos nominus Mediolani, &c. I my selfe haue knowne in Millaine, at the Mommories of Saints, a certaine Theefe, who went thither with intention to deceiue by periury, was compelled to confesse his Theft, and to restore that which hee had stolne.*

August. Epist. 147. What Saint *Augustine* affirmeth of his knowledge.

A notable example of a Noble man of England iustly punnished for his periurie.

But of this matter, we haue a most famous and autenticall example in our owne Histories. *Elfred* or *Alfred*, a Nobleman of England, in the time of King *Adelstane*, conspired against him with certaine others: and beeing accused thereof, stood vpon the denial, and because the prouers were not sufficient to conuince him, he was sent to *Rome* (as the Custome was then) to make his purgation by Oath, at the Altar of S. *Peter*, where he swore contrary to his Conscience, and presently fell down before the Altar, and dyed within three daies after. Vpon aduertisement whereof, King *Adelstane* gaue all the Lands of *Alfred*, to the Church of Saint *Peter* in the Abbey of *Malmesbury*, by his Letters Patents; wherein, after the graunt of the sayde Lands, he declared the whole matter as it passed.

Guliel. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. Lib 2. cap. 6.

Also some yeares after, in the same age, *Lotharius* King of *Austrasia* (which contained all *Lorraine*, *Flanders*, & some part of *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *France*) came to *Rome*, accompanied with his Nobility, in the time of *Adrian* the second, because he had bin excommunicated, for his diuorce frō his lawful wife *Theutperga*, and married with *Waldrada* his Concubine. Now he was content, for his purgation thereof, to receiue the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Pope *Adrian*, together with his Nobility, which he did, protesting for his part, that he stood cleare of those things wherwith he was accused, which also his Nobility affirmed. But, as they depar ed from *Rome* homewards, there hapned such a strange d sease among them, that *Lotharius* (hauing seene the death of most of his Noblemen) before he came to *Luca*, fell sicke there himselfe, and died within a few dayes after at *Placentia*, so that of all those that receyued the Sacrament with him, there liued not any one to the yeares end.

Regino. Chron. Aquitan. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. An. 859. Nauclerus Chron. An. 867. Baron. An. 868.

Henry Huntend in Hist. Lib. 6. Ingulphus Hist. Angl. 853. Polidor. Hist. Angl.

Periury notably punnished in Earle Godwine, Father to King Harold.

And nowe to returne vnto our owne Countrey. Earle *Godwin*, Father to K. *Harold*, hauing procured the vntimelie death of *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward* the Confessor, denied it continualy with solemne Oathes; and especiallie once, when he dined with the King. At what time, occasion beeing offered to speake of that matter, he took a piece of bread, and prayed to God, that the same might be his last, if he were any way consenting or priuy therto. And so eating the bread was choaked therewith, and died there in the Kings presence.

King *Harold* slaine by Duke *William* the Conqueror, in punishment of his periury.

It is also obserued and testified by most of the old Historiographers of ourcountry, that the ouerthrow of King *Harolde* by *William* the Conqueror, was a iust punishment of God vpon him for his periury, the Story is briefely thus. *Harold* being in *Normandy* with Duke *William*, in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, promised for to assist him after the Kings death, in his pretence to the crown of *England*, which he also confirmed by solemne Oath. Whereupon, Duke *William*

liam affianced his Daughter to him, and becauſe ſhe was not then of yeares to be married: he tooke *Harolds* oath, to perform the mariage within a certain time after. But when the time appointed for the mariage came, and *Harold* ſhewed no care to perform any part of his promiſes, the Duke ſent Meſſengers vnto him, to requeſt of him the accompliſhment thereof. But he, in ſtead of giuing ſatisfaction to the Duke: derided his Meſſengers, cauſing ſome of their Horſes tailes to be cut off, and others to be lamed. Alſo, afterward, when King *Edward* dyed, he practiſed not onely to exclude the Duke from the Crowne: but alſo procured it for himſelf, pretending that his promiſe to the Duke, was made for feare, & therefore it could not binde him.

Regard of Oath and promiſes vterly forgotten by *Harold*.

When the Duke was entred into *England* with his Army, and ſollicited him by Meſſengers, to haue care of his conſcience, repreſenting vnto him the ſeuere iudgements of God on periured perſons, offering to come to ſome reaſonable compoſition with him: he made no account therof, neither yet of the admonition of his owne Brother *Gurth* or *Girth*. Who aduiſed him ſeriouſly before the battaile, to retire himſelfe, and leaue the conduct of the Army to him and others, who were not bound to the Duke vpon any oath or promiſe: leaſt otherwiſe, GOD might ſuffer them all to bee quite ouerthrowne for his cauſe.

Duke *Williams* honourable proceeding with *Harold*, at his entrãce into England.

Whereto hee aunſwered; *That he would put it in venter, and that God ſhold be the Iudge thereof.* And ſo giuing the battaile, was ſlaine himſelfe, and all his Army ouerthrowne. And although the ſaid Conqueſt might ſeeme to be a puniſhment of God vpon the whol Realm, for the peoples ſins: yet the perticuler diſgrace, which happened to King *Harolds* perſon, may well bee thought to haue proceeded (by Gods iuſt iudgment) for his periurie, and ſo the Engliſh Chroniclers, which wrote in that age, doe ſignifie: As *Iugulphus*, *William* of *Malmſburie*, *Henry Huntendon*, *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Matthew Paris*, and *Roger Houedon*, who ſpeaking of the victory, ſaith. *Vere & abſq; dubio, Dei iudicio à ſcribenda eſt, qui puniendo, ſcelus periurij, oſtendit ſe Deum nolentem iniquitatem. Truely and without doubt, it is to bee aſcribed to the iudgement of God, who puniſhing the ſin of periurie, declared thereby, that hee is a GOD, who doth not like nor allow of iniquity.*

The vnaduiſed anſwere of *Harold* to his kind Brother *Girth*.

The ancient Antiquaries that auouch this Hiſtory.

The words of *Roger Houeden*, an ancient Chronicler.

But to come neerer to our time, *Phillip de Comines* noteth the manifeſt Iuſtice of God, in the diſgracefull death of *Charles*, the laſt Duke of *Bourgundy*, thorow the treaſon of *Compobachio*, an *Italian*, ſhortly after that the ſaide *Charles* had betraied the *Count S. Paule*, and ſent him Priſoner to *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*; notwithſtanding, that he had giuen him ſafe conduct to come into his Country.

Phil. de Com. Chron. du Roy Louis. Lap. 83. & 91.

Charles Duke of *Bourgundy* worthily betrayed.

Furthermore, I cannot omit *Ceſar Borgia*, though I haue ſpoken of him diuers times before. For, as *Machiauill* worthily maketh him a Mirrour for his Tyrany, in reſpect of his manifold vices: ſo he may as worthily be propoſed for an example of Gods Iuſtice, in regard of the manifold iudgements of God diuerſly extended vpon him. And perticularly, in the puniſhment of his perfidiouſneſſe and periury, whereby hee had deceiued and ruined diuers other principall perſonages: As *Liuerotto*, *Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo Vrſino*, and the duke of *Grauina*, whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled; after they had rendred themſelues to him vpon compoſition, and employed themſelues faithfully in his ſeruice. Wherein Gods Iuſtice may bee noted, (by the way) in *Liuerotto*, who (a little before) had cruelly and trayterouſly murdered his owne Vnckle, and diuers other principall Cittizens of *Fermo*; hauing inuited them to a banquet in his owne houſe.

Ceſar Borgia puniſhed iuſtly for his perfidious Treachery.

Guicciardin in Lib. 8. Hiſt.

Liuerotto hauing traiterouſly murdered his Vnckle, was traiterouſly murdered himſelfe.

Which perfidious treachery of his, God puniſhed (as it ſeemed) by the treachery and perfidiouſneſſe of *Ceſar Borgia*: who alſo receiued the like meaſure himſelfe, by others. For, whereas he had taken an oath of fortie principall perſonages, to aſſiſt him after his Fathers death; he was forſaken of them all, and putting himſelfe (afterward) into the handes of *Henando Gonçales*, Gouernour of *Naples*, vppon his ſafe conduct; he was alſo betrayed by him, and ſent Priſoner into Spaine, as elſe-where is ſignified.

Idem Ibid.

The

Surius An. 1517 Another example of *Christiern*, King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

The like Iustice of God may bee noted also in *Christern*, King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*, who maried a Sister of the Emperor *Charles* the fift, in the time of *Henry* the eight, King of *England*. This *Christiern* besiedging *Stockholme* in *Swetia*, tooke it by composition, binding himselfe to certaine conditions, not only by Oath, but also by receyuing the blessed Sacrament. Which conditions, he obserued for some few dayes, till hee had the Castle, and all the strongest places of the towne in his owne hands, and that hee had furnished them with men and munition. But then, inuiting all the Noblemen and Magistrates to a Banquet, to the number of ninety foure persons: he imprisoned and after kild them, with a great number of the Cittizens. And finding, that verie manie escaped him, by hiding themselues, he promised (by Proclamation) life and libertie to all those which were left aliue, whereupon they all shewed themselues, and were all miserably slaine. But within a while after, he was driuen out of his kingdom by his owne subiects; and when he hadde wandered from Countrey to Countrey in all pouerty and misery for the space of ten yeares, he was receiued again by som of the chiefest Nobility, who although they promised him obedience and assistance vnto their handes and seales, yet they tooke him prisoner vppon his enterance, and (within a while) poysoned him in prison: thus was his perfidious falshood iustly repayed with the like. After whose deposition and death, his Vnkle *Fredericke* a worthy Prince, was chosen King of *Denmark*.

Olaus. Mag. in Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Christiern expulsed from his kingdome by his owne subiects, and afterward poysoned in Prison.

Munster. Geograph. Lib. 4.

About the same time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, being fled from *Frances* the first King of *France*, to the seruice of the Emperour *Charles* the fift, Emperour, and made by him Gouernour of *Millayne*: he so exasperated the people by his exactions and crueltie, that they rose against him.

Martin du Belley. An. 1527. The Duke of *Bourbon* slaine at the siedge of *Rome* in punnishment of his periury.

Insomuch, that to pacifye them, he bound himselfe by Oath to certaine conditions, praying withall to Almightie God, that in case he did not exactly performe them, he might be slaine by a bullet, in the first occasion of warre which he offered. Neuertheless, hee fell afterward againe to his former course, without regard of his Oath, and being (within a while after) made Generall of the Emperors Army in *Italy*, he was tumultuously carried by his Souldiers (against his will) to the siedge of *Rome*, where he was presently slaine with a piece of Artillery of his owne, negligently discharged by his Soldiers, and so payed the penaltie of his periury, according vnto the iudgement and sentence which hee had (prophetically as it were) giuen against himselfe.

Paulus Iouius de expug. vrbis Rome.

Now then, I wish all *Machiuillians* to consider heere three thinges, which are euident by these alledged examples. The first, how detestable all periury and perfidiousnesse is in the sight of God. The second, how dangerous it is to Princes, in respect of Gods wrath, which may fal vpon them and their states for the same, through the seuerity of Gods Iustice; against which, no humaine policy or power is able to defend them. The third, is a necessary consequent of these two, to wit; that all *Machiuillian* remedies (consisting partly in humaine prudence and diligence, and partly in force, and strength of Guards, Garrisons, Fortresses, and such like) are most friuolous and vaine when God is offended, and will punish for sinne. Whereupon it followeth also, that the aforesaid remedies are (in like manner) insufficient, to protect a perfidious Prince from the danger of humaine punishment, which is comly but a sequel and effect of the iust iudgments of God. In whose hand, are the hearts and willes of all men, and who vseth the same as his Instruments, to execute his Iustice vpon Princes, when they deserue it.

Three things to be considered and noated of *Machiauillians* in the premises.

The insufficiency and vanity of *Machiauillian* pollicie, for the defence of a wicked Prince

Besides, it is euident enough in true reason of state, that although there were no danger at all of Gods wrath: yet these and such other *Machiuillian* pollicies, are not only insufficient to preuent or remedy the inconueniences, which Wicked Princes incurre by the hatred of Men, but also do (many times) encrease theyr dangers, and helpe to præcipitate them to the vtter destruction, whereof I shall haue better occasion to speake heereafter.

Concerning the danger of mens hatred, that may be a meanes to further detriment.

In the meane time, this shall suffice, for so much as concerneth the Vertue of fidelity in a Prince, with this conclusion. That because the danger which groweth vnto Princes by fraud and deceite, proceedeth

All reputation or vertue ought to be grounded vpon sincerity and truth.

ceedeth principally from the iust Iudgements of God; therefore, the yong Statist and Councellor (whom I labour to informe) ought to vnderstand concerning this, as well as all other Vertues, that the reputation thereof, which he is to desire and procure in his Prince, is to be grounded not vpon vaine shewes and appearances of counterfeit vertue (which God of his Iustice will discouer, and punish sooner or later) but vpon the solide Foundation of all sinceritie and trueth, which is the surest piller and stay of all humain actions, and most grateful both to God and man. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth; *Qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter. He that walketh simply and plainly, walketh boldly and surely. Et qui deprauat vias suas, manifestus erit. And he which runneth an indirect course, shalbe made manifest.*

Prouer. 10, 9, 10.

It resteth now, that I saie some-what, (though verie briefely) of the reputation of a Princes power and greatnesse, the losse and decay whereof, emboldneth his enemies, discourageth his friends, and layeth open his person to the contempt of all men, yea, and his state to infinite daungers. For, as the reputation of a Princes greatnesse, wealth, and power, striketh a feare and terror into the hearts as well of his owne subiects, as strangers, and withholdeth them from conspiring against him: euen so, the opinion of his weaknesse, worketh the contrary effect, and is the verie Mother and Nurse of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and all hostile attempts. And no man knoweth howe small an enterprize may ouerthrow the greatest State in the world, seeing it dependeth vppon the successe which no man can warrant, and many times is such that it deceyueth all mens expectations. Therefore, the surest and wisest way is, to vse all preuentions, that nothing bee attempted against the State.

The reputation of the Princes power and greatnesse.

Opinion of the Princes weaknesse is the Mother of conspiracies.

To which purpose, the reputation of a Princes power, force, and greatnesse, is highly auaileable, the which *Augustus Cæsar* knew so well, that hauing lost an Army in *Germany*, of 40000. men: yet he continued the warre for no other reason or necessity (as *Tacitus* noteth) then to maintaine the opinion and reputation of his power, least otherwise, thee might grow to be contemned as the great *Xerxes* was, who hauing terrified all *Greece*, with his huge Armie of a Million of men, was (vpon his ouerthrowe and returne into *Persia*) so despised, that he was slaine by one of his owne subiectes. So dangerous it is, and damageable vnto a Prince, to loose reputation, how great soeuer it be. Whereupon I conclude, that it importeth a wise Councellour to measure and waigh all the commoditie and benefite of his Prince: as well with his reputation, as with his Conscience, though not in the like degree.

Augustus Cæsar laboured greatly to conserue the reputation of his greatnesse (*Cor. Tacit in Lib. 1. Annal. Iustin. in L. b. 3.*

Great *Xerxes* ruined by the losse of reputation.

All benefit of the Prince to be weighed with his reputation & conscience, but not in like degree.

For, although reputation be the chief externall good of man: yet it is inferior to the internall, that is to say, vnto the goods of the mind, whereof a pure conscience is the principall, because therein consisteth the chiefe felicity of man, as Saint *Ambrose* saith. Beside, the benefite which redoundeth to Princes, by clearnesse of Conscience, is the fauour and protection of Almighty God, to them and their States heere in this world, and eternall saluation of their soules in the next. And the damage that ensueth of a corrupt and sinfull Conscience, is Gods indignation in this life (whereby the greatest Monarkes and their Monarkies, haue perished) and euerlasting damnation in the world to come. Whereas (on the other side) all the benefit or damage which the gaine or losse of reputation, can yeild (beeing considered in it selfe) extendeth no further then the fauour or disfauour of men: who can neither vphold him whom GOD ouerthroweth, nor ouerthrow the man whom God protecteth. For, as the Apostle saieth, *Si Deus pro nobis, &c. If God be for vs, what matter makes it who is against vs?*

Reputation, though it be the chiefe externall good, is inferiour to Conscience. *Ambr. in Lib. 1. de Offic. Cap. 12*

The damage that ensueth to the Prince, by a bad Conscience.

How farre the gaine or losse of reputation may hurt or auaile. Rom. 8, 31.

Whereupon it followeth, that whether we regard the dignity and benefit of Conscience and Reputation, or else the damage that ensueth by the blemish of either of them: the respect of conscience is farre to be preferred before the other, and the losse of reputation is then principally to be feared, when Conscience is foully stained and polluted. For then the Prince lying open to the contempte and hatred, as well of God as man, hath no defence, but may well feare and expect punishment from both. And so much the rather, because the losse and want of reputation, is one especiall meanes whereby God vseth to execute his iust iudgement on wicked Princes: it be-

The losse of reputation is chiefely to be feared when Conscience is stained.

ing

They that contemne God, ſhall iuſtly be contemned by men.

ing moſt conſonant to Iuſtice and Reaſon, that they who contemn and diſobey their Soueraigne Lord, King and Creator, ſhould be ruined by the contempt, hatred, and diſobedience of their owne ſubiects. And this danger (I ſay) is iuſtlie to be feared, when both reputation and conſcience are ſtained.

The loſſe of reputation is nothing ſo dangerous when conſcience is cleare.

But when Conſcience is pure and entire, the loſſe and reputation is nothing ſo dangerous. For, although the iuſteſt and beſt men, are ſometimes ſo calumniated, that they incurre great infamie and diſgrace through the practiſes of the wicked: yet foraſmuch as the ſame hath no ground at all, it vaniſheth away like ſmoak, and is euer through Gods iuſtice) diſcouered & cleared in the end, to their greater reputation and honour. In the meane time, they haue the comfort, not only of Gods protection, as I haue formerly ſaid: but alſo of their owne Conſciences, the good reputation whereof, giueth (in ſuch caſes) ineſtimable conſolation. And therefore, the bleſſed Apoſtle, ſaith; *Gloria noſtra hæc eſt teſtimonium conſcientiæ noſtræ: The Teſtimonie of our Conſcience is our glory.* In which reſpect, Wiſe, and Vertuous Princes, though they haue due care of their reputation, yet doe not ſo much regarde falſe rumors when their Conſcience is cleare, as to forbeare the execution of any good and neceſſary deſignment, for the feare thereof. But rather follow the Councell and example of the Wiſe and valiant Conſull, *Fabius Maximus, Qui non penebat rumores ante ſalutem; Who preferred not rumours, before the good of the Commonwealth.* For, although his delayes againſt *Hannibal*, were (through the malice of his enemies) much calumniated and generally condemned by the common people, as proceeding of Cowardiſe, yet hee was nothing mooued therewith, holding it, as he ſaid, *A greater Cowardiſe to leaue a good purpoſe, for feare of mens tongues, then to leaue the field, for feare of an enemy.* In which reſpect he continued his courſe, vntill hee had thereby, waſted and conſumed the forces of *Hannibal*, with ſecuritie to the Romain State. For which, he was afterward highly commended, becauſe (as *Ennius* ſaieth) *Cunctando reſtituit rem: By delayes, hee repaired and reſtored the ſtate of the Romaines.*

The comfort of a good Conſcience.

2 Cor. 1, 12.

A good deſignement is not to be leſt off, for feare of falſe Rumours.

Plutarch in Fabio. Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic.

The noble ſaying of *Fabius Maximus.*

Ennius apud Cicero. Lib. 1. de Offic.

Neuertheleſſe, in ſuch caſes alſo, al diligence is to be vſed by Princes and their Councellors, to take away the ſcandali and aſperſions, that may growe by erroneous conceit of their actions, although their Conſciences bee neuer ſo cleare. Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That he which neglecteth his fame or good, truſting to his Conſcience, is cruel.* And thereof he yeildeth a reaſon: *Becauſe* (ſaith hee) *he killeth the ſoules of others.* For, although he do not the euill that is ſuppoſed, yet the very ſuſpition thereof, ſerueth as a ſtumbling blocke to ouerthrow ſuch as are weak and il diſpoſed. And therefore, S. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith: *That conſcience & fame being two thinges, the one of them is neceſſary for vs, & the other for our neighbor.* And, *that he which keepeth his conſcience cleare, doth good to himſelfe: but hee which preſerueth his fame, doth good to others.*

Good fame not to be contemned, vpon confidence of a good Conſcience. *Auguſt. Ser. 49. Cap. 1 et de bono viduitatis. cap. 22.*

The preſeruation of a mans good name, is neceſſary for his Neighbour. *Aug. ibid.*

For this cauſe alſo, *Plato* requireth in euery good and vertuous man, that hee haue eſpeciall care, to leaue behind him an eternall reputation and fame of his vertues, to the end, to ſtirre vp not onely men of his time, but all poſterity alſo, to the imitation therof. Which is moſt neceſſarie in publick perſons, and eſpecially in Princes, becauſe their example inciteth to vertue or vice, much more then the example of priuat men. And therfore not only by reaſon of ſtate, but alſo conſcience bindeth them to be moſt careful of their reputation and good name, and not to permit the leaſt blemiſh thereof, (though it be neuer ſo vniuſt) if it may be conueniently remedied. But when it cānot be holpen, without ſome greater detriment to themſelues, or to the Commonwealth, then it is to be endured with patience. For, both reaſon and equity require, that the publicke and common good be preferred before any mans perticuler benefit, and that of two inconueniences the leſſe is to bee preferred and choſen, wherof Conſcience alſo is to be Iudge.

Plutarch. Epiſt. ad Diuaſſium. Why a man ſhould ſeeke to leaue an euerlaſting Fame.

In what caſe an vniuſt blemiſh of reputation is to be tollerated.

Publique good alwayes to be preferred before perticuler benefite.

Therefore I conclude, that whereas Commoditie, Conſcience, and Reputation are to bee reſpected in all Deliberations concerning Princes affayres, Conſcience ought to predominate, and to ſerue for the touchſtone and rule, as well of reputation, as of all Temporall commodities. And therin a Councellor

Conſcience is the Touchſtone of all reputation & commodity.

shall well discharge his dutie, if in al consultations, he hold the knowne Axiome of *Cicero* for his ground, to wit: *Nihil est vtile quod non sit honestum*, *Nothing is profitable, that is not honest*. Which point *Cicero* discourseth, and teacheth notably in his Offices.

Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic. A Councellor should holde for a ground, that nothing is profitable, that is not honest.

CHAP. VIII.

What a Councellor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted.

Concerning matters to be consulted.

AND now to com to the last point of my diuision, that is, what a Councellor is to regard, in the matter it selfe that is to be consulted: it is to be vnderstood, that although the affaires of state are infinit, and therefore, cannot sufficiently bee reduced to perticuler rules, yet some things are generally to be considered in all matters, whereof I wil touch some few.

It is necessary for a Councellor to know the state of forreigne Princes.

First for a necessary preamble and preparatiue to all deliberations in matters of State, it is to be considered, that in respect of the connexion, which perticuler affairs of State either haue, or may haue, with the general state of forrain Princes it is conuenient for a councellor to haue bin a traueller, or els to procure by all means to haue an exact knowledge, not only of his own Princes state and afairs, but also of the estates and affaires of other Princes, especially of such as are his Princes neighbors, enemies or confederates. To this end, two things are requisit, that he be affable and courteous to al men, and willing to hear them, and confer with them, especially straungers, because he may learn by them many things more, then otherwise he can attayne to know, concerning the state of forraigne Princes and countries. For as the *Spanish* Prouerb saith, *Mas sabe el necio en su casa, que el cuerdo en la ageno*, *A foole knoweth more in his owne house, then a wiseman doth in another mans*. And although a Councellor may be many times trobled with impertinent matters, yet hee shall withall vnderstand many thinges, which may import him much to know. And there is no man so wise, but he may sometimes heare of a simple man, somewhat that may serue him to verie good purpose: therefore the trouble (in this case is to bee borne with patience, in respect of the benefit that he may reap thereby.

A Councellor should bee courteous and affable to strangers, and why.

A Spanish Prouerbe to good purpose.

The wisest man may learne something of the simplest.

The other thing necessary for a councellors better information, is to procure frequent aduises and intelligences, by Letters from all parts, of the State, humors, and disposition of forraign Princes; of all changes and innouations in their Courts and Countreyes: Of the Marriages and Alliances of them, their Children, and their most powerful subiects: Of Ambassages too and fro, and their Treaties: Of prouisions and preparations for warre, both by Sea and Land, and their intentions therein: Of all Taxes and impositions laid vpon the people, or other leauies of Monies: Of the diuisions that fall out amongest the Nobility or common people, and of their discontentments: Finally, of al matters that may tend to the establishment and strengthning, or to the weakening and innouating of other Princes States. For, although a Councellor shal by this meanes, heare manie vntruths: yet hee shall verie often receiue aduise of important matters, whereof he may make good vse and benefit.

A Councellor ought to procure frequent intelligences out of forreigne Countries, and of what matters.

What benefit a Councellor shall reape by frequent intelligence, although hee may hear many vntruths.

And being a man of iudgement, and hauing intelligence with manie, he may easily discerne truths from falshoods, by conferring their aduises togither, especially, if hee take order that his Intelligencers doe not know of one anothers employment.

Finally, he shal by this meanes, not only iudge better and more clearly of al matters ocurring for his Princes seruice, but shal also make himselfe much more grateful to his Prince, by his diligence: and be more intrinsical with him, by occasion of his frequent aduices of forren newes, which Princes are alwayes most desirous to heare. And thus much for the first point.

Secondly, a Councellor is to consider, that in all matters of Councell, 3. things are especially to be respected, as *Thomas Aquinas* (following *Aristotle*) noateth. The fyrst, a due end. The second, conuenient meanes. And the third fyt time and season, that is to say, that the end and meanes be not only lawfull, iust, and honorable in themselues, and in their owne Nature: but also to the person, state, and power of the Prince. For, if there bee any

Three things especially to be respected in euery matter. *Tho Aquin. 22. Q. 51. Aristot. in Lib. 6. Ethic.*

any inconuenience or disproportion in any of these, I meane, if the meanes bee not conuenient, for the obtaining of the end, or, if the end or meanes be impossible, or aboue the might and power of the Prince, or base, or any way vnfit for his state and person, or if the councell be giuen out of due time and season, especially too late: it looseth all grace, & cannot be acounted either good or prudent.

Plato in Phedro. Necessary to know the state of the matter, with al the circumstances. One little circumstance vnknowne, may cause great errour in resolution. Why wise men doe not alwaies iudge with like prudence.

To this purpose I say, that according to *Platoes* rule, he who is to giue his opinion of any matter, *Ought first to vnderstand & know fully the state therof with al the circumstances.* For mans iudgement is grounded on his knowledge, and guided therby, & some one litle circumstance vnknowne may wholy alter the case. Insomuch, that a simple man may iudg more wisely thereof, then a far wiser man that knoweth lesse. And the reason why wisemen do not alwaies iudge with like wisedom and prudence in all causes, is, beecause they do not vnderstand them alike.

What is perticulerly to be be considered in euery matter.

But to proceed, the state and circumstances of the matter beeing once fullie knowne to the Councellor, he is then to passe to the consideration of the inconueniences, difficulties, dangers, discommodities, & commodities therof, which may minister diffrent arguments, *Pro et contra*, in the discussion wherof, the prudence of a Councellor is especially seen. And heere I note by the way (thogh perhaps I may seeme to digresse from the matter) that some men, who haue great viuacity and sharpnes of wit, to find out inconueniences to foresee dangers, and to propound obiections, doubtes, and difficulties, haue no maturity of iudgement, to clear and deside them, or to find out remedies. And some others, who are of more sound iudgement, are lesse sharp of wit. Again, some who are of good capacity, haue so litle corage, that they are dismaid with euery difficulty, and therefore cannot easily resolue on anie thing. Whereas some others, of lesse capacitie and more corage, resolue more easily in any ocasion. So that we may say with the Poet, *Non omnia possumus omnes, We cannot al do al things.* And therefore *Phil. de Commes*, obserueth very wel, that it is conuenient for Princes to haue many councellors, to the end, that one of them may supply the defects of another. *For the wisest* (saith he) *erre oft-times either through passion, or through hate or affection, or thorough the indisposition of the persons, especialy after dinner. And if any thinke, that such ought not to bee made Councellors, it may be answered, that we are al men. And whosoeuer wil haue none to be of a Princes councel, that erre at any time in speech or opinion, or are otherwhiles mooued, and led with passion or affection, he must seek them in heauen, for in earth none such are to bee found.* Thus saith he, who was himselfe a graue and wise councellor, which I note heere by the way, to the end, that young Councellors may learne, neither to assure themselues much on their owne opinions, nor rathly to condemne others of their fellow-Councellors, if they erre and be deceiued sometimes.

The differēce that may be noated in the ability of Councellors.

Mature and sound iudgement. Sharpnesse of witte. Lacke of courage.

Phil. Com. in Chron du Roy Louis Cap. 27. Why it is conuenient for Princes to haue many Councellors.

All Councellors erre at one time or other.

And to prosecute this digression yet a litle further, I also adde, that it is necessary for a Prince, to haue his Councell composed like mans body, that is, of men of different complexions & humors, to the end, that the Chollerick heate, and hasty feauor of some, may bee tempered with the Flegmatick coldnesse, and slow resolution of some other, and that the pinacity of some mens sanguine spirites, may be somwhat depressed and counterpoized with the maturity of some others melancholy iudgements, which *Aristotle* holdeth to be the soundest in matters of State. Whereby the whole bodie of the Councell, may be reduced vnto a perfect temperature, so that the predominant qualitie therin be found in most, or in some at the least, which may helpe to correct the peccant and offensiue humors of the rest, restraine the superfluity of ouer-flowing conceits, cleare doubts and difficulties, and satisfye Obiections which proceedeth (manie times) from them who are not able to resolue them, yet serue to great purpose in Councels, to whet the wits, and open the vnderstanding of men of iudgement. This I haue thought good to touch by the way, that the young Councellor, whom I aduise, may vnderstande somewhat, as well of the Nature and Condition of a Councell, as of the Office and duty of a Councellor.

A Princes Councell ought to be composed of men of different humours.

The mellancholly iudgement most sounde.

Arist. in Problē. Sect. 30. quest. 1.

To whet the wit, and open the vnderstanding.

But how to return to the consideration of matters to be consulted, it is requisit, that a Counceller do prudently weigh and compare the discommodities with the cōmodities, & inconueniences with

Consideratiō of matters to be consulted.

the remedies, the difficulties & dangers, with the posibility and probabilitie to ouercome them. And not to reiect a verie commodious and honorable designment, because it is costly, or some way discommodious or difficult and hard, or some way dangerous. For as the prouerb saith; *There is no commodity without discommodity, nor any thing honorable, which is not difficult.* And therefore, it is to bee foreseene and prouided, that the commodities may ouerweigh the damages, that the gaine quite the cost, that euerie inconuenience haue a due remedie; that euery difficulty be some way facilitated; that euery important danger may be probably preuented or escaped; that of cõmodities (which cannot be had togither) the greater be chosen; and of inconueniences (when all cannot be auoided) the least be admitted. All which being foreseene, and probably prouided for, anie important action whatsoeuer, may bee determined, councelled, and vndertaken, notwithstanding some dangers may be incident thereto. For he that will not take paines to cracke the Nut, cannot eat the kernell, and he that will hazarde nothing, shall win nothing: *for nought venter* (saith the Prouerb, *nought haue.*

Yet this is to be vnderstood, that the danger bee not ouer-great, which may partly be prouided for, if it be foreseene, that the greatest danger rather doth concerne some circumstance of the matter, then the principall partes, or the whole body of the plot; that the benefit expected, exceed the losse which may bee feared; that no certaine thing of moment be aduentured, for a thing vncertain. For *better one Bird in the hand, then two in the bush*: that of matters doubtfull, which cannot fully be resolued, the lesse doubtfull, or more assured be preferred. And finaly, that the hope of benefit be grounded vpon probable reason, and sufficient meanes to atchieue the same, and not vpon chance, which is so vncertain, that no man may safely build any important matter thereon. And therefore, *Tiberius Cæsar* helde it for a ground, as *Cornelius Tacitus* witnesseth, *Non omittere caput rerum, neque se in casum dare, Not to let slip the first opportunities, nor to aduenture himself or his estate vpon chance.* That is to say, not to hazard himselfe or his state in any enterprise, when he hath not sufficient probability of good successe.

For, although the euent of al plots that are put in execution, is casuall, depending vpon the will of God: yet it is a wise mans part, to do that which lieth in him, to assure it by all probable and conuenient meanes, and then to leaue the rest to Gods disposition. For otherwise, hee should tempt God, and offend him by his negligence: and therefore, without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought tobe attempted by a wise man. Except in desperate cases, when the necessity is so great and so sudden (as somtimes it falleth out to be) that there is no time or place for discourse. For, then there is no remedy, but to trust only to God and a mans good fortune, which falleth out many times better, thē by humaine discourse can bee expected or immagined. As it did to *Iulius Cæsar*, who finding himselfe vnable to giue battel to *Pompey*, because his forces wer not arriued, and beeing (in the meane time) constrained to go to sea in a litle Frigot, in such stormy rough seas, that the Pilot wold not passe forth, discouered himself, and bad him set sail and go forward in any case, because he carried *Cæsar* and his fortune: which succeeded wel, for therby he escaped at that time, and afterward ouerthrew *Pompey*, and becam Emperor of the world. But this he did, because he had no other remedy, thinking it better to put himselfe to the mercy of the seas, then of his enemie.

And in such desperat and sudden exigents, when there is no time and place for wisedome and discourse, the councel of some woman or simple fellow, may be better then of the wisest man. For that (as *Aristotle* sayth) som such being by the guift of God, born fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of nature, may aduise or execute more happily, thē men of great wisedome, who pondering all things in the ballance of reason and discourse, do not followe many times, a fortunat motion in themselues, nor happy coūcel of others, because they see not some good and probable or reasonable ground for the same wherby they forgo and loose their good fortune. And this is the reason, why the common Prouerbe saith, *That a Womans Councel is neuer good but vpon the sudden.* For when Women councel according to their first motion, they

No commodity without a discommodity.

What is to be foreseene and prouided for in euery matter.

He that will hazzard nothing shall win nothing.

What is to be considered concerning danger, and the preuention thereof.

Better one Bird in the hand, then two in the Bush. *Cor. Tacit. in Annal.* Resolutions are to bee grounded vpon probable reasons and sufficient meanes.

Nothing of importance is to be left to chance.

What euery wise man should very diligently obserue.

In extremities a man must trust to God and his good Fortune.

Of *Iulius Cæsar*, and his Fortune. *Plutarch in Iulio Cæsar.*

In extremities, the councell of a simple man may be good, and why. *Aristot. de bona Fortuna.*

Why a woemans Councell is neuer good but vpon the sudden

they may councell fortunately, either by chance, or by some naturall impulse or motion: whereas, falling to discourse of reason, or to deliberation, they seldom or neuer councell wisely, through the infirmity and weaknesse of their iudgement. And to this purpose, *Aristotle* alledgeth the old Prouerb, *Fortuna fauet fatuis, fortune fauoureth fooles*, as I haue signified before, concerning this point.

Aristot. de bona Fortuna.

Heerupon I conclude two things. The one, that except in case of necessity, a wise-man ought to leaue nothing vnto chance, that may be any way assured by reasonable meanes, in respect of the danger that may ensue thereby. For, although dangerous councels (grounded vpon hope of good fortune) speede well somtimes by meer chance, yet they proued most commonly pernitious. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth wisely: *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo, He that loueth danger, shal perish therein.*

Nothing is to be left to chance, but in case of necessity.

Eccles. 3, 27. He which loues danger, shall perish in it.

The other Conclusion is, that seeing men are many times put to such sudden extreamities, that they haue no time or opportunity to aduise themselues, or to consult with others: it is most necessarie that they arme and prouide themselues against the same, by frequent Praier, and by dayly recommending al their actions to almighty God, the authour and giuer of all good successe. To the end, that he may (in such cases) guide, protect, and prosper them: and this I hold to bee the soundest aduise, that any councellor can giue to his Prince. Thus much for the second consideration.

The necessity of daily recommendation of our actions to God.

The third, shall be to ponder and examine diligently, not onely the present state of the matter, and the imediate or next sequel thereof: but also, what may be like to succeed from time to time: and especially, what may be the conclusion, or (as I may terme it) the vpshot of the whol. For many times it falleth out, that designments prosper wel for a while, and yet ouerthrow the authors or attempters in the end: not so much by Fortune or chance, as by ouer-sight in the councellor or contriuer thereof. For hee being deceiued with the appearaunce or hope of some present, or neere commoditie, fore seeth not, or else neglecteth some future and finall disgrace. Much like vnto the sicke-man, who following his owne appetite, eateth or drinketh some one thing, which refresheth and contenteth him for the present, yet augmenteth his disease, or killeth him in the end.

Diligent pondering and examination in the present state of the matter, & future successe.

The ouer-sight in some Councellors.

In this point, all wicked and *Machiauillian* Councelles fayle for the most part, which do often succeede well for a time, thorough Gods permission, for secret causes best knowne vnto his Diuine Wisedome: but in the end, do destroy Princes and their States, partlie thorough the Iustice of almighty God, and partly by the errour and negligence of the Councellours in true reason of State, as shall be more at large prooued heereafter.

Some impro udent Councellors compared to sicke men.

Wherein all wicked and *Machiauilian* councels faile for the most part.

In the meane time I adde for the present, a fourth Consideration to the same purpose, to wit; that a Wise Councellor ought to weigh the Commoditie of euery thing, with the stability and security thereof: and not to aduise his Prince with a fewe yeares present pleasure or benefit, to purchase manie yeares future paine or discommoditie. But, rather to endure some disaduantage or dammage for a time, when thereby he may attaine to some stable and permanent good afterward.

Commodity to be weighed with stability and security.

And this he may learne, by the course that Nature holdeth in humain affaires, ordaining Motion for rest, businesse for repose, Labour for ease, and payne for pleasure. In which respect, a Wiseman laboureth when he is young, to rest in his Olde age, and taketh a loathsome Potion, or bitter Pill, to recouer health, and willingly endureth all Temporall miserie, to attaine in the end to eternall Felicitie. This (I say) not onely Nature, but also true Wisedome) which alwayes followeth the course and steps thereof) doth teach vs no lesse in matters of State, then in all other humayne affayres.

The course of Nature to be followed in the deliberation of matters of State.

Therfore by the same reason, a councellor ought also to prefer a certain and durable commodity, though it be lesse, before a greater, that is short and vncertaine. To which purpose, *Theopompus* K. of *Lacedemonia*, answered the Queen his wife very well, when shee lamented to him, that he wold leaue his roiall authority lesse to his children, then he had receiued it, because he had ordained certaine Controllers of Kings, called *Ephori*. *No* (quoth he) *I shal leaue it thē greater,*

Plutarch in his Treatise whether a Prince ought to be learned.

The greatnes of Princely authority to be measured by the Stability thereof.

What is chiefly to be considered concerning Stability

True Stability is Eternity.

becauſe it ſhalbe more firme and ſure. Thus ſayd he. wiſely meaſuring the benefite of Princely Authority, was ſo much by greatneſſe, as by ſurety and ſtabilitie, whereto all the Councelles and endeauours of Wiſe Councellours and Statiſts ought chiefely to tend: yet with this conſideration, that although of worldly things, ſome are more ſtable and permanent then others: yet there is no true ſtability in any of them; and that therefore, all Wiſemens Councelles are eſpecially directed, to the attaining of Heauenlye things, wherein is true ſtability and eternity. Thus much for conſiderations to be had in generall, concerning matters to be conſulted.

Sufficient rules cannot be giuen in perticuler concerning matters of State.

And, forasmuch as ſufficient Rules cannot be giuen in perticuler, concerning the ſame, in reſpect that the affaires of State are infinite and variable by reaſon of the infinite occaſions & accidents which fall out dayly to be conſidered (all which may require different conſiderations, according to the different Nature and quality of the matters, and the ſundrie circumſtances of times, places, and perſons) I haue therefore thought good (for examples ſake, and the inſtruction of young Statiſts) to handle and debate heere, ſome one matter of State, by way of diſcourſe. And becauſe occaſion is offered oftentimes, to deliberate about the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre in a forraigne Countrey, I will ſet downe mine Opinion, what aduiſe a yong Statiſt may ſafely giue, concerning the ſame.

CHAP. IX.

For the better enſtruction, and more perticuler information of a young Councellour, concerning matters to be conſulted: a matter of State is debated, to wit; What is to be conſidered in a deliberation, touching the maintenaunce of a Ciuill Warre, in a forraigne Countrey.

Concerning the maintenance of a ciuill warre in a forreigne Country.

WHoſoeuer ſhall giue aduice concerning the maintenãce of a Ciuill warre, in a Forraigne Countrey, it ſhal be conuenient for him (in my fancy) for to conſider principally theſe points following.

The equity of the cauſe to be conſidered two wayes.

First, the Equity and Iuſtice of the cauſe, as well on his Princes part, to wit; whither it may be iuſt and lawful in him, to giue the aſsiſtance demanded: as alſo, whether their quarrell, which demaund the ſame, be lawfull and iuſt, or no. For, if Iuſtice and Equitie want in eyther of both, no commodity that a Prince can receyue or expect, can counteruaile the diſhonor, danger, and damage which he ſhall aſſuredly incurre by the offence of Almighty God. *Qui auſert ſpiritum Principum, & terribilis eſt apud Reges terræ. Who taketh the ſpirit of Princes away and is terrible to the Kinges of the Earth.* And will aſſuredly exact the penaltie thereof on him, or perhaps on his ſtate, or on both, ſooner or later. Which is the chiefe and higheſt point of ſtate, to be conſidred in all deliberations of princes, ſeeing the vtter deſtruction and ruin of them and their eſtates, proceedeth principally from the offence of God, as hath bin more at large before diſcuſſed.

Pſalme. 76, 12.

The higheſt point of State to be conſidered.

Iuſt motiues on the Princes part to giue ſuccour.

It is alſo to be conſidered, what good and iuſt motiues his Prince may haue on his own part, to giue the ſuccors demãded, which may be reduced to four caſes. The firſt, when he may thereby do ſome notable ſeruice to God, which is alwaies in it ſelfe not only honorable but profitable, as it were mony put to intreſt, in reſpect of the reward which hee ſhall aſſuredly receiue at gods hands for the ſame howſoeuer it ſucceed for the preſent.

Some notable ſeruice to God.

The ſecond caſe is, when he is bound by Oath, promiſe, or gratitude, to ſuccour the party that craueth his aide. For in ſuch caſe, the omiſsion thereof (when it may iuſtly and conueniently be done) were both offenſiue to God, & alſo, diſhonorable and dangerous to a Prince, as wel in reſpect of Gods puniſhment for his periury, as alſo for the bad example, and iuſt occaſion he ſhould giue vnto others his Allies and confederats, yea, and to his owne ſubiects to forſake him in his neceſsity.

Obligation by oath, promiſe, or gratitude.

The third caſe is, when the Prince of whom the ſuccour is demaunded, hath a iuſt pretence vnto a forraigne Crowne or State, for the obtayning whereof, he may hope to haue a party, by maintayning a iuſt quarrell in the ſame State or Country. Wherein reſpect is to be had, that

A iuſt pretence to a forreigne Crowne or State.

that the Princes own forces be sufficient for the execution of his enterprise, that he shall not neede to relie further vpon his partie; then onely to facilitate the same. For, if his hope of good successe, eyther in obtaining his pretence, or in conseruing or maintaining it afterward, doe chiefely depend vppon the good will, fidelity, and strength of such a party: he buildes (as a man may say) vpon the Sand, and puts in aduenture his labour, charges, and reputation.

A forreigne warre not to be grounded principally vpon hope of a partie.

Heereof wee haue had a lamentable example not many yeares past, in *Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, who hoped to make himselfe King of *Marocco*, vnder colour to restore thereto *Muley Mahomet*, whereof he made so sure account; that he carryed a Crowne with him, to Crowne himselfe King there. Not considering, that his aduersary *Muley Moluco* (who was in possession of that kingdome) was not onely most valiant for his person: but able also to put into the field for his defence, aboue 100000. Horse and foote.

A lamentable example of *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*. *Herrera. Conestagio de' uno de li Reg. di Portugallo lib. 2.*

Against whom neuertheless, King *Sebastian* vndertook the enterprise, with an Army of 13000. Souldiors, or there about, the most of them vntrained: beside, neither he himselfe, nor any that did commaund the Army vnder him, had euer borne Armes before. In so much, that he trusted (as it seemed) to the conduct and forces of *Muley Mahomet* his Confederate, who when hee came to tryall, was not able to bring to the fielde 2000. men. So that, aduenturing with so few, to fight with aboue 40000. Horse, and 10000. Foote, and (as some say) a farre greater number: his Army was presently enclosed on all sides, and so oppresst with multitudes, that he lost both the battaile, and his life. So perilous a thing it is for a Prince to ground any designement of a forraigne War: eyther on the weakenesse of an Enemy, or on the strength of a Confederate, and not vppon sufficient forces of his owne. But to proceede.

A very indiscreete and vnkingly aduenture.

A perilous resolution in a Prince.

The fourth case is, when to auoyde some imminent danger, of inuasion or Warre at home, or other great vexation: a Prince is forced to holde his Enemy occupyed in his owne Countrey, by supporting there a iust quarrell against him. Wherein, though he spend largely, without fear of losse, in respect of the present security which hee purchaseth, and exemption from greater expences and daunger at home: nevertheless, it shall be Wisedome for him, (in my fancy) to practise the councell which *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* gaue to *Tissaphernes* in like case, to wit. *Not to giue greater succor, then may suffise to keep the warre still on foote, as well to gain time, which often remedieth the greatest inconueniente; as also to extenuate and wearie both parties, in such sort, that whether the warre end by victorie or composition, they may haue no ability to assayle him.* Which he may well feare, though the party which he assisteth should preuaile.

A forreigne warre to be maintained, to auoide a domesticall.

Good councell of *Alcibiades*, concerning the maintenance of a forraigne warre.

For this purpose, it is to be considered, that Ciuill dissentions end many times, to the cost of the Forreigne Prince who maintained them: whether they end by victorie of the enemy, or of his Confederate, or else by their composition. For, his enemy, if hee ouercome, remaineth more irretated, and more obliged to seek reuenge then before. And his Confederate, if hee vanquish the other, and succeed him in his State: is more like to proue an enemy then a friend, especiallie, if the quarell of the other was not personall (that is to say, proceeding of some perticuler iniurie done to his person) but a quarrel of State, as commonly it is, for in that case, whosoeuer shall be Gouernour of the same State, will be his enemy, notwithstanding, any benefit receiued. For experience teacheth, that respect of gratitude for benefits past, little auaileth, when it is any way encountred with reason of State.

Ciuill warres end to the cost of the Forreigneer that maintained them.

Respect of gratitude encountred with reason of State, little auayleth.

Which (as *Guicciardin* saith) *Vince ogni partito*, Doth (with Princes) *ouer-weigh all other considerations.* And is so varriable, according to the variety of occasions, and successe of affaires: that it changeth daily, and of a Friend this day, maketh an enemy to morrow. In which respect, the Leagues & amities of Princes, is commonly very vnsure, bee the obligation neuer so great.

Guicciardinelli. Auisi pol. Reason of State very variable.

Moreouer, it commonly falleth out, that the party whom a forreign Prince helpeth to aduance, remaineth his debter for the charges bestowed in his succour: whereupon it followeth many times,

Mony lent to maintaine a forreigne war in danger to be lost.

times, that the Creditour looseth both his Friend and his Money. For, if he trust to bare promises of repayment, he is in danger to be serued, as was *Edward* the Blacke Prince, who going in person (with a great Army into Spaine) to succour *Peter* the King of *Castile*, vpon his promise to repay him all his expences: was after the victorie) so delayed and deluded by him, that hee was faine to returne without any satisfaction. By meanes whereof, hee was constrained to lay such impositions vpon his owne Subiects in *Aquitaine*, for the payment of his Souldiours: that they rebelled, and hee lost the greatest part of that Country.

Edward the blacke Prince.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 19.

And put the case, that hee haue any places or Towns deliuered him, in consideration of his expences, or his better security, which any Prince that giueth succour to Forraigners) hath reason to seek: then his friend many times (for reason of State) becomes his Enemy, to recouer those places which he gaue him before. And so it falleth out commonly, when soeuer ciuill wars and dissentions come to end, by composition of the parties deuided: who willingly agree, and ioyne themselues against the Forraigner that maintained their deuision. Especially, if he haue any hold or footing in their Countrey, though it were at the first with their owne consent; whereof I wil alleage a few examples, as well Ancient as Moderne.

Places or Townes giuen in pawne for money make enemies of friends.

Composition of deuided parties against the forreigner.

In the Barons wars in England, in the time of King *Iohn*, *Lewes* the eight, then Son to *Phillip* the second king of *France*, assisted the Barons against their King, and being called by them into England, and proclaimed King therof: was shortly after (by common consent, as well of them, as of al the other English) driuen out againe.

The Barrons warres in England. *Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 15. Paul. Aemil. in Phillip. 2.*

Also *Phillip*, Duke of *Bourgundy*, to be reuenged on the Duke of *Orleans*, & on *Charles* the seauenth, while hee was yet but *Dolphin*: called *Henry* fift, King of *England* into *France*, & assisted him first to make him Regent, & after to crown not only him, but also *Henry* the sixt his Son, King of *France* in *Paris*. Yet in the end, he made his peace with King *Charls* aforesaide, and helped him to depriue the English of all that, which either they had got by his meanes, or otherwise.

Phillip. Duke of *Bourgundy*.

Pol dor. Virgil. in Hen. 5. & 6.

In like manner, *Charles* the eyght, King of *France*, was most earnestly sollicited to the Conquest of *Naples*, euen by the *Neapolitans* themselues: who, neuertheless) shortly after helped to expel the Garisons and forces which he had left ther, notwithstanding they had receiued great benefits of him.

Charles 8. King of France. *Phillip Commin in Carol. 8. Cap. 2. & 39.*

In this age also, the late Queene of England, of glorious memory, gaue some support in the first troubles of France, to her great charges. But when peace was made in the year of our Lord 1562. they all ioyned against her, to recouer *Haure de Grace* from her, which they had before giuen her, for assurance of the Mony, by her lent them.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

And lastly, notwithstanding the costly succours of Men and Mony, that the French Catholikes receiued from the Catholike King of *Spaine*: yet they forsook him almost all in the end, and ioyned with his and their aduerse partie, and made War against him, to recouer of him som few Towns in the frontiers of *Flanders*, which they had giuen him before, for his and their security.

Phillip the second King of *Spaine*.

Therefore, although these things doe not alwaies succeed in this manner, yet forasmuch as most commonly they do, and that nothing is more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will, affection, or gratitude of other men, or vpon reason of state, which varieth and changeth daily, according to the variety of occasions. I hold it for a speciall point of prudence in a Prince, to take the surest way, to wit; not to engage himself too far, nor to aduenture more, then he careth not to loose, in the maintenance of a ciuill Warre in a forraigne Country; except, when either the seruice of God, som iust obligation, or the conseruation of his own state doth necessarily require it. Thus much concerning the behalfe of the Prince that is to giue the succour. Furthermore, great consideration is to be had, of the State and condition of the parties which demaund it: as, whether they bee able to ouercome their aduersaries, or (at least) to stand and maintaine their quarrell, with the assistance which they craue, or may be giuen them. For otherwise, it were great impudence in any Prince, to vndertake their maintenance: but rather to endeauour by way of treaty

Nothing more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will of men, or reason of State.

Considerations concerning those which demād succour.

Concerning Townes or States confederated.

ty (betwixt them and their aduerſarie) to compound the quarrell, and thereby to make himſelfe gratefull to both parties.

And for as much as it many times falleth out, that the ability and power of the party which craueth aſſiſtance, conſiſteth not in the ſtrength of ſome one potent and abſolute Prince, but in the force of many Princes, Townes, or States, confederated and leagued together: it is in ſuch caſe ſpecially to bee conſidered, how, or vpon what reaſons, the ſaid partie is vnited.

The motiues or ends of leagues to be conſidered.

To this purpoſe it is to be noted, that in all confederacies and leagues, wherein many do vnite themſelues: the confederates are mooued thereto, eyther with one motiue or end (as in the Cantons of the *Switzers*, or in the League which the Pope, the King of the *Romaines*, the King of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millaine*, made againſt *Charles* the eight King of *France*, for the defence of *Italie*.) Or elſe they are moued thereto with diuers and ſundry motiues, ſome with one, and ſom with another.

Phillip de Com. Chron du Roy Charles Cap. 23

The common ende of the *French* league.

As for example, in the late French League or vnion, ſome entered onelie for conſeruation of the Catholike Religion (which was the common and pretended end of all that partie) others entred for perticuler reſpects; as either for paſſion or ambition, or for the friendſhip of ſome one Man on the one ſide, or hatred of ſome on the other, or for hope of future gaine, or for preſent profit and commoditie, or ſuch like.

The perticuler endes of many in the *French* league.

Diuerſity of ends cauſeth the diſſolution of leagues.

Now then, thoſe that are led by perticuler reſpects, doe not (for the moſt part) remaine any longer in any league, then they may hope to obtaine their deſires. And when they are perſwaded, that they may ſooner obtaine the ſame, by adhearing to the aduerſe partie; they are eaſily induced thereto: and hereupon followeth commonly, the diſſolution of ſuch leagues and confederacies. For which cauſe, the ſtrength and power of any leagues, is not to be meaſured ſo much by the multitude of confederates, be they neuer ſo great and potent: as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the ſame end. For, as a few vnder one head, are ſtronger then many, vnder many and different heads;

A few vnder one head is ſtronger then

as *Phillip de Commenaus* noteth very wel: ſo a few principall perſons or Townes, vnited together for one and the ſelfe-ſame cauſe, are to be reputed far ſtronger, and more like to ſtand; then verie many (though much more potent) if they haue many and different ends.

many vnder different heads. *Phil. de Com. Chron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 25.*

Therfore it much importeth a Prince, that ſhall ſupport a Forraigne League, to diſcouer (as much as hee may) what end or motiue induced the Heades and principall Confederates, to make their entrance. Whereby he ſhall the better diſcerne, what their force and ſtrength may be, and how they are like to ſtand, and to maintaine their quarrell. For, if they haue al but one end, they may be repured the ſtronger: but if their endes be diuers, they cannot long ſtand. As wee haue ſeene lately in the French League, which, notwithſtanding the great ſuccours (both of Men and Money) giuen them by the Catholique King: diſſolued rather of it ſelfe, then by any forces of enemies, by reaſon that many of the Gouernours of Townes, and chiefe Pillers thereof, concurred not in one end with the whole league. And therefore, when they receiued ſatisfaction for their particular deſires, or ſaw themſelues out of hope thereof, they eaſily changed their party.

Neceſſary for a Prince to diſcouer the ends of the principall confederates.

The diſſolution of the *French* league through the diuerſity of ends.

In what caſe a Prince may ſupport a forreigne league, not vnited in one end.

To ſuch Leagues (I ſay) vnited only in exterior ſhew, and not in one common end: I hold it not ſecure or conuenient for a Prince to giue ſuccour; except he be moued thereto by ſome imminent danger of inuaſion, or other great dammage. Which he may feare to receiue from the enemy occupied, as I haue ſignified before, while he neyther prepares for his better defence at home, or at leaſt may winne time; which in all extreamities is to be ſought, and often remedieth the very greateſt inuenien ces.

The ſuccours demanded conſiſt either in money, men, or in both.

Moreouer, forasmuch as the ſuccors demaunded or giuen, conſiſt commonly eyther in Money, Men, or in both, and that it may import a Prince (for the furtherance of ſome iuſt pretence, or obligation of his own, or for ſome publique good) to imploy not only his forces, but alſo his Mony largely, to maintaine and ſupport a Forraigne League: I will adde ſomewhat concerning the ſame, to the end, that a young Statiſt

may

may the better vnderſtand, both what to aduiſe, and alſo how to deale therein.

How money is to be beſtowed in the maintenance of a forreigne league.

Therefore, firſt concerning the beſtowing of Mony, I ſay, that although it cannot be denied, but that Mony may doe very much in all buſineſſes of this quality. (For, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri ſacra fames? What doth not the deteſtable hunger of Gold compell Men to do?*) Yet ordinarily, the effect that Mony can worke, is but to diſpoſe the wils and mindes of Men to the deſired end. Which diſpoſition (neuertheleſſe) in ſome that receiue the Mony, is none at all, in others very little, and in moſt very doubtfull, and to be ſuſpected. For thoſe to whom thou giueſt thy Mony, either are thine enemies, or thy friends, or elſe neutrall. If they be thine Enemies, commonly they take thy Mony, to impouerish thee, to enrich themſelues, and to imploy thine owne Mony againſt thee, when they ſhall ſee time.

What effect money may worke.

Money is giuen to ſuch as eyther are friends, enemies, or neutrall, and in what nature it worketh with eyther of them.

If they bee thy Friends, thy Money worketh little; becauſe their own good will and friendſhip, bindeth them more vnto thee, then thy Mony can doe. If they be neutrall, & become thy Friends for the profit they haue by thee: their friendſhippe will laſt no longer then the profit continueth. And when they may think to get more by thine enemy, then by thee: they will be his friendes for the ſame reaſon, that they were thine. And although they ſhall haue neuer ſo great benefit by thee; yet they will perſwade themſelues, that thou ſeekeſt thine own Commoditie, and not theirs, and that thou art beholding vnto them, for that they doe vouchſafe to take any thing of thee.

The deſire of money encreaſeth with the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof. *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

And foraſmuch, as the hunger and deſire of Mony, doth encreaſe with the poſſeſſion and vſe thereof: the more thou giueſt them, the more they will deſire. For, as *Cicero* ſaith; *Fit deterior qui accipit, & ad idem ſemper expectandum paratior; He which taketh or receiueth Mony, is made worſe thereby, and alwayes the more ready to expect the like.* So that, if thou doe not euer giue them, when, and how much they ſhall expect or demaund of thee: they will hate thee more for that which thou doſt not giue them, then they haue loued thee for that which they haue receiued already. For, as *Seneca* ſaith. *Vetus & nota ingratitudo eſt, dati immemores meminiſſe negati, ideoque rara & tepentes gratia ſeruida & frequentes querela. It is an old and notorious ingratitude, to forget a benefit receiued, and ſtill to remember a benefit denied. Whereupon it followeth, that thankes are rare and cold; and Complaints, feruent and frequent.*

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Ira. Ca. 14. A benefit receiued, ſoone forgotten: a benefit deuided, remembred euer.

I ſpeake not this, for that I thinke it not conuenient to negotiate with Mony, to gaine and entertaine the affections of men: but to ſignifie, that it is to be don with great conſideration. For, as *Plinie* ſaith. *Inconſiderata largitionis comes pœnitentia eſt. Repentance euer accompanieth the inconſiderate imployment of Mony.* Therefore to ſay ſome what of this point, my opinion is, that it is conuenient for any man, that doth negotiate with Mony in a ſtrange Country: to haue his Purſſe alwaies open, for ſuch as are true Friendes to him and the League, as well to gratifie them, and to recompence their good wils and good Offices; as alſo to helpe their neceſſities, and to enable them to vphold their partie.

Plin. lib. 7. Epiſt. Monie to be beſtowed with great conſideration.

Liberality to be vſed towardes true friends, and who they are.

How mony is to be beſtowed vpon ſuſpected perſons.

And thoſe may bee accounted true Friends, whoſe end is eyther the common end of the whole League: or ſo dependant thereon, that it cannot be otherwiſe obtained, but by the good ſucceſſe of the League. And to ſuch, Mony may euer bee ſecurely giuen, when their neceſſities, or the publike good of the League ſhall require it. But vnto others, little or nothing is to be giuen (in my fancy) except it bee to buy of them ſome important places; or to recompence intelligences, or ſeruices already done. And therefore it ſhall bee conuenient, to vſe all diligence (as before I haue ſignified) to diſcouer the true Motiues, that induced euery one to whom Mony is to be giuen, to enter into the League.

Remẽbrance ſtill to be had of the motiues.

Of entertaining ſome few principall men.

And in caſe it may ſeeme needful, to aduenture ſome what, to entertaine ſome few principall men, though neutrals, or ſuſpected, to diuert them from compounding with the enemie: it ſhall bee conuenient (in my fancy) to giue them largely, and more then the Enemy is like to giue them, and preciſely to accompliſh what elſe ſhall be promiſed.

For

The danger of breach of promise.

For otherwise, they will acknowledge no Obligation, and when the Enemy shall giue them more, they will follow him: and if promise bee not kept with them, they will esteeme themselues to be mocked, and (for very disdaine) will passe to the Enemy: and of all this, I saw daily experience in the time of the League in France. There the Catholike King bestowed many Millions, in Pensions, in entertainements, which many receiued, and after became his open Enemies. Some of them, because they were not punctually paid their entertainements; Others, because (as they pretended) promise was not kept with them in other things; And some others againe, either because they could not haue whatsoeuer they demaunded, or because that others had more then they.

Example of the league in *France*, witnessed by the Author.

But how much soeuer shall be bestowed vpon one or other, there is no security or assurance, in negotiating with Money alone: except the same be eyther accompanied, or shortly seconded with sufficient forces, which concurring therewith, may work great effect. And therefore the Oracle saide to *Phillip* of *Macedon*: *Hastis pugna argentatis, & omnia vinces*: *Fight with siluered Shields, and thou shalt ouercome all*: aduising him therby, to imploy Mony and Forces together. For, as for negotiation with mony alone, the longer it continueth; the more danger there is, both to looose the Mony and the businesse. For no trust is to be had in affection bought with Mony, and not grounded on reason & vertue. In which respect *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, saide very well to his Sonne *Alexander*, who sought to gaine from him the good wils of the *Macedonians*, with guifts and bribes. *What mischiefe* (quoth he) *perswadeth thee to thinke, that those will bee faithfull to thee, whom thou hast corrupted with Mony?*

Money and forces concurring, doe worke great effects.

The Oracle to *Phillip* of *Macedon*.

No trust in affection bought with monie.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

A man corrupted with monie, will be faithfull to no man.

Thus much for this matter, whereof much more might be said, if the question were reduced to perticular persons and Countries; which might minister other important considerations of difficulties, according vnto the Nature, strength, or weakenesse of the places, and the conditions and abilities of the persons, who were to bee succoured or impugned. Which I forbeare to prosecute any further, to passe to another matter: meaning to debate, whether the remedies which Pollitiques teach, against the daungers and inconueniences growing of wickednesse be sufficient (in reason and true pollicy) to assiure the State of a wicked Prince. By occasiõ whereof, I will examine diuers principles of *Machiuillian* Doctrine, and shew the absurdity thereof. To the end, that the young Statist, whom I labour to informe, may vnderstand as well what to auoyde, as what to embrace in matter of pollicy, and that a Princes State cannot be assured by wickednesse.

The Argumẽt proposed in the ensuing Chaptér.

CHAP. X.

Another Question is debated, for the further instruction of a young Statist, to wit: whether a Princes State can be assured by wicked pollicy? By the occasion whereof, many principles of Machiauill, and of the Pollitiques his followers, are examined and confuted by reason of state without the consideration of Gods Iustice.

NO Man that is endued with reason, will denie, that wickednesse in a Prince, maketh him hate full to his Subiects, and (consequently) endangereth his Estate. Which al *Machiauillians* and Pollitiques knew so well; that the greatest part of their pollicy, consisteth in deuising remedies against the same. To the ende, that their Prince may bee securely wicked, that is to say, that he may purchase and enioy all Worldly pleasures and commodities, *Per fas & nefas*, By right or wrong: without danger of any reuenge of Man, and not fearing the wrath and Iustice of God, because they beleeue not, that there is a God, or (at least) that he medleth not with the affaires of Men.

Wherein consisteth the greatest part of *Machiauels* pollicies.

All to be compassed by right or wrong.

First let vs see some of their Remedies. One of the principall (according to the Doctrine of their Maister *Machiauill*)

Machia. de princip.

Machiauels principall remedy consisteth in extremity of wickednesse.

Machiauell would haue a Prince to be either a Saint or a Deuill.

Machiauells absurdity in seeking to remedie a disease, by encreasing the cause thereof.

Excessiue wickednesse exposeth a Prince to excessiue hatred *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

No force or power can sufficiently resist the hatred of many. Pollitiques seeke absurdly to remedy hatred by feare.

Feare concurring with hate makes it more dangerous to him which is hated, and why.

auill) is, extreamity of all mischiefe and wickednesse, which *Machiauill* teacheth to be far more secure for a Prince, then mediocrity betwixt vertue and vice. Therefore he would haue his Prince to bee, either the best man liuing, or the worst: that is to say, either to be a Saint or a Deuill. Whereof his reason must needs be (if he haue any) that he which holdeth the middle way betwixt vertue and vice, and doth sometimes well, and sometimes ill: must needs incur the offence and hatred of some men, whereby he shall be endaungered. Therefore he thinketh it conuenient for such a one, to practise the common Prouerb, to wit; *Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, &c. He that hath once past the bounds of shame, must be notably impudent.* That is to say, he that is once ouer the shooes in sinne; must (for his safety) goe ouer head and eares. As though the way to remedy a disease, were to norish and encrease the cause thereof: as to cure a dropsie with continuall drinking, or a burning feauer with hot Wines and Spices, or to cast Oyle into the fire, to the end to quench it. For so do *Machiauillians*, who, to remedy the danger that groweth to a wicked Prince by hatred, doe make him more hatefull, and by the excesse of wickednesse, expose him to the extream & excessiue hatred of all men, and consequently, to ruine and perdition. For, as *Cicero* saith; *Multorum odijs nullæ opes, nullæ vires poterunt resistere. No force, power, or wealth, can sufise, to resist the hatred of many*, and much lesse of all Men. Yes, say they; *Oderint dum metuant; Let them hate him* (be they neuer so many) *so that they feare him.* For feare shall so represse their hatred: that they shall not dare to attempt any thing to his preiudice. Thus say they, but most absurdly: for feare (in a mind possest with hate) is nothing else, but as it were *Vnguis in vlcere: A mans naile or a scratch in an vlcer or botch*, which is exasperated thereby, and the paine of the patient greatly agrauated. And although feare doe (in some sort) delay and represse the fury of hatred: yet it makes it much more secure for the hater, and more dangerous to him that is hated.

For those that hate without feare, do many times attempt (vnaduisedly) to their own destruction: but those which both hate and feare, do deliberate, and execute with much more maturity and consideration, and (consequently) with lesse daunger to themselues, and more to their enemy. So that, whē the Prince doth adde feare to the hate of his Subiects: he redoubleth both his own fear, and also his owne perill. Whereupon the Tragicall Poet saith.

The Prince adding feare to the hatred of his subiects redoubleth his own feare and danger.

Senec Traged.

Qui sceptra duro sæuus imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in autorem redit.

That is to say. *He which gouerneth by seuerity and cruelty, feareth those which feare him, and the fear turneth vpon the Author or cause thereof.* And, as *Seneca* the *Stoick* saith. *Nesse est vt multos timeat, quem multi timent. He must needs be in feare of many, whom many feare.* Also *Cicero*, following *Ennius* the Poet, saith notably thus. *Quem metuunt oderunt, &c. Men hate him whom they fear, and euery one desireth the destruction of him whom he hateth: And no force or power of Empire (bee it neuer so great) can long stand, if it be prest with continuall feare of the Subiects.* Thus saith *Cicero*, declaring the daunger that groweth to a Prince by hatred & feare, which are the most forcible and vrgent Motiues that may be, to moue a people to conspiracies, as well among themselues, as with forraigners: both to deliuer themselues of the feare, as also to discharge their hatred & ire vpon their Prince. Wherefore *Aristotle* doth reckon hatred and feare, among the principall causes, of the destruction of Monarchies and tyrannies.

Feare turneth vpon the Authour.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Hatred and feare are the causes of conspiracies.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5.

But heere say the *Machiauillians*. For, this cause hath the Prince his Guardes, Armies, and Fortresses, to defend himselfe from all attempts, both Forraigne and Domesticall; beside the vigillancy and pollicy which he vseth, for the preuention of conspiracies; disarming and impouerishing his Subiects; forbidding their assemblies and publike conuentions; and all other meanes, which may breed loue, trust, and confidence among them. Terrifying thē (oftentimes) with the frequent shew of his Guardes and Garrisons, to make them seruile & base minded; suffering them to be vicious & dissolute of life, to make them effeminate: nor permitting them the vse of Schooles, or other meanes, whereby they may become learned, wise, & pollitike. Imploying his spies euery where, for

Machiauillian remedies against conspiracies, deliuered according to the rules of their Doctrine.

for the discouery of euery mans intention. Nourishing diuisions among the greatest, to counterpeize one with another. Suspecting al men, be they neuer so much bound to him. And finally, cutting off (by one means or other) al those whose power, courage, or wit, he may thinke to bee daungerous to his State: wherby he shall be secure from the dangers which may grow to his person or State, by the hatred of his Subiects.

Machiauell was not the inuenter of his pollicies.

Whereto I answere, that if *Machiauill*, or some other Polliticke in these our daies, had bin the first inuenters of these policies, and that they had neuer bin yet tried: it might with more reason be supposed, that there were, or might be som assurance therein for a wicked Prince. But seeing all this, or whatsoeuer else *Machiauil*, or any Polliticke doth teach, for the conseruation of a Tyrant, hath bin practised in all times & ages, by Tyrants and wicked Princes, who (neuertheless) haue al, or the most part of thē perished by the hatred of men: who seeth not the insufficiency thereof, for the assurance of a Prince in wickedness?

Machiauillian pollicies knowne and practised in al ages, by wicked Princes to their ruine.

Can *Machiauill*, or any other Pollitick, teach more to this purpose, thē we find written aboue 2000. yeares ago by *Aristotle* in his Pollitickes? Who shewing the meanes, whereby Tyrants seeke to preserue themselues and their states: ministreth to *Machiauill* and his fellowes, al the matter and substance of their wicked pollicies. Which neuertheles, were not approoued by *Aristotle*, as sufficient for the conseruation of tyranny: but vtterly reiected by him. In which respect, he declareth how vnsure tyranny is, and exemplifieth the same in all tyranicall state, which had beene before, or in his time. Shewing how speedily they all perished, excepting only foure: whereof the first continued 100. yeares, the second 73. and sixe months; the third, 33. and the fourth, 22. yeares. And the cause of the long continuance of the first and second, he ascribeth to the moderate and iust gouernment of the Tyrants, who though they got their States tirannically, and held them by vsurpation (in regard whereof they are called Tyrants;) yet they gouerned with such moderation and Iustice, that they were greatly beloued of their Subiects.

Aristi. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Machiauillian pollicies reiected by *Aristotle* aboue 2000 yeares agoe.

The speedy fal of tyrannicall states noted by *Aristotle*. *Aristot. Ibid. Cap.* 12.

To which purpose *Aristotle* also obserueth, that the state of a Tyrant is so much the more sure: by how much more moderate it is, and neerer to his iust gouernment of a King. Wherein al *Machiauillians* may note, both by the doctrine and experience of *Aristotle*, that the extreamity of wickednesse and tyranny, is the high way to carry a Prince headlong to his destruction, notwithstanding all their preuentions aforesaid. Whereof some part are most necessary for the conseruation of any Princes state: as Guardes, Garrisons, Fortresses, vigilance of Councellors, dilligence of Spies and Intelligencers, as also such other parts of those pollicies, as is conforme to reason, Iustice, & conscience. But the rest, I mean those points of hindring loue and confidence among Subiects, immoderate pilling and poulling them, making them effeminate, ignorant, & base minded, nourishing debate amongst great persons, and cutting off such as are more eminent in credit, power, courage, and wit, then the rest: these I say, and all such as are against charity, Iustice, and Conscience, are against all true pollicy, and so farre from helping a Tirant, that they help to ruine him, as heere in this Chapter shall appear, concerning some of these pointes in perticuler, and some in generall.

Aristi. Ibid. Cap. 11.

Machiauillian pollicies contrary to *Aristotles* doctrine and experience.

What is to be reiected and what allowed in the *Machiauillian* remedies aboue mentioned.

And now to speake of some of them. What can be more contrary to true reason of State: then to hinder trust, confidence, and loue among the people, without the which there can be no commonwealth? For, without loue & confidence, there can be no fidelity; & without fidelity, no Iustice; and without Iustice, no Commonwealth, as you haue read in the necessity of fidelity in the Prince. For this cause, all ancient Lawmakers, and founders of cōmonwealths, haue ordained in all Countries and Cities, publike Feasts, Playes, and assemblies, where the people may meet together: not onely for recreation, but to make them also known one to another. To the end, that of their conuersation, may grow loue and friendship, and the same redound to generall vnity, for the conseruation of peace in the whole Cōmonwealth. And therefore *Aristotle* saith, that friendship is; *Maximū bonum ciuitatibus, The greatest good that can bee to Commonwealths.* For saith he, *By means*

Machiauels Doctrine concerning deuision confuted.

Why publique Feastes and Playes were first inſtituted

The benefit of loue and friendship in Commonwealths.

Aristot. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

thereof, they shall be free from sedition. Also, *Solon* esteemed this amity and vnion of minds, to be so necessary for the conseruation of humaine Society, that, being demanded, what Common-wealth was best, and most like to continue: *Such a one* (saith he) *wherein euery Man doth take the iniury which is don to another, to be done to himselfe.* And to the same purpose he made a law in *Athens*, giuing leaue to euery one, to take vppon him the iust quarrel of any other, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concerned himself. Which constitution of *Solon*, *Plutarch* commendeth greatly. *As a means* (saith he) *to accustom the people, to feele and redresse the griefes & iniuries one of another, as being al members of one body.* Whereby he may vnderstand, that the vnion and loue of the political body (that is to say, the Common-wealth) is no lesse necessary; then the combination of the parts in the body naturall. Which *Seneca* teacheth notably in these words. *Vt omnia inter se membra, &c. As all the members and parts of mans body, do agree together for the conseruation of the whole, which also redoundeth to the good of euery part in particular: So all men ought to agree to the benefit one of another, because we are borne to liue in societie, which cannot be conserued, but by the agreement and loue of the parts thereof.* Thus saith *Seneca.*

How then can it stand with true pollicie, or reason of State, to hinder this vnion and loue of the people, or to sow and nourish factions among them, and especiallie among great personages; whereby seditions, tumults, and garboyles may grow in the Commonwealth? Yes, say the *Machiauillians*, it standeth notably wel with the reason of our Princes State, who seeketh not the generall good of the Commonwealth: but his particular benefit. And therfore, forasmuch as the vnion and friendship of subiects, may enable them the rather to conspire against him: it is good pollicy & reason of State for him, to maintaine factions among them, according to the old saying. *Si vis regnare, diuide. If thou wilt raigne, make diuision.*

Thus say they. Of whom I wold gladly learne, how they can (in this case) seperate the perill of the Cõmon-wealth, from the perill of the Prince, to make this good pollicy for him? Can the body be in danger, without the peril of the head? Hath it not bin seen many times, that some priuate quarrell, growne at first betwixt meane personages: hath after passed further to a multitude, and (from them) come to be general to the ruine of a whole State? And therefore; *Plutarch* wisely compareth sedition to a little sparke of fire, which falling into straw, or other dry matter in some corner of a house: setteth the same on fire, whereby (in the end) a whole Towne is burnt. In which respect, he counteth it for one of the most speciall pointes of politicall Science: to take away all occasion of sedition, and when it groweth, to appease it quickly.

Aristotle also teacheth the same verie seriously, affirming, that *Sedition is the chiefe cause, of the mutation and subuersion of Common-wealths.* Shewing how many waies it may rise, and how it may be remedied, & that it is alwaies dangerous, but then most petnitious, when it groweth among great personages. And therfore he aduiseth, to remedy the same (if it be possible) in the very beginning, because: *Principium dicitur esse dimidium totius: The beginning is saide to be the one halfe of the whole.* And little seditions at the first, grow after to be great, especially among great men: *Whose discord* (saith hee) *draweth the whole Commonwealth after them.* Whereby it may appeare, how dangerous and absurd is the councell, which *Machiauillians* giue to their Princes, to norish factions in their Common-wealth, & especially among great personages: as if Princes were omnipotent, and had the harts and wils of al men in their hands, to moue, sway, incense, or temper in such manner and measure, as it shall please them, which only is in Gods hand and power to do. So then it is euident in this case, that the *Machiauillians* expose their Prince to manifest danger, without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedie, which in matter of State is most absurd.

The like may also be said, of their other pestilent pollicies before mentioned, consisting in all kind of cruelty, iniustice, and wickednesse: whereby they make their Prince most odious to all men, and (by consequent) do draw them into manifest dangers, from which they are

Plutarch. in Solon.

What Common-wealth *Solon* liked best.

The loue & vnion of members of the politicall body, most necessary for the conseruation thereof.

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Ira. Cap. 31.

Why *Machiauillians* doe thinke, that factions among subiects are good for Princes.

A *Machiauillian* Prouerbe and principle confuted.

The good & ill of the Common-wealth and of the Prince are conioyned. Factions in the Common-wealth dangerous to Princes.

Plutarch in his instructions, for such as deale in matters of state.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. 3. & 4.

Sedition a principall cause of the subuersion of States.

Idem Ibid ca. 4.

Factions among great men most dangerous.

Princes may make factions but cannot afterward hinder the bad effects thereof.

Machiauillian pollicies make Princes odious to their subiects.

are notable to warrant or defend them by all their pollicies. As it may appeare by the experience of all ages & former times, vnto this wherein we liue, seeing all Histories doe testifie, that the more wicked and tyrannical Princes haue bin, and the more they haue incurred the hatred of men: the sooner they haue bin ruined; some by open rebellions of their subiects; some others, by their general description in fauour of strangers; others by secret conspiracies of a few; and others also, by the desperate attempt of some one man, notwithstanding all their pollicies, power, force of Guards, Armies, Fortresses, or other humaine meanes.

The hatred of subiects most dangerous to Princes, by the experience of all Ages.

This point *Cicero* proueth, by the examples of *Phalaris* a most cruell Tyrant, whom all the people of the *Agrigentines* oppressed in a general tumult: and of *Alexander*, the Tyrants of *Phæræ*, killed by his owne craft: And of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, forsaken of all his subiects, in fauour of King *Pyrrhus*. To whom we may adde *Romulus*, the first founder of the *Romain* Empire, who hauing made himselfe hateful to his Senators: was murdered by them in the very Senate house. As *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, his third Successor, being odious to the people for his In-iustice, and fraud towards the Children of *Aucus Martius*, whom he depriued of their Kingdome, though he was left their Tutor by their Father: was slaine by two Shepheards. In like manner, *Tarquinius Superbus*, the seauenth and last King of the Romaines, who vsed all the tyrannicall pollices aboue mentioned, violated all Lawes humaine and diuine, for the conseruation of his estate: was neuertheless driuen out of his kingdom by his subiects, and the name of King and kingly authority, abolished among the *Romaines* (in hatred of him) for the space of 500. yeares.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

The danger of hatred exemplified by *Cicero*.

Diuers of the first Kings of *Rome* ruinated by hatred.

Tit. Liuius. Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

And if wee looke into the *Romaine* Empire after *Iulius Cæsar*, we shal finde, that neither pollicy nor power, could defend many Emperors of *Rome* & *Constantinople*, against the hatred of Men. As, to omit many others, who perished vpon other occasions; it may appear by (a) *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe, *Caius Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*; (b) *Commodus*, (c) *Digius*, *Iulianus*, (d) *Caracalla*, (e) *Opilius Macrinus*, and his Son *Diadumenus*, (f) *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Iulius Maximus*, (g) *Galienus*, (h) *Philippus*, (i) *Aurelianus*, (k) *Constans* the first, (l) *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the third, *Basilicus*, *Zeno*, *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heracleon*, with his Mother *Martina*, *Constans* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Philippicus*, *Constantinus* the sixt, *Nicephorus Stauratius*, *Leo Armenius*, *Michael* the Son of *Theophilus*, *Nicephorus*, sirnamed *Phocas*, *Ioannes Zemisces*, *Michael Calaphrates*, *Stratioticus*, *Michael Paraptnaceus*, *Andronicus Commenus*, and diuers others, who hauing incurred the hatred, either of their Subiects in generall, or of some particuler persons, were some of them poysoned, and others violently slaine, eyther by the fury of the people, or by their Nobility, or by their own Guards and Soldiours, or by their wiues, Concubines, or seruants, or by other particuler men. Besides, some others of them were deposed, and eyther confined into Monasteries, or depriued as well of their eyes and noses, as of their Empire. And one among the rest, to wit, *Zeno*, a most cruell and crafty Tyrant, was put into his Sepulcher aliue (by the consent of his Wife) while he was drunke, or, as some write, taken with a fit of the falling sickneese. Being also so hated of his owne Seruants and Guards, that when hee came to himselfe, and cried for help out of the sepulcher: no man assisted or pitied him; and so he died raging, and tearing his flesh with his teeth, as it appeared afterward when the Tombe was opened.

[a] *Tribellius Poll. 6. & Sextus Aurelius.*
[b] *Dion.*
[c] *Flauius Vopiscus.*
[d] *Pomponius Lætus.*
[e] *Ioannes Baptista Egnatius. Zonaras. Nicetas Choniates.*

Zeno a most cruell and crafty Tyrant buried aliue.

Cedrenus in Comp. Zonaras Annal. To. 3. Ioan Baptista Egnatius in Zenone.

And although euery one of these was not so subtile, nor so pollitike, nor yet so wicked, as *Machiauill* would haue his Prince to be: yet it is euident in them all, that the hatred of Subiects is most pernitious to Princes. And in some of them it appeareth manifestly, that no humane power, or wicked pollicy, can warrant and assure them the State of a Prince generally hated: seeing that diuers of them before named, excelled not onely in imperiall power; but also in subtiltie, craft, perfidiousnesse, periury, deepe dissimulation, cruelty, and all such kinde of wickednesse, as *Machiauill* requireth in his Prince. As (to omit others, for breuities sake) the last whom I named of the Emperors of

The hatred of Subiects is most pernitious to Princes.

Epito. Ioan. Bap. Egnatius.

Examples in the Empire of *Rome* and *Constantinople*.

[a] *Sueton Tranquil.*
[b] *Aelius Lampridius.*
[c] *Spartianus.*
[d] *Iulius Capitolinus.*
[e] *Lampridius.*

Nicetas Choniates in Andronico Comneno. Lib. 1.

Constantinople, to wit; *Andronicus Comnenus*, was so eminent and egregious in all tyrannicall Pollicy: that *Egnatius* worthily calleth him; *Callidissimum mortalium*; *The most crafty of all Mortal men*. Of whose manner of gouernment I wil say somwhat briefely, to the end it may appeare: how little security a Prince may haue by wicked pollicies, against the hatred of men.

The History of *Andronicus Comnenus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, an egregious Politique.

This *Andronicus*, hauing with great art and subtilty, obtained to be Tutour to the young Emperor *Alexius*, Son to *Emanuell*: made himselfe (shortly after) his Companion in the Empire, procuring the death of the Empresse, Mother to *Alexius*, and of diuers others whose liues hee thought to be preiudiciall to his pretence. Within a while also, hee caused the young Emperor himselfe to be murdred, notwithstanding, his former oath of fidelity, sollemnely confirmed with receiuing the blessed Sacrament. And being then Emperor alone, and finding himselfe to be hateful to his people: he practised all the tyrannicall Pollicies, that could be deuised for his own conseruation. He guarded his Pallace and person, with strong Guards of barbarous Strangers, and the most desperate Fellowes that could bee found, who could neither speake nor vnderstand the language of the Country: and he had (beside) euery night at his chamber door, a huge Mastiue dog, so fierce, that he durst fight body to body with a Lyon, or with an armed man on horsebacke. He was also prouided of wicked Instruments, for the execution of his will in all cases: as Spies, Promoters, and false witnesses, whereby many Noblemen were slaine, imprisoned, or banished. Yet for no other cause, but for that he feared, that either their credit with the people, or their power, or their wealth, or their wit, might prooue in time dangerous to his State.

Idem. Lib. 2.

His Guards of barbarous strangers, and his great deg.

Idē. 1. Lib. & 2. His wicked Instruments.

Neuertheless, knowing right well, that the more his Empire flourished in Iustice, the more it would be his honor, benefit, and security: hee shewed such especiall care thereof, that hee excelled many notable Princes therein, not only prouiding for the election of iust and wise officers: but also seuerely punishing those, who eyther did, or permitted any wrong to bee done, to the meanest or poorest subiect he had. Beside, he ordained, and gaue most liberall allowance, to al Magistrats for their maintenance, to the end: that they should not haue any need or pretence to take bribes. And such as were prooued to be corrupt, he punished so exemplarly: that (within a while) no Magisttate durst take so much as a present of any man, though it was neuer so voluntarily offered. He shewed himselfe affable and courteous vnto the poore, and seemed ful of pitty and compassion, whensoeuer hee heard their complaints, and did them exact Iustice. Furthermore, he tooke such order, for the releese of the necessities of the common people: that all kinde of victuals were most plentifull and cheape; the ground well tilled and mannured, the Countries well inhabited; Villages and Cities much augmented, & the Common-wealth greatly enriched.

Idem Ibid.

His kindnesse and affability to the poore, and prouision for plenty of all things.

Such was the care he seemed to haue of Iustice, and of the publique good, which (neuertheless) he respected no further: then it might turne to his own perticular benefit or pleasure, whereof he preferred the consideration, before all things else whatsoeuer. For, as he prouided the Commonwealth of notable Magistrates: so he furnished his Court with wicked Councellours and Iudges, voyd of all conscience, who executed his will, vpon all such as incurred his dislike or suspition. Some they banished, spoiled others of their goods; deprived others of their eies; murthered others secretly, and condemned many publikely, vpon false pretences, of whom (neuertheless) he himselfe would seem to haue great compassion. As for example, vnderstanding that one *Isacius*, a Noble-man, had taken Armes against him in the Island of *Cyprus*: he picked a quarrel against two of his own trustiest Seruants and Fauourites, because they were great friends to the other, causing them to bee accused of Treason, condemned, and executed. And when suite was made vnto him, after their deathes, that their Bodies (which were hanged vp) might be taken downe and buried: hee seemed so much to pittie their case, that hee shed aboundance of teares, lamenting that the sentence of the Iudges, and the seueritie and authoritie of Law, must needes ouer-weigh his

He furnished his Common-wealth with good Magistrates, and his Courte with wicked Councellors and Iudges.

Idem. Lib. 1. He suspected and made away his most familiate Seruants.

Idem. Lib. 2. His care of the administration of Iustice in all things which did not concerne his perticuler benefit or pleasure

His deepe dissimulation and feigned pitty.

Idem, Lib. 2.

his desire, and the affection that he bare them. And when any were touched with matter of sedition: not onely they themselues, but also al the whole kinred and families were condemned and ruined, to the end, that none should be left of their race to reuenge it. The which (neuertheless) he seemed rather to permit, and suffer to be done, then himselfe to ordaine it. For he caused his Iudges and Magistrates, to giue those sentences by publique Edict, with plausible preambles: shewing their care of the Emperours person, and referring it not to his commaundement; but to diuine inspiration, as a thing necessary for the seruice of God, and the good of the Common-wealth.

His horrible cruelty craftily couered.

Andronicus had the Quintessence of *Machiauils* pollicies, long before *Machiauel* was born.

Heere now I appeale to any *Machiauillian*, whether *Andronicus* had not the Quintessence of *Machiauils* Pollicy, long before *Machiauill* was born? And whether he wanted eyther desire, wit, or wickednes, to conserue his state against the hatred of men, if it had beene possible to haue done it by wicked meanes? Therefore, let vs see the end, which was such, that it may well serue for an exemplare warning, to all *Machiauillian* Pollitiques.

Idem. Ibid.

His daily feares and suspitions.

His Sorceries and witchcraftes.

While *Andronicus* gouerned in this manner, his cruelty and in-Iustice did purchase him more hatred, the the good that he did for the publike, could recompence. Which filled him euery day with new feares, suspitions, and iealosies: especially, after that he was pressed with warres by *William* King of *Sicily*. Who hauing ouerthrown some of his armies, and taken *Thessalonica*, and other towns of importance: marched towards *Constantinople*, wherwith the people began to take courage, and to discouer their hatred to *Andronicus* daily more and more. This did put him in such feare of Conspiracies, that hee consulted with Sorceres and Witches: especially with one *Sethus* a Magitian, who deuined by a Bason of Water. And one day, when *Andronicus* desired to know the name of his Successor; *Sethus* shewed him in the water, the two Letters, *I.* and *S.* wherby he & his Councellors coniectured, that it should be *Isacius*, who had rebelled against him in the Iland of *Cyprus*, as before hath bin declared. Neuertheless, forasmuch as there was another *Isacius* (sir-named *Angelus*) at the same time in the Court, a man of so quiet a Spirit, and so small courage, that *Andronicus* himselfe did no way suspect him: one of his speciall Councellours suggested to him, that it were good to command the said *Isacius Angelus*, to be taken and put into prison, to preuent the worst. *Least* (saith he) *we may seeke the Viper abroad in the field, when perhaps we haue him in our bosome.* And although *Andronicus* seemed (at the first) to contemne *Isacius*, as a man no way to be feared: yet at last it was resolued by him and his Councell, that he should be taken. And for that purpose, *Stephanus*, one of his chiefe Councellours and worst Instruments, went himselfe (with certain of his catchpoules) to the house of *Isacius*, who defending himselfe: killed *Stephanus*; & ran presently (with his sword bloody in his hand) through the Market place, to take Sanctuary in the chiefe Church of the towne, imploring (as he went) the ayd of the people, declaring what hee had done, and why. The people flocked after him to the Church, pitying greatly his case, and commending his act, and at length, their courage encreasing with their multitude: they began to embolden one another; first to defend *Isacius*, and afterward to make him Emperour. Which being propounded to the whol assembly, was accepted of them all: thogh he himselfe neither desired it, nor so much as dreampt of it, but thought himselfe well payed, if he could saue his life. This resolution being taken among them, they proclaimed him Emp. first in the Church, and after in the streetes: which was approued with general consent of the Nobility, and all the people of the Citty, who came to yeild him obedience, and to assist him. *Andronicus* seeing himselfe forsaken of all his Subiects, durst neither trust to the strength of his Pallace, nor of his Guards, nor of his great Dog: but fled away in a Boat, and was shortly after taken, and brought backe loaden with Iron Chaines. Hee was scorned and reuiled by the people; his haire of his head and beard pulled away; his teeth strucken out; his right hand cut off; and (a few daies after) one of his eyes pulled out of his Head. Then was he set vpon a scabbed Camel, apparelled ridiculously, and carryed

How he was ouer reached in his Sorceries.

Wickednesse neuer wants as wicked Councell.

How his wickednesse turned to his owne ouerthrow.

Isacius fearing to loose his life, was suddenly made Emperor.

Andronicus forsaken of all his Subiects.

The reward and miserable end of *Andronicus* for his Tyranny.

through the ſtreetes to be ſhewn to the people: who threw vpon him all kinde of ordure and filth, euery one contending, who ſhould deride or abuſe him moſt. And at the laſt, he was hanged vp by the heeles, his apparrell torne from him, and his naked body wounded, by whoſoeuer would ſtrike him, as many did in diuers manners: ſome for ſport; ſome for reuenge of iniuries; ſome to try their ſwords, & ſome their ſtrength, till (at the length) he was hackt and hewed in pieces. Behold here the fruit of *Machiauillian* Pollicy, the lamentable iſſue of wikedneſſe and tyranny, and the ſmall aſſurance that Tyrants haue, againſt the hatred of their Subiects, eyther by vſurped power, or impious polly. Whereto I might adde an eſpeciall obſeruation of Gods iuſt iudgements: but that I promiſed not to vrge the ſame in this Chapter. Thus much concerning the *Roman* and *Greek* Emperors.

The fruit and benefit of *Machiauillian* pollicie.

I might alſo produce many other notable examples of this matter, out of Hiſtories as well of our own Country, as of al others. For, what cauſed the deſtruction of *Edmond Ironſide*, who was murdred vpon a priuy; or the continual rebellions in the time of K. *Iohn*; Or the vntimely death of *Edward* the ſecond, broached with a hot ſpit; Or of *Richard* the ſecond, firſt depoſed, and after ſlain in Priſon; Or yet of *Richard* the third, forſaken of all his Nobility and Commons, and ſlaine at *Boſworth* Fielde; what elſe (I ſay) was the cauſe thereof, but the hatred of their Subiects? And as for the laſt of theſe, I meane *Richard* the third, if we conſider his malignant and treacherous Nature, his cruelty, his deepe diſſimulation, his deuilliſh deuiſes and inuentions, as well to get the Crown, as after to conſerue it: we ſhall not finde him inferiour, to the moſt famous tyrants of former times, for al impious and wicked pollicies, which neuertheleſſe could not free him from the danger of deſtruction, which the hatred of his Subiects iuſtly drew vpon him.

Examples out of our Engliſh Hiſtories.

Polidor *Virgil. Lib.* 7.

Idem. Lib.

Idem Lib.

Idem. Lib.

Sir *Thomas Moore* in King *Richard* the thirds life.

Richard the third, not inferior to the famous Tyrants of former times.

But what neede I alledge other examples, ſeeing the Mirror of *Machiauels* owne Prince, *Ceſar Borgia*, may ſerue for a Witneſſe of this matter? For, though he ſo far ſurpaſſed al former Tyrants, in wickedneſſe and tyrannical power, that *Machiauill* made choiſe of him, to frame his Prince by the modell of his tyranny: yet could he not vphold and conſerue his State, againſt the hatred of Men. But beeing abandoned by his Subiects and Friends: became a notable example, not onely of humane imbecility, but alſo of the wofull end, of ſuch as truſt to wicked Pollicies, as I haue declared before vpon other occaſions.

Example of *Machiauels* owne Prince *Ceſar Borgia*.

Guicciard. *Lib.* 6.

Hereupon it followeth, that no Princes power or pollicy, can ſufficientlie warrant and aſſure his eſtate, againſt the vniuerſal hatred of men; ſpecially, conſidering the little ſecurity, that wicked Princes (when they grow to be hated) haue of their owne Guards or Armies. For, though they are the ſpecial means of their defence; yet they ſerue (many times) for another end, then to butcher and ſlaughter them: As hath formerlie been auouched, by the examples of (a) *Caligula*, (b) *Caracalla*, (c) *Heliogabalus*, *Phillip*, (d) *Galien*, *Macrinus*, (e) *Aurelianus*, (f) *Maximinus*, and others, ſlaine partly by their Guards, and partlie by their Souldiours, notwithſtanding, the great liberality, which many of theſe Emperours vſed, to buy their affections and fidelity. As it may be well obſerued (to omit diuers other) in *Maximinus*, of whom *Iulius Capitolinus* ſaith. *Ea aſſtutia fuit, vt milites non ſolum virtute regeret, ſed etiam præmijs et lucris ſui amantiſſimos redderet. He was ſo crafty, that hee did not onely gouerne his Souldiours by vertue, but alſo wan their affections by guifts and rewards.* And yet neuertheleſſe, they conſpired diuers times againſt him, and at length, when he was denounced publike enemy by the Senate, and ſomwhat diſtreſſed in his march towardes *Rome* for lacke of victuals: they ſlew him and his Sonne in their Tents, and ſent their heads to *Rome*.

The little ſecurity that wicked Princes haue of their Guards or Armies.

a *Suetonius.*
b *Spartianus.*
c *Lampridius.*
d *Trebellius Pollio.*
e *Flauius Vopiſcus.*
f *Iulius Capitolinus.*

Iulius Capitolinus in Maxi.

And heerein I wiſh two things to be noted. The one, the fruit of cruelty; for this *Maximinus* beeing made Emperour tyrannically by his Souldiours, againſt the will of the Senate: followed the principles which *Machiauill* teacheth his Prince, perſwading himſelfe, as *Iulius Capitolinus* teſtifieth: *Niſi crudilitate imperium non teneri? That he could not holde the Empire but by cruelty.* Wherein he ſo exceeded, that ſome called him *Cyclops*; ſome *Buſiris*; ſome *Scyron*; ſome *Typhon*; and

Two things to be conſidered.

The fruite of Cruelty.

Idem Ibidem.

and some *Phalaris*. And therefore (in the end) he receiued the iust reward thereof at the handes of his owne Soldiers, to whom, notwithstanding his great Donatiues, he became no lesse odious then to other men.

The other thing which I wish to bee obserued, is the great infelicitie of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued. For, though they are forced for their owne safety to become slaues to those, by whom they keepe others in slauery, yet they are not secure thereby, but still in danger, not onely of others, but also of them that should defend them. Whose mercenarie mindes are so inconstant, and subiect to corruption, that the liues of the princes whom they guard, are euer salable, and therefore neuer warrantable, by any humaine pollicy. For let the Prince giue them neuer so much, to binde them to his Seruice, yet he that shall giue, yea, or promise more, may win them from him. As it hath falne out many times to the Romaine Emperors, who haue bin sold by their Guards and Soldiers not for readie money, but for the promise of greater summes, then could be expected at their hands. As *Plutark* noteth in the Guards & Soldiers of *Nero*, corrupted by *Nimphidius* in fauour of *Galba*, vpon promise of a greater Donatiue, then could afterward be performed. Which, sayth hee, caused the destruction both of *Nero* and *Galba*: for the Soldiers forsooke *Nero*, in hope of the paiment promised, and then killed *Galba* because he could not pay it. So tickle is the trust that Princes repose in Mercenary men; and so vnsure the state that is to be vpholden by such incertaine and weak props, which many times faile, when there is the most neede of them.

Furthermore, another especiall and inuitable danger is to bee noted, which any Prince (generally hated) must needs incurre, to wit; the defection of his subiects, in all occasions of inuasions from forraigne Countreyes. For, although he be neuer so strong at home, in Gards, Garrisons, and Fortresses, and his Subiects also so poore and weake, that they neither dare nor can rise against him: yet if forreigne Princes doe inuade him, either vpon a quarrell of state (which among Princes that are Neighbours neuer wanteth) or vpon Ambition to enlarge their Dominions; what remedie hath he against the generall hatred of his people, who haue then sufficient opportunity and meanes, to bee reuenged on him, and to free themselues from the yoake of his tirranny, by taking part with the forreigner, the experience whereof hath beene seene often times.

The infelicity of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued.

Romaine Emperors sold by their Guards and Soldiers.

Plutarch. in Galba.

Nero forsaken and *Galba* slaine.

An inetitable danger which a Prince generally hated must needes incurre.

No remedy against the peoples generall hatred.

We reade in *Iustine*, that the Subiects of *Demetrius*, King of *Syria*, abandoned him for the hatred which they bare him, and tooke part with a knowne Counterfeit, calling himselfe *Alexander*, pretending and naming himselfe to be of the royall race, as *Perkin Warbeck* did in England. This *Alexander* they accepted for their King, being so incensed against *Demetrius*: *That they were content* (saith *Iustine*) *to admit any whosoeuer, to be rid of him*. Also the last Kings of *Naples*, no lesse rich and potent, then wickedly pollitique, being most hatefull to their Subiects for their Tirrannicall gouernment: were forsaken of them all; & betrayed to the French, to whom they yeelded themselues without any resistance.

Iustin. in l. 39 Demetrius king of Syria.

Guicciard. in Lib. 6. Philip. Comin. in Carlo 8. Alphonso and *Ferdinand* Kings of *Naples.*

Also *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*, may serue for a notable example of this matter. For when *Lewes* the 12. King of *France*, made warre against him and had already taken diuers principall Townes and Fortes in the state of *Millayne*: Duke *Lodowick* (knowing himselfe to be very odious to his Subiects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing least they would abandon him) assembled the people of *Millayne*, to recouer their good willes, and not only remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them; but also gaue them many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings. Neuertheless, such was the hatred which they had conceiued against him, that within a few daies after, they tooke Armes, slew *Antonio Landriano* his Treasurer, forced him to fly, called in the *French*, and yeilded the town and themselues to their obedience. Haue we not seene also the like effect of hatred in *England*, in the time of K. *Iohn*, whom the Barons and Nobility of the Realme, called in *Lewes* the eight, King of *France* while he was Dolphin, and proclaymed him King? Choosing rather to liue vnder the Naturall King. Who, as *Mathew*

Lodouico Sforza, Duke of *Millayne Guicciard. in lib. 4.*

Pol. in Virgil. in Ioan King *Iohn* of England.

Math. Westmin. An. 1216.

of

of *Westminster* writeth, *Exosum se præbuit, &c. Made himselfe hatefull to them, as wel for the murder of his Nephewe* Arthur, *as for his adulteries, tyranny and exactions, the continual seruitude wherein he kept England, and lastly, for the warre which his deserts procured. In respect whereof, Vix alicuius meruit lamentione deplorari: He deserued not to be lamented scarcelie of any man.* Thus saith he, I forbeare to alledge many other notable histories vnto the same purpose, because I do holde it needlesse in a matter so euident.

Machiauell seeking to expell and remedie one poyson with another, poysoneth his Prince double.

What then shall we say of *Machiauils* pestilent Precepts, for the preseruation of a Prince already infected and poysoned with wickednesse? Can wee saie ought else, but that while he seeketh by one poison to expel or remedy another, hee poysoneth him double, and killeth him out right? For, a wicked Prince, adding (as *Machiauel* aduiseth) wickednesse to wickednesse, and cruelty to cruelty, doth accumulate vpon himselfe, hatred vpon hatred, which, as I haue declared, will breake out sooner or later to his ouerthrow.

The danger which Tirants incurre by the ordinary errours proceeding of humaine imbecility.

Neither can the *Machiauillian* help his Maisters cause, by saying, that such wicked Princes as haue perished by the hatred of men, haue committed som error or other, which they shoulde or might haue foreseene and auoided. For, the imbecility of mans wit and power is such that no man liuing, is able to foresee and preuent all the daungers and accidents, which may occurre in the afairs of men, to the ouerthrow of their designments. As hath bin already prooued by the examples of the absurd errours, as well of the wisest Senates and Councelles, as of most politicke men. Whereupon, it followeth, that the Prince which exposeth himselfe vnto the generall hatred of all men, incurreth many notable dangers.

Examples of Townes of warre & Fortresses wanting enemies.

For, euen as Townes of Warre, or Fortresses which haue no enemy neere, do, or may commit many errors (in matters appertaining to their defence) without danger; but being besieged by their enemies, are sometimes surprized, by occasion of their least ouer-sight or negligence. Euen so, it fareth with Princes, who so long as they are generally beloued, are little or nothing preiudiced by many errors which fall out in their Gouernment, but beeing once (as I may tearme it) besiedged with the hatred of their Subiects and Neighbours, they are ruined sometimes with the least errour, which they or their Magistrats do commit.

Euery little errour of a Prince generally hated, is very dangerous.

For, the hatred of men when it is generall, may bee compared to a swelling Sea, which enuironing a Ship on euery side, dooth otherwhiles ouerwhelme it with the impetuosity of Waues, and sometimes againe entereth in at euerie leake or rift, and so sinketh it. In like manner, the general hatred of men, doth not only ouerthrow a Princes state, by potent and powerfull attempts: but also by taking aduantage of euery little error or accident, which may helpe to ruine it.

No Prince generally hated, can liue long in security.

And therfore, forasmuch as the weakenesse of mans witte, and the varietie of times and occasions, do produce alwaies some dangerous accidents in the States of Princes, either by their errors or otherwise: whereuppon their industrious & watchful enemies (especialy at home) may take aduantage: it followeth, that no Prince generally hated, can liue long in securitie, bee he neuer so Dilligent, vigilant, or suspicious of all Men, as *Machiauil* would wish to haue his prince to be.

Cicero in 2. lib. de Offic.

Who could vse greater vigilancie or diligence for his owne conseruation; or be more suspitious, then *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres?* Who though he loued his Wife *Thebes* verie deerly, yet neuer came he to her chamber, but he caused both her Coffers and her selfe to be searched, to see whither she had any weapon hid in her Garments. And yet neuertheless, hee was killed by her, in the end.

No vigilancy suffiseth against the hatred of all men ingenerall.

Suetonius in Claudio.

Could any man bee more prouident for his safety, then was *Claudius* the Emperor? He would neuer goe to any banket, but where his owne Guardes and Souldiers seeued the Table; and neuer visited any sicke man, whose Chamber was not searched before by some of his Guards, euen to the verie beds and bedstraw, and yet he was poysoned at last by his owne Taster, whom he neuer suspected.

Idem in Domitiano.

What should we say of *Domitian* the Emperor? Hee was so fearefull and suspitious of all men, that hee made the walles of his Galleries where he vsed to walke,

walke, to be set full of bright and cleare Stone, cald *Phengites*, wherin he might see whatsoeuer was done behinde him: and neuertheleſſe, he was murdered by his owne Chamberlins.

The stone *Phengites*.

Many such other examples might be alledged of Princes, who besides theyr great Guards and Armies, for defence of their persons, vsed al human diligence also, being iealous and suspitious of all men: and yet neuertheleſſe, were ouerreached, sometimes by those whom they most feared; and sometimes by those whom they least suspected, or best trusted. Whereto I adde (as I haue elsewhere noted, and cannot repeat too often) that sometimes the most prouident and polliticke Princes, are (through the imbelicity of humaine wit) ouerthrowne by their owne policies, that is to say, by the verie same meanes wherby they seek either to benefit themselues, or to hurt and destroy others, as hath sufficientlie appeared by many seuerall famous examples.

Most prouident and politique Tyrants, ouerthrowne sometimes by thē whom they most feared, and sometimes by their owne pollicies.

But what security can a wicked prince haue by Guards, or other humaine prouidence and diligence, seeing somtimes, that the wiſest and best guarded, being aduertised of some iminent daunger, eyther haue not the hope to vnderstand it, or the wit to beleeue it? So it happened to *Iulius Cæsar*, who, as he was going to the Senat, receiued a memorial, wherein the Conspiratours against him were discouered, and beeing willed to read it presently, because it imported him greatly: was so troubled with the presse and importunity of suiters, that he could not attend vnto it, and so was slain the same day in the Senate house. *Archias* also, a Tyrant in *Thebes*, being inuited vnto a Supper, where his death was conspired, receiued a Letter from a Friende of his, containing an aduise of the Conspiracy. And beeing requested (by him that brought it) to read it out of hande, for that it concerned matters of great importance: made aunswere, that it was then no time to negotiate, and so laying it aside, was slaine within two houres after.

Another danger proceeding of humaine infirmity.

Example of *Iulius Cæsar*. *Plutarch in Iulio Cæsar.*

Idem in Pelopida. *Archias* a Tyrant of *Thebes*.

In like manner, *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundie*, who, as I haue declard before, was slaine at *Nancy*, by the treason of *Campobachio* an *Italian*: was aduertised and fore-warned thereof, by *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*. Neuertheleſſe, perswading himselfe, that his aduertisement proceeded either of malice to *Campobachio*, or out of a desire to deprive him of his most necessary and trustie seruant, he would not beleeue it, but loued him the better for it. Beside, one that was priuy to the conspiracy, being condemned to die for another matter, and determining to reueale it vnto the Duke, thereby to obtaine his pardon, made sute vnto him to speake with him, promising to aduertise him of som things, which it imported him greatlie to know, but the Duke would not bee intreated so much as to heare him, for the man was executed, and the Duke slaine within a few daies after.

Philip. Comin. in Ludouic. 11. Cap. 83. & 91. *Charles* the last Duke of *Bourgundy*.

When an euil is destined there can be no preuention.

Now then, I would gladlie knowe of *Machiauel* and his followers, what security they can promise their Prince in wickednesse, seeing it is euident by the reasons and examples alledged, that the extreame hatred, which extreame wickednesse draweth vpon them, doth (notwithstanding all their power and policy) worke their ouerthrow by so many meanes as hath beene declared? As by open Rebellions, or the generall insurrection of a whole people, by enterprise of a few by the attempt of some one man, by the disloyalty and treachery of a false wife, faigned Friends, fauourites, Soldiers, & Guards, by the defection of Subiects in fauour of some enemy forraigne or Domestical, by the negligence of Officers and Ministers, by the casualty of all humaine affayres and designments; & lastly, by the errors whereto all humain wit and policy is subiect, which to Princes (that be generally beloued) are nothing so dangerous. By all which meanes, the strongest, mightiest, and most politique Tyraunts haue bin ouerthrowne at one time or another.

How many wayes a wicked Prince is endangered, without any meanes of auoyding the peril.

So that the absurditie of *Machiauel* is most manifest, in true reason of state, seeing that, in councelling Princes to wickednesse and tyranny, vpon confidence of humaine force and policy, hee exposeth them to an assured danger, and doth not giue them any certaine or probable remedy, but rather heapeth danger vppon danger, by encrease of cruelty, and of all Tyranical impiety. Insomuch, that it maybe saide to *Machiauels* Prince, as *Diogenes* said to a Disciple of his, whom he

Machiauel exposeth his Prince to an assured danger, & giueth him not so much as a probable remedie.

Plutarch in his Treatise, How to know whether a man haue profit in vertue.

he had forbidden the Tauerne. For, seeing him one day running from the Tauern doore, where he stood into the Tauerne to hide himselfe from him, he called vnto him, saying; *Com back thou foole, for the further thou gost forward, the more thou art in the Tauerne.*

The further a Prince proceedeth in *Machiauels* pollicies, the more he endangereth himselfe.

And so may we say to *Machiauils* Prince, that the further he proceedeth in his dãgerous course of wicked pollicy, the more he endangereth himselfe. And (as the Poet saith) *Incidit in Scillam, cupiens vitare Charibdim*, that is to say; *Seeking to auoyde* Scilla, *he falleth into* Charibdis; or as our English Prouerbe saith, *Hee leapeth out of the Frying pan, into the fire.*

The torment of conscience which tirants doe endure.

But put the case, that a *Machiauillian* or wicked Prince, could (by *Machiauils* Pollicy) assure his estate from all forren and domesticall dangers, yet hee should infallibly pay such a grieuous penalty of his wickednes thereby. For, such excesse of impiety, as *Machiauil* requireth in his Prince, as euer accompanied; not onely with hatred of men and infamy, but also with griefe and anguish of mind, infinit suspitions and feares, weary dayes, restlesse Nights, dreadfull dreames besides continuall torment and horror of Conscience, yea, and many times with distraction, madnesse, and despaire.

Cicero in Tusc. Quest. 1. Dionysius the elder, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, suspitious of his owne Daughters.

The elder *Dionisius*, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, though hee raigned 38. yeares, in great wealth and magnificence, yet liued in such continuall feare, iealousie, and suspition of al men, that he durst neuer trust any Barber to trim him. Hee taught his own daughters to shaue while they were yong, and when they came to be of any yeares, hee would not suffer them to vse the Razor, but made them burne away the haires of his head with wal-nut shels made red hot. And hauing two Wiues, hee alwayes caused them to be searched, before he would come to them: & when he had any thing to treat with the people, he spake vnto them from the top of an high Tower. And howe miserable also his whole life and state was, he himselfe declared sufficiently, when *Damocles* (one of his Flatterers) admyring his great wealth, dominion, Magnificence, and Maiestie, sayde; *That hee thought no man liuing, more happy then he.* Whereupon *Dyonisius* asked him, whether hee would trie how happie hee was, and take a taste of his felicity? And when *Damocles* was contented therewith, he caused him to bee set vpon a sumptuous bedde, (as the vse was then) richly couered, and Cupbords of Plate to be furnished with Siluer and Golden Vesselles, Tables replenished with al kinde of delicat meats, and most beautifull Boyes attending thereon.

Idem. Ibidem.

How *Dionisius* represented to *Damocles* the miserable estate of a Tyrant.

Besides, there was no want of precious Cyntments and sweete perfumes, excellent Musicke, and whatsoeuer else might delight the sences, insomuch, that *Damocles* thought himselfe to bee a most happie man. But at length, casting vp his eyes, hee was aware of a bright and sharpe sword, hanging ouer his head by an haire, with the point downward (for so had *Dyonisius* ordained) which when he saw, hee had no more pleasure in beholding his faire Boyes, or his rich furniture, or to eate of his dainties, or to heare his Musicke, but desired the tyrant to giue him leaue to be gone, for that he would no longer be happy. Thus did *Dionysius* well expresse the infelicity and misery of wicked tyrants how pompous, potent, or magnificient soeuer they may seeme to be.

Sir *Thomas Moore* in the Story of King *Richard* the third.

I omit to speake of the Emperors *Nero*, *Claudius*, and *Domitian*, and of *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, of whom I haue sufficiently spoken before: and will only touch the wretched estate of King *Richard* the third, after hee had murthered his Nephewes, as Sir *Thomas More*, described it in the Story of his life, euen in these words.

The tormented Conscience of King *Richard* the third, after he had murdered his Nephewes.

I haue heard (saith hee) *by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberer, that after that abhominable deede done, he neuer had quiet in his minde, nor euer thought himselfe sure. When he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his bodye was prouily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner, like one alwayes readie to strike. He tooke no rest a nightes, but lay long vvaking and musing (sore wearied with watch and care) rather slumbred then slept, troubled vvith fearful dreames: suddenly sometimes started vp, leapt out of his bedde, and ranne about the Chamber. So much was his restlesse heart tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression, and stormie remembrance of his abhominable deeds.* Thus saith Sir *Thomas More.*

Where-

Whereby wee may see, that *Plutarch* had great reason to say, that wickednesse is of it selfe sufficient to make a man miserable. And that *Wicked men, the longer they liue, the more miserable they are.* And that *The woefull and Tragicall endes which most Tyrants haue, cannot be so properly counted the temporall punnishments due to their wickednesse in this life, as the consummation and end thereof* I conclude that although there were no other punnishment Diuine nor humaine, to bee feared for wickednesse, nor anie danger to follow thereof to a Princes state, neither any Hell or Heauen after this life: yet this continuall torment and anguish of mind, this hell and horror of Conscience, might suffice to make all Princes detest and abhor the abhominable precepts of *Machiauel*, who wold perswade Princes to conserue their states by wickednesse.

Plutarch that wickednesse sufficeth to make a man miserable. Ibidem.

But perhaps our *Machiauilians* will heere say (in defence of their Maisters doctrin) that although it should not bee amis for those, who come iustly and lawfully to Soueraignty (as by succession or election) to procure the loue and good wil of all men, by their vertuous and iust Gouernment: yet a Prince, who commeth to his State by intrusion and Iniustice, as by Murders and Mischiefes, to the preiudice of the right Heires or Owners thereof, cannot hope to conserue and maintain himselfe therein, by vertue and Iustice, or by the peoples loue, whose hatred hee hath already incurred, but by force and feare, and by continuall wickednesse and in tyranny. Which indeed, *Cicero* may seeme to haue insinuated by *Dionisius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, of whom he saith, that *Salutis esse non posset, si sanus esse cæpisset, Hee could not haue bin safe, if he had begun to be sound.* That is to say, he could not haue bin secure, if he had become iust and vertuous. The which also, wise *Solon* the *Athenian*, may seeme to haue signified of all Tyrants: for, when he was moued by his friendes, to make himselfe Tyrant of *Athens*, with intention to gouerne wel and instly afterwards: he refused it, saying, *Tyranny is like to a Labyrinth, which hath no issue.* Meaning (as it may seeme) that a tyraunt cannot with his security, returne from wickednesse to vertue: but that he must proceed and go on in impiety and tirany, hauing as it were, a Wolfe by the eares, whom if he let go, he sets vpon himselfe. Thus say the *Machiauilians*, or at lest may say, for I am content to plead their cause for them.

An obiection made in fauour of *Machiauillians.*

Cicero in Tusc. Quest. Lib. 5.

Plutarch in Solon.

Tyranny like to a Labirinth which hath no issue.

For the satisfaction heereof, it is to be considered, that *Cicero* and *Solon* spake thus, not because that the way and passage from Vice to Vertue, is not open as well for Tyrants, as for other Men: but to signifie the malignity of their impious Natures, and their miserable estate.

The maligne nature and miserable estate of Tyrants, signified by *Cicero* and *Solon.*

For, Tyrants are (commonly) of so vile, maligne, and Beastlie Nature, that it is seldom seen, that any of them come to embrace Vertue: in which respect, *Cicero* thought Tyrants to bee most miserable. Beside, *Solon* beeing most wise and prudent, was not ignorant, that *Honors* (as the Prouerbe sayeth) *chaungeth manners.* And therefore, he greatly feared, that if he should once giue waie to ambition, and violate Iustice by oppression of the Commonwealth, hee should hardly repaire the wracke of his owne Conscience afterward.

Honor changeth manners.

For, whosoeuer shall loose (as I may tearme it) the Anker of integrity, and suffer himselfe to be so farre carryed away with the winde of ambition, that he runne the Shippe of Conscience, against the Rockes of tyranny: let him not maruaile, if he make an irreparable shipwracke of all Iustice and Vertue. Neuertheless, if a Prince that hath got a Crowne or State vniustly, doe hold such a vertuous course, that he conuert his tyranny into a regall and iust gouernment: it is euident (both by reason and experience) though he hold not his ill gotten State lawfully, yet hee shall possesse it with farre lesse daunger, and much more security.

A Tyrant conuerting his tirranny to a royall and iust gouernment, shall be much more secured thereby, then by continuance of Tyranny.

And this is conforme, not onely to the opinion and doctrine of *Aristotle*, as I haue declared before in this Chapter: but also of *Plato*, who councelled the two Tyrants of *Sicilie* (the Father and the Sonne, each called by the name of *Dionysius*) to change their tyrannicall course, into a iust manner of gouernement, assuring them, that they could not otherwise long conserue and assure their Estates. The truth whereof appeared sufficiently, as well by the miserable life of the father, so lately spoken of before,

Plutarch in Dion

Plato his councell to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, Father and Sonne.

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before, as alſo by the ignominious baniſhment, and vnfortunate end of the Sonne, whom *Dion* (with verie final forces) caſt out of his Kingdome, by reaſon that he was hated and forſaken of all his Subiects. Whereas diuers other tyrants, as well of *Sicilie* as other countries, changing their courſe of Tyrannie, to a iuſt and Vertuous Gouernement, liued and raigned no leſſe glorioufly, then ſecurely.

Plutarch in Dion.

Such a one, was *Anaxilaus* a Tyraunt of *Sicily*, of whom *Iuſtine* Writeth thus. *Ex Tyrannorum numero Anaxilaus, &c. Anaxilaus, who was one of the Tyrauntes, did ſtriue to ſurpaſſe the crueltie and impietie of others, with his Iuſtice and Vertue, which wrought a wonderful effect. For, when he died, and left his Children (verie young) in the tuition of* Nicithus *a Slaue of his, whom he dearly loued for his Fidelitie: ſuch was the loue that al his Subiects beare vnto the memory of him, that they choſe rather to obey his Slaue, then to forſake his Children and all his Nobility, forgetting their dignity, and the maieſty of their Kingdome, did offer themſelues to bee gouerned by a Slaue.* Thus ſaith *Iuſtine.*

Anaxilaus. Iuſtin. in lib. 4. Examples of Tyrants that aſſured their eſtates by Iuſtice and vertue.

Plutarke alſo teſtifieth, that *Hieron* & *Gelen*, Tyrants of *Sicily*, and *Piſiſtratus* the Sonne of *Hippocrates*, hauing moſt wickedly poſſeſt themſelues of theyr eſtates, did neuertheleſſe, gouerne afterward with ſuch Moderation, Iuſtice, and Equity, that they became very popular Princes. As alſo, that *Lidiades* the tyrant, reſtored vnto his ſubiects their old Lawes and priuiledges: and afterwards, dyed glorioufly in the field, in defence of his Countrey.

Plutarch de ſeranum. vindict. Hieron. Gelon Piſiſtratus.

In like manner, *Auguſtus Ceſar*, after he had ſuppreſt his Commonwealth by force of Armes, and vſed ſuch crueltie for many yeares together) that hee was hated of all men, inſomuch, that hee could neither eate, drinke, nor ſleepe in quiet, for feare of Conſpiracies: chaunged his courſe by the Councell of his Friends, and gaue himſelfe wholly to the exerciſe of Vertue, Pietie, and Iuſtice, whereby he was (at length) exceedingly beloued of al his Subiects, and eſteemed to be *Pater Patriæ. The Father of his countrey*, and paſſed the reſt of his life in no leſſe ſecuritie, then honor and felicitie. Whereas verie manie of his ſucceſſors, truſting partly to the ſtrength of theyr Guards, Garriſons, and Armies, and partly to their policies, loſt their honor, empire, and liues, by the continuaunce of their cruelty and wickedneſſe. Wherby it appeareth, that it is better (according to the Latine Prouerbe) *To bee late wiſe, then neuer*; and that it is not onely eaſie, but alſo moſt ſecure, for a tyrannicall Prince, to paſſe from cruelty to clemency, from vice to vertue, and from tiranny, to Iuſtice and Piety.

Dion in Auguſto Examples of Auguſtus Ceſar

Pater Patriæ, The Father of his Country.

Better late wiſe, then neuer.

But doe you (ſaieth the *Machiuillian*) count it Wiſedome for a Prince, ſo to confide in Iuſtice and Vertue, that he may truſt thoſe, whom he hath once iniuried? Or, that he may thinke himſelfe ſecure from them, ſo long as they liue? The *Italian* Prouerbe ſaieth, *Chi offende non perdona mai. He which offendeth*, that is to ſay, hee which deſerueth thine iniury, *neuer pardoneth*, and much leſſe, hee which receiueth it.

Another Obiection of the *Machiauillians*

Heereto I anſwere: That I graunt to the *Machiuillian*, that his Tyraunt ſhall neuer repoſe ſo great confidence in anie reconciled enemie, that hee ſhall put his life or ſtate into his handes: for I haue formerly prooued, that the *Wiſedome of the Serpent, is to bee conioyned with the ſimplicity of the Doue*, in pardoning, yea, and louing our enemies: and yet in beeing warie and circumſpect, how we truſt them. But that which I require of a Tyrant for his ſecuritie, is, that he ceaſe to heape Coales vpon his owne heade, by continuance and encreaſe of In-iuſtice, Cruelty, and Tyranie: and that he labor (by all conuenient meanes) to pacify the exaſperated minds of thoſe whome hee offended, not only with words, but alſo with deeds; recompencing iniuries with benefits, and diſgraces with fauors; Cruelty and ſeuerity, with clemency, benignitie, and affabilitie; doing Iuſtice to all men, and ſhewing himſelf to haue a perticuler care of the Commonwealth. To preferre the publicke good, before his owne priuate pleaſure or commodity, to be the Patron and Protector of Vertue, the puniſher of Vice, a refuge vnto the poore afflicted; and finally, a Father to all.

The Anſwere to the obiection.

The wiſedom of the Serpent, and the Doues ſimplicity ioyned together.

How a Tirant may make himſelfe generally beloued, and all his former Cruelties to be vtterly forgoten.

Heereby he ſhall purchaſe to himſelfe the generall and vniuerſall loue of al, and either extinguiſh the hatered of thoſe whom he hath offended and wronged: or at leaſt, ſo temper and mittigate the ſame,

Generall and vniuerſall loue.

famed, that it shall be indeed lesse dangerous vnto him, when all men generallie hoope and sighe him. Neuertheles, I allow not only to ouer-throwe a tyrannous, but also to the most lawfull and best Prince liuing, all lawfull meanes whatsoeuer, I meane Guardes, Garrisons, Armies, Fortresses, the assistance of Counsellors and Magistrates, the diligence of Spies, and all other lawfull policies. All which conioyning with the vertuous & iust gouernment of a prince, and beeing fortified with the general loue of his people, which Vertue and iustice only engendreth, shall yeelde him the greatest assurance and security, that can be had, by any humain meanes whatsoeuer.

Wherein the greatest security which can be had by humaine meanes consisteth.

But perhaps the *Machiauillians* will yet reply, and say: That (for all this) I make not the reformed Tyrant, no, nor anie other lawfull Prince secure. For, although he (that neuer be so well beloued generally: yet (as I haue already proued) some one man offended, may (notwithstanding all his force and lawfull Policies) be reuenged on his person. And therfore, the only remedy for the Prince (say they) in that case, should be to cut off by some meanes or other) all such as hee may thinke likely to seeke reuenge, or to be any way daungerous vnto his State. For, as *Theodosius* sayde vnto *Ptolomey* King of Egypt, when as hee councelled him for to murther *Pompey*, *Mortui non mordent*, *Dead Men bite not*. So say they.

A Reply of the *Machiauillians*, inferring the necessity of murders sometimes, for a Princes security.

Plutarch. in Pompeio.

But what needs the dead to bite him, when not onely his owne Conscience shall bite and sting him: but also, there shall be men enow left aliue, to seek the reuenge, as their Children, if they haue any; or their Kinsfolkes, Seruaunts, or Friends. As for example, *Frotho* King of *Denmarke*, sirnamed of that name, caused his owne Brother to be murthered and afterward killed the murtherer, least hee might reuenge it; all which notwithstanding, he was smothered with smoake by his Brothers children.

A *Machiauillians* Prouerbe and principle confuted.

Olaus. Mag. in Lib. 8. Cap. 16. Saxo Gram. in Lib. 7. Paul. Diacon. in Lib. 15. Cassiod. in Chron. Anno 454. Sabellic. Enneid. in Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Paulus Iouius in Amurate.

Valentinian the third Emperor of that name, hauing vngratefully killed the famous Captaine *Aetius* with his owne hand, was slaine by two Soldiers of *Etius*, in reuenge thereof. Also *Amurathes*, Emperour of the Turkes, the first of that Name, was slaine with a dagger by a Christian of *Lasarus*, the Despote or Lord of *Rasia*, for reuenge of his Lord and Maisters death: notwithstanding, this *Amurathes* was one of the most crafty and diligent Princes, that euer liued, according as *Paulus Iouius* reporteth.

But amongest all those, who haue sought to assure their estate by murthers none euer exceeded *Antonius Caracalla*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who (as I haue declared before) vsed to banish and extirpate whole families, for the suspition which hee had (at diuers times) of some one man, thereby to free himselfe from all feare of reuenge. Which (neuertheles) was reuenged on him most notoriously, not only by the friends and well-willers of the dead, but also by all the people, such being the horror of iniustice and cruelty, that it doth not only offend those which are iniuried, but also all other men.

Herodian. in Vita Antonini Caracallae. Cassiodor. in Chronico Lib. 2.

The horror of iniustice and Cruelty.

And therfore it hath been often seen, that Subiectes haue attempted against the state or person of a Prince, (for the hatred of some murder) or of the one cruell acte. *Iustine* Writeth, that when *Seleucus*, King of *Syria*, began his Gouernment with the murther of *Laodice* his Stepp-Mother, and of her Sonne his owne Brother: all the Cities which were subiect to him in *Asia*, *exemplo crudelitatis territa*, *Being frighted with this example of cruelty*, suddenlie reuolted from him, and yeelded themselues to the subiection and obedience of *Ptolomey* King of Egypt, *Tantum in illo odium*, (saith *Iustine*) *parricidiale facinus attulerat*. *So great was the hatred which his wicked and parricidial acte caused in his Subiectes towardes him.* So vniust and daungerous is the remedie of daungers by murther and crueltie, that the danger is manie times increased and redoubled thereby.

Iustin. in Lib. 27.

Seleucus King of *Syria* forsaken of his Subiects for murder.

Iustine vbi supra.

Daungers not remedied but encreased by Cruelty.

But now the Politicke may aske mee heere, whither I (who inculcate so oft the daunger of wicked policy) can assure a Princes state by vertue & iustice, in such sort, that the same shall not be subiect to any inconueniences? Wherto I answer, that though the naturall infirmitie and condition of mans state bee such, and so infinite the hazards whereto hee is subiect, & such also the malice of euil men, that no humain force or policy can warrant

Whether any Princes state can be assured by Iustice and morrall vertue.

rant the beſt Prince liuing, from all perrilles incident to his perſon and ſtate, yet the aſſurance and ſecurity, which any Prince may poſsibly haue of the one or other by humaine meanes, is to be attained principally by Vertue and Iuſtice, & ſuch policies as are grounded thereon, and not on Iniuſtice, impiety, and wicked policy. For whereas the iuſteſt Prince may haue ſome one or a few enemies that may endaunger him, the wicked muſt needes haue many, and the more wicked and cruell he is, the more Enemies he ſhall haue; and (conſequentlie) the greater ſhall be his danger. For, if a Prince cannot be ſecure from one enemy or a few, hee ſhall be much leſſe ſecure from many, and leaſt of al from the generall hatred of all men, which (infallibly) groweth of ſuch exceſsiue cruelty and wickedneſſe, as *Machiauel* requireth in his Prince.

All the ſecurity that a Prince can haue by humaine means, is to be attayned principally by vertue.

Therefore forasmuch as it is the part of all Wiſemen (eſpecialy in matters of State) to chooſe the leaſt of all daungers or inconueniences, which cannot be remedied, and to ſeeke to preuent and auoyd the worſt, as is ſufficiently declared in the rules for young Statiſts, it is euident, that as no thing is more dangerous to Princes and their States, then In-iuſtice and wickedneſſe, which maketh them odious to all men; ſo nothing is more to bee eſchewed and auoyded of them, then the ſame, and the contrarie meanes of Iuſtice and Vertue, to be embraced and practiſed.

The leaſt daungers and inconueniences are to be choſen by wiſe men.

For, thereby they may purchaſe the generall loue of their Subiects, wherein conſiſteth the greateſt ſecurity of Princes, ſuch beeing the force and effect of loue, that it cauſeth in the louers as great a care of the beloued, as of themſelues. In which reſpect, *Seneca* faith: *Vnum eſt inexpugnabile munimentum amor ciuium. The only inexpugnable fortreſſe of Princes, is the loue of their people.*

The greateſt ſecurity of Princes conſiſteth in the loue of their Subiects, which vertue procureth.

And this is ſo manifeſt, that *Machiauil* himſelfe acknowledgeth it ſufficiently, teaching that excellent vertue may conſerue a Princes State, though he abſurdly attributes the like force and effect vnto wickedneſſe. Which truely may bee wondered at, if we conſider, that hee being well read in Hiſtories as it may ſeem, could not but ſee (if he were not wilfully blind) that all ſuch Tyrants as haue been noted to bee exceſsiue in cruelrie & wickedneſſe, haue periſhed miſerablye one way or other, which hath beene obſerued in all ages.

Machiauell might haue noted the miſerable end of all Tyrants in all Hiſtories.

And therefore, *Cicero* ſpeaking of the violent death of a Tyrant, ſaieth: *Haud fere quiſquam eorum ſimilem interitum effugit. There is ſcantly any Tyraunt to bee found, that eſcapeth the like Deſtruction.* And thereuppon, the Tragicall Poet ſaith:

Quota pars moritur tempore fati?
Quos felices Cinthia vidit?
Vidit miſeros abitura dies,
Rarum eſt felix idemque ſenex.

Seneca.

The ſence whereof, is, *That few of them liue out the courſe of Nature, and that is a rare thing, to ſee any of them olde and happy.* Whereof another Poet ſayeth thus:

Few Tyrants liue out the courſe of nature.

Ad generum ceteris, ſine cade & ſanguine, pauci
Deſcendunt reges, & ſicca morte tiranni.

That is to ſay, *Few Tyrants dye their Natural death, or without blood.* Which *Michiauel* might haue noted, if not in other Hiſtories, yet at leaſt in the life of *Titus Liuius*, vppon the which, he made certaine diſcourſes.

For, of ſeauen Kings of Rome, from *Romulus*, to *Tarquinius Superbus*, foure, who got their Eſtates, or (at the leaſt) maintained and gouerned them moſt Tyrannically, were three of them murthered, and the fourth Tyrant baniſhed, as I haue obſerued heeretofore in *Romulus*, *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Seruius Tullius*, and *Tarquinius Superbus*. Whereas, the other three, to wit; *Numa Pompilius*, *Tullius Hoſtilius*, and *Ancus Martius*, who were lawfully elected by the Senat, and gouerned iuſtly and vertuouſly, liued in ſecuritie and ſafetie, and dyed beloued and lamented of all the people.

Tit. Liuius Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

Kings lawfully elected by the Senate, and gouerned iuſtly.

The like alſo, might bee verie well ob-

observed in the *Romaine* Emperors, after *Iulius Cæsar*, if it were needfull.

But that which seemeth to mee most strange in *Machiauil*, is, that hee could not see the experience thereof (at left) in *Cæsar Borgia*, whom, as I haue often signified before, he proposeth to his prince for a mirror of tyrannicall policy. Notwithstanding that the successe thereof, was such in him, that all Princes may learne thereby to detest it, seeing he who was (in *Machiauils* opinion) most exact in the speculation and practise thereof, was vtterly ouerthrowne thereby, as well as all other Tyraunts of former times. Which cannot be attributed to chance, as the politick would haue it, but either to the iust iudgement of God vpon wicked men, which indeede is the principall cause thereof; or at least to the next and immediate cause, which (for the most part) is the hatred of men. And therfore, seeing the miserable end of Wicked Tyrants, not only hath notorious & known causes, but also is frequent and common that it hath alwaies bin held matter of cõmon experience: it cannot be referd to chãce or Fortune, which are vnderstood to be in such things only as are rare, and haue no knowne or ordinary cause. So that it may rather be counted casuall, or a matter of chance, if any notable tyrant do com to a good end: because the same hath bin sildome seene, and the cause thereof secret, or at least vncertaine.

Therefore I conclude, that *Machiauil* cannot bee excused, either of grosse ignorance, if he knew not that which common experience teacheth, to witte; that wicked Tyrants do commonly perish miserably: or of extreame malice if hee knew it, and yet laboured to enduce Princes to wickednesse and tyranny. The later whereof is now sufficiently acknowledged by some *Florentines* of no meane iudgement, his owne Countreymen and friends, who in their ordinary discourses concerning his policies, do not sticke to confesse, that he himselfe knew them to be contrary to true reason of State, and pernitious to Princes. And that neuertheless, desiring to ouerthrow those of the house of *Medices*, which oppresst the Commonwealth in his time, he published his Pestilent Doctrine, hoping that they would embrace it, and ruine themselues by the practise thereof, wherby the state of *Florence*, might return to the old *Democratie*, or popular gouernement wherein it had continued many yeares before. And this shall suffice, for the examination of *Machiauilian* policies, by only reason of State.

Machiauell might haue noted the miserable end of Tyrants in *Cæsar Borgia*. *Guicciard. in Lib. 6.*

The miserable end of Tyrants cannot be attributed to chance, and why.

The miserable end of Tyrants is very frequent, and hath a known cause, and therefore is not casuall.

It may be referred to chance, if any notable Tyrant come to a good end.

Machiauell eyther grossely ignorant, or extreamely mallicious.

How *Machiauels* friends excuse him at this day.

Machiauels Doctrine acknowledged by his friends to be pernitious to Princes.

CHAP. XI.

Of Loue and Hatred, Amity and Enmity, which (by some secret propriety in Nature) is betweene many creatures.

Eraclitus the ancient Phylosopher, and many more as well as he, were of opinion, that all things were caused by concorde and discord, and that thorow peace and Enmity (which in all humaine thinges) ensueth the generation and corruption of them. Of which Philosophicall coniecture, I am not now minded to speake, as well in regard of the difficulty, as slender delight it will yeeld to the Reader. Neuertheless, wee will discourse of such amity and enmity, as is known and found to be among many things, albeit no man knoweth truely, from whence the cause thereof proceedeth, which to speake vprightly, is a matter very maruailous. As, for our first instaunce, the discord betweene the Dogge and the Cat, between Oile and Pitch, the Hart and the Adder, and such like, whereof we are instantly to discourse, that do naturally hate one another; and it is imagined, that this Enmity ensueth from the Elements. For the contrariety and discord which is among all thinges created, is manifest and euident. As we do discerne, that Water is an enemy to Fire, because the Fire is hot and dry, and Water is cold and moist, so that these two Elements are wholly contrary. Water and Earth are friendes, in regard that they are both cold: and yet, there is a contrariety in them, because water is moyst, and Earth is dry. Betweene the Fire and the Earth, there is a conformity, in regard of the drinesse of them: and yet a difference too, by reason of the Fires heat, and Earths coldnes. In

Concord and Discord the occasion of all things.

No man knoweth truely whence the cause of this variance ensueth.

The contrariety among all things created.

Of Water and Fire.

Of Water & Earth.

Of Fire and Earth.

All things are composed of the Elements.

like manner, among the Elements there is contrariety: and yet neuertheleſſe, in part of them there is ſome kindneſſe and conformity. All things then being compoſed of theſe Elements, it followeth by neceſsity, that there ſhould be ſuch contradiction or conformity, as is amongſt thoſe Elements whereof they are compounded. Wherefore, that thing wherein the Elementary quality gouerneth moſt, receiueth name from the qualitie, and that we tearme hot or colde, moyſt or drie, ſome in more high degree then others, according as the thing is moſt qualified, by one of thoſe firſt and chiefeſt qualities. Thus we may obſerue, how one thing is contrary to another, woorking diuers effects: which contradiction is very apparant, and thereby we com to render a reaſon thereof.

Of the moſt gouernment of the Elemétary qualities.

Another kind of Enmity not proceeding from the Elements.

But that the other kinde of Enmitie, which proceedes not from the elements, but by a hidden and ſecret proprietie, or from ſome ſuperiour influence, doth wel require a further contemplation, and ſcarch into the cauſe whence it ſhoulde enſue. The Dogge and the Cat (as wee haue formerly ſaid) do wiſh il vnto each other, and yet the reaſon is not knowne wherefore. There are other thinges likewiſe, which doe entirely loue one another; and yet this loue proceedeth not from the Elements whereof they are compoſed. Aſſes do deſire, and well like of an Hearbe, called * *Ferula*; and yet it is venomous to al other horſes or mares. Foxes are friends to Adders or Snakes, that are enemies to all other Beaſts. This is a matter of no leſſe conſideration among men, then in brute beaſts, in regard, that not knowing whence or how it ſhould proceed, one man, at the verie ſight of another, hauing neuer known or ſeene him before, is very enuious and diſdainful towards him, and yet another man is very pleaſing and acceptable vnto him, vpon the as like ſudden ſight. Sometimes alſo, ſo ſoone as he ſees a man that he knowes not, hee will beare affection to him, and hold him in reuerend regard although he bee much neerer then himſelfe: and another ſhall happen to bee deſpiſed by him, although he be ſom worthy perſonage or great Lorde. We ſee ſome others, that are born (as it ſeemeth) to giue enſtruction. Beſide, we may note in two men, that the one ſuffers himſelfe to bee gouerned by the other: in which kind many times, the Maiſter is ruled by his ſeruant, euen as if hee were naturally ſubiect to him, and yet no reaſon rendered therefore. And the very like happeth among Beaſts and Birds alſo, euen in the ſame enmities and ſubiections, as wee may holde betweene the Eagle and the Swanne, the Crow and the Kite: for the Kite is many times ſo aduenturous, that ſhee dareth to ſnatch a prey out of the Crowes gripes. Like hatred is there betweene the Kite and the Chough, and the Eagle and the Gooſe: ſo that, if but the Feather of an Eagle bee mingled among them of the Gooſe, it quite conſumeth them all. The Hart is a great perſecuter of Adders or Snakes, for, by his ſtrong breathing about the entraunce of the hole where they hide themſelues, he draweth them forth by his breath onely, and preſently eateth them. And to proue it true, that there is ſuch deadlie hatred between them, the experiment hath bin made, by burning the Harts horne, the ſmoak whereof no Adder is able to endure. As great enmity alſo, there is between the Crow, Aſſes, & Buls, becauſe the Crowe ſmiteth at them continuallie with her beake, and endeuoureth by all meanes to pecke out their eies. The Eagle, being the greateſt of all Birdes, purſueth the ſmall Coot, Moore Henne, or Fen-Ducke: And the Coote or Moore-Hen is harmefull to the Larke, and ſpoileth her Egges.

The Maiſter gouerned by his ſeruant.

Deadly hatred between diuers Foules

The hatred of the Hart, to Adders & Snakes.

Of the Crow, Aſſes & Buls.

Greatneſſe enuieth ſmalneſſe.

* Like great Fenell, called Fenell Gyant, or heatbe Sagapene.

The Fowle called *Flora*, counterfetteth the whinnowing of a Horſe whereby ſhe feareth and aſtoniſheth him, euen as he doth the like by her. The very greateſt enemies to the Wolfe, are the Fox, the Aſſe, and the Bull. There is likewiſe continuall quarrell between the Vulture and the Eele. The Lyon dreadeth and flyeth from the Cocke, ſhunning Fire alſo, and the noiſe of a Cart or Wagon. The Panther holds the Hienna as his Enemy; and the Scorpion purſueth the *Tarantula* to death, which is tearmed by the Latines *Phalanges*: for whoſe byting (as one Author affirmeth) there is no remedy, but by Muſick only. And ſo great is the hatred betweene theſe two Creatures, that whoſoeuer is bitten by the Scorpion, muſt be healed by the Oyle, wherein the *Tarantulaes* are drowned. The Elephant beeing a mighty and powerfull

A Bird that coũterfeiteth the Horſes whinnoing.

Hatred of men at their very firſt ſight.

The Cock dreadfull to the Lyon.

Of the Hienna and Tarantula.

Loue of men at the firſt ſight.

The feare of the Elephant.

werfull Beast, not only feareth and shunneth the Snake, but also shaketh at the sight of a Sheepe, yea, and trembleth at the very grunting of a Swine. Horsses, Asses, and Mules, by no meanes can endure the Weezell: the Francoline and House-Cocke, are greatly enuious of each other. There is a kind of Faulcone, which *Aristotle* termeth *Tico*, that maintaineth great war and debate against the Fox, pursuing and fighting with him at all times, whersoeuer he meets or finds him. *Elianus* tels vs, that there is appeaseless hatred, betweene the Crow & another kind of Faulcon, which hee calleth *Pelagra*; and likewise between the Crow and the harmlesse Turtle, the Owle and the Storke, the Partridge and the Tortuis. The Pelican persecuteth the Quaile aboue all other Fowles; and the Horsse is more affraid of the Camell, then of any other Beast whatsoeuer.

Arist. in Lib 7. de Anim. cap. 3.

Elianus in lib. 9

The Owle & Storke.

Among Fishes also, there is the like Naturall enmity: for the Creuis or crab of the Sea, keepes no societie with the * Poulpe or Preake, but they auoide each others sight: as the Dolphine dooth the Whale, and as the Conger is Naturall enemy to the Lamprey. The Poulpe or Preake, hath such domination ouer the Eeele, and the Eeele is in such feare of the Poulpe, that she dieth with the verie sight of him.

Deadly hatred among Fishes in the Sea.

* Called also by some Pourcontrell, a Fish with many feete.

There is extreame warre between the Sea-Wolfe, and the Fish called * *Mongilla*, or *Mugra*. If the Snake doth see a man cloathed, or hauing his Garments on, he wisheth him deadly harme, and laboureth to offend him; but let him behold him naked, and then he shunneth him as swiftly as he can Rats and Snakes or Adders, are mortall enemies, especially when they hatch their Egges in winter, and come not abroad to bee seene; for then they persecute each other verie cruelly. And because (by instinct of Nature) they know each others malice, they make such prouision of foode in their Nestes, as may glut them with feeding, and so to get them gone, without anie more contending. The malice of Woolues towards Sheepe is so naturall, that if a Drum be made of a Woolues skinne, Sheepe will with like fearefulnesse, flye from the sound thereof, euen as if the Wolfe were liuing, and neere vnto the Flocke.

* A kinde of Mullet.

The Snake beholding a naked man.

Of Rats and Snakes.

Of woules and Sheepe, and a Drum made of the woolfes Skin.

Nay more, some Authors doe maintaine, that if eyther Viall or Lute bee strung, with strings made of the guts of a VVolfe or Sheepe, it is impossible to accord them together, or to make anie anie pleasing hermonie with them. If the skinne of a VVolfe, bee hanged in a Stall or Stable, or in any such like place where Sheepe are to bee fedde: the very feare which they conceiue thereof, doth forthwith compell them to cease from feeding.

A strange secret in nature

The Monkey fearefully shunneth the Tortuise: And Rattes (by some hidden qualitie) are so contrarie to Scorpions, that the byting of a Scorpion is soonest healed, if a Ratte be but layde vpon it. The Snake and Viper, do woonderfullie dread the Crab, who hath (Naturally) such power ouer those two other Creatures, that if a Swine should bee bitten by a Viper, hee helpeth himselfe by eating of a Crabbe. And that which is much more to be admired, when the Sunne is in the signe of Cancer, both these kinde of Serpents, doe suffer verie extreame anguish and paine. The Scorpion Fish, and the Crocodile, haue continuall warre together, each killing the other most maliciously.

Of the Scorpion and the Ratte.

Of the Scorpion Fish and the Crocodile

The Panther so dreadeth the Ounce, that (as is auouched) he suffereth her to kill him, without vsing any defence for himselfe. And if the skin of the Panther bee hung neere to the skinne of the Ounce, that of the Panther wil wast and consume away. The Enmity betweene the Chough and the Daw is so theeuish that (as *Aristotle* reporteth) they rob & destroy each others Egges. The VVaspe is at fierce feud with the Spider, euen like as the Coote and Mallard are with Rats and Mice, killing and eating each others young ones. The Kite and the Foxe are hatefull enemies.

Of the Panther and Ounce.

Arist. in Lib. 4. de Anim.

There is a kinde of Hawke, of small groweth (which *Plinie* nameth *Esalon*) who is so enuiously malicious vnto the Crow, that hee neuer ceaseth search for their Nest, onely to breake her Egges in pieces. Swine are Naturallie hatefull to VVezels. The white wolfe and the Lyon are such fatall enemies, that being dead, their blood cannot be mingled together. Moles or Wants are so bent against Ants, that they shunne any tree where they haue any being.

Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 10.

Of the woolfe and Lyon.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Of the Spider & the Adder.

The Spider is at sterne warre with the Adder, as *Pliny* saith, that shee compasseth his death in this manner. When the Spider perceiueth the Adder to sleepe vnder any Tree where she worketh, shee descendeth by the small twine of hir own making; and getting into his braine pan, then biteth and stingeth him in such sort, that she neuer leaueth him, vntill she see him quite dead by her venom.

Enmity among other things that lacke life.

Among other inanimate thinges also, there is the like contradiction and enmity. For, Oyle is an enemy to Pitch; because, if Oyle be put into a Vessel which is pitched within, the pitch consumeth all the Oyle. Oyle is likewise enemy vnto water, as Lime is; but Lime and Oyle do ioyne together, and seemeth to loue each other naturally.

A strange property in the Oliue.

The Oliue hath an admirable secret Vertue, against Carnall and luxurious desire; yea, and in such sort, as I finde it credibly written, that if an vnchast womans hand do plant it, it will receyue no roote, but withereth and dyeth. Coleworts cannot prosper, if they grow neere to the Hearb Marierom of *England*. Salt water becommeth fresh and sweete, being mixed with Wheaten floure, so that within two houres after, a man may very well drinke thereof. I could alleadge so many examples, concerning natural hatred betweene things both animate and inanimate, as were able to tire a very patient Reader.

Of Salt water becomming sweete and fit to drinke.

Things that mutually loue each other. *Arist. in Lib. 7. de Anim. cap 3.*

The like could I do of things that mutually loue together, as the Peacock and the Pigeon; the Turtle and the Popinjay; the Blackbird and the Feldfare. *Aristotle* reporteth, that there is such kindenesse betweene certaine Birdes or Sparrowes, and the monstrous Crocodile, that the huge Beast wil open his mouth, to suffer these small Birdes to picke and cleanse his teeth with their billes, also to purge his gummes when they paine and offend him; and alledgeth withall, that these Birds are onelie nourished thereby. It is said moreouer, that there is great amity betweene the Fox and the Crow, the Dawe and the Henne of *India*; the Larke, and another Bird called a Ioncke. The Fox is neuer harmed by the Snake, nor the Sheepe likewise. Pigeons and Turtles agree well together: and the Partridge with her louer the Ring-doue.

Sparrowes that doe cleanse the Crocodiles teeth.

Talpa Marina, that serueth as a guide to the huge Whale.

The Fish (called in Latin *Talpa Marina*) is, beyond all other, affected most of the Whale: for, as *Pliny* affirmeth, it swimmeth alwayes before him, to giue him warning of whirlepits, and daungerous deepe places.

Thus you see the woonderfull workes of nature, dispersed and limmited by the prouidence of God, and partly occasioned by the influence of Starres and Planets. All which, we finde sufficientlie authorized and warranted by good Authors: as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Elianus*, and the Poet *Marbodeus*, in his Booke of Stones, beside manie other both ancient and Moderne, that haue written on the Nature of Beastes, and other things else.

Marbodeus in Lib. 2. de Lapid.

CHAP. XII.

By what meanes and occasions, the natures of Amity and Enmity, are said to proceede from the Celestiall Influences: and the reason, why one loueth or hateth another.

IN the Chapter of secret and hidden occasions, we haue already proued that there are some Planets & starres, that do hold perticuler dominion ouer some things more then other, & do infuse perticuler proprieties, which are not caused by any quality of the elemēts. And yet notwithstanding, we cānot properly say, that the Planets, Starres, and Signes of heauen, haue any discorde or enmity among themselues. Neuerthetheles, ancient Philosophers and Astrologians, considering the contrary and diuers effects of the Influences, which the Stars and Planets do cause in things, by their irradation and motion, haue attributed diuers qualities to them, and likewise great enmity betweene them.

Some Starres and Planets of more predominance then other.

The opinion of ancient Philosophers and Astrologers.

According to *Guydo Bonatus*, *Schoenerus*, and many more beside, we find, that *Mars* and *Venus*, are enemies to the Planet *Saturne*. *Iupiter* and *Mercury* are enimies also. The Sunne, Moone, and all the Planets, are Friends to *Iupiter*, *Mars* onely excepted, who is enemy to them all, sauing *Venus*. *Iupiter* and *Venus* loue the

Guydo Bonatus. Schoenerus.

Of Amity and Enmity among the Planets.

the Sunne; and their oppofites or contraries are *Mars*, *Mercurie*, and the Moone. *Venus* is affected of them all, except *Saturne*. Thus then there is such Amity and Enmity among them; as I must now ceafe to difcourfe on, onely for breuities fake.

Matters vnder one Planet are frends or enemies to them that be vnder another.

Now feeing that matters ftand thus, fuch thinges as are vnder the order and gouernment of one Planet muft (by naturall inclination) be Friends or Enemies to thofe, which are obedient to another Planet, Signe, or Conftellation, according to the conformity or diuerfity, that is betweene the Starres ruling thofe things. And this enmity is likewife the greater, and of the more efficacy; when among the nature and qualities of the Planets (to whom they are fubiect) there is the greater repugnancy. As contrariwife, the amity or loue will be much more liuely, when there is greateft conformity betweene the Planets.

The like power is ouer men & beafts, but not in a like nature.

This is to be vnderftood, as well to extend it felf to men, as in dominion ouer brute beafts. Neuertheleffe, Men being of a free and liberall will, although they feele this repugnancy or inclination, yet they may (by grace) with-ftand and refift it. But beafts, who are exempt and depriued of this priuiledge: muft needs be gouerned according to their natural inclination, and doe put the fame in execution, fo much as in them lyeth, euen as Hearbes and Plants doe the like.

Of mutuble loue and Amitie betweene man and man, according to the equality in their birth.

Concerning mutuall affection among Men, the Aftrologers doe maintaine, efpecially *Ptolomy* their Prince, that fuch Men as (at their birth) haue one and the felfe-fame Signe, for Lord of the afcendent; will fimpathize in an equall nature of loue and agreement; yea, and that very pleafingly: as alfo fuch as haue the Sunne and the Moone in one felfe-fame Signe. Moreouer, they fay, that in fuch as haue one and the fame Signe for Gouernour at their nativity: it infufeth and begetteth (naturallie) a like loue and conformity in nature. And albeit, that one Planet be not anfwerable to them both: yet it is fufficient, that the two Planets are friendes, and not enemies; or elfe, that they both do lend a fauourable and aufpicious eye. This is eafilie difcerned, by erecting the Figures of both the Natiuities, and much helpe enfueth to this conformity: and if Fortune be harbourous and friendly in the fame Signe or Houfe, and that the Houfe or Signe of the Moones being in at the ones Natiuity, doe afford a gracious afpect to the others birth. For as they do more or leffe confent and agree in thefe conditions: euen fo (more or leffe) is the quality of naturall loue.

If one Planet be not alike to two mens births.

Hence it enfueth, that two Men being imployed about one buſineſſe: a third man (being a By-ſtander) will lend a very heedfull and affecting eye to the one, defpiſing and condemning the other mans painfull endeuour, although hee haue not iniured or any way offended him: Which might happen to two perſons, that had their afcendent fignes repugnant in their quality, and of contrary triplicitie, and the Planets (beeing Lordes of their Nativity) enemies and contrarie one to another.

Example of of two men dealing in one buſineſſe.

The Sunne and Moone in oppofition and contrary fignes.

As the Sun and Moon, being in oppofition and diuers fignes, and thofe of one birth, caſting an euill aſpect on another: for, by reaſon of theſe things, & others which we could ſpeake of, enſueth the cauſe of one mans beholding another, with inward contentment or diſliking. As appeareth very plainely, in ſeeing two Men playing at any game together: the ſtander by, not beeing any way obliged eyther to the one or other, not (perhaps) knowing either of them; yet his minde is more affectionate to the one then the other, and hee wiſheth him better ſucceſſe then the other.

Example of affection and diſlike.

One man ſtanding in awe and feare of another.

As for the other Argument, of one mans feare and dread of another, ſuffering himſelfe to be ouer-awed and gouerned by him, although hee be much inferiour to him; we ſee the caſe cleare by common experience. The reaſon of theſe accidents is rendred by *Ptolomy*, ſaying: *That he which at his birth, ſhall haue an aſcendent Signe, as (by way of example) the one in the Eaſt, and the other ouer the South: that man ſhall naturally haue a kind of ſubiection and reuerence done vnto him by the other.* The like ſhall enſue to him, that (in his Natiuity) hath the Signe gouerning, and the other Mans obeying. But if two Men ſhall haue one and the ſame ſigne for Lord of the aſcendent, or elſe one Planet gouerning

A reaſon alleadged by *Ptolomie*, Prince of Aſtrologie, for ſuperiority in birth.

One Lord of the aſcendent gouerning two mens births.

ning both: he that in the power and order of that Planet shall be Superior (as we haue already declared of Beastes) shall not naturally haue dominion ouer the other.

Examples of this accident happening in sundry degrees.

Now, when this aduantage happeneth in him, who is a Friend and Fauorer of another; the fauour and affection encreaseth so much in him, that the others gouernment is the more gladlie yeelded to him. If this happen in the case of a Seruant: doubtlesse, he wil be loyall, faithfull, and very obedient. If betweene two Friends, equall in birth, Goods, and Fortune, as it hath beene, and yet is oftentimes obserued: their affections are mutually found to bee perfect and intire, and the one willingly is gouerned (for the more part) by the other.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ *Whence it ensueth, that a Way of like length, seemeth more short and euener plaine, and is lesse offensiue: then that which is long and eeuen, is yrkesom and distastfull. And why our turning in going, procureth falling.*

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Anim Cap. 3.

ALbeit, this Chapter seemeth not to bee of such importance as the precedent: yet the Argument is not to be despised, in regard that *Aristotle* thought it no disgrace to him, to determine the doubt. We doe oftentimes behold, that he which goeth by a Way that is short, as if you would say, halfe a Mile, eyther more or lesse, if the same Way be plaine and eeuen, without Hils and Dales: hee is nothing so soone weary or lagged then, as if it were crooked, vneuen, and rugged. But if the way be long, as of eight or ten miles, more or lesse, and smooth and euen: in very truth, it will be more wearisome to him, then if he had some Hilles and Vallies to passe. The reason is, that a Man becommeth weary, for two causes. The first, because trauaile is long and durable, though it appeare not very sharpe. The other, in regard it is sharp, though it lasteth but a little while.

Of an euen or smooth way, & that which hath Hilles and Dales.

Two causes why a man is wearie in his walking.

Concerning the first point whereof we haue spoken, that the way which is short, hilly, and side-long, weareth a man more, then that which is plain and eeuen, though of the selfe-same length: we are to vnderstand, that this labour, although it be little, is more sharpe and tedious, then when a man walketh plainely. For it is a matter more repugnant to our nature, to goe as if it were climbing and iumping: then to walke on in an eeuen and smooth way.

Of the short, Hilly, and tedious way.

A repugnancy to our nature in trauailing.

Now, for the long and plain passage, that it wearieth more, then the other that hath some Hils or Dales: the reason ensueth of a long and semblable Way, in regard, that the members doe hold on in pacing, all after one manner, without any alteration or chaunging, which (ordinarily) yeildeth some repose and ease. So that, albeit mounting appeareth to be more painefull, then walking on a plaine and eeuen Way: yet it is so, that this mutation affoordeth ease and refreshing, because the Members doe thereby apprehend a nouell forme; and their motion is in another manner. As we may very well obserue in them that ride on Horse-backe, who (though it be much more painfull, then trauailing on foote) doe oftentimes descend or alight, and walke a while to ease themselues. In like case it fareth with a long and eeuen way, that the Members do then hold but an equal motion, and are in one order or kinde: without extendure or stretching, and retiring or with-drawing themselues, more at one time then another. And therfore, when the iourny continueth for a long time; it is the more offensiue and wearisome. And although that mounting and descending, doe endure longer then the plaine trodden path: yet the plaine and eeuen waies among it, doth cause a mutation therewithall, whereby the members do receiue some ease and lightning of toyle. Whereof wee may make a good example, by a man that sitteth a long while together, and resteth himselfe without any walking: yet is hee glad (oftentimes) to stretch out his Members, to put them forth, and pull them in to him. These are the opinions of

Alteration in going affoordeth some ease.

Mounting not so painfull as euen walking.

Ryding more painefull then trauaile on foote.

Of mounting and descending.

Example of a mans long time of sitting, without walking. *Alexand. Aphrod. in Probl.*

of *Alexander Aphrodiseus*, in his Problemes: and *Macrobius*, in the first Booke of *Scipioes Dreame*; as also *Plato*, in his *Timeus*.

Macrob. in Somn Scipionis. Lib 1. Plato. in Tim.

They haue likewise vrged this question: wherefore a Man, in suddaine turning, or beeing brought by or from another Man: it falleth out so burtfull vnto him, that his sight becommeth dazeled, and he hardly auoydeth stumbling or falling? Wherunto all of them make aunswere, especiallie *Macrobius*, saying. *That the moouings of all corporall thinges, are seauen in number. One whereof, is; the moouing from beneath, to aloft, or on high. A second, is from on high, to below or beneath. A third, is from one place to another forward. A fourth, is from forward, backeward, without either mounting or descending. A fift, is to the right side. A sixt, is to the left. And the last, is turning round about: which is neyther on high nor below; nor to the right side or left, but in a round circkle, as it were.* And this is the proper motion or moouing of the Heauens, the qualitie whereof, is to turne in that manner: and is not so common or ordinary to man, as the other sixe, or euery one of them are.

Macrob. vbi sup.

Seauen seuerall kindes of motion or moouing.

The true moouing of the Heauens, not common or ordinary vnto man.

From thence it ensueth, that in neuer hauing beene seene, nor done by man, when hee so mooueth of himselfe, or else by another: he findes himselfe feared and troubled, and then some notable accident or imitation happeneth to him, because hee is troubled in the braine, all his Spirits, and an alteration appeareth in the humours of his head, so that the Organes of vnderstanding, cannot receiue their vertue and animall power. And so, our bodilie charge and weightinesse, beeing not sustained by the Soule: falleth downe to the ground, without power, without sight, and voide of any supporting strength. But if a man doe performe this motion aduisedly, and by little and little: nature findeth no impeachment, but without daunger) it may very well be done.

The reason of falling in sudden turning.

CHAP. XIIII.

How excellent a thing the Memory of Man is. And what is the reason, that such as are endued with an acute Spirit, haue but weake retention. Moreouer, what is the cause that Men haue so good remembrance of their youth, or younger yeares.

AMong all the inward perfections of Man, Memory is the most excellent: as being the Treasurer and Guardian of all the other. The blessing bestowed by God on Men, in giuing them Memory, is so great and precious: that onely the very praises thereof, and recitall of the benefits which come to them thereby, might well consume a great space of time, in Writing and repeating; yea, Paper would want to relate so worthy an Argument.

Memory is the chiefest of all other perfections in man.

Cicero saith, *Memory is the Theame or discourse of the Soules immortality, and diuinity of Man. Pliny* calleth it such a benefit; *As is absolute necessary to life.* And *Plutarch* stileth it; *The Antistrophe of diuinitie*: that is to say, equiualent or semblable to the Diuinitie, considering, that of passed thinges, shee maketh a present obseruation. For, the time that is past, may bee compared to him, that is carried away with a swift Water current: but Memorie maketh retention, and appeareth to vse strong resistance against that swift course, with a meere essence of that, which other-wise were lost and gone. Others call Memorie, *The Treasurie of Knowledge.* And hence it came, that Wisedome is counted the Daughter of Memory, and also of Experience: because Memory is as a Coffer or Cabinet, containing all such things as we learne, behold, and vnderstand. The Sauiour and Redeemer of all the World, did highly make esteem thereof, considering, that when he left vs the blessed Sacrament of his bodie and blood, he said: *Doe you this, in the Memorie*

Cicero. in Lib. 2. de Offic.

Plin. Secund in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Plutarch in Moral.

An apt Comparison of the times past.

Valer. Max in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Example of our blessed Sauiour.

Luke. 22, 19.

Memorie or remembrance of me; meaning that in his Memory wee ought to receiue them. The Church both saith and singeth; *The iust shall liue in eternall Memory.* We must needes say then, that the place of happinesse belonging to this Memory, is very great and gracious.

Psalme. 18, 6.

But let vs come now to humaine learning. Our Oratours doe reckon Memory, as one of the principall parts of speaking. *We are taught in vain* (saith *Quintillian*) *if we forget that which wee haue learned.* Therefore himselfe commaundeth, that this powerfull vertue should be often exercised; because by vse and exercise, it is increased. It is a meruailous thing, that in setting Memory to her worke, and holding her in due commendation, she should be so memoratiue of passed occasions: And yet he that pursueth her with greatest affection, is least able of apprehending her, and contrariwise, he to whom she appeareth most painfull and laborious, for finding out difficult matters past, she rendreth her selfe the readiest afterward. We are therefore to vnderstand, that there are two means appertaining to this vertue.

The iudgement of Oratours concerning Memory. *Quintil. in Lib. de Institut.*

Vse and exercise encreaseth Memory.

Memory hastily pursued is not easily retained.

Two meanes for the apprehension of Memory, confirmed by example.

A man that hath his Memory prompt and very ready, to entertaine such enstructions as are giuen him; cannot keep them for any long time. But another man, who is long in apprehending, preserueth (what is taught him) in much better manner. The naturall reason whereof is giuen vs by *Aristotle*, saying. *Men that haue finely and sharpe Spirits, are (at the first sight) easie to bee enstructed, yet very weake in their retention. Contrariwise, more rude and duller Spirits, that apprehend and conserue with great difficulty; are capable of farre better retayning.*

Aristi. in Lib. 4. de Ethic.

Plutarch his comparison, how Memory commeth to men.

Plutarch affirmeth, that these things happen to men, as it doth to a Pot or Vessell, which hath a little mouth or entrance, and therefore is the harder to be filled, as also voyde of the lesse daunger, in emptying it againe: and such Vessels (such saith hee) doe represent men of rude vnderstanding. But they that haue a quicke and agile Spirit; doe resemble Vessells with wide mouthes and large entrance; and as they are easily filled, euen so are they as quickly emptied of all that they containe.

The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who omitted nothing, or (at the least) very little, which he did not iudiciously perse and examine; speaketh to this purpose. *By diuers corporeall dispositions, doe ensue the diuers promptitudes and operations of the Soule.* For as we behold, that those thinges wherein are made some impressions or Carracters with paine and difficulty (as in stone or Mettals) doe preserue those prints more substantiallie, then other thinges that are much easier imprinted, as in Waxe, and other matter of like softnesse: Euen so the Memory (which is the Guardian of all enstruction) being in the head of a Man of hard vnderstanding; when she receiueth any thing wel figured and stamped, she preserueth it the better in this hard habitation, because it was entertained with paine and difficulty. But as for them that are sprightly, prompt, and ready, and doe entertaine thinges with lesse trauaile: they are euen as speedy in forgetting, and vtter losse of them.

Tho. Aquina. Sum. 1. Dist. 9. Sect. 13.

Example of difficult staps or impressions, & others of more easinesse.

There is another thing in the Memory, which is likewise worthy to bee noted, to wit: That such things as we behold, to be imprinted in the tender Spirit of Infancy, are not forgotten in the estate of Man-hood. *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of naturall thinges, saith. *The reason hereof is, that such as haue their vnderstanding at quiet, and with ought the charge of great occasions: haue their Memory the more certaine.* And for this cause, those things which Children do learne in their chiefest Infancy: they retaine them for a long time, by not beeing molested with weighty thoughtes and trauailes. *Thomas Aquinas* rendreth another reason, and (in mine opinion) more auaileable, saying. *That thing, which is the occasion of most notable motion in Man, remaineth the firmest in his Memory: as namely, matters of greatest nouelty and admiration; And therefore, as all thinges appeare to Children, to bee nouell, strange, and of great importance: so are they the cause, that they are the more solidly stamped in their Memory.*

Such things as are apprehended in our infancy, we doe not forget in manhood.

Auicen de Reb. Nat. Lib. 6.

Tho. Aquinas. vbi supra.

But let vs leaue Infancy, and come to Men, of whom, some haue been obserued, to be of such capable and singuler vnderstanding; that it hath appeared, to bee a matter of no meane meruaile.

Examples of men of admirable vnderstanding.

uaile. *Pliny*, *Solinus*, & *Quintillian*, haue set vs downe diuers and sundry examples. We read of *Cyrus*, that he knew all the Men in his Army, which was of wonderfull greatneſſe: and hee could call them all by their names and ſirnames, a thing deſeruing to bee admired.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Solin. in Lib. 1. Quintil in li. 1. Of Cyrus.

Solinus writeth as much of *Lucius Scipio*; and yet notwithhanding, though this doe appeare to be meruailous: yet it is ſuppoſed, that by frequent and continued cõuerſation, he might wel do it. That which is reported of *Cineas*, Ambaſſador from K. *Pyrrhus* to the *Romains*, dooth vrge much greater amazement. For, hauing been in *Rome* but two daies onely: he knew all the Senators names, albeit there was a great number of thẽ. He knew likewiſe the names of all the Gentlemen, and principall perſons in the Citty, apprehending them readilie at a ſecond ſight, and ſpake to them euery man by his name. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Adrian*, doth highly commend his Memory, ſaying. *If a Booke were read in his preſence, albeit he had neuer ſeene, or heard thereof before: yet after the whole reading was finiſhed, he wold recite (word by word) all matters contained in the Booke, without fayling in any thing. And hee did perfectly (euer afterward) know them, that had but once ſpoken to him.*

Of *Lucius Scipio.*

Of *Cyneas* Ambaſſadour to the Romanes.

Spartianus in vit. Adrian. Imp

I remember, that (not long ſince) I read a pretty diſcourſe, of a Man that was aged, hauing his head and Beard long and white; and ſomewhat hee had petitioned of his Prince, wherein hee was denyed. Whereupon, this aged Man afterward cauſed his haire to bee cloſe cut, and his Beard to bee ſhauen, making vſe of a falſe and counterfeit Perry-wig, as if he were become a yong Man againe: And by this occaſion (as I geſſe) came vp our borrowed haires, which nowa-daies are in the ſame requeſt. In this manner hee returned to the Emperour *Adrian*, vrging the ſame ſuite, which he had formerly denyed him. The Emperor well knowing him, and ſmiling to himſelfe, that his deniall had made the aged man, thus to becom (in his own conceit) of younger yeares, as hoping thereby to ouer-reach him: he made him this anſwere. *My Friend, very willinglie could I graunt thy requeſt: but that (ſome few dayes ſince) thy Father was with me, and mooued me in the very ſame ſuite. Now in my iudgement, I hold it not agreeing either with Honor or Reaſon, to grant that to the Sonne, that I haue already denyed to his graue and reuerend Father.* With this reply, the (olde imagined) young man went away confounded with the conceite of his owne folly, and iuſtly was dealt withall as he had deſerued.

A memorable Hiſtory of Age, counterfeiting youth, in preſence of the Emperor *Adrian.*

An excellent and witty anſwere.

Wee reade of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, that his Scepter commanded ouer two and twenty ſeuerall Languages, and that he gaue audience vnto all theſe Nations, without any Interpreter, and anſwered euery one of them in his owne tongue. The Memory of *Themiſtocles* was alſo very great, for *Cicero* ſpeaking of him, ſaith: *He learned and apprehended whatſoeuer he would, and deſired to forget many things, of leſſe worth then he eſteemed them to be, but hee could not.* *Symonides* (on a time) demanded of him, if hee would haue an excellent receipt: for the maintenance of a good Memory; whereto *Themiſtocles* replyed. *He would gladly find out a meanes, to forget many things, for he had no neede of encreaſing his Memory.* *Quintillian* reporteth of *Publius Craſſus*, that in one inſtant, he gaue audience to fiue kindes of tongues vſed in *Greece*, and gaue anſwere alſo preſently in each one of thẽ. *Seneca*, in the Prologue of his Declamations, ſaith; that *Porcius Latronus* (who ſo much renowned the Schooles of the learned *Rodolphus Agricola*) had (both by Nature and Art) ſuch a Memory, that it appeared to be incredible: becauſe what-ſoeuer he learned, he retained ſtill faithfully. And being come to the degree of an Oratour, all the Orations which he had ſuddenly made, he could recite them by heart, without failing in any one word. Hee ſaide, *This was a more profitable labour then writing; becauſe he could write all his inuentions in his Memory.* *Cicero* writeth the like of *Hortenſius* the great Oratour, and ſaith. *As he directed his Oration, ſo hee wrote, and afterward pronounced it, without fayling in a word.* *Seneca*, in his Book before alleaged, ſpeaketh of the ſame *Hortenſius*, ſaying. *He was ſelling certaine goods by an Inuentory, and the ſale continued for the ſpace of a whole day. But after*

Two and twenty ſeuerall tongues vnderſtood by *Mithridates.*

Cicero in Lib. 4. de Offic.

Themiſtocles his anſwere to *Symonides.* *Quintil in li. 1.* Of *Publius Craſſus.*

Seneca in Prohem. Declamat. Porcius Latronus. Rodolphus Agricola.

Writing reproued by an Oratour. *Cicero* of *Hortenſius* the famous Oratour.

Seneca in Prohem. Declamat.

after all was done, he retired (orderly and by art) all things which had bin sold, rehearsing euery bodies name that had bought them, & the seuerall prices of each thing sold, not failing in a iote, as they had beene set downe in the Inuentory order.

Seneca in the report of his owne memory in his youth.

Seneca, writing of himselfe, as being best witnesse of himselfe, saith, that he had such a perfit memory in his youth, as if one had declared to him the names of two thousand seuerall thinges: hee could repeate them all againe, euen in the same maner, as they had bin named, without fayling in any one. He saith moreouer, that in the time of his being a Scholler, two hundred Schollers came before the Maister, reciting (each one) a seuerall Latine verse: and when they all had ended, hee beganne, and repeated them all againe one after another, and failed not in a sillable. Among these examples of so great capacity, *Iulius Cæsar* deserueth to be remembred: who at one instant time, gaue instructions to foure Secretaries, to write Letters vnto foure distinct persons, and of different occasions. *Pliny* writeth of him, that at one and the same time, he gaue directions for a Letter to one of his Secretaries, and read in a Booke, and heard another speaking to him. *Spartianus* writeth the like of the Emperor *Adrian*.

An admirable Memory.

The Memory of *Iulius Cæsar*.

Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 4.

Spartianus. in vit. Adrian. Imp.

To this purpose, I cal to mind the ingenious answere of *Scipio Affricanus* the younger, who contended with *Appius Claudius* for the office of Controuler of *Rome*. *Claudius*, to attract the people to his part; cald each *Romain* by his name, saying: *This was a good signe, that they were all beloued of him, because his memory was so good, as to name them all; whereas (contrariwise) Scipio knew not one of them, neither was acquainted with their Names.* Whereto *Scipio* thus answered. *It is true Claudius, that I neuer sought (by purchase) to make my selfe knowne: but such haue beene my actions and behauiours, as there is no man in the Citty, but hee might take knowledge of me.* I could wade further in plenty of other examples, concerning the admirable memory of men; but he that is desirous of more, may read the *Tusculanes* of *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and the Histories recited by *Ioannes Camertes*, vpon the vij. Chapter of *Solinus*.

The contention between *Scipio Affricanus Secundus*, and *Appius Claudius* for the Controullership of *Rome*.

Cicero in Tusculan Quintil. in Lib. de Institut. Ioan. Camertes. sup. Cap. 7. Solin.

CHAP. XV.

How the Memory may be hurt and offended: And how it may also (by Art and good meanes) be strengthned and corrected.

AS the Memory is held to be most noble and excellent: euen so likewise it is very dainty and delicate, and easily corrupted or offended by many occasions; as diseases, bruises, and wounds in the head, age, sudden feare, and falling from some place of height. All these things are troublesome to Memory; because they doe endamage the place, the Organes and Instruments thereof. This is moreouer to bee noted, that some men, by weakenesse of their Memory, are forgetfull in all thinges; and some others will erre or wander astray therin, especially in some part thereof. As *Pliny* writeth of *Messala Coruinus*, who, by reason of a sicknesse, grew to such forgetfulnesse: that he could neuer remember his own name, not when he was especially demanded thereof. *Valerius* also, speaking of miraculous occasions, maketh report of a learned man, who by the blow of a stone, which bruised his head: forgot al that he had learned in the Arts and Sciences, and yet was very memoratiue in all other matters. Another Man, by meanes of a fall; lost the knowledge of his Mother, Kinred, and acquaintance. I haue read, and heard it reported by many, that *Franciscus Barbarus*, a man of our time, and very learned; especially in the *Greek* tongue: by the meanes of a disease he had, forgot (perticularly) whatsoeuer he knew in *Greek*, remaining (otherwise) as he did before, a thing (in my opinion) very meruailous. It is likewise said, that *Georgius Trabezontius*, a man well learned, and liued in our Fathers daies: did forget in his age, al that he had learned in his life time before.

The Memory is subiect to many meanes of offending.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 24. O. *Messala Coruinus.*

Valer. Maxim. in Lib. 9. cap. 1.

Of *Franciscus Barbarus* the great Grecian.

Of *Georgius Trabezontius.*

Now, as we find, that the Memory is perticularly iniured by some occasions: so likewise do we read of sundrie Men, that

Of men very weake and feeble in their Memory.

that (meerely by nature) haue bin therin very weake and feeble. The Emperor *Claudius* was so vnstable of Memory, that (as *Suetonius* writeth in his life) he hauing his wife somtimes accõpanying him in bed: after he had once spoken to her, he remembred her no more, but would demand of others, what was the cause, why she did not come to bed to him? Once he commaunded one of his Councellers to be put to death; and the next day following, demanded, wherefore he came not to councell. *Herodotus* the Sophister had a Son of such poore Memory and vnderstanding: that hee could not (by any meanes) learne and retaine the Letters of the Alphabet, And yet the Father was so desirous of his learning, that hee caused foure and twenty Children (of the same age as he was) to be tutord with him, and imposed vpon each one of them, the name of each Letter in the Alphabet; to the end, that by naming and knowing his companions, he might thereby likewise learne the Letters.

Suetonius in vit. Claud. Imp.

Of the Sonne to *Herodotus* the Sophister.

I haue formerly saide, that suddaine feare or astonishment, is a great let and hinderance to Memory, and thereto I may well adde, that although such feare do not wholy destroy the Memory: yet it hath euidently appeared, to make mẽ vtterly forget such thinges, as formerly had bin wel determined in the mind. As it happened to *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, who being sent as Ambassador to King *Phillip* of *Macedon*; fell suddenly into such a strange alteration, by being in the presence of so great a Prince: that hauing begun his Oration (which he had well compõsed and commited to Memory) he was at a *Non-plus*, and vtterly forgot what he had to say. We read the very same, of *Theophrastus*, who was to speake in presence of the Councell and *Areopagites* of *Athens*. And the like of *Herodes* the *Athenian*, beeing in presence of the Emperor *Marke Anthony*. And of *Heraclides Licius*, in presence of *Seuerus* the Emperour, according as *Philostratus* recordeth. And euen in our time, as it were, *Bartholomeus Socinus*, a Natiue of *Sienna*, being a man very learned, in the Lawes, and Ambassador for his Country to Pope *Alexander*, began his Oration, which he had very perfectly studied and prepared: but he became suddenly so altered, by seeing so many great Princes then there present; that he forgot all, and was not able to remẽber or vtter one word. My selfe, who haue beene the traducer of this Booke, do testifie of my selfe, that the very like alteration as befell *Demosthenes* (not that (in thought) I compare my selfe with him) hapned to me, in the presence of men of great iudgement; and the intireneſſe of affection, which then I had to the Iustice and true deliuery of my speech: did alter me in such maner, as I was not able to hold on (the least while) from my beginning; albeit I wanted no study or premeditation, euen so much as my hart could desire.

Of sudden feare and alteration, being hurt-full to Memory.

Of *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, before King *Phillip* of *Macedon*.

Theophrastus before the *Areopagites*.

Herodes the *Athenian*. *Heraclides Licius*.

Bartholomeus Socinus Senensis.

Example of the Authour him-selfe.

Now, that Memory may be holpen and conserued by artificial meanes; is a matter most certaine, and I finde manie good authors that do affirm as much: as *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, *Petrus Crinitus*, and *Quintillian*, all along in his Institutions. We finde recorded, that *Cineas*, Ambassadour to King *Pyrrhus*, was very practique therein. *Plinie* and *Solinus* doe say, that *Symonides* was the Inuenter of the Art of Memory: albeit the same *Plinie* affirmeth, that *Metrodorus* brought it to perfection, and holp himselfe extraordinarilie thereby. *Cicero*, in the Booke of his Oratour, *Quintillian*, in his Institutions, and *Valerius* in his Miracles, doe all affirme, that *Symonides* being inuited to a Feast, with many others: the Haule wherein they banqueted fell, and all there died, *Symonides* excepted, who (by chance) was called thence in that instant, by some one of his friends, and was gone forth without any knowledge of him that called him, by which meanes his life was saued. Historians say, that in viewing the dead bodies, which had bin thither inuited, and who were a great number: *Symonides* noted them all & declared, in what order they were seated at the table when the hal fell. The examples which might be alledged to this purpose, are infinit: but these already spoken of) shall suffise at this time. Another thing is to be noted, to wit; that the narrall Philosophers, and especially *Aristotle*, do make a difference betweene the Memory and Remẽbrance. For say they, *Memory may be in beasts, as well as in Men, though it be more imperfectly: but remẽbrance is in man onely,*

Solin in Polihi. Petrus Crinitus in Lib. 5. Cap. 3. Quintil. in Institut. Pin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 8. Solin. in Polihist.

The first inuenter of the Art of Memory

Cicero in Lib. de Orat. Quintil. in Lib. de Institut. Valer. Max. in Mirac.

The strange preseruation of *Symonides*, among a great many other that perished.

A difference alleadged betweene Memory and Remẽbrance, exemplified both in men and beasts.

only, who is to make recordation of himselfe, to vse discourse, and to thinke on things; as by way of contemplation, describing a generall from particulars, by circumstances of time and place, with consideration and vnderstanding. In beasts, there is nothing to bee remembred, but of some place where they haue once saine: as in a Horse, of a fault by him committed, in some part of his ordinary way, and so in other beasts likewise more or lesse, and in diuers degrees. But as we haue formerly saide, remembrance in Man is much more perfect, with intelligence and discourse, running from one thing to another. And therfore, according to *Aristotle*, this dignity in men, who haue their vnderstanding most apprehensiue & liuely: haue also most remembrance, albeit another man may be more abound ding in memory. Because remembrance is a manner of search and Inquisition, which awaketh and stirreth vp Memory, to some such thing as is to be recorded. Wherefore, the best and liuelyest vnderstanding, yeildeth occasion of the best meanes, and (in that respect) is prouided of the best remembrance. The Greekes, among other vanities of their Gods, had a Goddesse of Memory: so that the memoriall vnderstanding hath euermore beene very highly esteemed. Thus you may perceiue, how much men are bound to extol and thank God, for such a precious & inestimable benefit, and how carefull they ought to be in the preseruation thereof. *Marcilius Ficinus*, in the Booke which he made of tripple life, setteth downe excellent receipts and enstructions, for the conseruation of Memory.

The perfection of Remembrance in man.

A definition of Remembrance, and how to be obserued.

A Goddesse of Memory among the *Greekes*.

Marcil. Ficin. in Lib. de triplici vita.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Ancient Prouerb is to be interpreted, or vnderstood: That a bad Man may be a good King.

IN grosse eares, and such as are not vsed and accustomed, to weigh one thing with another (indifferently) in the ballance of reason; I make no doubt, but the common Prouerb appeareth to bee very strange, to wit: *That of a bad Man, he may become a good King*: and so much the rather, because it is necessary to vnderstand and know, what the true meaning of this word bad or lewd, doth imply in it selfe. In the old and autentique *French* Language, *Vn meschant*, a bad, lewd, or naughty man, is not said to bee such a one, as is full of all vices, as a Brigande, a Robber, an Exactor, a Detractour, a Quarreller, a Violater of Womens modesties, and a Committer of other villainous acts. But we are rather to vnderstand, that it signifieth such a person, as suffereth himselfe not to be led and gouerned, by the appetite and passions of other men, who prodigally do waste and consume the goods that are in his power; and is not difficult in accesse of importunate persons, that make demaund of vnreasonable requests; that will know such as feede on his meanes; that lendeth no eare to flatterers; that opposeth himselfe seuerely against such, as do molest others without reason, or any, doing these or the like thinges. Whosoeuer readeth auncient Bookes, turned or cõposed in the *French* toong, shall finde, that by a bad or naughty Prince; a good and well aduised King is meant and vnderstood. They that haue translated *Homer*, do oftentimes tearme *Iupiter*, and other Deities beside, bad, wicked, and euill, when they were irritated against the *Greekes* or *Troyans*, throwing thunder-bolts and lightnings on them, or darkening the ayre, or suffering the waters to mount out of their bounds, and work great damages on the earth. Contrariwise, as well in time of Antiquity, as euen in these present daies, by a good man, hath bin, and is vnderstood: one that is simple, slow conceited, dull of vnderstanding, a man that sees himselfe deceiued at all times, and vnder speeches of the smoothest language; a man that suffereth al things, yea, euen to the silly point, that his wife bestowes a Cuckolds creast vpon him, and euery man cals him Good Man, or Good *Iohn*.

Vn meschant in le Vieille langue Françoise.

Howland in what sence such a man is to be comprehended and vnderstood.

According to the auncient language of *France*.

Examples tending to the purpose.

The interpretation of the name or word of bad and good man.

Such men as are of this opinion, doe much abuse themselues, in praysing and adoring the goodnesse of a Prince, that is soft, simple, gracious, and courteous: for such simplicity, without prudence,

The damnages ensuing by the simplicity of a Prince.

Of sufferance & lacke of experience in a good Prince.

dence, is most daungerous and pernicious; yea, and much more to bee feared, then the cruelrie of a Prince, that is seuere, melancholly, hoarse in speech, auaritious, and vnaccessable. By sufferance, and vnexperienced simplicitie in too good a Prince, it many times commeth to passe: that flatterers, busiebraines, Knaues, Varlets, and the vilest persons, beare away the Offices, charges, benefits, and very best guiftes, wasting and consuming the Reuennues of a State, and by this means, the poore people are bitten, euen vnto the bare bones, and cruelly made seruile to such as are greatest, so that in stead of one Tyrant, there are ten thousand. In like manner, through this ouer-much mildnesse and goodnesse, wee may daily behold: impunity of wicked persons, murderers, Concussionaries, or publike extortioners, and such like Catterpillers of a Common-wealth, for the King (in meere grace) may take no knowledge of them.

Publique good conuerted into perticulers.

In briefe, vnder such a Prince, the publique good is conuerted into some perticulers, and al the charges or heauy loads, doe light vpon the poorest peoples backes. As we may obserue by Catarres, and defluxions; in a delicate, weak, and sickly body, and that alwaies they happen to the vnablest persons. I could verifie what I haue written by aboundance of examples, as well of the Emperors of *Rome*, as Kings of *France*.

How *Domitian* was saide to be good and bad.

Domitian was terrible and wicked to the Senate, to the Nobility, to the great Lords and Gouernours of the Empire: & yet notwithstanding, after his death, the people and Prouinces did highlie commend him, becausse there were neuer better Officers and Magistrates, thē they that gouerned in his time, onely through the respect and feare they had of him. Vnder the two Emperors, that were both named *Seuerus*, the *Affricane* and the *Syrian*, the Empire (almost wholy ruined, by the Emperors *Heliogabalus* and *Pertinax*) was re-established by seuerity and Imperiall austerity, and reduced into her former splendour and Maiesty, to the wonderfull contentment of the Princes and people.

The two Emperors named *Seuerus* of *Affrica* and *Syria*.

Charles the Simple, and *Charles* Doe nothing.

The Realme of France, was imagined ready to sinke, and appeared wel-neere, wasted and desolate; vnder the raigne of *Charles*, sir-named the *Simple*, and another *Charles* also, who was tearmed *Do nothing*. Yet afterward, it became great, rich, and flourishing, both in Armes and Lawes, towards the end of King *Frances* the first; when he grew to be Waspish, vnaccessable, and no Man durst come neere, to demand any thing of him. For then, Estates, Offices, and charges of import were not giuen, but by the merit of worthy persons, & idle gifts were so cut off: that when he died, there was found in the Treasury or Exchequer, a Million of Gold, and seauen hundred thousand Crownes.

Frances the first hard to be endured, yet the good that proceeded from him

Within some dozzen yeares after, when his Sonne King *Henrie* the second raigned (whose goodnesse and kindnes was so great, that he could not be equaled by any Prince of his age) the State became quite altered. For, as he was soft, milde, gracious, and debonnaire; euen so, he could not deny any matter demanded of him. Whereby, the Reuennues of his Father being (in a short while) lauishly consumed: estates were (more then euer before) set to open-sale, guifts bestowed, without any respect, Magistrates giuen to the fairest offerers, and (by consequent) to the vnworthiest persons. And the Imposts being far greater then euer they had been, when he dyed; the Treasuries of *France* were (neuertheless) found to stand charged, with two and forty Millions of Mony. If the gentlenes of this King, had beene tempered or accompanyed with feuerity, his goodnesse with strictnesse, his softnesse with austerity: there could not haue beene drawne from him such aboundance, nor euery one to preuaile so easily as they did.

A great difference betweene the Father and Sonne.

Henry the second too good & milde a King.

The Treasuries of *France* charged with 42. Millions of Money.

And thus this ancient Prouerbe is to be vnderstood; *That a bad Man, may be a good King*: which may relish som-what harshly, if wee take the bare proprietie of the word, & leaue out this application, that it signifieth nothing else, but an austere, rough, and stearn Nature. And in this sense, wee are not to tearme a Prince a Tyrant, becausse he is so seuere or rigorous: prouided, that he goe not against the Lawes of God and Nature.

The Authors application of the Prouerbe.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of Constantine the Great, and whether hee were the first Christian Emperour or no.*

The occasion of this Chapter.

I Haue made all the diligent examination, that possibly I could deuise to vse, to know, whether there were any Christian Emperor before *Constantine* the Great, as many haue thought, and dared to speake. I can finde no acknowledgement of any, that had good opinion of Christian Religion, except it were one: or else they did it very secretly, in regard they persecuted such as made profession thereof, and the authority of the Senate entermedling therein. For there were many of the *Romaine* Senators, and of their Families, that were possessed of their great spirituall Reuennues, and which ought likewise to haue beene so called themselues: in regard they had original from publike expences, or of some certaine perticulars, for worshippe of the Gods among them.

Wherefore the Romaine Senate persecuted the Christians.

There is no apparance, that *Marcus Antonius* was a Christian, or that he had any vnderstanding of Christian Religion: considering, he was a man very superstitious in the the Pagan profession, and yet learned, and of good iudgment. I am of opinion, that by some good naturall instinct, he did not approoue the cruell and hard persecutions, which wer impoſed on the Christians. For, without any frowne or distast, he accepted a request presented to him, by *Iustine*, a Christian Philosopher, wherein he declared the Christians innoncencie, and the crimes which falsly were laide vpon them, onely to make them the more odious. He made an Edict, which he caused to bee confirmed by the Senate. It prohibited any more mollestation to the Christians for their Religion, & that he which impoſed any crime falsly vpon them; should forth-with be proceeded against, and punnished with the selfe-same Lawes, that were ordained against the Christians. This Mandate was published in *Ephesus*, in a generall assembly.

Marcus Antonius Aurelius caused the persecutions to cease.

Eusebius in Lib. 4. Cap. 10.

Adrian, who was before him, about twenty yeares, after he had permitted, that the Christians should bee strictlie persecuted: yet taking acknowledgement, that (with much shame) they were thus cruelly proceeded against; he made the like Edict as *Antonius* formerly had done. And perceiuing the *Iewes* to liue like Vagabonds, without any Land or abiding, as euen (to this day) they are in no better estate: he suffered them to dwell in *Palestine*, and to re-edifie the Temple and Citty of *Ierusalem*. But when they were at a little ease and liberty, they rebelled against the said *Adrian*; who (not without great labour) ouercame them. He was no way a Christian, and much lesse of the Iewish Religion: but very true it is, that he had (naturally) a good iudgement, and degenerated not from the true parts of a Man.

Adrian was good both to the Christians and *Iewes*.

The *Iewes* rebelled against the Emperor *Adrian*.

There was some likely-hood, that *Alexander Seuerus*, the two and twentith Emperor; raigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 225. had some vnderstanding, though hee made no demonstration thereof. And yet hee would often say: That he ought to loue his Neighbor as himselfe; and should not do that to another man, which he would not haue done vnto himselfe. Doubtlesse, he had read in the Bookes of the Old and New Testaments, or learned it of some Christians: because Paganes were neuer so charitable, as to vse any such language.

Alexander Seuerus the 22. Emperor.

A Christian saying of *Seuerus*.

Mammea, Mother to the said *Seuerus*, was truely a Christian; for shee sent to seeke *Origen*, who taught in *Alexandria* of *Ægypt*, and he remained at *Rome* with her in the Pallace, for some time, to be enstructed more amplie by him, then formerly she had bin in the Catholique Faith. If the Emperor himselfe had any feeling of Christianity; he kept it verie secretly. And yet, during the space of thirteene yeares, while hee was Emperour: he exercised great deeds of charity vnto the poore, a thing neuer put in practise before hee did it. The persecutions as well in *Gaule*, as in the East, were very great: and I am of the mind, that neyther hee or his Mother euer knew

Mammea, Mother to the Emperor *Seuerus*, a Christian.

Seuerus very charitable to the poore.

The Proconsuls greedy of proscriptions against the Christians.

knew how to stay them. For the Proconsuls or gouernors of the Prouinces, hauing a lickorous appetite after the confiscations of Christians goods; did all according to their owne fantasies. In the end *Seuerus* was slaine (beeing aged twenty nine yeares) with his Mother *Mammea*, traitorously by Theeues, that in the time of *Heliogabalus* (hauing held places of honour) were deiected, and throwne out of their Offices and dignities.

The Christians most cruelly persecuted by the Emperor *Maximinus*.

After that *Alexander Seuerus* had raigned about foureteene yeares, hee was slaine by the conspiracies of *Maximinus*. The Christians (this *Maximinus* being created Emperour) were more cruelly persecuted then euer they had bin: for the first moued the sixt persecution, and especially against the Doctours of the Church, in hatred of the fore-named *Mammea*, Mother to *Alexander* his predecessor, and murdred (with his owne hands) the Domesticks and Seruants of the said *Alexander*. This *Maximinus* hauing raigned three yeares, in the yeare of Iesus Christ 237. he was slain at *Rome* for his tyrannies; And *Gardianus* being elected by the Senate; shewed himselfe a Prince of noble disposition. We finde not any where recorded, that he made any cruell Edict against the Christians: yet he was no Christian, that euer any man could take knowledge of. He was slain fraudulently by *Phillip* that succeeded him.

Maximinus murdered for his Cruelties and *Gordianus* elected Emperor.

Phillip very hardly accepted to be Emperor, because he was said to be a Christiã.

This *M. Iulius Phillip*, by Nation an *Arabian*, was elected Emperour (as we haue saide) notwithstanding hee found many difficulties in his acceptation. For it was said he might not be, because he was a Christian, and no one of that Religion, ought to hold any Office in the Empire of the *Romains*, by many Edicts, as well of Emperors, as of the Senate. But the most of the assistants, that were at his election and Imperiall salutation, made aunswere: That such Edicts held no place for the present time, in regard, that they were Christians also, as well as he. Whereupon he was accepted, and his Son likewise ioyned with him. He made publike profession of Christianity, and was conuerted by *Pontianus*, or *Pontius*, a *Romaine* Senator, and baptized by *Fabian* (who was then Bishop and Pope of *Rome*) with *Seuera*, Mother to the said *Iulius Phillip*. Yet *Fabian* wold not admit him into the latter Vigils of Easter (although he had great desire to assist in the congregation, and prayers of the Christians) vntill hee had made confession of his sin (which was a murder in the opinion of many) but was enioyned in company among such, of whom enquiry was made, by reason of their sins; and so was placed in ranke of the repentants; as *Eusebius* declareth in his sixt Booke, and 24. Chapter. All which *Phillip* refused not to doe, but accomplished that whereto he was enioyned by *Fabian*. This Man then is the first of the Christian Emperors.

Phillip rancked among the penitents. *Eusebius. in Hist. Eccl. Lib. 6. Cap. 24.*

At length, and during his Empire, it is held, that all the people of his House, receiued the Christian doctrine, and renounced the Idolatries of the Paganes. But this felicity lasted not long in the Church: for, as *Phillip* had dealt with *Gordianus*, his Predecessor: euen so was he serued by his Successor *Decius*; yea, and his Son also, who was slain at *Rome*, and the Father at *Verona*; such was their end, after they had raigned seauen yeares. After him, till the time of *Constantine* the Great, there were nine Emperors, all of them being great Persecuters of the Christians: except *Galien*, who suffered the Christians to liue in peace, but he was neuer Christian himselfe. I am of opinion, that this permission was occasioned, by reason that he had some Christians of his Councell.

Decius murdered both *Phillip* and his Sonne.

Decius fauoured the Christians but was none himself.

Constantine the Great, was the second Emperour, that made confession publikely of Christianity, and, in despight of all enemies, he ceased the proscriptions against the Christians, in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 312. From thence forward, his Imperiall Successors were all Christian Catholiques, or Schismatickes, euen to our time: except *Iulian*, sir-named the *Apostata*, who returned from Christianity, to Paganisme, and liued no more but two yeares Empeperour; for he was slaine in the warres against the *Parthians*. And this is al that I can finde recorded of the first Emperors of the Christians.

Constanine the Great, was the second Christian Emperor.

Iulian the Apostata.

Philip conuerted to Christianity and Christened by *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Who discouered the people called Cynocephali, *or* Cynocephales, *that is to say; men hauing heads like vnto Dogs; And what they are, that doe inhabite daily among them.*

MAny haue held opinion, that *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* were loud lyers, when they wrote and published: that there lined a certaine kinde of people in *Scythia*, which had Dogges heads, and that they howled like Dogs, in stead of speaking as other men doe. What these two worthy Men haue written, is true in part, but not in all. I say in part, because some people that haue beene discouered, within the space of these threescore yeares, and somewhat more: haue a forme and figure, neere in resemblance, to the head and shape of a Dogs head; to wit, of those little pretty flat-nose Dogs, which Ladies keepe for pleasure in their Chambers, yet not naturally, but artificially. For these people, from the time of all Antiquity, did alwaies hold it for a singuler beauty to them; to haue their noses flatted or falne downe. And this is the reason, that when their Children are newly borne, and haue their bones very tender: the Fathers and Mothers neuer faile, to quash or flat downe that part of the face, which is betweene the eyes and the mouth, as the like hath bin done to little Dogges. And to speake truely, beeing thus dealt withall: they differ very little in their looks, from the resemblance of Dogges. But they meddle not with their eares, to make them pointed or hanging down, as commonly is vsed to those Creatures. Yet true it is; that when they are grown to manly stature; the bore or pierce holes thorow their eares (euen as is done heere among vs) to hang therein fine coloured stones, or else the bones of certaine Fishes.

On the other side, that they haue not (in part) reported any fable, is very certaine, when they say, that these people doe dwell in a part of *Scythia*: because all the Countries haue beene discouered, and doth not declare any deformity on the peoples bodies. But they of whom I make mention, are placed betweene the Equinoctiall, and the Tropice of *Capricorne*, on that side which is called *America*: because *Americk Vespucius*, a *Portugall*, was the first that discouered this Country, the length whereof containeth aboue fiue hundered Leagues, and is other-wise tearmed the Countrey of *Brasile*, *Caniballes*, or *Anthropophages*, that is to say; Eaters of Men. I would not bee thought to speake of all *America*, which is accounted to be the fourth part of the World: but only of that part, which containeth these *Cynocephales*.

Now, that they howle or barke, as Dogs do, is vtterly false: for they speak a Language distertly, briefely, and properly accented, which is supposed to be the Greeke tongue. And they are molourdens or loutish people, but of a liuely and chearefull spirit, quicke, cautelous, magnanimious, and taking knowledge (very well) of any pleasure or displeasure done them, as also the time and place. They goe starke naked, as we vse to say; onely accepted (as a token or note of their brauery) a Plumassery, or wreath of Feathers, which circkleth their heads, and a Cord or band of Cotten (hanging in manner of a Scarffe) which descendeth downe to the raines of the backe, there to sustaine other Plumasseries of diuers colours, that do round engirt them about the middle. They neuer walke along the Countrey, but they carry their Bowes, & Quiuers full of Arrowes, and many times a Club, containing eight or ten foote in length, of *Brasile* wood.

They eate not their Flesh or Fish (which they get in Riuers, or in the Sea, by helpe of their Arrowes, or other-wise) raw, as some Men haue imagined; but they vse both boyling and roasting of them. But true it is, that they eate the flesh of Men, yet boyled or roasted: and it is onely of their Enemies, against whom they war, and such as then can take Prisoners, but neuer any of their owne people or Country.

They

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 4. Aulus Gellius in Lib. 9. cap. 7

People discouered with in these last 60. yeares. &c.

An auncient custome obserued amongst them, wherby their heads doe seeme like Dogs heads.

The seituation of the Country, where the men doe inhabite that haue heads like vnto Dogges.

Americk Vespucius, the first discouerer of *America*.

What kind of Language is vsed among these men, and the manner of their behauiour.

Of their ornaments for pride and brauery.

Whatsoeuer flesh or fish they eate, it is not raw, but boyled or roasted.

The *Cynocephales* enemies vnto long beards, and how they vse to weare their haire.

They are very hatefull against such, as haue their Beards long, or suffer the hair to grow much vnder their arme pits, and in other places of the bodie, be they men or women, but pull and teare it away very stearnely. Yet the hairy locks on their heads, they weare somewhat long hanging all downe behind, but none before: as for the women, they vse their haire of like length as we doe, and weare it both before and behinde. They are people of goodly stature, and sightly presence, all sauing the face, which much resembleth a flat-nosed Dogge, and is done by Artefice, as I haue already sayde. They obserue many of the fashions of the *Prouẽçaux*, and it is thought, that they dwell almost in the like Climate, beeing all of an Oliue colour. They haue no Cities or Townes, but dwell onely in Villages, which are not farre distant one from another.

Their stature and manner of dwelling.

Their warre with their Neighbours.

They maintaine war against a neighbouring people, whom they call *Margaias*, that haue the very same manners, behauiour of life, and Dogges heads, like theirs; and them they seeke to pursue, both by Land and sea. They make Boats or Vessels of the barkes of great Trees, like Shippes, ioyning one vnto another, without sailes: and they vse to surprize their enemies, without any seruice of Heralds of Armes, to denounce or proclaime their warre: yet their Armies do commonly consist of fifteene or twentie thousand men, and sometimes of lesse. The Weapons wherewith they defend themselues, are Bowes of a fadome and a halfe long; and their Arrowes halfe a fadome in length, which are sharp pointed with the bones of a certaine Fish, & woundeth very dangerously. They vse also great Maces or Clubbes of Brasile wood. And they neuer giue ouer battel, vntill the night doth hinder them: then each man returneth to his abiding, leading his prisoner (if he haue anie) along with him.

Their Ships, and the number of their men of warre.

What manner of Weapon they war withall.

No vse of Gold, Siluer, or any other mettall among them.

They haue not any vse, either of gold or Siluer, or any other Mettall, neyther of any Cloath, Wollen, or Linnen. The reason why these people with Dogges heads, do war one against another, being of the same Language, complexion, or colour, and custome in life; is not to vsurpe on their Lands, or the riches of eyther, or to make them tributarie, or for glorie and honor, neither doe they eate their prisoners for gourmandize, or thorough want of victuals. But it hath been held from all Antiquity, as well on the one side, as the other, and stil they continue the same opinion, that they did eate each others predecessors. And therefore he that is the Conqueror, bringing prisoners from the warre, whether they bee men or women, they kill them, and solemnly eate them with their friends boyled and rosted on a grate of green wood, made in forme of a Gridyron, exalted somewhat higher from the ground, then our custome is, and he that hath doone most seruice, slaine and eaten, is the most honoured.

The reason of this peoples warring one with another.

They haue no vse of bred also among them, as we in these parts: but in steade thereof, they haue two kinds of Rootes, which they call *Aypi* and *Manjot*, the nature whereof is, to grow in the ground (within the space of three or foure Moneths) as great as a mans Thigh, and in length a foote and a halfe, som more, and some lesse. VVhen they are gathred, the women (for the men are not busied therabout) after they haue dried them ouer a Fire, on their high wooden Gridyrons, by bruising them vpon certaine sharpe-pointed stones while they are greene, or else punning thẽ on pieces of flat smooth wood, they bring them to resemble meal or Flower, which they seeth with water, in a great earthen Vessell, stirring it still with a good bigge staffe, till it bee like a Poultresse, or very pleasing boyld meat, light and crusty, answereable in taste to the * *Pain Mollet* of *Paris*. As concerning this *Aypi*, it is not only very good in Dough or Flower, and so to be boiled: but also being sodden to dry dust, it then hath the rellish of Chestnuts, as the *Marrons* of *Lyons*. They can neuer make any bread of the Flower of those roots.

No bread vsed among them, but meate made of Rootes and after boyled.

The manner how they vse those Rootes.

* A very light crusty and sauoury white bread, full of eyes, leauen and salte.

They haue a kind of Grain or Corne, which they call *Anaty*, and they of *Peru* tearme it *Maiz*, but elswhere, they name it Corne of *Turkey*, or of the *Sarrazins*. For wantonnesse and curiosity, it is sown in many parts of *France*, it being a flattie Graine, Tawny of colour, and sometimes very ruddy. They boyle that also with water, but it is nothing so pleasing as the other, made of the fore-named Rootes. They sometimes do eate the raw Paste of the Roots, and of *Maiz* likewise, though

Anaty and *Maiz*, a kind of Corne which they vse to eate, and some of it is sowen in *France*.

it

it be very thinne: yet they can conuey it dexteriously into their mouths, without any shame or soyling themselues.

What flesh of Beasts are most common among them, for their chase and hunting.

They haue no foure-footed Beastes, Domesticke, or made tame, but the men do exercise Hunting, not only for Venison, but also to kill other most harmefull Beasts. The first and cheefest Beasts of chase among them, and tearmed by the name of Venison, is one that is halfe a Cow, and halfe an Asse, partaking of both those Natures, being of the greatnesse and grosnesse of a Cow, but without any Hornes, and they call him a *Tapirassou*.

Tapirassou, halfe an Cow and halfe an Asse.

And heere is it to be remembred, that they haue not any such Beasts there, as are among vs. They hunt also another Beast, which they call a *Seouassous*, participating in the kinde of a Hart and Hinde: yet nothing so great as those among vs, nor horned likewise. Another they haue, which is a kinde of Wilde Boare, and they call him *Toiassou*, that hath a hole in the Chine bone of his backe, whereby he respireth and receyueth winde. Then they haue a straunge kinde of Pigge, which they term *Argonti*. Also, a kinde of Hare, cald by them *Tapitis*. More, they haue great store of red Rats, that liue in their Woods, and the flesh of them is very delicate to eate. Then they haue another Beast, tearmed *Pag*, about the bignesse of a mean Masty Dog, his head being of diuers colours, and he is able to do much harme; yet his flesh hath almost the selfsame tast as our Calfe or Veale. There is also another creature, called *Tatou*, which is a kinde of Hedge-hogge.

Seouassous, like a Hart and Hinde.

Toiassou their wilde Beare.

Argonti a Pig. *Tapitis* a Hare. Red Rattes.

Pag a kinde of mastiue Dogge.

Tatou a Hedgehogge.

They do commonly eat Crocodiles, which are no way hurtfull to them: for, as they take them out of the Riuers, they giue them to their children to play withall, before they kil them, beeing of the bignesse of a mans Thigh, and more in length, and they cal them *Iacaraes*. They eat also great Lizards, not green as ours are, but Gray; hauing their skins as slick as our little Lizards, and they take them on the Riuers sides, like as wee doe our Frogges.

They eate Crocodiles, Serpents, Lizzards, Toades, and such like with out any danger.

They mingle likewise amongst their meats, Serpents, as great as a mans arm, and as long as an Eele of **Paris* measure: they haue no venom in them, and they seeth them in great wodden Trunkes. I do not inferre heereby, that they haue no other Serpentes; and principally in their Riuers, where they are to be found of great length and bignesse, as green as Grasse, and the byting of them is verie dangerous.

* Three foot, two thirds of an inch, and the fiftieth part of a foot.

They haue Lizards also, Venomous and horrible, as bigge as the bodye of a man, and they make a dreadfull noise or hissing. Their Toads are as great as the head of a man, yet they serue them for food, without taking away either the skin or belly, as they do of other beasts. They vse to hunt another Beast, which they do name *Iauoara*, and is a great deuourer, killer, and eater of men: this Beast, they pursue to his Denne, and there kill him, by multiplicity of Arrowes shot at him. They haue Apes, Monkies, and Marmosets; but they are little, in comparison of others.

Venemous Lizzards.

Toads as big as a mans head, and good meate.

Iauoara a rauenous Beast that feedeth on men.

They feede also on Fowles and Birds, as Turkey hennes, and their owne common Hennes: but they hold their Egges to be Venomous; and therfore eat none of them, neither do the Hennes lay any, but very seldome. There is great store of *Indian* Duckes or Mallards, but they eat none of them, neither any other heauie Fowle whatsoeuer it bee, because their gate and flight is very lumpish & heauy. They vse to feed on Phesants, which are as grosse and great as our very biggest Capons heere among vs. And of two kinds of Partridges, woodculuers, Turtles, and of many other Fowles, far differing from those in these Countries, that haue their feet and beakes very crooked, like vnto our Parrats, and other of that kinde, and aboue al thinges else, they are very fairely plumed with feathers. In like manner, the best and goodliest Parats of the World, are in those Countries both great and small.

Of what kindes of Fowles and Birdes they vse to feed on.

Indian Ducks or Mallards. Phesants. Partriges. Woodcockes. Turtles.

The fayrest Parrats in the world, are among these people.

There are also Battes, or Reremice, no way like to ours but very great, which enter into their houses in the night time; and if they finde any one sleeping, that hath his feet naked or discouered out of his lodging, they will pecke and suck the blood betweene his great toes, in great quantity, without the parties feeling any thing. There are Scorpions likewise, as poysonous as those in these partes; and they know how to kill by picking, as others naturally do.

Battes or Reremice, that sucke mens blood.

And as they are thus stored with fourfooted Beasts, Fowles, Birdes, and creeping

How and after what manner they catch Fish.

ping Creatures, though different from ours: so we are to credit the like, concerning Fishes, as well in the fresh Riuers, as the Sea. Which they vse to take, some with their Bowes or Arrowes, baites of fat Lard, and others, by swimming, whiche they diue for into the bottom of the Waters. Some also, doth make vse of the Line, after the order of Angling, and they make Flower of some Fishes, after they haue well dried them ouer the fire, and then they eate it so, or else baked or boyled. Their Fishing hookes are made of Thornes, and we must know, that they are the best swimmers in the world. We may constantly credit as much, concerning the diuersitie of their trees & fruits; as of the contrarietie of their beasts.

Flower for Bread made of Fishes.

Cynocepha'es the best Swimmers.

I haue seene a Dozen of these men at *Rouen*, which the Normans brought home with them, who had a braue and Soldierlike behauiour, yet neuer would be couered with any garments, how hot or cold soeuer it were. They are not vnder obedience to any Kings, but the most ancient of them doth command in their warres, and make Orations to the rest, that they may fight the more valiantlie. And aboue all they assure them, that if they behaue themselues Couragiously, their soules shall passe ouer beyond the Mountaines, to dance, leape, and leade a sprightly & Iouiall life, with their worthy predecessors. They also that are ancient and eldest among them, doe prohibit the beating of their Wiues, because they will (many times) smite them down to the ground, with vnreasonable blows of an vnfitting staffe, especially, when they are iealous of them. He that marrieth most Wiues, is the most esteemed, and yet we must not conceite, that a man may lawfully take what Maid he pleases, but hee must require her first of her Parents, as we do in these parts, and if refusall be made, there must not any quarrell grow thereon, but vpon agreement, the Nuptials are performed.

Cynocephales seene at *Rouen*, by the Authour.

Of their Commaunders in warre, and their Orations.

Against beating their wiues.

He that marrieth the most wiues, is the most commended.

In the interim while, and very respectiuely, they do naturally obserue some degrees of Consanguinity, for the Son neuer marrieth with his Mother, nor the Brother his Sister; other degrees of Parentage they do not keepe. They hate to the death a couetous miser, that wil giue nothing: but they are glad and reioice in liberal minded men, and such a one, as wil talke or discourse with them; Also, they are verie knowledgeable of any kind of fauour done them.

Degrees of Marriage among them.

Couetousnes hated among these people.

They content not themselus, no more then other Nations do, to vse water only for their drinke, but haue an artificiall kind of Beuerrage, which they make in this manner. The Women cutte the Rootes of *Aips* and *Maniot*, into smal slices, or champe them in their mouthes, without swallowing down; or tear them with their fingers, and then put them into an Earthen Vessel, boiling them ouer a fire, and stirring them continually with a sticke. But being boiled a-while, they take it from off the fire, and then it purifieth it selfe like vnto wine. They doe the like, with the graine of great * Millet, or Hirse. Heere wee are to vnderstand that before they mash these Roots, or *Sarrazin Millet*, they cut them in halfes, and hold this superstition; that if [illegible] meddle in the making of this drinke, it is not worth anie thing. These Beuerages haue a good strong taste, and if anie one take more thereof then reason requireth, it wil make him drunke. They drinke not in their time of eating; but, after they haue dined or supped: and they terme it by the name of *Canouin*.

What manner of drink they vse, and how it is made.

* Called by some *Sarrazin Millet*, French wheat, Buckwheate, or *Bo'jmong*.

There are manie of the minde, that these *Cynocephales* are verie hairy, saying; that they haue heard it credibly reported by some of credite, that they haue seene them. Most certaine it is, that the brauest and lustiest men among them, that would prepare themselues to be present at some marriage feast, or the eating of a taken prisoner by some intimate frend of theirs in the warre; and thereuppon had made a solemne inuitation, doe vse to chafe and rub their bodies with a certain Gumme; whereon afterward they softlie sticke Feathers in the Gumme; and being thus furnished, men would imagine them to be hairie; and this is the truth of their hairinesse.

A lye and fable, that these people are very hairy.

Before the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugals* frequented with them, they knew no vse of Axes or Sawes, whereby to fel their woods, but onely made a fire at the roote of a Tree, which beeing burned, caused the whole bodie to fal. Then, setting the trunkes of Trees one against another, intending them to serue for their dwelling Houses, they couered them with the broad large leaues of certaine

No vse of Axes or Sawes among them.

How they vse to build their dwelling houses.

Trees

Trees, which they wrought together ſo induſtriouſly, as no raine could fall in vpon them any way. They do yet continue this manner of building among them, hauing no wals or other defences to their houſes.

Commerce betweene thē and the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians in their Commerce with thē, do giue them Kniues, Combs, Belles, Pins, Points, Fiſh-hookes, little Looking-Glaſſes, and other Wares of ſlender value: and they (in recompence of them) do returne vnto the Chriſtians diuers kinds of victuals, which they very gladly do bring them aboord to their Shippes: As alſo Braſile Wood, cut into round Blockes or Trunkes, as we ſee them heere among our Merchants. For if they were not cut round in that manner; the people (being naked) ſhould hurt and wound their Armes and bodies very grieuouſly.

Goodes and victualles brought to the Chriſtians.

No vſe of Candles among them, till of late time.

They were not wont to haue any vſe of Candles; but contented themſelues with ſuch light, as they receiued from Fires made of Wood in the night time. But now (of late) they haue bin taught to make Candles of Waxe: for in that Country they haue Bees, which reſemble our little Flyes in theſe partes, that make their Waxe and Hony, in hollow Trees in their Forreſts. They haue no other Iuſtice among them, but if any one doe offend another in quarrelling, as by breaking a Leg or Arme, beating out an eye, or any other iniury: he rendereth the like to him againe, if he can, and all his Kinred and Friendes are aſſiſtant to him in the cauſe, which beeing ſo done, they remaine ſatisfied: This is all their forme of Iuſtice.

What manner of Iuſtice is vſed among them.

Now, as I haue already ſaide, there are many Prouinces that liue after this manner, without Temples or Churches, and without aſſemblies, eyther for Prayers to God or Idolles: as they doe in other Countries, fiue hundered Leagues off from thence. Some of of which Countries are called *Ouetacas*; others, *Margaias*; others, *Tonoupinambouts*; and many other, that manage Warre one againſt another, as hath beene declared.

They pray not to God, neyther in aſſemblies, nor in perticular.

Their beleefe and Religion.

They beliue the immortalitie of the ſoule, and that ſuch Men as haue fought brauely for the defence of their Countrey: ſhall goe and liue with * *Topan*, after their deceaſe, and dance and drink in goodly Gardens, with their Predeceſſours and Friends. And on the contrary, that Theeues and Villaines ſhall bee tormented of * *Aygnan*, that is a Deuill: of whom, ſuch perſons haue viſibly beene ſeen to be beaten and tormented in this World, in company among many others, as ſome haue faithfully auouched, that haue ſeene it. Behold what I haue gathered from the Writings of *Plinie*, and other good Authors, that ſpake of a certaine people which haue Dogges Heades: beſide, what I haue elſe collected out of faithfull Writers, that haue frequented with theſe people, and ſpoken and conuerſed with them; as the Lord of *Villegaignon*, and of *Lery*.

* The God of Peace and Ioy.

* A Deuill viſibly ſeene of them ſometimes.

Marcus Paulus the *Venetian*, aſſureth vs, that there is an Iſland, named *Dagaian*, the Inhabitants whereof haue heades like vnto Dogges, and liue by feeding on humaine Fleſh. And euen now it appeareth vnto me (as a matter nothing differing from our purpoſe) to ſet downe a Hiſtorie, not of Men that haue Dogges Heads: but of a people, who are crediblie auouched, to be originally deſcended of a Dog and a Woman.

Marcus Paulus Venet. in Lib. 3. Cap. 21. The Iſle of *Dagaian*.

The Hiſtorie which *Ioannes de Barros*, Chronickler vnto the King of *Portugall*, hath Written, is much more ſtrange and wonderfull, then all that hitherto hath beene ſaid, if wee had as ſufficient Teſtimonie to beleeue it. Writing on the affaires of *Pegu*, as alſo that of *Sian*, which are on the other ſide of the Riuer *Ganges*, he ſaith; that all the people of theſe Kingdomes doe hold it for a matter moſt certaine and indubitable, that this Countrey was wholly deſert and Mountainy, not inhabited by any perſon, but generallie poſſeſſed by ſauage Beaſtes, ſo that a great number of men were not ſufficient to dwell there, without vnauoyable daunger. It chaunced, that a Shippe, which came from the Kingdome of *China*; by torment and tempeſtuous violence of Weather, was driuen vppon this Coaſt, all the people in the Shippe beeing dead and loſt, onely a Woman, and a great euill fauoured Dogge excepted. This Dogge defended her from

Ioannes de Barros Chronographer to the King of *Portugall*.

Of a ſtrange People deſcended of a Dogge and a woman.

from the ſauage beaſtes, which elſe (by many fierce attempts) had ſorely deuoured her. She beeing of young and tender yeares, and not acquainted with the courſes and modeſty becomming Women: permitted the dogge to haue vſe of her body, and ſo conceiuing, was (at due time) deliuered of a Sonne. Hauing brought vp her Son to good and able yeares, he likewiſe had knowledge of his Mother, and begat diuers other Children of her, that afterward multiplyed in ſuch liberall manner, as theſe two great Kingdomes grew to be inhabited. And for this cauſe, they holde Dogges in very reuerent reſpect, by beleeuing moſt aſſuredly, that they had their originall and beginning from thē. I am very certaine, that (at this inſtant) the peopſe of theſe Kingdoms are moſt ciuill, not pertaking any way in a doggiſh nature, and each man may credit this, as himſelfe beſt liketh.

A bruitiſh behauiour among ſauage people.

Hermippus alleadging *Ariſtotle* for his Authour, faith; that there is a people in *Æthiopia*, which are ruled or commanded by a Dog, euen as if they were to obey his iniunctions.

Vollateranus in Lib. 25.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Omphale, a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other Weomen, made her ſelfe Commaunder of that Prouince, by reaſon of the inſolent liues of the Lydians.

Clearchus in Commen. ca. 14. The *Lydians* vſed Eunuchs in ſtead of weomen.

Clearchus in his *Commentaries*, hath left written, that the *Lydians* were the firſt that expelled Weomen, and made choyce of Eunuches (to ſport withall) in ſtead of them: proceeding on alſo in ſuch licentious follie, eſpecially ſuch as were the mightieſt among them; that they would vſe the Wiues and Daughters of other Men. And to a certaine place, tearmed by them Dovx (it may be on the ſame occaſion) they would conuey them by force, or faire meanes, and their violate their chaſtities: growing to ſuch a beaſtly and diſhoneſt manner of life, as making ſpare of no body, or without any difference of Sexe; they dealt with men and Boyes, in ſtead of their owne Wiues. For which cauſe, *Omphale*, a Lady of ſtout and manly courage, not forgetting ſuch a diſhonourable iniury; grew offended at this brutiſh kinde of life. And procuring the aſſiſtance of other Weomen of that Countrey: ſhee became Lady and Miſtreſſe ouer the Men, onely through their baſeneſſe and negligence, and exerciſed (deſerued ſo) no meane puniſhment vpon them.

Omphale taketh on her to reforme the mens brutiſh liues.

Moreouer, to reuenge the diſgracefull wrongs done to Weomen, and to pay them in Coyne of the ſame valuation: the Women aſſembled with their Daughters, in the ſame place called Dovx: where, in meere deſpight of their Husbands, they ſuffered themſelues to be diſhonored by their Slaues and Seruants, or any other that would abuſe them. In this ſort ſhe reuenged her Sexe, and remained Gouerneſſe of all *Lydia*.

CHAP. XX.

A notable ſleight or Stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in ſingle Combate with Xanthius, Lord of the Beotians.

HE *Athenians* being in controuerſie with the *Beotians*, concerning their Confines and Limitations, and could haue no agreement together: after they had fought many battailes, both ſides concluded, that their Princes combatting body to body; ſhould ceaſe all the difference, and the Conquerour to enioy the Landes that were in controuerſie. *Xanthius* was then Gouernour of the *Beotians*, a man verie valiant, and well experienced in Armes: and *Thimetes* ruled the *Athenians*, a man more apt for matters of peace, then any way diſpoſed to Warre. Yet being deſirous of his Countries Welfare, though himſelfe refuſed the Combate: hee proclaimed by the ſound of Trumper,

Diſcord betweene the *Athenians* and *Beotians* about their lands.

The difference betweene the two Gouernours.

pect, that whosoeuer had the courage to fight against *Xanthius*, he would surrender the principalitie of *Athens* vnto his good successe. Which being vnderstood by *Melanthus*, a man of doubtlesse Spirit: he accepted the Combate, and the day being come whereon it was to bee performed; they both entred the Lists, and began to declare their manhood each against the other. But *Melanthus* finding *Xanthius* to bee ouerstrong and hardy for him: deuised a suddaine shift to help himselfe withall, said: *I maruaile thou camest not alone into the fielde, according to our compact, but hast brought another to helpe thee? Xanthius* crediting the words of *Melanthus*, turned his face, to see who durst offer him such an iniurie to his reputation: in which little space, *Melanthus* (taking aduantage therof) gaue him a great stroke with his Cemitarie, which cleauing his head, caused him instantly to fall down dead in the fielde. By this meanes hee got the Empire of the *Athenians*, who (in memory of his Act) instituted certaine Feasts, that lasted for foure whole daies together, which they called *Apathenores*, or *Apatenores*, that is to say, of fraud and deceit.

An ingenious stratagem to ouer-reach an enemy.

Feastes of Fraude.

CHAP. XXI.

The politique deuise of Anaximenes, of Lampsacum, which he vsed to Alexander the Great, for the safety and freedom of his Countrey.

Alexanders cruell intent against the Subiects of *Darius*.

*A Towne by *Hellespont*, on the coast of *Asia*.

ALexander the Great, hauing vanquished *Darius*, and ouerthrowne all his countries: determined to reuenge himselfe on the Inhabitants, that had giuen ayde to *Darius* against him. Which when the people of *Lamsacum* heard, not knowing what councell to take against the anger of *Alexander*: concluded in the end, to send *Anaximenes* on Ambassage to him, who formerly had beene well knowne to *Phillip*, *Alexanders* Father, & also himselfe. He had commission, to appease his fury by all the best meanes he could deuise, as also to craue pardon of him in their behalfe, for whatsoeuer offences they had committed against him. *Alexander* hearing of his comming, began to consider with himselfe, wherfore *Anaximenes* was thus sent vnto him: and therupon, that he might haue a iust and lawfull excuse, to refuse all grace and fauour; he sollemnely sware an oath, not to graunt any thing that *Anaximenes* desired. This likewise came to the eares of *Anaximenes*, a Man of prompt, ready, and dexterious capacity; who as readily bethought him of a subtile inuention, to crosse the inconuenience purposed by the King, and as his refusall should be rash and peremptory, euen so would he meete with him, by applying a contrary sense in wordes, to the true intent of his Embassie. Beeing brought before *Alexander*, hee humbly declared the cause of his comming, and to desire an especiall fauour of him. Which was, to destroy and ruinate the Citty of *Lampsacum*, from the toppe to the bottome, and to make publique sale of all, as well Cittizens, as other men, Women and Children. When *Alexander* had heard the Ambassadors request, deliuered with such earnestnesse of spirit: hee qualified his intended rage, perceiuing that (against his will) he must needs be charitable, and maintaine his owne oath, and so pardoned the people of *Lampsacū*. Thus *Anaximenes*, by wisedome and good discretion, saued his Country worthily, and was most honourably receiued by his fellow Cittizens at his returne: and so long as he liued afterward, was iustly reuerenced of them all, as the sole preseruer of them and theirs.

Alexander preuented in his owne bloody purpose by *Anaximenes*.

Wisedome doth easily foresee and preuent the greatest dangers.

Alexander conquered very honourably by *Anaximenes*.

CHAP. XXII.

An excellent example of faithlesse and double dealing, in a Wife towards her Husband: Approoued by the memorable Historie, of Canarus the honourable Celtique Gaule, and Erippe the Mylesian, Wife to Xanthius.

After

Read *Parthenius Niceanus*, a learned *Greek* Author.

AFter that the *Gaules* had trauerſed thorow *Italy*, *Pannonia*, and *Greece*; they came to *Ionia*, a Prouince of *Aſia*, ſcituate on the Sea, which they likewiſe ranaged, robbing and pilling there many Cities and Townes. It hapned, that in the yeare of our ſaluation, 300. the ſacrifices of *Ceres*, called *Theſmophories*, were celebrated in the Citie of * *Miletum*: the wiues and women being then aſſembled in the Temple, ſom little diſtance off from the Citty. During the Feaſt time, a troupe of *Gauls* came running vpon the vnprouided *Myleſians*, and caried their wiues away with them: the moſt part whereof were ſoone after redeemed, by payment of great ſums of Mony for them. But ſome of thoſe men that belonged to *Celtique Gaule*, would not part with their prizes of Weomen: but led them thence into their owne Countrey, and brought them to familiar conuerſation with them. Among theſe thus conducted thence, was a moſt faire young Lady, named *Erippe*, wife to one *Xanthus*, a man of Noble birth, and one of the worthieſt perſons in the whole Country. She had left a young Son of hers, aged about two yeares, with his father at *Myletum*, who was vtterly comfortleſſe and deſolate, for the loſſe of his faire wife, whom he loued moſt intirely, & ſold the moſt part of al his goods, conuerting them into a great ſumme of Gold and Siluer, wherewith he betook himſelfe to trauaile, in hope to recouer againe ſo deare a loſſe. Being ſhipt to Sea, he firſt came into *Italy*; where hee was knowne by ſome that were kinde well-willers to him. From thence, accompanied with ſome of thoſe friends, he went to *Marſeilles*, and then into *Celtique Gaule*, directly to the houſe of him that had his wife; who was one of the greateſt Lords in the Country, named *Canarus*, and whoſe ſeruants (according to the gracious cuſtom of the country) granted him friendly entertainement.

So ſoone as he was entred into the Houſe, he beheld his Wife, and ſhe her Husband; who ran and embraced each other very louingly, ſhe conducting him further into her Chamber. When the Lord of the houſe was come, *Erippe* acquainted him with the arriuall of her Husband, that he had trauailed thither for her ſake, and to pay her ranſome: which he no way gaine-ſaide, but commended the louing mind of *Xanthus*, that he wold oppoſe his life to ſuch dangers, both by Sea & Land, and make ſo long a iourney to recouer his wife. So, calling his friendes together, he gaue him very magnificent entertainment: cauſing *Erippe* to lodge with *Xanthus* all the feſting time; for it was an anciẽt cuſtom obſerued among them, to eate their refections couched on their beds. Afterward, he demaunded of him, what ſum of Mony hee had brought for her ranſome? Whereto *Xanthus* replyed; That the vttermoſt he could make, was 1000. Crownes. The *Gaule* then commanded him, to make foure parts of the ſumme; and to take three of them for his Wife and Son, and to leaue him the fourth part, as the ranſom for his wife: wherewith the *Myleſian* was wonderfully contented, and returned him many heartie thankes. But *Erippe* ſleeping that night with *Xanthus*; was greatly offended with him, and vſed theſe words vnto him, in meere extreamity of anger. *Alas my husband and friend, I am ſorry for the anſwere which you haue made to my Lord, becauſe you haue not ſo much Mony to pay him, as you promiſed, and he expected. It is impoſſible that you ſhould me thence with ye, for I perceiue we are both vtterly vndone, except you keep your word with him. Miſerable that I am, would it had pleaſed the Goddes, that you had not beene ſo liberall of your tongue. Good Wife* (anſwered *Xanthus*) *take you no care, for al things wil go well with vs, and now I wil diſcouer the truth vnto ye. I haue a thouſand Crownes more, beſide them promiſed to the Lord, which are ſowed vp in the ſhooes of my followers and friends. For I did perſwade my ſelfe, not to finde a Barbarian,* (ſo did the Greekes vſe to call all other nations) *ſo gentle and benigne as this man hath declared himſelfe, and that hee would demaund a much greater ranſome.*

Erippe committed this ſecret to memory, & the day following, ſo ſoone as ſhe was riſen out of her bed; ſhee went to find *Canarus*, ſpeaking to him in this maner. *My Lord, ſo pleaſe you to credit me, I haue this night vnderſtood good tidings for you: For I haue ſo cunningly wormed my*

* A Towne in the borders of *Ionia* and *Caria*.

An ancient cuſtome obſerued among the *Gaules*.

The *Gaules* carrie away with them the *Myleſian* weomen.

Extraordinary courteſie in *Canarus* the *Gaule*.

Xanthus, a man of great honour in *Miletum*.

The words of *Erippe* to her Husband.

Xanthus traualeth, to recouer againe his loſt wife.

The anſwere of *Xanthus* to his wife, wher by ſhe betrayed him.

The meeting of *Xanthus* with his wife *Erippe*.

The falſhood and treachery in a ſuppoſed louing wife to her husband.

husband in the noſe; that he hath diſcouered vnto me, more Mony then hee acquainted you withall: as namelie, a thouſand crownes, ſowed vp in the ſhooes of his friends and followers. Wherein he hath villainouſly lyed to you, and mocked you heere in your own country and houſe, where you haue ſo honourably entreated and vſed him. Breake then your word with him, and take poſſeſſion of all his Mony and furniſhment; yea, kill him, for you haue iuſt occaſion ſo to do. And for mine owne part, I moſt earneſtly deſire ye to doe it, becauſe you ſhall therein performe the greateſt good (beyond all thinges elſe) that can happen vnto me: for I beare him deadly hatred, and neither Country, or Child, do I affect or couet ſo much, as I am deſirous of your company, and with you to finiſh the remainder of my dayes.

Moſt vile and wickedſpeeches in a wife.

Cauarus was greatly amazed at the words of this Woman, whom now he began to hate, and purpoſed to puniſh, as her double dealing and villainy iuſtlie deſerued. When *Xanthus* prepared himſelfe to depart thence, the honourable minded *Celte*, louingly graunted him leaue and licence ſo to do; both for his returne home to *Ionia*, and to take his wife *Erippe* along with. But to expreſſe his kindneſſe the more, he called diuers of his friends and ſeruants, purpoſing to accompany them ſo farre as the Mountains, where ended the Confines of *Celtique Gaule*. Being come thither, he ſaid, that there he would offer ſacrifice to the Gods, before they parted from each other; which was much liked by all the company, who inſtantly prouided a very low Altar, and preſented a Lamb, or ſom other beaſt for the oblation, bound in due manner for ſtarting away. Neuertheleſſe, he commaunded *Erippe* to hold it faſt, whereto ſhee declared her ſelfe very obedient. Then, exalting his Courtlax to ſtrike the ſtroke; in ſtead of letting it fall on the beaſt, he gaue it full ſtrength on the necke of *Myleſian Erippe*, ſo that her head fell forthwith from her ſhoulders. *Xanthus* was not a little aſtoniſhed, when he beheld the *Celt* thus to handle ſo bright a beauty; and now hee had no hope of his owne life, beſide the loſſe of all his Mony, being thus alone in a ſtrange Country, and in the power of a barbarous Man, who had committed ſuch an inhumaine act. But he found himſelfe deceiued, for the iuſt *Gaule*, not onely comforted him with moſt kinde words: but alſo related the double dealing, and wicked treaſon of his Wife towards him. And (quoth he) till thus ſhe would haue betrayed ſo louing a Huſband, I neuer conceiued a bad thought of her: but ſo vile a Wife deſerued not to liue with a man of ſuch vertue. Here, take all the Coyne thou broughteſt hither for me, bear it all hence with thee, for I will not haue one farthing of thee. And if thou ſtand any way in neede of me; do but ſpeake the word, & no ſpare ſhall be made, of whatſoeuer thou wilt deſire. Depart (when thou pleaſeſt) towards *Ionia*, and let the *Myleſians* vnderſtand, the deſerued chaſtiſement of thy diſloyall wife, to remaine as an example for all wiues to their husbands. Let thē alſo know, that the *Gauls* (whom you vſe to tearm *Barbarians*) are courteous: and do exerciſe no cruelty, except it bee on Women of ſuch wicked minds.

Cauarus ceaſeth to loue *Erippe*, and intendeth iuſt punniſhment for her double dealing.

Cauarus offereth ſacrifice, before his departing from *Xanthus*.

The death of *Erippe* for her falſhood.

The extraordinary loue and friendſhip of *Cauarus* extended toward *Xanthus*, and their courteous parting.

CHAP. XXIII.

The reuolt and rebellion of the firſt Slaues: And of Drimacus, a valiant Man, who was their Captaine.

THe firſt men that bought any Slaues, were they of the Iſle *Chios*, who vſing them very inhumainely: gaue them occaſion to reuolt from them, and hauing created a valiant man to bee their Captaine named *Drimacus*, they went to liue in craggy and ſtony Mountaines, for their better ſecuritie againſt their Maiſters; deſcending thence oftentimes vpon them, to work what villainies themſelues pleaſed, bringing pillage and booties daily from them. The Inhabitants of *Chios* had many battailes with them, but perceiuing it impoſſible to ouercome them: they tooke a truce for a certaine time with them, during which ceſſation of warre, *Drimacus* gaue aſſurance by hoſtages on eyther ſide, and came to parle with them in this manner as followeth.

The men of *Chios* bought the firſt Slaues.

Truce taken with the Slaues for a limited time.

Yon men of *Chios*, I haue determined for your greater good, that for the time

The Oration of *Drimacus* to the men of *Chios*.

time hereafter, there ſhall be no more war or incurſions among vs: prouided, that on your part, there be no default made of preſeruing our peace. And for this cauſe I am come hither on the behalfe of our whole Army, that haue reuolted and rebelled againſt you, only through the intollerable oppreſſions which you enforced them to ſuffer. I ſay to you, in name of them all, that if you will permit the Inhabitants of this Country, to furniſh vs with neceſſarie foode, paying iuſtly and truly for all ſuch proviſion: we will ceaſe our wonted rauages and Theſts, and make an inuiolable League of peace with you. And as an earneſt or honeſt confirmation of my words; I will leaue this Ring with you, and while you keepe it, I will not at any time hereafter, either buy or receiue any Slaue or Seruant, that ſhall flye away from you, till I haue firſt vnderſtood the cauſe of his departure. If then it ſhall appeare vnto me, that hee hath been miſintreated by you, beyond meaſure or ability of ſufferance: you muſt then (of neceſſity) yeelde conſent, that he ſhall remaine among vs. But if I perceiue that hee hath no iuſt reaſon to forſake your ſeruice: I will not onelie ſeuerely puniſh him, but will ſend him alſo backe againe to his Maiſter. Theſe conditions duely conſidered on: you are freely deliuered from our moleſtations, and we fully ſatisfied in all our requeſts.

Drimacus deliuereth them his Ring, as a confirmation of his promiſe

A league of peace eſtabliſhed firmely betweene them.

The Inhabitants of *Chios*, hauing heard the honeſt demaunds of *Drimacus*: concluded to accept peace, on the forenamed conditions, by meanes whereof, they were neuer afterward aſſayled by the Slaues, but liued ſecure from all theſts and incurſions. Neither did any Slaue (at any time) flye from his Maiſter: for they ſtood more in fear of *Drimachus* his ſeuerity, then the very hardeſt vſage, that could be inflicted vpon them by their Maiſters.

This peace continued for many yeares, and *Drimacus* being growne very aged, his body alſo (by reaſon of many woundes formerly receiued) ſo diſabled, that he found himſelfe vncapable, of longer gouerning ſuch an vnruly Armie: on a day, he called a young man aſide, whom he earneſtly affected, and entreated him to cut off his head, and carry it to the men of *Chios*, for to hee ſhould bee well recompenced and rewarded by the deede; becauſe it would be moſt pleaſing to them of *Chios*, and a fauour very acceptable to himſelfe, dying by the hand of his deareſt friend. He vrged moreouer, that he could not die at a more conuenient time: becauſe the ouer-plus of his yeares were irkeſome to him; and his daies full of paine and anguiſh, which he was no way able to endure.

Drimacus growing aged & weake, deſireth to liue no longer.

This ſtrange motion of *Drimacus*, could not (at the firſt mouing) winne any place, or induce the young man to ſo bloody an enterpriſe: as well, becauſe he imagined, that *Drimacus* vſed theſe ſpeeches but to try him, as alſo in regard that his heart would not ſerue him, to doe a deed ſo harſh and vnnaturall, becauſe hee ſtood obliged to him by infinite fauours. Neuertheleſſe, ſo often and earneſt were his ſollicitations, praying and re praying him (numberleſſe times) to kill him, putting the weapon in his hand, and laying downe his head to endure the ſtroake: that the young man at length (ſeeing *Drimacus* ſo conſtant in his deliberation, and his importunities no way to bee auoyded) ſmote of his head from his Shoulders, and hauing giuen buriall to the body, he deliuered the head to the Men of *Chios*. Whereat the people were exceedingly ioyfull, applauding and clapping their handes iocondly, for deliuerance from ſo great an enemy. And as a deſerued recompence, they gaue manumiſſion and liberty to him that had done the deed, with a very bountifull ſumme of Mony beſide.

Good natures are not eaſily won to graunt vnnaturall requeſts.

The young man ſmote off the head of *Drimacus*, and gaue it to the men of *Chios*.

The vſe of Slaues in *Greece*, was very great in elder times: as *Timotheus* writeth, that the *Corinthians* had aboue four hundred thouſand Slaues. And *Eteſicles* ſaith in his Hiſtories, that in the Region of *Attica*, a deſcription was made of ſuch men; and the number was found to conſiſt, of foure hundred and thirtie thouſand Slaues. *Zenophon* declareth, that *Nicias*, the Sonne of *Niceratus*, had a thouſand Slaues alone to himſelfe, which he gaue vnto *Soſcius*, a man of *Thrace*, to ſet in his Mines, for finding the veines of Metrals. *Ariſtotle* hath recorded, that the *Ægenites* hadde more then foure hundred thouſand

Timotheus of the *Corinthians* Slaues.

Eteſicles in Hiſt.

Ariſt. in lib. 7. Cap. 4. de Mirab.

Slaues: which number conferred with them of the *Romaines*, would ſeeme but ſmall: for ſome one *Romaine* had tenne thouſand, and ſome other 20000.

CHAP. XXIIII.

At what time Cookes (in daies of Antiquity) began to grow in eſtimation. Who were the firſt that began to vſe multiplicity of meates: And of many Gurmands and groſſe feeders.

The people of *Aſia* were the firſt that liued out of order in diet.

THE people of *Aſia* were the firſt, that began to liue void of meaſure, and without any diſcretion: which plague (as *Titus Liuius* declareth) entred into *Rome*, after the victory or Conqueſt of *Aſia*, and then, Cooks, whom the men of precedent & auncient times, held to bee as moſt vile and vnneceſſary Seruants, beganne to grow in ſome reputation, and the profeſſion which formerly was reputed odious, began to be eſteemed an honourable art. The care and endeuour whereof, conſiſted altogether, in ſeeking (euery where) appetites for the belly, and what quality of viands might be ſwallowed vp in gurmandiſe. *Apitius* the Romaine, vſurped the glory of this occupation, or beyond all other in his daies, according as *Seneca* recounteth, ſaying. *Apitius liued in our time, who taught publikely, the ſcience of the Kitchin in that Citty, where Philoſophers formerly had expelled it thence, as the only corruption of youth; and (by his diſcipline) infected the world, the end whereof was this. When he had ſpent a thouſand Seſtertiaes on a Kitchin Dinner, and afterward robd the publike purſſe, with the taxations of the Capitole, and in gifts to Princes: he ſaw himſelfe preſſed with debts, ſo that being conſtrained to caſt ouer his accounts; that (al his debts deducted) there remained no more of his owne proper wealth, then an hundred Seſtertiaes. Afterward, his credit not ſeruing to borrow an hundred Seſtertiaes, and he ready to ſterue with hunger, he dyed, by poyſoning himſelfe. Plinie* called him; *The bottomleſſe Gulfe of all prodigality and waſtfull ſpenders.*

Apitius the Romaine, famous for Gluttony. *Seneca in Lib. de Conſolat. ad Albin.*

Read *Dion Niceus* in the life of *Tiberius*

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

One, named *Archiſtratus*, trauailed (very diligently) al Lands & Countries, and croſſed the Seas, expreſſely, and to no other end, but to find out all voluptuous fare, and whatſoeuer might concerne exceeſſe in feeding. In his * *Gaſtrologie*, he writeth downe the places, where all the beſt viands are to be had: euen with no leſſe ſtudy and dilligence, then they that make deſcription of the World, and of their Nauigations. Finally, the diuerſity of meates grew to ſuch encreaſe, and ſo many Inſtruments were found out for the belly: that Law and order enforced reſtraint, of ſuperfluous prouiſion in the Kitchin. Notwithſtanding all which, theſe daies of ours, do ſurpaſſe (beyond meaſure) the great pomps and magnificent Feaſts of former ages, when there were diuilliſhly (if I durſt ſay ſo) inuented; ſo manie Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Ceremonies of the Table, ſuch ſtore of ſeruices, different and diſguiſed meats: that the moſt ſumptuous banquets of the *Aſians*, *Medes*. *Sirabites*, *Tarontines*, yea, of *Sardanapalus*, *Xerxes*, *Claudius*, *Tiberius*, *Vitellius*, and *Heliogabalus*, who (as all Hiſtorians doe auouch) exceeding all other Nations in the World, in coſtly preparations for the mouth; yet are valued as nothing, to the pride and prodigalitie of Feaſtes now-adaies vſed: in regard whereof, the very greateſt banquets, may ſtand as ſmall Breake-feaſts or collations, if they were to bee compared with ours.

Archeſtratus the belly trauailer.

* The Art of Gourmandiſe

The exceſſe of theſe times beyond all antiquity.

Nations and men of greateſt diſorder in diet.

For, we ſtand not only, on the delicacy of eating and drinking; but the multiplicity of meats, euen in extremity of aboundance, able to tire and wearie * *Milo* the *Crotonian*, who at one Supper, did eate vp thirty Loaues of Bread, beſide all his other meates. Or *Fagonius*, who at the Table of *Aurelianus* the Emperor, deuoured a whole wilde Boare at a meale, beſide an hundred Loaues of Bread, and dranke afterward (with a kinde of Pepper or Powder) more then was imagined a whale could do. Moreouer, ſuch feaſts as are now vſed, would be itkſome to *Albinus*, who (at one ſupper) did eate vp an hundred Fiſhes, ten Mellones, fiue hundred Figs, and three hundred Oyſters. Alſo, to *Maximinus* the Emperor, who in one day, did eate vp foure hundred pound of Fleſh, and dranke

* Who ſlew a Bull with his bare hand, caried him away on his ſhoulders, and the ſame day did eat him vp euery morſell.

Fagonius the great feeder.

Albinus.

Maximinus the Emperor.

Geta the Emperor. *Alexand. Neapolit in Lib. 5. Cap. 21.*

dranke the eight part of a Tun of wine. And *Geta*, another Emperour, who ſate at the Table three daies togerher, without riſing, and all his meats were ſerued in according to the order of the Alphabet. To wit, ſuch whoſe names began with each Letter of the Alphabet; as for example, the Letter P. Pullets, Partriges, Phesants, Porke, Pyes, Plouers, &c. and ſo of the other. Seeing then that God and nature hath ordained, that we ſhould eat and drink, for the maintenance of health & ſtrength: what more hurtful and dangerous thing can we do, then to fill the belly with ſuch a number of meats, arteficially compoſed, and to take more then nature can carry. In the doing wherof, we diſtemper our bodies with incurable diſeaſes, and by that meanes, procure the ſhortning of our daies.

Meats ſerued into the Table, according to the order of the Alphabet.

CHAP. XXV.

Of thoſe cauſes, wherby the life time of men or women, are lengthned or ſhortned.

The Ayre is the operatiue and inductiue inſtrument of life.

THe naturall cauſe, of the length or breuitie of mans life, according to the iudgment of ſom Philoſophers, is the ayre: becauſe wee know & perceiue it to be the operatiue and inductiue Inſtrument, of the vertue of life. Wherfore, according to the proportion of the ſpirit or ayre; life it ſelfe is alſo ſquared and proportioned. For, when it is ouer-little; then (by weakenes) it abridgeth life, as in mellancholy bodies. And when it is ouer abounda nt: it quencheth heat by blowing, as we ſee the wind to extinguiſh a Torch or Candle: if it be groſſe and thicke, certainely it hindereth the operations of the vitall vertues. Likewiſe, when it is ouer-thin or ſlender, then the party breatheth and reſpireth very eaſily. Now, the vndoubted concluſion of *Ariſtotle*, & the whole Schoole of other Philoſophers, is: that heate and humidity are the beginners and cauſes of long life in men. That it muſt needes bee ſo, for ſo long time as heate can continue with moyſture: it neyther conſumeth nor corrupteth; and ſo long as moyſture can be brought and conuerted by the heat; ſo long (doubtleſſe) the life of euery mortall body laſteth. The which meaſure conſiſteth principally in three things: to wit, in the quantity; ſecondly, in the quality of the ſelfeſame heat and moiſture; and thirdly, in the quality of the members and veſſels, wherein they work together, as more amply is declared by *Ariſtotle*, in his Booke of life and death.

The proportion of life anſwerable to the proportion of Ayre.

Heate and moiſture the beginning & cauſes of long life.

Three things wherein the meaſure chiefly conſiſteth.

Ariſt. in Lib. de Mors et vita.

When then in the body of a Man, any diſcordance is found, or that the heate and drineſſe deuideth it ſelfe, from this radicall moyſture, or conſumeth or corrupteth: it followeth then neceſſarilie, that the life of the man muſt needes be ſhortned. And this diuiſion or depraua tion commeth by the humor of diuers cauſes, according to the Writings of Phiſitions, and naturall Philoſophers. And yet notwithſtanding, we may note this moſt eaſily in Princes, who imagin themſelues to bee as good Maiſters and Commaunders of their ſtomackes and bellies, as of all their Subiects. Euerie day, and in all places, they feed only on precious delicates, and ſauoury meats, diuerſly prepared, & drink diuers kinds of Wines. Now, becauſe a man eateth in much greater quantity, and feedeth beyond meaſure on meates, which hee finderh to bee ſauoury and delicate; it neceſſarily enſueth, that by this diuerſity of viands, the ſtomack muſt needs be grieued. For by this kind of feeding, the appetite looſeth it ſelfe, ventoſities blow vp the belly, trembling of the members are occaſioned, Feauers engendred, and in the end death entreth. For this cauſe was it, that *Ariſtotle* ſaid. *There is not any thing, that more prolongeth the life of man; then to ſhun the ſuperfluitie of meats. And nothing more ſhortneth life, then to adde meate to meate, and continue at banquets. A man ſhould eate to liue, and not liue to eate.* *Hippocrates* kept ſo good a dyet, that hee could well endure the weakneſſe of his body: affecting rather to liue weake and leane, then to dye fat and fulſome.

The depraua tion happeneth by diuerſity of cauſes.

An obſeruation concerning Princes.

The dangers enſuing by curioſity in diet.

Ariſt. vbi ſupra.

Hippocrates his care of dyet.

Men then, but Princes eſpecially, ſhold not place their affection on eating and drinking; as did the Emperour *Galien*, who when he brought him tidings, that the *Romaine* people were much diſpleaſed, becauſe his Father *Valerianus* was

Princes ſhold not delight in groſſe feeding.

Captaine to the *Parthians*: turned himſelfe to them that ſtood about him, ſaying. *How now? Haue wee nothing to dine withall?* Oh abhominable anſwere. The ſame gurmand Emperour, being plunged in numberleſſe voluptuous diſſolutions (for from the paunch, comes your daunce, according to the common Prouerb) when newes were brought him, that *Ægypt* was reuolted againſt him. *What* (quoth he) *ſhal we ſpread our Table-cloths no more in Ægypt?* He was ſo drowned in belly-delights, as hee cared for nothing elſe, but to make good cheare, and feed his owne guts, being wholly addicted to drunkenneſſe. Moreouer, he ſuffered weomen (before his face) to gouerne moſt ignominiouſly the Empire. And theſe thinges were the cauſe, that the *Romaine* Empire was inuaded by thirty Tyrants, and that their owne people murdred them.

The Emperor *Galien* minded nothing more then his belly.

The Romaine Empire inuaded by thirty Tyrants.

I will conclude this Chapter, with thoſe reaſons deliuered by *Seneca*, concerning the ſhortneſſe of humaine life. Phiſitions (ſaith he) cry out, that life is ſhort, and their Art long. One complaineth, that nature hath granted beaſtes, to liue fiue or ten ages; & to men, born for many great matters, a ſhort tearme of life is ordained. We haue no long date of time, and yet we looſe the moſt part of it, for life were long enough, if it might all be wel imployed. But when it glides away by acceſſe & negligence, and no good action is performed therein: at length, by conſtraint of the lateſt neceſſity, if we haue not learned how to walke, wee ſhall feele the payment for what is paſt. For life is not made ſhort to vs, but we haue made it ſo our ſelues; and wee are not needy, but prodigall thereof. Like as magnificent and royall riches, comming into a bad Maiſters managing, are ſuddenly waſted and conſumed, and ſmal ſtore amounteth to infinites, being in the cuſtody of a diſcreet Guardian: euen ſo the age of man is of long continuance, to him that is a good diſpoſer thereof. Wherefore then ſhold we make any complaint againſt nature, who hath carried her ſelfe louinglie on mens behalfe? Life is long enough, if thou know how to vſe it.

Seneca writing to *Paulinus*, concerning the breuity of mans life.

Life is not ſhort to men, but they make it ſhort to themſelues

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Lawes and Ordinances, appointed by our Auncients, for the cutting off of exceſſe in feeding, and ſuperfluities of wearing Garments.

IT is no matter to bee meruailed at, if our fore fathers in the firſt Age liued ſo long: for they fed on the fruits of the Earth, and contented themſelues with very ſparing dyet. But after that inordinate appetite, to feede and drinke (beyond compaſſe or meaſure) came into vſe and frequentation: the life-time of men began to diminiſh, and not to containe a quarter of the former ſpace. Which ſome wiſe and excellent men (among thoſe reuerend Auncients) wel obſeruing: they eſtabliſhed good and wholeſome Lawes to moderate the ſuperfluity of groſſe feeding. *C. Fannius*, the *Romain* Conſul, ordained by a Law, which was receiued and embraced before the third *Punick* warre, in the yeare twenty two, after the Law *Orchia*: that no Romaine ſhould vſe at any meale, any other Foule or Bird, then a Hen, not fatted (as in theſe daies, pulling out their eies to fatten their bodies, and cooping vp Geeſe in Pens, to make them fat.) Alſo, that in their banquets, no exceſſe or diſſolution ſhold abound: except in the time of the * *Saturnalia*, and the Playes of the *Romaines*. Whoſoeuer did other-wiſe, was ſure to bee mulckt at a great payment.

Difference betweene the diet of our fore-fathers of the firſt age, and ours.

Macrobius. Saturninus in Lib. 3. Cap 17.

*. Feeſts kept in December, in the honour of *Saturnus*.

The occaſion of this Law (as *Sammonicus Serenus* ſaith) was, in regard that the *Romaine* Common-wealth endured great damages, only thorow the exceſſe of Feaſts and banquets: And it grew to ſuch extreamity among them, that many Sons and Daughters of free condition, luſting after lickoriſh deſire of gurmandiſe; would thereby make ſale both of their liberty and honeſty. Beſide, too many of the *Romaine* people, when their heades were much diſtempered with wine:

Sammonicus Serenus, for the reaſon of this Law.

wine: would preſume in to the Senate, and being drunk, deliuer then their opinions, in matters concerning the weal-publike. The ſeuerity of this Law, went beyonde that of *Orchia*, in that by the precedent; the number of Banquets only were reſtrained, accordingly it was permitted to euery man, to ſpend his goods among a few people. But this Law, tearmed *Fannia*, limited the meaſure of expences. The Law *Didia*, made on the ſame occaſion eighteene yeares after; and the *Licinia*, made by *P. Licinius Craſſus* the Rich, followed it. Afterward, that of *Cornelia*, ſo tearmed of *Cornelius Sylla* the Dictator, and cauſed it to be put into execution. Yet in theſe there was no prohibition for the magnificence of Banquets, nor any certaine rule eſtabliſhed: but all kinds of victuals were put to a taxation, and vnder-prized; which ſauoured not of any good care, for by this meanes, men were incited to buy great quantities of meates, and ſo gaue themſelues the more to gluttony, though their faculties were neuer ſo great or vnable. *Sylla* being dead, the Conſull *Lepidus* made another Law, which was called *Cibaria*, that is to ſay, appertaining to food.

Difference betweene this Law, and that of *Orchia*.

Of the Lawes *Didia*, *Licinia*, and *Cornelia*, and the makers of them.

The Law *Cibaria* made by the Conſull *Lepidus*.

The excellent wiſe man *Phocion*, enſtructed his Son, to liue ſobetlie, conſidering that nature is contented with little: but if ſhe be ouer-charged with too many meates; paine and annoyance is euermore ready at hand. As daily wee may obſerue in our fields, where a horſe is at continuall feeding, without any other exerciſe or imployment; which encreaſeth in him diuerſity of noyſome diſeaſes. Our venerable Ancients, and ſome great perſonages among them, made as great ordinances and conſtitutions, concerning the ſuperfluitie of Habits and Garments, as for meates. *Ælianus* ſaith, that the *Lacedemonians* did not onely make Lawes againſt the exceſſe of wearing Garments: but alſo commandement was giuen to the *Ephori* (Magiſtrates of *Lacedemon*) to haue daily an eye, on the manner of the Citizens garments; and puniſh rigorouſly (by the Lawe) ſuch as were noted, to wear any thing vnbeſeeming, or repugnant to modeſt ornament and clothing. *Solon*, the *Athenian* Law-maker, prohibited by Lawe, that no perſon ſhould haue any more then three Garments. *Dyoniſius*, the younger *Syracuſane*, puniſhed all delinquents in this caſe, verie grieuouſly: and yet notwithſtanding, he would pardon all ſuch as were Theeues and ſtealers of Garments; to the end, that the *Syracuſanes* might the more eaſily abſtaine from the ſuperfluity of them.

Stobeus in Serm. 17.

Lawes againſt the ſuperfluity of Garments.

Aelianus in Lib. 14. The *Lacedemonians* care of their Citizens apparell.

Solons Law for apparell.

Alexander Alexandrinus in Lib. 5. *Cap* 18.

Tiberius Cæſar inhibited the wearing of Garments of Silke. *Statilius*, and *L. Libonius* beeing Conſuls; *Alexander Seuerus*, *Cæſar*, would not permit his Wife to weare any richer Ornaments, or any other Iewelles, then the other Ladies did. And when any pretious Stones or Iewels were giuen her: hee cauſed them to bee ſold, or elſe to bee placed in Temples, for the better beautifying of them, ſaying; *It is not my mind; that any example of ſuperfluitie or expence, ſhall be deriued from my Wife. Ioannes Ducas*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, beholding the Riches of the *Romaine* Citizens, to be waſted and ſpent on ſtrange Silken Garments, faſhioned after the manner of the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Italians*, by ingenious art and cunning: ordained by an eſpeciall Edict, that not any of his Subiects, of what eſtate or quality ſoeuer, ſhould weare any ſuch Habits; on paine to bee noted of infamy, and obſerued the ſame in himſelfe, and familie. Commaunding them further, to content themſelues with ſuch Garments, as the Romaine Prouinces had formerly made vſe of, and were framed by their owne handes. *Lewes* the Debonnaire, Emperour and King of *France*, Sonne to Great *Charlemaigne*, tooke away the wearing of Golde and Silk from his Souldiors, and if he eſpied any one in his Armie, to haue a Silken Garment, or any Gold embelliſhed on it; he would ſay vnto him. *Thou art the verieſt Foole among all Mortals. Is it not ſufficient for thee to dye; except thou leaue ſuch a ſpoile to the Enemy, to make him ſo rich therby, that (in the end) he ſhal the more eaſily, and at his owne pleaſure, not onely be able to reſiſt, but alſo to conquer vs?*

Dion in the life of *Tiberius Cæſar*.

Baptiſta Fulgoſo in Lib. 1. *ca.* 4

John Ducas, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

Read the Chronicles of *Conſtantinople*, where more is to be obſerued of this famous example.

Lewes the meeke, Emperor and K. of *France*, his words to his Souldiors.

In a Synode of many Biſhoppes, which was helde at *Aix la Chapelle* in *Germanie*, it was decreed, and enioyned to all Byſhoppes, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, of what order or decree ſoeuer; to weare any ſumptuous habite, as

This was in the yeare of Chriſt. 820.

A decree concerning Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

of Silke, or Scarlet, or to wear any precious Stones on their fingers, as Diamonds, Rubies, Topazes, Saphires, or Emeralds, ſet in Rings of Gold: except when they were ſacrificing to God at the Altar.

The vnruly and miſgouerned world wherein we now liue, not able to yeeld any diſtinguiſhing of perſons.

If all theſe honeſt minded people, were liuing now in theſe times; I beleeue, they would bluſh (with meere conceite of ſhame) to ſee vs liue in ſuch an vnruly World, euen from the greateſt to the leaſt, and the exceſſiue liberty of the meaner people, without any exception in degree; to weare ſuch rich garments, Imbroydered with Veluet, in a thouſand iagges and cuts, and lacing their Cloakes, Doublets, and Hoſe, with paſſement laces of fine Gold. So that now-adaies, we can hardly know a great Lord, Duke, or Earle, from a common Souldiour, or ſome other meaner man, that hath no greater Wealth, then his Cloake and Sword, and with them to giue his attendance too. And if we ſpeak of the habite of one man only; the King himſelfe hardly weareth any fairer, then ordinarily doth a ſilly Courtier. Which ought not to bee ſo permitted, for it is eaſie to iudge, that ſuch ouer-braue new vpſtarts, not hauing wherwithal to furniſh their expences: this coſt muſt needs be ſupplyed by vnlawfull means. Or elſe, they are tearmed * *Enfans de la matte* (ſo called, becauſe they mate all ſuch as they can cozen or cheate) or Court-Stables, Theeus, Robbers, Murderers, or Ruffians. King *Phillip le Bel*, in the yeare 1294. made an ordinance, for the abridging of ſuperfluities in meats and Garments, which I found among ſome auncient papers of my Predeceſſors, and becauſe it had neuer bin formerly printed: I was the more willing to inſert it heere. To the end, that ſuch as are deſirous of note-worthy obſeruations, might perceiue thereby; how much the prices of thinges are enhaunced, ſince thoſe daies; and how the exceſſe of meates haue alſo encreaſed, to the detriment and ruine of mens bodies. For all that *France* can boaſt of, ſince thoſe times; is only her language, which by little and little) hath greatlie enriched it ſelfe, euen to the bright luſter of perfection: but al good manners are quite out of vſe. Theſe are the verie words of the fore-ſaid ordinance.

A meane Courtier as richly inhabited as the K. himſelfe.

* A Raſcally place in *Paris*, whereat common Gameſters, Cheaters, Conycatchers and Cutpurſes vſually met.

A worthy Ordenance of King *Phillip le Bel*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Ordinance of King Phillip le Bel, *againſt exceſſe and ſuperfluitie in al manner of perſons in the yeare* 1294. *Extracted out of a little Book, in the chamber of Accounts at Paris, the forty foure Leafe.*

NO Cittizen, or Cittizens Wife, ſhall weare any Greene or Gray, neither any Ermines: but ſhall free themſelus from ſuch as they haue, from Eaſter next, within a yeare. And ſhall not weare, or cauſe to be worne, any pretious Stones, neyther any Girdles, adorned with Gold or Pearles.

For Cittizens and Cittizens wiues.

Item, no Clearke, if he be not a Prelate, or eſtabliſhed in a Parſonage, or in ſome dignity; ſhall weare any Greene, Gray, or Furre of Ermines, no, not ſo much as in his hood onely.

For Clearks being no Prelates.

Item, Dukes, Earles, and Barons, of ſixe thouſand pounds yearely Rent, or more: may make foure paires of Roabs yearely, but no more, and as many for their Wiues.

For Dukes, Earles and Barons.

All the Prelates ſhall haue two paire of Roabes only, allowed them for each yeare.

For Prelates.

All Knights ſhall haue but two paire of Roabes onely, yearely, neither by guift, buying, or any other manner.

For Knights.

The Knight that holdeth three thouſand pounds in Lands, or beareth moſt Banners: may haue three pair of Roabs yearely, and no more, and one of thoſe three paires of Roabs, he may make for his Summer wearing.

A Knight of moſt Banners.

No Eſquire ſhal haue aboue two pair of Roabs, either by guiſt, by buying, or in any other manner.

For an Eſquire.

Boyes or Lads, ſhall haue but one paire of Roabes yearely.

For Boyes.

No Gentlewoman, except ſhe bee a *Chaſtellaine*, or Lady of two thouſand pounds in Lands, or more: ſhall haue aboue one paire of Roabs yearely; but if two paire bee permitted her, ſhee muſt not then vſe any more.

For Gentlewomen.

No

For wax Torches.

No Cittizen, or Cittizens wife, neyther any Esquire or Clearke, except hee be in preferment, or in a Parsonage, or in a greater condition, shall wear or carrie any Torch of wax.

Orders for dyet in feeding.

None shall addict themselues to great feeding, but of two meats only, and one kind of fat pottage, without any fraude, and in the least eating, to vse one kinde of meat, and some one other choyse dish. If it be vpon fasting dayes, he may haue two Pottages made with Herings, and two other like Meats. One manner of Flesh, shall also serue for one Dish only, and likewise one kind of fish, without any other fraud. Grosse flesh also shall be accounted for good meats, and we do not allow Cheese for a seruice, except it be made into Paste, or boyled in water.

For fasting dayes.

One manner of flesh in one dish only, and so of fish.

The price of Cloth by the Elle of *Paris*.

It is ordained by our declaration, concerning that which hath beene spoken of Garments, that no Prælates or Barones, how great soeuer the person be, shal haue any Robe belonging to his body, valuing more then 25. *Sols Tournois*, the *Paris* El. The Wiues of Barons also, according to the same rate.

Liueries for Seruants.

Earles and Barons shall giue no Liueries to their followers, to cost more then 18. Sols the *Paris* Ell.

Bannerets & Castillians.

Bannerets and Castillians, shall haue no Garmentes for their bodies, costing more then eighteene Sols the *Paris* Elle, and their Wiues at the same rate; theyr followers at xv. Sols the Elle.

Allowance for Esquires.

Squires, the Sons of Barons, Bannerets, and Castillians, must wear no Robe of greater price, then xv. Sols the Elle of *Paris*.

Liueries for attendant Esquires.

Prelates, Earles, Lordes of Royalties, and Castillians, shall giue no Garments to their Squires, valewing more then seuen or eight Sols *Tournois*, the Elle of *Paris*.

Esquires no household attendants.

Other Squires, that are not household Atendants, but cloth themselues of their owne proper cost and means, shall wear no Garment of more then ten Solles the Elle.

Clearkes and Canons of Cathedrall Churches.

Clearkes, that make robes for themselues, shall weare none to exceede the price of twelue Solles, and sixe Deniers *Tournois*, the Elle. But if they be Canons of a Cathedrall church, of fifteene Sols, and no more.

Cittizens, that may spend the value of two thousand poundes *Tournois*, and aboue, may make Robes of more then xii. Sols, and nine Deniers *Tournois*, the Ell of *Paris*, and their Wiues of 16. Solles at the most.

Cittizens of good valie, and their wiues.

And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vppon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shal pay an 100. poundes *Tournois*, as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds *Tournois*. And Knightes & their followers 25. pounds: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 pounds *Tournois*. And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of *Paris* mony, they shal pay fiue and twentie pounds each man. And if of lesser value, they shal pay an hundred Sols *Tournois*. Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols *Tournois*, and so for others.

Penalties enioyned vpon breach of these Ordinances.

Dukes, Earles &c.

Lords of Royalties.

Knights.

Deanes, Archdeacons, Priors, Clearks.

Lay men of account.

Lay men of lesse value.

Clearks without dignities.

Also the penalties for all maner of lay-people, transgressing against the establishment, shal be leuied on those Lordes, in whose Lands & Seigneuries the forfeites are committed: And the fines of clerkes shalbe imposed on their Prelats, or their soueraigne Gouernors. And he by whose meanes the forfeites commeth vnto the lords knowledge, shal haue the third part of the penaltie. If it doe happen that any Clearke or Lay person, of what condition soeuer, being charged with offending against this ordinance, and is desirous to purge himselfe by Oath in such maner as euerie one is wont to sweare, he shall bee admitted, beleeued, and acquitted of the penalty, vpon his purgation made before the Lord of the place where he dwelleth. This Law was made and ordained at *Paris*, in the yeare of Grace, 1294.

Lay people of all degrees.

Impesition of the fines and forfeits.

For the accuser.

Purgation by Oath, before the Lord of the soyle.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *Of a Law made by* Solon, *and the* Corinthians; *concerning ydle and negligent persons: And such as would weare braue Apparrell, and make great cheare; yet themselues hauing no goodes or meanes, whereby to maintaine such expences.*

THe famous Law-giuer of the *Athenians*, *Solon* made a Law, whereof it is saide, that *Amasis*, King of Ægypt, had formerly been the Author, according as *Herodotus* reporteth in his *Enterpe*, and these are the very words of the Law. ἀποδημνύναι ἔτεος ἑκάστε τῶ νομάρχη πάντυ την ἀ Αἰγυπτίων, ὅθεν βίοτον. μηδὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίων ζόων, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτω. That is to say. *That euery one shall yearly declare and shew how, and in what manner hee liueth, euen before the Magistrate: which if he refuse to doe, he shall be punished with death.* This Law is recited by *Diodorus Siculus*; and was also obserued by the *Corinthians*, as *Diphilus* saith in his *Senaries*, alleadged by *Athenæus*, and traduced by *Erasmus* in his *Adages*, whereof the substance is thus.

Herodotus in Enterp.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 2. de Antiquit. Diphilus in Sen. Athenæus. Erasmus in Adag.

The very words of the Law.

It was ordained heretofore, as a Law to the Corinthians, *that if any one were noted to make great cheare daily, and to spend largely; we are then to enquire of his means, and to demaund of him, if he know what he doth? If we do perceiue, that he hath goods, and that the reuennues of them is sufficient to discharge such expences; we are to suffer his proceeding therein. But if it so fall out, that he spendeth more then his Reuennues will amount vnto: we must commaund him to leaue off such waste, and neuer afterward to doe the like againe. If he refuse, and will nor be obedient; he is to be condemned in a great penalty. And if he that hath nothing at all to maintaine him, doe liue excessiuely; he is to be deliuered to the Hangman or Executioner, vnder this Oath:* * *By Hercules. For the presumption is great, that a Man cannot lead such a kind of life; without committing Thefts, and other wicked actions. For it will be necessarily supposed, that hee hunteth in the night time, to catch his prey; that he hooketh in at houses, or breaketh the walles of them; or else is a complice and Companion with them that doe so, and then hath his share with them. Or else, that hee is a false Witnesse, or false Accuser. All such manner of people are to be chased from our Cittie, as hatefull and abhominable.*

* This was an Oath obserued among our Aunci-ents.

CHAP. XXIX.

How excellent a thing Friendship is; What they are, that maybe termed true friends: How many friends a Man ought to haue, and of what condition; with many notable examples thereof.

GOld is good, so is Siluer; Kinred & Allyes is good, and Mony is good: but true Friendes are much better, and there is no comparison betweene them. For all the fore-named thinges are not sufficient, but must be taken from vs on necessity: but true Friends, in regard of any thing, wherein consisteth the interest of a Friend; will admit no pardon to their purse, nor spare the expences of their goods; yea, feare not to expose their liues to dangers; to take long voyages, on them, to vndergo quarrels, & suites, to embrace voluntary paines, and to imploy the vttermost of their power, for the assistance of a Friend. *Spartianus*, in the life of the Emperour *Traiane*, reporteth, that one euening, as the Emperor sate at Supper, they that were admitted to sit at his Table; entred into discourse, concerning the fidelitie of Friends. During this conference, hee told them: That he could not remember, in all his life time, that he euer had any one Friend, which might not haue beene iustly tearmed good, loyall, and sincere. Then they humbly entreated him, that, if it stood with his liking; he would acquaint them with the reason of this his extraordinary happinesse. Whereupon he thus aunswered. *The cause*

No comparison with true and faithfull friends.

All worldly thinges are defectiue, except a true friend.

Spartianus in vit. Imp. Traian.

An extraordinary happinesse in a man.

The answere of the Emperor *Traiane.*

cause why I haue beene so happy in this matter, was in this respect: that I would neuer admit any Man to be my Friend, if he were couetous, or a Lyer. For in that man, in whom auarice or lying reigneth; neuer can dwell true and perfect friendship.

The comming of King *Herod* to *Rome*, and his wordes to *Augustus.*

King *Herod*, after that *Marke Anthony* was conquered by *Augustus*, came to *Rome*, and hauing layed his Crowne at the feete of *Octauius*; with a bold and vndaunted courage, hee spake these wordes. *You must know (O Great Augustus) that if Marke Anthonie would haue beleeued me, and not Cleopatra: you should haue made better proofe, how great an enemy he was to you; and you should well haue vnderstood beside, how loyall and faithfull a Friend I was to him. But he that would rather be gouerned by the will of a woman, then follow those courses which reason commaunded: tooke onely Mony of me, and all his Counsels of Cleopatra.* *Herod* continued yet on further his speeches in this manner. *You behold at this instant* (quoth he) *that my Kingdome, person, and crown, is laid by me at your feet, and I offer them all at your seruice, at all times, and as often as you shall make acceptance thereof. But yet, vpon these conditions (Inuincible Augustus) that you shall neuer commaund mee to heare, nor speake any euill of Marke Anthony, my Lord and deare Friend, although he is dead. For you know right well, that true Friendes ought not to be forgotten, eyther by absence or death.* *Iulius Cæsar* held such intire friendshippe with *Cornelius Faber*, the Consull, that they passing the Alpes together, and darke night hauing stolne vpon them, they being vnprouided of any other lodging, then a little narrow Grot or Caue in the side of a Rock, which they found out by chance, and *Cornelius* being then sickely and ill: *Iulius Cæsar* left al the Caue to him, that he might the better repose at his ease, walking himselfe (all the night) in the frost and Snow, without any shelter or couerture to shield him.

A memorable example of a faithful friend indeed.

The friendshrip betweene *Iulius Cæsar* & *Cornelius Faber.*

Friendship is true and perpetuall, and holdeth no contraction with many persons.

It is also a matter worthy of our knowledge, that friendshippe maketh it selfe true and perpetuall, and ought not to be contracted with many persons, according as *Seneca*, Writting to *Lucillius* saith. *My Friend Lucillius, I councell thee to be a Friend but to one, and Enemie vnto none.* To haue many Friends, it bringeth with it some kind of importunitie, which must needes (of it selfe) diminish friendship. For, if we consider the liberty or freedome of the heart; it is a matter impossible, that one onely thing should conforme it selfe, to the conditions of many: much lesse, that manie can bee satisfied & contented with those of one alone. *Cicero* and *Salust* were two Oratours, the most renowned among the Romaines; and yet deadly Enemies to each other. *Cicero* had all the whole Senate as his fast Friendes; and *Salust* (throughout all *Rome*) had no one but *Marke Anthony* only. Vpon a day, some cause of quarrell or contention happening between these two men, & words on eyther side entercourst: *Cicero*, in great anger and disdaine, spake thus to *Salust*. *How darest thou any way contend with me? What power art thou able to raise against me? Full well thou knowest, that in all the Citty of Rome, thou hast but one Friend onely, and that is Marke Anthonie; and I haue no Enemy, but he onely.* Whervnto *Salust* thus answered: *Thou gloriest thy selfe (ô* Cicero) *in hauing but one Enemy onely, and taunt'st mee, because I haue no more but one Friend onelie. But I hope (the help of the immortall Goddes assisting) that this one enemie of thine, shall be sufficient to ouerthrow thee; and this one onelie Friend of mine, will bee enow to warrant me from all harmes, and to defend me in all mine affaires.* After these words passing thus betweene them, within some very few daies: *Marke Anthony* declared the friendshippe which he bare to the one, and his hatred against the other. For, he caused *Ciceroes* Head to bee smitten off, and exalted *Salust* vnto great Honors.

The freedom and liberty of the heart.

The enmity betweene *Cicero* and *Salust*, two famous Oratours.

Cicero his words to *Salust.*

Salust his answere to *Cicero.*

An euident proofe of Friendship and hatred.

Many do commend themselues, and hold it as a great glory to them, to haue multiplicity of friends: but, when they haue well surueyed, to what end this aboundance of Friendes serueth; they shall finde their help to no other effect, but onely to eate, drinke, walke, sport, and prattle together. Not to succour one another with Monies in their necessities; or to lend any fauourable assistance in trauailes; nor to giue reproofe of such vices, as may (perhaps) too much abound on either side. For where true and intimate friendship is mutually embraced: neyther my friend to me, or I to him, ought so vse any dissimulation,

The end and effect of hauing many Friends.

The Office and duty of true friends one toward another in aduesity or prosperity.

on, or to conceale one anothers faultes andvices, which we may euidently see in each other; that amendment may ensue vpon friendly admonishment. There is no riches or treasure in this world, that equalleth the worth of a true and loyall Friend: because, when a Man hath a faithfull Friend: he may safely discouer the secrets of his hart vnto him; recount his passions; trust his honor in his brest; yeilde his goods to his keeping; receiue succour from him in his trauailes; haue councell and comfort in perils; he will reioyce in his prosperities, and greeue when any inconueniences doe afflict him. Finally, I conclude, that hee will neuer cease friendly seruices to him during life, and mournfull complaints for his misse, after death.

Friendship ceaseth not after death.

Being then to make choise of a friend, and of no more then one, euerie Man ought to bee very carefull, that he bee not deceiued in his election. For many times it falleth out, that such as vse but slender consideration heerein: doe but bestow their friendship on him that is ouer-couetous, impatient, a pratler, contentious, arrogant, and presumptuous; yea, and in such sort, that it is more safe for him to entertaine a knowne enemy, then such a halfe-harted Friend. Among other conditions, which ought to be in him that is elected as a Cordiall Friend, these are the principall. He must be humaine of nature; of stout courage in trauailes; pacient in iniuries; honest in dyet; modest in talke; graue in councell and aduise; and (aboue all) constant in amitie, and faithfull in secrecy. We may vndoubtedly accept such a man for a frend, whō we know to be prouided of these qualities: but if he be defectiue in any one of them; we are to shun his society, as a pestilence. For we hold as a thing most certaine, that the friendship of a fantasticke and variable Friend, is worse then the hatred of a discouered Enemy. Wee may assuredly trust our hart in the hands of the one; but we shal hardly defend our liues, against the trecheries of the other.

Of electing one friend among many, and the danger therein.

The principall conditions which ought to be in a friend.

CHAP. XXX.

¶ *Of many very strange and meruelous things, recorded by diuers good and credible Authours, and here collected together in one Chapter.*

Herodotus writeth, that the Sunne did two seueral times, set and hide it self, in that place which at this present, is the East. *Seruius*, the Commenter vpon *Virgill*, saith, that the Army of *Xeuxes* being vnder sul sail, did drinke dry the Riuer *Symoenta*: and the like is recorded (by *Herodotus*) to be done on the Riuer *Seamander*. *Pliny* writeth, that the great or formost Toe, of the right foote of King *Pyrrhus*; gaue present helpe to such that were pained with the Spleene, and that it could not be burned (with the rest of his body) in the Obsequies. *Cœlius Rhodiginus* affirmeth, that Elephants haue sometimes beene knowne to write. *Milo* the *Cretonian*, as *Aulus Gellius* auoucheth, did breake a great Iron Chaine into diuers pieces, with his hands onely. The hart of *Aristomenes*, was found to be all haity. Many Oblations and Sacrifices of of Beasts, were found to haue no harts in them. *Pliny* reporteth (if it be a matter to bee credited) that *Lelia Cossuria*, being a Woman, was turned into a Man, vpon the day of her mariage. The blacke Statue of *Memnon* deliuered an audible voyce, at all times when the mouth thereof was touched with the beames of the Sunne. The Ants in *India*, are greater then Foxes. In the second *Punick* Warre, an Oxe was heard to speake, and saide to *Cneus Domitius*: *Take thou heed ô Rome!* The Partriges in *Paphlagonia*, haue two harts in their bodies, according to *Theophrastus*.

Herodot. in Enterpe.

Seruius in Comment. Virgil.

Herodot. in lib. 7 Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Coel. Rhodigin. in Lib. 12. cap 3

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 15. ca. 16 Valer. Max. in tit. de Miras.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

Herodot. in Lib. 3.

A Rhod. in Lib. 5. Cap. 12.

Theophrast. in Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

The *Babylonians* being great Hunters, when they are in some Forrest, or place of sollitude, where they haue no means of boyling their meat: they set an Egge vp on end in the Sand, which they turn and

A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 1.

and rowle about, vntill it bee baked by continuall turning.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 4. cap. 18. The Tortoiſes in the *Indian* Sea, are ſo great, that the people Saile in their ſhels on the Riuers, euen as well as in little Cock-boats, according to the report of *Diodorus*: *Nilus* falling from the hie Mountains, yeeldeth thereby ſo great a noiſe, that it maketh the Inhabitants of thoſe places, to bee ſtarke deafe. *Cicero in Somn. Scipionis.* The Sonne of *Cræſus* beeing dumbe by Nature, ſeeing a Souldier of the *Perſian* Troopes, that would kill his Father; yet hee not knowing him, as hee offered hte Weapon to his throat, hee cried out allowd in this manner, *Oh doe not Kill the King.*

In *Selencia*, after that the Romaynes had ruined the Temple, there was found a narrow ſtrait paſſage, which the Diuines of *Chaldea* had formerly ſtopped vp: but when by Military Engins it was opened, there yſſued foorth a deadly vapour, which infected from thence (being in *Perſia*) ſo farre as to the Gaules. *Macrob. in Lib. 1. Cap. 27.* In the City of *Hermynta*, the people worſhipped a Bull, that changed his colour euery houre in the day.

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 4. Cap. 9

A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

FINIS.

A Table of all the ſeuerall Bookes and Chapters, with their perticuler Arguments, contained in this Volume.

The Firſt Booke.

OF God. Chap. 1.

Of the Workes which God created in ſixe dayes. And what dayes the Angels were created, with diuers other high and ſpecial matters, worthy our knowledge. Chap. 2.

Of the good Angels, and of their orders and Offices. Chap: 3.

Of the Earthly or Terreſtrial Paradiſe, &c. Chap: 4.

Of the difference betweene the Celeſtial Kingdom, and that of Paradiſe, &c. Chap: 5

Of Hell, and of the fire that is ſaide to burne there continually. Chap: 6

Of Man (the Image of God) to what end he was created, with the ſignification of thoſe two wordes, Image of God, *and* Similitude *or* Likeneſſe *of God.* Chap: 7.

Of the Age of man, &c. Cap: 8.

That the opinion of ſuch, as ſuppoſed the yeares in elder times to be ſhorter then now they are at this inſtant, is vtterly falſe. Alſo, of the firſt Cittie that euer was in the world. Cap: 9

Wherefore the deuil made choiſe of the Serpents ſhape, when hee tempted the firſt woman, &c. Cap: 10

Of Death, & that God neuer vvas the Author thereof. Cap: 11

The ſtrange opinion of the Egiptians, concerning the ſcope of a mans life, iudging it to be the proportion of the hart, &c. Cap: 12

The reaſon wherfore man goeth vpright, &c. Cap: 13

Of the ſupreame dignity of the head aboue all the other members of the bodie, &c. Cap: 14

Whither euil Damons or ſpirits can foretel things to come, they hauing no certaine knowledge. Cap. 15

Of the ſign of the Croſſe, that it was in great eſtimation long before our Sauiour Chriſt was crucified theron, &c. Cap: 16

The excellency of Secrety, and with what care it is to be kept, &c. Cap: 17

How commendable it is to ſpeake little. Cap: 18

Of the famous Phyloſopher Plutarch, *his learned Letter to the great Emperor* Traian, *&c.* Cap: 19

The Original of the Art Military, &c. Cap: 20

The rare fortune of two Women, who by wearing the habits of men, the one atained to be Pope of Rome, & the other to be Emperor. Cap: 21

The firſt beginning of the Amazons, &c. Cap: 22

Of the Antiquity of Conſtantinople, *and howe it became conquered by the Turkes* Cap: 23

Of what Nation & race the Impoſture Mahomet *was &c.* Cap: 24

The Original of the Turkes, and their firſt gouernment, &c. Cap: 25

That the death of man or woman, is to be reckoned happy or vnhappy, according to the eſtate wherein the party dyeth &c. Cap: 26

How many Biſhoppes and Popes of Rome there hath bin ſince Saint Peter *&c.* Cap: 27

The cauſe of thoſe daies which are called Dies Caniculares, *or* Dogge-dayes, *and wherefore they are ſo called, &c.* Cap: 28

Of the admirable Art of Man in ſwimming, with the Fable of the Fiſh Colas. Cap: 29

Of men liuing in the Sea, called Mare-men, or Seamen, &c. Cap: 30

The Second Booke.

WHat maner of ſpeech was vſed at the beginning of the world: And of the diuiſion of languages. Ca: 1

Of the diuiſion of the worlds Ages. Alſo the beginning of Kingdomes and Commonweales. Cap: 2

Of the Gouernement of the Spartanes, &c. Cap: 3

Of the Gouernment & Laws vſed among the ancient Athenians. Cap: 4

In which of al the ſeuerall Heauens, God is ſaid to abide. Cap: 5

Of the error committed by the auncient Mathematicians & Aſtrologers, yea, and ſuch as haue continued to this day, in calling the Planets by Diaboli-cal names, and attributing a Diuinitie to them. Cap: 6

Of the cauſe why the chriſtian Philoſopher Origen *did diſmember himſelf.* Cap: 7

The reproach which the Emperour Cublay gaue to the Iews, Mahumetiſts, and Pagans, &c. Cap: 8

From whence the name of Sarazins came at the firſt, &c. Cap: 9

Of the Title or name of Seruaunt, Slaue, Bondſlaue, & ſuch like. Ca: 10

Of Slaues made by the Turkes and Mahometans, &c. Cap: 11.

Of the ſubuerſion of the moſt potent Empire of the Chaldens, and of the Cittie of Babylon. Cap: 12

Of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, & the woful calamities of the Iews euer ſince Cap: 13

Of a craſty Phyſition, who gouerned or ouerſwayed Lewes 11. *King of France, that was accounted the moſt ingenious Prince of his time* Cap: 14

That Princes and other perſons of great degree, ought not to giue ouermuch confidence vnto Taſters, nor to the wearing of precious ſtones or Anulets. Cap: 15

Why the liues of Princes are more attempted by perſons, then by Armes, &c. Cap: 16

Of impoyſoning by ſweet Pommanders, Fumes of Torches, Tapers, Candles, &c. Ca: 17

That all venoms and poysons haue not the power to kil the hart, &c. cap: 18
To know if an impoysoner can so artificially accomodate his poisons, that he may limit the houre, day, week, month, and yeare, &c. cap: 19
What maner of people they were, that had the Title of Gymnosophists. cap: 20
Of such men as do thinke, that the Septentrional Countries which bee vnder the North, are vnfruitful and vninhabitable. cap: 21
A Paradox approuing, that the meanest place of birth, maketh a man to bee truly most Noble. cap: 22
A pleasant Allegorical description of Charon, called the Ferryman of Hell. cap: 23

The third Booke.

Of Old Rome: And of her first Religion Lawes, Magistrates, Ciuil Policies, &c. cap: 1
Of Rome in hir Moderne estate, since the Pope came to keepe his Court there. &c. cap: 2
A briefe Collection of the Originall of the Knightes of the Order of S. Iohn of Ierusalem, who were afterwards called the Knights of Rhodes and of Malta, &c. cap: 23
The seuerall Orders of Knighthoode, both Ecclesiastick and Secular. cap: 4
Of a straunge Custome vsed by the people of Cathay, for the marriage of their daughters, when they want meanes of dowry. cap: 5
Of a good Custome made among the Locrians &c. cap: 6
Of the strange life of Diogenes the Cynick Phylosopher, &c. Cap: 7
Of variable Natures in men, beyond vsual and natural inclination, &c. Ca: 8
Of the great and large extendure of the Roman Empire, &c. Cap: 9
The History of the Romaine Empyre further prosecuted, with the surprizall of Rome by the Gothes. Cap: 10
That there is no valour, courage, or Manhood (truly commendable) but such as is necessary, and grounded in Vertue. Cap: 11
That those which had no other Vertue but meere valiancy, haue ended their daies very vnfortunately. Ca: 12
Of a strange accident happning in the Islandes of the Muloccoes, about the yeare, 1525. Cap: 13
Of some, who haue counterfeted sicknes, to exempt themselues from busines. &c. Cap: 14
Of the Vertue and excellency of Hony, &c. Cap: 15
How Honey is made, whence Manna proceedeth, of ayry Hony, and of Sugar, Cap: 16
How the Gothes elect their Kings fat and corpulent. Contrarywise howe the Sarazins choose their Kings Meager, lean, and low of stature. Cap: 17
Of the abuse committed, in wearing Drugs, powders, perfumes, &c. Cap: 18
Of Amber-Greece, from whence it is brought, &c. Cap: 19
Of Muske, Ciuit, &c. Cap 20
Of an Edict made by Dyonisius the elder, King of Sicily, &c. Cap: 21
Of the word or name Gramarian, and what it is truly and properly. Cap: 22
A paradox, maintaining, that speedye death is more to be desirous, then a long and tedious date of life. Ca: 23
The saying of Plato interpreted, that Kings should be Phylosophers, or Phylosophers raigne. Cap: 24

The Fourth Booke.

Of the kingdom of Persia, &c. Ca: 1
Against Iulius Cæsar, in calling the Gauls (at this day Frenchmen) Barbarians. Cap: 2
How long it is since the Switzers wer Cantonned, &c. Cap: 3
Of the Excellency of Trauel, and what great dangers do ensue on ydlenes. C: 4
The reason why the Palm-tree was giuen to Conquerours, and Lawrell as a signe of victory. Cap: 5
Of Cruelty, how horrid it is to humain Nature, &c. Cap: 6
How that oftentimes, wicked Kinges and Tyraunts are Gods Ministers, and yet commonly come to euil ends. Cap: 7
The strange fortune which hapned to the Son of Croesus King of Lydia, and likewise to the son of another king, &c. Cap: 8
Of a Woman that was married diuers times, and of a man that hadde manie wiues: and hapned (at length) to ioyne in wedlocke together. Cap: 9
The straunge fortunes which hapned to two Princes of Castile. Cap: 10
The strange complexions of two Philosophers, &c. Cap: 11
Of some perticuler occasions, hapning in one and the same manner, &c. Ca: 12
That diuers men haue been so really alike, that they haue bin many times taken one for another. Cap: 13
Of a strange and admirable fortune hapning to two Knights of Rome. ca: 14
The Ages of Man seuarally distinguished, &c. Cap: 15
Of certaine yeares in the life of man, iudged by our Ancients, to be more dangerous then any other. Cap: 16
That Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, & others, did read the Books of Moyses, and haue taken perticuler points out of them. Cap: 17
A Mystical signification, concerning the body of Eliseus, &c. Cap: 18
The Interpretation of Nabuchodonosors dreame. Cap 19
Of the end of the world, &c. Cap 20
The conquest of the kingdom of Naples, by Charles 8. King of Frante. ca: 21
Of a Courtier, and what manner of man he ought to be. Cap 22
How a man may commend himselfe without preiudice to others. Cap 23
How Frances Sforza and Nicholas Pichiniue won the renowne of beeing the most skilful men in the Art Military. Cap 24
That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke, &c. Cap 25
Who was the first man that tamed the Lyon, &c. Chap 26
That the most part of the people in the world spake at the first but one Language onely, &c. Cap 27
Of Grauing or carning, & of Painting, which of them is the most ancient and excellent. Cap. 28
Against such aged persons, as thinke nothing to be wel done, but what vvas doone by themselues, &c. Cap 29
A comparison between the buildings Feasts, Garments of men and Weomen, Armes, and maner of making warre in the dayes of our fore-fathers; and those that are vsed in these daies. Cap 30
Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brother-hoods, Fellowships, Societies or Companies, &c. Cap 31
Of Polybius the Romaine Ambassador, &c. Cap 32
Of a strange opinion in the women of Mosco.

Moscouia, &c. Chap:33
That those thinges which some Authors haue left written concerning the destruction of Troy, are true. Chap:34
How a man may know what kind of drinke wil soonest make a man drunke, &c. Cap:35
Against the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, &c. Cap,36
Of the Swallowes properties, & the Nature of the Bird. Cap 37
A Paradox in defence of hard lodging, &c. Cap 38
Of some, that haue bin punished, for hauing done better then they wer commanded: And others because they did wel without command. Cap 39

The Fift Booke.

OF *the Emperor of* Ethiopia, *called* Prete-Ian *or* Prester-Iohn, *of his Original, &c.* Cap: 1
Of the ouergreat Superstition of the Queen of Maugy, *&c.* Cap: 2
Of the order and Knighthood of the Templers, &c. Cap: 3
By what means the holy Apostolicall Seat was transferred into France, how long it continued there, and how it returned againe to Rome. Cap:4
How daungerous it is to murmure against Princes, &c. Cap:5
That Imagination is one of the most principal inward powers, &c. Cap:6
Of Portius Pilate, *of the Lake named* Pilats Lake, *&c.* Cap: 7
Of negligence of Iustice in Offenders, and for the sins of the flesh. Cap:8
Of the invention of Bels. Also, who were the first that coniurd diuils. Ca:9
Of a combate fought betweene two Knights of Castile. Cap 10
Of many admirable things hapning in diuers part of the world. Cap: 11
The variable opinion of Philosophers concerning humaine Lignage, & of the original of Mariage. Cap: 12
Of what yeares or age a man should be married to a woman. Cap: 13
Of the cordial loue and amity which ought to be in marriage, &c. Cap: 14
Diuers Customes obserued by our ancient forefathers in their Marriages, &c. Cap:15
Who were the first Inuenters of Letters, and of Latine Syllables Cap:16
Of Valasca *a Lady of Bohemia &c.* Cap: 17
Of the first Inuenters of Hospitals, at what time, and on what occasion. C:18
Of an Embassage sent to Hipocrates *the Physitian, &c.* Cap: 19
How Hippocrates *found* Democritus *continualy laughing, and of the Conference they had togither.* Cap:20
Of the two excellent Painters, Apelles *and* Protogenes. Cap: 21
Of what forme a Man ought to bee, to appeare in his true proportion. C:22
Of three Princes, who ended their daies miserably, for disobeying their fathers. Cap:23
From whence it ensueth, that some Dreames are sad, and others ioyful. 24
Of some Princes Drames, which afterward came to passe. Cap:25
Of three seuerall personnes, that thorough Melancholy, fel into very admyrable imaginations. Cap: 26
Of a strange maner of Bannishment vsed by the Athenians. Cap: 27
Of many worthy men, that by the ingratitude of their Countries endured banishment. Cap: 28
Of two seuerall men, who being apprehended for Homicides, were neuertheless made Kings, &c. Cap: 29
A Paradox maintaining, that the wounded man is better then hee which is whole and sound. Cap: 30
Of the Crocodile, with the refutation of sundry of that Beast. ca:31
How to take and kil Crocodiles, & also the properties of the Ichneumon *or the Rat of India.* Cap: 32
Of strange accidents hapning to a prisoner, & how he was deliuerd. ca:33
That the blood of a Bul is death to such as drinke thereof, &c. Cap: 34
Who was the first establisher of Religion in Rome, and ordained chief byshops, Priests, Vestal Virgins, &c. C:35
Of ancient mariages, as wel among the Romanes, as diuers other Nations, &c. Cap, 36
How manie Armies the Romayne Emperors kept, and where. Cap, 37
Whether the Romans did generally speake Latine, or whither they had two seuerall Languages. Cap: 38
How necessary water is for the life of man, &c. cap:39
By what meanes a good quantity of fresh water may be hadde out of the Sea, &c. Ca
The reason why al Creatures [illegible] many feet on the one side, as [illegible] &c.

The Sixt Boo[illegible]

OF *the Kingdom of* Fez, *&c.* Ch:
Of diuers Customs and maners of burying the dead, &c. Chap. 2.
Whence the Custom grew, of saying to such as Sneeze, God saue yee, *or* Christ helpe ye, *and for what reason a man maketh the signe of the crosse on his mouth, when he yawneth.* Chap: 3
Concerning the Original of vsing of these words, Ie vous baise les mains, I Kisse your hands. Chap: 4
Of the diuision of the yeare. Who first found out the houres, and made Clockes and Dials, &c. Chap: 5
Why the dayes of the week were called Festiæ, *Holydayes or Feastiual daies* Chap: 6
How Physitions learned to take bloud from the diseased; & who first wrote concerning hearbes. Chap: 7
A true History of a Maid in Poictu, *who for the space of three yeares, liued without any sustenance.* Cap: 8
A further discourse on fasting, Ca:9
The maner of so strange fasting, disputed betweene Ioubert *&* Haruet, *&c.* Cap: 10
Of the Authority giuen to the Germaines, to make election of the Emperor; &c. Cap: 11
Who first found out the Art of Nauigation, deuising shipt, Gallies, Oars, &c Cap: 12
Whence the custome came of giuing New-yeares guifts, &c Cap: 13
At what time Heresies had their Original &c Cap: 14
Of the sottish opinions obserued among the Philosophers, discouering briefly, al Sciences, Arts, and Doctrines, with their abuses and vanities. Cap: 15
A profitable Interpretation of some words, being Hebrue, Greek, *and* Syrian, *contained in certaine places of the sacred*

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

sacred scriptures. Cap: 16
Examples of grosse errors in Politi-
us. Also how sane a man may trust a
ciled enemy. Cap: 17
Errors committed by whole Se-
c. Cap: 18
blick & generall Councelles
den, &c. Cap: 19
ch was decreed by the
ce, held by Constantine
he yeare 325, &c. Cap 20
which was decreed and orday-
the councell holden at Rome, in
yeare, 376, &c. Cap: 21
The confession of a Christian, to the
confutation of al Atheists. Cap. 22
A briefe discourse against Atheistes,
&c. Cap 23
An excellent discourse of Hermes
Trismegistus, approuing what God is
Cap 24
The Atheist further confuted, &c. c: 25
Of Apelles Table, the most excellent
Painter of the world, &c. Cap 26
The Morrall of Apelles Table, is by
the Authour more significantly Inter-
preted. Cap 27
A Paradoxe in praise of imprison-
ment, &c Cap. 28
Of the first Booke of Ciceroes Tuscu-
lanes, concerning the misprizall and
contempt of the world. Cap 29

The Seuenth Booke.

OF the Kingdome of Tunis, with
their Lawes, Customes, and Cere-
monies, &c. Ca: 1
Of the most potent King, called Great
Tamberlaine, &c. Cap: 2
Of Heliogabalus Emperour of Rome,
his most strange vices, and deformitie
of life. Chap: 3
The admirable continency of Alex-
ander and Scipio, &c cap: 4
Of diuers Lakes, Springs, Fountains,
Wels, Riuers, and their properties. Ca: 5
On what day of the yeare was the incar-
nation, Nativity, and Passion of our
Lord Iesus Christ, &c. cap: 6
Of many thinges that hapned at the
birth and death of our Sauior, &c. c. 7
Of many places quoted by diuers ler-
ned Authours, which make mention of
Christ and his life. Cap: 8
What opinion the ancient Emperors
held, concerning such as followed Christ
and Christianity, &c. Cap: 9
That a man of mean birth, shold not
therefore desist from honourable At-
tempts, &c. Cap: 10
Of diuers things which happened to
the Emperor Iustinian, &c. Cap: 11
What opinion the Romaines, and o-
thers (our Ancient predecessers) had of
Fortune, how she was numbred among
the Goddes, &c. Ca: 12
That there are great store of other
wonderful properties, which remaine
not of the Elements. Cap: 13
Of many meruailous properties in
sundry things, &c. ca: 14
That beste Beastes haue instructed
many men in sundry Medicines for
hurts receiued, &c. Cap: 15
Of many Beasts and other creatures,
that by instinct of Nature, haue fore-
knowledge of things to com, &c Ca: 16
How Archimides the Phylosopher,
knew howe much Siluer was mingled
with Gold, in a Crowne of Golde (by a
Goldsmith) without any iniury done to
the same in the trial. Cap: 17
How Socrates perswaded Alcibia-
des to become an Orator. Cap: 18
The beginning of the factions of the
Guelphs and Gibelines. Cap 19
Of the first Martyrs, and the perse-
cutions of the Christians. Cap 20
Of such men and nations as are said
to be the first inuenters of diuers things
Of the Contempt of Riches. Chap, 22
The Sentence of Apollonius Thia-
neus, against an Eunuch to the King of
Babylon, &c. Cap: 23
An excellent example of continency
in the famous Prince Sforza. Cap: 24
Of many worthy men whose deaths
haue bin wretched & miserable. ca: 25
Of a simple Groome, who vainly per-
swaded himselfe to be Pope, &c. Ca, 26
Of diuers men and women, that vo-
luntarily slew themselues. Cap: 27
How good and profitable it is for a
man to liue soberly, &c. Cap: 28
Of Rodericke the last King of the
Gothes, &c. Cap: 29
Of Sarqua, who craftily deceiued
Strades a Noble yong Gentleman, &
put him to death. Cap 30
Of three Gentlewomen, who becam
al amourous of a Gentlemen at one in-
stant time, &c Cap 31
That the change of Apparrel, taken
by one people from another, hath often-
times turned to their destruction. c. 32
A Discourse on the life of S. Luke,
Physition, Euangelist, and Scholler of
the Apostles, &c. cap: 33
Of the great prouince of Moscouia,
&c. cap: 34
Concerning those clauses inserted
by the Roman Emperors in their edicts
to wit, Such is Our pleasure, and of
Our Owne meere Motion, Cap: 35
That Orators, Pleaders, & such like
may easily ouerthrow a Commonwelth,
Cap: 36
A contradiction of the common Prou-
erbe, aprouing it not likely to bee true
when we vse to say, That the Viper ne-
uer seeth his Mother aliue, nor the
Wolfe his Sire. Cap: 37
Whether Lucius Apuleius, Sirna-
med Platonicus, were transformed in-
to an Asse, or no, &c. Cap: 38
Of a Taylor named Iohn Leyden, a
Hollander, &c. Cap: 39
Of Laughter, and the causes thereof,
Ca: 40
Of the Nature of Commonweales, &c
cap: 41
Who was the first that inuented cir-
cumcision, from whence it proceeded,
&c. Cap 42
A Paradox in the defence of Bastardy,
Approoving that the Bastard is more
worthy to be esteemed then hee that is
lawfully borne or Legittimate. cap, 43
Of the disastrous death, of two Ma-
hometan rich Caliphes. cap: 44
Of certain Beasts, and other creatures,
that beare enuy to man, &c. cap: 45
The vnfortunate Loues of Strabo &
Aristoclia, &c. Chap 46

The eight Booke.

OF the Kinges of Poland, their
Lawes, customes, administration
of Iustice, &c. Cap: 1
Of many famous men, who haue lefte
their gouernment, and retired to a soli-
tary life. Cap 2
Of the imperfection of Political Science
with the imbecility of Lawmakers. ca: 3
Certaine wicked and absurd Lawes of
Lycurgus, Plato, and Aristotle. Ca: 4
What Law is, wherefore it was ordai-
ned, and what it can perform in a Com-
monwealth. cap: 5
Of sleepe, and what manner of sleeping
ought

ought to be obserue therein, &c. Cap:6
Concerning the constancy of fine Lacedemonian, Roman, and Frech women, at the decease of their children, &c. Cap:7
Against Obtraction or detration &c. Cap:8
Howe Pythagoras founde out the measure of Great Hercules. Cap:9
How the Ieues did continuall giue Law and Religon to their Conquerors or Commaundes. Cap:10
Of Sorrowing for the dead, and the obseruations thereof, &c. Cap:11
Of diuers Pagans, that took thimatter very offensiue that any one should contemne their Religion. Cap:12
Of the Scian Horse, &c. Cap:13
Of Lais, the famous Curtezane of Greece, &c. Cap:14
Of two Ladies that for the safetyof their Country slew themselues Cap.15
Of the Orange and Cedar Trees, & how the Cedar is very good against the poyson of Serpents. Cap:16
How hurtfull it is to endure long fasting, &c. Cap:17
That there is nothing more hurtful & dangerous to man, then the tongue, with many notable examples to that effect. Cap:18
Of Feasts and Banckets vsed in Ancient times, &c. Cap:19
Of many men that by their Prodigality, made expence of all their faculties in short space. Cap:20
The magnificent triumph of Antigonus Epiphanes, for his victory against the Macedonians. Cap:21
That Gold and Siluer were not frequent among our reuerend ancestors, &c. Chap:22
How commendable it is to speake the truth, and how hateful a vice lying is, &c. Cap:23
What benefit the inuention of letters was to man, &c. Cap:24
How and with what instrument our Auncients wrote, before Paper was knowne, &c. Cap:25
Of the first Libraries in the Worlde, &c. Cap:26
The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heeretofore giuen by the Roman Emperors, &c. Cap:27
What benefit Musicke bringeth vnto a Commonwealth, &c. Cap:28
Of Gold, the properties and excellencie thereof, &c. Cap:29
How Mines of Gold are to be found, &c. Cap:30
Whence Gold proceedeth. And of visions that are seene in Mines. Cap:31
The interpretation of these three words, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, &c. Cap:32
That Monarchy ought to be preferred before Democratie or Aristocratie. Chap:33
Of the Vertues and secret properties of the Nutmeg, &c. Chap 37
A Paradox, maintaining war to bee much more famous and honorable then peace. Cap 38
Of the Indian Beare, &c. Cap 39
Of a Lady of Swetia, that was conceiued with child by a Beare, &c. Cap:40

The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Turkes Court, nowe called the Court of the Great Signeur &c. Chap: 1
Of the lawfull meanes, whereby to compasse the esteeme of being truly valiant Chap: 2
Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue in his Attendants. Chap: 3
Of Visedome, Prudence, and Pollicie. Also a consideration of the matters incident to State. Chap:4
Certaine general rules for the instruction of such as desire to manage state, that they may deale therein with lesse danger and difficulty, &c. Cap: 5
Other general rules for yong Statists, as what heis to consider in himself, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted. Chap:6
What a Counsellor ought to consider in his Prince, &c. Cap:7
What a Councellor is to consider in the maters which are to be consulted. Cap:8
For the better instruction of a young Councellor, a matter of State is debated, to wit; What is to bee considered, touching the meintenance of a Ciuill war, in a forren countrey. chap:9
Of wicked Policies, &c. Cap: 10
Of Loue and Hatred, Amity, and Enmity, &c. Cap: 11
By what meanes the natures of Amity and Enmity are said to proceed from the Celestial influences, &c. Cap:12
Whence it ensueth, that a way of like length being nowlaine and euen, seemeth more short and is lesse offensiue, then that which is euen. Cap: 13
Of the excellency of Memory, &c. Cap: 14
How the Memory may be both offended and comforted, &c. Cap:15
How the auncient Prouerbe is to bee vnderstood, That a bad man may bee a good King. Cap:16
Whether Constantine were the first Christian Emperor, or no. Cap 17
Who they were, that first discouered the people cald Cynocephali men hauing heads like to Dogs, &c. Ch.18
Of Omphale a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other women, attained to the command of that Prouince. Ca:19
A notable stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in single combat with Xanthus, Lord of the Boetians. Cap: 20
The politicke deuise of Anaximenes, of Lapuscum, which he vsed to Alexander the Great. cap: 21
An excellent example of double dealing in a Wife towardes her Husbande, &c. Cap. 22
The rebellion of the first slaues, and of Drimacus their Captaine. Cap: 23
At what time Cookes (in daies of Antiquity) began to grow in estimation. Who were the first that beganne to vse multiplicity of meates: And of many Gurmands and grosse feeders. Cap:24
Of those causes wherby the life time of Men or women are lengthned or shortned. Ca:
Of Lawes and Ordinances appoin by our ancients, against excessiue ding and Apparrel. Cap, 2
The Ordinance of Phillip le Bel, &c. Cap, 27
Of a Lawe made by Solon, concerning negligent and idle persons. chap: 28
Of the excellencie of friends and friendship, &c. Cap: 29
Of [illegible] marueilous things, recorded by [illegible] edible Authors. Cap:30

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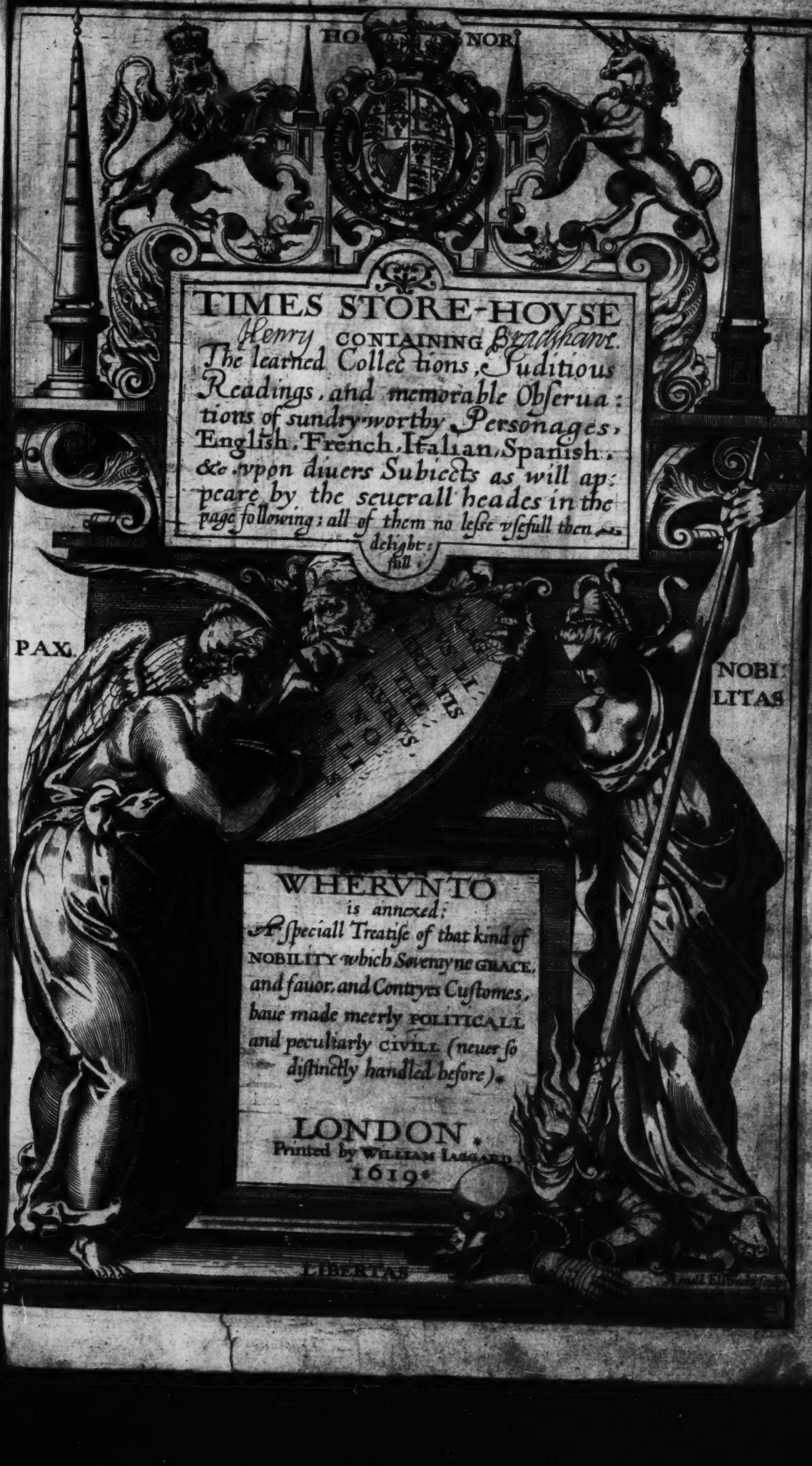
LATED PAGE (s)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The Contents.

The first Booke.

OF the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies.

The Disciplines of theyr Druides or Priestes, to the yonger people.

Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages, & profession of Languages, with other manners vsed amongst them, as wel in warre as in peace, and how they haue continued and changed since.

The second Booke.

OF the New Gaules, now called the French, their manhood, valor, and successeful fortunes from their beginning.

The greatnesse of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.

Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.

The Battell of Rauenna.

Of the learned women, called the Sybils.

The seuen wonders of the World.

Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.

The Battaile of Nouara, &c.

The third Booke.

THe originall of the Switzers.

The manner of Gouernement obserued in all their seuerall Cantons.

What Confederates they haue, both in generall and particular.

Likewise of their warres and Battailes.

The fourth Booke.

OF the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the Nation. Also the diuision and scituation of the said country.

Concerning the kingdome of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.

Of the Kingdome of Naples, the Antiquitie, Lawes, and Customes thereof.

The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inuenters thereof.

The Originall of the Normans.

The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romains.

Examples by Birds, Flyes, and other Creatures, for the leading of a vertuous life.

The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.

Of the Crownes and other recompences, giuen by the Romaines to noble deseruing Soldiers, &c.

The fifth Booke.

OF the Nobility of England, Politicall and Ciuill.

The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in the Creation of Barons by Charter.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscont

The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marqueſſe, Marchioneſſe, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all liuely represented in their seuerall habites, by Figures cut in Brasse.

The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.

The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.

The order of the Parliament pompe.

The maner of restoring blood once tainted.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by whō instituted, when, and how.

The Collegiate Society of Heralds.

The sixth Booke.

OF the Commonwealth of the Gennes or Geneways, with the Gouernment and administration of Iustice there vsed.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.

Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharisies, the Sadduces, and Essæans: their Originall & manner of life.

Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Iesus: The second, the Asmoneans: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon: with a clearing of doubts in diuers Authors.

Of Ceremonies vsed by the Romaines, before they moued any warre, &c.

The seuenth Booke.

THe Common-wealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.

Of diuers accidents, seruing as diuining Auguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.

Against

377015

The Contents.

Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.

A true module of Gouernment in any Common-wealth, deriued from the communitie of Bees.

The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normanes.

The three famous battailes of Gaza, Grand Cayer, *and at* Nylus.

The first inuention of wearing Rings, with the vertues and properties remaining in precious stones.

Of the Septuagint, *or* 70. *Translators of the Olde Testament, out of* Hebrew *into* Greeke.

The admirable vertues and properties of the Ant.

A briefe suruay concerning the Netherlands, *diuided into* 17. *Prouinces, with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there raigning, from* Thierry *the first Earle of* Holland *and* Zeland, *to this instant time.*

The eight Booke.

Of the Venetians, *and the manner of their pollicie.*

The foundation of Venice.

The liues and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.

Of Physicke and Physitions.

Of the seuen Sages of Greece.

The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other misteries beside.

The ninth Booke.

Concerning the Countrey of Moscouia *or* Russia, *and of the seureall commodities which the land yeeldeth.*

The Linage and descent of the Russian *Emperour, his Enstalment and Inauguration.*

His manner of Gouernment, Parliaments, Laws, Customes, Warres, &c.

His power for warre and Military Discipline.

What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are obserued in the Moscouian *Church.*

Of poysons giuen to kill at a certaine day, whether they can doe it, or no.

Of erroneous and vile opinions, yet beleeued for sound truths.

What language they shall speak, that neuer heard any speech.

That a man or woman borne deafe, is necessarilie dumbe also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.

What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.

The tenth Booke.

The Kingdome of Ireland, *the Originall of it, and how.*

By whom it hath beene inhabited and Gouerned from the beginning.

How those parts and Countries, commonly calleld The New World, *were first found.*

The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.

Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, *and their first Originall.*

The reason why some Princes and Common-weales haue prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.

Of those qualities and behauiours necessarily required to be in a Prince.

That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be aduanced and preferred before the younger.

Concerning the great Monarchy of the Cæsars *or* Romanes.

Of the Bezars *stone.*

A learned Tract, concerning the generation of Pearles.

With many other excellent and memorable discourses.

FINIS.

To the moſt Noble and Twin-like paire,
of truely Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of *Sherland, Earle of Mountgomery, and Companion in the* vnparaleld and famous Fellowſhip, of the Order of the Garter.

As alſo, To the truly vertuous and Noble Counteſſe his Wife, the Lady Suſan, *Daughter to the right Honourable* Edward Vere, *Earle of Oxenford, Viſcount Bulbec, Lord Sandford and of Badeleſmere: and Lord High Chamberlaine of England, &c.*

The firſt Volume of this Treaſurie, publiſhed about 5. yeares ſince.

VVorthily might I bee condemned of arrogancie, (moſt Noble Lord & Lady) becauſe, hauing paſt the Pikes in a peece of the ſelfe-ſame ſeruice (followed with fauour and kinde acceptation) I ſhould therefore preſume vppon the like ſucceſſe: knowing the inconſtant nature of Times, that as they alter, ſo do mens humours & diſpoſitions with them. For, that which carrieth liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to morrow; Opinions being more various in the caſe of Bookes, then are the Arguments whereon they diſcourſe, becauſe carping curioſity will haue his cenſure. But, as the Laſt for *Hercules*, was not faſhioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any baſe Lout; euen ſo the ſublimitie of true iudgement (in matters of ſuch induſtrious and painfull labor) ſhould be left to the Learned;

Ignorance wil alwayes bee bold vpon the learnedſt labours.

377015

not to euery courſe and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of ſuch occaſions as are ſuteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer * *Euripus*, which ebbeth and floweth ſeuen times a day, and with ſuch violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full ſayle, directly againſt the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth raſh Opinion, in the torrent of indiſcreet and troubleſome apprehenſion: carrying Criticke calumnie, and ſquint-eyed detraction, mainly againſt the winde of Wiſedome and Iudgement; becauſe their braines are no better ballaſt, nor their capacity of further reach or extendure.

*A narrow ſea betweene the Hauen Aulis of Bœotia, and Eubœa.

Heſiod. in Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

And yet, if the ſaying of *Heſiode* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleaſing, then variety, which is the ſoules cheefeſt ſolace*: Then (not fearing folly, but ſpeaking to peereleſſe Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any eſpeciall ſubiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the moſt ſolide and ſupreame of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatſoeuer, euen to any lowly, and the meaneſt (worthy) profeſſion; here is ſome notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) ſtored vp in this Treaſurie, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Comparing al the Volumes together.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all theſe bleſſings beeing Yours (as alſo my ſelfe, in endleſſe dutie and ſeruice) when any ſubiect of great, graue, and ſerious conſideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Riſing or Declining, by Warres, Diſſentions, Combuſtions, or otherwiſe in the like occurrences) ſhall ſeeme troubleſome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a ſpacious Forreſt, affording all choiſe of pleaſing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fiſhing, Fowling, or any other Noble exerciſe beſide.

When thoſe Forreſt pleaſures ſhall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard ſtandes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the faireſt Frutages: not to feed the Eie onely, but likewiſe to refreſh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you pleaſe, and to beſtow how, and when you liſt: becauſe they are all yours, and whoſoeuer elſe ſhall taſte of them, do enioy ſuch freedome but by your fauor.

There is one eſpeciall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth ſoly to your ſelfe, and ſuch as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the faireſt Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and ſhut againe at his ſad departure, all ſweet, and all ſoueraigne. And, becauſe Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were ſingularly skilfull in Phyſick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furniſhed

ſhed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like ſtrewed by hand) are couered with the choiſeſt Simples, pureſt diſtillatorie Plants, and wholeſome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purpoſely founded, and not for fruitleſſe idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your ſelfe, yet can you not ſo continue there: For, you may meete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Hiſtorie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themſelues can beſt, truly & plainly diſcourſe vnto you. Some other alſo you ſhall ſee, ſadly ſitting vnder Eughe & Cipreſſe trees, with Garlands of thoſe leaues wreathed about their heads, ſighing out their diuers diſaſters: whom your Noble nature cannot chooſe but commiſerate; as greeuing to ſee a ſcratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemiſhed by vnkinde Deſtiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they ſpake thoſe ſeuerall Languages) are all theſe variable pleaſures come hither, onely to kiſſe your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitie for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to ſpeake more eloquent Engliſh; which (indeede) alſo was my fault, ſeeing none elſe would tie themſelues to ſo hard a Taske. But howſoeuer it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-ſufficient ability in the Languages, as alſo my weakeneſſe; will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from ſcandall my willing endeuour, that I may finiſh the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect ſo rich and rare a Treaſurie.

The Printer to the Reader.

SOme few yeares paſt, I intended the whol Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with ſome other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then publiſhed nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the firſt Volume: but being preuented by ſickneſſe, I finiſhed but the firſt nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: ſauing only, ſome particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the ſame Authors) more at large illuſtrated. And may this finde equall ſauour vnto the former (without any harſh cenſure, or vnkinde diſcouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes ſhall follow with all conuenient ſpeede, to finiſh vp ſo faire a Treaſury.

Farewell.

A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approoue the ſeuerall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

S. Ambroſe
S. Auguſtine.
Anſelme
Auſonius
Adon. Epiſ. Vienna
Ariſtotle
Ammianus Marcellinus
Auenzoar.
Appianus
Agathias
Alethius
Anitus
Arrianus
Albertus Stratburg
Auicenne
Anerroes
Athanaſius
Antonius Sabellicus
Arehytas Tarentinus
Antoninus
Annius de Viterbo
Annales Conſtantinop.
Annales Treuirenſis
Autor de Bel. Affric.
Arnoldus Liſiens
Adrianus Imperat.
Aymonius
Aleuinus
Agapetus
Aulus Gellius
Ægiſippus
Ælianus
Æneas Syluius
Æſchylus
Æſchines
Æmilius Victor
Ætius
Ælius Lampridius
Æmilius Macer
Aſperarius
Athenæus
Aſinius Pollio
Apuleius Paniſis
Alexander Alexandrinus
Alexand. Aphrodiſeus
Apolonius Thyaneus
Alphraganus
Anthony du Lebrix
Ariſtander
Antonius Nebricenſis
Albertus Magnus
Ariſtomachus
Achilles Statius
Ariſtophanes
Andronicus Athenenſis.
Auſonius Lombardus
Aretine
Acamathius
Antoninus Syl.
Alphonſius Rex Hiſp.
Attalus
Accurtius
Azzo
Alexand. Trallianus
Atteius Capito
Aſconius Padianus
Appianus Alexandrinus
Archilocus
Arnoldus Ferronius
Amatus
Ariſtarchus
Antoninus Arch. Floren.
Antiſthenes
Anaximander
Albertus Crantzius
Alexand. Guaguinus
Anaximenes
Abbas Siculus
Almadaëus Arab.
Augurellus
Anthenor
Annales I. Stow
Alnarius
Aurea Hiſtoria
Aſſerius Meneuenſis
Alfridus Beuerlacenſis
Adam Merimouth
Alliances genealogiques des Rois & Princes de France
Annalet de Aquitaine
Annales de Bourgogne
Annales du France.
Annales rerum Flandricarum.

B

Biblia Sacra
S. Baſile
S. Bernard
Boterus Beneſius
Baldus Abbat
Baldus Doc. Ciuil.
Beroſus
Bucchanan
Baronius
Budæus
Bandello
Belforreſt
Baptiſta Fulgotius
Blondus
Bartholomeus
Boetius
Boccace
Benſinus
Barthol. Picenus
Bartholus
Berenus
Barthol. Dardanus
Beroaldus
Baptiſta Ignatius
Bellonius
Bodinus
Bozius
Bachi Anchiſius
Bucholcerus
Balthazar Caſtillanois.
Bætius Seuerinus
B. Weſtmerus

C

S. Cerill.
S. Chryſoſtome
Columella
Cedrenus
Claudianus
Creſcentius
Clemens Alexand.
Cocil. Tolet
Capitolinus
Cornelius Tacitus
Cicero
Ciaconius
Chryſippus
Cardanus
Cleomedes
Collenutius
Conradus Epiſc.
Cneus Epidius
Cornelius Agrippa
Caelius
Cenſorinus
Celſus
Cleanthes
Chalcidius
Cœlius Rhodiginus.
Claudius Victor
Charles de Molin
Comment. Cæſar
Conſtantinus Cæſar
Calmathens.
Cheremonius
Chronerus Pol.
Caſſiodorus
Corninus Meſſ.
Cratinus
Cteſippus Alexand.
Crantzius
Colophonius
Count Balthazar
Cœlius Calcaguin.
Cuſpinianus

D

Dion
Dicæarchus
Diodorus Siculus
Dioniſ. Halicar.
Dioniſ. Areopag.
Diogenes Laertius
Dioſcorides
Demoſthenes
Democritus
Diocles
Diogenes Cynic.
Damaſcene
D. Pedro Epiſ. Leon
Demetrius Alexand
Du Bartas
Dictis Cretenſis
Dares Phrygius
Damaſc. Sigierus
Dioniſ. Lycinius
Donatus
Dioniſ. Caſſianus.

E

Eumenius
Ephorus
Ecditius
Euſebius.
Eucherius
Eumenides
Epiphanius
Eſtienan de Garibay
Eghinhard
Ennodius
Euripides
Eratoſthenes
Ennius
Euſtatius
Eutropius
Eraſiſtratus

Ebu-

The Authors Names.

Ebulus
Euclides
Elpacus
Euanthes
Epicurus
Empedocles
Eraſmus Roter.
Eſſatius
Eginus
Empolemus
Elpagoras
Empolis
Epiſc. Tyrienſis
P. Ereb. de Reip. Ind.
Egnatius
Euagrius
Euans
Eſtien Paſquier
Epictetus
Euchirid. Eraſ.
Epicharmus

F

Froiſſard
Fortunatus
Fauchet
Feneſtella.
Frontinus
Fabius Pictor.
Flauius Epiſc.
Faſciculus Temp.
Fernelius
Flores Poetar
Fran. Georgius
Fabianus Prætor
Fran. Philelphus
Fanctius
Feſtus Pompeius

G

S. Gregory
S. Greg. Nazianzen
Guliel. Tyrienſ.
Gebinianus
Guil. de Naugis
Gennadius
Greg. Floren.
Greg. Turonnenſ.
Gregor. Papa
Geſner
Guicciardine
Gaudentius Merula
Geber
Glareanus
Gentierus
Gualt. Monach.
Garcias d'Orta
Gaulfrid Monumet.
Guyldas
Gyrald. Cambrenſis
Guliel. Malmeſ.
Gemma Friſius
Galen
Galiæus de Nargni.
Geor. Trabezon
Guliel. Budeus
Galerus
Guydonius
Guydo Bonatus
Genebrardus
Geor. Leontinus
Gregor. Giraldus
Gregor. Rech.
Guevara.

H

S. Hierom.
Hiſt. Miſcellan.
Homer
Herodotus
Hirtius
Hermanus
Heſiodus
Heraclides Ponticus
Hermolaus Barbar.
Hugo de S. Victor
Hierocles
Heliconienſis
Hippocrates
Harpocration
Hiſt. D. Villamont
Herodianus
Horace
Hermes Triſmegiſt.
Hermocrates
Heliſeus Tatius
Heraclitus
Heraclides
Hen. Huntingdon
Hiſt. Poland
Hallian. Chron.
Hall
Holinſhed
Hoſtienſis
Hermippus
Herophilus
Hincmarus
Hier. Oſorius
Hinibaldus
Houllier
Hepheſtion Grec.
Heliodorus
Haly ben Razel.
Hier. Coneſtagio

I

Iulius Pollux
Iul. Cæſ. Comment.
Innocentius Papa
Ioſephus
Iuuenall
Iulius Florus
Iulius Secundus
Iuſtine
Iogn. Feraldus
Ioan. de Imola
Iulius Capitolinus
Io. de Sacraboſco
Io. Lincolnienſis
Io. Agricanus
Io. Bale
Iulius Frontinus
Iſidorus
Iamblichus
Ingulphus
Iulius Pelagius
Iuſtinatus
Iſaac Rab.
Io. Rouſe
Iulian Imperat.
Iuſtin. Martyr
Io. Scotus
Io. Alexandrinus
Iulius Firmicus
Io. de Mons Royalis
Io. Driodonus
Iſeus
Io. Math. Tiberius
Io. Vaſeus
Io. Saxonius
Io. Magnus Arch. Hiſpal.
Iſocrates
Ireneus
Io. Capgrane
Iornandus
Io. Monachus
Iacques Baſius
Io. Damaſcenus
Io. Baptiſt. Egnatius
Io. de Maulmont
Iacques de Maguntia
Io. Boccace
Ioachim Vadianus
Ioel. Med. Alexand.
Ioubert Med. Gal.
Io: Camertes
Io: Carion
Io: Cantacuzenus
Io: Fernelius
Iſaac. Iudaicus
Iouianus Pontanus
Io: Laſleus
Iacobus Faber
Io: Annius.

L

Lucian
Lucius Fruſius
Leo Imperat
Lucius Plotius
Latinus Pacatus
Lucane
Lactan. Firmianus
Lupus Epiſc. Troi
Liebondus
Lodouicus Viues
Leo Affricanus
Lactantius Grammat
Leonardus Camillus
Laonicus Calchond.
Licinius Macer
Lucas Tudenſis
Lazaro Soranzo
Lucretius
Leo Hebraico
Lodouicus Cœlius
Leo Sophiſt.
Labeo Antiſtius
Linus
Lateranus
Lucius Florus
Laurentius Surius
Lopez de Caſtagned
Lucas Marinus Sic.
Lampridius
Lazarus de Baif.
Lodo: Valentinus
Leo Papa
Lucas de Tuy
Lerius
Lyſias

M

Marcus Aper
Marcellus
Marcus Varro
Molina Hiſpa.
Marineus Sicul
Martianus Capellus
Martin du Bellay
Macrobius
Marianus Scotus
Martiall
Mantuan
Meſſala Augurius
Metrodorus
Marcus Aurelius
Moſchion
Marbodeus
Meſſala Corvinus
Macchiauell
Moyſes Bar: Cepha
Marſilius Phicinus
Matheus Palmerius
Martinus
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metaſthenes
Mathew Paris
Manethon
Maſpeus
Mathew Weſtminſt
Munſter
Marcus Valerius
Mathiolus
Monſieur de Villamont
Marcus Damaſcenus
Muſæus
Monſieur de la Noue
Meſuus

The Authors Names.

Meſ. Angelo Catho.
Marullus
Mer, Gal. Bel.

N

Nodgerus
Nazarius
Neuius
Nanclerus
Nico. Boyerus
Niceph. Gregorius
Nico. de Lyra
Nigidius
Nico Secundinus
Nicander
Nibo. Monardus
Nico. Raſſæus
Nicetas Coniates
Numenius Pythag.
Nico. de Cuſa
Nico. Myrepſic.

O

Ozorius
Oppius
Optatus
Ouid
Onuphrius
Oroſius
Orontius Phineus
Orpheus
Otho Aechiepiſ.
Olradus
Olaus Magnus
Olaus Arc. Vſpal.

P

Pauſanias
Procopius
Paulus Polonius
Paulus Diaconus
Ptolomeus
Pontius Paulinus
Phœbadius
Proſper
Pub. Ter. Varro
Phauorinus
Petrarche
Polybius
Plato
Plutarke
Pliny
Pomponius Mela
Phædrus
Poſſidonius
Petrus Lombardus
Petrus Abayelard.
Philoſtratus
Petrus Bellngus
Petrus Iacob.
Paul. Warnefridus
Paul. Iouius
Phil. Commines
Piſonius
Paul. Oroſius
Platina
Pet. Martyr
Pedro Mexia
Paul. Æmilius
Phlegonius Grec.
Paul. de Caſtro
Politianus
Pindarus
Paul. Æginetus
Pet. Gellius
P. C. Radianus
Plinius Secundus
Pittacus
Parmenides
Polydor Virgil
Petoſyris
Pedro de Albano
Pachymerius
Phil. Melanchthon.
Poſidius
Praxagoras
Proculeius
Philemon
Philo Iudæi
Pet. Oliuerius
Pet. Comeſtor
Pet. Crinitus
Porphyrius
Philippides
Pythagoras
Propertius
Pauſanias
Pius 2. Papa
Pomponius Lætus
Perſeus
Pontanus
Pet. de Aliacus
Policrates
Pegaſius
Pontin. Verunnius
Platearius
Probus
Palemon
Paul. de Nola
Pomp. Lenus Libert
Plautus
Piduxius
Poggius
Popinierus

Q

Quintillian
Quintus Curtius
Quint. Septimius

R

Ronſard
Ruſtic
Rutil. Numation
Ritius
Roder Ximenes
Rabanus
Rog. Houeden
Rabbi Iſaac
Rogerius
Rupertus
Ruffinus
Raph Volateran.
Regino Chron.
Rabbi Helie
Roder. Toletan.
Rondeletius
Reuclin
Rablais

S

Suetonius Tranquil.
Solinus Polyhiſt.
Surianus
Saluſt
Saluianus
Seruius
Symmachus
Scaliger
Sigonius
Stephanus
Suggerus
Strabo
Socrates
Sidonius Apollonar
Sieur de Ionuille
Seneca
Suydas
Sylius Italicus
Seleius Baſſus
Solon
Sophocles
Sebaſt. Munſter.
Scopas
Sim. Simonetus
Stoſlerinus
Sannazar
Simonides Melli.
Sabellicus
Spartianus
Surius
Sethius
Serapion
Sextus Aurelius
Saxo. Grammat.
Sieur de Pybrac.
Sext. Pompeius
Stobeus
Schonerus
Serenus
Sigiſ. de Herbeſt.
Stoeflerus
Sineſius
Sammonicus

T

Trebellius Pollio
Theophraſtus
Trogus Pompeius
Titus Linius
Timagenes
Thomas Aquinas
Theodoſius
Tertullian
Themiſtocles
Theopompus
Tabitheus
Tetellus
Toninus
Tibullus
Thales Miloſius
Theod. Gaza
Timocrates
Tithalmanus
Tranquillus
Thenetus
Theodoret
Theophraſtus
Tudıtanus
Theod. Bibliander
Thucydides
Tritemius
Tilius
Theophanes
Terentius
Theodotus
Themiſtius
Thomas More
Tarcog. Hiſt. Mund.

V

Virgill
Vitruuius
Vopiſcus
Varro
Valerius Max.
Velleius Patercul.
Vincentius Lyranenſ.
Valturinus
Venerab. Beda
Vegetius
Valer. Flaccus
Volatteranus
Vlpianus
Valentinus Barruchius.

Z

Zenophon
Zenocrates
Zonarus
Zozimus
Zeno
Zuricanus
Zarmanochegas.

THE TREASVRIE
of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customes, Ceremonies, and other manners were vsed among the people of that Nation in their first Originall: and how (since then) they haue continued.

An Introduction to the whole Discourse.

IN ancient times, the Countrey of *Gaule* was enclosed within the limits of the *Rhein*, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the *Gaules* had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the riuer * *Rubicon*, along by the coast of the *Apennines*, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of *Venice*) took the name of *Gaule*: as *Galatia* did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of *Asia*. That *Gaule* then which is in *Europe*, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the hither side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes **Togata*: as Romane, in regard of the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselues) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed Breeches) and partly * *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rosne* or **Rhodanus* bending towardes the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volcæ*, *Armoricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhynteni*, and *Heluetians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Cæsars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbone*, after the name of *Narbona*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Guienne*, euen from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the riuer **Garona*: on the hitherside whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Riuers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any mā, that would

The first limits of Gaule

*A Riuer in *Italy*, rising out of *Apennius*, & running betweene *Areminum* and *Rauenna* into the *Adriatique* Sea.

The 3. diuisions of *Gaul*.

**Togata*, calld also *Citerior*, & new *Lombardy*.

**Braccata*, containing *Narbō*, *Prouence*, or *Daulphinie*.
**Comata*, comprehending *Belgica*, *Celtica* and *Aquitane*.
*A Riuer rising out of the Alpes.

Iul. Cæs. In Comment. lib. 7.

Prouence called *Narbone*.

*A riuer parting *Celtica* from *Aquitania*.

The Authors speeches in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselues with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (summarily) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully imployed their paines, concerning the manners and behauiour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembred, in such diuersity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: afterward (if wee can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeuor shall nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the nouell customes.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 6.

Cæsar hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the sixt booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeit he hath sowen many other things throughout his Bookes: which I hauing collected heere and there, and from infinite places in other Authors, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; wee may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuertheless, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Cæsar*, wer it that they vnderstood not the latine tongue, or were it through careiesnesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarsely vnderstoode the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Cæsar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

Diuers other good Authors compared with Cæsar.

Errors in Greeke Authors that followed Cæsar.

Cæsar followed as Father of the history.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of Germany, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as shal appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resemblance of the Britaines and Germanes with the Gauls, as will bee declared by that which *Cæsar* hath writren; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conueniently sute with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Cæsar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of Gaule, with them of Germany. And *Strabo*, perceyuing the Germanes to be called so by the Romanes, as true brethren to the Gauls, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customs of the ancient Gaules, he reproued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselues; yet notwithstanding, howsoeuer at first they receiued that name, there may be discerned in thē a great Germanity, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behauiour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7.
Strabo in li. 9.

Cornel. Tacitus lib. 4 cap 3.

Resemblance in customes and manners, betweene the Gaules and Germans.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kindes of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principal parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three seuerall kinds of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouersway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisedome, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Cæsar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Liuius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Cæsar*, do declare many things of the Gauls & if I wouldhaue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

Plato in lib 1. de legib.

Three cheefe parts in mans bodie.

Three especial kindes of vertues to gouerne the powers of the soule.

The cheefest places in Great Britain and Germany possessed by the Gaules.

Diodorus, Titus Liuius, Strabo, and other Interpreters of Cæsar.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Temperance in eating and drinking vſed among the Gaules: as alſo of theyr Marriages and ſingle condition of life.

The Authour beginneth with Temperance.

TO enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might ſpeake of their abſtinence in eating and drinking, reſort to women, theyr manner of ſpeech, their modeſty in Garments and lodging; their ſportes, delights and aſsiſtance, which they affoord to one another in ſuch things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, they liued for the moſt part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of fleſh, & principally on Porke freſh and ſalted. They vſed to haue ſtanding by their fires, pottes full of boyled fleſh, and ſpits well loaden with roaſted fleſh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Aiax*, when he had won the victory againſt *Hector* body to body. *Cæſar* granteth the ſelfe-ſame manner of life to the Britaines, and to the Germanes. The Britaines (ſaith he) which dwell furtheſt vp into the Countrey, the moſt part of them do not ſowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and fleſh. Neuertheleſſe, they hold in deteſtation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taſte of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Gooſe. Hee ſaith alſo the very ſame in his ſeuenth book, ſpeaking of the Germanes; That they do not addict themſelues to any kinde of labour, and that their very greateſt nouriſhment is vppon white meats, cheeſe and fleſh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongſt the Germans. Each mother (ſaith hee) doth nurſe her childe with her owne breſt, and neuer truſteth it in the hands of their ſeruants, or other Nurſes. Thou canſt not know the Maſter from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and ſlouenly, euen amongſt their Heards or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill ſuch time as age doth ſet apart ſuch as are Maſters, & vertue doeth auouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are ſimply dreſſed or prepared, being of wilde fruits; ſometimes of freſh Veniſion, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dreſſing. So much for their manner of eating.

The eating & drinking of the Ancient Gaules *Diodor. in lib. 4 Strabo in lib. 2*

Hom. Iliad. lib. 4

Iulius Cæſar in comment lib. 6 Of the Germanes.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Of Mothers Nurſing their owne chiidrē.

As for their drinke, that amongſt the Gaules, and termed *Zythum*: This (ſayth *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing paſſed thorowdiuers honicombs. *Tacitus* writeth almoſt the very ſame of the Germanes. They make a drinke (ſaith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, diſguiſed into ſome reſemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coaſts, do buy wine. The moſt part of the Gaules (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vſed to ſitte on the ground and to eate their food, ſitting on the skinnes of Dogges or of wolues: being ſerued with earthen veſſelles, which were ſtrong and maſſiue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and ſerued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germans ſo ſoone as they were awake and riſen (which they vſed not to do till it was day:) they laued and waſhed themſelues with warme water, becauſe winter continued in their region for the moſt part of the yeare; and at comming foorth of the bathe, they went vnto theyr foode, each one hauing his table and ſeat alone by himſelfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude ſimplicity, which cauſed the Germanes to be ſo big membred and corpulent, whereat *Tacitus* ſeemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewiſe enſued the ſelfe-ſame greatneſſe of bodye which was among the Gaules, vvho for their huge corpulency, and regarding only their owne bigneſſe of ſtature, held the ſmaller conſtitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be ſeene in the 2. book of the wars in *Gaul*.

The drink vſed by the ancient Gaules *Diodor in lib. 4 Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Diodor. in lib. 4 Strabo in lib. 3.

Their manner of eating their meate.

Cornel. Tacitus vbi ſupra. Of waſhing their body in warme water.

The reaſon of corpulence & big ſtature of the Germans and Gaules.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the Gaules for their intemperance and drunkennes with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very ſame. They affected Wine ſo exceſsiuely, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becomming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to ſleepe, or behaued themſelues like mad men. And this was the reaſon that many of the Ita-

Intemperance and drunkenneſſe amongſt the Gaules.

Italian Marchants brought wine to the Gaules.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by ſea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a ſmal veſſell of wine, receyued (in exchange) foure times the value. And the ſame Authour not onely blameth their drunkennes, but alſo the quarrels which accompanied this exceſſe. They obſerued (ſaith he) as a cuſtome, at their feeding, for the leaſt debate of words, to riſe preſently from the Table, and defie one another to the combate, hazarding their liues without any diſcretion. Thus you ſee how the Greeks haue reproued the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes theyr Brethren in the ſame vice, accuſing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vſed not (ſaith he) any ſuch temperance againſt thirſt. For they held it no diſhonor, to ſpend the whole day and night in drinking, ſo they might bee ſuffered to drinke their fill, furniſhing them with ſo much as they would haue: you ſhold find them no leſſe eaſie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrels which roſe very often among them, as among people ſubiect to Wine, was no ſooner mingled with iniuries of the mouth; but (for the moſt part) did end with blowes by the ſword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of ſo bad a cuſtome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way ſhame them.

Diodor. in lib. 4 The Gaules hazarded their liues vpon ſodaine quarrels.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 5.

The whol day & night ſpent in nothing but drinking amongeſt the Germanes.

But the Gaules vſed themſelues in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behauiour (in particular perſons) was verie greeuouſly and rigorouſly puniſhed. Let vs heare then from *Cæſar* the cauſe of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep thẽſelues from this diſorderly kinde of life. The moſt magnanimous of all (ſaith he in his firſt Booke, ſpeaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, becauſe they are furtheſt off in the countrey, which is carefully husbanded, and ſtrangers doe but ſildome trafficke with them, to bring them that which ſerueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

An Order amongeſt the Gauls againſt this badde cuſtome.

Cæſar in commen. lib. 1

In the ſame book ſpeaking of the Neruians, as of the moſt couragious of al the Belgians; he ſaith; *Cæſar* making enquiry of them, what might be their naturall diſpoſition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not trafficke with them, & that they would not ſuffer (by any means) that wine ſhould be brought among thẽ, or any thing that ſerued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that ſuch things wer the cauſe of abaſing their courage, & that their natiue vertue would thereby be much weakned. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of ſome particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that ſobriety & temperate carriage was greatly reſpected and honored in thoſe parts. *Strabo* ſayeth, That by the perſwaſion of *Cenus*, a graue and wiſe man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in theyr country, yet vſed ſome wine in the time of their childrens nurſing. But our Anceſtors did much better, becauſe they would neuer permit or ſuffer, that any Vine ſhould be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Diodorus* had good reaſon to ſay, that in his time there came no vvine at all into *Gaule Comata*.

Most valiant & fierce people about Tyras.

Wine & wanton meats the hinderers of manly corage

Strabo in lib. 3 Of the Getes

No vines plãted amongſt the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4

Cæſar in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Sueues*, a people of Germany, equall in temperance to the *Neruians* that were in Gaule. For they would not ſuffer that any wine ſhould bee brought into their countrey, becauſe they were perſwaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obſerue then, what was their ſobrietie in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abſtinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, * *Bardeſanes*, according as *Euſebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to *Ariſtotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning *Venus* with God *Mars*: yet notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* ſpeaketh nothing therof, but giueth great commendation to the Germans for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwiſe of them.

Cæſar in commen. Lib 4 * Sueuia, bordering on Bauaria, Halſatia the riuer Rheine, & the Alpes.

An Hiſtoriographer of Babylon. Euſeb. in hiſtor. Eccles l. 4. c. 28

Ariſt: in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 9

Such as haue continued in virgin eſtate the longeſt while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greateſt reſpect

Of ſuch as liued longeſt in virgin eſtate of life.

B 985

ſpect and praiſe. For they held it as a moſt villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themſelues, but bathed daily together in the riuers. And this is the reaſon rendered by *Herodotus*, ſpeaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much ſooner to ſome then it doth to others: becauſe the vſe of *Venus* maketh the fleſh more looſe and flaggy, and openeth the skinne, which affordeth the eaſier paſſage to the haire; contrarywiſe, ſuch Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the ſelfeſame attribution of praiſe to the Germans. Yong men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an eſpeciall reaſon why they loſe no part of their youthfull ſtrength, and therefore make no haſt at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and ſuch (of like ſtature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents ſtrength.

Herod. in Terp. Of the nature of Children.

The younger men amongſt the Germans

Young men children equalled theyr fathersſtrēgth

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib. 6

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the ſame vertue: but *Cæſar* hath not written carefully how the Gauls obſerued it. The husband (ſaith hee) laide downe the valew of ſo much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iuſt account being taken thereof, the whole ſtocke was put together. The party that ſuruiued, enioyed the others portion, with the reuennewes of all that had paſt. The husbands are maſters and commaunders of their wiues liues, and alſo of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the nereſt of the kindred do aſſemble together; and if any ſuſpition be conceyued concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe theyr ſlaues, and if ſhe proone to be conuinced; after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may ſeeme hard, that gieueth the husband ſuch like power ouer the wife and children, as he hath ouer his ſlaues. For, according as the Philoſophers haue taught vs: the father of the family gieueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free perſons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee gieueth command to his wife as to one of the ſame Commonwealth, & to his children as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romulus* made, Ordayning; That the ſonne ſhould bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chaſtiſe, beate, put him to any buſines in the field, ſell, or kill him. The ſame King alſo appointed, That a man might puniſh his wife, if ſhe had drunke any wine. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh all this in his ſixt booke: and in his fift hee declareth diuers other faſhions of behauiour in marriages, ſpeaking of the Britaines.

Orders obſerued in marriages amongeſt the Gaules.

Of ſuſpition concerning the husbands death.

The doctrine of the Philoſophers concerning the husbands power.

Romulus Lawe for power in fathers.

Ten or twelue together (ſaith he) do hold their wiues in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And ſuch as are born of them, are auouched for children of them that haue eſpouſed their mothers, being yet maids. So much alſo he relateth of the Engliſh. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germaines, gieueth them moſt noble commendation in this point. The wife (ſaith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, couſins, & kindred are preſent thereat, and allow of all preſents paſſing between them. And they are no preſents deuiſed for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoaked, a horſe brideled and furniſhed, & a Buckler or Target, with a ſword and Iaueline. For theſe preſents the husband taketh his wife; who likewiſe (on hir owne behalfe) preſenteth him with ſome weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, theſe are accounted ſacred myſteries, & theſe are the coniugall gods that they hold in reuerence.

Obſeruation of marriage amongſt the Britaines.

Cornelius Tacitus, vbi ſupra. In praiſe of the Germans.

Preſents giuē vnto the new mraried Husband.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her ſelfe exempted from vertuous deſſeignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage ſhe is continually aduertiſed, that ſhe is thus receiued and taken to be her husbāds companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre), ſhee muſt of neceſsity runne the ſame fortune. And theſe are plainly ſignified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furniſhed horſe, and warlike weapons. She receiueth what ſhe is to beſtow on her children after that ſhe hath worthily and holily nurſed them vp: & ſuch as are of moſt forward diſpoſition the Father hath care of, that they may reſemble

Aduertiſements to the wife from the day of hir mariage.

Myſterious ſignifications to the Wife.

Education of their children

ſemble (in good quality) others of theyr linage. And then they liue, keeping their chaſtity well defended; not being corrupted by any occaſions, nor the ſight of wanton paſtimes, or beeing preſent at Feaſts or bankets.

Women puniſhed by theyr husbands for adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in ſo great a Nation; for the puniſhment thereof is very ſpeedy, and the huſband may lawfully do it. After hee hath ſhauen and ſtript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his houſe, in the preſence of all his and her neereſt Kindred, and beateth her with a baſtinado thorow all the ſtreetes; for there is no allowance of any pardon after that a wife hath blemiſhed her honor; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband. Vices ſerue not there to be laughed and ieſted at: & one may well ſay, That (there) is ſuch a world, as neither permitteth the doing or indu-

No pardon granted for adultery.

ring of any diſſoluteneſſe. Thoſe Commonweales are the beſt ordered, wherein is ſuch permiſsion, that the Maides onely finde themſelues husbands, and mariage conſiſteth in mutuall accord (for a long while) in good hope, and that the Bride may haue her hearts deſire. For in this caſe ſhe taketh her husband as one & the ſelfeſame body, and one life is allowed by them both: becauſe they can haue no contrary thoughts, neither theyr deſires any way wandering, but their affections doe ſo ſimpathize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the ſanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good cuſtomes do beare more ſway, then good Lawes and Ordinances doe elſewhere. Hitherto haue wee continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Germanes marriages.

Vices not ieſted at.

Commendation of marriage making.

Againſt murthering of Children or Kindred.

Diodorus reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of diſordered behauiour in their ſpeaking, ſaying; They vſe a ſhort kinde of ſpeech, ſomewhat hard to be vnderſtood, and without any deliberation; ſpeaking great ſtore of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend themſelues and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad ſpeakers, and full of ouerweening. This vauntery of theirs hath likewiſe beene reproued by *Strabo in lib.* 3. And *Cæſar* ſpeaketh thereof in his ſeauenth Booke, and is alſo to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee ſpeaketh in his firſt booke, of *Diuiconus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the diſcomfiture of the Romanes, admoniſhing *Cæſar* by menaces to beware of any further attempting; for feare, leaſt the place where the Romanes miſcarried, by a further loſſe of their people, after the foiling of their whole Army, ſhould take name thereby, and ſo remaine as a memorie of their diſgrace.

Diodor. in lib. 4 The manner of ſpeaking amongſt the Gaules.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 7.

Diuiconus the Heluetian braggart.

Such alſo was *Arioviſtus*, King of the Germans, who anſwering litle or nothing to matters which *Cæſar* demaunded of him; ſpake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Cæſar* might com to fight whenſoeuer he pleaſed, but he ſhould learne of the Germaines, that they were a people neuer vanquiſhed, and skilfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* alſo vanted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world durſt not make head againſt them. This is ſufficient concerning this matter; I come now to ſpeake of the care which they had of their owne perſons.

Arioviſtus K. of the Germans.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 1.

CHAP. II.

How the Gaules vſed to weare their Haire; and what kinde of garments they vſed, with the painting of their bodyes, their Coines, &c.

Iodorus, ſpeaking of the Gaules, ſayth; Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre, yet doe they helpe the naturall colour thereof, by an inſtrument properly deuiſed for that purpoſe. They twine and twiſt theyr buſhie lockes together, and ſuffer them to hang dangling downe, euen from the forehead to the necke: ſo that they reſemble Satyres, and young vnſhorne boyes. They haue practiſed by Art, to make their haire thicke

Diodo. in Lib. 5 How the Gaules vſed to weare their haire.

thicke and hard, that little difference appeareth betweene theirs and the haire of a horſe. *Tacitus* ſpeaketh (wel-neere) the ſame of the *Sueues*, a people of Germany. But the eſpeciall note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire croſſe or ouerthwart, and then binde or truſſe it vp in a knot. In this manner are the *Sueues* knowen among all the other Germaines, and free-men of the Countrey from ſlaues. Some of the *Sueues* do weare their hayre long, and briſtling backward with a bending downe, and ſo they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (oftentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more reſpectiue of their own perſons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or couet to be affected; but they doe onely ſo decke themſelues, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto theyr enemies, when occaſion calleth them foorth to warre.

Cornel. Tacitus vbi ſupra. How the Sueues did weare their haire.

Of the Lords amongſt the Sueues

Diodorus proceedeth on in this maner, concerning the behauiour of the Gaules. Some of them (ſaith he) doe vſe to ſhaue their beards, but others do weare them of ſome length. The Gentlemen do cutte ſhort the haire on their cheekes, & ſuffer their beards to grow to ſuch length, as it will couer all their bodie. They weare alſo a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to ſeeme the more dreadfull and terrible, conſiſting of diuers colours, and tearmed by them *Braccates*. They haue long skirted Iackets or Caſſockes, rewed or ſtreaked, beeing of the very courſeſt Cloath, which they vſe for winter, and the moſt ſimple or ſlendereſt for ſummer. *Diodorus* ſpeaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reaſon whereby the Romans called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the ſame Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde. *Strabo* likewiſe writeth in his fourth book concerning their haire, their Caſſockes, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their ſhort open cloaks which hardly couered halfe theyr Buttockes. All theſe Authors do agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germaines, and to be of a redde colour, according as *Titus Liuius*, and *Diodorus* haue written. *Caſar* ſpeaking of thē of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do all paint themſelues with an hearb, called by them **Glaſtum*, which cauſeth a blewiſh or azure colour: and this made them very dreadfull to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their lockes of haire very long; ſhauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the vpper lip.

Diod. in Lib. 5 How the Gaules wore their beards, and ſome other apparrel.

Strabo in Lib. 4

Titus Liui. dec. 3. Lib. 2. cap: 1 Diodor. in L. 5. Iul. Caſar. com. Lib. 7. Of the ancient Britaines.

*The Hearbe Woade, vſed by Dyers.

Diodorus purſuing his purpoſe concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the mettall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeauour. For, in regard that the moſt part of the riuers haue their courſes verie troubleſome, vneaſie in paſsing, & wheeling or circkling in wide compaſſe: the waters which deſcend from the hilles and mountaines, by diſperſing themſelues abroad in the valleyes, do ſcatter a ſand on the fields, which is mingled with golde. Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they diſcerne the golde to ſhine, and permitting them to become hard: they then breake them in peeces, and when they haue waſhed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hurle the reſt into a furnace, and ſo melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulten and drawne out the golde pure and cleane, the women and men do adorne themſelues therewith: for they weare it in rings on their fingers, and in bracelets about their armes, and in Carcanets on their breſts, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. *Polybius* alſo maketh mention in his ſecond booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke ſpeaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefeſt are in the Country of * *Tarbellos*: and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto ſuch as were in honor and dignitie.

Diod. in Lib. 5 No ſiluer in al the countrey of Gaule, but gold naturally

How they gather their gold amongſt the Gaules, & adorne themſelues therewith.

Polyb. in Lib 2

Strabo in Lib. 4

The countrey of Gaſcoigne, neere to the Pyrenean Mountaines.

But *Caſar* and *Tacitus* do ſpeake of another manner of want or pouerty (of this magnificence) amongſt the Germaines. They vſe (ſaieth *Caſar*) skinnes in their garments, and ſhort cloakes made of furred skins, hauing the greater part of their body naked. But *Tacitus* ſpeaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germains, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were fauourable to them or quite contrary; becauſe they denied them the

Iul. Caſar in Com. lib. 7

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 6. c. 3.

No Golde or Siluer among the Germans.

the mettals of gold and ſiluer. Notwithſtanding, I will not ſet it downe aſſuredly, but that there may bee ſome veine of gold or ſiluer in Germany: yet who (at any time) hath made ſearch for it? They haue no ſuch affection thereto, as to apply it to any ſeruice. Som veſſels of ſiluer haue beene found amongſt them (which haue bene giuen to their Ambaſſadors, or to their Princes) and yet to be held in no more eſteeme or reckoning, then thoſe that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard that they haue trafficked with our people: do make more eſteeme of gold and ſiluer, allowing and commending ſome peeces of our monies. They that liue further off in the Countrey, doe deale more ſimply, and (according to the moſt ancient manner) make their traffick by exchange. They receiue the old mony, and ſuch as they haue had longeſt knowledge of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue the coin of ſiluer better then that of gold; not that they beare therto any particular affection, but becauſe the ſiluer money is eaſieſt for them in buying things common, and of ſmalleſt price. The vſuall habit or garment to them all, is a long skirted Iacket or Caſſocke which they faſten together with a buckle, but (for want thereof) with a great pin. The reſt of the body is not couered with any thing, and they ſit the moſt part of the day vpon the hearth, ſomewhat neere to the fire. Such as are of greateſt wealth, doe differ from the other in their garments, which are not ſo ample or large as thoſe of the *Sarmates*, or of the Parthians: but iuſtly fitted to the body, and ſuch as maketh apparant ſhew of euery mẽber. They wear the skins of wild beaſts, and ſuch as dwell neereſt to the riuers, are moſt curious of their habit: but they of more remote abiding, vſe no great curioſity, as being leaſt carefull what they weare, becauſe they liue ſo far from ſtrangers. When they haue made choiſe of their beaſts skinnes, they do the like of fiſhes, taking ſuch as are the greateſt, or as the Ocean and moſt vnknowne Seas do yeeld, and fulleſt of ſpots, and ſo they ſowe them together. The Women are no otherwiſe habited then the men: but that the women are oftner couered with a garment of linnen, inter-wouen with a ſcarlet colour. They care for no ſleeues on the height of their armes, but are naked downe from the very ſhoulders and part of the breaſt (neereſt adioyning) is as nakedly diſcouered. Thus you ſee the gayeſt brauery of the Gaules, & how ſimple the Germans are in their garments: it remaineth now that we ſay ſomewhat of their houſes and dwellings.

Veſſels of Siluer held in no more account then the like made of earth

The *Serrati* & *Bigati* wer monies amongſt the ancient Romanes.

The common wearing habit of the Germanes.

They weare skins of wilde beaſts, and of fiſhes.

What garments the women did wear.

CHAP. III.

Of the houſes and dwellings of the Gaules; their Townes and villages, and of what manner they were.

THe habitations of the Gauls (according as *Strabo* ſayth) are wide and ſpacious, made of earth and planchers of wood, & couered with ſtrong reeds arched on the top together in form of a vault: for ſo *Cæſar* in the fift booke of the Gaules warres ſaith, That the Lodgings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were couered with ſtraw and reeds, according to the manner of the Gaules. And in his ſixt booke he ſheweth, that the more part of the Mannor-houſes appertaining to the gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or on the riuers. Speaking of the houſe of *Ambiorix*, which was altogether engirt with woods; *As were wel-nere al* (ſayth he) *the houſes of the Gauls are, who to ſhun the heate, do dwel in woods, and neere to riuers.* Cæſar deliuereth plainly, that the Aquitaines, Celts and firſt Belgians, had their Cities and Townes encloſed both with walles and ditches: but it may be doubted whether the like prouiſion was vſed among the Gaules further off, and ſuch as were neereſt to the North; as the [a] *Morini*, [b] *Aduatiques*, [c] *Menapians*, and [d] *Ebnrones*.

Cæſar declareth, That the moſt part of theſe Belgians, are deſcended of the Germaines, and ſaith, that the Germains had not their Townes and Villages made after our manner: as may bee obſerued by that which *Tacitus* hath written according to the cuſtome which they had in his time. It is ſufficiently known (ſaith he) that the German people dwell not in any Towns,

Of their houſes, lodgings, & dwellings *Strabo in Lib. 4*

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 5.

Lib. 6.

Of their firſt Cities and Townes.

[a] People about Turwain by the Britiſh Ocean.

[b] Of Narbone in France.

[c] Inhabiting both ſides of Rheine, next to the Vbii.

[d] Of the country Liege or Luke, beyond Brabant. *Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5.*

The maner of their building among the Germanes.

Townes, neither that they could endure to haue their houſes neere vnto one another. They dwell diſtant or apart, ſcatteringly, where either riuers, fieldes, or woods do beſt content them. Their Villages are not after our faſhion: for their houſes do not touch or ioyne neere each other. Euery one leaueth a great wide diſtance or compaſſe about his dwelling; either to auoid the diſaſtrous fortunes of fire, or elſe becauſe they know not how to build better. They vſe neither Morter nor Tiles: but the matter which doeth them ſeruice, is very rude, and is not prepared either for beauty or pleaſure. They plaiſter ſome places much more reſpectiuely, with a kinde of earth ſo cleane & ſhining, as it ſeemeth to contend with painting, & portraitures of colours. They were wont to make caues vnder the ground, and couered them with thicke clods of dung, to withdraw themſelues thither in the winter time, and therein alſo to hide theyr Corne; becauſe in ſuch places, the colde weather had not ſo great power, & when the enemy came, hee could make pillage of nothing, but what hee found readily diſcouered. As for that which was thus hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing thereof, would beſtow the leſſe paines & ſearch, in further enquiry after it. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh (almoſt) as much of the Britains. They tearmed it a Towne (ſaith he) when they had encloſed ſome tuffy wood with ditches and pales; whereinto they were wont to retire themſelues, to ſhunne the courſes of their enemies. And whereas *Cæſar* ſpeaketh ſometimes of certaine Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion, hee is ſo to be vnderſtood.

Their Caues and ſtorehouſes of Corne vnder ground

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6.

Returne we now to the townes of the Belgians, which are vp higher in the coũtry, and heere my queſtion is: Whether they had any ſuch Townes as the Britains or no? We will firſt of all ſpeake of the *Morini*, who (according as *Cæſar* writeth) beganne to make war, but in a quite contrary manner then the other Gaules. For they hauing heard, that the very greateſt Nations which had hazarded battel, were quite defeated and conquered: withdrew themſelues & their goods into the ſtrongeſt places, which were great and long forreſts, encompaſſed with fenny or marſhy grounds. *Cæſar* being come vnto the entrance of ſome ſuch forreſt, and hauing concluded there to fortifie his campe: as the *Romanes* were ſeriouſly imployed about their buſines; the enemy (of whom they had no doubt at all) ſallied forth vpon them vnprouided, at moſt places of the wood, and charged the *Romanes* very ſharply. Hereupon, they betooke them to their Armes, and repulſed them backe into the wood, and hauing ſlaine a great number of them, purſued them thorough many vneaſie places, yet with very little loſſe of their people. The next day following, *Cæſar* determined to fell down the Forreſt, and ſuſpecting leaſt ſome harme might be done by the Flankers to Soldiers vnarmed: he cauſed al the trees which were hewne downe, to bee made as rampiers againſt the enemy, and to ſerue as defences on either ſide.

Of towns belonging to the Belgians

Of the Morini, that made war, contrarie to all the other Gaules.

The Morini ſet vpon the Romanes and were repulſed

Hauing made a great ſpacious countrey (in few dayes) by incredible diligence, after that the Romaines had made themſelues Maiſters of the cattle & baggage which was in the rereward; they withdrew themſelues into the thickeſt of the Forreſt. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh this of the wood of the *Morini*, which ſerued them as a Towne or Village. And the yeare after, in regard of the drought which had dried vp all the Mariſhes (as is to be ſeene in his fourth booke) they hauing no more refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare before, were (almoſt all of them) ſubdued by *Labienus*. In theſe two warres, hee maketh no mention of any other Townes, then of woods and mariſhes.

Cæſar & his men purſue the Morini into the Forreſt

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*, in thoſe Countries where the Romaine Legions were brogh̃t, vnder the conduct of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is ſet downe alſo in his fourth booke. They made ſpoyle in the fields, deſtroyed the Corne, ſet the houſes on fire; and all this happened, becauſe the *Menapians* had hid themſelues in the thickeſt Forreſts. Afterward *Cæſar* himſelfe came to them with fiue legions. But they (as *Cæſar* ſaith) not hauing gathered any forces together, truſting only in the ſecurity of the place, withdrew themſelues into the woods and mariſhes, and carried thither their goods alſo. *Cæſar* hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fabius*, who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Craſſus* Treaſorer of his wars, and hauing alſo ſodainely prouided bridges for paſſage, gaue them aſſault three ſeuerall wayes;

Of the Menapians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.*

The ſtratagem of Cæſar againſt the Menapians, thorough theyr owne negligence.

wayes, and burning their houſes and villages, made himſelfe Maſter of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* ſeeing themſelues in this diſtreſſe; were conſtrained to ſend Ambaſſadours, humbly to entreate peace. In this place alſo there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but ſuch as wee haue alreadie ſpoken of.

Of the Neruians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 2.*

By due obſeruation of this diſcourſe, perhaps the villages of the *Neruians* will appear to be euen the like. The *Neruians* (this ſpeaketh *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke) from all antiquity, not hauing any power of horſemen (for euen to this day they do not addict their mindes thereto, but all the ſtrength which they haue, conſiſteth onely in footemen) to the end they may impeach and withſtand the horſemen of their neighbours, if they make any inrode vpon them, to rob and ſpoile them, cutting downe yong trees that had ſhot forth ſtrong branches, they twined them together, and interweauing briars and thorns among them, they wrought them ſo artificially, that theſe hedges or fences ſerued them as a wall; wherein not onely a man could not enter, but alſo he was vnable to ſee or diſcerne any thing.

The politicke defence of the Neruians againſt horſemen of their neighbours or other enimies

The Neruians had no walled townes or villages of defence.

In the ſame warre of the *Neruians*, the women, & ſuch as (in regard of their age) were not ſeruiceable for bearing armes, had neuer any Village or Town for their ſafety, which was engirt with wals; but in ſuch a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, becauſe of the mariſh grounds, which were the onely hinderance.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

The 2. war of Cæſar againſt the Neruians.

Now, in this firſt warre againſt the *Neruians*, wee may plainly perceiue that they had not any Towne encloſed with wals: and we may well credit it by that which is in the ſixt booke. For *Cæſar* hauing aſſembled foure Legions with all poſsible diligence, entred (vnawares) into the Country of the *Neruians*, and before they could either draw their ſtrength together, or tell how to ſaue themſelues: after hee had ſurprized a great number of men, and heards of Cattle, and diſperſed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waſte their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliuer him hoſtages. This paſſage likewiſe of the *Neruians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other townes or villages in thoſe times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

Of the Aduatiques. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 2*

It may appeare alſo, that the *Aduaticates* (by that which *Cæſar* writeth in his ſecond booke) haue had the like townes. Hauing forſaken (ſaith he) al their townes and Caſtles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully ſtrong by naturall ſituation. For, hauing (on al ſides about it) huge rocks & downfalles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or deſcending downward, yet in a ſweete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more then two hundred foote. This way or paſſage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the ſame was ſtrengthened in many places with mighty huge ſtones, and ſharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Cæſar* deſcribeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one ſide of the Towne. And the like may be eaſily prooued in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are alſo called Germaines by *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke. Theſe men, vnder the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had ouercom *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fifteene Companies, neere to *Vatuqua*, as it is ſet downe in the fift booke. *Cæſar* who had neuer receiued a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this loſſe, and vtterly to aboliſh and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he ſent *Baſilus* on before with the whole band of horſe, and leauing a legion for guard of the baggage; he diuided the other nine into three Regiments, to ouerrunne and make ſpoile of the whole Countrey. He cauſed *Labienus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee ſent *Trebonius* with the ſame number of Legions, to ſacke that Countrey which was neereſt to the *Aduatiques*. Himſelfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, ſtayed to go toward the riuer *Sabis*, and the vtmoſt parts of the Forteſt of * *Ardene*.

A ſtrong fortified town of the Aduaticates.

Of the Eburones. *Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 2.*

Cæſars determination for reuenge vpon the Eburones

The ſeuerall Legions committed to Labienus and Trebonius.

* A wood 500. miles in length, reaching from the riuer Rheine, to the City of Tourney.

The *Eburones* not hauing any certaine Army, neither garriſon, or any Towne wherein they might defend themſelues by Armes, and the whole popularity being ſcattered euery where abroad; retired themſelues to ſuch places as were obſcure valleyes, or wilde and ſauage, or vvhere the mooriſh Fennes made a troubleſome ac-

acceſſe to them; theſe preſented them with ſome imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and ſaue themſelues. *Cæſar* in this fiery heate of reuenge, perceyuing the great danger which might enſue, by hauing thus ſeparated his Legionaries; called all the neere-neighbouring Citties (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might bee vtterly confounded. And becauſe he could not (as yet) appeaſe his thirſting ſoule by ſuch ſpoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himſelfe once more on his way, to giue further vexation to his enemies, aſſembling infinite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adioyning parts, and ſo ſent them outward by ſundry wayes. They burned all the villages, and euery houſe that they could finde ſtanding. The ſelfeſame deſire of vengeance (as is to bee ſeene in his eight booke) enflamed him the third time, and the like waſte he made: neuertheleſſe, he ſpeaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may iuſtly bee obſerued, that the *Belgians* as they were deſcended of the *Germaines*, ſo in like manner they had the ſame order of dwelling.

The *Bellouaſi*, or *Bellouaſians* in like ſort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as wel in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongſt them: yet it appeareth, that they were no ſtraungers to this cuſtome: for in the firſt warre, he ſpeaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named * *Bractuſpancium*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may ſeeme to be ſpoken ſufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

The great deſire of Cæſar, to be reuenged on the Eburones, for the loſſe and damage that he ſuſtained.

Iul Cæſ. in com. Lib. 8.

Of the Bellouaſi or Bellouaſians.

* Thoght now to be the Towne Tuliſurgium in low Germany

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Humanity, Liberality, Hoſpitality, & Courteſie of the Gaules to ſtrangers, and care for beneſiting each other equally.

IFinde nothing written in *Cæſar*, of the playes, ſports, & paſtimes of the youth among the Gauls. As for the Germans, *Tacitus* writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of ſpectacle in euery aſſembly yong boies that conceiued delight in this ſport, would run or leape forth violently (and ſtarke naked) before ſwords & Iauelines directed againſt them. This exerciſe grew to be an Art, and Art made it verie gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to bee pleaſing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very ſtayed and ſetled iudgment) at ſuch deſperate games of hazard and dangerous aduenture, as would make a man bluſh to ſtand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in ſuch earneſt manner, as if they were at ſtrife for ſome matter of great moment: yea, ſuch was their affection to the gaine or loſſe, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would ſtriue about the very laſt hazard, laying downe their own liberty and perſon in pawne. Whoſoeuer loſt himſelfe, would yeelde to the others ſeruitude, with his owne kinde conſent: And albeit hee were neuer ſo young and ſtrong, yet (in regard of his loſſe) he wold ſuffer himſelfe to be bound and ſold. For ſuch was their wilfull obſtinacy, that they would lay down faith vpon the very leaſt occaſion.

Of ſports and recreations amongſt the Germaines.

Deſperate & dangerous games among the younger ſort: yet purſued in the very earneſteſt manner.

But whoſoeuer would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courteſy, as well in the Gaules as in the Germains, let him read what followeth. They would inuite ſtrangers (this ſpeaketh *Diodorus* of the Gaules) to feaſt with them. And after nature was ſufficed, they would enquire what people they were, and what occaſion drew them thither. But *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* giueth this commendation vnto the Germaines, by writing much more amply. Th y make it a matter of great Conſcience (ſaith *Cæſar*) to offer any outrage to ſtrangers, who, be it for what cauſe ſoeuer they come amongſt them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be ſacred people, each one allowing them part of his houſe, & whatſoeuer he had to liue on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good chear together, and feaſt ſtrangers. They doe make great conſcience in denying houſe-room to any commer; for each man will Feaſt him

Humanity, liberality, and courteſy both in the Gaules and Germans

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib 5 Corn. Tacit. in lib. 7.

The loue and hoſpitality of the Germans, which they afford to ſtrangers.

him according to his power: And when he hath no further meanes, he that is the Hoſte, enſtructeth him to another mans dwelling; and thereinto (without any further bidding) they enter both togither, euen the neereſt houſe they come vnto; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vſed with extraordinarie courteſie. As concerning the rites of hoſpitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he deſireth any thing, it is their order and cuſtom to grant it: as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts: but will receyue no recompence for whatſoeuer they giue, or think themſelues indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a teſtimony of their worthy hoſpitality, & I am of the minde, that ſo great an honor deſerueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iuſtly deſerueth in regard of this Vertue.

No difference betweene a known friend & a ſtranger.

Phaleas the Chalcedonian, did firſt publiſh in the Commonwealth (as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankinde (which are riches and pouerty) might be baniſht from the Citty. And this is that which *Plato* (moſt of all other) wiſhed for the grounded eſtate of a happy Commonwealth. But the Germains neuer fixed their imaginations on ſuch a moſt fortunate Commonwealth, by diſputes and diſcourſes onely; but accompliſhed and brought it to effect by their owne good cuſtoms and honeſt examples: For ſome of them (as *Cæſar* auoucheth in his ſixt booke, ſpeaking of the Germaines) had not any certain meaſure of land, or any particular limitation: but the Princes and Magiſtrates aſſigned euery yeare (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) ſomuch ground or land, and ſuch a ſite or ſituation, as vnto them ſeemed beſt and conuenient; & the yeare following, they were conſtrained to ſeeke elſewhere. In his fourth booke, hee ſayth as much of the *Sueues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among thē: neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a yeare in a place, to Til or make it husbandable. This is the equality of goods, which then was among the Germaines.

Ariſt in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 6. Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankinde.

Plato in Lib. de Legib. cap. 9.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

The order of the Germains holding of their Landes.

Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib 4.

Equality of goods among the Germans.

And they rendered great ſtore of reaſons for this equality, as the ſame Author witneſſeth in his ſixt booke, viz. Fearing leaſt beeing retained by an accuſtomed continuance in one quarter, they ſhould forſake the profeſſion of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, leaſt they ſhould withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extendure of their bounds or limits: and growing to be too potent in ſtrength, they ſhould oueraweand expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing alſo, leaſt they ſhould be ouer curious in building, to defend themſelues againſt cold and heat, and ſo proue to be ſtarke Cowards. Fearing beſide, leſt a wicked couetous deſire ſhould ariſe among them, of ſcraping and gathering goods together: wheron (cuſtommarily) inſueth threatnings, diſſentions, & blood. Alſo, to the end that the popular ſort might bee contained within a reaſonable contentment of mind, when the meaneſt perceiued his goods to be equal with the moſt powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of Cæſar, touching the qualitie of goods vſed then among the Germaines: and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behauiour either in the Cretanes or Laconians; all that they could auouch or ſay, was; to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then meer barbarouſneſſe.

The reaſons of the Germaines, for their equality in goods. The firſt.

The ſecond.

The third.

The fourth.

The 5. and laſt

Compariſon of the Greeks with Cæſars words.

Seruitude or bondage was in vſe aſwel among the Germaines and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (ſo ſpeaketh Cæſar in his ſixt booke, diſcourſing on the Gauls (finding themſelues to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or iniuries of the mightier ſort) did yeild themſelues into ſeruitude or ſlauery of Gentlemen, who had the ſelfeſame right ouer them, as Maſters had ouer their ſlaues. It ſhould ſeeme, that this Maſterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Liuius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vſed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foote. For they were then controlled and handled by their Maſters, as the bodies of debters were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintillian* writeth in the ſixt chapter of

Bondage or ſeruile life amongſt the Germains and Gaules. *Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib 6*

Titus Liuius in Lib. 2. dec. 1.

of his third booke) or diuided betweene the creditors, according to the law of the twelue Tables. And that Law (as himselfe saith) which naturally was not to bee allowed, and yet (notwithstanding) permitted as in right, was reprehended by publicke custome, and oftentimes (to remedy the same in meere pitty) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respite, abolishing extorting interests, and making a new obligation for the principall.

The Romane Law of the 12. Tables.

But the Gaules vsed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romaines did; because the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons, such as thus stoode obliged to them, and they vsed their seruice also in their warres. Wherefore it appeareth, that that which *Diodorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodyes, such as (among freemen) were poore and needy, and they serued them as Esquires and Armor-bearers in the warre. *Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vsed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaues among the Germaines. They do not vse their slaues (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses: for euery one serueth himselfe, and gouerneth his houshold affaires. The Master chargeth his slaue with certaine measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of cloth: euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse. If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It sildome or neuer hapneth, that a master doth beat his slaue or bindeth him, or enforceth and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kil them, yet not by any maner of rigorous or seuere chastisement; but in choller, as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge. Freemen had no more aduantages then seruants. Seldom or rarely were they aduanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires: except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king, and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen. Among other Nations, libertines, being not receiued into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romaines

Diodor. in L. 6. cap. 10.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 5.

Of the slaues amongst the Germaines.

Of seruices done in the house.

Freemen had no more benefit then seruants.

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules vsed to educate and bring vp their children. Of their corage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.

THese then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature: whereat *Cæsar* was much amazed, when hee beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Affrica*: you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if wee would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their mãhood and valiancy: were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue beene conquered by them, and the Colonies established thoroughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Cæsar* in his sixt booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behauiour, to wit; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villaine, whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæsar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to bear Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was imployed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

The dispositiõ & strength of body amongst the Gaules.

The manhood & valor of the ancient Gaules.

Cæsar in comment lib. 6

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by Cæsar.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germaines, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custom (saith he) that no one should vndertake the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his sufficiency

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 7.

At what time they came to serue the Cõmonwealth in martiall manner.

ficiency. Then, in the martiall Consistorie, either some one of the Princes, or his Father, or els his neereſt Kinſman, armed the yong man with a ſhield and a Iauelin. This was the * *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the firſt degree of honor, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the houſe onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealth. *Ariſtotle*, who wrote long time before *Cæſar*, declareth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it ſeemeth in the 8. Booke of his Politicks) that hee learned this inſtruction of vs. It is neceſſary (ſaith he) to accuſtome and vſe the very yongeſt children to indure cold weather: for it profiteth maruellouſly, as well for the diſpoſition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reaſon, why ſome barbarous people (as the Celts) obſerued it as a cuſtome, to plunge their young Infants (ſo ſoone as they were borne) in the coldeſt water of the riuer, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatſoeuer thing youth ought to apply it ſelf, this is the beſt courſe; to accuſtom them therto (by little and little) from their yongeſt houre, and when they are tender; becauſe of the heate which is naturally in them, & therefore the firſt thing to be done, is to be carefull in this one point.

Ariſtotle in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their cuſtomes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greekes to faſhion themſelues after their manner. I know that *Galen* ſharply reproueth this behauiour, when in the firſt booke of his Gouernment of health, and inſtructing how to order health, he ſaith. I am not of the minde, that Children ſhould onely bee nurſed among the Germaines. Alſo, that which he writes of, is neither for the Germaines, or for any other ſuch ſauage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or ſuch other beaſts. I knowe (I ſay) that *Galen* reprehendeth this cuſtome ſeuerely; but I know likewiſe, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* ſtriueth to pleaſe, in preſcribing them an order for theyr health: haue beene quite deuoured by theſe Lyons (as he tearmeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedemon*, which was the moſt noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being ſtudious in hardning it ſelfe to trauaile, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did dayly imbolden themſelues againſt al manner of paines and exerciſes: neuer entering into the eſpecial aſſembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycurgus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gauls and Germaines, but (ouer and beſide) the authority of *Ariſtotle*, as alſo of *Lacedemon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well ſerue to anſwer the reaſons of *Galen*. We may alſo inferre (to this purpoſe) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he ſaith; The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them; to refuſe no taking of pains, as fearing to becom fat and ſwoln bellied by eaſe: therfore they puniſhed and condemned vnto ſome pecuniary fine, ſuch yong men as grew groſſe through ſloath and exceſſe. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romaines was conformeable; that depriued any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horſe graunted him by publique allowance.

Now it is further to be conſidered, that this exerciſe was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common vſe with the Germaines theyr brethren, as *Galen* himſelfe hath elſwhere declared. Let vs liſten then to *Cæſar*, who heerein giueth them ſufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his ſixt book) they addicted them ſelues to paines taking, and imployed (almoſt) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beaſts, in the Forreſt called *Hercynia*: as wilde Bulles, *Alces*, but eſpecially Buffles, which they tooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there ſlew them. The yong men hardned themſelues to this trauell, and euermore exerciſed this manner of hunting: & they which had ſlaine moſt of them, bringing their hornes to publicke view, as a teſtimony of their diligence, receiued both reward and great praiſe. This yeeldeth ſufficient demonſtration, how the yong men prepared their ſpirits, to endure all paine

A Garment which the Romaines did alwayes weare in peace.

Ariſt in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 3.

Ariſtotle called the Celtes barbarous people.

Ariſtotle commendeth the Celts cuſtoms to the Grecians.

Galen in Gub. San. lib. 1. cap. 3

Galens reprehenſion of the Germains education of their children

Lacedemon ſhaped it ſelfe to endure the hard cuſtoms of the Celtes.

Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

Strabo in Lib. 4

The Gaules were laborious & painful

Knights had publike Horſes allowed them.

The Germans brethren to the Gaules.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6.

*A great wood in Germany, in bredth nine dayes iourny, and in length forty.

*A wild beaſt in faſhion and skin like a fallow Deere.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skilfull Doctors, which were beſt able to giue them inſtructions; yet (at leaſt) of their owne ſelues, and ſo put it in effectuall execution.

The *Gauls* wer alwayes in actions of arms, *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 6.*

Let vs now obſerue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet ſayeth; The braue workemanſhippe of Mars, becauſe the Gauls were perpetually in war. For, before *Cæſar* came thither (as hee hath written in his ſixt booke) it hapned euery yeare, that either they aſſailed others, or elſe were glad to defend themſelues; and it was eaſily knowne, that by a cuſtome among the Gaules, age was no excuſe to any man, as appeareth by diuers paſſages in the eight booke. *Vertiſcus*, a chiefe Commander of the * *Rhemi*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himſelfe on horſebacke, becauſe he was ſo farre gone in yeares: yet notwithſtanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuſe by his age, in vndergoing ſuch charges as were impoſed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight ſhould bee performed without him. Likewiſe, in the warre of the *Pariſians*, the whole charge (as is to be ſeene in the ſeuenth Booke) was giuen vnto *Camulogenus*, an eſpeciall man of the * *Aulerci*, who was well-neere wholly ſpent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, aduanced him to the higheſt degree of Honor. Anſwerable to this, *Strabo* ſaith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

* People of Belgia, next to the *Leuci* and *Mediomatrices*.

* People of Roane in *Normandy*.

Strabo in lib. 5.

Ariſtot'e writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in moſt ſingular reſpect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Cæſar* affirmeth, that the cauſe of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he ſaith: The moſt valiant people of al the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Ariſt in Polit lib. 8 cap. 6.

Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib. 8

Now, as Temperance was the firſt and formoſt in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurſe (at leaſt) of true valiancy: ſo the ſecond cauſe which *Cæſar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further ſide of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I ſay) was another cauſe of their valor, that continually they exerciſed armes, and by the ſame reaſon, the *Heluetians* ſurpaſſed (in this vertue) all the other *Celtes*: As it might daily be diſcerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, eyther in repulſing them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place alſo might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmiſhes, to deliuer true faithfulneſſe of their valour. Moreouer, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might ſtill be in exerciſe of armes: gaue themſelues to theſts and robberies, as *Diodorus* ſaith, purloyning the goods of others, without any prouiſion of their owne. What were the Germanes? ſaith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath beene already declared, was no way imployed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his ſixt Booke, the very greateſt honour that any Citty could haue, was, to haue a great Deſert & ſpacious Country round about it. They eſteemed it to bee proper and naturall to vertue, to compell their expulſed neighbours, to forſake their Lands and Territories, ſo that few or none durſt dwel nere vnto them. And by this meanes, they imagined themſelues to be in the greateſt ſecurity, in being deliuered from al dread of courſes, which ſuddenly might bee made into their Country.

The *Heluetians* exceled al the other *Celtes* in Armes.

The *Gauls* wer addicted to theſts & robberies. *Diodor. in lib. 6*

The greateſt honour of a City among the *Germans*.

Few or no neighbours durſt dwell neere to the *Gaules*.

Tacitus ſpeaketh of the ſame exerciſe of armes. You could not ſo readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and corne, as to go aſſaile the enemy, and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreouer, it appeared to them, that it was meere ſloth and carleſneſſe, to winne that by ſweate and labour, which a man might purchaſe with the price of his blood. *Cæſar* ſaith likewiſe of the Germanes, the ſame that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and theſts. Robberies (thus ſpeaketh *Cæſar* in his ſixt booke) did not make men any iot the worſe eſteemed: ſo that they were done out of thoſe limits, which appertained to each Citty. And it is ſaid that they vſed theſe courſes: onely to exerciſe their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydleneſſe. And when ſome one of the Lords would deliuer his

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 6. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites of the earth, but al to aſſaile the enemy.

Iul. Cæſ in com. lib. 6.

Theſts & robberies thoght not diſcomendable, but allowed & followed with no meane affection.

minde in an open assembly, that he wold be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselues. Such as gaue consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their vttermost assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprize. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gaue allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repose any credite in them.

Corn. Tacit. in li. 6. cap. 2 The Germane warred with strange nations.

Tacitus addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew slothfull and ydle, thorough long peace and repose; the most part of the yongest Gentlemen went (vpon their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made proofe of, made them also the more famous: and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberall, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

The meanes for maintaining their bounty and liberality.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserued those commendations, wherewith the first and cheefest of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

We are hardly bred, Babes are no sooner borne,
But we to Riuers beare them, hurle them in;
To harden them against both wet and colde.
Heere, our young people giue themselues to hunting,
And haunt the Forrests. The pastimes they affect,
Is taming wildest Horses, draw the Bowe.
Sometimes our youth, imboldened to labour
Make small account of husbanding the ground:
But to besiedge strong holdes. Each age we passe,
Managing sturdy yron, turning our Staues
To pierce the hides of Bulles. Slowe, tardy age,
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.
With snow-white heads we enter Armes, and still
Seeke for fresh pillage, liuing on the booty.

Concerning the birth, breeding, and education of the Gaules of greatest antiquity.

Especiall obseruations concerning the auncient Gaules, omitted by *Cæsar* in his writing of their warres.

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Cæsar*, discoursing on the fashions and customes of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what vse they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vsed, beeing in the fielde; what their strength and valor was in fights & combates: it would haue caused an extraordinaty pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our auncestours in their warlike actions. But *Cæsar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuertheless, we will pursue each matter, insomuch as possibly wee may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as wee can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgement of other Authors.

CHAP. VI.

How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military Seruices and discipline.

What election they made of their Generals for war

THE wars which *Cæsar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generalles, and other cheefe Leaders in their martiall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwaies made in a publike assembly, & how euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Induciomarus*, Prince of *Trenes*, pub-

published an assembly in armes against the Romanes; as is to bee seene in the fift booke of the warres in Gaule. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vsed to meete together in armes: but he that came latest, in the presence of the whole assembly (after hee had beene tormented with all the tortures could be deuised) hee was afterward put to death. The selfe same custom is declared in the seuenth booke, when *Vercingetorix*, being elected Generall for the warre of the Gaules; was besiedged in * *Alixia*. For he tooke counsell, to discharge all the troupes of horse which he had with him, and at parting, he gaue thē charge, to returne each man to the City, whereof he was a member, and there to assemble or muster for the warre, all such as were of age to carry armes. Neuertheless, the Gaules hauing published the assembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw al thē together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vercingetorix* had ordained: but rather apointed, that each City should be furnished with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwise chuse but breed confusion by beeing vnable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any possible meanes of prouision for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were studious in military affayres, considering, that all such as were aboue fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

Iulius Cæsar in comment. Lib 5

A seuere custome among the Gaules.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7.

* The Citty *Aussois* in *Burgoyne*.

The Gaules contrary in opinio to *Vercingetorix*, and vpon good reasons.

The Gaules studious in martiall affaires.

The Gaules armed themselues quite contrary to the Romanes, as is to bee obserued in the seuenth booke, where hee speaketh of the * *Hedui*, that came to the seruice of *Cæsar*, who very greatly astonished the Romanes, by vsing their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Cæsars* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Liuius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vsed, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or slashe withall, but also to thrust or soine, so saieth *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Liuius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

* Sometime people of that country which is now called Bourgundy.

Polyb. in lib. 4. Diodor. in lib: 3 Strabo in lib. 6. Tit. Liu. in lib. 4 Dec. 3.

Their Target or Shielde was large, and answerable vnto each mans stature or constitution: and, according to their seuerall delight or pleasure, so was it enriched with Imagerie of brazen Beasts, mounted vp into bosses. Their Iaueline had a head of yron or steele, containing a cubite in length, and two fingers bredth *Cæsar* in his third book saith, that they likewise caried a staffe, which he tearmeth *Geses*, & another, called by him *Meris*, which was a certaine kind of small Iauelin. Their heads were couered with a Sallade or head-peece of brasse, a little exalted or raised vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beasts, and antique shapes. Their vsual Corselet was of yron.

Of their swords shields & Iauelins.

Iul. Cæs. in Comment. lib. 3.

Of their Sallades, Head-peeces and Corslets.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, so farre as the nauil: as *Titus Liuius* saieth, in the battaile at *Cannas*, and *Polybius* speketh as much of the same fight in this manner. It was a verye dreadfull sight, to obserue the behauior of naked men, who marched on stoutly, shewing an excellent beauty, and vndauntable strength. In like manner, *Titus Liuius* saieth, that in * *Gallogræcia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reason, why they were ouercome by the Romanes, who smote them afarre off with their Piles, which were a kinde of small Iauelins, and darted at them very strongly. The Gaules likewise vsed Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* saieth; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any string or other holde, would smite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (most commonly) shoote at Birds. It is also very certaine (as the same Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaule, somewhat resembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had some likenesse to the chapter of a Corinthian piller. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vsed to impoyson the heads of theyr Arrowes. That it was so, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Cæsar* prooueth verie pregnantly in his seauenth Booke, where hee speaketh of *Vercingetorix*. Hee commaunded (saieth he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaule) should be leuyed, and sent vnto him, as it will

Some of the *Gauls* fought naked so farre as the nauil. *Polyb. in lib. 4.*

* A Countrie in the lesser *Asia*, ioyning to *Phrygia* and *Lydia*.

Strabo in lib. 5. of their bowes and slings.

Of a strange Tree growing in *Gaule*, that poisond their Arrow heads.

That the *Gauls* were great Archers *Iul. Cæs. in comm. lib 7.*

appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

The Armes & defensiue weapons of the Germaines.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germaines, which *Tacitus* describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldome defended themselues with swords or long staues: for they carried Iauelines, or (to vse their owne proper word) *Framées*; the blades whereof were straite and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their seruice, that they could vse them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy gripes. The Horseman contented himselfe with his shield and Iaueline: but foote soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly cloathed with a simple Cassocke or Mandillion. They had no brauery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morrion. These are the Armes which the ancient Gauls are credibly said to weare.

A short Glaue or two-edged sword.

Of the horse and foote Soldiers habites.

No brauerie on their garments.

What vse they made of their men of warre.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsemen were in most estimation among the Gauls, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Cæsar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gaules made against *Cæsar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe of fifteene thousand, which was that part of the army, wherby the Gaules made themselues strongest, as plainly appeareth in the seauenth Booke. Neuertheless, no assurance can bee collected heereby, concerning all the cities in their seuerall forces. The people of *Treues*, or the [a] *Treuiri*, were the very strongest of all the Gaules in horsemen, as is to be seene in the fift book. The [b] *Santones*, according as wee reade in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsemen: but the *Neruians* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot souldiers. Notwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the Cauallery had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gaules. And these were the horsemen, wherewith *Cæsar* vvas most assisted in his ciuill wars. For so him selfe testifieth in the first booke of his Ciuill Warre, that when *Affranius* came with great forces to assaile the Cæsarians who were but a few in number: sodainely the horsemen of the Gaules were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemie. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the Cæsarians safety: for, in that while, they had leysure to gaine theselues the highest parts of the hils, & there sheltred themselues securely.

A league made by the Gauls against Cæsar.

a Betweene Belgia, & the riuer Mosella.

b People of that place, now called Xantong in Aquitaine.

The horsmen had the highest honour of the warre.

Iul Cæsin 1. de Bel. ciu. l.

The comming of Affranius against the Cæsarians with his Ensignes of the legions.

Likewise, in the warre of *Affrica*, when the enemy (with powerfull forces) came to deale vvith the hoast of *Cæsar*, and to attache them in the rere; suddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and vvith vnconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened, That lesse then thirty horse of the Gaules, repulsed two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strēgth of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero*, in his 5. *Philippick*. *Opinion was conceiued* (saith he) *that some appointed, that there should be giuē to Mark Anthony, the gouernment of that latter part of Gaule, which* Plancus *holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wisedome in so dooing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre vpon vs? For first of all, the nerues or sinewes of warre, which is countlesse summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede; and next, the power of horse, which valeweth as much; what can he desire more then both these?* Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsmen of the Gaules were.

The enemies setting on Cæsars hoast in Affrica

30. horse of the Gaules, ouerthrew 1000. horse of the Moores.

Cicero in Philip. 5. Against *Marke Anthonies* gouernement in Gaule.

Sometimes it was thought conuenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foote souldiers, which vvere worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the seauenth booke) when *Vercingetorix* went with the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged vvith Armes)

The foot souldiers mingled amongst the horsemen.

Iul Cæsin com. lib. 7.

Armes) to prepare an ambuſcado, where he imagined that the Romaines intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the ſame booke) ſpeaking of himſelfe, when they were neere to *Gergouia, Cæſar ſaith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmiſhes, the footemen beeing mingled among the horſe, we were forced to approoue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanyed with the Archers, fought amongeſt the Horſmen, as was obſerued in the encounter neere to Alexia. The Gaules (among ſome few of their horſe) flanked their Archers and lighteſt armed foote, to the end that they ſhould ſuccour the horſemen, and ſuſtaine the violent aſſault of the Romaine Cauallery.

Ancient Gaule had * *Eſſedaries*, who were warriours that rode in Waines or Waggons, called *Eſſedaes*. and *Diodorus* giueth vs aſſurance hereof in theſe words. Paſsing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vſed Carres or Waggons, which two Horſes drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met with the enemy in warre: firſt of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together with their ſwords. Theſe two maners of fighting, are much more at large deſcribed by *Cæſar*, when hee ſpeaketh of the Germaines and the Britaines. Of the Germaines in the firſt booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Arioniſtus* had. They were (ſaith hee) ſixe thouſand Horſemen, and as many foot, of the very ſtrongeſt and beſt diſpoſed, which each man had made choiſe of particularly, as for his owne ſuccour and ſafety. If they were to ſet on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horſemen alſo retired when they did. If any great occaſion happened, the foote ſouldiours fought with the horſemen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horſe, the other gaue preſent ſuccour. If they were to march on further, or to retreate vpon expedition; exerciſe had enſtructed them in ſuch celerity, that onely by faſtning hold on their horſes Maines, they would mount vp, and run as ſwiftly as they did. In another paſſage of the 4. Booke, ſpeaking of the *Sueues*, hee ſayth. In thoſe skirmiſhes which they made on horſebacke, they would oftentimes diſmount and fight on foote: hauing taught and inured their horſes in ſuch manner, that they neuer ſtirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horſes againe, when occaſion required. According to their cuſtome, they eſteemed nothing more baſe and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reaſon, that although they were but few in number, yet they durſt boldly aſſaile any troopes whatſoeuer, if they were Horſemen, and rode on ſaddles.

This is that which *Cæſar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that heerein the Gaules were contrary to the Germaines order: conſidering, that the Germaines placed their ſtrength in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* related more apparantly. Whoſoeuer (ſaith he) doth conſider them in generall, ſhall finde, that their cheefeſt power conſiſteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horſe. For the footmen which they chooſe among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger; are men of wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, apt and fit to fight among the horſe. They are an hundred, choſen out of euerie Towne or Village, and thereon were tearmed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that vvhich ſerued (before) but to ſignifie the number, was now giuen as an eſpeciall name, and was honourable to them. Thus ſerued the Horſemen of the Germaines, and were mingled in this manner among the foote ſoldiers.

Now, as concerning the behauiour of the Britaines, *Cæſar* in his fourth booke, deſcribeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggons, which is thus. Firſt, they skirmiſh on all ſides, and hurle their Darts, and oftentimes it happeneth, that by the terror of their horſes trampling, & by the noiſe of their Waggon wheeles, they trouble the rankes extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongſt the troopes of horſemen, they deſcend from their waggons, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themſelues ſomewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggons in ſuch ſort, that if their

* A Towne of Guyenne, ſtanding on a hye hil.

The footmen accompanyed with the Archers fought among ſt the horſe.

*Souldiers in old time, that marched in Waggons, but fought on foot *Diodor. in lib. 6*

Their maner of fighting with the enemy.

Of the Germaines & Britaines. *Iul. Cæſar in comment. lib. 1*

The ſuccour giuen to each other.

The ſwiftnes of the Germaines.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 4. Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

They hated to ride on Saddles.

The Gaules contrary vnto the Germains for their footmen.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Vpon what occaſion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4. Of the Britaines, & what manner of fighting they vſed.

Of the Waggons & Waggoners.

their maſters bee preſſed with any great number of enemies, they can make an eaſie and ſpeedy returne to them. The adreſſe and direction of their horſes, the order obſerued among their footmen for fight, and their aptneſſe thereto, by dayly vſe and exerciſe was ſuch: that when they liſted, they could ſodainly ſtay their horſes, euen in the middeſt of his ſwifteſt courſe, although it were in deſcending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horſe; & thence againe returne lightly vnto theyr Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Eſſedaries made vſe, was ſomewhat alſo mingled among the horſe and foote.

The notable managing of their horſes in their ſwifteſt running.

Moreouer (as is to be ſeene in the ſeauenth booke) a great number of VVaggons attended on the Gaules, eſpecially ſuch as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Rutheni*, and the horſemen of Gaule, which had followed *Cæſar*; there came into Spaine, with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the cuſtome among the Gaules. Beſide, there were of men and women, about ſix thouſand, with their ſeruants and children: and becauſe they took delight, in hauing beaſts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay deerly for them, as *Cæſar* hath recorded in his ſeuenth book. Heereby wee vnderſtand, that not onely the men, but their children alſo, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occaſion required. *Tacitus* writeth alſo, That the women followed the Germaines, and accompanied them to theyr warres. But this is ſufficient, concerning ſuch leuies and preparations for warre, as was vſed among the Gaules.

Waggons in vſe among the Gaules. *Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib. 7*

The whole families of the Gaules went to the warres.

Now it would be knowne, with vvhat eaſe they could endure the ſcarſity of victuals, by the temperature of their nouriture, hauing formerly auoided the delicacy of wine: and *Cæſar* giueth vs to vnderſtand (in many places) how they wer prouided of victuals. The Heluetians departing from their houſes, caried meale (that was formerly ground with them) to ſerue for 3. months. And *Vercingetorix*, to take away from the Romains all meanes of recouering foode, perſwaded the Gauls to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the Romans might make any inuaſion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the * *Bituriges*) were burnt in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the inſtant intreaty of the *Biturigeans*, who required, that * *Auaricum* (which was the very goodlieſt City in all Gaul) might not be burned: it was granted by *Vercingetorix*, who firſt had debated for the contrary, yet after yeelded, as well in regard of their earneſt motion, as alſo in meere pitty and commiſeration. But the pitty afforded to this one Towne, cauſed moſt cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Cæſars* armie, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies without power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the ſurprizing of *Auaricum*, was now not onely ſtored with plenty of food, but being fleſhed as it wer with hope of like following ſucceſſe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

Their enduring ſcarſitie of food.

Of the Heluetians.

Vercingetorix his aduice giuen vnto the Gaules.

*People of old Aquitaine

*The City Vierron of Berrey in France.

The pitying of one towne, was the deſtruction of many other

At another time, *Vercingetorix* (by vertue of the ſame counſell and aduice) conſtrained *Cæſar* to forſake *Gergouia*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the Romans had then in * *Noniodunum*, brought him into ſuch diſtreſſe, that had it not bin for ſhame, tediouſnes of the way, and abſence of the 4. Legions, *Cæſar* was ſetting forward to go into Prouence. *Vercingetorix*, being elected captaine Generall thoroughout Gaul, vſed (at a third time) the ſelfſame aduice; when in a publike aſſembly of the Gauls he ſaid, that he wold not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy battel, becauſe he was ſtrongly defenced with horſemen, wherby he could eaſily hinder the *Romans* from food and forraging. And it behooued euery man (of his own good will) to deſtroy his Corne, and burne his houſe; conſidering, that by this litle loſſe, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he ſhould perceiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the ſurer maintained. And vndoubtedly, *Cæſar* being moued by theſe occaſions, purpoſed to withdraw himſelfe into Prouence, thorow the country of the * *Sequani*, when *Vercingetorix* (too inconſiderately) condemned the good counſell giuen him, & would not tempt fortune, by hazarding the battel, & turned all his intentions ſtil to the worſt: wherby may be obſerued, what care the ancient *Gauls* had for prouiſion of food. Now

Vercingetorix his aduice againſt Cæſar

*The Towne Noyon of Belgia in France.

Vercingetorix his third aduice againſt Cæſar.

Cæſars purpoſe to depart into Prouẽce.

*A people in France, which are now cald Burgonians.

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Their order of martial discipline in the field.

Now if we desire to know, what order was vsed among them in the field, either for marching, lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seemeth that they were not therein any iote curious. The *Heluetians* essaying to passe a riuer, some tied diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, wher the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Cæsar* euermore gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not hauing (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty dayes) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the fielde, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heauen and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Riuers. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the Helvetians encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like: but the Romanes euermore elected the highest places. The seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoake, consisted of more then eight miles in largenesse. And when they declared most care & warinesse; they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggons formost, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would engirt their whole army, with their Waggons and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceiued to be best behoouing for thē, or whatsoeuer they did for the best aduantage.

Of the Heluetians.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 8. & in lib. 1

The Romans planted theyr campe in the highest places

The Campe of the Belgians, and theyr best rampiers of Chariots & Waggons.

The Neruians (as wee reade in the fist booke) enclosed that place, where *Cicero* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of eleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fifteene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against the Romenes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turffs or sods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their Iackets. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrases, according as their prisoners had enstructed them: insomuch, that *Cæsar* (at length) wondred, to see what Towers, Tarrasses, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Cæsar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 5. Of the Neruians.

The Neruian learned the fortifying of the Romanes

Mounting of Towers and Tarrasses.

Cæsar admired to behold the *Gauls* fortifications.

In the seuenth yeare of the Gauls wars, after great store of losses had happened; *Vercingetorix* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the ende that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Cæsar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Camp. And therefore *Cæsar* did especially marke and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they vsed, was at *Gergouia*, when they made a wal about their camp, which was sixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alexia*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing sixe foote in height. The Latine word [z] *Materia*, which signifieth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Cæsar* maketh vse in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had so little knowledge or discipline.

The comfort giuen by *Vercingetorix*, to the Gaules.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 3.

The first making of wals and ditches.

[z] Made insted of a Mound.

But what valour or manhood did they vse in fight? Was there any such matter of worth in them? Vndoubtedly they reposed a very great assurance in theyr owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Affrica, were naked or vncouered, and vsing no kinde of surprizing: had a custome to fight onely by valiancy, and not by any sleight or cunning.

And

And this was the reaſon, why *Diuiconius* the Heluetian, ſpake ſo to *Cæſar*, who had ſurprized the * *Tigurines* at vnawares, ſaying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Auncestors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made himſelfe ſtrong, onely by ſurprizes. And for proofe of this military vertue, there are very ſingular examples in many places of *Cæſar*. In the battaile of the Heluetians, albeit that from the ſeuenth houre (as is to bee ſeene in the firſt booke) they had fought till darke night; yet no man could euer ſee the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the ſixt booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the ſlaughter of ſo many of their owne fellowes, cruelly ſlaine before their faces: in reſolute aſſurance, eſſayed boldly to march ouer their dead bodies. The Neruians likewiſe (as appeareth in the ſame place) euē in the lateſt hope of their ſafety, declared an extraordinary ſigne of their vertue. For, albeit ſuch as were the very cheefeſt among thē, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere ſtill to them, and fought ſtanding vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in ſuch manner, as they which remained aliue, making hilles of dead mens coarſſes; threw their Darts againſt the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and caſt alſo their leſſer Iauelins at them, ſo long as they were able to reach them. This agreeth with that which he ſpeaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cæſars* ſeruice, when * *Munda* in *Spaine*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had beene ſlaine, and lay there in their armes. In ſtead of turffes of earth (ſaith *Hirtius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the ſeruice of a Paliſadoe, they couered them with theyr Shields and Iauelins, and their ſwords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemie: To the ende, that they ſhould apparently behold the true Enſignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted theron; they began to aſſaile the Towne with violent deliuery of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of making a rampier of dead mens bodies, frō a cuſtome vſed in their owne Countrey, and heerehence (in mine opinion) grew the coniecture made of the Gaules, whereof *AriſHotle* writeth in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not any thing in the world, neither ſcorchings, burnings or any torments whatſoeuer. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the *Gaules*, concerning their anſwer to *Alexander*, who demaunded of them, what it was that they feared moſt? Nothing (ſaide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue alſo, that they were euen as neglect and careles, in chuſing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the ſeating of their Campe, which may euidently bee diſcerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Heluetians and Neruians aſſailed *Cæſar*, it was in a place very diſaduantagious: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to bee any way better aduiſed; it vvas by ſome former patterne of the Romanes, and obſeruation of their diſcipline. And the firſt time that they entred into any good order, vvas, vvhen the army vvhich they had vvas rallyed out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiors then vvere generally diſtributed, according to the Countries wherof they vvere, and ſo placed (ſeparately) the forces of each City in his due rancke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Neruians*, the * *Atrebatians* vvere ordered on the left ſide, the Neruians on the right, & the * *Veromanduans* in the middeſt of the battaile. Likevviſe in the ſeuenth booke, vvhere hee maketh mention of the forces of *Vercingetorix*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themſelues firmely on a little Hill, confiding in the ſcituation of the place, and beeing generally diuided, according vnto the Citties vvhereof they vvere, and placing Guards at euery Foord & Thicket of the Mariſh; they impeached them to their no meane diſaduantage. In the ſame place againe, *Vercingetorix* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Towne, lodged ſeparately alſo the forces of each Citty; yet leauing ſome vvide and ſpacious roome about all their lodgings, and being poſſeſſed of all the ſmaller hilles that neighboured the greater, vvhence any aduantage might be had for looking dovvnvvard, he made

*A people of the Heluetians, by the Riuer Ligamus, whoſe head-City is called *Zurich*.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 1. & in li. 6

The reſolute aſſurance of the Belgians.

The manly vertue of the Neruians againſt the Romanes.

* A Towne of *Betica* in *Spain*

The words of *Hertius*, concerning the vertue & manhood of the *Gaules*.

Ariſt. in li. 2. de Ethic ad Nicomach.

Strabo in Lib. 4 The *Gauls* anſwer to *Alexander*.

Aduantage of place for fight.

The *Heluetians* and *Neruians* aſſailed *Cæſar*.

* People of *Artois* in *France*

* People of *Vermandoiſe* in Germany.

Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib 3

The military diſcipline of *Vercingetorix*.

Da 985

made a ſhew verye dreadfull to behold. And euery day, euen from the point or breake of day, he cauſed the chiefe Commanders of ſuch Cities (as he had choſen to be of his counſel) to come before him, whether it were to conferre about ſome matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: ſo that no one day might eſcape him, but ſome eſſay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many ſallies of horſe, mingled with the beſt and choyſeſt of his Archers.

A notable care & prouidence in a General.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 1.

In the firſt booke likewiſe, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Heluetians*, all the other three companies hauing paſſed the Riuer * *Araris*; were ſurprized and enuironed aſide by themſelues. And they of the Borrough *Verbigena*, becauſe they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cæſar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obſerued the ſame order, to diuide themſelues generally by nations: as *Tacitus* deliuereth more plainly, where he ſaith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an aſſembly made at aduēture, or a troope, or a ſquadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example heereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by thē that followed *Arioui ſtus*, who in the end (as we reade in the firſt booke) were compelled to ſend their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equall interualles) of the [a] *Marcomani*, [b] *Triboci*, [c] *Vangiones*, [d] *Nomentani*, [e] *Seguſians* and *Sueues*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this paſſage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* conſiſted of many Cities; the Souldiers (generally) did diuide themſelues, according to the number of the Cities.

* The Riuer Sagona in France.

Diuiſion by nations, obſerued among the Germans. *Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 5.*

a People of Bohemia.
b Of Halſatia.
c Of the Citty Wormes in germany, now called Vormacienſes.
d Neere to Rome.
e The Citie Sion in the Alpes.

The Gaules vſed the *Phalanx* in theyr battailes, as the Romanes did their Legions. The Phalanx, ſubtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to bee of an equall number, eight times diuided into equall parts; the ſummary whereof, I thus comprehend. The Phalanx, armed with weighty armours, conſiſted of foure thouſand, ninety ſixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length ſixteene *Phalangearies*, and was tearmed [f] *Decuria*: in which bands, the formoſt man was named [g] *Decurion*, and the laſt [h] *Tergiductor*, that is to ſay, hee which conducteth the Rereguard or hinderpart. Theſe formoſt mē wer alſo cald *Præſtites* of the ſeconds, by reaſon of their marching before, and ſo the third men of the fourth. Contrariwiſe, the ſecond men were tearmed [i] *Subſtites* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuria* was compoſed of *Præſtites* & *Subſtites*, the one following the other. The ſecond *Decuria*, was called [k] *Condecuria*, that is to ſay, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in ſuch manner, that they all anſwered both in place and number: *Decurion* to *Decurion*, *Præſtites* to *Præſtites*, *Subſtites* to *Subſtites*, and they which accoaſted, or went along by, were tearmed [l] *Aſtites*. The ordinary ſpace or diſtāce of the *Phalangearies*, was foure cubites, but whē they cloſed, two, & when they went in crowd, one onely. This was the manner of the Phalanx, obſerued by the ancient *Gaules*.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

f Bands of Souldiors.

g The Captaine or Leader.
h The Guide of the Rereguard.
i Vnder-Subſtitutes.
k Coniuncts or Aduncts.
l Aſsiſtants or helpers.

The battaile of the Heluetians (as is to be ſeene in the firſt booke) kept it ſelfe ſtrongly lockt againſt *Cæſars* horſemen, and when the horſemen were repulſed, the Phalanx, which was prepared vnder the firſt battailion, aduanced it ſelfe, and ſet forward. But the Romanes (by the power of their Iauelins) brake the Phalanx of the Heluetians, by reaſon that they wer too ſtrongly lockt together: And then, to defend themſelues againſt their Iauelins, they began to diſioynt their vniting, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and ſhape of the ſhelles of Tortuiſſes, to receiue and reſiſt the Iauelins darted at them. In the ſame booke alſo, the Germanes hauing ſuddenly (according to their cuſtome) prepared a Phalanx; withſtood the ſtrength of all theyr Swords. And I perceiue, that this Phalanx was ordered in ſuch manner, not to ſerue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a Rampier for their breſts. But on the Heluetians day, the [m] *Boij*, or *Boians*, and the [n] *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their ſuccour; encloſed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the Heluetians (who had the worſt, & of whom the greater number were ſore wounded) retired, and withdrew themſelues into the neereſt neighbouring Moun-

Iul. Cæſ. in comment. lib. 1.

The Phalanx of the Heluetians, broken by the Romanes.

The Phalanx of the *Germans*.

m People of that part of France, now called *Lyons*.
n Auncient people among the *Heluetians*, not farre from *Lucerna*.

Mountaine: they aſſayled the Romanes at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt thē round about. Which the Heluetians beholding; they returned againe, began to recharge them, and fought valiantly with them.

The retire & re-aſſault of the Heluetians.

Thus wee haue heere ſet downe ſome forme of that faſhion, which the Gaules obſerued in preparing their battaile, and that which *Hirtius* hath ſpoken thereof, is not much diffring from the purpoſe. That the Gaules, being in battaile, had a cuſtom to ſit downe vpon Faggots of Vine branches and ſmall twigs, which they placed in the ground. Now, albeit he reporteth, that *Cæſar* hath declared the ſame in the firſt book of his Commentaries, yet notwithſtanding, I finde no ſuch matter. But foraſmuch, as the Gauls (in their battails) are ſaid to ſit downe on Faggots: it was a kinde of diſcipline obſerued among thē, like to that of the Romane * *Triarij*, who being ranked in the third battalion, which was the rereward, vſed to kneele down on their knees, which was termed by the Latines, *Subſidere*, whence enſued the word *Subſide* as they named it. This commeth ſomewhat ſhort of the order obſerued among the *Gaules*: but many matters more might be related, concerning the encouragement they gaue to one another for war-ſeruice, which principally imployed their mindes, and boldly animated them on to vertue.

The words of Hirtius, concerning the Gauls ſitting on Faggots.

* Souldiers that were alwaies ſet in the rereguard and were the ſtrongeſt mē: they fought euer ſtanding and bowing ſome what on their knees, as if they would rather dye, then remoue from their places.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſhouts, cries, & ſtrange noiſes deuiſed and vſed by the Gauls, to comfort and encourage themſelues, and to affright or diſmay their enemies. Alſo of their ſignes of contentment, peace, mercy, their Barit, Songs and Rithmes.

IT hath bin a vſuall obſeruation in all Military diſcipline, when they prepared to the fight, and ſo ſoone as they began to draw their weapons; to make a cry in the loudeſt manner that they could, & to enflame the Souldiers mindes with the ſounde of Trumpets. But the cuſtome of the Gauls, was, not onely with cry of the voyce, and ſound of Trumpets: but with a Song, a Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their armour, and brandiſhing their darts, to make a noiſe ſo terrible, as nothing could appeare to be more horrible. *The Gaules* (ſaith *Diodorus*) *had loud, big, and rude voyces, & their Trumpets* (*according to cuſtom*) *were barbarous, & made a rude harſh ſound.* But *Polybius* (in his ſecond booke) ſayeth moreouer. The brauadoes & noiſes of the *Celts*, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for they had an infinite number of Trumpets and Hobois, with the ſound whereof, the whole Army cryed out aloud, making ſo great a claſhing and noyſe; that not only the Clarions & army ecchoed the ſound, but all the places likewiſe that did round engirt them. And indeed, the noyſe which cuſtomarily was made by the Gauls, hath oftentimes beene noted by *Titus Liuius*: but yet hatefully and iniuriouſly, as (for the moſt part) he was wont to ſpeake of the Gaules. The Gaules (ſaith he, in his fift booke) by ſinging ſauagely, and crying out confuſedly; filled the ayre with an horrible ſound. And in the ſame place: Immediately there were heard ſongs and noyſes diſagreeing, as when the Gaules walked (by troopes) about their walles. And afterward in the foure and thirtieth Booke, he ſaith. The Gaules went marching forward, howling or yelling ſtrangely, and ſinging according to their confuſed faſhion, ſhaking their Targets ouer their heads, and brandiſhing their Dartes in their hands. Then againe in the foure and fortieth Booke, ſpeaking of the *Gauls* which were in *Aſia*, he ſaith. Beyond all the reſt, their ſinging, when they began the battaile, and their howling, yelling, and dances, couering themſelues with their Shields, after the manner of theyr Country, with the horrible clattering of their armour: all theſe things were done on deliberate purpoſe, onely to procure affrightment and terror.

Diodor. in lib. 1

Polyb. in lib. 2.

The noiſe of the Celts affrighted the Romanes.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 5.

Titus Liuius no friend to the Gaules.

Tit. Liu. in li. 34

Tit. Liu. in li. 44 Of the Gaules in Aſia, and how they behaued themſelues in battaile.

Cæſar toucheth this tumultuous behauiour more lightly, in his fift booke, after the ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*, where the Gaules hauing the victory, hee ſpeaketh thus of them. Then, according to their wonted cuſtome; they cryed the victory together, and howled loudly. And at another time, in the ſeauenth Booke, ſpeaking of the Gaules neere vnto *Alexia*. The Gaules (ſaith hee) perſwading themſelues

Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib. 5 The ouerthrow of Sabinus & Cotta

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 7.

A vſuall matter obſerued in Military diſcipline, & how it was among the Gaules.

G85

The battaile fought neere to Alexia.

ſelues to be the ſtronger part, and perceiuing the Romanes, that they were preſſed with great numbers on all ſides: they that were within the Fort, and they that came in their aſsiſtance, with a loude cry and yelling, aſſured the courage of their people. Moreouer, that which gaue greateſt terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry that they made at their backs, in the time of their fighting. It was likewiſe a cuſtome among the *Gaules*, to require parlie or conference, by making a loud cry, as by a Trumpet: according as *Cæſar* in his fift Booke, ſpeaking of the Eburons, ſaieth. *Then after their vſuall manner, they made a loud cry together; to the end, that ſome one of the Romanes might come foorth, to admit them parlie or conference.*

Iul. Cæſ. in comm. Lib. 5. How they requiged parlie.

Signes of eſpeciall obſeruation among the Gaules.

It may appeare now as conuenient, to ſpeake ſomewhat of thoſe ſignes which the *Gaules* vſed, to ſignifie, when theyr hearts were appeaſed and quieted; when they deſired peace; and when they were willing to yeelde themſelues. The ſigne which they vſed to make, when theyr hearts were contented and quieted; was, to ſhew their right ſhoulders naked. *Cæſar*, ſpeaking of the *Heduans*, in his ſeauenth Booke, ſaith thus. Whenſoeuer their right ſhoulders were ſeene to bee naked: it was their accuſtomed ſigne, thereby to declare, that they were contented. The ſigne of deſiring peace, was, to extend or ſtretch out their hands: as hee ſpeaketh in the ſecond Booke, diſcourſing on the *Bellouaſians*. The women and children (beeing on the walles) according to their wonted behauiour; would ſtretch foorth their hands, thereby deſiring peace of the *Romanes*. Which he farther relateth in the ſeuenth Booke, ſpeaking of the women of *Gergouia*: who baring their breaſts, and ſtretching out their hands vpon the walles, required mercy of the *Romanes*. In the ſame place alſo, hee declareth what ſigne they vſed, when they were willing to ſubmit themſelues. The *Heduans* holding vp their hands; gaue notice thereby, that they would yeelde themſelues. And holding downe their armes, they requeſted thereby, that their liues might be ſaued.

Iul. Cæſ. in comm. lib. 7. The ſigne of quietneſſe.

The ſigne of deſiring peace *In Lib. 2.*

In Lib. 7. The women of Gergouia.

The ſigne of yeelding. The Heduans

But perhaps theſe thinges may ſeeme to bee of ſlender account: therefore I will conclude the noyſes made by the *Gaules*, and ſearch into the behauiour of the *Germanes*, whether they were of like condition, or no. It ſhould ſeeme, that it was the Barrit of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh ſuch mention. They had certain pleaſant Songs and Rithmes, at the ſound whereof; that which they tearmed Barrit, enflamed their courages; and by the Song, they preſaged the ende and fortune of the future battaile. For they were cheered or diſmayed, according as the Army made the noyſe; and this accord in ſinging, ſeemed not to conſiſt ſo much in the voyce, as in vertue. They did principally reſpect the rudenes of ſound, and confuſednеſſe of the noiſe; by holding their Targets before their mouthes, to the ende that the voyce (being made thereby the greater and fuller) might reſound the louder and ſtronger. Such then was the noyſe of the *Gaules*, cheefely when they came to the ſhocke or brunt, and when they would enflame their Souldiers courages: for the women *Gaules* (alwaies) had ſome part in this encouragement. You wil hardly credit, that mens harts would bee more enflamed, by the exhortations and teares of their deareſt wiues; thē they could be by the ſound of Trumpets and Cornets. The proofe hereof, is to be ſeene in the 7. Book, when at *Gergouia*, the mothers of the Families began to pray with earneſt affection, and to ſhew their haire diſheueled, after the *Gauliſh* manner, and to make preſents of their young infants. Such was the exhortation at the ſiedge of * *Maſſylia*, after that all the Ships on the Sea were readily prepared; at the inſtant entreaties & teares of the old men, of the mothers of the families and their daughters, who deſired thē to ſuccour the Citty in extreme neceſſity: they had no leſſe heart and reſolution, to mount into thoſe Ships, then they had before in fighting the battaile. Then might eaſily be diſcerned, both from the Camp of * *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of higheſt proſpect in the City; how all the youth that remained within it, and all the oldeſt men, with their wiues and young children, ſtood as publike guardes, and (vpon the walles) helde vp their hands to heauen, or ran to the Temples of the immortal Gods, where proſtrating thēſelues before their Images, they entreated victory of the Gods.

Obſeruations amōg the Germanes, & of their Barrit *Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4 cap. 2.*

Singing foretolde their battels ſucces

Rudeneſſe of ſound moſt regarded.

Of the womē among the Gaules, and how they encouraged the hearts of their husbands. *Iul. Cæſ. in comment. Lib. 7.*

This hath ſome reſemblance with that

* A Country in Affrica, among the Weſterne Moores.

* One of them that afterward murdred *Cæſar.*

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 1. Of the Germain women.

which is written of the Germanes, in the firſt booke. And the women, holding vp their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre with teares entreated them, that they would not ſuffer them to fall into the ſeruitude of the Romanes. Therfore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, ſuch things as were in theyr deereſt eſteeme (as *Tacitus* reporteth) they would haue in ſome place neere vnto them: where the out-cryes of theyr wiues, and lamentings of their children, might eaſieſt be heard; theſe ſerued them as moſt ſacred witneſſes, and theſe were their cheefeſt commendations. They wold bring the wounded perſons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and ſucke their hurts; carrying food to them, and any thing that might harten them againe to the fight. Some ſay, that diuers battels, which began ſuddenly to quaile and breake off: were as ſuddenly re-enforced and purſued by the women, euen through the conſtancy of their praiers, beating their hands on their naked breaſts, & ſetting before their eies, the danger of their neere-enſuing captiuity, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of martiall minded men, did declare themſelues alſo no leſſe valiant and reſolute.

An obſeruation among the Germans whē they wer ready to fight.

Quailed battailes re-enforced by the meanes of women.

But *Cæſar*, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardiſe. For, like as the hearts of the Gauls (ſaith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen ſo is their courage dull, and weake in reſiſtance, to ſupport any miſchances. In briefe (as we may reade in the eight Book) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more inſolent, when their affayres do go neuer ſo little ſucceſſefully with them; then they are eaſie to be affrighted, when neuer ſo little harme befals them. This is that alſo, which *Titus Liuius* reprehendeth with ſuch inſolence, as euery where hee ceaſſeth not to taxe them with ſomwhat ſauouring of the ſame nature. As in the fift Booke concerning the gowned Gauls. The Gauliſh nation are accuſtomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther duſt or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which cannot abide trauaile or heat, do yet melt themſelues with ſweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their iſſue is leſſe then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can ſuffer no labor, will toile with weighty Armour on their backes. In the 40. Booke. Heate and trauaile are yrkeſome to the Gaules quaggy bodies, becauſe they are not able to endure thirſt. In the 48. Booke, ſpeaking of the Gaules of Aſia. If their firſt aſſault be endured, which they ruſh into with boyling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will melt themſelues into ſweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, duſt, and drought, without imployment of any weapon againſt them, doth dul their foggy bodies, and abate their ſteameſt courage, if theyr hot rage and fury be once ouer-paſſed.

Cæſars double dealing with the Gaules. *Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib 3 & in Lib. 8.*

Titus Liuius a reprouer of the Gaules.

In lib. 5 cap. 4.

In lib. 10. cap. 7

In li. 37. cap 9.

In lib. 40. cap. 1

In lib. 48. cap. 2

Tacitus giueth the ſelfe ſame dull diſpoſition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (ſaith he) that haue no other ſtrength, then (at the firſt on-ſet) to ſhew theſelues forward: are not accuſtomed to ſupport (with any patience) either paines, buſines, thirſt, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which *Cæſar* hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both moſt valiant, and yet foggy fellowes alſo? Vndoubtedly, al the Gaules are reported to bee (euen naturally) martiall and valorous, and being exerciſed in military diſcipline, they are the more hardened againſt any trauel; but wanting exerciſe, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Cuſtome and vſe do teach men to ſupport any toyle, and to hold good defence againſt all danger; for the trauaile of warlike diſcipline, admitteth neyther finerie or ſoftneſſe. If we meete with ſome old Souldier, who, becauſe he is expert in warre, is feareleſſe of blowes: If likewiſe a new freſh Souldier be broght in, that hath his hart as ſtout and reſolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his beſt courage will appeare to be but womaniſh; ſo writeth *Cicero* in his ſecond *Tuſculanes*.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1. Of the ſlowe diſpoſition of the Germans.

The naturall inclination of the Gaules.

Vſe and exerciſe maketh men apt and valiant.

Cicero in Tuſculan. 5.

Tenderneſſe and ſoftneſſe is reprehended in the Gauliſh Souldiers; as namely by *Vercingetorix*, and *Critognates*, one of the * *Aruerni*, in the ſeuenth Booke. For there he ſaith, that the Gaules deſired to fight, in regard of their ſoft and tender diſpoſition, becauſe they cannot long endure any toyle. The ſame man at the councell

* People by the Riuer Leyre in France. *Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib 7.*

councell which was holden among them, that were beſiedged in Alexia, and ſtood in great diſtreſſe, through want of victualles: againſt ſuch as were of the minde, to hazard all at one ſally, he ſaid. *This is indeed meere cowardiſe, weakneſſe, and no ſigne of courage, or any acte of vertue, to declare your ſelues vnable, to endure dearth & ſcarſity ſo ſhort a while.* Proofe may bee produced, of more men that gladly offred themſelues to death, then could patiently ſuſtaine greefe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & ſtout courage, eſpecially in warlike enterprizes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this ſoft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exerciſe, in military diſcipline. For, if a Gaule had beene once well enſtructed, by a Maſter, skilfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to bee found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this caſe, proofe thereof was made by *Cæſar* himſelfe: For *Cæſar* leuied ſixe Legions of the Gaules, becauſe he could raiſe no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. *Cæſars* horſe-men were knowne to be Gaules, and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterprizes: hee naturalized all thoſe Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beſide) the name of * *Alauda*. Wherefore, this ſoftneſſe in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwiſe proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But *Titus Liuius*, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and inſupportable againſt the name of a Gaul, and forgets withall, the kindneſſe which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of hiſtory. For, although hee much better affected, to make the *Venetes* or *Venetians*, to deſcend from the traitor *Antenor*, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gauls, as *Strabo* hath done, and the Romanes approue the ſame, placing the *Venetes* or *Venetians* in *Gallia Togata*; yet thereby hee maketh himſelfe to be a Gaule. And the law of hiſtory doth command, that in the relating of a hiſtory, he ſhold ſtand cleare from ſuſpition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he reprocheth the gowned Gaules and Aſians, with the ydle matter of cold, becauſe they dwelt in the hotteſt Countries, and ſuch as were neerer to the Sunne, then the * *Patauines* or *Patauians*, among whom *Titus Liuius* was borne; doth he not mocke himſelfe as fooliſhly as can bee deuiſed? As for the Gaule Souldier which *Cæſar* had, and who was the very braueſt man of all other whatſoeuer: this man belyeth him manifeſtly. And it appeareth very probably, that *Cæſar* had to deale with thoſe men onely in that *Gaule*: but in the other partes of the world, hee fought againſt women, in regard of thoſe men hee found in this Nation.

Vercingetorix to the Souldiers beſiedged in Alexia.

Courage naturall and hereditary to the Gaules.

Cæſar had ſix Legions of the Gaules, & but foure of Romanes.

* A certaine legion among the Romanes

Titus Liuius reproued by the Author, to offend againſt his own country, & the law of Hiſtory.

Concerning the gowned *Gauls* & *Aſians*

* Men of Padua in Italy.

Apparant proofe of the ancient Souldier of Gaule

CHAP. VIII.

Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Cæſar, and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.

NOW, to ſpeake of *Cæſars* Souldier, againſt the Soldier of *Pompey*, that is to ſay, the valiant *Gaul*, what was hee againſt the *Romaine*? In the third book of the ciuill warres, *Cæſar* ſaith: *The Army of Pompey was not accuſtomed to paines taking*. Why then *Titus Liuius*, by the purity of his eloquence, which *Quintillian* compared to the whiteneſſe of milke, hath drawne the *Spaniards* and *Gaules* frō the corners of the world, onely to make himſelfe liſtened vnto, according as Saint *Hierome* writeth. Notwithſtanding, in this delicacy or ſoftneſſe of not enduring paine, heate, thirſt, nor duſt, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of *Gaule*; himſelfe ſheweth the ſoftneſſe and affection of his owne ſpirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of hiſtory, ſoundneſſe of iudgement, and trueth. For, to be ſoft, or hardened againſt toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nation, or race, but by breeding and diſcipline.

Comparison of Souldiers.

Iul. Cæſ. in comment. lib. 3.

Quintil. in lib. 3. cap. 9.

Hier. in Præfat.

Of delicacy and hardneſſe againſt labour

Cæſar then did but right, in giuing to the men of Gaule a great courage, & truely warlike: and yet neuertheleſſe, he diſcouereth in this great minde or ſpirit, a certaine want of diſcipline, or much rather he reproueth a kinde of ſimpleneſſe, and an ill aduiſed aſſurance of their ſtrength, which was the fault that was moſt noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

Want of diſcipline in the Gaules.

Strabo in Lib.4 cap.7.

The Gaules very eaſily aſſembled together in great number, becauſe they wer ſimple of ſpirit, ſtil followed iuſtice, right and trueth, being moued and affected by the loſſes of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more eaſily they were chaſed out of theyr Country: becauſe in aſſembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that prooued the ſtronger. The Romanes did much more eaſily ſubdue them, then they could do the Spaniards: for the wars in Spaine were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithſtanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betweene both theſe times, they conquered all the *Gauls*, that were betweene the Rheine and the Pyrenean Mountaines: for in comming to the field ſo many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the Spaniards managed their battailes more ſparingly, and, euen as if they had a deſire to ſome affected kinde of monies: ſo did they preſerue them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre ſtil cauteouſly, like vnto theeues.

The ſimplicity of minde which remained in the Gaules.

The ſpaniards not ſo ſoone ſubdued, as the Gaules, & the reaſon why.

The ſpaniards war like vnto theeues.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may ſufficiently bee perceiued by the examples of *Cæſar*. The whole City of the Heluetians, there being all the people of twelue Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one inſtant, and in one inſtant alſo were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fifteene people of the Belgians. Such was the reuolting of the *Armoricans* in the warre of the *Venetes*, or *Venetians*. Such was the conſpiracy of the Aquitains againſt *Craſſus*. In briefe, did not all Gaule put it ſelfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, neere vnto *Alexia*? The Gaules in the eight yeare of their warre, both well felt and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* ſaith, and that in regard of ſome great numbers, which ſtill were aſſembled in one place; it exceeded poſsibility to reſiſt the Romanes. But if diuers Cities (at one ſelfe ſame time) had made warre in diuers places: the Romane Army could neither haue had ſufficient ſuccour, leyſure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

Strabo in Lib.7.

Example of the Heluetians.

Example of the Belgians, Armoricans, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered neree to Alexia.

Hirtius in lib.3 cap.1.

A great error of the Gaules in their fighting.

Neuertheleſſe, the Gaules were not alwayes of ſo ſimple and open ſpirit: but at ſome-times they declared more cunning, and holpe themſelues by ſome ſurprizes. *Cæſar*, (as *Suetonius* ſaith) neuer ſuffered any one occaſion of warre to bee loſt, were it neuer ſo vnindifferent, ſetting as ſoone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithſtanding, all the warres which he made, hee ſtill paliated with good & ſufficient colours of reaſon. The Eburone-Gaules payed *Cæſar* with his owne vnfaithfull dealing. For theſe Gaules aduertiſing the Romaine with the conſpiracy, which all the Gaules had agreed on together: made him beleeue, that if hee would come, and leaue the fielde, they would giue him free paſſage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and fiue Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquiſhed. And albeit, that the Romane was then alike in number and ſtrength to the Gaules (as *Cæſar* confeſſeth) yet was he foyled by the Gaules ſubtilty, who had learned this craft of *Cæſar*, and therewith repayed him.

The Gaules were not alwayes ſilly & ſimple in their martial afairs.

TheEburones cunning in ouer-reaching Cæſar.

Cæſar repaied with coyne of his own ſtamp

Hirtius recounteth the like ambuſcadoes of the *Bellouaſi*, or *Bellouacanes*, who hauing vnderſtood the lodging of the Romaine horſemen: tooke a number of light and nimble ſpirited footemen, and en-ambuſhed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they ſent certaine horſes thither, which might allure the Romanes out, into the compaſſe of the ambuſhment, and when they were once in it, they preſently charged them. And the fortune of this miſhappe fell on the men of Rheimes, who were appointed as Guards there that day. For they hauing ſeene (too ſuddenly) the enemies horſe-men, and knowing them ſelues to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of ſo fewe as they ſeemed to bee: they ruſhed foorth, and ouer-hotly purſued them, euen vntill they were (on all ſides) enuironed by the Foote-men to

Hirt.lib.3.c.3.

The Bellouaſians circumuented the Romanes.

The Rhemi foiled throgh their owne fault, with the loſſe of their Prince *Vertiſcus*.

to their no little aſtoniſhment, which cauſed them to retire much ſooner, then skirmiſhes of horſemen were wont to do; hauing loſt *Vertiſcus*, Prince of the Citie, and cheefe Commander of the horſmen. This ſhewed no ſimpleneſſe in the Gauls, but meere quaint cunning, learned of the Romaines.

The Romains harmed by their owne inſtructions.

In the very ſame place, *Hirtius* declareth the like cunning ſtratagem; as that which *Hannibal* vſed, to deceyue *Fabius*. *The Bellouaſians* (ſaith he) *perceiuing that the Romaines were ready to purſue them, and that they could not (without daunger) paſſe the night, or ſoiourne longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the Faggots and ſmall buſhes whereon they vſed to ſit, and whereof they had great ſtore in the fielde, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (vpon a ſigne ſodainely giuen) they ſet them all on fire. So the flame, which followed it ſelfe in great length, immediately hindered, that the enemy could not diſcouer their Forces: and which being doone, the Gaules very ſpeedily withdrew themſelues.* Cæſar, *albeit he could not perceiue that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire ſo made before them: yet notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting that they had done this deuice, to the end that they might flye, cauſed his Legions to march on, and ſent out troopes of horſemen to purſue them. And yet, being miſtruſtful of ſome ſurprizall, & doubting leſt the enemie might ſtill lurke there, with intent to allure the Romanes to ſome diſaduantage, hee marched on the more aduiſedly. The Horſemen, fearing to enter the ſmoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, he could not ſee any thing before or behind him: grew all ſuſpitious of ſome ſecret ambuſh, & ſo gaue leyſure to the Bellouaſians to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by meanes of a flight (full of feare & craft) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without ſuſtaining the leſt loſſe, ſeated their campe in a very ſtrong place.*

A cunning ſtratageme of the Bellouaſians againſt the Romaines

The night fauoureth many attempts

Cæſar ſuſpected the deceit of the Bellouaſians, and therefore would not be too raſh.

Suſpition is the hinderer of the braueſt actions

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambuſhes both of horſe & foot, they did great damages to the Romaines, in their wandering abroad, ſtealing and foraging: whereby it ſhould appeare, that theſe attempts ſauoured rather of a Punick ſpirit then of a Gauliſh. And yet neuertheleſſe, when all came to al (as we vſe to ſay:) they were ſurprized by the hands of their maiſters, & by the ſelfeſame deceits & ſubtilties which they had learned of *Cæſar*. And to the end it might bee noted, that the Gauls had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the Romaines: the Heluetians (as *Oroſius* writeth in his ſixt booke) ſurprized the Conſull *Caſſius*, with all his army, by an ambuſcado. But I haue concluded with my ſelfe, not to omit one maner of ambuſhing, which was the moſt maruellous of al thoſe that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the Prætor *Poſthumius* was ouerthrown of the Boian Gaules, as *Titus Liuius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

Many harmes done to the Romaines by the Gaules.

Cunning oftentimes deceiues it ſelfe.

Oroſ. in lib. 6. cap. 4.

The Prætor Poſthumius vanquiſhed by the Gauls. *Tit. Liuius in lib. 33. cap. 4.*

While matters went on in theſe doubts and vncertainties, tidings came of another loſſe, according as fortune (in that yeare) ſtill re-charged one vpon another. And theſe were the Newes, that *Lucius Poſthumius*, deſigned Conſull, was ouercome in Gaule, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forreſt, which the Gauls called *Litana*, thorough which Forreſt, he was to paſſe his Army. The Gaules, on both ſides of the paſſage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forreſt in ſuch ſort; that (yet notwithſtanding) they parted not from the trunke or bodie, but muſt endure hard thruſting and enforcement, before they could poſsibly get thē to fall.

The manner how Poſthumius was ouerthrown by the Boians.

Poſthumius had two Romane Legions, and had leuyed ſo many people, allyed vnto the Romaines, that hee brought into the enemies Countrey, well neere the number of fiue and twenty thouſand men of Warre. The Gaules, who vvere ambuſhed in the Forreſt, when the Armie was entered within the VVood; threvv downe the aforeſaid hewne vnder-growing braunches, vvhich were apted ſo for the preſent purpoſe; that falling ſtil thickly one vpon another, without any poſſible meanes of reſtrayning them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horſes, in ſuch manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them eſcaped. For the greater part were ſlaine, by the falling of the huge braunches and armes of Trees on them; and the Armed Gaules, that held poſſeſſion of all the VVood, put the reſt vnto death, vvho vvere not a little affrighted at this ſo ſtrange miſaduenture. Verie few (of ſo great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

A ſtratageme effectually performed.

A ſtrange confuſion on the ſodaine.

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the maſtery thereof. This is all that *Titus Liuius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

CHAP. IX.

In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they imployed for their owne defence.

After what manner the Gaules fortified their Townes and Cities.

BVT this is enough alreadie ſpoken, concerning the maner of behauiour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuſcadoes: it remaineth now to ſpeak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywiſe, how they were beſieged. How was it then that the Gaules ſtrengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themſelues? There neede no wonderment bee made, at the fortification of the *Morini*, *Neruians*, *Menapians*, *Aduaticæ*, and *Eburones*, becauſe they had no Townes at all. And thence enſued it, that the *Aduaticæ* maruelled ſo ſtrangely, to beholde the warlicke Engines of the Romaines; whereof it is thus written in the ſecond Booke. Beeing fortified with a rampier of twelue foote high, which had fifteene thouſand Towers and ſtrong Baſtils nere to each other; the Romaines kept themſelues within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were readie prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raiſed ſome long diſtance off: at the beginning of theſe vnwonted workes, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowdly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did vndertake ſo farre off, and with ſo huge an Engine, or how it ſhould bee poſsible, that the hands and ſtrength of men (eſpecially of ſo meane ſtature) could promiſe any hope to themſelues, of comming neere to their walles, with a Tower of ſo great a compoſition. But when they (ſoone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame mooued from place to place, and approached neere vnto theyr walles: beeing aſtoniſhed at a matter of ſuch nouelty, and ſight vnaccuſtomed; they ſent their Ambaſſadors vnto *Cæſar*, to entreate peace; who anſwered them, That they muſt thinke, that the Romaines neuer made any warre, without the ſpeciall fauour of the Goddes: ſeeing they could aduance (and in ſo ſhort a while) an Engine of ſuch height, to fight both farre off, and neere at hand; and therfore they ſhould ſubmit themſelues, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus ſpake *Cæſar*. It would require ſo much ſpeech (ſaieth *Cicero* in his ſecond Tuſculanes) concerning the new ſouldier, & the old: that if wee make compariſon of one that hath not beene exerciſed with him which is tried and skilfull; he will appeare no otherwiſe, then meerely as a woman. All which notwithſtanding, the very ſelfſame Gaule, beeing enſtructed in the Diſcipline of *Cæſar*, ſeemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

Diuers people that had no Townes or Villages.

Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 2.

The Gaules had neuer ſeene ſuch admirable Engines as were framed by the Romaines.

Ambaſſadors ſent by the Gauls to Cæſar, and his anſwer to them.

Cicero in Tuſ. 2

Concerning the old & new ſoldier.

But let vs leaue theſe Belgians which dwelt ſo farre off, and come vnto ſuch as were more ciuillized. as the *Sweſsiones*, and the *Bellouaſians*. The *Sweſsiones* (ſaith *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke) when as the Treiles vvere prepared againſt *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheeſe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vvith the Treiles: as men amazed at ſo great an enterpriee, and ſuch ſtraunge workes, which the Gaules had neuer ſeene or heard of, yet ſo ſpeedily performed by the *Romaines*; they ſent their Ambaſſadors toward *Cæſar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themſelues. The *Bellouaſians* alſo, hauing not (as yet) ſeen ſuch Engines, vvherewith Townes vvere battered, but onely hearing report made of them, ſurrendred the Towne of *Bratuſpantium*. Wherefore, if the Gaules (as Cæſar affirmeth) had neuer either ſeene or heard ſpeech of ſuch inſtruments, vntill that verie time: vvhy then ſhould vve make any maruelling, That the Gaules, vvho had not yet learned ſuch cunning, vvere conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, vvhether this place in Cæſar, vvhich treateth of the Belgians, vvas purpoſely vvritten, or (at the leaſt) may ſeeme not to bee vvritten according vnto trueth, there the queſtion remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Of the Sweſsiones and Bellouaſians.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 2.

Engines to batter cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the paſſage in Cæſar.

How the *Gauls* vſed to make their Towne-walles.

their walles with ſtrong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one ende: but couched downe, & ioyned together, with ſpaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaketh thus in his ſeuenth book. All the walles (ſaith he) of the *Gaules*, were (well nere) made after this manner. They layd beames of wood ſtraite out along on the ground, and followed after ſtil in the ſame order, making equall diſtance betweene them, about the ſpace of two foote in bredth. Theſe beams or plaits, as ſome terme them, were reueſted and bound within, with ſtrong forced earth; and the equall diſtances (whereof we haue ſpoken) were filled vp with great ſtones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the ſame manner; yet ſo, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maine Timber from touching each other. And being diſtanted alſo by the ſelfe-ſame ſpaces: they were knit and ſhut faſt together, by great ſtones caſt in betweene them. And ſo, conſequently, all the whole worke ſhaped it ſelfe in this manner, euen till the Wall was perfected to a reaſonable height.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7.

Theſe walles were the ſtrongeſt defences that the *Gauls* then had about all their Cities and Townes.

Now, concerning this kinde of building, ouer and beſide, that it was no way miſhapen, by the order kept in the leueling, and fitting both the beames & ſtones aptly to each other: euen ſo it was greatly commodious, in ſeruing for the defence of their Townes. For the ſtones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and reſiſted the blowes of battery. Becauſe, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, contayning (for the moſt part) in thickneſſe, the meaſure of forty foote; could (by no meanes) be forced to ſinke, or be otherwiſe diſmembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the Gaules knew ſome-what for the fortification of their Cities and Townes; yea, and how to defend themſelues alſo, by ſuch meanes as were vſed in the warres.

A ſuruay of this their order in building, & what thicknes their walles contained.

All the Gauls were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the Santone-Aquitaines were beſiedged by *Craſſus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they reſiſted him valiantly, one while, by making ſaillies out vpon them, another while, by vndermining, till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had beene prouided, by meanes of the treilles. To which vndermining (ſaith *Cæſar*) the Aquitains were well inured becauſe they had Mines of Copper and Braſſe in many places. So much *Cæſar* wrote, approuing, that the Aquitains knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; becauſe they had Copper Mines, which made them therein very skilfull. It is ſaide alſo, that the Celtes (for the ſame cauſe) knew well how to defend themſelues at the ſiedge of *Auaricum*: becauſe they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For Auaricum being couragiouſly aſſayled by the Romanes, the Gaules found out all ſorts of inuentions (as *Cæſar* ſaith in his ſeuenth Booke) wherby to giue impeachment to the moſt ſingular enterprizes of the Romane Soldiers: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and ſubtile ſpirit, apt to follow and counterfeit all things, and whatſoeuer they ſawe done by others.

Marcus Craſſ. beſiedged the Santone Gaules.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7.

The Celtes skilful in their owne defence

The natural inclination of the Celts.

First, for the Romane Falx, they could ouerthrow it by a ſnare or grinne, and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They couered all their walles with towers made of skinnes, and equalled the height of thoſe towers made by the Romanes, with maſts made in their owne turrets. In making their ſaillies abroad; eyther they would throw fires into the platforme; or ſuddenly ſurprize the amazed Romanes; or by vndermining, ouerthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; becauſe they had great yron Mines in theyr Country, and knew (beſide) all kindes of deluing into the ground. By leauing their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the Romanes preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne whereſoeuer it fel, and tumbling downe great ſtones alſo, to keepe them from approching neere to their walles. By theſe cited places it appeareth euidently, that the Gaules had attained vnto ſome indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to ſpeak truely, it was more through their continuall exerciſe in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the arte Military.

Of the Romã engine Falx.

The exerciſes of the Celts againſt the Romanes, in all their atempts of war againſt them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the *Celts* ſo ready in defending themſelues.

And

And this is that whereof *Vercingetorix* complained, comforting the Gaules at the taking of *Auaricum*. *That the Romains had not wonne the victory, either by vertue or battaile: but by a kinde of science and cunning, which they had in the battring downe of Townes, wherein the Gaules had no knowledge.* By which words, that place of *Cæsar* which concerned all the Gaules in generall, seemeth to be true: *That the Gauls had neuer seene, or heard any report, of Platformes, Treilles, nor Towers.* But bee it so, that the ancient Gaules neuer knew any such Art, as the Romaines did; yet there was no want of courage in them. For, it is a matter very maruellous, which *Cæsar* himselfe speaketh of them in his seauenth Booke, in remembering their constancy, for guard and defence of their Cities and Townes.

The words of Vercingetorix at the taking of Auaricum.

Iul. Cæsar in comment. Lib. 7

The constancy of the Gaules, in the defence of their Cities & Townes.

The Gaules, in the warres of the **Cimbrians* and ** Teutones*, being wholly constrained to retire themselues into such places as were strongest, and being there also oppressed with great famine & lacke of victuals: they did yet maintaine theyr liues by feeding on the bodies of such, as both appeared, and were not able indeed to do any further seruice in the warre, & would (by no meanes) yeeld to their enemies.

* People that inhabited Denmark and Norway.
*People of Germany, cald Allemaignes

Critognates, who was a man of great ranke among the Aruernians, held a verie strong opinion in councell, that it was good to put the same in practise for the defence of Alexia; and although hee had made no vse thereof before, yet hee earnestly maintained the fitnesse and necessity thereof, onely for liberty, and that it was worthy to bee left (as a memorable custome to posterity. This opinion helde such account amongst the other Gaules, that they were of the mind, to assay all other meanes whatsoeuer, then to doe according as *Critognates* had aduised. And yet notwithstanding, if there wer such vrgent necessity, and ayde tardied too late in comming; that it was most behoouefull to credit his iudgement, rather then to yeeld, or listen to peace-making, vpon enforced or violent composition. Such was the courage of the ancient Gaules.

Some others tearme him Critognatus.

Other Gaules misliked this counsell, yet yeelded it fit in cases of extremity.

Now this kinde of defence, which they vsed for safegarding their townes, thogh it proceeded from no meane Vertue in them, yet it did not relliſh of any great discipline. In what manner also they assailed Townes, was vvithout any craft or subtle deuice. For they neuer holp themselues, either by Platformes, Rampiers, Treilles, or Towers, as it is described in the second booke. *The Gaules and the Belgians, had both one manner of assaulting Cities*, so saith *Cæsar*. For after they had ringed (after the order of crowding together) a great number of men about the Town; they would hurle heaps of stones vp on the wall, vntill they had left it naked of men. Then, winding and turning, according as occasion serued, they approached to the gates, and vndermined the walles. Thus then their whole manner of making war in places fortified with rampiers and ditches, doeth giue vs to vnderstand, that the heart and courage of the Gaules was very great; and yet very little or no discipline at all vsed amongest them. Let this then suffice, to acquaint ye with the order of their land seruice.

The Gaules were more ful of courage then discipline.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 2.

In what manner the Gauls assailed their Cities and Townes.

CHAP. X.

Of the seruice on the Sea, or other waters, vsed by the Gaules: And what Ships and Vessels they had among them. Also, into what farre remote countries they extended their name.

COncerning that vvhich they performed on the Sea, as it is described in the warres against the *Britaines* and ** Venetes*, it appeareth to taste of vertue, although it was simple, and without any great cunning. *Cæsar* describeth it in all parts, with the matter and maner of such ships or vessels, as the Gauls then vsed, speaking thus. *Their Ships were made and armed in this maner. The keeles of them were much larger then those of the Romaines Ships: to the end, that they might the more easily sustaine the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. Their Prowes were highly rayſed, and their Poupes also: because they wer the more apt to hinder the power of great Waues and Tempests. All their Shippes were made of Oake, to indure all iniury and violence that could happen. The bankes were made of timber beames, about a foote in thickenesse: and they*

*People now called Vennies in little Britain

Iulius Cæsar in Com. lib 5

A description of the Gaules ships, which they had they in vse.

they were toyned or fastened together with iron nailes of great bigneſſe. Their Anchors (inſtead of Cables) were made faſt with chaines of iron: and for want of other ſailes, they made vſe of skinnes and hides, which were ſoft and pliable with currying and paring. And either through the want of hempe, or knowledge how to vſe it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they vſed other ſailes, they could not reſiſt ſo manie tempeſts of the Ocean, and ſuch impetuous windes as daily aroſe, neither ſo commodiouſly conuay ſuch great burthens as they carried in their veſſels.

Hempe not known to the Gaules, nor the vſe therof

In another paſſage of the fourth book he ſheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himſelfe made ſtruice, both againſt the Britaines and the Venetes, had not beene vſed on the Ocean, vntill that inſtãt time. For, the Romanes being ſomewhat hardly preſſed by the Britains, on the ſhore of the Ocean; *Cæſar* commanded, that the gallies (which theſe poor barbarous people were not wont to ſee, & which could be managed moſt readily in any buſines) ſhould be ſet apart diſtant from the other ſhips, and that they ſhould be moued by the ſtrength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged againſt the flanke of the enemy, which was diſcouered; and whence they might repulſe and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines of warre, vvhich auailed the Romanes very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the faſhion of thoſe veſſels, and the mooving of their Oares, as alſo the manner of their vnaccuſtomed Engines, ſtayed their proceedings, and (ſoone after) retired.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4. Of Cæſars Gallies againſt the Britaines.

Cæſars command for imployment of his Gallies.

Ignorance is the mother of much errour, eſpecially in warre ſeruices

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient faſhions and behauiour which the Gauls vſed in actions of warre, and vvhich haue bene collected out of many places: declaring them to be much greater in naturall ſtrength, then in the courſe of Martiall diſcipline. Whereby wee may perceiue (in regard that their vvarres were managed by vertue, & not by any ſlights, cunning, or trumperys;) they were the maiſters of all or moſt nations. For they purſued their purpoſe, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable, euen from the Suns ſetting, ſo farre as his riſing. *Britaine, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia*, yea, *Aſia* it ſelfe, can declare the

The Gaules made themſelues maſters of al other nations.

Empire of the Gaules. For *Britain*, which was along the ſea coaſt (as *Cæſar* ſaith in his fift booke) had beene conquered by them that paſſed from Belgia, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themſelues according to all the Cities titles from whence they iſſued; and hauing made warre there, there they inhabited, and began to plough and husband the grounds. VVhat ſhall we ſay of * *Celtiberia*? Doth it not deliuer ſufficient teſtimony, that Spaine was ſubdued by them? For, to what purpoſe elſe ſhould *Lucane* ſay?

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 5.

*Whoſe people deſcended of the Celtes, that came out of France, and placed themſelues by the riuer Iberus.

The Celts departing from the ancient Gauls,
Renowned their name as farre as Iberus.

But it may be, that Italy came not vnder the gouernment of the Gaules: Yes, that it did ſoundly, and at the ſame time when *Tarquinius Priſcus* reigned. The *Bituriges, Aruernians, Senones, Heduans, Ambarrians, Carnutes*, and *Aulertes*, vnder conduct of the *Sollunians, Boians*, & * *Lingones*, preuailed ſo farre, that that Italy, which reacheth along frõ the Alps, coaſting ſtill to the *Apennines*, and ſo farre on as the riuer *Rubicon*, became Gaule. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes neere to *Allia*, they rooke Rome and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thouſand pounds of gold, they ſolde the Capitoll (which they kept beſiedged) to the reſt of the Romaines which vvere encloſed therein. And hath not furious Germany borne the yoake of Gaule? *In elder times* (ſaith *Cæſar* in his ſixte Booke) *the Gaules excelled the Germanes in vertue.* For the *Volcæ* and *Tectoſages*, vnder the conduct of *Sigoneſus*, poſſeſſed themſelus of the moſt fertile places in Germanie, euen thoſe which were neereſt to the Forreſt *Hercynia*, as *Titus Liuius* alſo relateth.

Italy ſubiected vnto the Gaules power in the time of Tarquinius Priſcus.

*People of Langres in France.

Rome ſurprized and burnt by the Gaules

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 6.

Tacitus maintaineth, that the Colonies of the Heluetians & Boians were brought into the ſame place. But thoſe Gaules, the conquerors of *Germany*, being made bold and hardy, by ſuch ſimplicity in diet as the *Germans* vſed, extended themſelues much further, and the renowne of theyr name, went (with great honor) thorough *Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*, and *Aſia*, according as *Iuſtine* (following *Trogus*) declareth more at large. And the name

People of Narbone, beyond Rhodanus weſtward now called Languedoc, towards the Pyrenean mountaines.

Spare dyet made the Gaules couraginus.

name of the Gaules was ſo much feared, that Kings (not conſtrained, but on their own meer motion and good will) bought their peace of them, with great ſummes of money.

Kings compelled to buy their peace of the Gaules.

Beeing conducted by *Belgeus*, they ſlew *Ptolomy*, King of Macedon. Led by *Brennus*, as making ſmall account of the ſpoyles of men; they ſacked the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in Delphos. Afterward, a new Armie of the ſame Gaules, which vvere dwelling in Germanie, hauing formerly driuen in rowte the [a] *Getes* and [b] *Triballes*, and inforced *Antigonus*, King of Macedon, to forſake the Fielde: thence they paſſed on into Aſia, vvhere they made ſuch a dreadfull terrour (as *Titus Liuius*, the great blamer of the Gaules name, ſaith in his eight and forty booke) amongſt all the Nations, which were on this ſide the Mountaine Taurus, that not onely they among whom they came, but ſuch with whome they neuer were (both neere and farre off) did ranke themſelues altogither vnder their obedience and ſubiection.

Ptolomy ſlain by the Gaules

The Temple of Apollo ſacked by them.

Cruel people of Scythia in Europe, Eaſtward by the ſea ſide.

b People of Mæſia, betweene Danubius and Aenius.

Titus Liuius in lib. 48 cap. 9.

Not long after, becauſe they conſiſted of three Nations, to witte, [c] *Toliſtoboges*, *Trocmes*, and *Tectoſages*, they diuided Aſia into three parts, to the end, that each Nation might hold his ſhare tributary to himſelfe. The coaſt of the *Helleſpont* was aſsigned to the *Trocmes*. The *Toliſtoboges* had the [d] *Æolides* and [e] *Ionia* for their part. The *Tectoſages* had the Countrey vvhich was in the middeſt of Aſia, and raiſed all their ſouldiers pay, at the charge of that whole Aſia, which was on this ſide *Taurus*, making their abode neere to the riuer *Halys*. And their name was ſo much feared (in regard of their great number) that they became (afterward) a people of no meane parentage: inſomuch, that the Kinges of Syria refuſed not to pay them Wages. Thus hath *Titus Liuius* written, concerning the entrance of the Gaules into Greece and Aſia. Whereby, I haue obſerued, that, in regard (as I haue formerly ſayde) their warres were managed by vertue, and no craft or guile: the due commendation of the Gaules valiancie, was iuſtly comprized vvithin thoſe limites and Countryes, as the Sunne obſerued his courſe, from his riſing, to his fall.

c People of Gaule, that did win part of Paphlagonia & Mæonia

d People that ſomtimes wer cald Myſians.

e A Region in Greece, betweene Caria and Eolis,

f A riuer riſing out of Taurus, and running thorough Cappadocia.

War guided by vertue, and no guile.

But in following time, thorow lacke of Military Diſcipline, or elſe (much rather) by reaſon of diſcords, which grevv among themſelues, the [g] *Cenomanians*, hauing differēce with the *Togates*, the *Maſſylians* with the *Bracchates*, and [§] *Heduans* with the *Comates*: they holp the Romane, to bring their owne Countrey into thraldome; betraying all Gaule, to ſubiect it to the Romane Empire. And that which is much more, to the end, that in this caſe we may more admire the Gaules Vertue, they being well inſtructed in the Art Military: and all together hauing encountred *Cæſar*, who was a moſt excellent Maiſter in actions of warre; within the ſpace of foure yeares, ouerthrew the whole Romaine Empire, which had ſetled it ſelfe by ſo many warres, and multiplicity of ages. For heerein *Cæſar* had the conſent of the Gaules, onely againſt whom, (as *Vercingetorix* propheſied) not all the inhabitable world knew how to make reſiſtance: yet, the only conſent (I ſay) of the Gauls, and Gaule onely, ſtoode againſt all the other Prouinces of ſo great and mightie an Empire. Why then, thou Man of Gaule, thou deſerueſt higheſt honour for this Vertue; for encreaſing the dignitie and glorie of thy Countrey, and not the tyrannie of a ſtranger. Thou (euen of thy ſelfe) haſt ſubdued Italy, Spaine, Greece, Egypt, Aſia, Affrica, yea, and Spaine againe: in briefe, thou haſt conquered the whole Empire of the Romane people.

g People of Gallia Ciſalpina.

Gaul betrayd & ſubiected to the Roman Empire.

The Romane Empire ouerthrowne in 4. yeeres, onely by the valour of the Gaules.

Conqueſts of the Gaules nation in the world.

But this may ſeeme ſufficient (if not too much) to be ſpoken concerning their man-hoode and valour: Now it is fitte time to ſpeak of their prudence and wiſedome.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learning and wiſedom of the Gaules: Of the diſciplines inſtructed by their Druides or Prieſts, to the yonger people. Alſo of their Bards; Poets, Sarronides, Eubages and profeſſion of Languages.

THE ſtudy of diſciplines (whereby the iudgment of man maketh it ſelf moſt firme, for the better entertainement of wiſedom) was moſt notable amōg the ancient

Of the wiſedom and learning vſed amongſt the Gaules.

D1 985

cient Gaules. The * *Druides*, or *Druidæ*, made profeſsion in each of thoſe Diſciplines. Firſt of all, *Cæſar* ſaith, they wold haue men to beleeue, that their ſoules could not dye; but after death they paſſed from one body to another. And they were of opinion, that this beleefe ſerued greatly for an encouragement to vertue; when men held the feare of death in contempt. Moreouer, they diſcouered verie many things which they taught to youth: concerning the Starres, and their motion; of the greatneſſe of the world, & the earth; of the Nature of things; of the might and power of the immortall Gods. *Cæſar* writeth, of the Learning of the Gaules; but in few words, and ſleightly; therfore we muſt enquire after more ample relation. That the Gaules had a capeable vnderſtanding of all diſciplines, *Cæſar* hath affirmed in his ſeuenth booke, by that which wee haue already alledged. *They are a kinde of people of very great vnderſtanding, and who are moſt apt to follow and counterfet all things which cā be taught them.* And *Diodorus* writeth thus. *Although their ſpeech be ſomewhat obſcure and doubtfull, yet are they not any ſuch men, as do eſtrange themſelues from Learning.* Alſo *Strabo* agreeth there-with, ſaying. *The Gaules are eaſily guided to learn ſuch things as may do them ſeruice, becauſe they addict themſelues to Arts and Diſciplines.*

From the beginning of the world, which Father *Noah* re-eſtabliſhed; all ſortes of Diſciplines were taught to ſuch ſpirits, as appeared to be deſirous of them. For, according to *Beroſus*, if that which now adayes is generally read, be true: * *Dis*, who was the firſt Author of the Gaules Nation, is ſaid to bee moſt famous for knowledge, and thereon was called *Semnothes*, or *Samothes*, and (after his name) ſuch as made profeſsion of Learning and knowledge, were termed *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*. But this place of *Cæſar*, ſeemeth to confirme the hiſtory of *Beroſus*. *The Gaules* (ſaith he) *do report themſelues to bee deſcended of their father Dis: and ſay beſide, that the Druides gaue them that inſtructiō.* For this cauſe, they marked all the courſes of times by number, not of dayes, but of nights; and that they kept ſuch a cuſtome, by obſeruation of their birth daies, and ſo from the beginning of months and yeares; that ſtill the day followed the night. Now, concerning this point, that day alwayes enſued after night: the Germaines alſo kept the ſame courſe, & made not their account by number of dayes, as we do (ſaith *Tacitus*) but of nights, giuing an apt tearme therefore, and vſed their aſſignations among themſelues accordingly, as holding, that night was ſtill the guide to day. It may bee, that this was a thing in vſe to other people alſo, to take the beginning of the houres, from the inſtant of midnight.

But let vs come againe to Father *Dis*, and the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, whereof *Beroſus* ſpeaketh; with whom the opinion of *Ariſtotle* conſenteth: for hee writeth in his Magitian (according as *Laertius* reporteth) *That Philoſophy receyued originall from the Semnotheans of the Gauls.* The ſame *Beroſus* writeth, that *Sarron* the third King of Gaule, to reſtrain the wilde fierceneſſe of the firſt men; eſtabliſhed publicke Schooles of learning: but hereafter we ſhall ſpeake more at large of the *Sarronides*. The fourth King was *Druis*, of whom came the *Druides*, & who were full of all things, as *Cæſar* affirmeth. The fift King was *Bardus*, of whom wee celebrate the honour, in ſpeaking of Bardes, Poets, and Orators. Thus then wee perceiue the ancient profeſsions of the *Gauls* diſciplines, which maketh it ſelfe venerable, euen in the image of antiquity. *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, doth very neere agree heerewith; writing the Originall of the Gauls, where he ſaith; *Thoſe that haue anciently written, doubting the firſt original of the Gaules, did leaue their knowledge halfe full of trouble.* But ſince then, * *Timagenes* the Greeke, both out of diligence and diuers Languages, collected ſuch things as were vnknown for the ſpace of long time; to whom giuing credit (all doubt & ſcruple taken away) we will deliuer the ſame notes diſtinctly and cleerely.

Some are of opinion, that the * *Aborigenes* were the firſt that had beene ſeene in theſe Countries; and that they did name themſelues Celts, after the name of a king whom they deerely affected; and *Galates* (for the Greekes do call the Gaules ſo) after the name of his [b] Mother. Others do affirme, that the *Dorians*, which followed ancient *Hercules*, inhabited the borders about the Ocean. The [c] *Druſides* recount (for a truth) that there was a certain part of

[a] Certain lerned Prieſts in Gaule, who were in ſuch eſtimation, that the determining of all controuerſies was committed to them. It is ſuppoſed, that they firſt came out of the Ile of Britaine.

The Gaules capeable of all diſciplines. *Iuli Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 7.*

Diodor. in lib. 4

Strabo in li. 5. cap. 1.

Old Father Noah re-eſtabliſhed the world.

*Pluto the God of riches *Demigorgon.*

Beroſ. ant. lib. 1

The courſes of times noted by number of nights, & not of dayes.

The Germans held the ſame obſeruation of accounting by nights.

Beroſ. Ant. lib. 1

Ariſt. in Mag. in epithet. Semn.

De Ant. Cant. lib. 1.

In mort. Claud.

The venerable diſciplines of the Gaules *Marcel. in lib. 5*

*A great rhetorician of Alexandria, who taught in Pompeyes houſe.

*Ancient people dwelling in the Mountaines, whom Saturn brought into Italy.

b Galata, or Galatea.

c Reputed to be a people of Thrace.

of a people, which were Natiues of the Countrey: but were chaſed and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Iſlands, and in the Countrey on this ſide the *Rheine*. Some alſo holde, that after the deſtruction of Troy, a ſmall number of people vvhich fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at laſt into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do aſſure this, which wee haue alſo ſeene engrauen in their Monuments: that *Hercules*, the ſon of *Amphitrio*, made all poſſible ſpeede to ruinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerion* and *Tauriſcus*, one of which ouerawed *Spaine*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had priuate knowledge of ſome women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that ſtyled (by their owne name) all thoſe places where they commanded.

Annius de Viterbo.

Scrip. Brit. Cent. 1.

I. Bale ſcrip. Brit. Cent. 2 Two bloodie giants conquered by Hercules.

It is likewiſe further maintained, that the [a] *Phocenſes* which liued in Aſia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themſelues to ſea, and came into *Italy*; one part vvhereof, founded the Towne of [b] *Velia*, and the other [c] *Maſſilia* in *Viennoys*. Within ſome while after, when their forces were increaſed; they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we muſt breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleaſing ſatiety. Afterwards, when theſe places were (by little and little) ciuillized, and reclaimed from rudeneſſe by men: the ſtudy of learning (which is moſt commendable) began to appeare in ſome ſplendour, by the *Bards*, *Eubages*, and *Druides*.

a People of Phocis, a little countrey of Greece, by the gulfe Criſſeus b A Towne of Lucania, in the gulfe Peſtanus.
c The Cittie Marſiles in France, which was as famous for Learning, as Athens.

Marcellinus reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Beroſius*. For *Beroſus* ſaith, that *Galatea* (by conſent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spaine*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whome the Gauls receiued their name *Galates*. Therfore, the antiquity of the Gaules Diſcipline and Learning, maketh it ſelf known by theſe teſtimonies.

The beginning of the ſtudy of Lerning.

Beroſ. an. l. 1

Galatea got with childe by Hercules.

But in what Diſcipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I anſwer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Phyſick, Theology. Grammar inſtructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was ſuch from thoſe times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring ſtrãgers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For ſo *Plato* in his *Philebeus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Heere (me thinkes) I vnderſtand in this place, that which many good and learned ſpirits haue queſtioned, to wit, vvhat were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cæſar*, in his ſixt book confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. *They thought* (ſaith he) *that it was ill done, to ſet down their diſciplines in writing: howbeit, that almoſt in all their other affayrs, as well common as particular, they vſed the Greeke letters.* In this place, *Cæſar* ſpeaketh not obſcurely, but diſtertly and plainly; that the Gaules made vſe of the Grecian Letters, that is to ſay, theſe Charracters α. β. γ. &c. He deliuereth ſom proof heereof in the firſt Book, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Moſt true it is, *Cæſar* calleth thoſe Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then vſed: but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaule; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaule into Greece.

Plato in Phileb.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

Cæſar in comment lib 6

The Gaules vſed Greeke Carracters.

Greek letters found in the campe of the Heluetians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 1.*

As concerning the man, who is ſayde to be the firſt inuenter of Letters, verie great queſtion had beene made thereof: and *Plinie* hath debated the matter by diuerſity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vſed. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by ſom, was the firſt that broght Letters (to the number of ſixteene) from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, the which were very like to the Caracters of the *Galates* and *Mæons*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not onely a verie likely coniecture, but a certaine proof alſo, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the diſcipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flouriſh in Gaul for ſo many yeares before *Cadmus* vvent into *Greece*: there neede no doubt to bee made, but that the *Gaules* caracters vvere in vſe in *Gaule*, for ſo many yeeres before

Of him that was the firſt inuenter of Letters.

Cadmus reported for to bring Letters from Phœnicia into Greece, and to be the firſt that found out the caſting of mettals.

The antiquity of the Gaules diſciplines.

Cadmus

The Lerning vſed amongſt the Ancient Gauls in thoſe elder dayes.

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Marc. Varro in lib. 7. de ling. Lat.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his seauenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* a Greek, had formerly made a Grammarian queſtion in Greece, demanding what was the reaſon why *Alpha* might not be called *Alphatos?* The other grammarian Greekes anſwered: *Theſe wordes are none of ours, but are wholly barbarian.* In this place then the Greekes do plainly confeſſe, that theſe Letters were none of theirs. And, conſenting heereto, *Ariſtotle* confeſſeth to his Magitian (according as I haue alreadie ſayde) *That Philoſophy receiued originall from the Semnotheans, or Samotheans of the Celts.* And laſt of all, that Gaule had bin the Miſtris of all Greece.

The demaund of Crates the Greek.

Ariſt. in lib. de Mag ſucceſſ. lib. 22.

I know very well, that *Strabo* ſpeaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greeks: inſomuch, that whatſoeuer bargaines or conuention was made amongſt them, they wrote thereof into Greece, & that they addicting themſelues to the ſtudy of eloquence, & of Philoſophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, profeſſors of the liberall Artes, as alſo they did the like by Phyſitians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the *Maſſylians*, and of their neighbours, at ſuch time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himſelfe writeth) cauſed theyr children to bee ſent no more to *Athens*, then they did to *Marſeilles*, there to follow their ſtudious exerciſe. It muſt needs then be very certaine, that we learned the *Gaules* doctrine of *Dis*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druis*, *Bardus*, and thoſe other ancient maſters, when *Greece* did not ſo much as onely thinke on Letters.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 9.

The ancient famous Vniuerſity of Marſeilles in France.

Of whom the Gauls learned their doctrins

Some may conceit, that we ſpeak of Paradoxes, againſt all reaſon: but I cannot cõprehend, why ſuch men as haue heard ſo many Authours ſpeake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, ſhould reproach theyr praiſes of their owne Countrey, by a peruerſe opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al theſe things do ſerue vs to no purpoſe, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may bee preſſed with nouell Arguments: becauſe the Gaules (as ſome will ſay) did ſpeake Greeke, therefore did they make vſe alſo of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in, & from the time of *Cæſar*, the Gaules did not ſo vnderſtand the Greeke tongue, that they could ſpeak it in any mean meaſure. Herein I haue *Cæſar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fift Booke. *Wee preuailed ſo farre* (ſaith hee) *with one of the* Gaules *horſemen, onely by powerfull promiſes: that he vndertooke to carry a Letter to* Cicero, *which he had written in Greeke Carracters, to the end, that if it happened into the Enemies hand, they might not know our ſecrets.* *Cæſar* ſpeaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Cæſar* and the Gauls, vnderſtood not a letter written in Greek, nor the language thereof.

Authours of found authority ought to be credited

Whether the Gaules ſpake Greeke or no.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 5.

A Letter caried by a Gaule to Cicero.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himſelf (though ſome others hold it for moſt certain) that the popular Gaules vnderſtoode any thing in that language: but that the cheefe and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now adayes they do the Latine. I ſay moreouer, that whoſoeuer maketh heedfull obſeruation, will finde, that this cannot any way bee prooued for truth. Becauſe it is moſt certaine, that in ſo great an army of enemies, there muſt needs be ſome men of marke, of Townes good ſtore. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Cæſar* himſelfe, that the woorthy *Druides*, who were the maſters and Doctors of the Gauls youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Diuitiacus*, one of the *Heduans*, according to the teſtimony of *Cicero*, was the moſt learned man amongſt the *Gaule Druides*. The great affection in this *Diuitiacus*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinarie good will which they bare vnto him, the ſingular fealty, iuſtice, temperance (as appeareth in the firſt booke) in this man, was very well knowne vnto *Cæſar*. To *Cæſar* I ſay, who vnderſtood the Greeke tongue ſufficiently, and had a deſire to communicate ſecretly (for feare leſt any thing ſhould be diſcouered) with *Diuitiacus*, concerning his brother *Dumnorix*, who was ſuppoſed that hee would betray *Cæſar* to his enemies.

That the popular Gaules vnderſtoode not Greeke.

The Druides knew not the Greek tongue

Diuitiacus the learnedſt man of the Druides Gaules.

Cæſar ſufficiently vnderſtood the Greek tongue

Wel then, if *Diuitiacus* had vnderſtood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Cæſar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with priuate inſtructions, in whatſoeuer they would haue had imparted? But ſcorning to ſerue his turne by ordinary Interpreters (as it appeareth in the verie ſame firſt Booke) *Cæſar* ſpake with *Diuitiacus*, by the meanes of *Valerius*, Prince of a Coun-

Cæſar ſcorn'd ordinary interpreters. *Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 1.*

Countrey in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Diuitiacus* (although hee was one of the principall *Druides*) did vnderſtand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

What the language of the ancient Gauls was, in regard it was not Greeke.

Heere I may be demanded, what was the ſpeech of the Ancient Gaules, ſeeing it was not Greeke? I may, and muſt anſwer, that it was Gauliſh: but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath beene preſerued, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollo*. Becauſe it is ſufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vnlearne and looſe their owne Natiue tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions eſtabliſhed in Gaule, conſtrained the Gaules to ſpeake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* ſayth: *Ordinarily all other Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them.* Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite aboliſh and extinguiſh the Gaules Language.

The Gaules compelled to ſpeak the Romane tongue. *Plato in Lib. de Legib.* 4

Moreouer, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto ſuch men, as made publique profeſſion of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue; ſome whereof wee haue yet to ſhew, are vulgarly called Romaine, and not Gauliſh.

Teaching the Latine toong publikely, rewarded.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Suiſſes*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetians*, are they that ſpeak the ancient Gauliſh tongue. But we know well enough, that theſe *Suiſſes* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: conſidering, that the ancient Heluetians (ſhut vppe by *Cæſar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Eutropius*) by the * *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themſelues, thruſt out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the *Vites*, a people amongeſt the Saxons, poſſeſſed themſelues of the *Heluetians* Countrey; whereupon the *Suitois* (that is to ſay) *Suiſſes*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhenanus*, by a Name ſomewhat neere vnto the *Vitois*.

That the Suiſſes yet ſpeake the ancient Language of Gaule.

Of the ancient Heluetians.

*A people of Bohemia.

*A Saxon people.

Others are of the minde, that the language which the Germaines now adayes ſpeake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and take S. *Hierom* for their Authour, who giueth aſſurance, that in his time the *Galates* or *Galatians* of *Aſia*, ſpake the ſame language which the *Treuirians* (dwelling on the *Rheine*) now doe. But *Cæſar* ſeemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his firſt Booke, that *Arioniſtus* King of the *Germaines*, by long vſe (as ſome haue conjectured by this place) of fourteen yeers, did ſpeake the Gauliſh tongue. And in the time of Saint *Hierome*, there were other *Treuirians* in *Gaule*, that were ſubiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time alſo, there are other that ſpeake the ſame ſpeech, as the other *Germaines* doe.

That the Germaines Language was the olde Gauliſh tongue.

Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib 1

Arioniſtus K. of the Germaines.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongſt learned men; who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules*, is that which was vſed in *Gaule Armorica*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French Hiſtory to be true, that makes the *Britaines* to come out of the Iſle of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armorica*: conſidering, that *Cæſar* (as I haue already ſaide) maketh great *Britaine* it ſelfe to be a Colonie of the *Gaules*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Cittie, called *Britaine*, which is in *Amorica*; and *Pliny* (though verie confuſedly) numbereth the *Britaines* in *Gaule*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* writeth, That the neereſt ſhores of the Ile were impeached by the *Gaules*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Iſle, imagined (for this reaſon) that the Welſhmen of England, had ſome conniuence in ſpeech with our Britaines. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reaſon, or deſeruing to be approoued. And this is the Grammar of the Gaules, both in writing and ſpeech.

Gaule Armorica. now cald Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by Cæſar to be a Colony of the Gaules.

Plin. in Lib. 3. Corn. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1.

Of the welſhmen of England.

But what was that of the Britains, and that of the Germaines? *The Diſcipline of the Gaules* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *was firſt inuented in great Britaine, as hath bene eſteemed: and from thence tranſported into Gaule. And at this day, ſuch as would know it moſt diligently, they go thither (oftentimes) to learne it.* This paſſage ſheweth ſufficiently, that the diſcipline betweene the *Britaines* and *Gaules*, was al one. If we vnderſtand alſo, that *Cæſar* maketh *great Britaine* as deſcēded of the *Gaules*, & that they of the *Britains* were moſt human which were *Gauls*,

O the diſcipline of the Britaines and Gaules. *Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib* 1

it

The discipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

it is verily to be credited, that Discipline parted from Gaule, to come thither. This place may suffice generally, for al the doctrine of the Britaines.

Of the Germains. *Cornelius Tacitus, vbi supra.*

Concerning the Germaines, there is scarsly any one word. *The men and Women* (saith *Tacitus*) *were equally ignorant in the secrets of Letters*. The Germaines then wholly, had not any Letters or Disciplines. *Æneas Syluius* giueth assurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, ciuility and Letters came into Germany. The Germaines themselues do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeares, since their language began to be written; and that (with Christian Religion) the Muses came into Germany; where both in publique Schooles, and by learned professors, they haue so prospered, that the nation (which all Nations else had formerly in detestation for sauage barbarousnes:) hath since then, in all ciuility, in all gentleneſse and humanity of all disciplines, conferred with the most learned and best lettered Nations whatsoeuer, and for the priority in this commendation.

Æneas Syluius concerning the Germans, and their former barbarisme.

The studies of the Rhetoricke Gaules.

But what were the studies of the Rhetoricke Gaules? Assuredly, they were very highly and honourably esteemed: yet more for a setled speech, consisting of measure, then in prose. The Gaules had (saith *Diodorus* in his sixt Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called Bards. These men, with a Musicall instrument, as with the Lyre or Harpe, sang some mens praises, and others imperfections. He further affirmeth in the same place, that Poets were in such reuerend respect amongest them, that when Armies were in ranged battraile, hauing their Swordes and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to smite one another: not onely friends, but meere enemies (if these men once did steppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, among the most sauage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to wisedome, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muses. Likewise, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, speaketh of the Bardes, as being Poets, and singers of praises. The Poet *Lucane* also, in the first of his *Pharsalia*, speaketh thus in commendation of the Gaulish Poets.

Diodor. in lib. 5.

Of the Bards and Poets amongst the Gaules: and in what reuerence they were esteemd.

Strabo in lib. 4.

You Poets, Bards, that of those valiant souls,
Dying in warres, do Caroll their renowne,
Know how t'eternize to perpetuall worlds
Their endlesse praise: Many sweet songs you (sing.

Lucane in lib. 1

Moreouer, *Marcellinus* in his fifte Booke, speaking of the Gaules, hath these words: *The Bards sung to the Harp, which they touched very plesingly: declaring the famous actes of illustrious men, their Songs being composed in heroycall verses.* The Romaines followed this example of the Bardes, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a custome to sing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with such as did play on Instruments.

Marcel. in lib. 1

The Romains imitated the Bards in singing at bankets

Heereby therefore, we may wel perceyue, how highly Poesie was honoured and authorized by the Ancient Gaules. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and of her *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, shee vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and estimation amongst the Greekes. This then was their Rhetoricke, and (as *Pomponius Mela* sayeth) *This was the eloquence which the auncient Gaules had.*

Greece renowned theyr Bards and Poets.

Pomp. Mela, in lib. 1 cap. 5.

But what was that of the Germaines? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the mysteries and secrets of Letters; yet notwithstanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only maner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Discipline of the ancient Germaines.

The Rhetoricke vsed among the Germaines. *Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 9.*

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient Gaules? I finde in *Cæsar* one only question, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the instruction of youth. All the noble and liberall Arts, were to be learned in written books; the maisters of those Arts, interpreting thē to their schollers, & the schollers practising to vnderstand them. Many times some great difficulty would arise, about the entertaining of mens authority; whose Bookes were propounded to youth: because those men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithstāding being no more but men, they would

The Logicke of the ancient Gaules. *Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.*

Difficulties arising about men of authority, and theyr written works

would ſometimes dreame, and quite forget themſelues. Whereby enſued, that their writings paſſing as vniuerſall, they proued many times vneaſie to be explained. Contrarywiſe, without any writing, but by the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanicall men (as Laborers, Maſons, Marriners, and ſuch like) were ſoone apprehended: and there aroſe no repugnancie or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderſtoode. There was no other maxime of theſe Arts, but what vſe and profit had approoued. Then thoſe Doctors and profeſſors were not woont to write of any diſcipline: but al that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithſtanding, being guided by other reaſons, they made Conſcience (as *Iulius Cæſar* ſayeth in the ſixt Booke) to ſet downe their diſciplines in writing.

Arts taught by voice or tongue, without writing.

Inſtructions giuen vnto youth by word of mouth onely *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 6.*

Well then, if we vrge a queſtion (in this caſe) to *Cæſar*, thus will he ſhape vs an anſwer. *It appeareth to me, that for two reaſons, they eſtabliſhed this decree amongſt them. Firſt, becauſe they would not haue their diſciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, leaſt ſuch as learned them, truſting to writing only; would make the leſſe account of retaining them in their memory.* For many times it happened, that the more part, by vſing continuall recourſe to books, became ſlothfull in Learning truely, or kept retention of any thing ſhewn vnto them. And theſe two reaſons were likewiſe alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Diſciplines to writing; & theſe cauſes haue beene approoued by the very cheefeſt Philoſophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pythagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpoſe, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phædrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phædrus*.

Two eſpeciall reaſons alledged by Cæſar concerning inſtruction.

2. Reaſons of the Druides.

Pithagoras & Socrates left nothing written.

CHAP. XII.

A Dialogue or Communication between Socrates and Phædrus, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters regiſtred downe by writing.

Socrates. It remaineth now to ſpeake of the fitneſſe or vnfitnes of writing. VVhether the doing thereof bee well or ill, is not that the queſtion?

Of the fitnes or vnfitnes of writing.

Phædrus. Yes, that is our argument.

Socrates. Knoweſt thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning preſent ſpeech, thou mayeſt thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

Whether writing or ſpeaking be moſt acceptable to the Gods.

Phædrus. Not I, but thou doeſt.

Socrates. I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the trueth, and if wee our ſelues could finde it; ought we not henceforward, to bee verie carefull of mens opinions?

Phædrus. This is to laugh at thine owne demand: but tel vs that, which thou ſayeſt thou haſt heard.

Socrates. I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto *Naucratis* which is in Egypt, there was ſometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird tearmed *Bis* or *Ibis*, was ſacred. Moreouer, that hee vvas the firſt inuenter of numbers, and of Ieat, as alſo of Dice and Letters, and of Aſtronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Thaumas* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hammon* was then their God. *Theuthates* beeing come to this King, he ſhewed and declared to him, that hee muſt inſtruct the Egyptians in diſciplines. VVhereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would enſue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* ſhould ſeeme to ſpeake ill or vvell, ſo would hee blame, or elſe giue commendation. It is ſayde, that betweene *Thaumas* and *Theuthates*

*A City well knowne in Egypt.

The inuention of numbers, let, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Dice, and Letters.

Diſciplines to be taught to the Egyptians

thates many things were debated, which wold require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. Sir (said *Theuthates*) *this discipline will make the* Egyptians *very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the onely Medicine found out for memory and knowledge.* Whereto the other replyed; O most ingenious and subtle *Theuthatec*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, maintainest the contrary of their effect. For letters causeth forgetfulnes in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recordation, which is the very soule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulnesse, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and vvithout a Master, they will perswade themselues to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, prooving to bee offensiue and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as beeing more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

Concerning the enstruction of letters, & what harme or benefit might ensue by them.

Letters enemy to the memory, & the reason why.

Diffrence between knowledge and opinion therof.

Phædrus. Thou canst easily (O *Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

Socrates. My friend, it is held by some, that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those propheties which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* * *Dodonæus*. For, through the rudenesse and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your yonger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speak, so long as they spake trueth. It may bee thou conceiuest, that some peculiar interest should bee placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

*A Citty in Chaonia, nere which was a wood dedicated to Iupiter.

Phædrus. Truely, thou hast very iustly reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Thaumas* was.

Socrates. Then whosoeuer thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*, making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing, then of knowing and retayning that which is written.

The memory hath exceeded all matter set downe in writing.

Phædrus. Thou sayest very well.

Socrates. O *Phædrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truth) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any question of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imaginest also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, concerning that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say, to whom it is most conuenient, and to whom not. And if it happen to be iniuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: because it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

Writing compared to painted figures or portraitures, that can speak nothing.

Writing is in it selfe equall and alike to all men.

Phædrus. Hitherto thou hast spoken most truely.

Socrates. Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is Brother to this we talke of, and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

Speaking reputed the brother to writing

Phædrus. What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou saiest) maketh it selfe?

Socrates. It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can acte reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe, and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

The excellency of speaking aboue writing

Phædrus. Thou speakest the liuely and soule-like discourse of him that knowes &

Writing the image of speaking.

vnderstandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it selfe (in some respect) to be his image.

Socrates. Tell mee then, in good sadnesse, if a wise husbandman take delight to beholde his seedes, whereof he is carefull, and desireth to gather fruite; will he sowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee shall see them budde foorth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about such businesse; shall he scatter them iestingly, as after the manner of a holy day sport? When hee hath taken paines to sowe his seede, according as hee ought to do, and answerable to the Art of Husbandry: he supposeth it sufficient for him, if in the space of eight moneths after the seed time is past, they doe thriue, and come to their maturity.

A pleasant witty question, and to very good purpose.

Phædrus. The wise Husbandman, (O *Socrates*) will doe as thou hast sayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no such care.

Socrates. Shall we then say, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iust, honest, and good, will be lesse carefull of his seede seasons, then an Husbandman?

The seedes of wisedom haue their due seasons.

Phædrus. No.

Socrates. He will not then write down the seedes of his penne with Inke, sowing them there amongst his Discourses, as if he did a matter of great importance: because hee cannot then helpe them with his wordes, neither can hee demonstrate the truth so exquisitely as it should bee.

Matters set downe in writing, cannot afterward be holpen with words.

Phædrus. Nor can they make any proof of themselues.

Socrates. No truely: but he shall sowe and vvrite (as it is in reason) in meere sportfull manner, and vvhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treasures, to the end that they may not fall into Oblivion, as well for himselfe, as also for the first that will followe the same example: hee taketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addicte themselues vnto other Recreations, as to Feasts, sports, and the like pleasures; leauing all these heedefull matters behinde them; hee shall passe on all his leysures, taking great delight in his owne discoursing.

Memories are said to be the rich treasures of mans life, and the best to be learned.

Phædrus. O *Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true paslime indeede, in steade of that which is of small valew, and woorth nothing: when a man delighteth in serious Discourse, he shall ruminate on Iustice, and all those other especiall matters by thee remembred.

Serious Discourse the minister of iustice.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, vvhich vvas much more sweete and humaine, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* alwayes preferred knowledge, consisting in memorie and liuing-wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheless, hee allowed vvriting to bee but as a help to forgetfulnesse. I could wish that this Opinion had beene as pleasing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee should haue had no neede of straungers gooces, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued satisfied with our owne countryes aboundance. Neyther by meanes of the Latines and Greek, should we haue learned disciplines by paine and studye, after the nature of other straunge Languages: but with great pleasure and contentment of minde, wee should haue suckt them as milk from our nurses brests. All the youth of a man, albeit study were sharpe thereto, should not so hardly haue spent it selfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet seeming but as an enterance into the common rode way of liberal studies, whē we rather should haue runne out our full course to the end. A long and laborious time of studye vvas required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues, to vnderstand *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wise, without trauaile, and with exceeding delight, we might haue sung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bardes, hauing (naturally) the true vnderstāding both of their words and sense.

Memory and speech preferred before the dead Letter.

The Gaules had sufficient studies of their owne, without need of borrow ng elsewhere.

Study of strange Language, irkesome to the Gaules

The loue which they bare vnto theyr countrey, and to vertue it selfe, was ouerabounding in seuerity. For, our *Druides* sought all meanes, vvhereby to make Gaule surpasse all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes; but in the honor of Disciples, and in coueting to banish idlenesse from the Gaules mindes; they disinherited their posterity, of their most rich and vnualewable patrimony of ancient disciplines. In the doing vvherof, they buried in perpetuall obliuion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, vvhich they had

The Druides too seuere in affection to their countrey and vertue.

The Gaules had rare artes & disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine do we now make our complaints: neuertheleſſe, ſorrow remaineth ſtill with vs, to wiſh (how vainely ſoeuer) that it had beene ſo. And vndoubtedly (in this caſe) they might iuſtly accuſe the vileneſſe of the Romane ambition, which vtterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore ſay with the Poet.

We ought to mourne, & all theſe mortall things
May touch their hearts.

CHAP. XIII.

A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gauls, by their Druides, Bardes, and learned men, according to the iuſtification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obſerued.

Iul. Cæſ. in comm. lib 7.

BVT let vs come to the Mathematicall Artes, whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaketh, when he ſaieth. *They made very many diſputes of the Starres, and of their motion; of the greatneſſe of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things.* Queſtionleſſe, theſe were their ancient diſciplines, left from the father to the ſonne, by *Dis*, *Sarron*, and *Druis*: which they themſelues preſerued carefully, hauing receiued them (from hand to hand) of their graue Auncestors. For *Ioſephus*, in the firſt booke of the Iewes Antiquities, teſtifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obſerued thoſe Mathematicall conſiderations. And becauſe they would hinder the loſſe of ſo noble inuentions, or periſhing by the inundations of the waters: they engraued them vpon two Collombes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of ſtone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth ſhould chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of ſtone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engrauen thereon. The ſame Author witneſſeth, that the ſame Pillar of ſtone

Dis, Sarron, Druis.

Ioſeph. in lib. 1 de Antiquit.

Two Pillars engraué with Mathematical Artes.

was to bee ſeene in *Syria*, in the time of *Veſpaſian*. *Euſebius* likewiſe reporteth, how the *Egiptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the Greekes afterward, did ſet downe thoſe Artes in writing, & then publiſhed them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly ſaide) gaue them to poſterity, according as they had receiued them from the hands of their fathers; diſputing many matters, touching the Starres, and their continuall motions.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3 c. 5

Mela alſo writeth, that the *Druides* made profeſsion, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starres. Aſtrology was ſuch a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had ſtudied Arithmeticke & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they ſtood in neede of the accounts of Arithmatick; and the diſtances and interualles of the Starres, muſt needs paſſe themſelues by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profeſsion of enſtructing Aſtrology; taught (firſt of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Aſtrologie to be vnderſtood.

Pomponius Mela. vn li. 3 cap. 5.

Concerning the learning of Aſtrology, and how it was enſtructed by the Druides.

Beroſus ſheweth, that there was ſome muſicke in the Hymnes and Poems of the *Bardes*. *Among the Celts* (ſaith he) *a Barde was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and Muſique.* The *Druides* diſputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatneſſe and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* ſayeth, the *Druides* taught: This was their Coſmography & Geography, and the *Druides* diſputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes ſetting in the Weſt, to his riſing in the Eaſt: what was his largeneſſe, from the Equator or Equinoctiall circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the diſtances of the fiue Zones, from the Pole, ſo farre as the ſmalleſt circle thereof, euen to the Tropick, and then from the Tropicke, ſo farre as the Equator, which is in the midſt: what were the Zones of the earth, which are aſsigned and ſubiected to the Celeſtiall Zones: which of the were inhabited, and deſert, by reaſon of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Aſia, and Affrica were diuided, and ſeparate one from another.

Beroſus in lib. 1. cap. 3.

Muſicall Bardes among the Celts.

Pomponius Mela vbi ſupra.

The diuers diſputations vſed among the Druides, of the world, earth, & heauens.

Their queſtions of Phyſick, were concerning

The questions of Physicke, among the Gaules.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the matter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth. Whence all things were engendred; how they perished, augmented, decreased, altered and moued. The professours (among the *Gaules*) of these so seuerall doctrines; are called by *Strabo*, Poets, or Prophets, who, ouer and beside other things, concerning Physicke, principally taught this Oracle, proper to the Country: *That the world must sometime perish by fire, and by water.* The same Doctours are called (by *Marcellinus*) *Eubages.* *The Eubages* (saith hee) *seeking into the very highest & deepest parts of the earth; laboured to discouer the secrets of thē.* These noble disciplines then, were wont to bee taught of the *Gaules*, and in the *Gaules* language onely.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcel: in l. 5.

Two famous Philosophers among the Gaules, made immortall by Cicero himselfe,

Heere we may not omit, to remember two most excellent Philosophers among them: that were commended, yea, and consecrated to immortality, by the words of *Cicero*. The one was *Diuitiacus*, (of whō wee haue spoken already) Prince of the *Heduans*: the other was *Deiotarus*, King of the *Gaules* in *Asia*. Speake then noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our famous *Druides*. *In Gaule there were of the Druides, among whom, I my selfe knew Diuitiacus the Heduan a the man that receiued me into his house, and made account of mee. This man made his vaunt, that hee knew the reason of Nature, which the Greekes named * Physiologia; and could speake of things to come, partly by Augurie, and partly by coniectures.* This *Diuitiacus* (as it is very likely) was the Hoste to *Cicero*, by reason of the *Druides* knowledge which was in him. But what doth he say of * *Deiotarus*? How is it that this Oratour commendeth him? *But wherein* (saith he) *shall I make mention of king Deiotarus, that most famous & right worthy personage our Hoste, that neuer did any thing, but with presage? For, when hee was returned from a voiage, which hee had formerly purposed and resolued to make: the Chamber wherein hee should haue lodged (if he had continued his iourney) fell downe the night ensuing. And therfore, as I haue oftentimes heard from himselfe, hee made many pauses and returnes from that one voiage; albeit he proceeded in many other beside.* *Cicero* speaking further of the same man, saieth. *Hee performed one very notable action, when he came backe from the kingdome of the Tetrarches, whereof he was dispossessed by Cæsar, and condemned to pay a great summe of money. He saide, hee did not repent himselfe, for not crediting such Auguries, as happened to him when hee went towards Pompey, hauing maintained with his forces, the authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Romane people, with the dignity of the Empire. And that the Birds (to whose augurie hee gaue faith) had well councelled and aduised him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much more precious and deere esteeme of his honour, then he did of all his goods and possessions.* These are the words of learned *Cicero*, to whom both *Gaule* and *Galatia* are for euer beholding: because, by so worthy a testimony, he preserued the memory of 2. such famous Philosophers of theirs.

* A searching out of natural things, or a reasoning of the nature of any thing

* A king of Galatia, whō Cicero defended, being accused to haue conspired Cæsars death

Cicero in lib. 4. de offic.

Cicero in lib. vbi supra.

An augury giuen by Birds to Deiotarus.

Gaule & Galatia indebted to Cicero.

But what shall I most preferre in this place, if not our sighes and teares, as true witnesses of our misery? Heeretofore, *Gaule* commanded ouer the Italians and Grecians, and, insted of the goods of Fortune, which are but of small worth, and giuē to men as stipendary wages: she gaue them the goods of the minde in recompence, which were (indeede) much more precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very proudly, because they had Mathematitians and Philosophers: but that glory was (formerly) ours; those praises distilled from our Fountaines: which did meerely dry vp themselues, because they would not rampier and defend their owne power, by writing. For *Gaule* might haue had Gaulish *Euclides*, *Ptolomies*, *Platoes*, *Aristotles*, and others beside, farre more excellent men then all they were. But let vs ceasse our bootlesse complaints, & come now to the Theology or Diuinity of the *Gaules*.

Gaule commanded ouer the Greeks & Italians.

The pride of Greece and Italy, yet proceeding from the Gaules.

The *Druides* (aboue all things else) would haue men to beleeue, that their soules could not die: but that (after death) they departed out of one body, & entred into another. The reason of this their opinion was: that it was the only encouragement to vertue, because feare of death was thereby held in high contempt. I set downe this their perswasion of immortality, as the principall foundation of the Gaules Religion and Theologie, which the Greekes and Latines did enuiously celebrate. *The Gaules* (sayeth *Diodorus*) *after their repastes and feeding, had a custome, to defie one another vnto the Combate,*

The Diuinity vsed among the Gaulish Druides, that mens soules could not die.

Diod. in Lib. 5. cap. 3.

bate, without making any reckoning of their liues, for the opinion of Pythagoras preuailed with them: That the ſoules of men were immortall, and that after the death of the body, within a certaine while, they came againe into other bodies. And for this cauſe, ſome would caſt written Letters into heapes of wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade them. *Strabo* affirmeth as much. They were perſwaded (ſaith he) that mens ſoules were not ſubiect to corruption or mortality.

Written Letters caſt into fires that burned dead bodies. *Strabo in Lib. 2 cap. 7.*

Pomponius Mela writeth thus. There was one thing which the Druides helde and maintained, to encite men (thereby) with the better will to warre: That mens ſoules were eternall, and that the dead liued another life. Whereupon, when they burned dead bodies, or buried them, the whole account of their former liues negotiations was interred with the, eſpecially if any thing had beene borrowed, it was to be redemanded of them. Some were found, that voluntarily, and with their owne good will, would throw themſelues into flaming fires, and burned ſuch things as neereſt and deereſt appertained to them, euen as if they were to liue with them. *Mela* reporteth thus of them, wherein we may note the ſame reaſon of this perſwaſion, which

Pomponius Mela in lib. 4. ca. 2.

Death freely and voluntarily imbraced by the Druides.

Cæſar alſo held, to wit: that by the contempt of death, the Gaules might make themſelues the more couragious, and valiantly diſpoſed to warre: and it is very likely, that the contempt of death, whereof we haue formerly ſpoken, proceeded from hence.

Valerius Maximus, in his ſecond booke, maketh this relation. *I bethinke me* (ſaith he) *of the ancient manner of the Gaules, who are ſaide to haue a cuſtome, to lend out monies, to be repaied them againe when they wer in the lower regions. For they held it as a matter moſt infallible, that the ſoules of men were immortall: and I ſhould haue reputed theſe men fooliſh, but that the Bracchates likewiſe held the ſame opinion, which Pythagoras* * *Pallium did*. Such a number of Authors then, doe conſent with *Cæſar*, concerning the opinion which the Gaules had, of immortality. And heere I may not negligently let paſſe, that theſe Authors (aboue all things elſe) do refuſe to confeſſe, that the Gaules were the firſt fathers of Philoſophy. *Pythagoras* maintained, that the ſoules of men were immortall, and *Plato* (following him) ſaieth the ſame. It is alſo the opinion of the Philoſopher, which *Ouid* remembreth.

Valer: Max: in lib. 2.

* Pallium, for the Latine word Pallia-tus, which is as much to ſay, as clothed with a Robe, which they called Pallium, & which the Philoſophers vſed to weare.

Mens ſoules are exempt from death,
And leauing their firſt lodgings;
Liue alwaies in new dwellings,
Where they haue freſh entertaiment.

The words of *Ouid* of the ſoules immortality.

This (I ſay) was the iudgement of *Pythagoras*, from whence enſued, that the Gauls (by report of the *Greekes* and *Latines*) were made *Pythagorians*, and ſo meerely borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to ſhew of what great ambition this error is, the ſillieſt iudgement may eaſilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before *Pythagoras* was borne, this opinion of the *Druides* liued among the *Gaules*. Wherefore, I may very well aſſure that which hath formerly beene propoſed: that *Greece* was not Schoole-miſtreſſe to *Gaule*, but rather her ſcholler. Neuertheleſſe, the *Gaules* did not allow of that * *Metempſychoſis*, that is to ſay, the changing of ſoules, which *Pythagoras* maintained, as paſsing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beaſts: For they did not beleeue, that of men they became beaſts, but that they were made men again, in other bodies. The Poet *Lucane* affirmeth the ſame.

The error of the Greekes and Latines, concerning the Gaules, which were of more antiquity then *Pythagoras*.

Tranſmigration or paſſage of the ſoule from one body to another

——————— According as you ſay,
Thoſe ſhadowes goe not into the ſilent dwellings
Of deepeſt Erebus, or the pale Country
Of King Pluto beneath. The ſelfe ſame ſpirit enters
Into another body: And of long life
Led in another world, you ſing moſt truely.

Lucan: in lib. 3.

Other points of the Gauls religion.

Proceede we now to other points of the *Gaules* religion. They diſputed very much, concerning the power and might of the immortall Gods, and made profeſsion (as *Mela*

Pomponius Mela in lib. 4, cap. 3

Mela ſaith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, *Minerua*, *Iupiter* and *Mars*, holding almoſt the very ſame opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That *Mercury* was the inuenter of Artes, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of monie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being ſuch as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury reputed to bee the God of Meſſages, and the inuenter of Artes, as alſo a guide to trauellers in their iournies.

He ſpake the word, and the God Meſſenger,
Immediately was ready to be gone.
He faſtened to his feete his light wingd plumes,
Which at his heeles do beare him through the windes,
Mounting and falling with their nimble flight:
One while on Land, and then vpon the waues.
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,
He ſummond vp aloft pale meager Ghoſts,
From the ſad ſhades, or elſe doth ſend them thither.
And therewithall he doth controle our ſports.
Waking or ſleeping, he commandeth all:
And ſome into eternall ſleepe to fall.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of Artes, the guide to trauellers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. *Iulius Cæſar* made his prayers to *Mercurie*, (and as *Marcellinus* ſaith) he was reputed to bee the moſt ſudden ſenſe in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of thoſe Diuines. This was the power which the *Druides* gaue to *Mercurie*. As for that of *Apollo*, he was ſaid to cure & helpe diſeaſes and ſickneſſe; as the God teſtifieth of himſelfe in *Ouid*.

Marcel. in lib. 5, cap. 7.

Ouid. in Metamorph. Lib. 4

Apollo taken to be the God of Phyſicke.

Phyſicke is mine, and through the Vniuerſe
Men call to me for ſuccour in diſtreſſe.
The vertue of all hearbs to me is ſubiect.

Minerua the Goddeſſe of all ingenious deuiſes.

The might of *Minerua*, they held to be thus: That ſhee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuiſes. Whervpon the Poets feigned, that ſhe was bred and borne in the braine of her father *Iupiter*.

The power of Iupiter and Mars in their ſeuerall conditions.

They were perſwaded alſo, that *Iupiter* had command ouer all the other Gods, and that *Mars* gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all ſuch things as they ſhould take in fight. And if they won the day, they would ſacrifice all ſuch Beaſts as were taken, and bring away all the reſt as booty. *Diodorus* relating almoſt the very ſame, ſaith farther; that they ſacrificed their priſoners and captiues to the Gods. But you wil ſay, that this example was too cruell. I confeſſe as much, but muſt anſwer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who wold put to death in their priſons, the very braueſt & moſt valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike ſpectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beaſts, to be deuoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their ſacrifices, ſuch Beaſts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or elſe torment him with other paines.

Diodor. in lib. 5

Cruelty exemplified by the ancient Romanes.

An eſpeciall obſeruation of the Celts in their Temples.

The *Celts* had an admirable and particular obſeruation in their Temples, to caſt or ſpred abroad a great deale of their gold and ſiluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithſtanding, there was neuer found any man, among the rudeſt inhabitants of the country, that durſt ſo much as touch one peece thereof, ſuch was their reſpect and reuerence to Religion. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch offrings may (perhaps) ſeeme more proper and conuenient for *Mars*: beeing called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men, or the Murderer*. And yet ſuch ceremonies alſo were common, and vſed in the ſacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as *Cæſar* affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occaſion, ſuch as were vexed with any greeuous diſeaſes, or they that were in warre, or in any other

Names giuen to Mars, by the ancient Greeke Poets

Iul. Cæſ. in comment. lib 6.

B4 985

other perill of life: did ſacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or elſe made vowes of ſuch ſacrifices. For they held a ſeuere opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iuſtly rendred: it was impoſsible to appeaſe the anger, or ſatisfie the will of the immortall Gods. And ſuch manner of ſacrifices wer publikely inſtituted, as truely declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perſwaſion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote leſſe account and eſtimation.

Religious ſacrifices inſtituted publikely.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Diuination vſed by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philoſophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and ſacrifices: As alſo of their ſpels, charmes, and incantations.

Diodor. in lib. 5

Philoſophers and Diuines called Sarronides.

Diodorus further ſayeth, that ſome other Philoſophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they tearmed *Sarronides*, that vſed diuination: and becauſe they fore-tolde things that were to come, as well by auguries, as ſacrifices; they were highly eſteemed of them, but eſpecially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any councell, concerning matters of import and conſequence: they obſerued a very admirable cuſtome, and almoſt incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or ſeparation of his members, or fluction of his blood (by a long and ancient obſeruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their cuſtome alſo was, neuer to make any ſacrifice, without the preſence of ſome Philoſophers: as holding opinion, that ſacrifices ought to bee performed by ſuch men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came neereſt to the Gods. For by the prayers of ſuch men, they were perſwaded, that good fortune and ſucceſſe ſhould be deſired of the Gods, and their councell alſo to be eſpecially vſed, both in the times of peace and warre. Heereto may be referred, that which *Cæſar* ſaith, in the fift Book of his warres in Gaule. *Whoſoeuer came lateſt to the aſſembly made in Armes; beeing firſt afflicted with diuers torments, was afterward put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreouer, *Strabo* ſaith, that they would faſten a man vnto a Croſſe in their Temple, and there ſhoote him to death with Arrowes.

A ſtrange obſeruation of the Sarronides.

The manner of their ſacrifices in the preſence of Philoſophers.

Iulius Cæſar in commen. Lib. 5

Strabo in Lib. 4

The ſame Author, agreeing with *Poſſidonius* and *Artemidorus*, ſaith, there were certaine *Bacchanalles*, which dwelt in an Iſland, neighbouring to the Riuer of *Loyre*, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crowes mooued their right wings, which neuertheleſſe is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which *Artemidorus* ſaith, I hold more agreeable to reaſon, that in an Iland neere to Brittaine, ſuch and the like ſacrifices were performed, as the* *Samothracians* obſerued, in the honour of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. *Cæſar* purſuing the ſelfe-ſame occaſion, ſaieth; that there were others, who had Idols of immeaſurable height, the members of whoſe bodies were framed of Twigs and Oſiers, which beeing filled with liuing men, & ſet on fire; there they dyed moſt miſerably. Beſide, they imagined, that the puniſhments of ſuch as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any ſuch like offences; were moſt pleaſing to the immortall Gods, & theſe they made moſt vſe of in thoſe Idols. Neuertheleſſe, for want of ſuch offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honeſt and innocent perſons to the ſame affliction, whenſoeuer neede and occaſion required.

Poſſidonius in Lib. 2 Artemidorus in lib. 4.

* An Iſle by that part of Thrace, wher Hebrus faleth into the Aegæum Sea.

Strange manner of Idols, with liuing men in them

Strabo writeth the ſame of their Statues, ſaying. *They builded a Coloſſus of wood, many parts whereof, were enterlaced with Straw: and therein they burned all kindes of Beaſts, and men alſo among them.* But *Diodorus* ſaith, that in making their ſacrifices to their Gods, they vſed an impiety anſwerable to their beſtiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the ſpace of fiue whole yeares) ſuch as were attainted and conuinced of notorious crimes: they would ſpit them on ſtakes, from the fundament to the mouth, and ſo ſacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then placing them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their immolation.

Strabo in lib 3. of their Statues.

Diodo in Lib. 4

A tyranny yet v'ed among the Turkes.

molation. *Pomponius Mela* ſpeaketh thus of the Gaules. *They are a proud Nation, ſuperſtitious, and cruell ſometimes: for they verily beleeue, that men are the beſt and moſt acceptable ſacrifices to the Gods.*

Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. ca. 7.

Neuertheleſſe, wee ſhall not thinke ſtrangely, that the Statues of the Gaules Gods were of ſuch exceſsiue height: if we but remember only what *Pliny* ſaith, in 34. Booke, and ſeuenth chapter. *We beheld* (ſaith hee) *huge maſſie Statues of new inuention, which they called Coloſſes, & were no lower then Towers, but of equall height.* In the ſame place hee ſpeaketh of a number, among which he nameth *Apollo Capitolinus*, being of thirty cubites in height: *Iupiter Tarentinus*, which was forty cubites high: The Rhodian Sunne, ſeuenty; the thumb wherof, few men were able to embrace. *Apollo* of *Tuſcanie*, which was in the Lybrary of the Temple of *Auguſtus*, contained fifty foote in height, from the feet vpward. That of *Nero*, was an hundred foote high. But ouer and beſide, *Zenodorus* ſaith, that in his time there was one made in the ſpace of ten yeares, ſurpaſsing all other Statues in height & bigneſſe: beeing the Statue of *Mercurie*, of ineſtimable value; and made in *Auuergne*, a Common-weale belonging vnto the Gaules, and it contained foure hundred foote in height. Thoſe Statues then of the Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and extraordinary greatneſſe, according as *Cæſar* ſaith, which they filled full with liuing men, and ſo made offerings and ſactifices of them.

Of the ſtatues of the Gods of the Gaules. *Plin. in lib. 34. cap. 7.*

Of the height of diuers Coloſſes in ſundry places of the world.

The Image of Mercury, exceeding all other Statues.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

But you will obiect vnto me, that this manner of religion was cruell and abhominable: whereto I muſt anſwer, that ſuch cruelty was common vnto all other Nations, or rather proper and peculiar to the dæmons, & familiar ſpirits of each country. *Titus Liuius* writeth, that ſuch ſacrifices were made at Rome, after the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. He ſaith more ouer, that in the interim while, certaine extraordinary & vnaccuſtomed ſacrifices were performed, by conſultation had with diuers fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Grecian woman, in the market appointed for Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the ground aliue, in a place round engirt with ſtones, which had neuer before beene ſullied with humane offerings or ſacrifices, and there they were ſacrificed after the Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the affirmation of *Titus Liuius*, and therfore I ſhall neede to make no further mention eyther of the *Arabians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, *Egiptians*, or *Grecians*: conſidering, that *Dyoniſius Halycarnaſſeus* ſheweth in the firſt Booke of Romane Antiquities, that *Iupiter* and *Apollo*, (becauſe the tenth borne of euery male childe was not ſacrificed to them) ſent great and greeuous calamities throughout all Italy. *Diodorus*, in the twentieth Booke of his hiſtory, declareth, that (in his time) there was at *Carthage*, a Statue of *Saturne*, and ſuch like ſacrifices. *And it was thought* (ſaith hee) *that Saturne was offended with the people, becauſe that in (former times) they were wont to ſacrifice to him, the moſt worthy and beſt borne of their children.* Furthermore, that by the ſucceſſe of times, inſtead of their owne children, they bought and entertained others, ſecretly nouriſhing thē, and afterward ſacrificed them vnto their Gods. This being cloſely and diligently diſcouered, & an infinite number of theſe ſuppoſed found out, which in that manner had beene ſacrificed, they were eaſily perſwaded to beleeue, that for this occaſion onely, the Gods beeing diſpleaſed, ſent enemies to take and ſacke their Cities, becauſe they had not continued thoſe honours, which from all antiquity had bin done to the Gods. Wherfore, the better to appeaſe them again; they ſacrificed publikely 200. yong men, ſuch as were the choyſeſt & beſt borne among all their Nobility, and found out three hundred more, which (with their owne good liking, becauſe they perceiued themſelues to be ſuſpected) gaue their liues freely to be ſacrificed.

A cruell and abhominable kinde of Religion.

* A Towne in Apulia, where the Romanes had a great ouerthrow.

Humane ſacrifices performed at Rome.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 6. cap. 11.

Dyoniſ. Halicar. in An. Rom. Lib. 1.

Died in Lib. 10

A Statue of Saturne at Carthage.

Children ſacrificed to the Gods.

An eaſie perſwaſion to ouer-credulous people.

They had a Statue of Saturne, made of Braſſe, which was of wonderfull greatneſſe, the hands whereof were extended in round circling manner on the ground, and children, beeing followed with eager purſuite, were enforced to enter into the roundure, and then fell into a very deepe pit, full of fire. If any man be deſirous to haue more ample and certaine teſtimony heereof: *Euſebius*, in the fourth Booke & ſeuenth Chapter of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, recounteth many examples of this Religion, obſerued then in diuers Nations. Affirming further, that in the time of *Adrian*

Another Statue of Saturn, of admirable greatneſſe.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. c. 7.

Adrian, and when the Euangelicall doctrine began to appeare in ſome bright ſplendour: thoſe abhominable cruelties were commonly abolithed, albeit they remained ſtill among the Celts. Neuertheleſſe, *Mela* writeth, that they tooke ending in his time. Moreouer he ſaith, ſome markes of this brutiſh cruelty, formerly aboliſhed, yet notwithſtanding, whē they brought their offerings to their Altars, which were conſecrated and dedicated to be ſacrificed, they would make an eſſay or proofe of them, and with much deliberation. Theſe then were the ſiniſter & wicked ſacrifices of the Gaules, whereof *Lucane* ſpeaketh thus.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. cap. 1

Lucan in lib. 1.

You Druides, after you forſooke your Arms,
You fell to ſauage and barbarous cuſtomes
Of wicked ſacrifices. Only to you was giuen,
To know the Gods, and holineſſe of Heauen,
Or not to know them.

This ſhall ſuffice, for the manner of ſacrifices obſerued among the *Gauls*. What ſhall we now ſay, concerning the ceremonies of the Britaines and Germanes? Already we haue related, what was the manner of behauiour, as alſo the diſciplines of the Britaines. *The Germanes* (ſaith *Caſar*) *were farre differing from theſe cuſtoms and orders: For they had not their Druides to command in diuine matters, and to take care of their ſacrifices. They held opinion of ſuch as they beheld, and by whoſe aide they conceiued themſelues to be ſuccored manifeſtly; that they were worthy to be ranked in nūber among the Gods: As the Sunne, Vulcane, and the Moone, of others they neuer heard any ſpeech.* Theſe are the words of *Caſar*. But *Tacitus*, ouer and beſide theſe, ſpeaking of the Germanes Gods, nameth *Tuiſton*, or *Teuton*, a God borne of the earth, and of his Sonne * *Mannus*, who were the originall and beginners of their Nation. Then of the Sonnes of *Mannus*, by whoſe names, the neereſt neighbours to the Ocean, called themſelues *Ingenoues*; and they that dwelt neerer to the middle region, *Hermiones*; and the other *Iſtenoues*. Among other Gods, they worſhipped *Mercury*, in the honour of whom, it was permitted them (on certaine dayes) to offer humane ſacrifices. They alſo appeaſed *Hercules* and *Mars*, by the ſacrifices of beaſts, which likewiſe was permitted vnto them. A part or certaine number of the *Sweues*, performed their ſacrifices to * *Iſis*; and yet, the cauſe and originall of ſuch ſacrificing, is not certainly knowne.

Of the ceremonies obſerued among the Britaines & Germans. *Iul. Caſ. in comm. lib 4.*

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1.

* Sonne to Teuton, of whom the Allemaignes deſcended.

Mercury their cheefeſt God in honour.

* Daughter to the King Inachus.

Caſar, in his firſt Booke, attributeth charmes, ſpels, & incantations to the *Germanes*, which were performed by women. For when *Caſar* queſtioned with a priſoner, wherefore *Arioviſtus* would not bid him battaile: he found it to be a cuſtome among the *Germanes*, that the mothers in their ſeuerall families, did declare by ſpels and vaticinations, whether it were profitable to offer battaile, or not, and they would ſay that it was not poſſible for the *Germanes* to be Conquerers, if they gaue the battaile before the new Moone. *Tacitus* ſpeaketh much more of theſe diuinations, & among the reſt, relateth the preſages and incantations which they moſt obſerued. *The very ſimpleſt and moſt vulgar manner of their diuining* (ſaith he) *was, by taking a branch cut off from a fruite tree, which they would cut into diuers peeces, with certaine very knowledgable markes made vpon them, and afterward throw or ſcatter thē (caſually, and without any regard at all) vpon ſome white garment. If the matter were to be conſulted publikely, then it was done by the Prieſt of the City. But if it were in priuate, or particularly; the father of the family, hauing made his praiers to the Gods, and eleuating his eies vp to heauen, taketh the peeces of the branch by three and three, and when he hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpretation, according as he findeth the marks that were formerly engrauen. If he finde the caſe to be prohibited, he maketh no other conſultation (concerning that matter) that day: but if he finde it to be permitted, then he ſeeketh further for the truth thereof, by other kindes of predictions, which giueth perfect knowledge in that place, both by queſtioned voices, and alſo by the flight of Birds.*

Iulius Caſar in comment lib 1 Of Spelles, Charmes, and Incantations performed by the Germane women.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1

The manner of their diuination, by any branch cut from a fruite Tree.

Moreouer, it was proper and particular to this Nation, to make experience of preſages and aduertiſements by horſes, which publikely had beene bred in their Woods and Forreſts, and were all wholly white, without any ſpotte vpon them, and had neuer beene labored or employed, or vſed in any ſeruice of man. The Prieſt, or the King, or elſe the Prince of the Cittie, faſtening them vnto the ſacred Chariot,

Preſages made by horſes bred in Forreſts and Woods, by the manner of their neigh ing & noyſe.

and going along with thē: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyſes. And there was not any other preſage, whereto the people(but eſpecially the very principall perſons in the Citty,yea,and the Prieſts themſelues)did giue more credite,then to this: as perſwading thēſelues that they were the Miniſters of the Gods, and came neereſt in councell to thē. They had another obſeruation of preſaging, whereby they could foretell the iſſue of their warres,how cruell or dangerous ſoeuer they were, and how they ſhould ſucceed. They would take a priſoner of that Nation,with whō they intended to make warre, and he ſhould combate with one of the braueſt and moſt gallant ſpirits of all their owne people, & with thoſe weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward,the victory of the one or other,turned to the preiudice and diſaduantage of the vanquiſhed,and of his Nation.

A prediction for the ſucces of their dangerous warr.

CHAP. XV.

What Ceremonies were obſerued among the Gaules,at the times of their Burials,or Funerals,&c.

THE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are ſet downe in *Cæſar*. *Their Funerals* (ſaith he) *are (after the Gauliſh bravery) magnificent and ſumptuous, with throwing all thoſe things (whatſoeuer) into the fire,which they imagined that the dead perſon (during his life time) moſt eſteemed and affected,eſpecially his Beaſts. And ſome ſhort while before this memory,ſuch ſeruants and domeſticke attendants,as were iudged to be dearely loued of their Maſters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and compleate) were burned together with the other things.Cæſar* hauing affirmed this, methinkes *Pauſanias* deſerueth to be laughed at, when hee ſaith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: *That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in diſdaine, becauſe, that by the opinion of ſuch cruelty,they might affright their enemies, not hauing any more pitty on the dead, then on other liuing perſons.* In this point *Cæſar* refuteth *Pauſanias* and *Titus Liuius* alſo,where he ſpeketh of the *Gaules* beſiedging Rome, his words, in the fift Booke of his third Decade,are theſe. *They heaped and piled men one vpon another, and ſo burned them indifferently together: becauſe they would not bury them each after other, whereby they ennobled the place magnificently,in imitation, and anſwerable to the name of the Gaules Sepulchers.*

The manner & ceremonies of their Funerals.

Pauſan.in li.10 de Bel.Bren.

Ti Liu in li.5 Dec.3.

As for that which *Cæſar* ſaith, *That all that which was pleaſing to the dead perſon, was caſt into the fire with him:* At Rome, into the fire made for *Iulius Cæſar* himſelf, the Trumpetters threw their torne garments; the Legionaries,their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Iewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Cæſar* doth not declare apparantly,whether the ſeruants & domeſticks were throwne into the fire,liuing or dead: but that he meant the liuing, may eaſily be coniectured by that which *Mela* ſaith. *Ther wer ſuch* (ſaith he) *as voluntarily wold caſt themſelues into the fires made for their parents,kindred,and maſters, holding opinion, that ſo they were ſure to liue with them.* We haue ſuch another example,in the 5. of *Ciceroes Tuſculanes*,wher it is ſaid;*That the women of India,when their husbands died, had a cuſtome of combate and iudgment, to make proofe thereby, which of them was beſt beloued of her husband, for one man had many wiues. She that carried the honour of the combate, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great ioy) placed in the fire,and there burned with him: the other that had fought,and loſt the day,returned home mourning, and diſconſolate to her houſe.* This cruell manner of behauior, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or ſacrificing humane oblations.

Such things as were burned with the dead perſon at Rome.

Pomponius Mela.in li.4.cap.3.

Cicero in Tuſculan. 5 A cuſtome among the women of India, to try who beſt affected her husband.

Tacitus ſpeaketh in this manner, concerning the Funeralles of the Germanes. *They bring the bodies of their companions into doubtfull battels, and that there may bee found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they onely obſerue, that the bodies of the moſt noble, or of greateſt apparance, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape vpō the pile of wood, neither their garments,or any odours: but only allow to each man his proper Armes, & into the fire of ſome,they make addition of their horſes. One only ſod or turffe of earth, is building ſufficient for the Sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanſhip and honourable labor*

The manner of the Germans Funerals, according to *Cæſ.Tacitus*

labor about Monuments, as being offensiue to the dead. Compluints and teares are soone ouerpast with them; but greefe & sadnesse is of longer continuance: for women to weepe is honest, onely men are to remember.

Plin. in lib. 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the Druides, concerning the Magick-Art.

But *Pliny* in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whol discipline of the ancient *Gaules*; frets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulous and deceitfull, seeming to reproue and accuse the discipline of our *Druides* with the same crime. Let no man meruail (saith he of the Art-Magicke) if great authority be giuen to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and redigest the three Sciences all into one, which haue most command ouer our humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiueth birth & beginning from Physick, and that vnder pretence of yeelding helpe by little and little: it hath vsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such entising and desirous promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselues. And yet to satisfie them better, they haue intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very couetous, and desirous to vnderstand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeuing vndoubtedly, that such knowledge commeth from Heauen. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously busied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an encreasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in most parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding ouer the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magicall faction, Persian, Mosaicall, and Ciprian. Finally, the sixe hundred, sixty & seuenth yeere from the building of Rome, *Cnens Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being thē Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offred in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tyberius Cæsar* wholly abolished the *Druides*, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What mention shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entring into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reuerence, & such ceremonies, as it seemes that they haue taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole vniuerse, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe:) as we do little conceiue, how highly we are beholding to the Romans, who vtterly abandoned al such monstrous behauior: being formerly fauoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eate them.

The Mathematicks made a colour to their deceiuing.

Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Licinius Crassus, Consulles of Rome.

Britaine embraced such sauage behauiour equall with the Gaules.

So far extend the words of *Pliny*, wherby ouer and beside the Arts formerly remembred, he attributeth Physicke also to the Gaulish *Druides*. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & deseruedly commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceits in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselues, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tyberius* wholly ouerthrew the *Druides*. Notwitstanding, the same man discouered Magicke, by some example of the *Druides*, as in the last Chapter of his seauenth Booke, speaking of Glew, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

Physicke attributed to the Druides, among the Gaules.

Plin. in li. 17 cap. vlt. Concerning the Glew and Gums esteemed among the Druides.

We may not omit (saith he) *in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The Druides (by such name they terme their Magitians) esteeme nothing more precious then Glew and Gum, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselues do then make choise in their Woods and Forests, which haue such power to nouriſh those Gummes, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leaues of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, vpon this occasion, they were called Druides. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh birth or originall with those Trees, is sent from heauen, in signe, that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found; they take it with great ceremony and religion, & aboue al other, at the time of the Moons sextile, or sixt Moon, which is the beginning of their*

At what time the Druides vsed to gather their Gums & Glew.

Moneths and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, not being in diminution of her moity, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying; To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice and a banquet vnder those Trees, bringing thether two Bulles wholly white, the hornes whereof are as yet scarse able to be bound. The Priest, cloathed in a white Robe, mounteth vp the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall, are receiued in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers, that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giuing. They are of opinion, that such things being giuen in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts; will make them fruitfull, and beside, that it is a soueraigne remedy against all poisons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men, in matters meerely friuilous, and not of any importance.

The ceremonies in the sacrifice of the Druides.

A present remedy against barrennesse and poyson.

Thus you see what *Pliny* saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the greeke etymology of the name of the *Druides* (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of *Druyon*, as already hath beene said) as in all langnages you may finde infinite words, which (by some conniuency) seeme to be deriued from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their moneths and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But let vs pursue some other examples of *Pliny*.

Plin. in lib. 21. cap. 11.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleuenth Chapter, hee speaketh thus. *There is a certaine hearbe, like vnto Sabine, called* * *Selago, which is gathered without any yron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed glone or sleeue, in manner of a theefe. And the party must be cloathed with a white garment, hauing his feete naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must bee performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought thether in a new Napkin. The Druides of the Gaules haue written, that this hearbe is very soueraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, and also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eies. They haue also another hearbe, which they call Samola, which groweth in moist and wateriſh places, and they vse to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against al diseases in Swine and Kine, and whosoeuer gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruise it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.*

* A hearb vsed much of the Druides, for all eye-sores, hedge-hysope

Another hearb for the help of cattel.

In the same place is recited another Magicke of the Gaulish *Druides*, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like euery way. *Moreouer* (saith hee) *there are a certaine kinde of Egges, wherof great account is made in Gaul, and whereof the Greekes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselues together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the moisture issuing from their mouthes, or slimy scumme of their owne bodies, that which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The Druides say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted vp into the Ayre, and in the meane while, it must be receiued downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away vpon an horse, because the Serpents will pursue him swiftly, vntill they find hinderance by some Riuer or Water. The proofe and experience thereof is, when it floateth against the water, especially when it is enchased in gold. But as the cunning of Magitians is well contriued, for the more ingenious couering of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egge, of the bignesse of an indifferent round Apple, bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, seamed with little mouthes or openings, like to them which are on the armes of the Polypus or Pourcontrell; and the Druides holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for giuing victory in fights and combates, and to haue accesse to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a Romane knight of the Vocontians, was put to death by the Emperor Claudius, onely in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Neuertheless, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue beene*

Plin. in li. 20 cap. 3. Concerning the Egges of Serpents.

The Druides opinion of the Serpentine Egge.

The Author auoucheth to haue seene such an Egge.

A Romane Knight put to death by the Emperor, for the Serpentine Egge.

beene the cause, whereby strange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath beene a custome also, that they should be creasted on the Caduceus.

Thus hath *Pliny* noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magicke, and that for this cause onely, the Knight was slaine by the Emperour, who stood in feare of this Magicke. Finally, the Romanes, to abolish vtterly the discipline of the *Druides*, tooke occasion by this Magicall superstition: but though impiety, superstition, magicke and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue still sound and intire. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greeks. The Empire hath bene snacht from the Greeks, but Learning and Artes was left with them still. Greeke hath bene constrained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetorick and Philosophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greeke. What greefe then was it to the Romanes, to expulse not only the Gaulish Iudges from their seates: but the professors also, yea, the very sciences & disciplines of the *Gaules* out of their Schooles?

Immortall Gods, the Gaules authentick race,
You thought to hold true eminence and place,
And so should still, were gifts in equall grace.

No force or violence can preuaile against vertue, let sinne and shame be rooted vp.

Partiality in affection, can neuer be an vpright Iudge in censure.

But we conuert our affections too earnestly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may bemoane, being too greedily carried away with a mighty spleene against the name of the *Gaules*. But let vs now proceede to finish the rest.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Iustice exercised in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by diuiding the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magistrates, with the punishment of disobedience to superior Officers.

HItherto wee haue gone thorough three parts of the proposed labour, to wit; The prudence of discipline; The entire knowledge of truth; and likewise of prouidence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iustice, which is Princesse and Mistresse of all other manners. It behoooueth vs then, to seeke for the principality of ancient *Gaule*, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonicall good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Prouidence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vsurping on any thing appertayning to another.

The fourth part of the intended discourse, namely of the Iustice of the Gaules.

The Common-wealth, at least that of *Gaule*, whose lockes of hayre beeing long enough in *Cæsars* time; was meerly Timocraticall, and in many parts very like vnto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, hee which will examine things particularly, may easily perceiue. Let vs then obserue what *Cæsar* hath said, and especially concerning customes and behauiour. *In all Gaule, or Gallia* (saith he in his sixt Booke) *all men that are of any marke, or made any account of, are diuided into two sorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Cheualiers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as varlets and slaues, not daring (of themselues) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to councell in any matter.* Behold what partition *Iulius Cæsar* hath instituted of himselfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he speaketh of the people, as shall at large bee deliuered heereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpose.

The commonwealth of Gaule in the time of Cæsar.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 6.

In this partition of *Cæsar*, *There is one* (saith he) *that Presideth, or is as Primate ouer all the other Druides, that hath cheefe command and authority of the rest. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the aduantage in worthinesse or desert: he is to succeed. If there be many of equall parity and condition; he is to be chosen (by voices of the Druides) from among the rest. Diuers times they contend for the soueraignty or Mastership by weapons, and so striue who shall haue the prime place.*

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 6. vt sup.

Here *Cæsar* proposeth two distinct kinds of Magistrats, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, & other in such as are humane and ciuill. Among the *Druides*, he institu-

Two kindes of Magistrats proposed by Cæsar in Gaul

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Priest, and he defineth his election, to bee eyther by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms. And there is no great difference, betweene the institution of the Roman high Priest, and this other man: but onely, that at Rome he is annuall or yeerely, & in Gaul it seemeth he hath beene perpetuall. That the Druides haue beene spread ouer all Gaule, euen in Cities, Townes and Burroughs, their estates haue shewne sufficient manifestation: for the *Druides* did euer command ouer the three principall parts of the Common-wealth: as in profession of Artes, in iudgments, pleadings, and ceremonies belonging to their sacrifices. *All the younger sort* (saith *Cæsar*) *haue their recourse to them, to be enstructed by them, and to learne sciences, as also a great number of verses; so that some continue there twenty yeares, only to learne knowledge.* And surely, an honest stipend or recompence, can neuer want Masters to giue enstruction.

The yong mē resort to the Druides, to learne of thē

The Druides (saith *Cæsar*) *are not wont to goe to warre, but stand exempted from it, and immunity of all other taxations & charges. So that in regard of such faire acknowledgements and freedomes, there are many that come to bee ranked among them, and to follow the study of their disciplines, they are sent thither by their parents & kindred.* Let me now entreate yee, and (euen in honest charity) but to obserue well this place alledged by *Cæsar*. Can there be any thing more excellent, or more magnificent, thē when the Primates of a Country, or the Gouernors and very greatest Princes in a Common-wealth, do make profession of disciplines? Perhaps, some will consider sweatingly on this point, as though wee would haue the cheefest men, and those that are the graueſt in our Cities, to keep Schooles, and apply their paines to enstruct other. Notwithstanding, let me tell ye, *Plato* would haue such men (and no other) to take the charge of enstructing, & deliuering the knowledge of Sciences: becauſe such a place should be as a Seminary or seed-plot, of great, iudicious, and learned men, meete to administer and beare authority in a Common-wealth: wherein the grafts and plants must needs be the more rare and excellent; by how much the grafters and planters are most vertuous and honourable.

The Druides exempted from war & taxations.

Plato, his aduice concerning men of iudgement & learning.

I wonder at the opinion of *Pliny*, in many passages alledged by him, and especially in this, where he writes: *That with the ancient manners and fashions of Rome, the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth double encrease. What was the cause* (saieth he) *of such aboundance? The earth was then husbanded by the hands euen of the chiefest warriers, and, as it is credible, that the earth ioyed and reioyced, to be honoured with a share or culture crowned with Laurell, and by the labour of a victorius triumphing conqueror: euen so did it trauaile and endeuour it selfe the more industriously, to produce the seed sowne in that nature, as to prosper their other warlike proceedings. And the like diligence, for well husbanding the ground, as also to order and direct a potent Army, or else in all other things, which are performed by noble and honest hands: do encrease the more aboundantly, and become so much the more fertile, by how much they are the more carefully executed. But now adaies, this faire and honourable mystery, is exercised by soule, infamous, and condemned hands, by men that are either theeues, or banisht, or haue lost their eares, or branded with some such other wicked imputation. Notwithstanding, the good earth is not deaffe, who being called Mother, and bids herselfe to labour and fructifie, by a Latine word, called Coli, which signifieth also to do honour, as beeing thence derined: whereby it plainly appeareth, that whatsoeuer she now doth or produceth, she doth it but in meere disdaine, and against her owne liking. And therefore we must needs mernaile, that no such profits arise in the times of these labourers, as in the famous daies of those florishing Captaines.* So farre extend the words of *Pliny*.

Plin. in lib. 22. cap. 4. Of the ancient manners and behauiours of Rome in the earths husbandry.

Good and commendable actions doe euer illustrate & manifest themselues.

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue, that it is as conuenable for vs, to speake of the exercise of disciplines, as of those which concerne the earth? Euen such was the fertility and aboundance of the Gaules disciplines, when in the times of our *Druides*, the Schooles of the Muses, became the Pallaces of Kings; the chaires of Masters, were the seates of Princes; the number of Students, was the company & following of honorable Lords. Then *Pallas* delighted to be in a royall Colledge, vsing one & the same Rector & gouernor in the common-wealths affaires, & to declare the Sciences and disciplines, explicating those enstructions in one self-same manner,

The Authors answer to the former allegation of Pliny, concerning the florishing condition of Rome.

manner, for gouerning their Commonweales. And by the same discretion and prouidence, they instituted the rules of Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein all things increased the more prosperously, and more aboundantly (by honest labours) as they were the more diligently and respectiuely followed. There were many in those dayes, who being spurred on by such recompences, and the expectation of those proposed honours; addicted themselues (gladly) to apprehend those disciplines, being sent to the same end & purpose (from the remotest parts) by their parents and kindred.

The voluntary inclination of the Gaules in former times.

Hereupon, and for the same occasion, *Lucian* was the more willing to haue the Gaulish and *Ogmian Hercules* depicted; not onely couered with the despoyle of a Lyon, and a massy Club: but also decrepite, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager; drawing a great number of Conquered men after him, in chaines of gold fastned to their eares. Their tongues also were pierced thorow, and at them hung little Chaines of gold, in such sort, that those valiant disposed and conquered gallants, followed the *Hercules* that drew them, he turning eftsoons his face and looks to behold them, with very milde & affable behauiour. And what else was all this, but the eloquence of the Bardes, & also the wisedome of the *Sarronides* and *Druides*? which euen at the first sight (without any more regarding) caused such admirable affection to the same. The great number of Students, which submitted themselues vnder their charge, onely to learn their disciplines and goodly knowledge in so many noble things: figured those Chaines of golde. And euen so the Schollers, hung by the ears at the mouths of their Master, as being taken & bound by his rich words, and the sweet doctrine flowing thence. Then did al disciplines flourish, in regard that the professors of them were rare and excellent. But so soon as by the Romaine Empire, the salary and honour of Learning was taken away and abolished, euen as sodainly was the profession of those Disciplines esteemed and held to bee but a seruile and mechanicall thing. Which was the onely occasion, that (necessarily as it were) those honest and liberall studies languished for a long time; and by an ouer-tedious experience,

Lucian his picture of Hercules among the Gaules, & the allusion thereof.

The extremity of the Roman Empire, against the Gaules Learning.

hath approoued the saying of the Orator to be true; *That Honor is the Nurse of arts, and all hearts are enflamed with the loue of the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.* For neuer should any account bee made of such things as are misprized and condemned by euery man.

Thus the losse and burying of the Gauls disciplines, are due to none but vnto the Romaines, by whose tyranny the honour of their profession, and their liberty togither, was violently taken from the *Druides*. Wherefore *Mela* (who flourisht vnder *Claudius* saith. *Now are not the braue and worthy Schooles of the Druydes; because they are become clandestine, and suppressed by other, banished into the deepest & furthest off Forrests.* So that the Discipline of the *Druydes*, was not onely robbed of her former honour, but compelled in meere feare of danger, to hide her selfe in caues and thickest woodes. *Lucane* seemeth to take knowledge thereof with *Mela*, speaking thus of the *Druydes*.

The Gaules discipline ouerthrown by the Romaines tyranny. *Pomp. Mela in lib. 4. c. 9.*

——Your dwelling now,
Is in the strongest and profoundest Forrests.

Cæsar also in his fift booke. *The* Gauls (saith hee) *perceiuing from whence the beginning of warres came, held their consultations in the night time, and in desert places.* Likewise in the seuenth booke. *The Princes of the* Gaules, *in their Councels (appointed in Woods and concealed places) complayned amongst themselues of their seruitude.* Neuertheless, we conclude not, neither by the authority of *Mela*, nor of *Lucane*, nor of *Cæsar*, that the Colledges of the *Druydes*, that the assembly of Councell, and deliberation of their men of Warre, were in the woods: for that wold appeare rather to be a signe of seruitude and constraint, then of erudition or consultation. But proceede we on to speake of the sallary, wages, and honest presents, vsually giuen to the ancient *Druydes*. *The Druydes* (saith *Cæsar*) *doe not onely take the reward of their honest profession, but ouer & beside, the* Gaules *giue them great honor and reuerence. All cases in controuersie, bee they eyther publike or priuate, are referred to theyr iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee done amisse, or any murther committed: if there arise any dissention, concerning inheritance, succession, or bounds of Landes: they are*

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 5. & lib. 7.

Of the wages and giftes to the ancient Druydes.

Iul. Cæsar in comment. Lib. 6

are the men that giue ſentence, and conſtitute the reward of well doing, and puniſhment of miſdemeanors. Strabo addeth heereto (I know not how) that by their Magical ſuperſtition, they iudge of the fertility of the yeare, according to the multitude of criminall cauſes.

But proceede we with the reſt of *Cæſar*. *If there be any man, either a priuate, or publique perſon among the common people, that wil not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from comming to the ſacrifices, which is the moſt greeuous puniſhment in all their Nation. They that ſtand ſo interdicted from the ſacrifices, are reputed among the number of lewd and wicked people: All men flyes from them, and euery man ſtands in feare to ſpeake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading ſome Contagion or Plague ſhould happen to them by ſuch frequētation. And if they demand Law or Iuſtice, it is denyed, and may not be granted them, neyther may they enioy any preferment or honor, or the leaſt reuerence done vnto them by any.* But what manner of ſentences or iudgments do the Germaines obſerue? What penalties and puniſhments are amongſt them? *It appertaineth to none but Prieſts, who haue the full power of commaunding* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *to impoſe ſilence in publicke conſultation. Moreouer, it is not permitted but to Prieſts onely, to chaſtiſe, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or puniſhment of the offence, nor by the commaund of the Prince: but euen as by diuine permiſſion, & as a commandement giuen by God, whom they make account to be then in preſence, and to be aſſiſting in their fights. In Warre alſo they carry certaine Pictures and Images, vvhich they bring away from their hallowed places. The difference of punniſhment is anſwerable vnto the delict, Traytors, and ſuch as forſake their Captaines of their Nation, to doe any ſeruice vnto a Stranger-enemy, are hanged vp vpon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, ydle liuers, and all ſuch as are noted of foule infamie, are drowned in mudde, or in ſome Mariſh place, & couered all ouer with filth. The variety of puniſhment is much reſpected there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowne by the qualitie of the inſliction, and that vice may by no meanes be couered. But in crimes of leſſer nature, the parties which are conuinced, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horſſes, or other Beaſts, whereof one part of the forfeite is giuen vnto the King, or to the Cittie: and the other part is giuen to him, for whom the penaltie is done, or to his neereſt Kindred.*

Cæſ. in com. vbi ſupra. Interdiction from their ſacrifices.

The obſeruation amongſt the Germains

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 2.

Prieſts onely haue the preheminence to inflict puniſhment.

Puniſhment inflicted according to the quality of the offence.

Returne we now again vnto the *Druides* of the Gaules: for, *Cæſar* deſcribeth the times and the places, where they did vſe to keepe their Seſſions. *The Druides* (ſaith hee) *vpon certaine dayes in the yeare, and vpon the Borders of the* Caruntes *(the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie middeſt of all Gaule or Gallia) do vſe to keep their great dayes meeting, in a certaine conſecrated place, where all ſortes of men, that haue ſuites or Controuerſies, make their Aſſembly, being obedient vnto the ſentences & iudgements of the Druydes.* *Cæſar* doeth not diſtinguiſh the times of the yeare, but onely the place, which was on the Limites and Confines of the *Caruntes*, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the *Druides* of all the Countries of *Gaule* (euen as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuertheleſſe, the Cittie of the *Caruntes*, named *Chartres*, was (in thoſe ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not onely the *Chartrain* Dioceſſe, but that alſo of *Orleance*. For before that *Cæſar* arriued there, it was a Realm, which afterward was put by *Cæſar* into the power of *Taſgetius* the *Carunt*, as himſelfe hath written in his 5. booke.

Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib 6

People about Chartres in Celtica.

The generall meeting of all the Druydes of Gaul together.

Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 5.

In breefe; it ſeemeth that the Realme of *Orleance*, which afterwards was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the *Franconians*, was the very ſame of *Chartres*: Conſidering withall, that *Genabum* or *Genaba*, was one of the Townes in the *Caruntes* Kingdome, and ſeated vpon the Riuer of *Loire*, beeing in the time of *Cæſar* beyond *Orleance*, a farre off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from [a] *Agendicum* to [b] *Gergobia*. But thoſe *Druydes* aſſembled themſelues together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as *Cæſar* hath ſpoken. I ſay then, that in all Gaule, and in the Cities, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were *Druydes*, who gouerned in ſuites and Controuerſies, and likewiſe in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The *Druydes* were then diſperſed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

a A Towne of Senons in Celtica, cald, Sens or Prouence.
b The Towne of Cleremont in Auuergne.

the men of the Church: notwithstanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Councell (at certaine times of the yeare) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the *Druydes* gouerned onely.

A common Councell, or generall meeting for all suites.

Such (in elder times) was the Councel of the* *Amphictiones*, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in *Delphos* (as *Pausanias* reporteth in his Phociques) & in the middest of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the *Druydes* of the Gaules, were like to the *Amphyctions* of Greece, & their place as sacred in the Chartraine Countrey, answerable to the Temple of Delphos, made so famous by the Oracles of *Apollo*. The matter would haue beene a little the more noble, if *Cæsar* had called the place *Delphos*, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrie of *Chartres*. Heerein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the *Druydes* not onely held in priuate and particular, but intirely ouer all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Diuination, appertained vnto royall Maiestie.

*A noble Councell in Greece, so named of Amphictyon the son to Helenus, who appointed the same. *Paus. in lib. de Phocis.*

The royal power and authoritie of the Gaules Druydes.

The first degree of the Gaulish Commonwealth, was that of the supreme Magistrate; next, the Princes; then, the Chevaliers; the people made election according to his aduice, and for his benefit, and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish thē. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proued? I will answer from *Cæsar*, who speaketh thus in his sixt Booke. *In Gaule* (saith he) *there are certaine factions, not onely in all Cities, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in euery particular Houshold, & the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they conceiue (in their iudgment) to be the worthiest persons for authoritie: by whose aduice and determination, the verie greatest matters of waight or importance, either for publique affayres or Councell, are wholly disposed. Vpon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath bin thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meanest should be destitute of helpe, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man, that will indure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend vpon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumuented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any sway among the people.*

The order & degree of the Gauls Commonwealth.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6. Particular factions throughout Gaule, in euery City, Towne, and Village.

Thus you heare what *Cæsar* saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the *Timocraticall* gouernment of a Commonwealth, which *Plato* and *Aristotle* so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equitable policy are comprehended. Note the selfesame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royalty in the annuall Magistrate, whereas *Aristocratie* was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, *Timocratie* in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrates were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimonie of *Cæsar* a little more narrowly, speaking of the Common-wealth of our Ancestors.

The Timocraticall gouernment of a Common-wealth allowed by Plato & Aristotle.

Cæsar in comment lib 6

Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaul (saith *Cæsar*) *that in euery City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in euery house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that euery one was permitted to deale closely and vnderhand, by voices and suffrages: so that the very meanest and simplest, had power to giue their sentence, and deliuer their voyces.* Heere then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrats amongst the Gaules, were such kinde of men. And heereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrates were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? *He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority, & beside, all the affayres of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Councell came onely to him.* But why was it requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrate? *Cæsar* himselfe makes answer vnto this Obiection. *Because (vppon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (venerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of ayde against the richest oppressor. For he might not indure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumuented.* This then was the end of the

Authority of the people amongst the Gauls in creation of their Magistrates.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said; *We will not haue this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs iniury. We will not haue this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

The punnishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weal-publike.

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made proofe of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and, as one that hath no longer care of the weale-publike, proposeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himselfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people haue commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as *Cæsar* saith) *Deprived of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be obserued in some one Citty only, *The selfe-same course* (saith *Cæsar*) *is kept thorough-out all Gaule.* Heerein then may be noted, the politicall authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also deposed & expulsed. But *Cæsar* saith nothing, whether this principality was constituted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Neuertheless, *Strabo* (in his fourth book) defineth both the one and the other, saying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected euery yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chiefe or Commander for the warre.* Thus wee see, what *Strabo* saith: but a matter so goodly and commendable, should bee enriched with some examples.

The politicall authoritie of the people.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

Cicero hath so highly extolled the commonwealth of the *Massylians*, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of *Fonteius*, hee sayde: That the Discipline and grauity of the Citty of * *Marsiles*, deserued not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almost with all other Nations of the world. In that Citty (sayth *Strabo*) there were sixe hundred Senators, whome they tearmed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all their life time) enioyed that honour: from foorth of which number, were elected and chosen fifteene Princes, to iudge such suits & causes, as happened day by day amongst them. And questionlesse, these were the sixe hundred *Marsilians*, and the fifteene cheefest men among them, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his first booke. But let vs go on with the words of *Strabo*. *Out of these fifteene* (saith hee) *they elected three, which had the most authority and power.* In this manner *Strabo* describeth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians*, which neuertheles I alledge not as a name of *Gaule* onely, because it was better beloued and esteemed to be Greekish, rather thē Gaulish: but also, because none of those *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Cittizen, euen to the third race or descent, as the same *Strabo* saith. Vpon this occasion, *Aristotle* (and very desertfully) calleth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians Oligarchia*, and not *Aristocratia*: for this declareth her Oligarchie, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

Marsiles in France, a citie in Prouence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

The nature of the timouches election among the people.

I doe not alledge (I say) this Commonwealth, as an example of the Gaules Common-wealth: I desire to deliuer their owne true estates indeed, and those that truely were of Gaule, and first of all in generall of all Gaule; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of euery Cittie. The seauenth Booke of *Iulius Cæsar*, shall serue as a sufficient Testimonie in my common example, wherein Gaule is intirely described, both in orders, and all reuennewes: albeit in the seauenth yeare of the warres in Gaule, great store of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminished much of their reuennues. First (by a Common Councell) *Vercingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commaunder, as *Cæsar* himselfe saieth, when the *Heduans* fought, that the Empire might bee giuen to them, as the matter came then in controuersie. *The whole Councell of Gaul* (saith hee) *was called at* [a] Bibracte *or* Beaulne, *where arriued a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the most voyces: but by generall consent it was concluded that Vercingetorix should be Emperor, & the chiefe Leader of their Armies.* Onely *Cæsar* saieth, that the men of *Rhems*, [b] the [c] *Lingones*, and the [d] *Treuiraines*, were not present at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the Aquitaines.

The Commō. wealths trulie of Gaule, and according as they were in the 7. yeare of the Gaulish warre,

a Bibrax the Towne of Bray, in the countrey of Rochell in France.

b A Towne in Champaigne in Belgica.

c Langres in the iurisdiction of Tull in Celtica.

d Trieus, and the Countrey thereabout e Now called Alset, Lamsoys, or Alysa.

Afterward, when *Vercingetorix* was besiedged neere to [e] *Alexia*, the Gauls then called another Councel; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men should command ouer euery towne. And it was concluded, that fiue & thirtie thou-

Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 1.

The powers that commanded ouer the seueral towns and Citties.

thousand men should command the *Heduans*, and their neighbors the *Secusians*, *Ambinarets*, *Aulerkes*, *Brannouikes*, & the *Brannonians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Auuerne*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Heluterians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellaunians*, who were vnder the dominion of the *Auuernians*. To the *Sequanes*, *Senones*, *Biturigianes*, *Santorigeans*, *Ruthenes* and *Caruntes*, were appoynted twelue thousand men. To the *Bellouacanes* ten thousand, and as many to the *Limosines*. To the *Poicteuines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parisians*, and *Heluetians*, eight thousand to each. To the *Swessiones*, *Amiangeans*, *Mediomatricians*, *Petrocorians*, *Neruians*, *Morines*, and the *Nitiobrigrians*, fiue thousand to each. To the *Aulercians* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thousand. To the *Bellocassians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerks Eburones*, three thousand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *Boians*, two thousand a peece. To all the Citites that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called [a] *Armorica*, six thousand.

a The whole Countrey of little Britaine.

Heere we haue a view of the publique Councell, vniuersally obserued throughout Gaule, and one selfesame manner of behauiour, and answerable to the *Amphyctiones*, of assigning by a Councell publique, the estate and reuennewes of euery Citty. Notwithstanding, one onely man did not command ouer all these Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned some Councellors of these Citties. *Cæsar* in the same place saieth; *That the whole charge of these affayres of the Empire, was giuen to Comius the* [b] *Atrebatian, to Viridomarus, to Eporedorix the Heduane, and to Vergasillanus of Auuergne, Cosine Germane to Vercingetorix by the mothers side: and vnto them were assigned certaine other chosen persons of the Citties, as Councellors for the warre.* Neuertheless, we may obserue, if in all the Gaulish Nations, the same estate of commonwealth was kept, as among the Celts, Belges, and Aquitanes.

4. Captains to ioyn with the other Councels.

b Artois in Belgica. *Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 7.*

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer hapned, that the Celts kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them were associated with the Romaines, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of duties else, I know not. Notwithstanding, in the war of the [c] *Venetes*,

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

c The people of Vannes in Britaine.

a coniuration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the [d] *Venetes*, the [e] *Ossisines*, the [f] *Lexobians*, the [g] *Nannets* or *Nannetians*; the [h] *Diablinters*, the [i] *Curiosolites*, the [k] *Vuellians*, the *Ambiliates*, and the *Eburones*. *Suddenly were Ambassadorus sent* (saieth *Iulius Cæsar* in his third booke) *and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together, to do nothing without Councell, and to abide such disasters as Fortune should send vnto them, Solliciting the rest of the Cities, to choose rather to continue in the liberty which they had receyued from their Ancestors, then to endure the seruitude of the Romaines.* Neuertheless, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by *Cæsar* in any part whatsoeuer. And yet in the publike councell of the *Belgians* (whereby was plainely and openly determined against *Cæsar*, the intire liberty of all *Gallia:*) the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and consent of all men) was put on *Galba* King of the [k] *Swessiones*, as well in regard of his owne good deseruing, as for his wisedom and prouidence.

d People of Landriguer in Britaine.
e Of Londull, in little Brittaine.
f Of Nauntes in Britaine Britonant.
g Of Cornwel in little Brittaine.
h Of Perche.
i Of Aurāche in litle Brittaine.
k Of Liege in Belgica.

k The people of Soysons in Belgica.

In this warre at that time, the [l] *Bellouacanes* contributed to the number of three score thousand armed men; the *Swessions* fifty thousand; as many the *Neruians*, the *Atrebatians* fifteene; the *Ambians* ten; the *Morines* fiue and twenty; the [m] *Menapians* seuen; the *Caletines* ten; the *Velocassians* & *Veromanduans* as many; the *Aduaticians* nineteene; the *Condrusians*, *Eburones*, *Ceresians*, *Pemanians* (which al by one name are called *Germanes*) forty thousand. Here is to bee seene a Common Councell indeede, and therby likewise, the intire power and authority of euery Cittie. Such a coniuration also was amongst the Aquitaines, of whom *Cæsar* writeth thus. *Then the Aquitaines began to send foorth Ambassadors, and to enterchange Hostages, to muster men of warre, and to craue ayde of the* [n] Cantabrians *their Neighbors: as also to elect for their Captaines, certain men that had serued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius, & therefore were reputed to bee most expert in the actions of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alleadged; that the policy proposed by *Cæsar*, was not onely common to all Gaule: but likewise generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

l The people of Beauuoysin in Celtica.

m The people of Gelderlād & Cleueland.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.

n The people of Biscay in Spaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the forme of Gouernment obſerued in the Common-wealths of the ſeuerall Cities and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magiſtrates were: as alſo how they attayned to their authority.

The particular gouernement in euery Common-wealth of the Nations.

LET vs now particularly illuſtrate the Gouernments in the Commonwealths of the Nations and Cities of the people. And firſt of all, let vs ſpeake of the Celts, among whome the Heluetians haue beene reputed to be the moſt braue and valiant Nation. What adminiſtration & gouernment of Commonwealth hath beene obſerued in their cheefeſt City? The City of the *Heluetians* was ſituated betweene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as alſo the Mountaine *Iura*, in a triangular forme or ſhape, hauing twelue towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewiſe for Iuſtice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Cæſar* himſelfe, *Tigurine* and *Verbigenia*. Theſe Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of conſequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell; where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongſt them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forſake their own limites, and by force to ſeize and ſurprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

The ſituation of the Heluetians in theyr Cities, townes and villages.

*The Canton of Zurich.

For the better execution of this enterprize, *Orgetorix*, one of the moſt apparant and Noblemen was made choiſe of; and this act declared at the firſt, euen a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affliction. *Orgetorix* ouercome with a couetous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraced this Conſpiracy: but the iſſue requireth obſeruation, after the matter came to be diſcouered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by ſome preſumptions and coniectures; *Orgetorix* was taken priſoner, and they would haue compelled him (according to their manner) to confeſſe the truth: which if it fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* ſummoned to this Seſsions al his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thouſand men, together with his ſeruants and debters, who were a great company, that they might aſsiſt in the caſe of iudgement. Hee preuayled ſo well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himſelfe from anſwering to his enditement, or diſcloſing vppon what occaſion hee was incited to this matter of conſpiracy.

Orgetorix cheefe in the conſpiracie againſt the Heluetians, which hapned to be reuealed, and hee impriſoned.

Orgetorix ſupporteth his bad cauſe by power.

In the meane ſpace, while the Cittie (being offended) ſought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the ſword, & the Magiſtrates muſtered men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in priſon, not without ſuſpition (as the Heluetians imagined) of murthering himſelfe. *Kingdomes* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *were bought in Gaul, by ſuch as were moſt potent and abounding in riches, and ſuch as had the meanes to command moſt men at their pay.* But what theſe kingdoms were, is eaſily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beſide, whereof we are to ſpeake hereafter. The Commonwealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who vſurp and make vſe of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Heduans* and * *Aruernians*; let vs now ſuruey theſe Commonwealths, and firſt that of the *Heduanes*, who were the very braueſt and moſt valiant people, when *Cæſar* made his warre in Gaule. Let vs make a good obſeruation of this Common-wealth, and how (in three kindes of a iuſt and commendable gouernment) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

Orgetorix thoght by the Heluetians to kil himſelfe in priſon. Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 1.

*People by the Riuer of Leyre in France

By a yearly election of Prieſts, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers deſcents, amongſt the *Heduanes* was choſen one called a *Vergobret*, who had full power as a King, and abſolute authoritie of life and death; ſo that he was not permitted to go forth of their iuriſdictions. *Cæſar* in his firſt booke, making mention of the *Heduanes*, ſpeaketh in this maner. *After he had ſummoned together the chiefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe; amongſt whom were Diuitiacus and Liſcus, who at that*

The election yeare by yeare of a Vergobret among the Heduanes

Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib. 1

The Heduans in sedition about theyr Magistrate *Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 7.*

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the Heduanes called Vergobret, created yeare by yeare, & hauing power of life and death.

The rest is reported in the seauenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Heduanes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appeasing whereof, *Cæsar* was called: these are his own words. *The Princes Ambassadors of the Heduanes, came to Cæsar & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For whereas (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate yearely, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare that Office, yet both making their vaunt, to bee created by order of Law. One of them was called* Conuictolitane, *a man in the floure of his youth, of great power, and well allyed: the other named himselfe* Cottus, *of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named* Valetiacus, *had borne the same Office the yeare before. Moreouer they sayd, that all the Citty was vp in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding apart their seuerall factions: And if this mutinie should bee suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were afforded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.*

Two Magistrates instead of one, Conuictolitane & Cottus.

Great dãgers grow out of particular variances.

Cæsar, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbeare his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconueniences do grow out of such dissentions; and fearing withall, that such a Cittie, so well allyed to the Romane people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could deuise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vercingetorix*, he resolued to go thither, & preuent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Heduanes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himself out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him al the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Cittie was (wel-neere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent of a few, priuily congregated together in an vnmeete place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding withal, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place, contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibite, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely bee disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitane* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrats, had bene created by the Priestes) had the full authority appointed to him. *Cæsar* wrote all this himself, about the commotion of the *Heduanes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Vergobret*, and the authority of the Seigneurie in the Senate; and finally, the *Democraticall* power in all the people.

Cæsars sentence concerning this important difference.

But to know what, and how noble this City vvas, vve need no more then to look vpon so many Towns, as were in the protection of the *Heduanes*, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Commonwealth, is *Bibract* named, whereunto *Cæsar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Heduane* Nation) to haue Corne of the *Heduanes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his seauenth booke) *Litauicus* had withdrawne himselfe, because this vvas a Citie highly authorized among the *Heduanes*; and there the Magistrat *Conuictolitane*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostages of Gaule brought, when *Cæsars* Guards vvere slaine at *Nouiodunum*. And there likewise vvas assigned the Councel of all Gaule, against *Cæsar*: and thither also (finally) *Cæsar*, after that he had recouered the *Heduanes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This Citty (I say) was the very principal of the *Heduanes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyrick of *Constantine*) it vvas after called *Iulia, Polia, Florencia, Flauia*. Moreouer (in his 7. book) [a] *Cabillone*, & [b] *Matiscon* on [c] *Arar*, are named among the *Heduanes*, and *Noiodunũ* on [d] *Ligere*. These that I haue named vvere their Tributaries, but their honors were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Biturigiãs*, vvhere in elder times vvere the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*, and

Bibracte a cheefe Cittie among the Heduanes, & whereto Litauacus had made his retreate.

Cæsar goeth in person, to appease the dissention amongst the Heduanes.

a The Towne of Chalons in Burgundy.
b The River Soane.
c Matiscon, a city of Celtica by the River Soane, now called Mascon, or Macon.
d Ligere, Loyre.

and (by the ſame meanes) the *Pariſians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones*) and the *Bellouacanes, are called by *Cæſar* their Clients, as being vnder their protection. So then, the City and Commonwealth of the *Heduanes*, had the moſt abſolute authority in all Gaule anciently: according as hee hath written in his ſixt Booke, but as wee may ſooner ſee in his firſt booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaule, eſpecially before it had aſpired to the friendſhip of the Romane people. But after that the *Heduanes* were called Coſins and Brothers to the Romaines: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? VVe ſee then, that ſuch and ſo great a City of Celtick Gaul, hath had this *Democraticall* Common-wealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allyed together.

§The People of Beauuoyſine in Celtica.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 6.

Plin. in Lib. 9. cap. 17. & 18

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was ſometime the cheefeſt of Gaule; for (anciently) there were two leagues throughout Gaule, as we reade in the firſt booke: the *Heduanes* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent thē the other; extending their Seigneury ſo farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Maſſilians* to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rheine*. In like manner he ſpeaketh faithfully, concerning two cruell battailes of the Gaules, giuen vnder the conduct of *Bituitus* the *Aruernian*: and *Strabo* reporteth them in the ſame place, & *Titus Liuius* in his 61. booke. The one was againſt *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other againſt *Fabius* at *Tiſara* & the ſame *Rhone*: whereby we may plainly perceiue, that ther was the ſame forme of Common-wealth, as formerly we haue ſpoken of.

The Commonwealth of the Aruernians, and the extendure thereof.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

The two famous batels of the Gaules.

Titus Liuius in lib. 61. cap. 10.

For the Romane Senate, as it is in the firſt booke, being willing that the vanquiſhed Gauls, or repulſed (at leaſt) from the confines of the Roman Prouince, ſhould continue in their franchiſes and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaule might remaine in the greater libertie; ordained, that *Bituitus* himſelfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Liuius* termeth him in his 61. book) who was gone to Rome to purge himſelfe, ſhold be kept in guard within *Alba*: but *Congentiatus* his ſon was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtilus* the Father of *Vercingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaule in a warre, yet notwithſtanding, becauſe hee pretended to make himſelfe King, as it is the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Vercingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was ſaluted as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewiſe it is ſaid in the ſame book, that all the Gaules called him King: neuertheles, vpon the ſame occaſion hee was charged with treaſon, and hee came in iudgement before them as ſoueraigne Iudges, and in the end, couetouſnes in deſire of rule, proued alike to the father and ſon.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 1.

Bituitus & his ſon Congentiatus ſent to Rome to the Senate.

Vercingetorix and his father both put to death.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, euen to the time of *Cæſar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remembreth it amongſt the Cities of the *Celtes*, which were at freedom: and then it had no leſſe protection, then they of the *Heduans* as is already made manifeſt by the numbring of military forces formerly declared. The city then of the *Aruernians*, hath anciently bin the Lady ouer that of the *Heduanes*, and after that, the *Heduanes* affected rather to bee brethren and coſines of the *Romanes*, then of the *Aruernians*: they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the laſt comming of *Cæſar*, the *Heduanes* were ouercome & ſpoiled by the Germaines, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courteſie and fauor of *Cæſar*) the *Heduans* were not only replanted in their former condition, but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and authority, then euer before: yet the other were equall to them, and alike in wealthie poſſeſſions. But in fauour and eſteem thoroughout all Gaul, they were much greater, as the election of *Vercingetorix* hath ſufficiently ſhewne. VVherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Commonwelth remained in theſe two cities of *Celtike Gaul*. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee ſpeaketh not ſo much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

King expelled out of the Aruernians commonwealth.

The Heduans ranſacked and ſpoiled by the Germaines.

The freedom of a commonwealth in two Celtike Gaul Cities.

The city of the *Senons, was accounted among

*People of Sens in Celtica.

among the principals, and of great authority among the Celts. Of some store of Towns that were vnder it, *Cæsar* hath named two, *Agendecum* & * *Vellaunodunum*. *Cæsar* wrought by certaine meanes, that *Cauarinus* was their King; because *Moritasgus*, brother to *Cauarinus* and his ancestors, had held the same authority in that realme; for *Cæsar* had vndertaken this colour, only to establish a kingdome there. Neuertheless, the *Senones*, although *Cæsar* was present, essayed by a counc. l publike, to put *Cauarinus* to death. And as he (hauing intelligence thereof) fled away, they pursued him so far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his house & kingdom The commonwealth of the *Parisians* was the like, by that which we reade in his 7. Booke. For the *Parisians*, by a Common Councell of diuers Cities, vndertooke warre for the liberty of their country, electing *Camulogenus* to bee their commander, by reason of the experience he had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

Carnutum also was a great City, as already hath bin shewn, & *Cæsar* wrought the like meanes to establish a kingdome there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Tasgetius*, a mã descended of a great place and whose Ancestors had held dominion in that City. *Cæsar* (as he saith himself) in regard of his vertue, and for the good wil he had found in him, because he had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, planted him in the same place which his Ancestors had held. He had reigned but 3. yeeres, when his enemies being authorized by many men of the city, openly slew him. These Cities then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Cæsar* named the Senate of the *Eburones*, *Lexobians*, and *Venetes*. At the same time, *Teutomatus* vvas king of the * *Nitiobrigians*, but by a publike Councel of Gaul, hee yeelded obedience against *Cæsar*. This may serue as sufficient, concerning the gouernment of the *Celts* Cities.

What then is to be said of the Citties of the Belgians? By what manner of Empire were they particularly gouern'd? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: because it ioyned with the *Sequans*, *Mediomatrices*, *Treuirians*, *Veromanduans*, and the *Swessiones*. Notwithstanding, in all these parts, he nameth but two towns or Cities, [c] *Durocottorum* and *Bibrax*. In the sixt Booke, the councell of Gaule was assigned at *Durocottorum*; and in the second booke *Bibrax* was besiedged. Concerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Cæsar*, they hadde the managing of the Gauls, and held the second place in dignity, next to the *Heduanes*. *Cæsar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouost of the city; as that *Vertiscus*, whereof wee haue already spoken.

In the time of *Cæsar*, the *Swessiones* had *Diuitiacus* as their king, who was the most powerfull man in all Gaul, and who opened a great part on this side of the country which he helde, holding also the Empire of Great *Bretaigne*. After *Galba* (of whom he hath spoken) he succeeded. But vve may vvell perceiue hereby, what mãner of kingdome this was: in regard that the *Swessions* (who vvere brothers & cousines to the men of *Rhemes*) vsed the same course of authority, and the same lawes, hauing one and the same Gouernement, and one Magistrate, as they had. For such are the vvords of *Cæsar* himself, by vvhom one only Magistrate vvas allowed in their cities. But yet notwithstanding, the *Swessiones*, although they were brethren; yet they had a field (apart) of great largenesse, and very fertile, and twelue towns, vvherof *Cæsar* nameth onely one, vvhich is *Noviodunum*, and vvhich *Cæsar* (after the *Belgians* vvere retired to him) passing thorough the countrey, essayed to surprize. But hee could not compasse it, by reason of the deepnesse of the ditch, and heighth of the wall: and yet there vvere but verie few people to defend it.

We come now to the *Bellouacanse*, what kind of commonwealth vvas kept among them? These men vvere highly esteemed vvith the Belgians, for their vertue, authority & number of people. For their extendure vvas from the limits of the *Swessions*, & also frõ the *Normans*, so termed at this day (euen there vvhere the riuer of [b] *Seine*, throvves it selfe into the sea) so far as *Calete*, knovvn by the name of *Callice*. *Cæsar* nameth *Bratuspantium*, a city of the *Bellouacanes*. But by vvhat forme of commonvvealth did they gouern their city? They chose their Princes, as (among other) *Corbus*, vvho though his Army had bin defeated; yet vvould he neuer for any discomfort hapning, or posible to befal hm; neither

* Villenuf in Loraine.

Cauarinus K. of the Senons but expulled by them.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7. The common wealth of the Parisians.

The Citie Chartres in Lionnois.

Tasgetius K. of the Carnutes, slain by his enemies.

* People of Mount-pelier in Celtica.

The common wealth obserued among the Belgians.

[c] The City of Rhemes in France.

Diuitiacus K of the Swessiones, and held the Empire of Great Britain

A Towne in Belgica, neere to Paris, calld Noyon.

Belgart. 68. discessum.

[b] Rising nere the borders of Langres, and low Bourgundy.

ther forsake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. *Cæsar* also maketh mention of the Senate of the *Bellouocanes*, and authority of the Comminalty: whēce ensued the excuse, which the Senate of the *Bellouacanes* made to *Cæsar*: *That during the life of Corbus the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorants had.*

The Senate & Comminaltie of the Bellouacanes.

But now concerning the most potent Cittie of the* *Neruians*, after what manner of order wer they gouerned? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* signifieth no more then a Citie or Towne, including (as now adayes our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanders*. And why you may aske mee? Whereto I can make no other answere, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will discourse the bounds and limites of that sometime most noble Citty, according as *Cæsar* himselfe hath described it; obserue then what I shall say vnto you.

*People inhabiting about Tournay in Belgica.

Hannoyers, Flemings and Brabanders.

When the *Ambians* had submitted themselues, *Cæsar* went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were theyr Neighbors. And hauing made three daies iourney into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of some that hee had taken: that there was no more then tenne miles distance from his Campe to the riuer* *Scaldis*. This *Scaldis*, which passed thorough the middest of the Neruians Country, runneth now through the middest of *Henault*: wherefore the Country of the *Hannoyers*, is comprehended within ỳ of the *Neruians*. Of *Cæsar* himselfe wee may learne the limites of the countrey of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and also of *Brabant*, for there is a passage in the fift book, which maketh well to this purpose. VVhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and fiue Companies neere to *Vatuca*, which is in the *Eburones* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that passed the winter season to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. *Hee perswaded easily* (saieth *Cæsar*) *the Neruians, and thereupon dispatched messengers immediately to the Centrones, Grudians, Leuakes, Pleumosians and Gordunes, who were all vnder their obedience, and ioyned together the greatest forces that they were able to make.* These are the very words of *Cæsar*. But the *Grudians* & *Leuakes* were enskirted with *Louane*, in the Countrey of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to say as the men of *Gaunt*) were in the Mediterrane countrey of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumosians*, whom some doe hold to be them of *Cortroy*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Dioceese of *Liege*.

Cæsar his iourny to the Neruians.

*The Riuer Skeld, running through Tornay & falling into the Maze.

Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 5.

Centrones, Grudians, Leuakes, Pleumosians and Gordunes.

This so great Commonwealth of the *Neruians*, and which was of such large extendure, elected a Prince, such as *Boduognatus* was in the first warre of the *Neruians*. It had also a very great Senat, for *Cæsar* reckoneth vp sixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquished, *Cæsar* gaue them *Comius* (who was of the same countrey) to bee their King: that is to say, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, he created one that should continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gaue to them their laws and rights, and annexed the* *Morines* to his Empire. Neuertheless, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themselues vnder *Cæsars* obeysance: his sway ceased, & *Comius* bare Armes against *Cæsar* again. The *Eburones* then also had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catuulcus*; but their authority was such, that the commons had no lesse commād ouer them, then they had to contradict them.

The Prince & Senate of the Neruians.

*The people of Tirwin in Belgica, or (as Iosephus Molet sayth) the Flemings.

The commonwealth of the *Morines* was answerable to that of the Heluetians, althogh it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off from them: as to *Callis*, and all along the coast of *Piccardie* and *Flanders*, in the Forrests & marishes; euen so far as the* *Menapians*, who dwell vppon the confluent of *Rheine*, as also of the *Meuze* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be seene in the *Teuctihers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Treuirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very skilfull) as also for the occasion of tumult and sedition, very frequent among them; resembled in quality the *Heduans*. *Cingetorix* and *Indiciomarus* quarrelled for the principalitie, euen

*The people of Geilderland & Cleueland, or of Iuliers in Belgia.

euen as did ỹ other two, *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*, but *Cæsar* seated again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Conuictolitane*. Thus the gouernment of the Belgian Cities, were mingled with three formes of estates.

The* *Santone Aquitaines* seemed to bee gouerned by such a kind of cõmonwealth. For that City, when she made proofe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horseback, and well to sustaine all assaults in her own defence: she rendred hir necke to such authority. But *Adcantuanus* their Prince (of his owne power) stept in to do his duty, and sallied forth with 600 *Soldures*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I think that the gouernment of the Gauls Commonweales, hath bin already sufficiently explicated, and by so many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the Gaules (according to *Cæsar*) were such, as wold not suffer that the subiects should be oppressed or circumuented; but if any Prince did otherwise, hee helde no authority amongst his subiects. VVe haue spoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obserued among the ancient Gaules.

Let vs now listen vnto the Commonwealth of *Great Britaine*, and that likewise of the Germains. There is mention made in the fourth Book, concerning the Princes of the Britains, with their conferences and consultations held among thẽselues, for the common good of *Great Britaine*. And in the fift booke, the common councell is obserued by *Cæsar*; and that the whole charge and command of warre against *Cæsar*, was put into the power of *Cassibelane*, and the diuersity of Kinges which were subiect vnto that common Councell, doe sufficiently declare, that *Great Britaine* vsed the same kinde of gouernment that Gaule did. *Cæsar* also deliuereth (almost) the very same gouernement of the Germaines. *When a Commonwealth* (sayth he) *either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, Magistrates were elected to vndertake the charge of the war, and they might also take or saue life. In times of peace, there was no common Magistrate, but the Lordes of the Countries, and of the Burroughes, who exercised law to their vassals, and appeased all their contentions.*

In the time of *Tacitus*, *Germany* had some Kings: but they were such as had more honor then power; in other matters they were like to the Gauls manners. *They made Kings* (saith he) *for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had those Kings any vndefined or free power, & the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated; in sight, or doing their deuoyre vpon the point, making wonderfull proofe of their proweesse.* As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the same Author relateth) & likewise for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes also they elect in the publike Councels, which doe hold the iurisdiction of Burroughes and villages. Euery man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue assistance vnto them in Councell together, and also in their Authority. A Noble or generous stock of fame, whose high deserts of theyr Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongst the younger sort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robust complexion; and such as haue had (long time) good proofe made of them: and yet they blush not a iotte, to bee seene amongest such Companions, albeit there are some degrees in this companie, according to his iudgement whom they follow. VVhy then I may safely say of the Germaines (according to *Tacitus*) that their Magistrates haue bin answerable to their Kings, Captaines, or Princes, and likewise to them called the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the Gaules, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affayres. *And these Knights* (thus saith *Cæsar* in his fift book) *when there is neede, and any warre hapneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, so hath hee most seruants and clyents about him, & this is the onely fauour and power that they doe know.* Heerein is continued the ancient Gaules manner, for election of Magistrates, and we may learne by a new argument: that the Gaules Princes were chosen for their Vertues, and for their deserts towards the Common-wealth, and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. *For euery Prince would not suffer his subiects to bee oppressed, nor deceyued* (so hath *Iulius Cæsar* formerly said) *but if hee should do otherwise, he must beare no authority among his people.* And hereto doth this

* The people of Santone in Aquitaine.

* Soldurij (as Cæsar sayth) were in the Gaulish Language, such kinde of men, as destinied & vowed themselues to the amity of any, to take part in all their good or bad Fortunes.

Cæsar in comment lib. 4. & 5

Great Britain had the same gouernement as Gaule, and the Germains very little differing.

Cæsar. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 7.

Concerning Kings & Captaines among the Germans, and the Companions of Princes.

The election of their Princes.

The stronger ought alwaies to helpe the weaker.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6. The knightes of the Gaules. The words of Cæsar himself

iuſtly make anſwer: That this is the onely fauour and power which the Knightes knowe, if according as they haue moſt meanes and authoritie, ſo they ſhall haue the more ſeruants, and the more Clients about them.

The differẽce betweene ſeruants and clients.

By ſeruants or vaſſailes, are meant ſuch as ſtand obliged or indebted (of whom I haue formerly ſpoken) and who, vppon that occaſion are dedicated to the ſeruice of thoſe Knights: for, theſe vaſſals ſerue as Waggoners to their Maſters, and carry their ſhields. And the Clients (as it is in the ſeauenth Booke) neuer dare, euen in the extreamity of all misfortune, forſake or leaue their Lords. Thus then the vaſſals or ſeruants, do accompanie theyr Knights and Maſters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and theſe are the companions of the *Germans*, whereof *Tacitus* ſpeaketh, as already hath bene ſaide.

Strife for popularitie, and eminency in the Princes fauour.

There is great iealouſie amongſt theſe companions, who ſhall haue the cheefeſt place about his Prince: and amongſt the Princes, who ſhalbe followed by the moſt and beſt companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to bee dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choyſe men: it is an honour in time of peace, & ſecurity in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but euen in the neighbouring Cities, coueting as much to be accompanied with ſuch a company of men, as with ſo manie vertues. Whereof practiſe is made by Ambaſſages, and plenty of preſents ſent; nay, oftentimes, they will vndertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a ſouldier. When a man is in the fight, it is ſhame to a Prince to be ſurmounted in vertue: and it is a more ſhame to his follower, if he doe not equall the Vertue of his Prince. It is a moſt infamous & ſhame full thing, and not to be waſhed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there ſlaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and ſuſtaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne perſon, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. *Tacitus* writeth: *The Prince recompenceth ſuch as follow him: for they receiue* (ſaith he) *from the Princes liberality: this Horſe of ſeruice, that victorious and bloudied Sword: for ſuch Bankets, although they are not properly ſerued, yet are they ſumptuous to them, & men are well contented with ſuch wages.*

Princes and their followers ſhould be alike in theyr vertues.

Corn. Tacit. in l. 5. c. 11.

Recompences to the Gaules Knightes for their ſeruices.

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knights amongeſt the Gauls, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druydes*, it hath bin ſpoken of already; which was honor, the greateſt payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuertheleſſe, the Common-wealth it ſelfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: conſidering that there were Impoſts & Tolles, which appertained to each Cittie, as is to be ſeene in the firſt Book, and their greatneſſe of Tribute, in the ſixt Booke. *Tacitus* hath declared among the Germaines, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Citties had a cuſtome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to giue to their Princes: which being receiued as an honor, ſerued alſo to ſupply neceſsity. Aboue all, they tooke delight in preſents giuen by theyr neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular perſons, but in generall: as of choiſe Horſes, faire Armours, trappings for ſeruice, and alſo of Chaines. And ſince then they haue taught vs to accept of mony.

Recompences to Princes amongſt the Germaines.

But let vs purſue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. *Cæſar* doth often accuſe the infirmity of the Gauls, becauſe in aduice they were ſodain and mutable: but eſpecially in this place of his 4. Booke. *There is a common cuſtome* (ſayth he) *amongſt them, to compell paſſengers or way-faring men, to ſtay whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what ſoeuer. The popular and common people, they flocke about Merchants in the Citie, and conſtrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there.* The ancient Gauls, had not onely this wonderful deſire, to know matters of nouelty: but beſides, that they ſhould be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

Cæſar his blaming the Gaules for their variablenes & raſhneſſe. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.*

I will ſet downe two examples of ſome admiration, the firſt is in the fift booke, of the victorie which *Iulius Cæſar* had againſt the Neruians. *During the bruite of Cæſars victory* (this he writes himſelfe) the

Cæsars victory of the Neruians. *Iul. Cæs. in com lib. 5.*

the men of Rhemes (with incredible ſwiftneſſe) carried tidings thereof to Labienus, inſomuch, that whereas he was about threeſcore miles from the Garriſon of Cicero, and that Cæſar came thether after the nynth hour of the day: yet notwithſtanding, there aroſe ſuch a cry or noiſe before the gates of the Campe, and before it was midnight; that the men of Rhemes (onely thereby) gaue vnderſtanding to Labienus of the victory, & made a ſigne of their reioycing with him. But the other is an eſpeciall, and moſt notable cry or noiſe, when the Romanes were ouerthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-ſetting: yet before the firſt watch was ſet, the cry was heard to the *Aruernians*, the noiſe running through all the Townes of *Gaul*, as *Cæſar* affirmeth in his ſeuenth Booke. For ſo ſoone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and ſo along thorough the Countries, and ſtill as it was heard, others ſent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-ſetting, was knowne in the confines of *Aruerne* before the firſt watch, & yet the diſtance was aboue an hundred & ſixty miles. So ſaith *Cæſar*, and haply it may ſeeme, that that ſingular deſcription of Fame, which is ſet downe in *Virgill*, tooke hence the firſt originall.

Strange cries and noiſes obſerued among the Gaules.

Virgin lib. 9. de Aeneid.

Fame, an euill, vnmatchable in ſwiftneſſe,
Is ſudden, moning, gadding with raſhneſſe.

Rumor is cõmonly a babling lyar.

Cæſar deſcribeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgill* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the *Gaules*, whereby being moued, they often held Councels of important matters: wherof (not long after) they repented themſelues, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine novles, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables, But hee that thus reproued the common people of Gaule of lightneſſe; commended their conſtant & politicall wiſedome. *Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib. 6*

Thoſe Citties (ſaith he) *which are accounted to gouern beſt their Commõ-weals, haue their Lawes, which ordaine, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (eyther by report or otherwiſe) concerning the eſtate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the ſame to the Magiſtrate, and not to any other whatſoeuer. Becauſe it hath bin oftẽ ſeen, that raſhheaded men, and of ſmall vnderſtanding, are affrighted by falſe noiſes, or prouoked on to vnhappy attempts, and (dreadleſſe) enter into important enterprizes. The Magiſtrate concealeth what he thinketh fitteſt; and diſcouereth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.*

A good obſeruation to preuent ydle tumors.

This laſt paſſage of *Cæſar*, refuteth (very ſtrongly) popular ſeruitude, for it teſtifieth, that euen in thoſe Cities, which gouerned beſt their Common-weales: that yet the Commons haue their authority, becauſe the Magiſtrate imparteth to the people, what is neceſſary for thẽ to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Book, that this was alſo vſed in the Councels of the Gaules. *If any one* (ſaith he) *did interrupt him that ſpake: the publike Miniſter ſtept vp with a drawne ſword, and vſing threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he aduertiſed him in the ſame manner a ſecond and third time. In the end, he would cut off ſuch a peece of his garment, as the reſt ſhould afterward do him no ſeruice.* *Tacitus* expreſſeth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magiſtrates, and the Councels kept among the Germanes.

Popular ſeruitude reproued by Cæſar

Strabo in Lib. 4 cap. 7.

The Princes (ſaith hee) *hold a Councell, wherein matters of meaneſt importance, and ſuch alſo as are of greateſt conſequence, are handled together: And yet in ſuch manner, that thoſe affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They aſſemble together (if there happen no ſudden accident or aduenture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleeue, that thoſe ſeaſons are moſt happy to treate on ther affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vſe to doe, but by the nights. The fault enſuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day aſſigned: but two or three daies is loſt, to attend for ſuch as ſlacke to come.*

Corn. Tacit. in li. 5. cap. 3

Ceremonial daies of meeting for generall conferẽce

The ſame Authour declareth another ſtrange thing of the Germanes, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to conſult of peace or warre: becauſe as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their ſpirits moſt open, eyther to ſimple thoughts, or more earneſt to them of greater importance. This

Matters conſulted on at Banquets by the Germans.

Nation,

Nation, which is neyther ſubtile nor cautelous, will diſcouer the ſecrets of their ſoules in ieſting manner: for the minde being naked and diſcouered, bethinks it ſelfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to eyther time. They deliberate when they know no diſſembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such alſo was the cuſtome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chiefeſt conſultations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

Titus Liuius, ſpeaking of the Gaules, reporteth the ſame in his one and thirtieth Booke, ſaying. *Then is ſeene in them a new and terrible apparance, becauſe (according to the cuſtome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.* Why then the *Pallas* of the ancient Gauls, came herſelfe armed to the Councell: and becauſe they would not do any thing, but it ſhould expreſſe the courage of the *Gauls*, their aſſemblies were alwayes made by ſound of Trumpet. For *Hirtius* writeth ſo of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, hauing knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being ſlaine, all their Cauallery ouerthrowne, and the very valianteſt of their foote-ſouldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then ſuddenly they aſſembled a Councell by ſound of Trumpet, crying all with one voyce, to ſend Ambaſſadors and Hoſtages to *Cæſar*.

Tit. Liu. in li. 31 Decad. 6.

The ancient Gaules came armed to Councell.

What ſhall wee ſay of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whē they came to councell? *They did not any thing* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations, and came in the ſame manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the councels of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Oratour could ſay in his owne Language.

The garments of the german ſitting in coūcell.

Let Armes giue place to Gownes.

Becauſe Armes are the accouſtrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with ſouldiers of Armes, at the pleading of * *Milo*: the ſpirit thereof was not onely terrified, but the whole body alſo trembled with feare. But Eloquence vnited it ſelfe with the Armes of the Gaules, ſo that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to ſpeake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules councels, where (in generall) all might heare, that had intereſt in the caſe in queſtion, as is euident by the examples of *Cæſar*.

The habits of Warre and Peace.

* The Roman that was defended by *Tully.*

Princes were pleading Orators.

Among the Germanes (ſaith *Tacitus*) *in publike Councels, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his readineſſe in vtterance: was much rather heard for authority in perſwading, then any power in commanding. It was alſo permitted in a full Councell, to accuſe of crimes deſeruing death.* The cry or noiſe of the people by liſtening fauourably, or otherwiſe: ſignified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad ſucceſſe. But the counſell of the Gaules, which was made in Arms, as it was reaſonable; made a ſigne by their Arms (although the clattering of weapons was a ſigne among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had beene ſaid. *Cæſar* writeth ſo in his 7. Booke, ſpeaking of the Oration of *Vercingetorix*: *All the people made a cry* (ſaith he) *and according to their cuſtome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approue the Oration of any man.*

Corn. Tacit. in li. 9. cap. 9

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib. 5

Marcellinus declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Iulian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud claſhings of their Targets. The Gaules conſultations were in Armes; their Orations were approued by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Caruntes* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promiſed in a full councell of the Gaules, that they would be chiefeſt in the warre againſt *Cæſar*, and becauſe they could not in fielde giue aſſurance by the meanes of Hoſtages, fearing how matters might come about: to the end that all might be certaine and ſworne, after they had brought together al their Enſignes of warre (as alwaies they vſed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requeſted, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forſake them. And in the ſame Booke there is a moſt holy oath, to aſſure the battel giuen by

Marcel. in l. 21.

The Caruntes in the war againſt Cæſar

A sacred oath made in war in open field.

by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vntill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armies. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Iulian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throtes, made execrable oathes and curses on themselues, if they brake their vowes.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Hauing thus reported the manners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wisedome in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recouer the like leysure (hauing finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yeelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subiect is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors conclusion of his long labor

The End of the first Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or thoſe that are called (now adaies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, ſucceeding after their Predeceſſors, the Ancient Gaules.

AS among all parts of the Earth, *Europe*, (though it is the leaſt) holdeth the verie cheefeſt rancke, as beeing the principall, and moſt worthy: So it is not to bee doubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, *France* muſt needs be the moſt excellent in al reſpects. The people of *Arabia* that now are, haue a cuſtomary kinde of ſaying, that if the world were a Ring, the Citty of *Ormuz* muſt bee the Beaziell, Collet or Head, wherein the moſt precious Stone is to be enchaſed. By much better reaſon then, may it lawfully be ſaide of *France*, and a true ſaying:

France the cheefeſt country of Europe

Ronſard in Cant. 5.

It is the leſſer eye, & the Pearle of the world.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath ſung. Which no way can be accounted ſtrange, when conſideration is iuſtly made, of the great bleſsings, commodities, and graces of Heauen, wherwith the Land is and hath beene endowed. For there is nothing elſe found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and aboundance of all things, not onſly neceſſary for the life of man, but alſo for all ſorts of pleaſures and delights. Bee it alſo, for the ſweetneſſe, temperature, & amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciouſly regarded by the eie of the Sunne. No leſſe commendable (for valour) is the courage and ſpirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this preſent time, who not onely haue extended their renowne through all Lands habitable: but alſo haue excelled in whatſoeuer can bee applied to the height of minde.

France abounding in the fertility of all things.

Aboue all (as moſt admirable) is the dignity, greatneſſe, and Maieſty of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truely heroycall) aboue all other on the earth. In this excellency then, ther are three things to be diſcourſed: the firſt is that of the Land it ſelfe; the ſecond is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which reſult as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

The Maieſty and dignity of the Kings of France.

The three argumentes of this inſtant diſcourſe.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expreſſe ſo many bleſsings, and all things elſe which it produceth, euen of beſt vſe for the life of man, and that in ſuch aboundance, as ſufficeth not only for the people; but alſo are imparted and diſperſed to other Nations, without any incommodity to it ſelfe, and (in a manner) not to bee diſcerned. The fat fields, couered with good wheate and all graines elſe of any kinde, fille the Graunges & Garners euery harueſt ſeaſon. The Mountaines and Hilles, cloathed with goodly Vineyards, which bring foorth moſt healthfull and delicate wines: & almoſt euery where ſtored with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a iote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or ſerues for paſturage for feeding beaſts, which cauſeth ſuch plenty of all ſorts of fleſh. There ye may likewiſe behold goodly VVoods & Forreſts, filled with all kinde of game and Veniſon. Moſt excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great aboundance. Dyers woad alſo, Scarlet holme-oake, Saffron, with many

The goodnes and excellency of the Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruites.

Paſtures.

Woods and Forreſts.

Flax & Hemp.

many singular Plants and Hearbs, not onely for Medicine, but also nourishable.

Nauigable & fishing riuers.

Heereto I may adde, the admirable sight of great and goodly Riuers, both nauigable, and abounding with fish, dispersing themselues through France, as veines in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apt for commerce, as those on the Sea-coasts. Beside a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Pondes, Fountaines, and cleere running Riuers, all meruailous and delectable.

Houses, Cities, Townes, and Villages.

Then haue yee goodly houses and buildings; an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Castels, and other Edifices. Moreouer, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world.

The great plenty of people.

This is that which is so much wondred at by strangers, who haue thought France to bee a terrestriall Paradise: making more account (in this case) then Frenchmen do themselues, because it is so ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to such as haue sayled into farre remote strange Countries, or otherwise haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happinesse to themselues, to see the felicity of France so farre beyond other, and therby to know their owne good. All these graces might much better bee acknowledged, if we did but seuer and consider them particularly.

Of Wheate & other Corne.

First, for Wheate and other Corne, which is the principall sustentation, to maintaine and strengthen the bodye of man: it encreaseth and aboundeth so in *France* (and that of the best that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewise all other sorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge so great a happinesse, for wee see that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not throughly so well husbanded and tilled. As wee discerne by that which is written by *Strabo*, *Iulius Solinus Polyhistor*, & *Pomponius Mela*, who speake thereof expressely. Also *Cicero* reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. *Pliny* the Great hath also obserued the same, for speaking of the Corne of *France*, he saith: *That it was most cleane Corne, and that it yeelded foure pound of Bread, more then any other.* It is well known in these dayes, that *Spaine* furnisheth herselfe with the Wheate and Graine of *France*, and that it is to her as a nursing Mother. And *Portugall* it selfe, which is described to bee one of the most happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourse to *France*: as we may see by ỳ which *Ozorius* saith, a Portugall Bishop of *Sylues*; & the same is reported likewise by others, who haue written of Relations.

Strabo in lib. 4. Polybist. cap. 44. Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. ca. 2. Cicero pro Fontio.

Plin. in lib. 18. cap. 7. Nitidissimi grani, & quatuor libris plus panis reddere, quam far aliud.

And for Wines, the country is no lesse fruitfull, in producing such as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath also beene confessed by our Ancients, according to the testimonie of *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who renowne *Biturícam vitem*. Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of *Bourges*: but of the wine about *Bordeaux*, whereof the people are called *Bituriges Viuisci*. He speaketh also of the wine of *Beziers*, whereto hee giueth the cheefest place among all them of Gaule. And *Iulian* the Emperor said, that there were good vines in the grounds of *Paris*. Behold how *Columella* makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forsaking their owne country, they went to seek in the delicate grounds of *France*, in the Isles *Cyclades*, and those of *Andalouzia*. Whereby we may perceiue, that he equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of *Muscadella*, *Greeke*, and of *Spaine*.

Of the plenty of Wines. *Polybist cap. 24. Biturícam vitē. Plin. in li. 14 cap. 2. Bituriges Viuisci. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 6.*

In *Misopogone*, φάσκει τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐμπεῖραι τῶν ἀμπέλων τῆδε. *In præfat. lib. 1. de re Rust. Vindemias condimus ex insulis Cycladibus ac regionibus Gallicis Beticis.*

Pliny saieth, that in Italy they highly esteemed the Grapes of France, making mention also of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it selfe to the Sunne, like as the *Heliotropium* doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word *Streptos*. Wine is transported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: especially, that which is gathered in the grounds of *Vienna*, which they call *Picatum*, as *Plutarch* declareth in his *Sympoſiaques*. Notwithstanding, there is a difficulty found in these words, as namely that which *Vopiscus* saith, in the life of the Emperour *Probus*. *That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to haue and plant Vines.* Notwithstanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

Plin. lib. 14. c. 3. Mirum vbique cum Sole circumgiuam quæ ob id Strepton dicitur, & in Italia Gallicam placere, vltra Alpes vero Picenam.

Plut. Lib. 5. quæst. 3.

The resolution of this, dependeth thus, that by the Edict of the Emperor *Domitian*, he had enjoyned to the inhabitants of the Prouinces, to cut all the Vines, fewe excep-

excepted. Induced ſo to do, becauſe vpon view taken, that ſome yeares there was abundance of Wine, & ſcarſity of Corne: he conceiued, that the eare-able Landes were left barren, in regard of the Vines. Afterward, the Emperor *Probus* tooke off thoſe inhibitions in Gaule, permitting them to haue Vines. And ſo to this day, the wines of *France* are tranſported by great quantity into *England*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, and into other Notherne Regions.

Suetan. in Domit. cap. 7.

The former doubt reſolued.

Moreouer, *France* produceth ſtore of fruite Trees, bearing (in abounding affluence) moſt excellent, dainty and delicious fruites: as well ſtone-fruite of all ſorts, as thoſe of other nature. And yet notwithſtanding, *Italy* and *Spaine* cannot vaunt to haue any that come not into *France*: as Oranges, Citrones, Pomegranates, Oliues, &c. For though the Land doth not produce theſe euery where: yet notwithſtanding, *Prouence* & *Languedock*, which is the Narbone Gaule of our Ancients, do beare the ſame fruites, yea, and much better, as hath beene noted by experience. Alſo *Strabo* obſerued it well enough. *The Country of Narbone* (ſaith he) *produceth all the ſame fruites as Italy doth.*

Of the plenty of fruit-trees.

Strabo in Lib. 4. τὰς ἡμέρους ἐφεξῆς καρπὸν ἐπὶ Ναρβῶνος ἀπτομένοις ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας

Our Ancients haue alſo giuen thereto another commendation, to haue great ſtore of paſture grounds, and ſo (by conſequence) plenty of beaſts to feed in thē. *Strabo* teſtifieth as much, making ſo good eſteeme of the woolles and clothes of this Country: that they are carried thence to diuers parts, and therewith all *Italy* is ſufficiently furniſhed. But ouer and beſide the great commodity, enſuing by the fleſh of domeſticke creatures: there are Deare in abundance, as alſo all kinde of game, & Fowles in no meane plenty.

Plenty of Paſturages.

Strabo in Lib. 4

Plenty of Deare and other game.

And to the ende that nothing ſhould be wanting, in neceſſary matters for ſupport of life: the Country is not deſtitute of good, proper and profitable horſes, as well for ordinary trauell, as alſo for combates, fights, and battels; bred in the Nation, and continually nouriſhed. The Romanes were thereto addicted, but principally to the horſes of *France*: as is to bee ſeene in *Trebellius Pollio*, who ſaith, *That the Horſes of the Celts, were renowned aboue all other*. *Pollux* the Grammarian, interlaceth (among the reſt) dogges of a good and gallant breede, apt for the *Celts* hunting, or ſuch dogs as the Gauls vſed.

Plenty of good horſes.

In Claudio. Quid equorum quas fama nobilitat Celticarum? Gnomaſt. lib. 5. cap. 5.

This may ſerue ſufficiently for terreſtriall creatures, becauſe to number thē particularly, would require an infinite labor: let vs come now to them that liue in the waters. It is apparantly knowne, that the coaſts of the Sea which enuirone France, are richly ſtored with fiſh, and the fiſh alſo to be delicate and excellent, better thē elſewhere is to be found. And as for the mid-land Regions, where Sea-fiſh is wanting: the freſh and ſweete waters are moſt copiouſly ſtored. For the Riuers, Streams Pooles, Ponds and Riuolets haue moſt dainty freſh-fiſh, and countleſſe in number. Daily experience makes proofe thereof, *Strabo* auoucheth it, and *Auſonius* ſings it, making mention thereof in his worke called *Moſella*.

Abounding plenty of fiſh.

Strabo in Li. 4. Auſonius in Moſella.

There are many other commodities, which come and encreaſe vnder this ayre, for the neceſſity, vtility and ornament of mans life. Among other, Flax and Hemp, and the cloathes made of them, are labored and ſought for by ſtrangers: whereof great traffique and tranſportation goes to other Nations, & returnes home ſtore of money to *France*: In briefe, it is one of her beſt wealths and riches.

Of the Flaxe and Hempe.

In this place, to ſtay no longer on a matter ſo frequent, and ordinary in vſe, as cloathes and other works, it may appeare lawfull (with *Pliny*) to enter into conſideration (it may bee) of one of the moſt admired things that is in nature: To ſay, that ſo ſmall a plant ſhould bee the cauſe, that the Sea cannot bound men within limits, nor ſeparate their Countries, but ſuffers herſelfe (thereby) to bee vanquiſhed. This is that hearb that drawes *Syria* neere to vs, *Egipt* to *Italy*, and *Affrica* and *America* to *France*. In a word, it is that which makes man tread vnder his feete, and trauerſe ouer that dreadfull gulfe, the heape or pile of the whole Element of water, the vaſte and profound Ocean; wherein principally appeareth the admirable workes of the high and Soueraigne Creator of all things. And the ſame *Pliny* wondreth not a little, that (of ſo ſmall a graine) ſuch a matter ſhould come, as carries men through all the Cantons of the world. Which onely is by the meanes of Sayles & Cordages, the principall helpes and wings of nauigation. Such workmanſhips are performed in *France* in mighty quanti-

Plin. Lib. 19. in Præfat. Quadue miraculum maius herbam eſſe, quæ adnectat Ægiptum Italiæ Et infra. Denique tam paruo ſemine naſci, quod orbem terrarum vltro citroque portet.

quantities, and thence transported to infinite other Countries: especially into *Spaine*, where they haue greatest need, to arme and prepare their Ships for seruice. And this is that ✠ hath so often serued them, and yet daily doth in their greatest nauigations: beside their very finest clothes, and others of all fashions, broght thether to them. *Pliny* also recordeth, that (in his time) the Gaules were esteemed and renowned for this reuenue.

Plin. lib. 19 cap. 1. *Haec Gallia censetur hac redity? Et infra. Vniuerse Gallie vela texunt.*

France produceth also Woad, apt and needfull for al good Dyers; and the grain for Scarlet dye, anciently called *Coccus*, which groweth in the Country of *Narbone*, and Saffron likewise, with infinite other shrubs & hearbs of great vse, especially in Physicke. *Boterus*, *Benesus*, and other strangers haue obserued and reported, that there is a Mount in *Auuergne*, called the Mount of gold, full of an infinite number of rare and singular simples, proper for Physicke, which nature there produceth liberally, & without any constraint. So that to speake no more then truth, *France* hath no neede of the rich East & West Indiaes. It is a little world, a collection and an abridgment of the happinesse and felicity of all Lands: not onely for necessity and profite, but also for the delicacy of life. And if we goe so farre as medicaments themselues, such Simples are there to be found, as equall the drugs of strange Countries, which yeeld nothing else.

Woad growing in France

A Mount of gold in Auuergne.

France hath no need of the Indiaes.

Ther are also goodly Thickets, Woods and Forrests, to furnish whatsoeuer is requisite (beside fewell) for building, engines for warre, fabrication of ships, and other vessels, as also for mooueables and housshold-stuffe. Heerewithall one of the cheefest considerations which causeth *France* to be esteemed, is, that it is wholly inhabited and well husbanded: not a iote of desert or waste ground, no place empty, nor any thing but hath his vse. Heare what *Strabo* acknowledged in his time, vnder the Empire of *Augustus*. *There is not any thing vnprofitable* (saith he) *nor any idle grounds: except such as are hindred & vsed with Pooles and Forrests.* By much more reason maywe now say, ✠ al grounds there are better tilled and husbanded, thē in those times they were: & that ✠ Pooles and Forrests yet remaining, are not a iote the lesse beneficiall, but rather more then some other grounds be.

Of Woods & Forrests.

Strabo in lib. 4.

But no man can better breefely figure foorth the felicity of this goodly peece of Landship, seeming heere to be done but in distemper or dry colours: then it hath bin already wrought by two Ancients, *Iulius Solinus Polyhistor*, and *Pomponius Mela*; the one of thē describing it thus. *Happy Gaules, in fatted Lands, wholly proper and commodious, in bringing the reuennues of fruites: A great part planted with Vines, shrubs, and fruit-trees. Most happy and rich, to produce all kindes of creatures, and that which is needfull for them: washed with cleere wters of Riuers and Fountaines.*

Sol in polyc. 22. Felices propinquibus glebis, accomode proximis fructuarijs: plere que consite vitibus & arbustis, omni ad vsum animantium satu beatissima. Rigue aquis fluminum & fontium.

Pomponius Mela speaks thus. *Terra est frumenti pracipuè & pabuli ferax, & amœna lucis immanibus: noxio genere animaliū minimè frequens. It is a land principally fertile, and abounding in Corne & pasture grounds: pleasant and delightfull for goodly and great Woods, and wherein few liuing creatures are to be found hurtfull & doing any harme.*

Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. cap. 2.

In like manner [illegible] *Michell Suriano*, a Venetian Lord, and one of the *Clarissimies*; hauing bene Ambassador from the high and honourable Common-wealth of *Venice*, in France, in the time of King *Charles* the 9. left vs this figure, of his own skilfull handy-worke.

Fù sempre riputata la Francia richissima, & piena d'ogni commodita, & abondantissima di tutte le cose ne essarie alla vita huna: perche essendo quasi nel mezzo della piu nobil parte del mondo, che è l'Europa, ha il cielo molto temperato & benigno, libero da quei freddi grandissimi di Allemagna & da gli eccessiui caldi di Spagn. L'aere benche sia alquanto ventoso, è però salubre & sottile, & non ha del grosso & paludoso come la Fiandra vicina. Il paese è amœno & piaceuole, pieno di fiumi, & tutti nauigabili: non ha monti aspri, saluo nel estremità de' confini: ma nel mezzo per tutto sono colline & pianure, tutte fertili & lauorate. Et fa tanta copia di biade, & do vini, di lini & canepe, di guadi & di altre cose, che non solamente bastano per vso del regno, ma serue ancora a mandarne fino in Spagna, Portogallo, in Inghilterra, Soria, Danemarka & altri paesi piu lontani.

France was alwaies reputed to be most rich and full of all commodities, and abounding in all those things necessary for the life of man. For (beeing as it were) in the middest of the most noble part of the world, which is Europe: it hath the heauens very temperate

and benigne, free from those mighty coldes of Germany, and the excessiue heates of Spaine. The Aire, although it be somewhat windy, is therefore healthfull and subtile, and hath no grosse & paludus moistures, as nere neighboring Flanders hath. The Country is milde & pleasing, full of Riuers, and all nauigable. It hath no sharpe Mountaines, except on the extremity of the Confines: but in the middest, euery where are little hillocks & plaine champaigne grounds, all fertile, and husbanded or tilled. And yeeldeth such plenty of Corne & Wine, of Flax and Hempe, of Woad, and of other things: as not onely serue for the vse of the kingdome, but also sufficeth to send into Spaine, Portugall, into England, Scotland, Denmarke, and other Countries farther off. The same *Suriano*, hauing bene (before that time) Ambassador in *Spaine*, & made there his Relation: speaketh not in the same manner, but in other tearmes farre different.

Among the causes of this fertility, and delicious aboundance in so happy a seating: one part of this felicity may bee referred to the temperature of the Ayre, & the Climate of Heauen, vnder which it is scituated: Being iustly the midst of one of the temperate Zoanes, to wit, the 42. degree of Latitude, about which is *Marseillis*, and the coast of *Prouence* and *Languedock*, so farre as about the 50. degree towards the North; which is the breadth of *France*. Whereunto in like manner do contribute, the great number of waters wherewith it is bedewed: which serue as well for the generation of fruites, as pleasure and amenity, beside (in greater manner) for commerce and traffique. For Gaule hath beene alwayes (throughout) furnished with sprightly Fountaines, and cleare running Riuers, with some of small and greater current, yet very nauigable, for the carriage and recarriage of Merchandizes, and communication of the Prouinces one with another; a mighty commodity, and (then which) there is not a greater in the world.

This is that also, which makes the midland Regions, and the Cities & Townes there seated, as Merchantable as the Sea coasts, as strangers themselues haue both knowne & reported; that there are more great and nauigable Riuers in *France*, thē in all other parts of the earth; & though they speak it as an hyperbole, yet nothing commeth neerer to truth. For in all *Italy*, hardly can any nauigable Riuer be found beside that of *Poe*: and likewise in *Spaine* almost as few, at lest that haue any course (how little soeuer) in length. *Strabo* hath made good obseruation therof, as before is saide, and that in euery Country heere, are Riuers, which come and returne to all parts, coasting the very principall places. But (aboue all) that of * *Seine* is to be admired, a sweet Riuer, the most profitable and commodious for nauigation, & this only (among all those in the world) is best bounded and restrained within his bed, fildome or little ouerflowing, and when it ouerfloweth, doth little or no harme at all, yeelding (beside) a most cleare water, and fit to be drunke; abounding also with plenty of fish.

Which moued the Emperor *Iulian* to speake in this manner. *Very fildome* (saith he) *doth this Riuer exalt or abase it selfe, & it keepeth (almost) one ordinary course in winter, as it doth in summer: furnishing generally with a most neate water, sweet & cleare to the eie, and wholsome to be drunk by such as will.* And although this should not be alwayes certaine: yet notwithstanding, there are few to be spoken of, concerning other Riuers to be seene, in comparison of this. Whereto may be added, that which is spoken by *Botero Benese* the *Italian*, these are his owne words. *It beareth such great Ships, and sustaineth so mighty burthens, as they that see it, will not beleeue it, and there is no Riuer, that (in proportion) gouernes an equall weight: so that although it exceedeth not mediocrity, yet admirably it supplieth the businesse and the necessities of Paris, &c.*

I might also make some reckoning of diuers waters there, producing effects admirable and prodigious: but because it would be a labour long and infinite, to stand vpon all their particularities; I will satisfie my selfe, to touch that which concerneth matters wholesome and medicinall, wherewith the fauour of Heauen hath in like manner graced this Region, to the ende it shoulde not faile in any thing.

Ther are many Wels or Springs, which are found in diuers parts of *France*, that haue certaine properties and vertues, as receiuing a iuyce & taste, by the mixtion of Niter, Sulpher, and Allum, which are vnder-

Botero in Rel. vniuers. Par. 2.

Strabo in lib. 4. [illegible]

* A Riuer rising neere the borders of Langres, and lowe Bourgundy, in the country of Alcet. It runneth through Paris, & diuiding Celtica from Belgia, falleth into the British Ocean by New-hauen.

In Misopogōe

In lib. 1. delle cause della grādezza delle città Porta nauigli tante grossi & sostiene carichi tanto grandi, & non e fiume che a proportione regga a pesi vguali; si che quantunque nō eccede la mediocrita: supplisce però mirabilmēte alle necessita & a bisogni di Parigi, &c.

Wels and Springs of sundry vertues.

vnderneath, and entred into their fourse: In regard whereof, they haue power to remedy many great diseases, iudged otherwise incurable; as dropsies, and the stone in the reines, and others, the causes whereof are vnknowne, and ordinary remedies vtterly vnprofitable for them.

Quæsitaque nocent artes, cessere magistri.

Wels that cure very strange diseases, onely by the vertue of their water.

Such are the famous Wels of *Pougues* in *Niuernois*, and of *Forges* in *Normandy*. Such also are many other, especially towards the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, which haue the vertue to stay the bloody flixe; to soften and make come forth (in forme of paste) the stone that is in the bladder or reines; to fetch again sight almost lost; to warme and strengthen the nerues; and to cure the gout. In the time of *Pliny*, he had then discouered something, for hee makes mention of a certaine Well, in the Towne of *Tongri* among the *Gaules*; the water whereof sauoured like yron (as all other Wels almost doe) which healed Tertian Feuers, and the diseases of the stone, as also the running of the reines.

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 9.

Of Mettals and Minerals in France.

Now, to speake of Mettals and Minerals, *France* cannot be destitute, neither can other Nations make vaunt of any aduantage aboue it, if due search might bee made. *Strabo* declareth, that in his time, the Gaules affirmed themselues, to haue the best in the *Cemenes* and *Pyreneans*: and that therefore they would not giue place to any other people, especially the *Spaniards*, who made their glory, in hauing great quantities. Gold, which is held and esteemed to bee the most precious, shining, resplending, and domineering aboue all other, yea, qualifying the Sunnes bright beames, is to bee found in *France*. For *Strabo* testifieth, that there was excellent Gold, and in great quantity, in *Cemenus*. To which purpose, we reade in *Procopius*, a Greeke Historian, that the Kings of *France* caused mony to be stãped of Gold, with their marke and character, found in *France*: reporting withall, that other barbarous Kings had not that prerogatiue, no, not the Kings themselues of the Persians.

Of Gold.

Strabo in Lib. 4

[a] A hil by the Alpes, not far from the Riuer Varus. *Procop. in lib. 3. Belli Goth*

In like manner, *France* hath Riuers, among whose sandes, gold is mingled, as being excoriated from the Mines vnder their current, according to the opinion of the most learned Philosophers. And they further say, that this gold commeth, as being deriued by continuall agitation of the waters rowling, and maketh it so much the purer, aboue the Marcasity or Rocke, yea, or that in the earth. Among other Ancients, *Diodorus Siculus* assureth vs, that there are many of these Riuers in *France*. *Ausonius* (by his verses) celebrates his golden *Tarne*: and (euen now) it is a matter most certaine, that there are such Riuers in *Gascoigne*, which descend, either from the *Pyreneans*, or the *Cemenes*. Let the *Cappadocians* cease thẽ, to make vaunt of their *Pactolus*; the *Thracians*, of their *Hebrus* or *Marissa*; the *Colchians* of their *Phasis* the *Italians*, of their *Eridanus* or *Poe*; and the *Spaniards*, of their *Tagus*.

Gold in Riuers of *France*.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 9. cap. 7.

Ausonius.

And as for Mettall, whereunto the second value is giuen next to gold; *Strabo* affirmeth, that there are many Mines in *France*, as *Cæsar* himselfe also doth the like; and (at this day) good proofe and experience hath bin made thereof. *Cæsar* saith, there is found Copper and Brasse in large aboundance. But aboue all, there is great plenty of excellent Iron & Steele: whence it came, that reuerend Antiquity so highly commended the Swords and Courtelasses of the ancient Gaules. Let the skilfull *Iulius Pollux* be credited, who saith; that the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* made his choyse of such a man to bee Schoolemaster to his Sonne, who preferred the Gaules Courtelasse, among those other weapon that were most excellent. This Mettall highly aboundeth there, & is the most common in *France*. Beside, it best agreeth with the Frenchmens generosity, who haue euermore made themselues famous by Armes, and bin knowne by their manhood, to all the vtmost parts of the world.

Mettall in worth next to Gold. *Strabo in lib. 4. Cæsar Bel. Gal. lib. 7.*

Iron & steele.

Onomast. lib. 1. cap. 10.

The Frenchmen haue euer bin worthy souldiers.

Gold and Siluer, so much esteemed among vs to be precious, are no more apt for Armes, then other instruments and vtensilles for the commodity of men, and the great account we make of gold, proceedeth onely from the rarity thereof. But we ought rather, to value things by their vtility & vse, although they be common, as *Aristotle* saith; among which is Iron, the most profitable Mettall of all other, & not by thẽ to be surmounted: so y (without it) with great difficulty can gold (more harmefull and lesse beneficiall) be

Gold onely esteemed for the rarity.

Arist. in Ethic.

obtained. The Ethiopians (ſaith *Herodotus*) contemning gold, doe value copper beyond all other; and at this inſtant, ſiluer is made more account of in *China*, thē gold is. The people dwelling in the Iſle *De Los Ladrones*, in the Sea called *Su*, although they haue no more ſtore of gold, then of other mettals: yet notwithſtanding, they couet not, or demaund any of paſſengers Ships ſayling by them; but call to them with loud cries, to let them haue yron, which they acknowledge to be moſt neceſſary.

Herodot. in l.3.

Iſle De Los *Ladrones.*

It is to be credited, that there are no leſſe ſtore of Mines (both of gold and ſiluer) at this day in France, then formerly hath beene knowne, and ſpoken of by our Ancients: as daily might bee diſcouered, if men would giue their mindes to ſearch and breake open the ground for them. But the French wer neuer affected to ſuch greedy deſires, the earth yeelds and caſts them vp commodities ſufficient, goods & treaſures in abounding plenty: without violencing or deluing into the earths entrailes, and very profoundeſt deeps, euen (as if we ſhould ſay) to burye men aliue, renting and tearing hard Rockes in peeces, leuelling high Mountaines, to melte and fine them, with the loſſe of an infinite number of liues. Day and night is ſpent in theſe extreme paſſions, to get this vile mettall, and then to adore it as a God, being the true cauſe & originall of the greateſt miſeries that can happen to man: albeit Nature (in her purity of wiſedome) placed it to be trodden on vnder our feet, and hid it cloſe in the earth, as a thing vnworthy to be ſeene.

The French were neuer couetous of gold or ſiluer.

To get gold, hath bene the loſſe of many liues.

There are many other treaſures & gifts of Nature, which are affoorded vs by *France. Quantum apud nos margaritis Indicis precium eſt, tantum apud Indos in Coralio: gignitur in Rubro mari, laudatiſsimum verò in Gallico ſinu ad Stœchades. Looke how much (in theſe quarters) we eſteeme the Pearles & precious Stones of India; as much reckoning there is made of our Corall. And though it encreaſeth in the gulffe of Arabia; yet notwithſtanding, the moſt excellent commeth from the Iſles Stoechades*, now called the Iſles of *Ieres*; ſo ſaith *Pliny*.

Plin. lib. 32. cap. 2.

Among ſo many benefits and commodities, Salt likewiſe is one, the beſt & moſt wholeſome that can be in any Country: in which regard, it is ſought for by ſtrangers, euen whence commeth great ſtore of gold and ſiluer into France, beſide that which is of her owne ordinary vſe. *Botero* ranketh it among the foure things which aboundeth in France, tearmed by him Adamants; as drawing to them the gold of ſtrangers countries. *Theſe foure Adamants* (ſaith he) *are Corne, Wine, Flax and Hempe, and Salt.*

Of Salt.

In lib. 1. delle cauſe della grandezza delle citta

In diuers parts of France, are the materials fit for all kindes of building. Hard ſtone and other matters, wherof infinite are to be ſeene in goodly, great, and rich buildings, Caſtles, and publike Edifices, wherewith the Country is wel filled, and cities beautified. Nor is it deſtitute of the faireſt Marbles, in which reſpect, wee may not omit that which hath beene obſerued by our Ancients, as a thing particular giuen to Gaule: that thoſe Stones and materials do encreaſe in the Quarries, how liberally ſoeuer diſperſed abroad, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer hath left vs in writing.

Of hard ſtone.

The faireſt Marbles.

L. Fructus §. ſinir. D. ſolutomatrim.

It was not then without great reaſon, that the Poet *Manilius* calld France *Rich*. And *Dion* tearmes it Floriſhing in riches. It ſeemeth alſo to be knowne to *Ioſephus*, who declareth, how King *Agrippa* deliuering to the Iewes, what inconueniences might come vnto them, by reuolting againſt the Romanes: demanded of them if they could ſpeake of more wealth then the Gaules had; more ſtrength then the Allemaignes or Germanes; and better vnity and vnderſtanding, then among the Greekes, all which (neuertheleſſe) were vnder the dominion of the Romans. And the better to perſwade them, in the commodities and aduantages of all thoſe people, being vnder their yoke & obedience: he ſaith of the Gaules, that they were (in multitude) three hundred & fiue kindes of people. *And had among them (by his maner of ſpeaking) Welles and Springs of all happines and felicity, watering and bedewing the whole Land habitable, with riches and good bleſsings.* He addeth beſide, that ther were then in Gaule, aboue twelue hundred Townes and Cities.

Dion *in lib. 4. Aſtron.*

Ioſeph. in lib. 2. de Bel. Iudai. ἐὰν Καίσαρα τὸν Γαλατικὸν πλοῦτον ἀφῶσι ἅπαν ἰδίαν ἀφέλειαν ποιούμενοι τὴν τῶν πολεμουμένων.

In like manner, *Cæſar* hauing bent all his hopes one day to make himſelfe Maſter and Monarch of the whole eſtate, power and dignity of the Romane Empire, and finding himſelfe in want of money, charged with great debts, and yet (neceſſarily) to lay out greater largeſſe and expences,

Cæſars intent to make himſelfe the Roman Monarch

pences: to compasse the maine Masterpeece wherat he aimed; *Among the multitude of mighty Prouinces, hee chose principally the Gaules* (saith *Suetonius*) *whose profite, riches, occasion, and opportunity, was to him subiect & matter sufficient, apt & conuenable for so great triumphing.* Shewing thereby, that it was the goodliest, richest, most potent, and worthy Prouince of the Romane Empire, & thought it there the fittest, to exalt himselfe to the Maiesty of Rome. Which accordingly came to passe, for by themeans of the Gaules riches, not onely he discharged himselfe of his great debts: but enriched likewise al his friends, practising with diuers, & winning an infinite number of Lords in Rome, yea, they that were the cheefest Magistrates: In briefe, hee omitted not any kinde of bounty, as well publike as particular,

Suetonius in Iulio cap. 22. Ex omni prouinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, cuius emolumento & opportunitate idonea esset materia triumphorum.

The cunning of Cæsar to compasse that which he aymed at.

Among other matters, hee attempted the building of a Pallace, for the iudging of causes, the meere place costing him aboue 1400000 crownes, and al this came from the pillage of the Gauls. He feasted all the people of *Rome*, which was a thing (well neere) impossible and infinite. He doubled the pay of his Legions & companies of soldiers, to perpetuity; enriching the rest with good gifts, beside great distributions, as well of monies as slaues, as also lands and victuals, which he caused to be giuen to euery Citizen of Rome, & likewise to his Captains & Soldiers. For *Plutarke* saith; *He emptied out of his owne Coffers, the riches of the Gaules, to such as holp him to the publike gouernment of Rome, euen what they would haue. He acquited Curio the Tribune, of a great sum of mony, which he ought him: And gaue to the Consull Paulus, 1500. Talents, amounting to 900000. Crownes of french coine.*

Suetonius cap. 26. in Iulio.

Plut. in vit. Cæsar. Ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος πολεμικῶν λαφύρων ἔπλησε τὸ δημόσιον ταμεῖον καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐλπίδας τῶν πολιτευομένων, The bounty & liberality of Cæsar.

All this bounty, all these goods & treasure, were taken in Gaule, & (as *Suetonius* saith) without any spare of the Temples, which he knew to be rich in gifts: & many times sacking Cities, rather for the greedy desire of booty, then any other iust cause. And *Cicero* saith: *That he had ouercome Nations, abounding in all things & in all the seueral kinds of power*; this he meant of the Gaules. For, not only was that true which *Procopius* saide; *That Gaule is much more powerfull then Spaine*: but also aboue all the other Prouinces of the Romane Empire, according to the iudgement of *Cæsar*. So then, it may iustly be saide, that *Gaule*, as well for riches, as for the me that he found ther, gaue entrance to the great power of *Cæsar*, & was the cause, means, and instrument of his designes, & obtaining the Empire of the world, which hee enioyed, in despight of so many Romane Lords, his aduersaries and competitors.

Suetonius in Iulio cap. 53.

Pro M. Marcello. Gentes omnium copiarum genere abundantes.

Procop. in lib. 1. de Bel. Got.

But among so many prosperities, it is a matter both rare & admirable, that ther are to be found few or no discomodities at all wherwith the land should be annoied. There is not any Region in the world, how goodly or happy soeuer it may bee said to be, but is subiect to sundry inconueniences, that make a counterpoise to the felicity therof. *Arabia*, which carrieth the surname of *Happy*, wherein, beside so many blessings it affoordeth, the odors & perfumes there growing, maketh the aire all embalmed, as it were: yet in counterchange, it hath two very great discommodities. One is, that in those Forrests of most odoriferous trees, throughout in euery place, are found a great number of small and short serpents, of the same colour as the earth is, that subtilly sting and byte men, before they haue any power to perceiue it, or defend themselues against it; and being thus bitten, they cause their death in a million of torments. The other is that these so happy people are subiect to a strange disease, proceeding frō their ouermuch ease, and hot perfumes of the country: so that to helpe themselues, they are enforced to find out all kinds of stinking and infectious smels, euen the foulest that can be, so saith *Diodorus*. So that ther is no happinesse in any part, neither any such pleasing sweetnes; but it is conioynd & neighbored with one greefe or other.

No matter of discommodity to be found in France.

The inconueniences that are in Arabia Fœlix.

Small stinging Serpents.

A strange sickneſſe.

Diod. Sic. in lib. 3. cap. 18.

The Regions of *Affrica*, those that are the most delicious of al, are ordinarily assailed with an infinite number of wilde beasts, horrible Dragons, Serpents, & other venomous creatures: beside Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Ounces, & prodigious monsters, which *Affrica* produceth from time to time, often raysing siedge against the inhabitants, compelling thē to seeke out new dwellings. *China*, which is described to vs to be so fortunate, and abounding in all things: hath many afflictions. Fire falles frō heauen there vsually and such wonderfull rauage is made, that not only it embraceth & consumes particular

The infelicities of Affrica Dragons, Serpents, & dangerous wilde Beasts.

The afflictions of China.

Fire from heauen.

cular houſes; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Prouinces. Deluges and inundations haue alſo wrought there ſtrange effects, ſpoyling, ouerthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous ſhowres of raine, are (as a man ſhould ſay) there daily: thus you ſee what delight and happineſſe, is in the greateſt & moſt renowned kingdome of the Eaſt.

Inundations of water.

Earthquakes.

There are Countries, which ſuffer colds and inſupportable freezings: as other are meerely burnt and waſted with heates. Witneſſe the * *Naſamones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoane) do curſe the Sunne when it paſſeth ouer them. Thus then other Regions, being eſteemed ſo happy for perfumes, odours, & ſuch kinde of delights: doe ſometime pay very dearely for their pleaſures; perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is cloſe followed at the heeles, with ſome or other miſhap.

* People of Libya abiding on the land neere the Syrts. *Herodot. in li. 4.*

Seldome is any delight without danger.

Whoſoeuer thinketh to gather the ſweets of their faireſt flowers, or the iuyce of their moſt delicious plants; may as ſoone meete with deadly poyſon, and in ſtead of ſweetneſſe, finde ſuch bitterneſſe, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aſpicke lying cloſe hidden, whoſe pricking cauſeth ſudden ſleepe, & procureth death in that ſleeping. The Snakes byting, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venome, by his byting. The Baſilike ſlayeth by his very ſight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to ſwallow men vp, or ouerthrow and kill them in their houſes. A deluge ſuddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

Perill of the Aſpicke.

The Snake.

The Viper.

The Baſiliske Earthquake.

Deluge. *Herodot. in l. 3.*

Strabo hauing related the goodneſſe of *Bætica* in *Spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andalouſia*, ſaith withall; that the country is perſecuted with an afflictiõ very ſtrange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immenſe multitude of Conies or Rabbets, which feede on, and conſume their ſeedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He alſo ſaith, it hence enſueth, that almoſt throughout *Spaine*, yea, and the neighboring Iſles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beſide, that the inhabitants of the Iſles *Gymnaſiaes* or *Baleares*, now called *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, ſent Ambaſſadors, to requeſt ayd of the Romanes, againſt theſe hurtfull creatures, and to chaſe them out of their country, as beeing vnable to endure their multitude. And ſuccour was neceſſarily required in ſo great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (ſaieth he) but when the country is ſubiect to be infected with ſome plague of peſtilence, famine, or ſuch other affliction and punniſhment ſent from Heauen.

The miſery of Bætica in Spaine. *Strabo in Lib. 3*

The Gymnaſian Iſlands or Baleares plagued with Conies.

Marcus Varro writeth, that a Towne in *Spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by thoſe Conies, & another in *Theſſalie*, by Moales. Some that haue bene diſpeopled & forſaken, in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Affrica*, by Locuſts. Alſo, that the inhabitants of the City * *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expulſed thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient Citty called *Amyclea*, was vtterly ruined and loſt by Serpents. There is a Region in *Affrica*, where a great extendure of the country is become deſert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Piſſemires, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophraſtus* reporteth, that others were expulſed by * *Scolopendraes*. And *Strabo* ſaith, that *Spaine* was ordinarily infected with a ſtrange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diſeaſes. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Baſques* and *Aſtures*: ſo that they wer glad to hire men to chaſe them away, the Rats came ſo faſt vppon them, and hardly could they ſaue themſelues from them. An ancient Philoſopher, named * *Dicaarchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reaſon of the inopinate multitude of beaſts: by whoſe impetuous violence, he ſheweth, that ſome Nations haue bene loſt and conſumed.

Plin. in li. 8. cap. 29. Diod. in Lib. 3. cap. 13.

* An Iſle in the Aegium ſea, one of the Sporades.

* A worme that hath many feete, and is very venomous. *Strabo in lib. 3.*

* A Silician Philoſopher, Ariſtotles Scholler.

France, on the contrary (God be praiſed for it) neuer was ſubiected to ſo many miſeries, & there is not any Region found in all the habitable world, ſ being ſo happy, taſteth leſſe inconueniences. Deadly poiſon cannot deceiue him that gathereth there her wholeſome flowers & hearbs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauenous Beare or Panther, cometh not to ſet vpon the traueller, or driue the husband-

France may compare with any Region whatſoeuer in the world.

man

No venomous creatures in all France.

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger or harvest Reaper by his byting, because there is none at all to be found there. A man may safely take the Euening or Mornings benefit on the greene grasse, without dread of any venomous creature, which are most dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were some kinde of Serpents or Snakes in some peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all discerned to come from them.

Of the Aspick in France.

No Egyptian Aspicke is there to bee found, and that which is termed in *France* an Aspicke: it is no Aspicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Obseruations of *P. Bolonius*.

In lib. 1 cap. 2.

Neuertheless, it is rare or sildome to be seene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued therby. And say that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithstāding, it serueth most commodiously for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedst Physitians do hold, that the flesh thereof is soueraigne for many diseases; and, that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man, in such as make ordinary vse of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cause of their so long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and especially the learned Egyptians, vsed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and signe of health: presenting it to theyr Goddesse *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

The flesh is soueraign for diseases.

Bald. Ang. Abbatius lib. de Vipera.

The Egyptian hieroglyphick of health.

Moreouer, *France* is not subiect to the miseries and horrors of earth-quakes. Neuer shall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, shake, and swallow vp houses, Burroughes, & whol Townes, making groweth of Mountaines, by leuelling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuets, and then sodainly to let loose Flood-gates of Nouelties; to stay their violent course of a streame, and then to make it run directly against his currēt: to let foorth flaming fires, to finish that with greater desolation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an especiall priuiledge of heauen, *France* stands exempted from all these; experience hath made it apparant, & *Pliny* long ago witnessed it, when he saide: *That the Gaules were not shaken by tremblings of the earth.*

None of these nouelties are in France.

Lib. 7 cap. 80. Galliæ terræmotu minime quatiuntur.

To know the quiet condition and felicity of *France* in this case, wee may compare and consider other Nations & Prouinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue insued to them by such harmes, in most part of the worlds Regions. We finde, that in *Italy* and other Countries, in the time of the Punicke warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quakes, seuen and fifty times in one yeare. VVho would not be amazed, to heare that two hilles should approach neere each to other, to iustle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, stirring and mouing furiously, with an horrible noise and breaking? A great fire and smoake rose vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houses and villages (seated in the valley) were bruised and beaten downe, & both men and beasts smothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of *Modena*, in the yeere 622. and in the City of Rome, in the time of the wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. This was seene in broad day time, by a great number of passengers & Romane Citties, who beheld this wofull spectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill ascending to the Capitoll.

Plin. l. 2. cap. 84

Two great mountaines met together.

Plin. l. 2. cap. 83

It was a strange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as *Orosius* doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue years after, miraculously, euen at the passion of our Sauiour:) *Tacitus* reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of Rome) in one night, twelue great and famous Cittes of *Natolia*, were ruined and vtterly ouerthrowne; such as was *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Cuma*, *Philadelphia*, and other of the same ranke. And that which vvas most terrible, they had not the meanes of open flight, an ordinary succour in such misfortunes: yet thereof they were depriued, because the earth shrunke and opened vnder their feete, and swallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall arose shinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which vvas plaine champaigne grounde before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywise, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Corn. Tacit. Annal. 2.

Plin. in l. cap. 84 Euseb. in Chron.

Heere might also bee alledged, the vsuall

Strange earth quakes at Constantinople. *Paul. Diac. hist. Miscel. lib.* 14.

ſuall and frequent earthquakes at *Conſtantinople*, and whereto it hath bene alwayes ſubiect. And in ſuch manner, as during the reigne of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, there happened ſuch an Earth-quake, as laſted foure moneths continually: the people beeing conſtrained to flye out of the Citty, not daring to return in againe. There was another as ſtrange, which chãced in ſome yeares before, in the City of *Nicea* in *Natolia*, which was ruined; and the dreadfull effectes thereof are particularly written by *Amianus Marcellinus*, and vnder the reigne of the Emperor *Conſtantine*. *Zonarus* reporteth, that thirteene great Townes of Champaigne ground in *Italy*, or in the ſoyle called *Terra di Lauora*, were vtterly ouerthrowne. But among other, the City of *Antioche* was wonderfully afflicted. In the reigne of the Emperor *Iuſtinian*, it was ouerthrowne; and an infinite number of men therein ſwallowed. Soone after, it was re-builded by the liberality of the Emperor, and two yeares were not fully expired, when this goodlie and flouriſhing Cittie had beene newly finiſhed; but againe in like manner it was wholly ruined, and the greater part of the inhabitants buried in the downfall. This was in the beginning of *Iuſtinians* empire. Such miſt ries neuer hapned in the Kingdome of France: *Galliæ terræ motibus minimè quatiuntur.*

Marcel. lib. 17.

Paul. Diac. hiſt. Miſt. lib. 15. & *Cedrenus. l.* 16.

Plin. lib. 7. *c.* 60.

It is likewiſe a happineſſe particular to France, that the ſweetneſſe and temperature of the Ayre is ſuch; as, in compariſon of that in other Prouinces, there is neyther exceſſiue colds, nor inſupportable heats. And if in ſome yeare it happen otherwiſe, it is but once in an hundred yeeres, and of ſo ſmall continuance, that it is onely but as a ſcantling: therby to let the Frenchmen know, the ſharpe rigour and diſcommodity that other people endure, to the end they may the better vnderſtand their owne felicity, and ſhape their comforts anſwerable therto. Length of Winters, and of Nightes; the bitter North-eaſt windes of Scythia; Mountaines of Ice and Snow, neuer hindereth their Commerce, nor their Voyages at all ſeaſons of the yeare. Theyr Seas doe not freeze, as often it dooeth in *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Mare maior*, euen ſo farre as the ſtreights of *Conſtantinople*. On the contrarie ſide, extreamity of heate conſtraines not men to keepe them a long while hidden vnder ground, without daring to come forth but in the night time: neyther to ſleepe in the water, and like the *Amphibij* or halfe Fiſhes, to dwell there the moſt part of their time. That which is reported of many people, & particularly of the dwellers in *Barbarie*, *Ormuz*, and them of *Taprobane*, now called *Samotra*: not any thing heere is like vnto them, but all moſt temperate. From ſo ſweete an Ayre, can proceede nothing but healthfulneſſe, the Heauens being no way ſubiect to ingender frequent and irkſome Diſeaſes. Therefore did *Cæſar* deſeruedly ſet this commendation on France: *To be a Countrey moſt ſweete and healthfull.* And ſo the Engliſh-men likewiſe, in the recitall of *Froiſſard*, doe note France, *To be a moſt ſafe Country, and very ſweete, a courteous Country, with mild aire, and delicate Riuers.*

The temperature and mildnes of the aire.

No Mountaines of Ice and Snow in France.

That line moſt of their time in the water.

* In the Indian ſea, beeing in length 1000. miles, and in breadth 625.

Lib. 3. *Bel. Ciuil.*

Froiſſ. in vol. 3.

It is an admirable matter alſo, that France produceth ſuch diuerſity of things and in ſuch aboundance: there being no Countrey throughout the World more commixed, and that hath leſſe meanes of ſubiect, for recourſe vnto other. It is by a priuiledge and particular right, and againſt the Law which Nature hath giuen vnto other landes; but to ſpeake vprightly of France, it is proper to all, and in ſuch ſort, as there is not any thing particular to other, which is not common in it. In regard whereof, and conſidering what hath formerly bene ſaid, there needs no doubt to bee made: but that which *Virgil* meant to ſay in commendation of his *Italy*, was much more fitting for the Land of *France*.

The plenty & abundance in France.

Hic ver aſſiduum, atq́, alienis menſibus æſtas,
Bis grauidæ pecudes, bis pomis vtilis arbos,
Ac rabidæ Tigres abſunt, & ſæua Leonum
Semina, nec miſeros fallunt aconita legentes:
Nec rapit immenſos orbes per humum, neq́, tanto
Squameus in ſpiram tractu ſe colligit anguis.
Adde tot egregias vrbes, operumq́, laborem.

Virg. Georgic. 2

Beſide, that which he could ſay concerning the amenity or delectablenes of *Italy*, was but for ſome certaine places; & the *Italians* themſelues do know wel enough, that vvhatſoeuer they do admire or commend, in any particular part of Italie, it

Botero. Rel. vniuerſ. l. part. 2.

is

is to be found euery where in *France*, and is meerely common there.

How France is seated for Nauigation.

Moreouer, the Kingdome is most absolutely seated for Nauigation: because on the one side it hath the Mediterranean sea, and the Ocean sea on the other, enuironing it by a long extendure, and wherein are many goodly and commodious Ports and Hauens. As for the Land it selfe, it is as in the very middest or hart of Europe. *Suriano*, in his relation of *France*, hath well obserued it, and makes great reckoning of the commodiousnesse of the situation, vsing these very words.

Il regno di Francia, come quello che è in mezo de la Christianità, è commodo & oportuno piu d'ogn'altro per vnire & diuidere a sua volontà le forze de i piu gran Principi, & de i popoli piu bellicosi, perche à dinanzi l'Italia, & l'Inghilterra a le spalle, a man destra la Spagna, da sinistra è la Germania, di qua Suizzeri, di qua Flamenghi, & oltra di questo è fra due mari, il Mediterraneo dell' vna parte, & l'Oceano d'all'altra: onde per mare & per terra puo facilmente fauorire tutte le imprese & tutti li disegni di ciascun Principe & Potentato del mondo. Et quanto a se è ficurissima di ogni banda & per Natura, & per Arte.

The Kingdome of France, as that which is in the midst of Christendome, is oportune & commodious (more then all other) to vnite and diuide (at her owne will) the forces of the very greatest Princes, and of the most warlike people. Because it hath Italy before it, England to shoulder it, Spain on the right hand, Germany on the left: on this side the Switzers, on that side the Flemings. And beside all this, it is betweene two Seas, the Mediterranean on the one part, & the Ocean on the other: so that by sea and land, she may easily fauour all the enterprizes, and all the designs of euery Prince and Potentate in the World. And as for her selfe, she is most secure on euery side, both by Nature, and by Art.

Let no man then thinke strangely of it, if France be endowed with so many celestiall graces and fauours, and so wel peopled and inhabited, that any thing can be compareable thereto, in all other Countreyes whatsoeuer. There is not a iotte of voyde or waste ground; the goodly and great Cities and Townes, are all well filled with inhabitants, and very neer neighbouring one to another. Trauailing vpon the common high-wayes, from any part whither you please: you shal finde them bordered with great villages, faire Houses and Castles, and the people swarming euery where, euen as if al France were but one City.

The iniuries that are in other countries different from France.

It is not so in other regions, for in some there are immense Forrests, Lakes, and Marish grounds, taking vp immeasurable roome; as in Germany, and in the Low Countries. In other places, are great and sterile Mountaines, which take vppe no meane part of the Countrey: as *Botero* acknowledgeth, that the *Apennines* vsurpe a whole quarter of Italy. There can you not behold (as you may in France) small hils and dales, sweetly cloathed, and flourishing with delicate fruite trees, or wealthie Vineyards, orelse employed to some other profitable vse. As for the Alpes and Apennines, for the most part, there is nothing to be seene but sharpe and craggie rockes, bearing their heads vp vnto the clouds, couered with Mosse & Salpeter, and hauing very dreadfull downefalles. There is nothing but hardnesse, rocks full of horror, places vnaccessable, vnprofitable, and fruiteleſſe, eyther for Men or Beasts.

Spain no way compareable to France.

Concerning *Spaine*, so much as it is far off from this happinesse of France, euen so (in comparison) is it as slenderly peopled. Behold the perspectiue thereof, according as *Strabo* hath drawne it downe for vs. *Spaine* (saith he) *for the most part is very ill inhabited. For the Mountaines, Forrests, and Plaines (wherby the earth is dried, meager and barren, being but slenderly holpen with waters) takes vp too much ground.* The same Author saith in another place; that hee cannot beleeue that there hath bin so many Citties or Townes in Spain, as some haue reported, or else they counted Villages for Townes. For (saith hee) *The Nature of the Countrey cannot receyue any number of Townes, in regard of the barrennesse of the ground; by being farre off, & retired from one of the worlds corners: and also the ayre breathing not gracious & agreeable.* Thus you see the true description of *Spaine*, and this hee sayeth, because it is found in som Authors of Antiquity, who haue tearmed it to be happy and fertile: it is to be vnderstood of the Sea shores, and some Countries, where (in trueth) it is so. As in *Batica*, containing nowe the

Strabo in lib. 3 Τὴν Ἱσπανίαν, τὸ μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἀοίκητον ὑπάρχειν· τά τε γὰρ ὄρη καὶ τὰ λεκτὰ ἐρημικὰ καὶ ἄγονα διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν, ἀφ' ὑπαρχῆς ὄντα, μεγάλους ἐπέχει τοὺς τόπους.

Strabo in lib. 3 καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν πιστεύειν πολλὰς εἶναι τὰς λεγομένας, διὰ τὴν ἀπόκλισιν τοῦ τόπου.

What happinesse and fertility is in Spaine.

Pro-

prouinces of *Granado* and *Andalouzia*, and part of *Portugall*, whereto *Strabo* giueth the ſame commendation.

The ſharpnes of the Northparts of Spain

But hee omitteth not alſo, to deſcribe the rigour, hardneſſe and ſharpeneſſe of the very greateſt part, which turneth towards the North: anſwerable to that now ſtill there to be ſeene. For *Andalouzia* is knowne to be fertile; but the Spanyards theſelues do tell vs, what ſtore they haue (beſide) of Mountaines and ſmal deſerts, w they terme *Sierras*, as keeping ſtill the ancient *Arabian* word. *Froiſſard* relateth, that the Engliſh, who had bin at the ſuccour of the King of *Portugall*, vnder conduct of the Duke of *Lancaſter*; would returne no more thither, ſaying: *In Caſtile there is nothing but Rockes, which are not good to bee eaten with Veriuyce: verie high Mountaines, a hard Ayre, troubled Riuers & groſſe victuals; the people poore and ſlouenly, ill nurtured, and worſe habited, beſide great dearth of all wholeſome viands.*

Froiſſ. vol. 3. in fr.

Heere is to be obſerued, that Spaine muſt needs giue place (by ods) to France for healthfulneſſe, when the ayre is there ſo hard, the riuers troubled, and the waters naught: whence inſueth the inflations, ſwellings, and euils in their throats, commonly termed the Kings euill, and ouer-frequent among them, ſo that they are enforced to ſeeke helpe in France, by the hands of the moſt Chriſtian King. Beſide, France hath alwayes had the prayſe to be well peopled, and to produce men at due ſeaſons. *Cæſar* himſelfe ſpeakes it, ſaying; *A moſt fruitfull mother of men.* And *Strabo* writeth, *That the women are apt to beare children, and to nouriſh & bring them vp.* In another place hee confeſſeth, *That there is a certaine kinde of vertue and propriety, particular to the women of France, both in their teeming, and giuing ſucke vnto their children.*

Spaine inferiour to France for healthfulneſſe.

Iul. l. 2. Bel. Gal. Fertiliſſima hominum genetrix Strab. in lib. 4. γονιμώτατα τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τροφοὺς ἀγαθάς. Item αἱρεῖ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγαθὰς τίκτειν καὶ τρέφειν τὰ γεννώμενα.

Botero and other *Italians*, being deſirous to make a curious inquiſition (ſo nere as poſſibly might be) to know what number of men each countrey contained, althogh it is a matter (from time to time) ſubiect to change: ſetteth downe, that in France were fifteene millions. In Germany, with the Lowe Countries, and the Switzers Cantons (althogh they exceeded France twice or thrice in extendure of ground) they grant no more. In Spaine, which is very great, they number but three Millions: whereby appeareth one of the principall prerogatiues of France.

Botero in Relat. vniuerſ. part. 2.

Number of people in diuers Countries.

The glory and honor of any kingdom, and of the King commaunding ouer it, conſiſteth (to ſpeak truely) in the peoples multitude. The Emperour *Adrian* ſaid; *That he deſired to ſee his Empire amplified with multitudes of men, rather then with abundance of money and riches.* This was it alſo that mooued the wiſe King to ſay; *In the multitude of the people, is the honor of a King: and for the want of people commeth ſhame and ignominy to a Prince.* The Kingdome of *Iudea*, which hath heretofore beene ſo famous, and made choiſe of for the inheritance of Gods people, it vvas not in regard of her great extendure; for there was none ſmaller; containing not aboue forty miles in length, & in bredth much leſſe in many places.

L. Cum ratio D. De bon. damnat.

Prou. 14, 28. In multitudine populi dignitas Regis, & in paucitate plebis ignominia Principis.

Likewiſe, the promiſe that God made to *Abraham*, was; *That he would make him the cheefe of a great people: and his ſeede to be as the duſt of the earth: ſo that if one could number the duſt of the earth, ſo likewiſe ſhold his ſeede be numbred.* At another time hee ſayde vnto him; *Lift vp thine eyes to Heauen, and tell the ſtarres, if thou bee able to number them; in ſuch number ſhall thy ſeede be.* The ſame promiſe he reiterated againe to his yongeſt ſonne *Iacob*. And this vvas it, that excited the hatred and enuy of the Egyptians, againſt this people of Iſrael; becauſe they ſaw their number to multiply, and for that reaſon they oppreſſed them: but the more they were oppreſſed ſo much the more were they encreaſed and multiplyed. But *Dauid* exalting himſelfe beyond meaſure, and glorying in the number of his people, would needs haue them counted, to knowe their iuſt number: whereby he prouoked God to anger againſt him; there beeing found in Iſrael eight hundred thouſand ſtrong men, able to beare armes and weapons, and in *Iuda* fiue hundred thouſand fighting men.

Gen. 12, 2. Gen. 13, 16. Genes. 15, 5. Genes. 28, 14. Exod. 1, 9. Reg. 2. cap. vlt.

In the Romane hiſtory, when wee obſerue the encreaſing of that Commonwealth from time to time: it was by the number of the Cittizens, which were downe regiſtred by the Cenſors. Kings are Kings of men, and not of Lands. For no account is made of a King, by poſſeſſing a large length of vaine lands, barren, waſte, vnprofitable, and vnpeopled; nor for his multitude of high Mountains, deſert

The encreaſing of the Romane Commonwealth.

sert rockes, wild Forrests, which haue no other Inhabitants but sauage beasts. But rather, by commanding infinite numbers of people, that acknowledge him as their Soueraigne, willingly obey him, and reuerently respect him for their own good. This is that which maketh his state assured, and maketh him dreadfull to neighbours or enemies.

The true dignity of a king.

Moreouer, what great numbers of people *Gaule* hath produced at all times, yeelds proofes sufficient, as well by the troopes heeretofore parting thence, the Countrey being vncapeable to containe them; as also others, that haue gone and filled all other regions on the earth, aswel by Colonies and plantations in their coming thither, as some other Countries still inhabited by them, whereof we shall haue cause to speake more particularlie heereafter.

The plentie of people among the ancient Gaules, and the new.

This great number of men is the cause that France is adorned with so many faire and goodly Cities, as alwayes it hath bin, and at this day more then euer. *Iosephus* maketh mention, that at the time as *Cæsar* inuaded *Gaule*, there were then aboue twelue hundred. Among them that are now at this present, there are three hundred; wherein there are three and thirtie Byshops Sees, and fourteene Metropolitane or Archbyshopprickes; besides, an infinite number of other, a great company whereof are so potent in extendure & dignity, as they equall the verie capitall Cities of strange Nations, sparing here (beside) to speake of their strength.

The number of Cities whē Cæsar inuaded Gaule.

33. Bishopprickes, & 14 Archbyshopprickes.

I forbeare also a matter remarkable in France, that there hath beene (and some say now is) seauen and twentie thousand Burroughes or Townes, being Parishes, and hauing Steeples, and amongst them Villages so great and wealthy, as may compare with good Townes in other Countries, not bringing within the Lists of this account, all the Hamlets, Graunges, and particular houses, becaus they are innumerable.

Heere giue me leaue to sit downe and rest, as not knowing how to bee silent, or in what manner to speake, of the great, puissant, and opulent Cittie of *Paris*, which hath exalted her head aboue all other of the world. To forget it, I cannot; to speak worthily, or to describe and present it to the life indeede, it is impossible for me. It is the seat of the Kings of *France*, it is the principall residence of their Maiesties; it is the dwelling of their Soueraigne Iustice: which is there rendred & distributed by the Court of Parliament, being called the Court of Peeres; from whence all other are deriued; the same is the Chamber of Accompts, or of the Exchequer, and the arriuall for all the reuennewes of the Realme whatsoeuer.

The Authors modestie, in speaking of the City of Paris.

Also in this Citie, is that most ancient Vniuersity, so famously renowned thorough the world. All there is admirable, either in regard of the greatnesse and extent, or for the infinit structure of so many buildings, both publike and particular: but aboue all, the preasse and throngs of people wherewith it is inhabited, and which commeth thither from all parts, so that the like can hardly be spoken of in any place else. Beside, it is seconded vvith aboundance of all things, that can be desired for happinesse of life.

The famous vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris est en scauoir vne Grece seconde,
Vne Rome en grandeur Paris on peut nõmer.
Vne Asie en richesse on le peut estimer,
En rares nouueautez vne Afrique seconde.

That is;

Paris in knowledge may be Greece, as wise;
A Rome for greatnes, Paris may be nam'd:
An Asia in wealth it may be found;
A second Affricke, for rare nouelties.

Heereto might be added the grace of the situation, the faireſt and fitteſt that is to be seene: for being as pleasing and delectable, as commodious and profitable. In the very middest of rich Prouinces, enuironed with many Nauigable riuers that come and render their riches to *Seine*: passing thorow the middle of the Cittie, to gather and bring thither commodities from all the Countryes round about, coming from, and into an Ayre so good & healthfull. In which respect, though hauing such mightie accesse of people: it is lesse subiect to contagious diseases, then other the greatest Cities are ordinarily afflicted withall. And when any do happen, the effects are much more moderate, of far lesse danger and contagion, then is to be seene in other places.

The situation of the City of Paris, most pleasant and wholesome.

It is reported of the Citty of *Constantinople*, that from three yeeres to 3. yeeres, (without fayle) it is most strangely tormented

Hist. Miscel. lib. 14. cap. 9.

Strãge plague in Constantinople, and in the Graund Caire.

mented with a peſtilence, vvhich doeth greatly diſpeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep ſearch into the cauſe. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Cairo* is euery yeare afflicted with the Peſtilence. Vndoubtedly, when I conſider with my ſelfe, that great *Louys*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, ſtayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the ſeat of his kingdome, leauing many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Iulian* (being come into France) eſtabliſhed there his ordinary aboade, and called it *Amiable* or *Louely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wiſedome and vnderſtanding, in chooſing a place ſo commodious, ſo pleaſant and anſwerable; although then it ſeemed to bee one of the leaſt Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volumne to ſpeak thereof, and yet none will credit vvhat it is, except they haue the happineſſe to ſee it: & the ſight may much better ſatisfye them, then all that can be ſayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this diſcourſe, adding onely that which is ſayde by *Botero Parigi, Citta che di popolo, & di abbondanza d'ogni coſa, auanza di gran lunga tutte l'altre di Chriſtianita. Paris, a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the reſt of Chriſtendome.*

In Miſopogo.

Lib. 1. Delle cauſe della grandezza delle Citta.

CHAP. II.

Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being anciently Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and ſucceſſefull Fortunes.

He proceedeth on with his ſecond diſcourſe.

ENough hathbene ſayde (though too vnskilfully and altogether weakly) concerning the beauty, bountie, perfections & excellencies of the Land it ſelfe in all things: let vs now ſee (according vnto our intended purpoſe) what the people haue beene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of ſo extraordinary felicity, perhappes may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impoſsible: that in a Region ſo pleaſant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodneſſe: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and couragious. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Perſians* laboured to change their Countrey, in regard it vvas ſharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleaſant, conſiſting of goodly plaines, and euen Champaigne grounds. Which hee would not ſuffer them to doe, but ſhewed them, that like vnto ſeeds and plants, ſo are the liues of men made conformeable vnto thoſe Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue ſayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

The wiſedom of Cyrus againſt the folly of his ſoldiers.

Hannibal, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romaines, but alſo by ſo many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their vtter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the ſoft and eaſefull delights of *Capua*. The ſweets of his winter ſoiourning there, did eneruate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing ſnowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen ſo we may ſay, and very truely, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was ſoftned by the luxury, ſumptuouſnes, and diſſolutions among the Perſians.

Hanniball victorious againſt the Romaines, loſt all his honor at Capua.

Alexanders diſſolutions in Perſia.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Prouinces of greateſt happineſſe, become a prey to others, in beeing voluntarily deſtitute of couragious men, For, a more warlike people coming to inuade them, after they haue continued there for ſome time: they forget their former generoſity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themſelues the verie ſame Nature. *Sicily* hath alwaies bin the butte and ayme of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthagenians*, and the *Romaines*, and of many other beſide.

Sicily the aim of warlike nations.

Alſo in Egypt, which is one of the verie choiſeſt, fertileſt, and richeſt Nations of the worlde: the moſt martiall people that come to ſtay there, doe after enter into ſuch a lazie condition, that they ſtand in neede of chaſing thence, euen as they

The fruitfulnes of Egypt, and hurt it doth to moſt all people.

they did to the first inhabitants. The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the Mahometane *Calyffes*. It is reported of the Wel* *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natolia*) that such as drinke the water thereof; of men, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becommeth altogither effeminate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had beene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the selfesame reason) the vnmanlinesse of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Countrey.

*A Spring neere to Halycarnassus.

A morall Allusion of the Fable.

All this is contrary in France, for amidst such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, it yeeldeth withall the like abundance of euery other thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as suffer themselues to be led into all pleasures, in peaceful & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softned a iotte, neyther loose any of their courage, valour, and addresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were meerely borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: beeing euermore readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselues first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, vvhich they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer: and whensoeuer they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

Frenchmen are truly borne warriors.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to vndertake Armes, whereof as patiently hee endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of Macedon among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romaines, and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martial disposition. *Cæsar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of Gaules) saide: *That his Soul-diers, howsoeuer they were perfumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly and couragiously. Milites suos etiam vngnentatos, bene pugnare.* The like account vvas heretofore made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the Gaules: becausse, they would permit no Merchandizes to bee brought into theyr Countrey, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiancie and Militarie vertue was so natural, vnto them that were borne and norished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any meanes bee quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plentie of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Zozim. in vit. Imp. Valentin.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigour and austerity of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricte a kinde; prooued to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, then their neighbours. And surely, the Lacedemonians differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great meruaile why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselues vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the harsh and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they doe neuer fayle in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are born thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Men addicted to armes by nature.

Suetan in Iulio, Cap. 67.

The stricte forme of life obserued amongest the young men of Persia, wondred at amongest the Lacedemonians.

Those people that Fraunce hath bred and yeelded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romaines well felte it, when they were hewed in peeces by the Gaules, on the day at *Allia*. And afterward, when (vpon their sodaine coming on them) they were constrained

The Romains felt the manhoode of the Gaules to their cost.

to hide themselues in their Capitoll; the which yet was not sufficient to saue them till (in the end) they were gladde to pay a great quantity of golde and siluer to the Gauls, for their ransom. And althogh their historians labour to make men beleeue, that *Camillus* the Dictator exterminated the greater part of the Gaules, & brought back againe that which was giuen for ransome; yet notwithstanding, *Polybius* a very ancient Author, neere enough to those times, well experienced in the history, & being an excellent writer beside, hee declareth the contrary, saying: *The Gaules went away victorious, hauing granted peace to the Romanes, by meanes of a great summe of gold, which they brought thence with thē.* Which is moreouer confirmed by *Suetonius*, who sayeth; *One of the house of the Neroes, Ancestors to the Emperor Tiberius, hauing made warre on the Gaules called Senones, descending from them that surprized Rome: brought backe the gold of the ransom which had bin payed them, & that it was not recouered by Camillus, as the rumour ranne.* And beside, those very men that sacked Rome, returning thorow Italy, made alliance with the elder *Dionisius*, the Tyrant of Siracusa, and aided him vvith theyr troopes against the Locrians and Crotones his enemies, as it is auouched by *Trogus Pompeius*.

The errour of the Romane historians.

Polyb. hist. in l. 1

Suet. in vit. Tiberio cap. 3.

In Lib. 1.

If the losse of the Gauls had bin so notable, as *Liuius* hath described it: they could not haue peopled a greater country in Italy, & made war so often on the Romans, as at diuers times they did. *Wee had enough to do* (saith *Cicero*) *to resist them & to defend our selues, being continually assailed by them. And our Captaines and Commanders in war perpetually accounted, that it was fitter to defend & beare off their blowes in such a war, then to set on or assault them.* It is wel known of great *Marius*, when he opposed himselfe against the effortes and stratagems of the Gaules, that hee neuer durst attempt to enter their Lands. They to whome all other war was easie, lost all their fencing trickes against the Gaules. *Hitherto* (saith *Salust*) *the Romans euermore conceiued, that all things gaue way, and were to be yoaked by their vertue. But only against the Gaules, when they were to fight with thē, not for honour and glory, but for defence of their liues.*

Cicero in Orat. De prouincijs consularibus.

In fine Bel. Iug. & sque ad nostrā memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtutis suæ prona esse, cū Gallis pro salute, nō pro gloria certari.

Nor did they tearme this warre but tumult & insurrection, because that by the promptitude of the Frēch, in vsing arms; they had not the leisure to beate their drum, to raise or call their companies; but suddenly, without any choise, tooke such for soldiers as could carry Armes. They had a particular Exchequer or Treasurie by it selfe, destined to be imployed onely about the charges of the Gallish warres, whensoeuer they hapned: as being one of the greatest & most extreame necessities belonging to their City. And though in all other wars some stood exempted from going to them, as such as had spent their time in war, being called *Veterani*, or ancient seruitors; yet (in such a case) they much needs march, without any regard at all of such exemption. *Vt oportet bello Gallico vt maiorū iura mores q; præscribunt, nemo est Ciuis Romanus, qui sibi vlla excusatione vtendum putet. According to the Lawes of our Ancestors* (saith *Cicero*) *and according vnto ordinary custome, there is not any Romane Citizen, that must think onely to propound any exemption, when there happeneth any war with the French.*

An Exchecquer in Rome onely for the Gauls warres.

Cicero pro Fonteio.

Nay, that which is more, the *Romaines* quitted and gaue them freely the honour belonging to actions of arms. *Cato* voluntarily confesseth in *Salust*, *That the Grecians had gone beyond the Romans in eloquēce, and the Gauls them, in the glory of war.* And this is the reason, why they alwaies stood in feare of the country that brought forth a people naturally warriors, & in so great a number. When they named that Prouince, they would say, *It was too feare full for the Romaines.* Neuer was any speech of the least stir or tumult in Gaule, but they would all tremble. And thereupon, immediately after the death of great *Cæsar* the Dictator, it was propounded to the Senate to giue ouer Gaule, leauing it to full liberty, although it was formerly conquered and assured. These are the very words of *Appian*: *There was* (saith hee) *made a Decree and arrest to the Senate, concerning Gaule: all the Senators being possessed with feare.* A little lower hee saith: *Some amongst them were of the minde, That they must needes giue ouer, and forsake all the whole Country and People, leauing them at libertie, and to enfranchise them from subiection vnto the Empire. So much they stood in feare and dread of the Neighbourhoode of Gaule.*

In Coniurat. Catilin. Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos Romanos ante fuisse.

Cicer. de prouin. cijs Consularib. Gallia Romanis adeo timenda.

In lib. 3. de Bel. Ciuil.

And

In Orat. de prouinc. Consu.. Alpibus Italiam munierat ante natura, non sine aliquo diuino numine: nam si ille aditus Gallorum immanitati multitudinique patuisset, nunquam hæc urbs summo Imperio domicilium ac sedem præbuisset.

And *Cicero* saith; *Nature hath munited Italy with a rampier of Alpes, not without diuine prouidence. For if that entrāce* (sayth he) *were laid open to the fury and multitude of the Gaules: euer would the Citty of Rome, the seate and dwelling place of the Empyre, onely Soueraigne of the worlde, bee besiedged.*

It is not to the Romains only, that the French haue made knowne their vnconquerable corage, and to feel the strength of dreadles armes; what Canton? what quarter of the world is there, where they haue not planted their conquering Ensigns? The Celts (for so the Grecians termed the French) are found to dwell in most parts of the vniuerse, as hauing lefte France, in regard of their ouer-great multitude, to seeke new countries elsewhere, which they conquered with their swords, and became Mastersofthem. They are dispersed ouer al Europe, and hardly is there any quarter, where they haue not left the markes of their victories, and records of their name. Spaine is full of such Colonies, whose names would bee considered out of diuers countries, according as ancient Geographers haue stiled them. And first to speake of the *Celtiberians, who are proofe sufficient to our purpose, and accounted to be the most valiant people in Spaine. No doubt, as they stil retaine the name, so doe they (in like manner) keepe the vertue and valour of the Gaules their Ancestors, that came to inhabite there, and also to make a Plantation of theyr name.

*People of the Celtes in France, planting themselues by the Riuer Iberus.

Some foure thousand of those *Celtiberians*, defended most couragiously the citty of * *Numantia*, and sustained the siege for fourteene years, against the Effortes of many Roman armies, yea, and of theyr very cheefest Captaines, vntill such time as they were inforced to send their *Scipio* thither. In the end, the so long besiedged Celtiberians, chose rather to burn themselues and their Citty together, then to yeeld to their implacable Enemies, vnto whom they left nothing to adorne theyr triumph, but their very name onely.

*A Cittie of Celtiberia in Spain, besiedged 14 yeares by the Romaines.

At this very day, *Portugal* and *Gallizia* do carry the names of their first founders the Gaules. They entred also vpon a great part of *Italy*, comprehending (in the same respect) the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, wher they first entred in the reigne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, King of the Romaines, about the year of the world, MMM.CCC.LX. There they founded *Millain*, & afterward *Brescia*, *Verona* and other Cities: this couragious, hardy, and warlike Nation (I vse the very wordes of *Trogus*) the cheefest next to *Hercules*, and iustly deseruing to be called immortal; they (I say) ouerwent the sharpnesse and bitternes of the Alps, vnpassible for the snowes & colds. They are found to dwell thorow all Germanie, where are the *Boemes* and *Carnes*; in *Pannonia* or *Austria*, and *Hongaria*; in *Transyluania*, *Valachia*, and *Albania*; in *Thrace*, where they haue reigned a sufficient lēgth of time. This may be the reason, why som of our Ancients named Europe, *Celtica*, Κελτικὴν, because that the most part of the inhabitants, called themselues Celtes or Gauls, as is plainly auouched.

Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, now named Lombardie.

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 24.

Many Lands inhabited by the Celtes.

Ptolom. lib. 2. Quadripert.

For the same respect, an ancient Geographer saide, that the Northerne part of the earth, was inhabited by the Scithians; the Eastern by the Indians, the Southerne by the Æthyopians; and the Occidentall or Western by the Celts or Gaules: each place and part of the world taking first denomination, according to the excellency of the people, that were the principal and most renowned in euerie part. The verie same Gaules haue made all Macedon and Greece to tremble, and haue solde peace to all other people, who came to buy it, before they were any way assailed, as affrighted with the name of the Gauls onely. *Trogus* reporteth it in this manner: *Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat, vt etiam Reges non lacessiti, vltro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur. Such was* (saith he) *the terrour of the Frenchmens name, that Kings neuer beeing encountred, came of themselues, and by theyr owvne meere motion, to purchase their peace with great summes of Money.*

The foure quarters of the world, and how inhabited.

Trog Pomp. l. 24

All the lesser *Asia* were as slenderly able to resist them, for it hath bin wholly subdued by them. In like manner, such account was made of their manhoode, that there hapned not any war in the East, but they were the forwardest partakers therein. It was euermore to them, that afflicted Princes fled for succour, as it is declared by the same *Trogus*, and heere you may reade his owne verie Words. *Gallorum ea Tempestate tanta fœcunditatis iuuentus fuit, vt Asiam omnem velut examine*

The lesser Asia subdued by the Frēch.

Trog. Pomp. Lib.

aliquo implerent: Deniq́, neq́, Reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu vlla bella gesserint, neq́, pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerint. Tantus terror Gallici nominis siue armorum inuicta felicitas erat, vt aliter neq́, Maiestatem suam tutam, neque amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur. Deniq́, in auxilium à Bythinia Rege inuocati, regnum cum eo parta victoria diuiserunt, eamq́, regionem Gallo-Græciam cognominauerunt. There was then such an aboundance of youthfull French, that they filled Asia, euen as if it had bin swarms of Bees: in such sort, that the Kings of those quarters of the East, attempted not any war, wherein they had not Frenchmen vnder pay. And if they chãced to be expulsed from their estates, they had no other recourse, but to throwe themselues into the armes of the French. Such was the terror of the Frenchmens Name, or the inuincible felicity of their Armes; that Kings knew not howe to prouide, nor conserue their Maiestie, or to recouer it againe being lost, without the valor of the French. To conclude, being called by the King of Bithinia, to lend him succour, after they had parted away with victory; they also parted or diuided his kingdom with thẽ, and surnamed the Countrey Gallo-Græcia, or French-Greece.

Gallo-Grecia so named of the valiant Gaules, that declared their valour there.

Those verie Gaules whereof we now speake, were come away from Thrace, where they (before) had established a Kingdome: which continued afterward, till the time of *Clyarus* their last king, according to the report of *Polybius*. The people of *Thrace*, of *Bizantium*, and of *Cherronesus*, being then their tributaries. All this is affirmed and maintained of the ancient Gaules.

Polyb. in lib. 4.

Nowe, as concerning such as haue caried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls, ancient standers, and dwellers in partes neerer hand, as well on this side, as beyond the *Rheine*: they long time made warre with the Romanes, pursuing them with their Armies, and ouer-labouring them by so many courses; that at length they expulsed them quite from amongst the Gaules. They were first obserued to appeare vnder that name of Frenchmen, in the time of the Emperor *Galien*; and from thence onward, the Romane Histories are copious, how manie times they passed and repassed the *Rheine*, to make warre with the Romaines, vvhen they thought to teare away Gaule out of their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exalting those Emperors with praises to heauen, that had in any encounter (how silly soeuer) got any aduantage against the French; do yet make it sufficiently known what great account was made of this people and generous Nation, yea, more then of any other, as being most fearefull to them, and to whome (for this cause) they yeelded themselues tributaries.

The ancient Gaules inhabiting on eyther side the Rheine.

The valour of the Gaules in the Emperor Galiens time.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the 11. they inuaded *Holland*, and other neighboring Countries, and made thence theyr courses and wonted expeditions, as well by Land as Sea; vntill they extended their power so onward, that they entred somewhat farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a certaine voyage of theirs, and a chance well deseruing memory. The Emperor *Probus* hauing made warre on them, and wonne the vpper-hand in some encounter; hee tooke diuers of them prisoners, which he led away into Asia. Soon after, they made an escape, & being imbarked in certaine smal vessels, which they found fitting for their purpose: they ouer-ran and rauaged the coasts of Greece, and the Isles of the Ionian sea, besieging and taking Siracusa; and afterward passing the straites of Gebaltare, returned home againe into theyr owne country. The verie greatest affairs, that euer the Romanes had with Straungers, were alwaies against the Gaules, or French, who neuer would suffer them to liue in quiet.

The inuasion of Holland, & other places of the Gaules.

The succesle of the Gaules that were led prisoners into Asia.

In the end, the Emperors well vnderstood their valour, and made vse thereof to their seruice. *Constantine* the Great, in the warre hee made against *Licinius*: had great store of them in his Armie, vnder conduct of a verie valiant French Captaine, named *Bonicius*, whose manhood is well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At the same time, partly by conquest, partly by conniuence of the Emperours; they extended the Gaules name very farre, and did so great seruices to the Romains, that they filled whole Legions of them. Especially, vnder the Emperors *Constans*, *Constantius*, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to be seene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozimus*, and diuers other Historians of those times.

The warre of Constantine against Licinius, and seruice of the French to him

Marcel. in lib. 2.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing sworne more

Mellobands. The affection of the Emperor Gratian to the Gauls for his own good.

more ſtrict alliance with them, could find out a *Mellobands*, Prince of the French, beſide many other Captaines and Soldiers: by whoſe meanes he aſſured his owne eſtate, and carried away great Victories from the Germanes, whereof thirty thouſand were ſlaine in the field. This Prince did ſo highly eſteeme of them, as they ſerued him in all occaſions: yea, they filled vp the Army which he gaue to *Theodoſius*, to make quietneſſe in the Eaſt, and to repulſe thence the Gothes. Moreouer, he fauoured and aduanced them to great charges of his Court, and euen (as if (in reſpect of them) he began to grow in diſtaſte with his Romanes; ſo prooued it (partly) to be the cauſe of death.

It is moſt plaine and apparant, that for the ſpace of about 200. yeares, they were the threſhing Flaile, the terror & amazement of the Romane Empire: wherto (to vſe the ſame words that *Claudian* ſayth of them) *They ſolde peace and quietneſſe at the prizes of money, and tooke great recompences to ceaſe their fights.* The Epithets vvhich the Authors of thoſe times gaue them, were the names of *Terrible, dreadfull, and redoubted Warriors*; as being the onely nation, that (more then all other elſe could do) amated, bruiſed, yea, & vtterly brake in peeces the Romane forces.

Claudian his words of the Gaules.

After that this Monarchy of the French in Gaule was fully eſtabliſhed: they could then vndertake other great enterptizes & voyages. How many times did they paſſe in Armes, both into Aſia and Affrica, to chaſe thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the Chriſtians that were there in their ſeruitude? There hath not bene any expedition in Chriſtendome, wherein they haue not bene heads and conducters, yea euen the better part it ſelfe. Many times haue they ſuccoured & re-eſtabliſhed the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. And in the end, to reuenge the death of *Iſaacius Angelus*, (whom they had reſeated ſom ſhort time before) cruelly murdred by the Tyrant *Murſuffle*: they took in their aſſault) that great City, where they commanded (almoſt) foure hundred yeares. They made themſelues ſo knowne thoroughout the Eaſt and South parts, and haue ſo liuely engrauen there the memorie of their name: that (euen to this day) all the Orientals terme the inhabitants of Europe, by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name to be vniuerſall. As in like manner the Arabians and the Abyſſines, who call Europe by the name of *Frankia*.

The paſſage of the Gaules into Aſia and Affrica.

The Gaules gaue great ſuccour to the Emperors of Conſtantinople. *Nicet. Choniates*

Ozorius, the learned byſhop of *Sylues* reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Portugals make warre againſt them: they call them by no other name then *Francki*, as confeſſing naturally, that ſince the braue expeditions of the French, againſt the Turkes and Sarazins; this name (full of admiration among thoſe people) had ſo ſpread it ſelfe thoroughout all Aſia and Affrica, that alwayes afterward, the ſame was to be attributed vnto all the Weſtern people.

The Portugals warring on the Indias.

But to deliberate no longer at this time on all the expeditions of warre, and voyages attempted by the French for the chriſtian name, for the defence of religion & the Church, againſt Moores, Sarazins, Turkes, and other Mahometanes, in diuers Countries of the world, and the glorious and goodly actions there by them performed: Can any thing bee tearmed more hardy, valiant and generous, then that which they did for conqueſt of the holy Land? Vndertaking ſo long a Voyage, croſſing ſo many Countries, & with ſuch ſtore of difficulties: Nothing could dant or turne them; nothing ſeemed impoſſible to them, beeing altogether inflamed with a zealous & diuine deſire. They expoſed themſelues to all kindes of dangers, iuconuenience of places and paſſages, famine, thirſt, peſtilence and warre: meerly prodigal of their liues, for religious zeale. In whatſoeuer we read concerning antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous ages, neuer are to be found ſuch deedes of proweſſe, as they did in that conqueſt.

The painefull trauailes of the French, for conqueſt of the Holy Land.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* ſet himſelf before you, with his gallant French troopes, trauerſing al *Germany & Hungaria*, & ariuing at *Conſtantinople*; there is aſſailed by diuers ambuſcadoes on the Emperors behalf, yet ouercoming them al, euen as if it were againſt his wil to preuaile. Then looke on him paſsing the ſtraits of the *Helleſpont*, beſieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the ſtrongeſt in all the Eaſt, munited with al things ſuſtained and defended by a people reſolued, as wel for aſſaults giuen, as ſallies repulſed, or by any cunning to bee circumuented. During this ſiedge, the Army of *Soliman*, conſiſting of 500000. men,

Guliel. Tyrius in Lib. 1, 2, 3, &c. De Bello Sacro.

Nicea taken by the Frēchi

comming expreſſely to rayſe the ſiedge, is ouercom, broken, and cut in peeces, & the City ſurprized in the end.

A battell giuē by the French in Caramania againſt Soliman and his Turkes.

After this, behold another battel giuen in *Cicilia* or *Caramania*, by thirty thouſand French onely, againſt an Armie of tvvo hundred thouſand Turkes and Mahometanes, led by the ſame *Soliman*, and the Sultane of *Perſia*. Theſe two hundred thouſand Turkes, hauing (at theyr firſt charge from farre off) couered all the Chriſtian Army with a cloud of Arrows; and making a counterfet ſhew of flight, ſent another ſhower of ſhafts in the ſame maner, and then a third, they not hauing any meanes to ioyne or come nere them. So that there was ſcarſely one man among the Chriſtians, but was wounded with their ſteeled Arrowes, ſome in the armes, others in the legges, and many in diuers parts of their bodies, notwithſtanding the helpe of their Targets: euen as if we ſaw the like Army of the Romanes led by *M. Craſſus* againſt the Parthians. Vntill ſuch time as *Godfrey* reſolued to make a pretence of flight, and (indeed) retyred; as if he had bene no longer able to endure them. Which moued the Turkes to purſue after them out of order, as if they were altogether ouerthrown and diſhartned. But when the French behelde them within their compaſſe, that they might deale with them by handy ſtroakes: all wounded as they were, they gaue ſuch a courageous charge vpon the Infidels, that they foiled and vanquiſhed the whole Army.

A worthy ſtratagēm of Godfrey of Bullen, in an vrgent neceſſity.

So proceeding on, the Citties of *Tharſus* and of *Edeſſa*, and all the other betweene them, were likewiſe taken.

The ſharpe & ſeuere beſieging of the City of Antioche by Godfrey of Bullen.

Antioche beſiedged by a long ſiedge, the beſiegers being inceſſantly aſſayled, as well with the yſſuing foorth of an Army that was vvithin, as by the ambuſcadoes of many troopes at liberty abroad, beſides cutting off victuals, and all other commodities from them. In theſe extremities they were alſo oppreſſed with contagious diſeaſes, famine, and other kindes of neceſsities and miſeries, euery thing being oppoſite and contrary to them, and the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, doing his very vttermoſt to endamage them. All which notwithſtanding, they loſt not a iot of courage, or became any way at all diſheartned in this theyr enterprize, although to make their miſery much more: there came alſo on them another dreadfull Army, containing all the powers of the Eaſt, and appearing impoſſible to bee reſiſted. But the Chriſtians conducted by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, ouer-ſpent and wearied as they were, hauing giuen the battaile; ouercame the great Armies, and droue them to flight.

The happie ſucceſſe of the Chriſtiās againſt the Infidels.

I let paſſe an infinite number of particular charges, encounters, combates, fights, ambuſhes, ſurprizes and aſſaults, to come to the ſiedge of Ieruſalem, where they met with all reſiſtance poſſible, both by force and cunning: which neuertheleſſe (in the ende) after infinite famous actions of Armes, was wonne by liuely force, and in a generall aſſault. All this was done in leſſe then two yeares, from the yeare 1097. to the yeare 1099. when Ieruſalem was wonne, and in the Moneth of Iuly. Then was *Godfrey* choſen King of Ieruſalem, who yet refuſed the crowne of gold, ſaying; *It fitted not him to weare that pompe, where his Lord and Sauior wore one of ſharpe pricking thornes.* Euery one of the other Princes & French Lords, which made vp the body of the Army, were alſo partakers in the chiefe poſſeſsion of Citties and Prouinces thereabout; & there was not a man among them, but was capable of holding the Empire of the world, and by farre greater reaſon, then is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And this may iuſtly be the cauſe (in part) that the ſucceſſe was not ſo great as it might haue bene: they beeing able to haue paſſed on, ſo farre as the extremeſt parts of the Eaſt, to conquer all the Country, and plant their Enſignes on the banks of the Indian Seas. In briefe, there was neuer any thing comparable thereto, neither for religious piety, nor manhood in Armes.

The conqueſt of Ieruſalem by Godfrey of Bullen.

It was alſo a matter admirable in *Godfrey*, that being Souldier; he ſhould bee culpable of ſo great prouidence, iuſtice, and moderation of ſpirit. It is reported of him, that although he was King; yet he cloathed himſelfe, and liued ſo ſimply, as the very meaneſt Souldier about him. So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords of the Country being come vnto him, to preſent him with gifts, but (to ſpeak truly) to eſpie and take knowledge of what they could: being brought before him, they found him ſitting on a Sacke ful of ſtraw, & vpon the ground. After they had well obſerued

The honor & rewards of ſo great deſerūing.

Guliel. Tyrius in lib 7. cap. 20

The admirable humility and moderation of Godfrey of Bullen & his answer to certaine Lords.

obserued it, beeing driuen to no meane admiration, they made enquiry; how so great a Prince, beeing a Lord of such matchlesse merit, hauing shaken all the East, and seized on the very greatest kingdome, should be seated so poorely, without any pompe, no rich hangings, nor any Guard about him, to make him dreadfull to such as should come neere him. But he demanding what they had saide, replied thus: *It is the best seate for a mortall man, and by good right the earth should suffer and serue to beare him for a time: in regard that (afterward) it must be the house for his body to dwell in.* Which when the Lords had heard, admiring his answer, humility, and wisedome, they returned thence, saying: *This is (indeede) such a man, as ought to rule ouer all these Regions: and to him (in equity of desert) it belongeth, to commaund ouer all other people whatsoeuer.*

How long time the frech held the kingdome of Ierusalem.

Thus the kingdome of *Ierusalem* was held for the space of about fourescore & tenne yeares by the French, who (in the meane while) made warre vpon the Infidels, being succoured from time to time by the Kings of France: among whom, *Lewes* the seuenth, called the young, and *Philip Augustus* went thither in person. But afterward, this kingdome was conquered by *Saladine*, first *Souldan* of *Egipt*: And then the French, vnder conduct of their Kings, ceassed not alwayes to attempt voyages and expeditions, as shall be declared in place more conuenient. Heere I forbeare to speake of the great warres and goodly exploits in Armes, of the French against the Allemaignes, Hunnes, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sarrazins, Gothes, Lombards, and English, which are to be discoursed heereafter.

The apparant singularity of the French, aboue all other Nations.

There is not any other people, that haue caused themselues more to bee spoken of, to spread their renowne so far, and enterprise matters more great, goodly, & difficult, then they haue done. Other Nations neuer could come neere them, no, not the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yeeldeth restimony, that they neuer did, or euer durst vndertake great occasions. *They beeing* (saith he) *exercised and inured to slender exploits, & lowe or base enterprises; as some light ambuscadoes, courses, and brigandages or theeueries.* But conderning the valour of the French, and the greatnesse of their courage; there remaineth very sufficient proofes in antiquity. Some haue attributed this quality to them, to be voyd of feare, and boldly to cast themselues into the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth, that certaine Frenchmen beeing brought to *Alexander* the Great; when hee demanded of them, what it was they most feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all, except the Heauens should fall on our heads.* Signifying by this manly reply, that feare had no power to freeze their blood, or vsurpe any place in their warlike soules.

Strabo in Lib. 3 ἰνδοῦσι γὰρ καὶ λησταὶ πᾶσι βίοις ἐγένοντο, τὰ μικρὰ πλείοντες, ἀγυδίας δ' οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

Strabo in lib. 4.

A braue answer of the French to Alexander the Great.

In like manner, they neuer knew what it was to flye, or turne their backs in the most dangerous fights; neither to giue so much as the least inch of ground: as the Emperour *Leo* declareth in his Art Military or *Tacticks*, and *Chalcondilus* the Grecian, in his Turkish Hiſtory. Both of these Authors do affirme, that they hold this the heauiest sinne, which can happen to be committed by them. The selfesame is also auouched by *Aelianus*, who deliuereth these very words. *Among all men, they that most affect dangers, and most valiantly expose their liues to perilles; I vnderstand them to be the Gaules. The whole subiect of their Songs, is of such men of vertue, as died valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned they combate, and adorned with Markes & Trophees of their victories: as well to honor the worthy acts which they haue done, as to serue for memory to posterity, according to the manner of the Grecians. But aboue all, flight is held so dishoneſt and shameful among them, that very many times, they will not get them gone, or make escape away from a tottering house, though it be ready to fall vppon them, or all on a flame, and themselues in immediare danger to be burned.* This may seeme very strange, and rather blame worthy, then commendable: yet it is done in no other regard, but only to shew what their resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning all occasions, whereby they might bee reputed timorous.

Leo Imp. in Tac. Chalcond. in Hist. Turk.

Aelian. De var Hist. lib. 12.

In like manner, the Emperor *Iulian*, speaking of his soiourning among the Gaules, saieth; *That it was with the most warlike, and onely couragious people of all other Nations.* *Pausanias* declareth, that although they were wounded quite thorough their bodies with the sword, and euen cleft in twaine with axes sharpe slices; yet notwithstanding, not a iote of their

In Misopogone. παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις, καὶ θυμικωτάτοις τῶν ἐθνῶν.

Pauſan Phocicis

their courage abated. And when they wer ſhot through with darts and arrowes, ſo long as any reſpite of life remained, or the very laſt gaſpe or breathing; they fought ſtil manfully, and made a maſſacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that ſnatched the Arrowes & Darts out of their own wounds, and ſhot them backe againſt the Greeks, or, being neerer hand, ſlew them with the ſame Arrowes and Darts, euen by meere ſtabs. Whereat the Greekes being amazed, to behold ſuch wilfulneſſe in fight, ſuch courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they ſhould attribute it, nor (to ſpeake truely) what to ſay of it, (beeing wont to commend no men but themſelues) they ſaide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

Vnconquerable reſolution in the French and what opinion the Greekes had of them.

Ariſt. in Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7.

In the ſame caſe and reſpect, *Ariſtotle*, imagining that ſuch ſtrength and valiancy was without example, and aboue the capacity of any humane ſpirit: attributed this viuacite of ſoule, to a kinde of furi ous and naturall inſenſibility, not fearfull of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the rougheſt ſtormes or tempeſts: *Euen like* (ſaieth hee) *as it is reported of the Celts or Gaules.* Warre was their true trade & exerciſe, there was not a man among them, that would excuſe himſelfe from marching to the field, without any diſtinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and ſpent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the firſt floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to trauailes, alwayes diſpoſed and ready to ſupport moſt difficult occaſions, yea, and the very dreadfulleſt accidents of war.

No diſtinction of yeares among the Gaules from marching in Armes.

Marcel: in l. 15.

In briefe, as it is confirmed by *Marcellinus*, a faithfull Author, a Souldier or mā fit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; ſhall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were ſome, that to ſhun the warres, wold cut off ſome member of their owne, eſpecially their thumbs; *Whom we termed* (ſaith he) *in deriſion and mockery,* * *Murci.* To men of ſuch baſe and ſeruile condition, as will thus cut off a ioynt, to make themſelues vncapable of being Soldiers, may bee referred that iniurious French diſgrace, *Poltron*, *à police trunco*; *A knaue hath his thumbe cut off.*

* One that cutteth off his thumb, becauſe he will not go to war.

This generoſity and greatneſſe of courage, is likewiſe familiar among the womē of France, whereof we haue teſtimony in the ſame Author *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus. *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him, there is not any troupe of ſtrangers able to reſiſt or ſtand againſt their ſtrength. Eſpecially, when the women are moued & enflamed with choller, ſtretching foorth their brawny armes, griping their ſtrong knit hands together great and white as ſnow: ſo that both with feet & fiſts, they diſcharge blowes as liberally, as if they wer ſtones from ſlings, or quarrels from Croſſebowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, ſo are they as complete in other perfections: but cheefely in prouidence, diſcretion, and good aduice.

The ſprightly courage of the Gauliſh women. *Marcel. in l. 14.*

VVe reade, that before the Gaules paſſed into Italy, a ſtrong ſedition happened to grow among them, which diſperſed it ſelfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themſelues into the middeſt betweene them, and queſtioning the reaſon of their difference, drew them to ſo great equity, and fulneſſe of content on eyther ſide; that they begat admirable and reciprocall loue and kindneſſe among them, not onely betweene the Townes and Citties, but alſo in the houſes neighbouring together. Wherupon, after that time, they continued all conſultations of their affaires (as well concerning warre as peace) with theyr wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the compoſition which they made with *Hannibal*, when he paſſed by the Gaules, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it ſo came to paſſe that if the Gaules pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegenians; the Carthagenian Captaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) ſhould be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwiſe, if the Carthagenians could alleadge, that the Gaules had offered them any iniury; the women of Gaule ſhould bee Iudges therein. And therfore *Plutarke* had great reaſon, to ranke thoſe Ladyes in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

Plut. in De clar. Mulier.

The compoſition that was made betweene Hanniball & the Gaules.

The

The Gaules euer called them to their councels and consultations, as well for warre as peace, because they knew their naturall disposition to be such; as not a woman among them, would seeke any to soften and weaken (willingly) the boldest or most courageous enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cause, why the ancient Romane Soldiers would not be maried: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indiaes, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit mariage. But the Gaules knew well enough, that this sexe were so farre off, from any way hindring their Martiall designes; that they would by no meanes permit the very least inclination to negligence or cowardise; they rather serued as sharpe spurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

The Gaules called their wiues to consultations and councels.

Kingdomes in India where Noble men admit not mariage.

To this purpose, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gaulish women; but of a French Lady, as yet recent and fresh in memory. *Bertrand du Guesclin* had beene alwayes a most valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Histories. After he had performed many worthy enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he maried with a beautifull Lady, named *Tiphania*, descended of a noble family. After which mariage, he growing to leaue, and discontinue his former exercise of Armes; as he sate discoursing with his Lady, she gently began to blame and reproue him, declaring, that (before their mariage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had atchieued the cheefest reputation. And that it neyther suted with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman to lose the least repute of honour wonne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choise. As for mee (quoth shee) who ought to shine by the bright radiance of your fame, I shall account my selfe too low deiected, if you giue ouer a course so well begun, and lose your spirits inuloating loue, wer it to one more worthy then my selfe.

Of Bertrand du Guesclin, and his noble minded Lady, Tiphania.

These words did so neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himselfe so valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to stand as a stout Rampier for France, in the very sharpest times of warre, and euermore made a meere Barre of his body, against the hottest inuasions of the English. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fift, hauing reconquered most part of those territories, which had bene insulted on in the reigues of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head against that valiant *Edward*, surnamed the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and disappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-established *Henry* the 11. King of *Castille*, in his kingdome, in despight of all the Armies and English forces. Hee was also made Constable of *France*, by King *Charles the* fift, who helde him in such endeared affection for his valour, that hauing bestowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him so much honour, as to let him be buried at S. *Denis*, at the feete of the same Toombe, which this King had prepared there for himselfe.

Behold what generous words of a woman can doe.

The honorable actions of Bertrand du Guesclin.

Whatsoeuer is heere set downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath beene, and is as familar to all the Ladies of *France*, who partake in the selfe-same affection; and couet rather to enflame, the freeze their husbands forwardnesse, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all respects) to their children. For whosoeuer will but aduisedly well consider, on the admirable generosity, and greatnesse of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of those bolde words vsed by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could* (quoth hee) *vnite together all the French: I should compose such an Army of men, as if the whole world did coniure, and bend all force against them, they were not able to withst and them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very proofe of their fights and conquests, made but by some part of their people, may yeeld sufficient testimony, that if the words spoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue prooued true, and the same effect must needes haue followed.

All the Ladies of France are equall to Tiphania.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 1.

And to speake truely, if we conferre them with other Nations, we shall apparantly perceiue, that the French haue gon beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet in so farre remote Countries, so many warres attempted, & fortunately finished; so many foughten battels; and so many actions of Generosity,

ſity, haue made them ſufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romanes (albeit their ſworne enemies) doe render but too true teſtimonies thereof: not ſpeaking (in the like tearmes) of any other people whatſoeuer. But eſpecially the Romanes, who neuer feared any Nation ſo much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatall to their City, and the greatneſſe thereof. So that when the Gaules of Italy, but particularly thoſe on the hither ſide of the Alpes, made but a countenance of remouing themſelues; or deſigned any enterpriſe: they were immediately poſſeſſed with terror, and in a continuall apprehenſion, omitting no needfull prouiſion of all things, euen as if their City were to be beſiedged againe, or halfe ſurprized. *Polybius* ſaith. *They verily perſwaded themſelues, that they ſhould neuer become Maſters of Italy; no, nor conſerue their owne lands ſufficiently; ſo long as they had the Gaules to be their neighbors.*

The Romanes alwayes ſtood in feare of the Gaules.

Polyb. in lib. 2.

They felt againe the force of the warlike Gaules in the ſecond Punicke warre, when *Hanniball* went to encounter them in Italy. That great Captaine paſſed then through Gaule, and made alliance with the Gaules, whoſe valor was well enough knowne vnto him: and hee conducted them into Italy, where they did him great ſeruice againſt the Romanes. And notably doth *Polybius* remember them, when in that great day at *Cannas*, there were ſlaine 4000. Gaules in the fielde on the Carthagenian ſide: *That were* (ſaith he) *the principall inſtruments of the victory, wonne by their blood for the Carthagenians, which was the moſt deadly day for the Romanes, next to that of Allia, where the Gauls ouercame as many.* I forbeare to ſpeake of all the other encounters, battailes, and moſt ſignale warres, which this couragious Nation had againſt the Romanes, for the ſpace of about two hundred yeares. It is eaſily diſcerned (euen out of their owne reports) how many times the Gauls had the vpper hand of them, and what diſmal feares and amazements they haue put them to. Alſo, where they haue noted downe any conquering of the Gauls, it may be well obſerued, that it was compaſſed onely by ſome ſtratagem, deceit or cunning, wherby (according to their own ſaying) they brought all their purpoſes to paſſe.

Of the ſecond Punick warre.

Had leagued with the Gaules, & led them into Italy. *Polyb. in lib. 4.*

The Gaules had war with the Romanes aboue 200. yeares.

Stratagems & cuning, argue the leaſt part of manhood.

In a word, after that the Gaules of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into ſubiection, *Polybius* reporteth, *That there was the end of the Gauls war, the like wherof was neuer heard or ſeen, be it for courage, boldneſſe, and reſolution in Souldiers; be it for greatnes of fights; be it for numbers of ſlaine men, or multitudes of their troupes.* Further he proceedeth on in the accidents of their wars, by way of giuing ſome encouragement to weake mindes, againſt the dreadfull attempts of the Gaules: *Who made ſeizure* (ſaith he) *on the Greeks not only before, but alſo in my time.* Of any other nation, he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romans, that can deliuer any ſuch true teſtimony of them: which rendreth faith ſufficiently on their ſide, & (among al other people) they neuer could be fellowed. Albeit *Cicero* in his time, ſpeaking of the Spaniards and the French) ſaith; *That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gaules or French in valiancy.* Wherby is euidently ſeene, that in the compariſon of theſe two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number.

Polyb. in lib. 3.

Polyb. vbi ſupra.

Cicero pro Plācio tiſtem numero, fortitudine Galli.

And yet me-thinkes it is ſtrange to be credited, that the Spaniards ſhould exceed the French in multitude of men, cõſidering, that Spaine (as hath bin ſpoken heeretofore) is deſcribed to be but badly inhabited, euen by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne: whereas contrariwiſe, that France is ſo filled with mẽ, and ſo greatly inhabited, as it is wonderfull to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gaules were not (as then) knowne, Gaule beeing not ſubiected to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almoſt wholy. For whoſoeuer ſhall conſider, what Armies the Gaules gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romans, according to the recital of *Cæſar* himſelfe: wil iudge that Spaine, nor any other Prouince of Europe, could not be ſo fully furniſhed.

Concerning the ſlender inhabiting of Spaine.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 7.

Moreouer, it would not be much differing from our purpoſe, if wee ſhould ſet downe, what troups of ſtrangers the Romanes then kept at their pay: & namely, that they had more mercenary Soldiers out of Spaine, then euer they could get from France. Becauſe thoſe people beeing more barbarous, leſſe ciuilized, & poliſhed with good cariage; gaue thẽſelues

The Romans had more mercinary Soldiers from Spain: then from France.

ſelues to no other exerciſes, but to wander at randome among the Mountaines, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or elſe to ſeruе as mercinaries, partly to the Carthagenians, and partly to the Romanes, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gaules (of whom no queſtion was at any time made to be all warriors, excelling in valour and greatneſſe of courage) in regard that they were much ciuilized, neuer liued after ſo baſe a manner. And although they had ſuch plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no meanes of freeing themſelues from ydleneſſe, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vſed, neceſſary for the life of man, as well in times of greateſt turbulence, as ſeaſons of more ſecurity. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, becauſe they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wiues to take that pains, who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne ſo to toyle and moyle themſelues.

The naturall breeding and ciuility of the Gaules.

The negligence of the Spaniards in tilling their grounds, leauing them to be done by their wiues.

Other of our Gaules imployed themſelues in the ſtudie of Letters, and exerciſes of Religion, and contemplation in celeſtiall matters: witneſſe ſo many skilfull *Druides*, and ſuch beſide as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gaules dwelling beyond Gaule, ſerued but very ſlenderly to the Romans, vntill ſuch time as they had conquered Gaule: then they found the ſufficiency of their aſsiſtance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but alſo their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reaſon, why *Cicero*, ſpeaking afterward to *Caſar*, concerning his victories in Gaule, ſaid: *That hee had ouercome Nations, inumerable in multitudes.*

Learned ſtudies among the Gaules.

Cicero pro M. Marcello.

Now, to ſpeake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as a prey to ſtrangers. *Italy*, ſometime the Conquereſſe of many people, with her Rome, calling her-ſelfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was ſhee not (for long time) expoſed to the ranages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vuiſigothes*, *Herules*, *Gerpides*, *Oſtrogothes*, and *Lombards*: who intirely ſacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings? *Spaine* became inuaded in the ſame manner, and afterward was cantonned by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*: yet were they alſo expulſed (in following time) by the *Vuiſigothes*, who eſtabliſhed their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Oſtrogothes*, who held the Country powerfully ſo long, till the *Sarrazines* ouercomming them, were vſurpingly poſſeſſed of well neere all *Spaine*. *Allemaigne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewiſe made ſubiect to the inuaſions of thoſe people which dwelt more Northerly, who at length ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire? I ſay nothing of ſome other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is moſt certaine, that thorough all the Prouinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

All Countries ſubiect to the ſpoile of ſtrangers. Italy & Rome

Spaine in the ſame condition.

Allemaigne or Germany in no better eſtate the the other.

But to ſpeake more particularly of *Spaine*, at the firſt it was filed with people of the French Nation, as along the Riuer * *Anas* or *Ana*, now called *Guadiana* in *Caſtille*, ſo farre as the Promontory Artabrum, or *Cabo de finis terra*, in *Gallicia* in *Portugall*. Alſo the *Celtiberians* in *Caſtille*, by the teſtimony of *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. Frō whence it enſueth, that ſome ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howſoeuer, *Spaine* hath continually beene taken, held and commanded by ſtrangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodians*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phœnicians*, *Egiptians*, *Phocenſes*, and *Carthagenians*, according as their owne Hiſtorians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Vuiſigothes* and *Oſtrogothes*. At laſt, wholly filled with *Moores* and *Sarrazins*, who held it in poſſeſſion aboue ſeuen hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to ſome Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalouzia*, called *Alpuxarras*, whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

* The Riuer Guadiana, which diuideth Granada from Portugal *Strabo in Lib. 4.*

Diuers ſtrāge Nations commanding Spaine. *Vaſeus & Tarapha.*

Moores and Sarrazins yet abiding in Spaine.

Heereby may bee gathered, that they are a mingled people, and compoſed of ſo many ſeuerall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it ſelfe (euen the beſt polliſhed and moſt frequent) ſufficiently

The Spaniards are a compounded people.

ently sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue ther happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from rauage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

The pure and entire condition of France

* *Timagenes*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saieth; *That according to the opinion of his Nation, the Gaules were Autoctthones, that is to say, Originaries, and borne in and of the selfesame Country.* Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies; which the Athenians also attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be obiected to me, that *Marseilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phocenses*: yet there was none other but that onely Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there cõmanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the Gaules, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, *That he himselfe had seene in Gaule.*

* A Rhetorician of Alexandria, reaching in *Pompeis* house. *Marcel. in l. 15.*

Marseilles in France, built by the Phocenses.

Marcel. in l. 15.

As concerning the Britannians or Bretons, who being expulsed out of *England* by the *English Saxons*: they withdrew themselues into Bretaigne, thẽ called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: comming backe afterward, to refuge thẽselues in France; did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true orginall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparantly shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to bee seene in the Geographicall description of that Island (according to *Ptolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgians*, the *Parisians*, the *Atrebatians*, & the *Cornabians*.

The Bretons expulsed by the English Saxons.

Cornel. Tacitus in vita Iul. Agricolæ.

Colonies plãted in Armorica or Bretaigne.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entred among the Gaules, not as enemies, but as friends and brethren to the Gaules: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romanes* and *Gothes*, who had expulsed them, and were (in that mãner) restored to their former freedome, and so the Gaules and French became but one people, as shall heereafter more plainly be declared.

The entrance of the French among the Gaules.

The *Gothes*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in Spaine; to speake truely, came also among the Gaules, but yet for a very short while: nor was there any Ensigne or remarkable valor in those *Goths*, making comparison of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearefull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth S. *Gregory Florentius*, Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Saluianus*, that eloquent Priest of *Marseilles*, acknowledged the *Gothes* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in Gaule, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Merouæus*, *Chlouis*, and *Childebert*, beheld them to passe ouer the Pyrenean Mountains, yet they assailed and ouercame them in battaile, euen in Spaine, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burguignons* and *Germanes*, who had inuaded some small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite extermined.

The Gothes came among the Gaules.

S. Greg. Floren in lib. 2. cap. 27.

Alaricus Rex Gothorum metuens ne propter Syagrium vrbem Francorum incurreret, vt Gothorum pene mos est, vinctum legatis tradidit. Eod. li. cap. 37. Cumque secundum consuetudinẽ Gothi terga verissent. Sabian. li. 6. & 7.

So the French and Gaules, conserued themselues within their own limits, without hauing any strãgers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled Germany and Italy, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of Germany, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Nuear*, in an Epistle which hee sent to the Emperor *Charles* the 5. on the the Annales of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*.

The best houses of Germany deriued of the French

Herman. Comes de Nuear in Epist. ad Car. 5.

True it is, that the Gaules haue beene ouertaken by the Romans: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

their admirable order, and exact Military discipline? *Iosephus*, very fitly to this purpose, attributeth thereto all their great conquests and large extendure of the Romane Empire. So that after he hath demonstrated the forme of their Campe, their ordinary exercises for Armes, and a summonary obseruation of all their behauiour, he concludeth. *All these being well considered, wee neede make no doubt to say; that the possessions was much lesse then the possessors. Adding withall, that hee extended so farre in declaring all this, not as any commendation to the Romanes power, but rather as a comfort to the conquered.*

Iosephus in lib. 2. de Bel. Iudaï.

The words of Iosephus concerning the Romanes.

Moreouer, of the Westerne Prouinces, France was the last conquered by them, whatsoeuer is else saide to the contrary. Whereas (on the other side) *Spaine* came among the first into their hands, in the time of the wars against the Carthagenians. France was that Country, that longest of all resisted, and against which (to speake no more then truth) their inuincible Armies, yea, they that were victorious throughout the whole world; became meerely edgelesse and blunted, as not able to beare off their blowes. All other Romane Captains vtterly lost their labour, *Cæsar* onely excepted. Which is no meane honor to the Gaules, to yeeld themselues vnder the yoke of so great a Prince: who is acknowledged to be the most wise and perfect Captaine that euer was. And yet for all that, France was not conquered at the first onset, neyther made surrender of her spoyles, without sweate and blood. That great Commander in warre, tooke intollerable paines, and trauelled for the space often yeares continually, with all the power and strength of the Romanes, which then held the more part of the wide world. And yet (euen then) he had not preuailed neither, if hee had not serued his turne with Frenchmen themselues, & made a conquest of *France*, by *France*. Diuisions and partialities, which were then on foot among them (an ordinary and fatall ruine to the most potent kingdomes) called him thether, wher finding all to bee diuided in diuers factions, ciuill warre kindled among them, allied with many, and fortefied with their troopes, as namely them of *Authun* and others; it was so much the more easier to be surprized by him, and in such an opportunity of aduantage.

France last conquered by the Romans.

None of the Romans could conquer France, but Cæsar.

Cæsar made a conquest of France, by France it self, and in a time when they were at diuision among themselues.

All which notwithstanding, it is an admirable matter, and well worth the obseruation, that in the resistance made against him, by people so disioynted & perplexed: yet in ten whole yeares, the Gaules fought thirty ranged battailes, wherein, according to the account made by *Appian*, there were slaine well neere eleuen hundred thousand able fighting men. And beside, himselfe testifieth in his Memories sufficiently, with what manner of people they had to deal: & they likewise could no way performe, without receiuing great losses, as there he feareth not to confesse.

Appian in lib. 1. de bello ciuili, & in Celticis.

If wee had but his Ephemerides, or particular Iournall booke, we should see other matters of his owne confession; considering, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the conquest of the Gaules, saith: *He pacified them, after many great losses on either side sustained in ten years war.* And as touching his owne person, it is recorded, that in a certain encounter, he was releeued, (notwithstanding all his Greatnesse and goodly Armour) by a Gaule, who hauing remounted him vppon his owne horse, bare him away throgh all the throngs. But there came another Gaule, who brauely cryed to his companion, *Cecos Cæsar* in the ancient Gaulish language which is as much to say, as *Let Cæsar passe*, & this was the reason of his safe passage. Wherein they worthily declared, that it was honour enough to their generous mindes, to carry *Cæsar* safely away from danger, when they had him in their power, and could haue slaine him, *Satis est præstrasse.* The Grammarian *Seruius* citeth this example out of the Ephemerides or Iournals of *Cæsar*, which wee cannot come by in these dayes. In like manner, *Cæsar* knowing them wel, and hauing (on the other side) experimented the dulnes of the Easterne people, in the war which he had against *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, saide. *Most happy was Pompey, that he had nothing to do with the resolute French, but with the faint-harted men of the East, & got the surname of Great at so cheape a Market.* In briefe, the *Gauls* were neuer ioyned to the Romane Empire, by any power in the Romanes, but thorough their owne proper forces: as a great Captaine speaketh in *Tacitus*. *Verè reputantibus Gallian suismet viribus concidisse.*

Cæsar kept a Diary booke of all actions in Armes. *Marcel. in l. 15*

Cæsar releeued by a Gaul in great extremity.

Seruius Aen. xi. In hunc versum Dire prunque ab equo.

* Who was Sonne to king Mithridates.

Histor. Lib. 4.

And as King *Agrippa* declareth in *Iosephus. It was not through want of courage, or any dull neglect, that they were ouercome: considering the Romanes themselues said, it was foure score yeares, before they could fasten hold in one small Meridionall or Southerly Prouince of Gaule, & afterward fought so much against Cæsar: But rather it was by the frugall managing of their owne felicity, wherein they pacified both destiny and fortune: whereby they plainly saw, that the Romanes got the vpper hand rather by force thē otherwise, and (in a word) by the diuine permission or prouidence.* Nay, and that which is much more, after so long warre, against such power, and so great a Captaine, yea, and after so many losses: yet notwithstanding, Gaule fell not into the Romans hands, as being subiected, but rather as allied, and in farre better fashion then all the other Prouinces.

Iosephin lib. 2. de Bel. Iudai.

Gaule not so much conquered, as louingly leagued.

He that continued *Cæsars* Commentaries, saith: *That while hee wintered in Belgia, he had a carefull eye, onely to maintain the people in amity, without giuing to any one either will or occasion, to rise or take themselues to Armes.* For that which hee most of all desired, was, that vpon his departing, there might happen no occasions to stay him: or if hee had cause to bring an Army thither againe, yet that he should not bee troubled with any long warre, whereunto Gaule gaue listening with very good attention, when she saw her selfe out of apparant danger. Wherfore, causing the Cities to come before him, with his best respect, and greatest honour he embraced them, and gaue very goodly gifts to the principall and most apparant persons: not imposing on the rest any charges, or extraordinary subsidies, wherby he contained them in peace, and the better disposition to obedience throughout all Gaule. And so by this cunning, Gaule (at last) gaue place, and became mildely quieted. For the affability of *Cæsar*, and the courtesies he extended towards them, did more conquer them in one winter, then all his Forces, Legions and Armies could doe in ten yeares.

De Bello Galico. lib. 8. in fi.

Gaule could endure no apparant danger.

One winters kindnesse in Cæsar wonne more then all his Legions could do in ten yeares wars.

Ouer and beside, the titles of Alliances, of Peace, and of friendly conference, are so frequent in the Romane Authors, euer where they speake of Gaule; that it plainly testifieth on her behalfe, that shee was not conquered by Armes, but rather left at louely liberty, by friendly parlances and confederations. Which *Ammianus Marcellinus* himselfe also confirmeth, for he saith, that *Cæsar*; *After many losses on the one side & other sustained, during a war of ten yeares continuance: in the ende (by eternall pactions and agreements) ioyned the Gaules to the Romane Society and alliance.* We see also, that they left some people in Gaule wholly free, as (among other) the men of *Auuergne*; who termed themselues as Noble as the Romans, and called them their brethren; the men of *Authun*, the *Marsellians*; them of *Lionnois, Forests*, and the round neighbouring Countries.

Gaule not conquered by Armes, but courteise. *Marcel. in li. 15 Post de cenndo belli mutua clades societati nostræ fœderibus iunxit æternis.*

Plin. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Now as concerning Subsidies & Contributions, a Romane Gouernour, named *Cerealis*, sheweth plainly in *Tacitus: That such tribute was but for maintenance of the Legions, and for preseruation of peace in the Prouinces; which could not bee continued without Armes nor Armes without wealth. As for the rest* (saith hee, speaking to the Gaules) *all is in common with vs, oftentimes you giue command to our legions, your selues also gouerne in the Prouinces, as others do in our Empire.* By the selfe-same reason, that which bound them most to duty, was the entire amity of the Romanes to them. *Cæsar* made a great number of their Cittizens Romanes, and *Augustus* in like manner, though in more sparing fashion, with some restriction frō vulgarizing so great an honour of the City or Bourgesship of the Romanes. Afterward, the Emperour *Claudius* gaue the right of Senatours to the principall of the Gaulish Lords. And in the ende, *Galba*, for the signale seruices which the Gaules had done to him and the Romane Empire against *Nero*: hee made them all Cittizens, without exception.

Corn. Tacit. in Histor. lib. 4

Cæsar made many of the Gaulish Cittizens Romans.

Annal. Tacit. 11

Idem. Histor. in lib. 1.

The like was neuer done in, or for *Spain*, where there were but some Colonies w had the same right, and no more then to any other Prouince of the Empire: who obtained that priuiledge, but by generall Edict of the Emperour *Antonius Caracalla*. Nor was it without great reason, that they made such great account of this Prouince: considering, what great aduantages it gaue vnto them. For, were it in respect of treasure, rich Gaule furnished them with more reuenues; then (by vsing the common manner of saying)

L. In orbe Romano D. de Statu homin.

Treasure of the Gaules.

saying) all the rest of their Empire, as it is recorded by *Velleyus Paterculus*. Were it for leuying vndaunted Souldiers, and for such as they mustered from thence: therin consisted the maine strength of al their troopes. And that *Cæsar* knew well enough, and published it sufficiently abroad, as hauing made choise of them aboue all other, and (by their meanes only) came to possesse the Empire of the whole world. For ouer and beside what hath formerly beene said, concerning the wealthy treasures of France: the valiancy of the Gaules holdeth the most eminent place, by whose courage he was especially and principally serued, to gaine that greatnesse, whereunto hee had so long time aspired.

Velleyus Paterculus. Soldiers for the warr out of Gaule cheefely.

The victory which he wonne against great *Pompey*, ought to bee attributed to the valour & warlike vertue of the Gauls. And if he had not bin furnished with such men, valiant and strong, not onely against the enemy, but also to endure famine, and all other kindes of necessities, euen to the feeding on bread made of grasse & roots; he had bin lost in his hopes, and vtterly defeated by the long & lingering delaies of his enemy. This was that which most of all amazed *Pompey*, who gaue expresse charge, that such bread should not bee seene in his Camp; for feare of disheartning his Souldiers, or driuing them into detestation of their paines, whē they considered, the sharpe extremities suffered by their enemies, with whom they dealt so cruelly, that they left them nothing to feed on, but euen as brutish beasts.

Cæsars victorie against Pompey, ascribed to the Gaules.

Plut in vit. Cæsar. Pompey was astonished at the bread whereon the Gaules fed on in warre.

Moreouer, *Cæsar* hauing sent a small number of Gaules, for great succour to *M. Crassus* against the Parthians; these were the men, who (in that most vnhappy day for the Romans) performed most strange exploits of Armes, and shook the enemies victory very sharply. These were the men, in whom young *Crassus* reposed most confidence, as being the warriours, with whom he performed admirable actions of prowesse. For they receiued (with their bare hands) the sharpe points of the Parthians Pikes, and closing with them body to body, threw them to the ground, among their horses feete; where they lay all along stretched out, vnable to releeue themselues, onely through the massiy weight of their Armor. Many ther were beside, who forsaking their owne horses, crept vnder the bellies of thē belonging to their enemies, to pierce & stab them with the points of their Swords: which causing the horses to bound aloft, by extremity of the anguish they felte, trampled vnder their feete both their masters & enemies together, and so fell dead without any rescue.

The Gaules sent to succor M. Crassus against the Parthians.

Plut in M. Crass.

The admirable seruice of the Gaules to yong Crassus.

The same *Cæsar*, prepared a complete Legion of Gaulish Souldiers, which hee called the *Larke*, and added it to the Romane Legions, and whereto (at length) he gaue the honour of Bourgeship. Nay, and that is much more, hee not knowing how he might worthily enough recompence the Gaules: made a great number of them Senatours, to the great discontenting of many *Romanes*. And as for the Cauallery or horsemen, wherin the *Gauls* euermore excelled all other Nations in warre: *Cæsar* had (almost) none other, but continually ready at his seruice ten thousand Gaulish horse, according as it is declared by *Appian*. These were the French horse, that affoorded so many great seruices to *Cæsar*: as well in *Spaine* against *Affrinius* & *Petreius*, Lieutenants to *Pompey*; as afterward in *Affrica*. Wher it is said, that in one fight, lesse then thirty Gaules in number, fought against two thousand Mauritanians, and droue them to flight.

Cæsars Legion of Gaules, termed by him the Lark. *Suetō. in Iulio cap. 24.* *Suetō. in Iulio cap. 76. & 80.*

Appian. De Bel. Ciuil. lib. 2.

Nere to *Munda* in *Spaine*, *Cæsar* fought against the sonnes of *Pompey*, where all had bin vtterly lost for him, hee knew not any meanes for helpe or redresse: till the Gaulish horsemen reconfirmed all, and was the cause, that the day (beeing before reputed for desperate) came solie to *Cæsar*. His sucessors found themselues alwayes well serued, both with ordinary horse and foote of the Gaules. *Tacitus* maketh mention of a Cohort or Regimēt of the *Sicambrians*, which did many remarkable deeds, in the warre against the Thracian Mountaineers: *Who were* (saith he) *prompt and hardy against dangers, and no lesse dreadfull for their Armes and order of marching in battaile aray.* This I do the more willingly sette downe, because of those Gaulish Sicambrian Nation, the French are properly descended.

Autor de Bello Affrico in princ. seude Bello Ciuili. 5.

Cæsar succored by the Gaules on a desperate day

Corn. Tacit. in Annal. 4.

The Poet *Claudian* auoucheth, that as other Prouinces furnished the Emperours with diuers commodities: so did

De laudib. Serenæ. Dat Gallia robur militis.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The ſame Author ſaith in another place, that vnder the Emperors *Arcadius* & *Honorius*, about the time of the inſurrection and reuolt of *Gildon*, a great Army, compoſed (for the moſt part) of Gaules, was brought to ſuccour Greece, then rauaged and ſpoyled by the *Gothes*: and they performed there ſuch deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romanes, partaking in the honours and adminiſtration of the Empire: it was no matter of maruaile, that their peace ſhould be of ſo long cõtinuance. One onely thing alſo was irkeſom & burdenous to thẽ, in regard wherof, they troubled the Romane Empire with ſome ſtirres and perturbations, the Gaules being naturally addicted to vertue and ſeuerity. And therefore they hated to be commanded by ſuch Emperors as were negligent, diſſolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them deſpiſe ſubiection to ſuch as was *Tiberus*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabilus*, *Galien*, and other ſuch like monſters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and ſuch Gouernors were the fitteſt men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

Greece ſpoyled & waſteſt by the Goths.

The Gaules hated to be commanded by diſſolute Emperors.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his ſaid; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Poſthumius, Gouernor of Gaule. A man* (ſaith he) *well worthy of the Gaules ſeuerity.* A word ſufficient to reiect the obiection of leuity, wherewith ſome would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperor *Carus*, confeſſeth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very conſtant and vertuous.* So that being vnable to ſuffer the deteſtable vices of many Romane Emperors, they departed (at euery occaſion) in this reſpect frõ their obedience: whereby it may be iuſtly ſaid, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truely ſubiected, gaue their ſeruice to no other Emperors, but ſuch as themſelues reputed worthy. Vntill ſuch time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the inſatiable auarice of Romane Gouernors, and other inſupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and ſo wholly did roote out the Romanes name.

Tatbell. Polliſt. In xxx. Tyrannis. De Poſthumio 2.

Vopiſcus in Caro.

The Gaules were neuer truely ſubiected to the Emperors.

But to examine a point (heeretofore handled) ſomewhat more particularly, it cannot bee ſaide with any reaſon, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more reſiſtance, or continued longer time from ſubduing or ſubiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians poſſeſſed themſelues (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: euen at ſuch time as the Romans fell likewiſe on it, and carried away their ſhare without any difficulty. Witnes the treaty of peace, made betweene the Romans & *Haſdruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was couenanted, that the Riuer *Iberus*, now called *Ebura*, ſhould bee the bound of the Empire for theſe two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betweene them both, ſhould confederate with the one and other.

France not conquered by the Romanes before Spaine.

Ti. Liu. in fi. 21 Inpr.

* *Sagunt*, a City in Spain beyond Iberus and a mile from the Sea.

After this, it is ſufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre againſt the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no eſtate, or fewe, made mention off among the Spaniards; who ſtood but as ſpectators, in expectation of the yſſue, to ſee which of thoſe two people ſhould haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the ſecond Punicke warre, when the *Scipioes* (after they had ſpent eight yeares in war) were ſlaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, Great *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Affricanus*, being ſent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expulſed them wholy thence, & firſt of all made it a Romane Prouince, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation CCCCCXLIII. All the buſines which he had with the Spaniards, was for ſome reuolts of particular people, whom he likewiſe as ſoone ſuppreſſed. So that very truely *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath ſaide: *That all the Prouinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the firſt conquered, & made one Prouince by the Romanes.*

The ſecond Punick war wherein the Scipioes were ſlaine, & the comming of great Scipio into Spaine.

Marcel. in fi. 3.

All Hiſtorians agree together, reporting alſo, that in the yeare CCCCCLII. two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior* & *Vlterior*, to wit, on this ſide, and beyond *Ebura*.

Ti. Liu. in fi. 35

Cato Senior sent into Spaine.

ra. The elder *Cato* was also sent thither, to quallifie the reuoltes of some people. When he had ouercome them, & made prouision, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he sent his Letters & command to euery City in particular, to this effect, that they should cast down to the ground their wals and fortefications, & disposed the action so orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arriued ther at the same time. So they being verily perswaded in each City, that this command stretched but to that place onely: yeelded the more willingly, which otherwise they would not haue done. Whereupon ensued, that in one day, all their Townes were dismantled, and their wals raced. In regard of which successe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Plut. in Catone maiore. Tit. Liuius in l. 34. Aurel. de Vir. Illust. 47.

At what time the Romanes first entred into Gaule.

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romans neuer had footing there, but in the yeare IVCXXII. & in Prouence only: about an hundred years after that *Spaine* was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very small parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaule being neuer made a Prouince, but by *Cæsar*. By what likelihood of truth can it thē be said, that *Spain* was brought vnder the power of the Romane Empire, after France? Neuertheless, it is very true (as *Strabo* saith) that the difficulties which the Romans had in *Spaine*, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of some particular Townes & people, and by the incursions of theeues gathered together in troopes, and these (of necessity) were to be chastised. So, making war, not in grosse, or with a body of iust Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in small courses and surprizals: the Romans had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them. Againe, although *Spaine* was held & cōmanded wholly by the *Romanes*, yet notwithstanding, there remained some people, dwelling in difficult, sharpe & mountainous places, as * *Basques*, & * *Astures*: who afterward, in the time of *Augustus*, were wholly vanquished, and added to the rest of *Spaine*. As also (about the same time hauing conquerd *Aquitain*) he made it a Prouince, as the three other of Gaul.

Strabo in Lib. 4

A defectiue kinde of making warre.

* People of Boetica in Spaine.
* People betweene Gallicia and Portugall.

Moreouer, there cannot bee found so great a number of worthy Captaines, afforded by any country, like vnto *France*. As were among the ancient *Bellouasians* and *Sigouasians*, chiefe of the first & furthest-off expeditions among the Gaules; *Brennus*, that surprized *Rome*, and another *Brennus*, who afterward subdued the most part of *Europe* and *Asia*. *Dumnorix*, *Diuiconus*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatius*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diuitiacus*, and many more recorded by *Cæsar*. And to set Kings aside, who cā re count all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbred, such as haue beene in later times, as *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, king of Ierusalem: beside so many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of *Spaine* and *Affrica*, against the *Turkes*, *Moores*, and *Sarrazins* at sundry times. The Marshall *Bouciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charls* the fift, as also *John de Saintrè*, knight; *Bertrand du Guesclin*, Constable of *France*; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Coucy*; the *Conte de Dunois*, cheefe of the famous house of *Longueuille*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulsion of the bolde English. *La Hire*, *Pothon de Xaintrailles*, *Tanneguy du Chastell*: *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Ancestors to great K. *Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of *Italy*, bare away the renowned victory of *Rauenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of *Spaine* and *Italy* coniured against him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Autrec*; the Captain *Bayard*; the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouilles*; *Guillaume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Constable of *France*; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguyen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Cosse*, of the house of *Brissac*, and an infinite number more, most honourably remembred by the best Historians.

What famous Captaines France hath yeelded from time to time.

Godfrey of Bullen, King of Ierusalem.

One of the best Soldiers that euer France bred.

What shall we say of our Kings *Meroueus*, *Chlouis*, *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles* the *Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Loys le Gros*, *Phillip Augustus*, *S. Louys*, *Phillip* the third, *Phillip le Bell*, *Charles* the fift, surnamed the wise, *Lewes* the twelfth, *Frances* the first, and the valiant *Henry* the fourth, father to the King now reigning?

Famous warlike Kings of France.

On the contrary, *Trogus*, speaking of *Spaine*, saith. *In tanta seculorum serie, nullus illi Dux magnus, præter Viriatum fuit,*

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 44.

qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria fatigauit. Adeo feris propiora quam hominibus ingenia sunt. In long succesſe of ages, they neuer had any chiefe Guide for warre, beſide Viriatus Luſitanus, who laboured the Romanes for the ſpace of ten yeares. So that (ſaieth he) *they came neerer in nature to ſauage beaſts, then to men.* And addeth further, that they followed ſuch a Captaine, rather by occaſion, then out of any iudgement, hauing not made any election of him.

Viriatus the hardy Luſitanian.

Nor can there be deſired a better, and more certaine teſtimony of valour, and generous nature in the French, then that which *Strabo* deliuereth in theſe words. *All thoſe people whom we terme Gaules, are Martiall, courageous, & ready (of thẽſelues) to fight: And yet notwithſtanding, they are very ſimple, and no way wicked or euill inclined.* Heereto he addeth. *That they bring nothing to the fight but vertue and courage, without any craft, ſuperchery, or brauing. And although* (ſaith he) *they are full of heat to fight; yet are they (for all that) capable to vnderſtand reaſon, and eaſie to bee perſwaded. Willing to vndertake the quarrell, for ſuch as they ſee to be iniuriouſly wronged and offended.*

Strabo in Lib. 4.

The Author of the Commentaries on the warre which *Cæſar* made in *Affrica*, be it *Hirtius*, be it *Oppius*, or whoſoeuer elſe, ſaith. *That the Gaules were men open-hearted, and no way deceiuers, vſing to fight by vertue, and not by ſubtilty or fraud.* The ſame *Strabo* auoucheth in another place, ſaying: *They are all warriors, and principally good Knights, for the beſt Cauallerie of the Romanes, was compoſed of the Gaules.* The Romanes alwayes made moſt eſpeciall account of the Gauliſh horſemen, for *Cæſar* found himſelfe to bee beſt ſerued with them. And *Cicero* hearing that the gouernment of *Tranſalpine Gaule* ſhould be giuen to *M. Anthony*; cryed out. *Eſt enim opinio decreturum aliquem M. Anton. Galliam vltimam quam Plauius obtinet: Quid hoc eſt aliud, quam hoſti arma largiri primum neruos belli pecuniam infinitam. Deinde equſtatum quantum velit? Can any thing elſe be done heerein, but onely to thruſt Armes into the hands of an enemy? Firſt of all, infinite ſummes of money, which are the nerues and ſinewes of warre: And next, as many men well horſed, as he would haue with him.* This paſſage is ſufficient, whereby to conceiue and certainly obſerue, the wealthy treaſures of France, and the opinion held thereof.

In Lib. 7. *Copias habebat in Gallia bellare conſuetas, locis cæ pestribus & contra Gallos homines aper tos minime que inſidioſes, qui per virtutem non per dolum dimicare conſueuerunt.* *Cicero in Philip. 5.*

The exerciſes of theſe people, ſpake fully the matter of war ſo much by them affected, alwaies louing a manly & cheerfull diſpoſition of the body, and contemning groſſe corpulency: ſo that they condemned (in very great fines) all ſuch yong men, whoſe bellies exceeded the ordinary meaſure of their girdles, according to the auouching of *Strabo*. Moreouer, the French haue bene reputed to ſurpaſſe all other Nations, in theſe two noble and warlike exerciſes, hunting, and ryding great horſes. *Hunting, which is nothing elſe but a liuely image of warre, and an aſſiduate meditation thereof*, as *Xenophon* ſaith. *Eginhard*, the nurſing-childe of *Charles* the Great, and his Secretary, writing his life, ſpeaketh thus. *Exercebatur aſſidue equitãdo ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia vix vlla in terris natio inuenitur quæ in hac re Francis poſſit æquari. He exerciſed himſelfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horſebacke. Wherein* (ſaith he) *he relliſhed of the whole Nation. For there is not any people in all the world, that can heerein ſurpaſſe, but onely may endeuor to equall the French.*

The exerciſes of the Gauliſh people declared their affection to Arms

Strabo in lib. 4.

Hunting and riding great horſes.

Xenophon. In vita Caroli Magni.

But before I can finiſh this diſcourſe, concerning the warlike vertue of the French. I cannot forbeare to ſay ſomewhat of that which they performed on the day of * *Nicopolis* againſt the Turkes: where a man may well ſay, that a ſmall handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled (in proweſſe) whatſoeuer wee reade in Hiſtories, of all the braue exploits in war that euer were done. Not *Leonides* of the Greekes at the *Thermopylæ*, nor *Cæditius* of the Romanes in *Sicily*, is any way worthy compariſon with them: the hiſtory followeth in this manner.

A City in Bithynia.

Froiſſard in vol. 4.

Charles the ſixt reigning in France, the King of Hungaria ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, entreting that ſome ſuccor might be affoorded him, againſt *Baiazeth* the firſt, Emperor of the Turks, the moſt remarkable warrior that euer was of the houſe of the *Ottomans*. The King conſenting thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gentlemen of France prepared themſelues to be ſeene in this voyage, to the number of about a thouſand or twelue hundred. Among others, there was the *Conte d'Eu*, Conſtable of France; the *Conte de la Marche*;

The hiſtory of the few reſolued French on the day fought at Nicopolis.

Marche, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lords of *Trimouille*, and *Iohn, Conte de Neuers*, ſon to the Duke of *Burgongne*, who was chief Commander. When they were ioyned with the king of *Hungariaes* army, hauing paſt the riuer * *Danubius*, they bare away (in aſſault) the honor of diuers Townes: and at length came to lay ſiedge before the City of *Nicopolis*.

The greateſt riuer in Europe, riſing out of the hill Arnoba in Germany. In Illyricum it receiueth 60. other riuers into it, where it is cald Iſter and there is broadeſt.

VVhile the greater part of the Army beſiedged the City, *Enguerrand* Lord of *Coucy*, taking with him fiue hundred Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to ſeeke ſome enemies that they might fight withall, and it is credibly reported, that (verie nere vnto them) there was a troop of Turkes, of about twenty thouſand in number. Now, albeit this multitude exceeded their ſmall companie beyond all meaſure: yet notwithſtanding, they reſolued to grapple with them. And hauing firſt of all drawne them beyond a wood, wherein there was an ambuſcado; they came and charged them in the rere. The fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long continuance, wherein the French, although they were ſo few againſt ſo great a number; yet they did performe wonders that day. So that in the end, the Turkes being diſheartned, faintned extraordinarily, & more then fifteen thouſand lay ſlaine in the field.

500. hundred French Lances, ſet vpon 200000. Turkes & their ſucces

Some ſhort while after, *Baiazeth* being come with a dreadfull Armie, conſiſting of more then three hundred thouſand fighting men: they aduanced themſelues to deale with the enemies armie, being not worthy to be termed any number, becauſe they were (in all) but ſeauen hundred, when they beganne the fight. The French ſmall troops, made a goodly ſight to behold, being all well armed and appointed, in rich glittering and gorgeous Armors, wanting no coſt of golde and ſiluer, and brauely mounted on gallant horſes, moſt ſumptuouſly barbed & caparaſſoned; ſo that ſuch as ſaw them, might well haue tearmed them an Armie of Kings. But (beyond all the reſt) vvith what force, ardour and courage they fought, although they were meerely ſhut vp, and round railed or ringed in with innumerable enemies. At the firſt onſet, they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the auantgard and firſt battell of the Turke, beating them on ſtil before them, euen to the verie midſt of the bodie of the maine army, where was *Baiazeth* himſelfe.

A far vnindifferent army of Turkes, to meddle with ſo fewe of the French.

Many there were, who performing meer miracles of manhood in fight, cleft or hewed out their paſſage thorough the preaſe, and very thickeſt of all the Turkiſh Army, compelling them to make them way, both for going on and returning backe again, euen to two or three ſeuerall times of enforcement. And yet no one man among that poore ſmall troop, who ſeeing the vnauoydable danger of death, was deſirous to take hold on any aduantage, or ſhew ſo much as a countenance of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly) offered them many meanes. All reſolued to looſe their liues, but yet the enemie bought them at very deere rate, filling the field with mountaines made of their dead bodies: euen till ſuch time as the fight hauing held a great deal of the day, the moſt part of the French lying dead on the ground, and the reſt (a very ſmall number) wearied vvith killing the Turks, and piereed through with wounds being ouerwhelmed with multitudes, were (in the end) taken priſoners. But it was generally held for truth, that if the great body of the Hungarian army (beeing vvell-neere the number of an hundred thouſand able men) had ſeconded them, or vſed neuer ſo little reſiſtance, in making but a ſhew of withſtanding the enemie, to hinder the French from beeing ſo encloſed (by any forwardneſſe in redeeming them, and not fearefully fly away on heaps thorough the valley, as the Hungarians moſt cowardly did, ſuffering themſelues to be murthred, without any offer of fight) the day had remained to the Chriſtians. And I dare ſpeake it, that the power of the Turkes, which afterwards ſo great enlarged it ſelfe (meerely thorow our diuiſions) had then bin vtterly ruined from the top to the bottome.

Moſt admirable corage & manhood, deliuered apparantly by the French, and in a time of moſt extreme triall

Great negligence in the armie of the Hungarians, to faile the men which fought for the

Then you plainely perceiue, that of this ſmall troope of reſolute Champions, the greater part of them lay dead in the field, hauing made a ſlaughter of infinite enemies, more by fifty times then they were; and fought to their lateſt drop of bloode; but verie few of them remayned priſoners. But on the next day, *Baiazeth* going himſelf in perſon, to view the fielde of battell, and take acknowledgement of the dead, when he found that for one

But few priſoners taken of the ſmall French company.

French

Frenchman ſlaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in ſuch pittifull condition, he tooke it ſo deſpitefully, and entred into ſuch outragious choller, as beeing vnable to conſider on his loſſe, or take any means for contentation, hee commanded a paſſage vnto death thorough the army, of all the priſoners, except about ſome twentie of the greateſt Lords: as the *Conte de Neuers* thē Generall, and others; who being knowne, were ſaued and put to their ranſomes. *Baiazeth* complaining on ſo ſadde a victory, which coſt him ſo deare, could not depart thence but very penſiuely; and in plain trueth, ſuch another ouerthrow woulde abſolutely haue confounded him altogether.

Baiazeth had but little ioy in his deare victory, deſiring to deale no more with the French.

This may ſeeme ſufficient for the valiancie of the French. But ſom may obiect, that ſuch warlike people, accuſtomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exerciſes, ſhold bee voluntary diſdainers of matters appertaining to Iuſtice, acknowledging no other right then that of armes. *Forbear* (ſaid *Pompey*) *till to morrow, to alleadge your Lawes to vs, who haue our ſwords by our ſides.* This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be leſſe commended for their iuſtice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iuſtice. *Agathias* a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thouſand yeares ſince, hath prayſed and commended the French for their Iuſtice. *Whereof* (ſaith hee) *they are verie deſirous, as alſo great louers of their Country.* He further addeth, *That becauſe they poſſeſſe a moſt aſſured eſtate, they haue (as their baſes and ſupport) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People.* Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gaules & the French haue moſt highly cheriſhed and loued Iuſtice, and haue alwayes religiouſlie honoured it, yeelding themſelues thereto, and making continuall exerciſe thereof, without any paſſion.

Concerning matters belonging to iuſtice

Plutarch, in vit. Pom.

Agathias in l. 1.

The French great louers of iuſtice.

And not to make repetition of an infinit number of goodly inſtitutions, and diuers examples of their Iuſtice, it may well appeare by this notable cuſtome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue obſerued among them. To wit, that if any one haue ſlaine a Citizen or Bourgeſſe, he hath no other infliction but baniſhment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on the perſon of a ſtranger, he is punniſhed with death: for the paine is augmented in conſideration of the ſtranger, to whome the more eaſily the iniury may be offred, ſo much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be ſeuerely puniſhed and reuenged. It may be thought ſomwhat hard, that a ſtraunger ſhould be fauoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cut off which difficulty, we ſee by the diuine law, ordained on the ſtrangers behalfe, that he is ſo oftentimes repeated and defended, that a man muſt very carefully keepe himſelfe from harming him, and that iuſtice muſt bee rendred him equal with a Citizen. And queſtionles it may be truly ſaid, that (euen at this day) ther is not any country in the world, where a ſtranger is more humanely entertained, leſſe offenced, and more defended in all right of iuſtice, then among the people of France.

A notable example of Iuſtice among the French. *Stobeus.*

A Stranger more fauored and defended then a Citizen by the law of God.

In like manner, wee finde by probable hiſtories, that (very often times) Princes and ſtraunge people haue referred their differences to the iuſtice of France, aſwel of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iuſtice in King *Dagobert*, was ſpred ſo farre into ſtrange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, deſired him to be the Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians ſaid, that if euer he cam into their countrey, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Strange princes & people haue referred caſes in Controuerſy to the Iuſtice of France. *Sim. in lib. 9. cap. 22.*

Furthermore; let it neuer be ſaid or imagined, that barbariſm at any time had entertainment among the Gauls. Continually they were moſt human, hauing milde and wel poliſhed ſpirits by nature, & being aduantagiouſly ſhaped or faſhioned for the ſtudy of al arts & Sciences: eſpecialy they ſtudied eloquence in ſuch ſort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Charisius*, hath rendred this teſtimony of them. *That they wer quick conceited & induſtrious principally in two things; in the Art military, & in wel ſpeaking.* The proof hereof apeared in that *Hercules* of *Gaule*, ſo much renowned by our forfathers, figured in ſuch faſhion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie ſmall chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether ſo euer he pleaſed, & with their

No barbariſme at any time among the Gaules.

Charisius. *Gallia diuersa induſtriosissimè perſequitur, rem militarem, & argutè loqui.*

their owne good wills, free from al constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of wel speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Words of more power then weapons

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of *Lyons*, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spundge, or with their owne tongues; except they better affected, to be either beaten vvith rods, or throwne headlong into the Riuer. Wherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

Suet. in vit. Caligul. cap. 20.

Iuuenal. in Satyr. 1.

Palleat vt nudis præsit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad aram.

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

Satyr. 15.

Gallia causidicos; docuit facunda Britannos.

I am enforced to extend my selfe somwhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to ouerthrow the false conceiued opinion of some, who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) vvere not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherin they are very greatly deceiued. For on the contrary, it is plaine to be proued, that (as in all other thinges) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught the same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well-speaking in *Rome*, was one *Lucius Plotius*, a *Gaule* borne; vnder whom *Cicero* (beeing then but young) was some yeares vvith his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time, or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome, named *M. Antonius Gnipho*, beeing endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as wel in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberall (whereseoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times: as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

An answer to a false conceiued opinion.

Suet. declaris Rhetor.

Suet. de illust. Grammat.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Oratour *Cicero* went often thether when he was Prætor. But that which (aboue all other) may make him most Famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Cæsar* himself. Surely, not without some especial prouidence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholy from Gaule (not onely the encreasing and establishing of his Greatnesse) but also this honor, wherein (not a iot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaule hath euer since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintilian*, vvho vvas a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaule, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Gouernour of *Rome* at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth; *That if he would performe any worke woorthy of memory, he must go of necessitie, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegancie.* The same man also acknowledgeth, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into Frante.*

A Gaule was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Cæsar.

Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Symmac. in lib. 9 Epist. 90. Gallicana facundia hausta requiro.

In lib. 8. Epist. 66. Gallia deduxit Heliconia.

Saint *Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, who vvas very carefull for the institution of his sonne in vvell-speaking; saith; *Post studia Galliarum quæ vel florentissima sunt, misit Romam non parcens sumptibus, vt vbertatem Gallici nitoremq; sermonis grauitas Romana condicet. After* (saith he) *he hath performed his studyes among the Gaules, where they are most flourishing; for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of expences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and luster of the Gaulish language, may be seasoned with the Roman grauity.* The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That shee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Votienus Montanus* in the time of *Augustus*, afterward relega-

S. Hieronym. ad Rusticum Monachum.

Proem Epist. 2. Ad Galatas.

relegated or exiled into the Islands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Nismes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the cheefest Orator of his time, and esteemed so highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Master. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the historian, of the house of the *Vocontians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as beeing the keeper of his seales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Aper*, *Iulius Florus*, *Iulius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Vespasian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitaine* onely hath more furnished *Rome* with Senators and Orators, then all the rest of the world beside.

Corn. Tacitus in in Annal. 4.

Tacit. eod. Lib. Euseb. in Chron. Quint. in lib. 5 Trog. Pomp. lib. 43 in Fi.

A testimony heereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of some Panegyricks, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eumonia*; the miracle of her age, who was not a iot inferior to the very worthiest Orators. Beside an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of those seuerall times, too troblesome for vs to rehearse but one halfe of them. Heereto appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: *That Gaule with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and serued him in the most part of his affairs* Moreouer the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magistrates beeing great and famous persons of that age, are especially noted to bee Gaules. So that wee may very well auouch that, which *Ausonius* sung in his *Mosella*: *It is no longer Rome, that onely made shew of her Catoes, in regard that Gaul did euery vvay equall her.*

Nazarius and his learned daughter Eunomia.

Claudian in Reb. Gallo.

Auson. in Mosel

Other Sciences also haue carried as ful saile there. In the first times shee had her Druydes, Vuates or Eubages, & Bardes, of whose learning we haue yet lefte some remaines and memories. The Bards composed in Verses, and conserued to all posterities, the names and commendable actions of vertuous men, aspurre sufficient to animate the very dullest corages. The Eubages, called also *Vuates* by *Strabo*, applyed their studies to the contemplation of celestial things; as also vnto Naturall Philosophy. As for the Druydes, they are sufficiently famous, and although wee haue spoken to good purpose of them in the former booke of the ancient Gaules; yet some especiall things there omitted, may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

Druydes, Vuates, Eubages, & Bardes. The learning of the Bardes.

Strabo in lib. 4.

They instructed and taught aboue all things elfe, that mens soules wer immortall: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very strongest bond of human society. They discoursed also on the stars, and of their course and motion: also of the greatnesse of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God, & gaue instruction in al these to their youth. This is auouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who say, *That the most of them held the world to be immortall.* An opinion surely (after many great disputes and alterations) found to be most true by the verie best Philosophers and Diuines, framing a distinction thus.

The immortality of the soul taught by the Druydes.

Marc. in lib. 30. cap. 14. Pomp. Mela, in l. 3. Strabo in lib. 4

Assuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celestiall part, which receiueth no alteration, neither shal receiue any at their consummation: but by ſ adiunction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the caue of the Moone, composed and mixed with Elements for the vse of man, shal perish by fire, and returne into theyr first essence and Elementary quality. The course of heauen shal stay, and by consequent, al motion and corruption cease; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long since Bishop of *Paris*, & called *Master of the Sentences*; and with him all the Theological Scholastickes, and the Angellical Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

A distinction of the worlds immortality.

Pet. Lomb in l. 4 Sentent dist. 48. Tho. Aquin. cõtra gentes, lib. 4 cap. 97. Strabo in lib. 4.

They beleeued also, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire shal haue Dominion; wherby we may perceiue that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confused. For that which they conceiued of the water, they saide was alreadie come, and for the matter of fire we doe credite the like, & expect the consummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of maruel, if hauing imparted their knowledge to other people, *Aristotle* should confesse, *That Philosophy receiued her originall from the learned Gaules, whom hee calleth Semnotheans, and auoucheth France to bee the Mistresse of Greece.* All the Gaulish Philosophers were in such reputation: that the people conceyued the goodnesse of the yeare, the happinesse and honor of their

Arist. in Magico apud Diog. Laert. in pr.

Strabo in lib. 4

their times, to consist in the multiplicitie of them.

This shal suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as haue written, that the French did not adict themselues to Sciences; considering, that they haue alwayes continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the enstruction of youth. *Marseilles* equalled *Athens* in learning; so that very oftentimes the Romaines sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to Athens, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*. We reade moreouer, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Iulius Antonius*, the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Iulius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he receiued at *Marseilles* in *France*.

About the same time, *Ausone* also became famous for the study of letters and liberall Arts, whereof wee haue the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike schools, who were established by the Emperor *Constantius*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the *Code Theodosian*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which florished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbona*, and many other. *Ausonius* likewise speaking of that of *Bourdeaux*, sayth; *That then issued from the hand of one onely Doctor, Nectar Mineruius, a thousand Famous Aduocates or Councellors at law, twice as many Senatours or graue Statesmen.*

These Fountaines of all erudition, haue not dryed vp in France vnder the reignes of their Kings, but rather haue encreased and abounded more and more, by multiplidity of Schooles, publikely established in many other Cities; wherto they since haue giuen the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and erected, haue beene endowed and adorned by diuers Kinges, with goodly great priuiledges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, resortes the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world, for the liberall Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nursing Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits, in all vertue and faire erudition: from whence hath beene selected (like swarmes of Bees) learned men in infinit numbers, that haue dispersed themselues, and meerely peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath beene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not onely for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

Pope *Innocent* the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishoppricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue beene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Studium Parisiense esse fundamentum Ecclesiæ*. And euermore it hath beene the cheefest in opposition against heresies, to combate and ouercom them, euen so soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath she crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention, whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set dovvne by the Lord *Loysell*, in his Tract of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Wherein also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue beene noysed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities, founded, and established in diuers Cities and Townes of France, as in *Tholouse, Bourges, Orleance, Amiers, Poitiers, Cahors, Mont-pellier, Nymes, Caen, Nantes, Rheims, &c.*

Also from *France*, and all her Schools, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

Marseilles in France equalled Athens in learning.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Cornel. Tacit. in Iul. Agricol.

Corn. Tacit. in Annal. 3.

Orat. Eumenii de Schol. instaur

Lib. 11. Cod. Theod. De profess. & med.

Ausin. in Professor.

The encrease of Schooles & Vniuersities for Learning in France.

The famous Vniuersity of Paris, & great resort of scholers thither.

The affection of Pope Innocent 3. to the Vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris the conqueror of infinite heresies.

A great many of Vniuersities founded in France.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumnes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There haue beene many wise & learned Byshoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who haue establisht Christian religion in many Countreyes, and suppressed monstrous heresies, dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hillarie* Byshop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the Arrian heresie, where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasing. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeuours together, as the Arch byshop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Gontran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equall standing with S. *Hierom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

France hath yeelded great plenty of learned Byshops.

S. Hillary, byshop of Poitiers.

S. Sulpitius Seuerus.

Pontius Paulinus, who being a Senator, descended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becomming an Ecclesiasticall person, was afterward elected byshop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, vvere also S. *Rusticus*, S. *Phœbadius*, and *Prosper*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Hierom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecditius*, *Auitus*, and *Mamertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch byshops of *Vienna*: S. *Sidonius Apollonaris* Byshop of *Auuergne*; S. *Lupus* byshop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* byshop of *Auxerre*, who setled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyons*; *Saluianus* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marseilles*, and S. *Vincentius* Monke of S. *Honoratus*, in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemigius*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbyshop of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzene*, as giuen to the East, and by *Gregory* the Great, Pope, giuen to the South, as he for *France* was to the West. It was at thei same time, when Pope *Gregory* (hauing seene at *Rome*) not onely admired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuised, *Arnold*, Byshop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbyshop of *Rheimes*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gastinois*, *Arnold de Lisieus*, *Fulbert* & *Yues*, Byshops of *Chartres*, *Suggerus* Abbot of S. *Denis*, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Cleruaux*; *Peter Abbayelard*, of whome there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in al the world, reaching either to the highest heauens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deepes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, byshop of *Paris*, so admirable in the profession of Diuinitie, that (euen to this verie day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

Pontius Paulinus the Senator.

Rusticus, Phoebadius, Prosper, Alethius.

3. archbishops of Vienna.

S. Germaine, byshoppe of Auxerre.

S. Gregorie Florent, Arch byshop of Tours, compared to S. Gregory Nazianzene.

Peter Abayelard a famous man for Learning & knowledge.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France, not onely such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinit numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not onely receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselues (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heeretofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marseilles*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very serious inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the originall of *Nilus*. *P. Terentius Varro* (sirnamed *Atacinus*, of his Countrey in *Narbone Gaul*, on the riuer of *Atax*, now called *Auda*, which belcheth it self into the sea at *Narbona*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonantes* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the Sequanes warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Eumenides of Marseilles, an excellent Philosopher.

* A famous riuer in Narbone.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher * *Phauorinus*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrians* reigne: a natiue of *Arles*, as *Philostratus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinus Pacatus*, Author of the excellent Panegyricke of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutillius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Ausonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers nameless workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especiall deseruing) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there vvas any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the greatest

* He was scholer to Dion. It wondred that being a French man borne, he should speake Greek so wel.

Ausonius Schoolmaster to two Emperors.

teſt Lords of the Romane Empire, they were fecht frõ France, as we read in many places of the works of *Symmachus*, then Gouernour of Rome, & who ſuckt (himſelfe) the milke of the Muſes of France.

Strangers that haue learned their beſt knowledge in France.

I forbeare to ſpeake of thoſe ſtrangers, who by becomming there learned, haue honored their owne countries; thogh reſpiring firſt the ſweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright ſplendour, to giue ſome luſter thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to ſpeake truely, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous perſons that haue flouriſhed in France, as it is eaſie for other people to make a ſhew of all ſuch as they haue had, which would riſe to a far inferior number. Moreouer, many great perſons (beeing ſtrangers there) hauing diligently ſuruayed the ſpirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, ſubtile, proper & prompt to all occaſions, cleare ſighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very conuenient that whereas ſome haue eſteemed the ancient Gaules to be light and mutable, they ſhould rather ſay, & very iuſtly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing impoſed on them whatſoeuer.

The opinion of diuers worthy ſtrangers concerning the French.

Of this minde was *Iulius Cæſar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man moſt learned and iudicious, who ſpeaketh in this manner. *Illud eſt comprimis aduertendũ, non eſſe cum animorũ mobilitate coniunctã fidei iacturam. Gallos enim vides ad omnia momenta vel euentuum vel diſciplinarũ promptos, paratos, verſatiles: vt ſemel quicquam vel viſum vel auditum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponat & amittat nouitatem, in eo ipſo penitus extẽplo videntur nati atque educati. Qui animorum vigor igneus, maturaque celiritas nulli alij nationi data eſt à natura. Quoquò incubuere feliciſſimè ſeſe dant, ocyſſimè proficiunt gnauiter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditionẽ, ſubtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnium tamen gentium atque nationũ, fide ſunt maxime integra & conſtãti.* *It is a matter that well deſerueth to be noted or conſidered, that the defect of faith is not alwaies conioyned with the mobility and lightneſſe of ſpirit. That it muſt needs be ſo, I ſee that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable, at all moments and occaſions, be it eyther for the diuerſity of accidents, or bee it for the Sciences: and that in ſuch ſort, as ſo ſoone as they haue ſeene or heard any thing, immediately it loſeth all nouelty with them, and carrieth no ſuch matter of newes in their mindes, for it ſeemeth as inſtantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery vigor of vnderſtanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin giuen by nature to any other Nation. On what ſoeuer they purpoſe a reſolution, they apply themſelues thereto very happily, profite therein moſt ſpeedily, and exerciſe it carefully: either Merchants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, ſubtilty, affability, freedome, and eloquence, or any thing elſe. And yet notwithſtanding, among al nations, they are the moſt vpright, & intirely conſtant of their faith and word.*

Iul. Cæſ. Scaliger in Exerit. 167. Sect. 2.

Scaliger his obſeruation concerning the French.

The French are naturally addicted to ſingular qualities.

Moreouer, as there is nothing that doth ſo much ciuilize and ſweeten manners the the ſtudy of good letters, & to win knowledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our ſoules all humanity and courteſie, and expelleth all rudeneſſe in carriage: euen ſo is it very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, eſpecially towards ſtrangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, makes plaine outward ſhew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchiſe, and freedome in life and ciuill converſation: all laid downe euidently, without diſſembling any thing, or vſing any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperour *Iulian*, who ſaid; *He thought himſelfe moſt happy, to meet with ſuch good natur de men, ſo facile & ſellowly, & yet (neuertheleſſe) without flattery.*

None more benigne and kinde to ſtrãgers then the French.

In Miſopogo.

It is a world of time ſince the *Gauls* had no mean reputation, for entertaining courteouſly, and liberally welcoming ſtrangers among them. *Diodorus* the *Sicillian* highly commended the courteſie of the *Gauls* in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Germans, that came from the *Gaules*, and had meerely learned it of them. And when the French name began firſt to appeare, *Salianus* of *Marſeilles* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to ſtrangers. Aboue all, this people hath alwaies helde Religion in ſingular recommendation, as being ſ foũdation of vertue: & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge therof. *Cæſar* ſaith, *Gallia admodũ dedita religionibus.* And *Liuius* deſcribing the ſiege of the *Gauls* at the Capitole, ſaith, that a man of the houſe of the *Fabij*, being caſt down frõ the

Diod. Siculus in lib. 5.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib 6. Titus. Liuius in lib. 5. cap. 7.

the top of the Cittadell: without dreading any thing, went to Mount * *Auentine*, to make an annuall and solemne sacrifice in his family, and returned to the Capitole thorough the midst of the enemies. They looked vpon him, without any violence or assayling, & suffered him to passe on: *Being astonished at such resolution, as at a miracle: were it through respect and reuerence to Religion, whereof* (saith hee) *that Nation is very carefull.*

* One of the seuen Hilles in Rome.

Sic attoniti Gallis miraculo audacia, seu religione etiam motis, cuius haud quaquam negligens gens est.

But after that the bright beames of the Gospell began to shew their splendour, it is hardly to be credited: with what feruor of soule this people embraced it, with what veneration, and (euen vpon heapes) voluntarily presented themselues to death, to testifie the zeale of their affection to Christian Religion, and seale with their blood the sincerity of their faith. On the other side, saith S. *Ierom*, *Spaine sometime brought forth Geryon the dreadfull monster. Heresies haue swarmed in most part of the earths quarters: Gaule onely hath conserued her selfe in the truth, without deuouring her selfe. But hath abounded alwaies in great personages, learned, and holy in life together. Arrianisme* had infected all Christendome, only France hath continued pure: for her Bishops carefullly imployed their paines, quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes which grew too trobleson to the church.

Aduers. Vigil. Infoecem Germanum Hispania prodiderunt: Gallia monstra non habuit. Sed viris semper fortissimis & eloquentissimis abundauit.

Whē it came so to passe, that the schisme of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many partialities, quarrels, and hatreds by particular persons were intermingled: the Bishops that were in the faction with *Donatus*, required of the Emperor *Constantius*, that Iudges might be sent from the *Gauls*, onely for their piety and learning. Whervpon the Emperor granted vnto them 3 Bishops, *Rheticus* of *Austun*, *Maternus* of *Cologne*, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went to Rome, and together with Pope *Miltiades*, hauing exactly lookt into the matter, decided the cause, and condemned (by their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*, as it is reported by *Optatus*, one of the Orthodox Bishops of *Affrica*, who hath left vs in writing the history of this schisme, & gaue his helpe to the suppression therof.

The Gaules made Iudges of the Donatists schisme.

Optatus Mileuit. Lib. 2.

In the yeare VCCLVIII. Pope *Stephen* the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France, by his expresse *Nuntio*, that he would send him the very learnedst Bishops of France, to the ende, that by their authority, hee might reforme & re-establish the church, which he performed accordingly. Whereby is plainly discouered, in what esteeme and account, the learning & piety of the Prelates of France hath alwayes bene.

Sigonius in lib. 3. De regno Ital.

According to this purpose of ours, it may be very truely maintained, that *Gaul*, among the Prouinces most towards the West, did first receiue the Christian faith, next vnto *Italy*; being brought thether in the first birth and infancy of the Church. For ouer & beside the Apostle of France, S. *Dionisius Areopagita*, who is said to bee sent thither by S. *Paul*: it is certaine, that one named *Crescentius*, the scholler of S. *Paul*, did first of all preach the christian faith in *Gaule*, and there performed the office of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be gathered from S. *Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphanius*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who report, that he was sent thether by *S. Peter*, and that there he dyed. I set aside what our Annalists haue recounted of *S. Peter* and *S. Phillip*, that they came thether. But I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*; that S. *Luke* came into France, and there declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

Gaule first receiued the Christiā faith next to Italy.

Crescentius, Disciple to S. *Paul*.

2 Tim cap. 4. ver. 10. *Ephiphan Hær. 51. D. Clemens lib. 7. Apostol. constit cap. 46. D. Hieronym. in Catalog. script Ecclesiastic. Epiph. Hær. 51.*

All that can be imputed to the ancient *Gaules*, concerning the acte of religion, is, that they sacrificed men. But this manner of sacrifice was not particularly to the *Gaules*, they hauing dealt no otherwise therein, then was vsed (well neere) by all other people. The like is reported of the *Scythians* in generall, and *Mela* nameth thē to be the *Essedones*. The *Carthagenians*, whē there hapned among thē any plague or famine, or any other publike affliction, they made their recourse to this superstition, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea they would sacrifice their owne children to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitanians*, a people of *Spaine*, wold offer vp their prisoners in war. And *Seuerus* declareth, that the *Massilians*, a people of *Greece*, & well educated, would feed a man very immeasurably for some space of time, then they wold conduct him through their city, charging him with accursed execrations & imprecations; and in the end they would sacrifice him, to expiate their publike offences, and to lay on him the penalty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it was very common, not onely during the Troyan warre, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at the

An imputation laid on the Gaules for sacrificing men.

Plin. in l. 7 c. 2. Pomp. Mela in lib. 4. c. 9. Trog Pomp. l. 18

Plin. l. 36 cap. 5

Strabo in lib. 4.

Seruius in 3. Aen. In pri.

Sacrifices of the Grecians.

the gate of *Aulis*; but likewise of *Polixena*, in the Land of *Troye*. Long time after, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of *Salamina*) by command of his diuinators, caused three noble Persians to be sacrificed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, offered twelue men in sacrifice. Many examples more are there of the Grecians, declared more at large by *Plutarke*. What thinke ye then of the Romanes? Were not they addicted to the same superstition, and vsed the like sacrifices of humane oblations? Wee finde it faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed two Gaules, a man and a woman, to their Tutelary or houshold God. I cannot imagine what should be the reason, why they chose their offerings to be of that people, rather then of any other; if it were not in this respect, that they supposed they shold present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so doing) to the God of their Citty, then to offer any other people, whereby he might be offended, because once they had consumed Rome in cinders, and therfore they might bee iudged the more able (afterward) to ouerthrow the whole Empire.

Plut. In Themistocle.

Plut. In Pelopida.

A Gaule man and a Gaule woman sacrificed by the Romanes.

Plutarke reporteth, that they caused some of the *Gaules* to be buried aliue, during the Consulship of *Marcellus*: by reason of a Gaulish warre which had happened to them, and whereof they stood in fearefull doubt. And that afterward, euen till his time, they would haue celebrated the like bloody anniuersaries, which might not be permitted (it may bee for the immanity) and all the world to see it. The like was put in practise at Rome, soone after the dismall day at *Cannas*: & the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed two: They had a *Iupiter*, sirnamed *Latialis*, to whom they made offerings of human blood, and of the liues of men. This *Tertullian* saieth was ordinarily done in his time: and *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, who liued soone after vnder the first Christian Emperours, do affirme as much.

Plut. in Marcel.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 22.

Tertul. in Apologetico, cap. 10.

The often & frequent spectacles, among the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, were they any thing else, but euen a cruel and bloody sacrifice of many men. Nay, which was most detestable, to cause them kill one another for other mens pleasure? They were not any small number of one or two, but ordinarily fiue hundred, a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand: and it hath bin obserued, that at such times, ten thousand haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then and *Plutarke* ceasse to reproue the Gauls with this custome, seeing that they themselues, both Greeks & Romans, haue obserued the same. Nay, the Greeks did far worse, for not contenting themselues with such sacrifices, they would needs know what good meate it was to feede on humane flesh, and as *Plinie* hath left written, to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was ill done to sacrifice a man, how much more detestable was it then, to serue in his flesh for food to the table? As for *Cicero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that which he said in one of his pleadings of the Gauls: because it was to serue his own cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses, which made whatsoeuer he saide the lesse considerable. Contrariwise also, as himselfe hath written. *He may soone deceiue him selfe, that thinkes out of mine Orations and Pleadings, to derive any auaileable authority of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by that which I haue said: Because* (saith he) *it was the cause that spake, and not I.* And yet if wee obserue more neerely, what *Cæsar* hath said concerning this case, wee shall perceiue that the Gaules made glad sacrifices of malefactors, as thinking such an offring to be most agreeable to the gods, as (indeede) there could bee none more proper, then the iust punishment of wicked persons. And yet notwithstanding, sometimes they were constrayned to goe so farre as innocent folke, meerely for the defect of other: because this opinion was noted in thē, that the Gods could not be pleased, for the life and safety of one man, but by offring to them the life of another.

Cicero in Orat. Pro Fontio.

The Greeks would feed on the flesh of men.

Plin. lib. 28. cap. 1.

Cicero in Orat. Pro Cluentio.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 6.

A good and wordly opinion of the Gaules iustice

Howsoeuer, they deserued herein no imputation of blame, because what they did, was by superstition, the excesse of true religion, not holding it for any errour, to offer to God what might bee most acceptable: which made them to present him with so noble a creature, the only perfect of all other, and so consecrated to him the most precious oblation of all oblations: wherin they are the lesse taxable for their custome (thogh indeed cruel) yet not proceeding so farre as other, as the *Grecians*, who fell voluntarily into Atheisme. Among Gods people, we see that *Ieptah* fel into the same error, vnder the shadow of a vow & deuotion; albeit I know very wel

Superstition thought to be the excesse of true religion

Concerning the vow made by Ieptah for his faire daughter.

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage, but that he offered to God, no more but the virginity of his daughter onely, & that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabines. I passe ouer the abhominable idolatries of the *Iewes*, to the Idoll *Moloch*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath beene said, might (perhaps) sauour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or presage, that man could not be saued, but by a man himselfe: And that one day, man should bee redeemed, and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This haue I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darknes, destitute of any knowledge of the true God.

The Authors opinion of the Gaules superstition, & his excuse in their behalfe.

Now, forasmuch as I haue heeretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gaule* and *France*, *Frenchmen* and *Gaules*, as being no other then one and the same thing, whereof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it conuenient, & furable to our purpose, to deliuer a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gaule* or *Celtica*, was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise, the Kings of France haue long time commanded, in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gaule*, betweene the *Rheine*, the Alpes, the *Pyreneans*, and the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by seasons, and vnder certaine Kings, haue extended themselues a great deal further. But if any parcell therof be at this day dismembred or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte, the right alwaies remaines in his perfect integrity. And as for the French, it will be auouched, that they are one selfsame people with the *Gaules*, on whatsoeuer side search be made, and the truth set downe of their originall.

How ancient Gaule becam afterward to be called France.

Confusion of actions may not alter matter of truth.

I may not stay my selfe heere, to fight with the false opinion of such, who thinking to make the *Gaules* the more honourable, would haue them to be descended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so silly versed in letters: but plainly knoweth, that they are altogether meere fables and fictions. There hath bin another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to bee come foorth of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the *French* with the *Gaules*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath beene peopled by her neighbor *Gaule*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gaule*, is to returne them backe to the place where they receiued their originall. For it is to be credited, that Prouinces which are the most temperate, haue bin the first inhabited, & after that men are encreased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Cæsar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germans* or *Allemaigns*, called the *Gaules* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people, reported by our ancestors, may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

That they should come out of Germany into Gaule.

Iulius Cæsar in commen. lib.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannoniaes*, as it is reported by S. *Gregory* of *Tours*. Now it is very certaine, that the *Gaules* did sometimes people both the *Pannoniaes*: especially at that time, as *Brennus* made warre in *Macedon*, and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers, as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*, and *Strabo*, do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine, and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. *For oftentimes* (saith an ancient Writer) *it commeth to passe, that the originall of great people is as much vnknowne, as that of our greatest Riuers*. This is that which hath bin obserued by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S. Gregory* of *Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

S. Greg. Turo. in lib. 2. cap. 9.

Trog. Pom. in lib. 24.

Stephanus, Arrianus, Strabo.

Sidonius Apollinaris in suo loc.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some haue vsually seated in *Franconia*: but it is described by auncient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuages of *Rheine*, as wel on the one side, as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult accesse, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Emperor

Concerning the diuersities of the Sicambriaes, that in Franconia, and the other.

Suet. in vita August.

perour *Augustus* caused those valiant *Sicambrians* to passe on further into the firme land of the *Gaules*, and namely, that he gaue them * *Batauia* to dwell in. This he did, some way to content them, and to hinder their courses: as also to serue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being vpon the extremities or vtmost parts of *Gaule*. And beside, we reade in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors seruice, a Sicambrian band or Cohort, highly esteemed for their valiancy.

*Holland in low Germany

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 6. cap. 9.

Heereby we may know, that they are descended of the same country with the *Gaules*, and it is to bee credited, that these were the people onely, which neuer came into subiection of the Romane Empire, in the time of *Cæsar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badnesse of the country which then they held. This Sicambrian people, knowne & renowned by the name of French onely, in the time of *Galien*, vnder *Posthumius*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, CCLXIX. could not keepe themselues alwayes in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gaule*, such as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Friesland* are: but they made their extendure into neighboring countries, & continually there tormented the Romanes in *Gaule*, after whose liberty they longed frō time to time. And part of them passing into *Gaule* among the Romanes, were there highly esteemed, and came to vndertake the cheefest charges, as we may reade of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

The Sicābrians renowned by the name of French.

The Sicambrians long desired the liberty of Gaul

Ammian. Marcel. in l. 14. cap. 7

Part of this people also, namely they that were transported by *Augustus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Histories set downe by diuers Historians, which I may not heere recite, because (for the most part) they haue beene diligently collected by the Lord *Fauchet*, in his French Antiquities, where this true opinion is approued, by the passages of *Zozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, those inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Frances*, or *French*, accustomed to make ordinary courses into *Gaule*, perceiuing the inuasion of Northerly people, as the *Alanes*, *Vandales*, *Bourguignons*, & *Gothes*; they could not endure, that their ancient country shold remaine any longer so subiected, neither by the tyranny of Romane Magistrates, nor by the inuasions of barbarous people. Hereupon, taking apt occasion, they proceed on further into the midst of the *Gaules*; where they were receiued (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gaules*, who ioyning with them, shooke off the yoke of the Romanes, & expulsed also the strange Nations, y had so insolently intruded on thē.

Antiquit. de D. Fauchet.

Zozimus, *Procopius*, and *Zonarus*.

The Sicambrians could not endure the slauery of their country.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceiued, that the Sicambrian people shold be enemies to the *Gaules*, but rather called by thē as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, beeing receiued with the liking of euery one: as these places of S. *Gregory* of *Tours* do sufficiently shew. *Interea cum iam terror Francorum resonaret in his partibus, & omnes eos, amore desiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Also in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Frācos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant.* Moreouer, it is to be seen in many places of the histories, written by the same S. *Gregory*, that the *Gauls* were neuer trod downe by the *French*; but administred in publike charges, & took part in their honors, not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and associates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vse the names of *French* and *Gauls*, & *France* and *Gaule*, beeing but one and the same thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the same people originally, being neuer thence expulsed, nor subiected.

The Sicambrians and Gaules called Frenchmen.

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 2. cap. 23.

Eod. lib. cap. 36.

His conclusion for the Gaules and French.

A country the most happy, the most fertile, the most abounding in all things, and the most agreeable with the world, & least incōmodious. The people dwelling therein, the most martial, & warriors at al times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others also commended, for all those good and vertuous qualities, wherwith any humane spirit can be adorned, quicke, apt, & ready to whatsoeuer they apply thēselues, with moderation, curtesie, and humanity, as none greater can be desired. The happinesse & felicity of this Land, together with so many commendable qualities of the people, haue bene published (in some measure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of *Scotland*, when at his returne from *Portugall*, coming backe into *France*, he made these verses, which I thoght fit here to insert, to serue for a conclusion of this discourse.

The excellency of the country and people of France well remembred by Buchanan.

Ieiuna miſeræ teſqua Luſitaniæ,
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuriæ
Valete longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salue, bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
Cælo ſalubri, fertili frugum ſolo,
Vmbroſa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecoroſa ſaltus, rigua valles fontibus,
Prati virentis picta campos floribus,
Velifera longis amnium decurſibus,
Piſcoſa ſtagnis, riuulis, lacubus, mari,
Et hinc & illinc portuoſo littore
Orbem receptans hoſpitem, atque orbi tuas,
Opes viciſſim non auara impertiens:
Amœna villis, tuta muris, turribus
Superba, tectis lauta, cultu ſplendida,
Victu modeſta, moribus non aſpera,
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis, animi fida, pace florida,
Iucunda, facilis, Marte terrifico minax,
Inuicta, rebus non ſecundis inſolens,
Nec ſorte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener.
Neſcit ealores lenis aſtas torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis aſperos,
Non peſtilentis pallet Auſtri ſpiritu
Autumnus aquis temperatus ſtatibus:
Non ver ſolutis amnium repagulis
Inundat agros, & labores eluit.
Ni patrio te amore diligam, & colam
Dum viuo, rurſus non recuſo viſere
Ieiuna miſeræ teſqua Luſitaniæ,
Glebaſque tantum fertiles penuriæ.

CHAP. III.

Of the Maieſty, Dignity, and high Eminency of the Kings of France: And what infinite actions of Honour they haue done from time to time, to renowne the glory of that kingdome.

What it is that maketh the full felicity of any kingdome.

IT is not yet ſufficient, neyther maketh it vp a perfect felicity, that *France* ſhould bee filled with ſo much wealth and commodities, as the earth can any way yeeld: alſo that the people are ſo generous, endued with ſo many commendable qualities, beſide, moſt humane and acceptable conuerſation. If all do not correſpond to this proſperity, and that the forme of her eſtate & good gouernment, is not the main height of all this happineſſe. Wherein it may well be ſaid, that *France* hath bene as graciouſly fauoured by heauen, as in al other things whatſoeuer. There hath neuer beene ſeene ſo many ciuill warres and factions, for change and alteration of the State, as hath often happened in many other Prouinces. After ſhe had once taſted the Monarchall Gouernment of one only naturall Prince (which all the greateſt Philoſophers, ſuch as were brought vp in free cities, haue confeſſed to be the beſt) ſhe neuer found any change, neyther did it euer make offer of it ſelfe, or any way propoſed.

The Monarchall gouernment of a naturall Prince.

France well may boaſt this in common, with a great part of the people of the world, that ſhe is a Monarchall eſtate: but yet this is more particular to her, that ſhe hath ſuffered no mutation for ſo many Ages; but hath beene inuiolably alwayes conſerued in her owne Royall eſtate and gouernment. And it may as truly be ſaid, that her Kings haue excelled as much aboue others in the world, as *Frãce* it ſelfe hath gon beyond all other Lands. Then to come to the paint of her Kings, and of their Greatneſſe and Excellency: it reſulteth firſt of al, from that which hath beene diſcourſed heeretofore. Becauſe there is no man, but will tearme that king potent, rich, and redoubtable, that commandeth ouer a country ſo fertile & well furniſhed: and he will alſo vouchſafe, that Kings commanding a people ſo vertuous and generous together, muſt needs be Paragons in generoſity and courage, yea, & true models of all vertue. Moreouer, what other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue ſo goodly, ſo opulent, and ſo happy territories, and to command ouer ſuch a people? In like manner, what Land can ſay, that it hath had like Kings, and ſo great in all reſpects, as they of France haue bin? This is in generall, and the touching of this point thus were ſufficient, without need of any further inquiſition; becauſe it is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as what hath bin related in our former chap.

France neuer ſubiect to mutation in gouernment.

The happines of Kings in their gouernment.

But to diſcourſe more particularly on their other prerogatiues. Firſt, it is a matter moſt conſtant and certaine, that the Kings of *France* are Soueraigns in their State, holding their kingdom but of God onely, and by the Sword: this needs no other proſe, becauſe it is granted without contra-

The Kings of France are truely Soueraignes in their State, & their Soueraignty hath continued 12 hundred years

diction. Alſo, they haue bene in this poſſeſſion, not onely for exceeding the memories of men, or for three hundred years a tearme more then ſufficient, for eſtabliſhing ſure and inuiolably a Soueraigne eſtate, as maintained *Ieptah*, chiefe of the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Ammonites*, but alſo for twelue hundred yeares. There needeth no other teſtimony then that of Pope *Innocent* the third, who ſpeaketh it expreſly in his Decretall, *That the King of Fraunce acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in temporal occaſions.*

Cap. Per venerabilem. Qui filii ſint legit.

This was it which made ſo ſuperfluous impertinent, inept, and idle, the diſputation ſo much canuazed amongſt the Doctors Imperialiſts, to witte; *Whether the King of France were ſubiect to the Empire, or no*, and whereabout the Doctors diſputing vainly, contraried themſelues, and ſufficiently ouerthrew their owne iudgements. *Peter Belluga*, an ancient Spaniſh Doctor, in his treatiſe of a Prince, & *Oldradus* an Italian Doctour (the cheefeſt of his time do maintaine; *That the kingdome of France acknowledgeth not, either by acte or right, any Prince of the world.*

Pet. Belluga. In ſpeculo Principum, tit. 4. n. 29

Oldradus in Conſilijs.

The Emperors themſelues alſo, haue auouched as much; declaring by diuers actes, That the King of France is Soueraigne, & that he depended not on them in any faſhion whatſoeuer; which will be more amply handled, in a place fitter for the purpoſe. To as ſilly effect was that, which Doctor *Lopez Madera*, a Spaniard hath written; *That the Kings of France doe take their Title, by a conceſſion made vnto them by the Emperor Iuſtinian, according to the recitall of Procopius.* But a man can ſet no ſure footing, on that which is ſaide by a ſubiect to the Empire. And beſide, ſoon after, *Iuſtinian* himſelfe could ſay; *That he quitted whatſoeuer hee had pretended to the Gaules, becauſe he held not there any thing.* And in other places, he ſpeaketh not of al the Gauls, but onely concerning them of *Prouence*, and the neighbouring Landes, which the *Gothes* held before, & which he pretended appertaining vnto him, by his conqueſt made of them. VVhich Lands, the *Gothes* hauing made ouer to the Kings of France, *Iuſtinian* approued the conceſſion, and on that conſideration, departed with all his rights and pretenſions.

Lopez Madera. In lib. Excellencias de Eſpagn. cap. 2.

The French do not ground their grants, as the ſame *Lopez* did for Spaine, on the grant which he pretended to be made by the Emperor *Honorius*, to the Gothe *Alaricke*. They deriue their title from higher place, and not from the Romaines: who had no other right, but an vniuſt inuaſion by Armes. For theſe are the Gauls, namely, ſuch as enfranchiſed themſelues from the Romanes, and that by meanes of the French, their auncient Columnes and Compatriots. And therefore it is apparantly ſeene, that they haue no way vſurped by nouelty, but rather haue regained their firſt condition and liberty, as being reduced to their primitiue nature. A matter very fauorable, and a reaſon moſt impertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In like manner, what was more iuſt then that which the Romanes caried away by force of Armes, and was taken again from them by the very ſame meanes? But this is infallible, that the Kings of France are Soueraignes, knowne to be ſuch, at all times and euery where, without any controuerſie, or friuolous contradiction.

L. Si Titius, §. Pactas ne Peteres, D. de Pact.

It cannot bee ſo ſayde of many other Kings, and namely it hath called in queſtion the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gregory* maintaineth in his Regiſter, that *Spaine* is parcell of Saint *Peters* patrimony, and is to make prouiſion for his Lord: hauing therfore inueſted a certain Count or Earle of all that which he had conquered from the Moores. In conſequence whereof, by report of their own Spaniſh writers, *Ramirus* the firſt, King of *Arragon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which his ſon *Sanchio* after continued to Pope *Alexander* the ſecond. And ſince this ſubiection to the Romane Church, as from feodataries, it hath beene acknowledged by other Kings.

In l. 1. epiſt. 6. & 7.

Zurita in lib. 1. cap. 22.

VVe reade that *Peter* the ſecond, King of *Arragon*, beſide acknowledgement of feodality, ſubmitted & rendred his kingdome, by ordinary cenſuall (to Pope *Innocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty peeces of Arabian Golde, which had free courſe then, as appeareth by the Regiſters in the *Vaticane*, which were extracted and ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spaniſh author, who wrote the liues of the Popes, & by diuers hiſtories of Spaine.

Ciacconius in Regiſt. Vatic.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sardignia* and *Carſica* doe depend vppon the holy See, and the inueſtiture of them rkept in the *Vaticane*, which was made by the Pope

Pope to *Peter* the third, King of *Arragon*. In consequence wherof afterward, *Iaques* of *Arragon*, did homage liege at *Valencia*, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the yeare, MCCCLIII.

I finde also, that *Ferdinand* and *Alphonsius*, Kings of *Arragon*, did make faith and homage, in the yeare MCCCCXLV. The Ilands of the *Canaries*, and *Cape du Verd*, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that *Lewes* of *Spaine* was inuested, and rēdred faith and hommage to the Pope, in the yeare MCCCXLIII. being charged to pay to the Apostolicall Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold; wherof *Petrarch* also maketh mention. And as for the East *Indiaes* and *Peru*, it is very certaine, that Pope *Alexander* the sixt, in making partage of that which was newly discouered, betweene the kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*: reserued expressely to himselfe, the full power and soueraignty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassails, in all acquests & conquests by them made, or that should bee made thence forward, as the *Spaniards* themselues haue written. In like case, pope *Iulius* the second, gaue to *Ferdinand* the fift, King of *Arragon* and of *Castile*, the kingdome of *Granada*, which hee had conquered from the *Moores*: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

Isles in the Ocean, foure hundred miles from Spaine, and tearmed the fortunate Isles.

In lib. 2. De vit. solit.

The East Indiaes & Peru.

The Pope giues a king his owne by conquest.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of *Spaine*, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of nouelty. For before them, and during the reigne of the *Gothes*: the kings alwayes payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of soueraignty: vntill that a tyrant named *Vitiza*, a little before the ruine made by the *Sarrazins*, refused to pay it. And afterward, by the generall inuasion of *Spaine*, hauing bin wholly discontinued; Pope *Gregory* the seuenth cōplained thereof in his Register, as is well obserued by the worthy Cardinall *Baronius*. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the *Sarrazins*, would returne againe to the duty of this submission, and ancient subiection.

Vitiza the tyrant refused to pay the Popes tribute.

Baronius in lib. 5. cap. 17.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of *Castile* is in Fief to *France*. For *Henry* the second, King of *Castile*, submitting himselfe to *Charls* the fist, king of France, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdome of *Castile*, of the Kings of *France*, by a treaty in the yeare MCCCLXIX. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of *France*. This king of *Castile*, being expulsed thēce by his Brother *Don Peter*, was at length re-established there againe, by power frō the king of France, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, *Bertrand de Guesclin*, Constable of France, notwithstanding all the effortes of the Englisli, bandied to the contrary.

As held by homage, vpon promise of assistance in war.

There is another notable quality, which is no meane aduantage vnto the Realme of France, in that it is, and euermore hath beene successiue hereditary, and not electiue. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is obserued so much the more certainely, for succession in the State. Not vnfitly compared to the golden branch in *Virgill*, which being pluckt away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any defailance.

The kingdom of France is by hereditary succession, & not by electiō

Vno auulso, non deficit alter.

Virg. in Aen. lib. 9.

Whence arose the common saying among the French; *That the King neuer dyeth*. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as France happeneth to be ouer-trauailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any aduantage to the enemy, or can he (by such an accident) vsurpe vppon the State. It hath beene prooued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to bee surmounted; or rather as a Phœnix, that reuiueth another out of her selfe. Also, that the Kings of France were truely bred of an immortall race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine originall; but they left a successour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

The king neuer dyeth in France.

But to render their succession the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortall, it hath

Comparisons concerning the kings of France in succeeding one after another.

Concerning them that are of the blood-royal in France

hath alwayes beene receyued in *Fraunce*, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is neerer, they or he are called to the succession of the kingdome, and possessed thereof, onely by the others decease, without any other contradiction; which hath beene well obserued by *Baldus*, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called Saint *Lewes*. *Si in Francia moreretur toto domus Regia, extaret unus de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Borbonia, & non esset alius proximior, esto quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetuæ consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum. Item Guliel. Benedicti, in Cap. Raynutius in ver. duas habens, Num. 78.*

Baldus in cap. 2. De feudo Marchiæ, nu. 5.

Agathias the Greek, who wrote in the time of *Iustinian*, obserued the same also, saying; *Amongst the French, Children take the kingdome, by succession to their Fathers.* And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, *That Theodebert King of Metz, beeing deceased, his sonne Theudibalde, or Thibault succeeded him, although hee was but an Infant. But* (saith hee) *it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto.* Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

Agath. in Lib. 1.

In Eod. Lib.

Assurance in succession cuts off infinit dangers.

Before I passe any further, I may heere tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes beene in Spaine. And there needeth no other proofe thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularlie, of *Lopez Madera*, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignitie of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not onely during the kingdom of the Gothes; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the inuasion of the *Sarazins*. *Pelagius*, king of the * *Asturians*, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same meanes, as is exactly approued by *Molina* a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that *Lopez* produceth, is, that

Such succession not alwais in Spaine.

Lopez Madera.

* A people in Spaine, betweene Galicia & Portugall.

Molin. de Hisp. primog. lib. 1. c. 2.

the Kinges were elective: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House-Royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequele of Histories, and namely by the Councels of *Toledo*, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of Slaues, strangers, and others, that were not of the race of the Gothes. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made, when as *Lopez* sayth, *De eadem gente*: the interpretation beareth, *Of the Family and House-Royall*, and not of the Nation of the Gothes, as the Councels vnderstood it. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and conseruation of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: It beeing a matter necessary to assure them in this manner, because there were other Kinges of their house. For whom there needed no such prouision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue beene successiue. But yet much more by the fift Councell of *Toledo*, there is denounced a curse and excommunication agaynst such as shall come to the kingdom of the *Goths* otherwise then by election. As we read in *Ritius*, one of their owne Historians, that *Bamba* a labouring man was made king of *Spaine* by Pope *Leo*, and approued by the election of the people.

Conc. Tol. 6. & 7

The Kinges to be made by election, & not succession.

Concil. Tolet. 5

Ritius in Lib. 1.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuiolably kept: There, the Race-Royall which surpasseth the rest in greatnesse and vertue, are borne and destenyed to reigne.

No such creating of Kinges in France.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made so exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Linage of *Heraclides*, and of the *Æacides*, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Gouernours of estates. *Plato*, and nexte to him *Aristotle*, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Gouernment. *Were it not as a dream* (say they) *to find a good king.* As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in so great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction, and in so supreame a power, to keepe in, and commaund ouer his owne passions. *Plato* addeth, *Wee liue not in the Commonwealth of Bees, where naturally one*

A worthy custom obserued in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

is bred much greater and better, to command ouer all the other. And yet the very ſame happeneth to the French, whoſe Kings come from their very birth, more great (not of body) but of courage, generoſity, and vnderſtanding, then all the reſt: borne and eſteemed (by heauen) of another nature, then any common perſon to reigne.

The difficulties and dangers in a ſtate electiue.

Would we but a little conſider the great difficulties and inconueniences, which are noted in an electiue eſtate, by reaſon of ſuch forme of election; we ſhold the better know, what an aduantage, excellency, and prerogatiue France hath. In an eſtate electiue, the death of the Prince hapning, there is an *Interregnum*, during which time, it falles into * *Anarchy*, which cauſeth diſorder, vnrulineſſe, and confuſion; whereon enſue infinite euils, murders, aſſaſſines, violences and theſts. As hath beene well obſerued in thoſe elections, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the Soldanes of Egypt by the *Mammelukes*. Nay, and hath ſometimes happened at the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

* People with out a Prince.

The kings of Thuni-, Soldanes of Egypt, and election of ſome Popes.

And which is yet farre worſe, the *Interregnum* ſometimes laſteth for many dayes, becauſe, beſide vnder-handed ſuites and made factions, there is an naturall inclination to diſſention in men. As hath oft beene ſeene to happen in the Empire of the Eaſt, after it yeelded it ſelfe to be electiue: And in the Realmes of *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*. During theſe *Interregnums*, nothing happeneth but ſchiſmes, diuiſions, and many menacings of diuers perſons, which ordinarily do draw on ciuill warres, euery one coueting to haue a Prince of his partaking, or as he would haue it.

The Empire of the Eaſt becomming electiue, & the kingdomes of diuers countries beſide.

It hath alſo beene obſerued in the Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors haue beene elected, vntill they haue had ſeuen or eight at a time, as after the death of the Emperour *Fredericke* the ſecond. And there could no ſufficient remedy be found, for the eſtabliſhing of a Gouernour, that might haue commanded in the meane while; becauſe about the election of that Gouernour, there grew on ſtill the ſame inconueniences. And perhaps it might haue ſo fallen out, that the Gouernour being ſeized on the eſtate, would attend no other election, as ſome haue done heeretofore: finding but few men, that will render vp ſo great an engadgement, & a thing ſo attracting, he reputing himſelfe iuſt in all things, if he can keepe ſuch dignity from violation.

Contrarious election in the Empire of Germany.

Great eſtate and dignity is not eaſily parted withall.

Moreouer, it commeth ſo to paſſe ſomtimes, that ſuch as haue the right to elect Princes, will deliuer foorth ſome apparances of credence to them; euen to haue them murdered and maſſacred, if they pleaſe them not, or elſe by corruption leaue them and elect ſome other. Hereof the Romane Empire can furniſh vs with ſufficient examples; and that it neuer was more calme, then when her Princes came to the Empire by ſucceſsion. On the contrary, when the election was in the Soldiors hands, they ſet the Empire to ſale, and filled all the State with rapines, theſts, murders, cruelties, and barbarous brutiſhneſſe. When an Emperour pleaſed them not, were he the moſt vertuous man and the beſt Prince in the world; they would maſſacre him, without any difficulty, and eſtabliſh another; as it befell to the good Emperor *Pertinax*, after whoſe murder, they cauſed it to bee publiſhed through the Citty, that the Empire was to be ſold to the faireſt offerer.

The Romane Empire a wofull witneſſe of her owne miſeries and calamities.

The Emperor Pertinax murdered.

In like manner, they murdered *Alexander Seuerus*, one of the beſt and moſt vertuous Princes that euer was. And ſo they dealt with *Probus*, *Tacitus*, and many more, as may bee gathered by the ſequell of Hiſtories from time to time. Yet this is not all, each Legion and each Army made his Emperor, all which (in the end) had their throtes cut, after cruell ciuill warres: the poore people enduring all this while, infinite miſeries, and there are obſerued (in that time) well neere thirty, among whom there was two women.

Alexander Seuerus, Probus, Tacitus, & many more Emperours murdered.

Theſe inconueniences were ordinary (anciently) in the eſtate of *Spaine*. S. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſaith: *Sumpſerant Gotthi hanc deteſtabilem conſuetudinem, vt ſi quis eis de regibus non placuiſſet, gladio eum appeterent; & qui libuiſſet animo, hunc ſibi ſtatuerunt Regni.* *The Gothes had taken this deteſtable cuſtome, that if any one of their Kings did not pleaſe them; they would murder him, and eſtabliſh whoſoeuer falleth into their fantaſie, to be their King.* This he wrote concerning *Theudas*, *Theudegyſiles*, and *Agilas*. And in Germany, after that this order of election got footing there, there were eight or nine Emperors ſlain; as *William* of *Holland*, *Raoull*, *Albert*, *Henry* the

S. Greg. Turo. in lib. 3. cap. 9.

Kings of the Gothes murdered.

Emperors of Germany ſlaine.

the seuenth, *Frederick* the second, and *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, &c. beside them that haue shamefully bene expulsed from the Imperiall Throne. And of fifteene Sultanes that reigned in Egypt, seauen were murthered.

Seuē Sultans of Egipt murdered.

VVith these wee could ranke many equall, and equally worthy, growing onely through hatreds and discontentment: from whence haue proceeded diuisions and seditions; so that the choise and preferring of one man, hath procued the vtter contempt of another. And questionlesse, it wil be very hard for him that hath beene refused, intirely to be obedient to him with whome hee hath contested for the royall authority, as his equal in house, reputation and merit.

Eminency brooketh no competitor.

Happy *France*, and truly happy, whereto God hath giuen the grace, to breathe but one acceptable libertie, vnder the sweet command of thy naturall and successiue Kings: which hath bene thy warrant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tempests, and hath kept thy State alwaies florishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

The felicity of France.

Amongst other inconueniences that may be met within an electiue estate, this is one: A Prince electiue will neuer bee carefull of the state, which he holdeth but by entreaty, or at other mens liking, but of his owne family. For knowing well, that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his children, he makes his profite of the publike purse, deriuing and turning it to his own particulars, by venditions and other alienations. According as *Rodolfe* of *Habspourg* did, who comming to bee elected Emperour, by the fauour of his Master Elector, the Arch-Bishop of *Maguince*; founded & built vp the house of *Austria* vpon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so farre, as to sell at prices of mony, her freedomes and Seigneuries to Cities of *Italy*; as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns, and to *Luca* for ten thousand, and so to other in like manner. Which prooued to be the end of the kingdom and command of the Emperors in *Italy*: in regard whereof, he was highly blamed by all the Historians of those times, and by such as haue written euer since.

A note well worth the obseruation.

Radolfe of of Habspourg Emperor, & what great indignity he did to the empire.

I forbeare to speake of many other Emperours, who practised in the same manner, and alienated the hereditary patrimony of the Empire, Cities, Townes, Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And by this meanes, diuers Principalities established, and great cities franchised, beare now no more but the bare name of soueraignty for the Empire. Also it is to bee credited, that a Prince doing what he can, will ouerthrow all, yet not topsie turuy: but will mingle (as one saith) heauen with earth, but he wil make his issue to succeed, so strong and mighty is this passion. Few or none are found to follow the example of *Moyses*, who knowing and acknowledging his sonnes to bee incapable to command the people of Israel after him; rather chose to establish another, as preferring the weale publike, before affection or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promised an hundred thousand crowns to each one of the Princes Electours, to haue his sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and being vnable to pay them, hee was constrained to giue ouer to them the ordinary reuennues of the empire in paiment.

The hereditary patrimony of the Empire alienated, and nothing but the bare name remaining.

The liberall promise of the Emperour Charles the 4.

The case is quite contrary in France, where the inheritance and patrimony of him that commeth to the crowne by succession, accrueth and reuniteth it selfe (by the same meanes) to the crowne. In regard whereof, the Kings haue not two kindes of inheritances, the one particular, and the other publike: for all commeth of one and the same nature, & all is made publike. Wherein is discerned the full effect, of that which the emperour *Antoninus Pius* said to his wife. *Seeing* (sayeth he) *that we are come to the Empire, wee haue lost that which we had before.*

No two kinds of inheritances in France comming to the crowne by the King.

Capitolinus in eius vita.

But although this kingdome bee successiue in this manner, by the inuiolable custom of the country, rather the by hereditary right: yet notwithstanding, women, and the descendants of them in that kind, neuer haue beene, neither euer can be admitted, no not in the defect of Males. VVithout reason, some enemies to the French name, and enuious (to speake truly) of this prerogatiue; would striue to call in doubt the *Salique* Law, which reiecteth women from succession in the kingdome, saying, that the originall therof is doubtfull and vncertaine. As if a man can desire a better and more certain proofe, then the successe and possession of so many hundred yeares, since the set-

No female succession in France, according to the Salique law.

led

led eſtabliſhment of that eſtate. That law hath beene engrauen, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

Lopez Madera, in hyſt. Eſpagn. Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Lopez Madera the Spaniard, ſeeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much leſſe, to couer the defect, and bring ſome ſhadow for it, laboureth to prooue, by ſtretching out a long diſcourſe, that the ſucceſsion of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reaſon in matter of ſucceſſion for Patrimony in particulars. In which caſe (neuertheleſſe) we can ſhew, that the ſucceſſions by right (well neere of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of aſſurance to great Families. But in the ſucceſsion of a mighty eſtate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens ſucceſſion could be the better. *There is verie great difference* (ſayde the Emperour *Adrian*) *betweene the ſearch of an heyre of my patrimony, and a ſucceſſor in an Empire.*

The wiſe ſaying of the Emperor Adrian.

Moreouer, it were ſuperfluous to goe ſeeke for the originall of this Salique law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; becauſe it appeareth of a certaine vſe, and that it hath alwaies bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, if it be not by cuſtome, which is the very ſtrongeſt Law of all other. And it may well be ſayde, that it is a right of great authoritie, when it hath bene obſerued ſo ſtrictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

Law hath no power but by cuſtome.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but ſuckt it from nature her ſelfe, who gaue it them by inſtinct, & ſo inſtructed them: which not only the French, but moſt part of the people of the world, haue likewiſe moſt religiouſly obſerued. If we look vpon royalty and imitation of gouernment generall in the world, by the Soueraigne vnity, from the very firſt birth, that is to ſay, when the world tooke beginning, we ſhall find, that the firſt fathers of families gaue command in their houſes themſelus and not by their wiues, and that the male children ſucceeded them in the ſoueraignty of the Family, whereas the Daughters paſſed to another houſe, without hauing any part there.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

Whence came it, that all people (in the firſt ages) were gouerned by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Cittie, or ſmall territory onely, which had bene before but the incloſure of a father of a Family? As is to be ſeene, as wel in holy Writ, as by the ancient hiſtories of each Countrey. That which great *Ariſtotle* ſo faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning* (ſaith hee) *Townes and Cities were gouerned by Kings, as now adayes people and ſtrange Nations are. For they were compoſed of people, that lined vnder Royalty: each Family being gouerned by the moſt ancient.* So women could not come to the Royaltie, neyther hold part in the ſucceſſion of particulars. Contrarywiſe, Fathers of the family receiued commodity by rich gifts and preſents which were giuen them, by ſuch as made requeſt for their daughters: as wee reade in holye Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of *Rebecca*, the wife to *Iſaac*, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all ſtrange people, as well of the Eaſt, weſt, and South, where it is obſerued in the ſame ſort.

Ariſt. in Politic lib. 1. cap. 3.

Gen. 24. 53.

Ariſtotle reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the teſtimony of *Homer*. But ſince the prime ſimplicity & good nature of men forſooke and gaue them ouer, iuſtice and peace withdrawing themſelues; while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more ſtrong, without any right or Iuſtice, and that ambition (a moſt peſtilent diſeaſe) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruerted and ouerthrowne: when the moſt mightie, ſuch as the Scripture reporteth, as of *Nimrod* and others, of *Ninus*, *Seſoſtris*, *Nebuchadonozar*, and *Cyrus*, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and inuaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of ſmall eſtates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grewe to bee grounded, and gaue commaund both in length and largeneſſe.

Ariſt. in Politic lib. 2.

The iniquitie of this Iron Age of the world, againſt the Primitiue Iuſtice that firſt floriſhed.

A compariſon of the worlds firſt begining.

In this inuaſion, confuſion, & ouerthrowing of kingdomes, as alſo particular and naturall Principalities, ſome alſo mounting vp againſt their Soueraignes; in ſted of naturall Royalty, brought eſtates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of theſe diſorders thus happening, the greater part of the people beeing not willing to liue ſo: became at length conſtray-

strained to render thēselues to their own nature, & return to the good gouernment of kings, to enioy their former iustice. To the ende that the weakest might bee in as safe security as the strongest, and ỳ which pertained to euery priuate person, might peaceably be possessed, and defended by their kings, against the violence of neighbors: which were ỳ 2 principall functions, that incited wādring people to reunite & submit themselues to kings. Wherin *Aristotle* also hath placed the definitiō of royalty, to wit: *As well to render Iustice, as to defend the subiects from inuasion of enemies.* Such were the Iudges that gouerned the Estate of *Israel*, before the establishment of kings. Wherto is referred that which *Herodotus* said: *That the Medes would haue * Deioces to bee their K. to the end to render Iustice.* Be it then, that we regard the first originall and naturall institution of kings, or be it the establishment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or cā be any participants. And as for the last institution of kings, for recourse of people, to the ende, they might be defended against violence, & to enioy Iustice: we plainly perceiue, this could neuer agree with the naturall disposition of women, because the vertue of pudicity reiecteth thē from those functions, of iudging people, & defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals, women haue alwayes bin barred from gouernment, and entermedling with the publike affaires: by much stronger reason then they ought to bee frō Royalty, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obserued throughout al the Monarchies, euer pursuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a *Semiramis* among ỳ *Assyrians*; yet that breaketh not the rule. Considering the story it selfe saieth, that to bring her purpose to passe, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for *Semiramis*, but for her Son *Ninus*. And therby it appeareth, that the *Assyrians* did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as *Lopez Madera* fondly supposeth. Contrariwise we reade, that that ẅ caused the ruine of their Monarchy, was, whē *Sardanapalus* (their last K.) imitating the manners, fashions, & behauior of women, offended men so much, that by a iust indignation, for so many men to bee subiect to such a woman, who had no more but the forme of a man; they reuolted from him, and constrayned him to kill himselfe.

The happy condition of liuing vnder kings.

Arist. in Politic. lib. 3.

Herodot. in l. 1.

* Sonne to Phraortes.

Concerning the last institution of kings.

Trog. Pomp. in lib 1. Concerning Semiramis among the Assyrians.

Lopez Madera in Hist. Espagn.

Of Sardanapalus.

Women then are not capable of succeeding in the kingdome of France, as we haue already approoued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obserued onely a Queene of *Saba*, and a *Cleopatra* in Egipt, and so few beside; that their rarity declareth, how contrary a thing it is, violent, and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of *Charlemaigne* only, we haue seene in some parts of the West, where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: soueraigne swords and scepters conuerted into distaffes, and by the succession of womē, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which raysed the houses of *Spaine* and of *Austria*, to the greatnes they hold: a kinde of encreasing vnknown before, in any other house or soueraignty, because there was no right at all.

Women not capable of succeeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters chāged to Distaffes.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French, the proofe and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themselues to shew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, seeing France hath kept the vse of Antiquity, & they haue saine to change among themselues. Which hath bin heretofore obserued and discourssed, by Seigneur *Lesthassier*, in his Tract of the right of Nature: where he sheweth, that by the right of nature, women stand exempted from succession in the Realm of France. I remember the answer which *Licurgus* made to one, who discoursed, that the gouernment of many was the best forme of an Estate. *Bring it first of all* (quoth he) *into thine own house.* In like manner, to such as will maintaine the gouernment of women in kingdomes and great Empires, especially in France: a man may well say, let them begin that establishment in their owne houses. It is by good reason saide, that there is neyther beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as *Aristotle* saith: *That whosoeuer is by right of nature, & by right of people, is not written at al.*

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty answer made by Licurgus.

Arist. in lib 1. tit. 1 qu. Hoc notandum in feudis.

Wherto I may adde moreouer, that it is the common right of inheritances, which ought by stronger reason to be obserued in

Royalty, as being the laſt and moſt eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, ſo naturall, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the eſtate of France.

A connexion of the Lawes of the Salians with that of the Ripuarians.

Beſide, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to ſay, of lands diſtributed to the French, in their entring to the *Gaules*) ſhall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The ſame is alſo ordained in the law of the *French Ripuarians*. If this then tooke place in the ſucceſſion of particulars, that the lands aſſigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their trauailes, and to ſerue for defence of the Country, ſhould not fall (as one ſaith) from the Lance to the Diſtaffe: by how much greater reaſon then ought we to eſteeme, that this ſhould be obſerued, in the eſtate and ſucceſſion of the kingdome of France, as the ſequell of her owne Hiſtories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times ſo held and practiſed there?

From the Lance to the Diſtaffe.

The 4 ſonnes of great Chlouis, all kings together.

The great *Louys* or *Chlouis* had foure Sonnes, who by cuſtome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldeſt, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Saiſſons*; *Chlodamiere* of *Orleance*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodeſinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of S. *Germane des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Biſhop of *Poictiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to thoſe two daughters. Neuertheleſſe, neither of them ſucceeded in the kingdome of *Childebert* their Father: but without all further diſpute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obſerued by *Agathias* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the ſon of *Chlouis*, had three daughters alſo, without leauing any male-childe: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the ſecond named *Bertheſleda*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodielda*, entred Religion in the Abbey of S. *Croſſe* in *Poictiers*: ſo that none of theſe daughters ſucceeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceaſed king, & that without difficulty or controuerſie.

Fortunat. in Poem.

Agathias in l. 2.

The three daughters of Charibert.

Now if there had bin any means or ſubiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought, that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwiſe haue bin remoued. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at leaſt he would haue complained, & the authors of thoſe times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* ſucceeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the cuſtome of the Country. *Gonthram*, King of Bourgongne, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Clotilda*. And yet notwithſtanding, he inueſted and inſtituted his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdome of Bourgongne, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be obiected, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or becauſe hee would diſinherite her: For by an acte of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, tranſcribed at large by S. *Gregory of Tours*, who liued in thoſe very times; he ſtipullated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therin his fatherly affection; but becauſe the law of France hindered her ſucceeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwiſe as he found the beſt means to do. The ſame may be confirmd by the teſtimony of many ſtrangers, who do al agree in this point, that womẽ are not to ſucceed in the kingdome of France: the names of whom, as alſo their authorities, haue beene (for the moſt part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epiſtle which he hath written concerning this ſubiect.

The ancient cuſtome of any country is a mighty and preuailing motiue.

S. *Greg. Turo. in lib. 9. cap. 20.*

This point confirmed by diuers ſtrange Writers.

Nodgerus, Biſhop of *Liege*, in the life of S. *Landoalde*, written by him in the yeare VCCCCLXXX. ſaith. *Francorum Regnũ à ſuæ principio ſemper per infatigabile, &c. Maximũ autem accepit incrementũ & firmũ ſub eo ſanctæ Dei Eccleſia ſtatum, cum Chlotarius Rex IVSTA SVCCESSIONE, Chlodoueo quartus Monarchiam ſingulariter trium regebat regnorum. The kingdome of France frõ her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreaſing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlouis was Monarch BY IVST SVCCESSION of three kingdomes.* He ſaith by iuſt ſucceſſion, and yet notwithſtanding, *Childebert* had left two daughters behinde him.

Nodger in vit. Landoaldi lib. 1 cap. 3.

Chlouis was Monarch of 3 kingdomes.

Albert of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per fœminam lineam*

Albert. Strab. in Chron.

linea successisse dicitur. Neuer hath any person succeeded in France, by the line of womē.

In vit Caroli Quarti, &c.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, Son to *Iohn*, king of *Bohemia*, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obijt Carolus Francorum Rex relicta vxore prægnante, quæ peperit filiam. Et cum de consuetudine regni filiæ non succedant, prouectus est Philippus, filius soceri mei in Regem Franciæ. That yeare* (saith he) *died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with childe, who was deliuered of a daughter. And because by the custome of the kingdome, daughters are not to succeed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.*

Froissard in 1. vol.

Froissard, a partaker with England writeth thus. *Then after the death of K. Charls, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France, assembled themselues togither at Paris, with al the speed they could make, and gaue the kingdome (by a common consent) to Messire Philip de Valois, and tooke it from the Queene of England & her Son, who was left Sister germane to king Charles, by this respect and reason; because they said, that the Realm of France was of so great nobility, as it ought not go by any means to a Female.* And indeed, the Q. of England, and *Edward* her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged *Philip de Valois* for legitimate successour to the kingdome. And that which is more, *Edward* voluntarily did him homage, in regard of the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduised by his councell of England.

The Queene of England and Edward her Sonne.

King Edward the third took on him the name of king, and quarrred the Armes of France.

Now as concerning that which hapned some while after, warre being moued betweene the two kings, for another cause and enmity excited among thē, that *Edward* tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the Flemings, who saide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himselfe, the name of King of France: because they stoode bound by oath, not to beare Armes against the K. of France, on paine of paying two millions of Florins. So that in taking Armes for him against *Philip de Valois*, and to quit thēselues of that payment; *Edward* gaue them a discharge and quittance, as being K. of France. And yet notwithstanding, the K. of England made difficulty of vnderstanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another subiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of *Cambray*, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the Flemings, & their allies, who were most important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Armes of France, as may more particularly be seene in the sequell of the history set down by *Froissard*.

King Edward of England Vicar of the Empire.

Estiuan de Garibay y Gamalloa, a Spaniard, speaketh of the very same, saying. *Porque Philip Conde de Valoes descendida de la corona Real por linea mascolina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia, por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al Rey Eduardo por descender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la succesion Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones d' Eduardo, euaden ye sclusen los Franceses con Ley Salica, que en estos dias y ua tomando grande vigor y fuerca para los siglos futuros. Because Philip, Count of Valois, descended of the Crowne Royall, by the masculine line: he was crowned King of France, by vertue of the Salique law. For king Edward, he being descended by the Mothers line, he stood excluded from the Royall succession, &c. And all the reason alledged by Edward, were euaded & excluded for the French, by the Salique Law, which in those daies was in great force, and continueth also for future times.*

Estiuan de Garibay. Histor in lib. 16. cap. 16.

Doctor *Baldus* on the Pandects saith. *Filia Regis Francorū non succedit in Regno, ex rationabili consuetudine Francorum. The Daughter to the K. of France, succeedeth not at all in the kingdome, by a reasonable custome among the French.* Which is also confirmd by Doctor *Petrus Iacobi*, on the Books of Fiefs & Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee registred among the honors, dignities & preheminences of France. And such as contend against it, as willing to impugne such a Law, or call it in doubtfull question; do slenderly conceiue, that the state of their owne Country could neuer pretend, nor attribute vnto it selfe such a prerogatiue.

Baldus in lib. 2. D. De Senator.

Petrus Iacobi. Tit. ex quib. caus. vassal. in Feud.

The King of France hath also this great aduantage aboue others, that he is not only Soueraigne, but likewise absolute, with full power & authority truly Royal: which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are restrained, eyther by lawes, or by assemblies of the generall Estates: who therfore cannot tearme thēselues absolute, being so subiected, & their power limitted. The perfection & height of a royall estate, is, when the Prince ordaineth

Another great aduantage of the king of France.

The perfection of a truely Royall estate.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any restriction, and being no way answerable for any of his actions. This was the reason, that *Aristotle* elegātly named such an estate, by the name of παμβασιλεια, as one would say, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wise *Salomon* speaking of a true king indeed, saith; *He will do whatsoeuer pleaseth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who shal say vnto him, What dost thou?* This is also of no meane importance for the good gouernment of an estate; be it to resolue more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe councels & designes secret; be it for facility, promptitude, and speedines of execution. He that hath such power, especially in actions of war, as the two great warriours *Alexander* and *Cæsar* had, may sway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in so short a time, hee had made so many famous conquests: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occasion, or vsing remissenesse*. And the other was so prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in such sort, as enemies felt his fingers, before they tooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatsoeuer, & thē his power is not absolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greatest affaires, & dangers of the estate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magistrate, whom they called Dictatour, with such full power & absolute authority. In breefe, for the gouernement of great estates, and likewise of great affaires, the account can neuer bee well rendred, except it be to one man only. Otherwise, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer say, as *Metellus Numidicus*, and as it was after vsed by king *Lewes* the 11. *That if he thought his shirt knew his councell, he would teare it from his backe and burne it*. He that is truly an absolute king, may well vse the aduice of his councell, in such affaires as present themselues: but in an arrest and resolue, what seems good to himselfe. The excellency of that kingdome, as also of her kings, resulteth yet from two other considerations. One is the long continuance of the estate: a certain proofe, as well of her good gouernment, as of the supreme and celestiall fauor. The other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to speake truely, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdomes through the Vniuerse, shew another the like estate, as firm and stable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate such a nobility & ancientnes of race, so fairely approued, and in so long succession of so many kings. Since the year 440. according to most certaine History. *Meroneus* planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and established it to the *Gaules*: & euen to this instant, the estate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly stood against all violent assaults. In such sort, as the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities; then found she her selfe strongest, and more flourishing then before. There is not any thing comparable to such a succession of kings, in al other Realmes, as it will be easily verified.

Moreouer, the noblenesse, dignity, and greatnes of that royall race, hath receiued no diminution by those two changes, which historians haue there obserued. Let not *Lopez Madera* alledge then, that such changes hapned, because France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the side & line feminine, thogh the succession be not therein; three races finde themselues all vnited with the other. The second of *Pepin* with the first, as some Chronicles of those times do proue. And that of the *Capets* which is the third, and reigneth at this present happily with the second, as M. *Guillaume de Nangis* hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope *Innocent* the 4. in his Decratale, speaking of king *Phillip Augustus*, full well acknowledged, when he anouched that king to be descended of the race of *Charlemaigne*.

But beside this, there are other faithfull Authors, who do declare, that the second race is ioynd to the first, by the males side, prooving from father to sonne, that *Pepin* was descended in direct line by the males, of *Chlogion*, K. of the French, before *Meroneus*, as issued from *Albericus*, one of the sonnes of *Chlogion*. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and so ancient house of *Saxony*, & of great *Witichind*, king of the *Saxons*, who made himselfe Christian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of *Charlemaigne*. He was descended of *Siguardus*,

Arist. in Politic. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Eccles. 8. 34.

The honourable dispositions of Alexander & Cæsar in their actions of warre, and otherwise.

The absolute power of the Romanes Dictatour.

The wise saying of Metellus Numidicus

Two other considerations well deseruing obseruation.

Long continuance of the State. & Antiquity of race.

The first plātation of the Monarchy by Meroneus.

Two changes noted by Historians concerning Frāce

Cap. Nouit De Iudici apud Gregor.

Pepin descended of king Chlogion, before Meroneus.

The third race of the house of Saxony by king Witichind, and that descent.

Siguardus, who was made Duke of the Saxons, in the yeare VCXXXVI. at such time as *Dagobert* was king of France. Behold the certain succession, *Vuitichind* the great had another Son cald *Vuitichind*, & that *Vuitichind* had another *Vuitichind* 3. who had to Sonne *Rupert* or *Robert* the *Strong*, Count of *Anion*, he being slain against the *Normanes*, in the time of *Charles* the Bauld, king of *France*, and Emperor.

That *Robert* the *Strong* left his Son *Otho* or *Eudo*, who was Tutor to king *Charles* the *Simple*, and afterward crowned king; as also was his brother *Rupert*, Father to *Hugh* the Great, Count of *Paris*, Sonne in law to the Emperor *Otho* the first. And by this mariage of *Hugh* the Great, was born *Hugh Capet*, established king by the Nobility of France, through default in the legitimate line of *Charlemaigne*, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdome hath alwayes beene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Linage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Next hereunto, there commeth also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall vertues of the kings of France, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through al the Cantons of the earth. But to forbeare the most ancient warriours, the affright & terrour of the Romanes, *Ascaricus*, *Gaiso*, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Mellaubodes*, and *Chlogion*; what a warrior was *Meroneus*, the founder of that Monarchy in *Gaule*? This was the man, who (in despight of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the *Gaules*) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for *Attila*, king of the *Hunnes*, that caused himself to be cal'd, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage France, as hee had done all other Prouinces where hee had past. The wise *Aetius*, Gouernour to what then remained of the Romanes in *Gaule*, was perswaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people releagued with him, to endure the furious and fearefull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourse to the vertue of the French, and to their great *Meroneus*, to fight against the furious entrance of the *Huns*. Wherin he had good succes, for the pride of *Attila* was soone rebated on the *Cathalanian* plaines, by great *Meroneus*; who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and numberless enemies.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyicall, well deseruing eternall memory, of al the kings that haue raigned in France: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending subiect, deserued to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and vertuously performe. Beside, the aboundance of matter, and dignity of the subiect, would afoord them scarsity of ground, and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subiect much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in Greece, bandied the one against the other: which neuertheles, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contenting themselues with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, addicting themselues rather, to execute high & hardy enterprizes, then to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselues.

Neuertheless, though destitute of such exquisite meanes, whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin vtterly buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Historiã, admiration hath thrust into the mouthes of all people, to know and speake of them; deliuering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And indeede, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leaue that labour to others, that can better acquit themselues therof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

It hath bin obserued for an ancient saying, *That all the good kings might be enclosed within the Bezaller Collet of a small king.* But this saying cannot hold in France, which hath euermore met with good kings, most excel-

Robert the Strong, & his Sonne Otho, Tutor to Charles the Simple.

Hugh Capet Son of Hugh the Great.

Warriors that terrified and amazed the Romane.

Meroneus founder of the monarchy in Gaule.

Attila king of the Hunnes called himselfe Flagellum Dei.

This labour cuer-little to containe the famous actions of the Kings of France.

The Greek warr not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of a fitting historiern) hath made the French generally famous through out the world

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

excellent and moſt vertuous: hauing bin alwayes happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine ſpirits, & generous ſoules, who haue ſometime ſwayed that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inſpiration, I may, if not worthily ſing your merits, yet (at leaſt) figure foorth to life ſome part of them.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who firſt eſtabliſhed himſelfe in *France*, repulſed the *Hunnes*, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horrour and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chlouis* or *Loüis*, who poſſeſſed himſelfe throughly of the *Gaules*, and vtterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayler of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulſed ſo quickly the *Gothes* beyond the Pyrennean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flie away vpon, or where to hide themſelues from his victorious arm. The *Gothes* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vndertooke war againſt them, to chaſtiſe them, and purge the *Gaules* of ſuch a people, as eagerly followed the errour of *Arrius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

When as the two Armies were met together, ſomewhat neere to *Poictiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Gothes* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Hiſtorians do adde heereto, that the King of the *Gothes*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chlouis*, and fighting hand to hand, hee ſmote him downe dead to the ground. This is the ſelfe-ſame Prince, who (firſt of all the French) embraced Chriſtian Religion, whereof both he and his ſucceſſors were alwaies afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the moſt redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogothe*, and the *Vuiſigothes* of *Spaine* made no meane account, were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themſelues very happy, to haue peace and friendſhip with him, ſeeking it by diuerſity of Ambaſſadors, & by plenty of moſt exquiſite guifts.

His Sonnes *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Chlodamire*, and *Thierry*, as heires to his crowne, and likewiſe to his valour and piety, made themſelues admirable & dreadfull to ſtrangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible perſecutions inflicted on the Orthodoxe Chriſtians, as alſo by the bad and vnworthy vſage offered to his Siſter, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Vuiſigothes* in Spaine, who ſeuerely maintained the Arrian hereſie: paſſed with his Army into Spaine, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Gothes*, wonne diuers Citties by aſſault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruinating it in ranged battaile, where alſo was ſlaine *Almaricke* their king; returning triumphantly into France, hauing added to his Empire, the very greateſt part of Spaine. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholy ouerthrew the eſtate of the Bourguignons. And ſoone after, the emperour *Iuſtinian*, making warre on the *Gothes* of *Italy*, the *Gothes* made recourſe to *Theodebert*, king of *Mets*, and youngeſt Sonne to *Chlouis*, who defended them for a good ſpace of time, giuing ſuch proofe to the Greekes, of vertue in the French, that *Iuſtinian* was conſtraind to compound with the french, as Hiſtorians (on his own ſide) do teſtifie.

In this firſt race, there was alſo *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly ſubdued Germany, and vanquiſhed the vnconquerable Saxons. On a day, the two Armies being ſomewhat neere each to other, and the Riuer *Viſurgis* running betweene them, this *Chlothaire* beeing on horſe-backe and well armed; eſpied *Bertoaldus*, Duke of the Saxons, in like furniſhment on the Riuers other ſide. Alone & without attēding for any other troops, ſuddenly he croſſed ouer the Riuer, to encounter and fight with his enemy; who betaking himſelfe to flight, he purſued after with all poſſible ſpeed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, becauſe they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Succeſſor, a worthy heire both to his eſtate and valour, as alſo excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well teſtifie.

Hauing finiſhed the firſt race, wee come to the ſecond, wherein let vs conſider firſt of all, the cheefe man thereof,

Charles

Chlouis or Louys that droue the Romanes quite out of Gaule, & made the Gothes to flie beyond the Pyrennean Mountains.

The meeting of the two armies hard by Poitiers, where King Chlouis ſlew Alarick hand to hand in fight.

The Emperor Anaſtaſius.

Childebert Sonne & ſucceſſor to Chlouis.

S. Greg. Turo. in lib 3. cap. 10. Aymonius in li 2. cap. 8. & 19.

The Emperor Iuſtinian warreth on the Gothes of Italy. Procopius in li 2. Bel. Gott.

Chlothaire ſubdued all Germany and the Saxons.

Aymonius in lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dagobert, heire and ſucceſſour to his Father Chlothaire.

Charles Martell, Prince of the French; whose name remaineth engrauen (perpetually) in memorie of all the people of *Europe*, for beeing their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoake and seruitude of the Sarazins. It was then when the *Arabian* Sarazens (holding all *Affrica*) passed into *Spaine* with very smal troopes: where finding but slender resistance, the *Spaniards* and *Gothes* bequeathing themselues, as ingulfed in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all Spaine. This victory and conquest drew on thither Millions of Moores and Sarrazins, and in so great number, that *Spaine* being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of passing further on, euen to run thorow all Europe, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Roderic. Ximenes Archiep. in Tolet. hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.

Into *France* they entred with a most dreadfull Army, sacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so farre as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conquests. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) *Europe* had vtterly beene vndone: if this *Charles Martell* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Hauing giuen them battell with so few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and meerely hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threescore, and fifteene thousand Sarrazins. After this, being aduertised that there were yet other great troopes, towards *Narbona* and *Auignion*; hee vvent thither to finde them, & in another daies good successe, wholly ouercame them, & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seuen or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the sir-name of *Martell* was giuen him. Thus did he dissipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatned, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the Spaniards, who were scattered in Spaine, fled & hidden in the *Asturian* mountains. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the Buckler, Hammer, sharpe sworde and Rampier of Christendome. But for him, *Europe* had now bin the seate of *Calyffes* and *Miramolines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Mahomet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* should haue bene here preached. The Saxons, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance? The Germanes, diuided into many small Principalities, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of France, could they haue resisted? In Italy there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of almost two hundred yeares, could not became Masters of all Italy, neyther conquer any more but a part, which their first king *Albonine* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred. The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courses and piracies of the *Sarraxins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselues. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: beeing pursued by the *Arabes* and Mahometanes of the East. Questionlesse, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage inuincible of this French Prince, to conserue his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said; *That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to bee a King himselfe*; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these vvarmes.

Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperat ipse.

Thus imitated by the *Virgil* of France.

This was Great Martel, Prince of the Frēch,
Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, *Hee affected rather to command them that had Golde, then to haue any himselfe.* Because the passion and feruour which is borne to honor, and which seateth it selfe willingly in the souls of the most generous; is much more quaint, tickling and violent, then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of that great *Martel* protector of Christen-

Aymonius' continuatio lib. 4. cap. 57.

Christendome) beeing such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, euery one fixing their eyes on him; Pope *Gregory* the third sent him the chaines of Saint *Peter*, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole Romane Church into his protection, to be warranted, not onely against inuasion of Sarrazens, but also against the continual courses of the Lombards, wherewith hee had beene afflicted beyond all extreamitie.

Pepin, the son of Charles Martell.

Pepin, King of France, son to *Charles Martell*, wonne not a iot lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was hee that danted the Aquitanians, and them of *Bauaria*, ouercomming them in diuers battailes, and likewise the reuolted Saxons. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope *Stephen*, to defend the Romane Church (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by *Astolpho*, King of the Lombards, he went with all diligence, & constrained *Astolpho* (who felt his power not equall to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in *Pauia* his Capitall City, where hee besiedged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This composition being afterward broken by the perfidie of *Astolpho*; *Pepin* returned thither againe, and besieged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of *Rauenna*, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the Romanes Church. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to request his alliance.

Aymon. contin. in lib. 4 cap. 63

The Lieutenancie of the Empire.

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne *Charles*, to whome (by good right, and for his high deserts) the whole Vniuerse, by one consent, gaue the sir-name of *Great*? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue seuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whome hee was to deale. First, against the *Aquitanians* and *Basques* or *Gascoignes*, a meruailous strong people; yet after many ouerthrowes, hee ranged them vnder his obedience.

Charlemaign or Charls the Great, sonne to King Pepin

Next, another warre against the Lombards, who hauing violated the Articles of peace, which had beene couenanted with them by King *Pepin*, Father to this *Charles*: they infested and tormented the Romane Church, without the least breathing or respit. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vndertooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercomming & ruinating the Lombards from the toppe to the bottome. He also besieged *Didier* their king, tooke, and led him captiue into Fraunce, where ended the kingdome of the Lombards in *Italy*, and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the Romane Church, giuing it no meane part of his Conquests, and encreasing the patrimony of S. *Peter*.

His warre against the Lombards, & bringing their King prisoner into France.

Hee attempted warre also against the Sarrazins, passed into *Spain* to fight with them, where he foyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselues in Towns, which he besiedged and wonne away from them, so that he conquered a great part of *Spaine*, chasing the Sarazins thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the Spaniardes, who were mightily oppressed and ouerburdened before.

His warre against the Sarazins in Spaine.

Then he made an expedition into *Italy*, against the reuolted *Lombards* and *Italians*. Many the like into *Germany*, against the *Bauarians*, the *Danes*, *Bohemians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Winides*, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the *Hunnes*, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in *Pannonia*, vnder the conduct of *Attila* their King: yet he vanquished them, and hewd them in peeces in many fought battailes, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enioyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there he found such wealth and aboundance of riches, as the very simplest souldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

Furthermore, he had no meane medling with the *Saxons*, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirty yeares: they being a people that could neuer

His warres against the Saxons for 33 yeeres.

neuer-liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting inceſſantly, eſpecially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in ſome other places. Hee added to his owne eſtate *Gaſcoiugny*, a great part of *Spaine*, *Saxony*, and the *Pannoniaes*; reſtraining ſo powerfully the ordinary courſes of the Sarrazines, as all *Europe* lyued quietly vnder his reigne. Beſide, hee was ſo redoubted, loued, and admired altogither by forraigne Kings, that *Aaron*, *Calyffe* of the Eaſt, who held (well-neere) all *Aſia*, and was feared by all the greateſt Kings: ſought for his friendſhip, and ſent him rare preſents at diuers times, auouching him to be the moſt woorthy King in the whole world. And although this Calyffe was rude and harſh vnto Chriſtians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithſtanding, he forbare to perſecute them, in conſideration of *Charlemaigne*, to whom he gaue the City of *Ieruſalem*, by ſending him the keyes thereof, as alſo them of the holy Sepulcher.

Aaron the great Calyffe of the Eaſt.

The Emperours of *Conſtantinople* alſo did ſo eſteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they ſent him rich gifties by their Ambaſſadours, dreading nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre againſt him. In like manner, *Alphonſus* King of *Gallicia*, and of the *Aſturiaes*, would call himſelfe no other, but with this qualification towardes Great *Charles*, *His humble and faithfull Subiect*, *wholly to him*; *Proprius fuus* in Latine, as *Eginhard* hath recorded.

He was loued and feared by the Emperors of Conſtantinople.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was ſo ſtout a warriour, all other ciuill vertues and moſt humane, ſhould haue an equall meeting together? Singular clemency did euermore accompany his victorious arme. The ſame *Eginhard* reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occaſion whatſoeuer. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted againſt his life and State, ſhould be put to death, but onely was contented with their ſafe keeping. In his victory againſt the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon *Paulus Warnefridus*, Deacon of *Aquileia*; but alſo kept him neere about his perſon, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the eſteeme of his eruditi-on and knowledge.

Eginhard in annal. 4 cap. 9

This Lombard was vnworthy of ſo great grace, in conſpiring afterward with other Rebels, and vſing treaſon againſt his King and Benefactor. VVho neuertheles, after he had diſcouered the conſpiracy, & ſurmounted all that the reuolts could do, againe he pardoned this *Paulus Warnifridus*, being no way willing, that he ſhould be punniſhed for his perfidie and rebellion. Onely he commanded his retirement, and baniſhed him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his baniſhment, and fledde to *Ragaiſius*, Duke of *Beneuento*, to excite him alſo to reuolt. An occaſion, whereby the king was councelled, greeuouſly to punniſh both the one and other for this double treaſon. Yet the good Prince would lend no eare thereto, but ſaued & pardoned both their liues: onely he charged *Paulus Warnefridus*, to write the Hiſtory of the Lombards, the continuation of Europe, and ſome other works.

Good nature in a Prince may be too much abuſed by Traitors.

A mercifull iniunction by a wronged Prince.

This was not only a light puniſhment, but honourable alſo to him that had the charge thereof: wherein, beſide a moſt ſingular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely reſpect, to loue and honor the man, who had ſo often [illegible] into treaſon. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himſelfe, albeit liuing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbariſme, yet did hee ſpeake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue ſo readily, euen with naturall eloquence and admirable perſwaſion: hee vnderſtoode Greeke alſo, but ſpake it hardly. Beſide, he was well ſeene in all the Sciences, hauing *Alcuinus* to bee his Schoole-maſter. All dinner while, hee cauſed one to diſcourſe, or reade ancient Hiſtories: wherein he tooke no meane pleaſure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

No leſſe was he to bee commended for his iuſtice, carefull for rendring it to his ſubiects with all ſincerity: himſelfe taking knowledge of ſuch cauſes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VViddowes, Orphanes, and other miſerable people, to warrant them againſt all oppreſſions of the mighty. Hauing alſo eſtabliſhed many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iuſtice.

His Iuſtice & vprightneſſe to his ſubiects

ſtice. In regard of his piety and ſingulare deuotion, hee made ſufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witneſſed to this day in ſtrange Countreys, by his wealthy foundation of Churches and Monaſteries. He was ordinarily preſent at ſolemn prayers in the Church, and at all Canonicall houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine ſeruice ſhould be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well ſerued, deſpending great ſummes of money, to haue them fitted and furniſhed with all conuenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Hee cauſed fiue Councels to be called & holden, for the good of the Church.

Moreouer, he was ſomewhat prouident and curious, that the church ſhould be beautified and ſhining, by the probity, integritie, and ſanctitie, expreſſed in the liues of the Miniſters, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons to them appertayning. Being alwayes heerein ſo carefull, and for eſtabliſhment of the better order, that hee cauſed fiue Councelles to bee called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made thē to be publiſhed & obſerued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to ſee the Church honoured, and flouriſhing in all holines. He was liberall vnto all men, eſpeciallie to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releeued: as alſo in ſtraunge countreyes, whereto hee ſent rich Almes; alwayes coueting frendſhippe with the Eaſterne Kinges, to aſſwage the perſecutions of poore Chriſtians.

Charlemaign could neuer be tempted by a thought of Ambition.

But aboue all the reſt, one thing ſeemeth very ſtrange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the ſoule of this Prince, although it had beene, and it, a frequent and ordinary diſeaſe, in the very greateſt courages, and moſt generous ſpirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the Eaſt at Rome, by Pope *Leo* the third, vppon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both deſired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was ſo farre from any ſearch or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his conſent thereto. For *Eginhard* aſſureth, hauing heard himſelfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowne the purpoſe of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone into the Church on Chriſtmaſſe day, in the yeare VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and corronation was performed. It was a thing ſo much againſt his minde, and whereof hee made ſuch ſlender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threeſcore and eleuen yeares, hauing reigned ſeuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his ſucceſſor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildeneſſe and meekeneſſe, deſerued the ſur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

Eginhard in Antiq. f. 210.

The death of Charlemaign

In his yong yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carryed himſelfe in ſuch ſort, gouerning ſo wiſely and with ſuch diſcretion, that ſuch prudence and vertue was highly admyred, eſpecially in thoſe tender yeeres. Himſelfe rendred iuſtice to his ſubiectes, attending thereon three dayes in euery weeke. Hee vſed great iudgement for well chooſing men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magiſtrates. Hee eaſed the people ſo much as poſsibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subſidyes, and moderating others, euen in the mildeſt manner.

Charles the Debonnaire ſucceeded his Father Charlemaigne.

And yet notwithſtanding, hee was a good Warrior, not onely in defending & ſafe keeping his owne Frontiers: but alſo proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarazins, whom he foyled in many battels, encounters, & beſiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lāds of his Father *Charlemaigne*, which he had wonne in Spaine. So that by his Vertues, wiſe carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderfull contentment to his Father. Hee ſucceeded him in the kingdome of *Frāce*, and in the Empire of the Eaſt. He continued warre againſt the Sarrazins in Spaine, & weakned them in ſuch ſort, that he gaue good means to the Spaniſh chriſtians, to defend themſelues againſt them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marineus Siculus*, who wrote the hiſtorie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreouer, that he impoſed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and ſubiected by him in Spaine: where he was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanſanos*.

Charles was alſo a worthie warriour, conquering the Sarrazins in Spaine.

Marineus Siculus, in lib. 9.

Romanſanos.

He conſerued in greatnes the Empire of

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courses of the Northerly people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decease, hee tooke no other foode, but the blessed Communion onely, which he receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

His zeale and deuotion to God and his Church.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely gouerned his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was so earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, ỿ beeing (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Asse Crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who ware his Dukall Crowne on that solemn day.

The 3. race of kings in France the first being Hugh Capet, of Saxony.

A worthy answer of a iudicious King.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that foode which was set there before him, & many other things that they stood in neede of. Nor was hee a iotte lesse liberall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifully, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conseruing his estate very wel, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

His loue and charity to the poore, and erection of Churches.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes* the sixt, sirnamed *Le Gros*, a true imitator of his Auncestours vertues. He imployed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quyetnesse, and (according to the dutie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who stood then vpon very peremptory tearmes. Which made him to attempt diuers wars againſt them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoeuer, and so he wel witnessed from time to time.

K. Lewes the sixt, sirnamed the Grosse of big.

After he had chastised and raunged all such as had reuolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry* the fift, being departed from *Germany* with a mighty & dreadfull Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Rhemes*, having but a handfull of men with him. But he so affrighted the Emperor *Henrie*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoeuer: he thought it farre better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate against so valiant a King, though hee vvas attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreate, at the very noyse of the Kings comming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadfull.

The Emperor Henry the fift goeth with a great army against Lewes Le Grosse, & retired thence without striking a blow.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kinges of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarkes to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Gallicane* church, concerning those differences which he hadde with the Emperor. And afterwardes, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expulsed by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his vtmost power, he tooke paines to pacify those discords and contentions.

Vertues proper to the Kings of France.

Suggerus in vit Ludeus Grossi.

Some-

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is set downe by *Sugerius*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiuing it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his sinnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken foorth of his bed again, & laid vpon ashes dispersed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

Sugger. Abbat. S. Dionis. in Mort. Ludoui Grossi.

His Sonne *Lewes* the seuenth, called, *The Youthfull*, was a true resembler of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of S. *Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discommodities of Famine, where-with his Armie was very sore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

Lewes the 7. succeedeth his Father Lewes le gros

VVho can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Phillip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror?* At the age of foureteene yeares, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploites and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-stept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would bee seene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of addicting himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him He so vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

Philip Augustus, sur-namd the Conqueror, came to the Crown at 14. yeares of age.

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakning them in diuers battailes, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same piety of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carryed many triumphes from them. Beeing returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being fearsely known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that battel, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and *Bologne*, all coniured against his estate.

The English incited to armes, against Philip Augustus.

The great day of Bouines neere to Tournay.

Those Earles being reuolted and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fifte, to come into Fraunce, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and other French subiects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduãtage: which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolued to fetch a further course about, and to assaile them on the other side.

The maner of the businesse proceeding betweene the Emperor and confederats against the K. of France.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperor *Otho* taking it for a flight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere, and the noyse of theyr armes gaue apparance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the rereguard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe any thing else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armies readinesse, riding thorough the rankes, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by breefely acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

The K. rideth about to haue his armie in readines.

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therfore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust deseruings, & had chosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckler the bodyes one of another: but euerie man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

The King of France first marcheth his armie against the enemy.

Hauing animated them with such or the like speeches, he caused his Army first to march on, assayling and sharply setting on that of the enemy. The French Cheualiers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy-blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselues into the middest of the maine battell, piercing and passing through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and ouerthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes perfourmed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs; and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battalion of enemies, where hee sharpely layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as he rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vppon him; yethe was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called Sir *Peter de Tristan*, who gaue him his owne horse.

The Kinges horse slaine vnder him, & remounted Sir Peter Tristan.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midst, where the Emperor *Otho* was, he being then very liuely assayled.

Emperor flees to his back.

Heere did he meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to stay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count *Reignald de Bologne*, hee would not budge a foote from the fielde of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all extremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse beeing slaine vnder him, and hee sore wounded, his throate threatned to bee cut by a Villaine, he yeelded himselfe to Lorde *Guarin*, a Knight of Saint *Iohns* of *Ierusalem*, and elected byshop of *Senlis*, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye vnworthily by the hand of a slaue.*

The noble wordes of Count Reignald of Bologne.

So the fielde of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered, a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chiefest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperor, who fledde with the Count of *Brabant*, and many *Germans* further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was *Ferrand* Earle of *Henaulte*, Nephew to the Queen, Countesse of *Flanders*, and Daughter vnto the King of *Portugall*. Shee being a medler with Magicall Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the successe of this Battaile, and it vvas tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Henaulte, her Cosine, should enter Paris in Triumph.* All vvhich was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

The Countesse of Flanders deceiued by her Wizards.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as beeing not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vppon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner. *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that thinkes more capeably and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, beeing in such danger, both to the Honour and Renowne of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (whatsoeuer hee bee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* Vvhereat all of them standing amazed, and being mooued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw themselues before his feete, saying; That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would euery one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.

Most honorable words of the King, before hee went to the fight.

Another victory won the ſame day againſt the Engliſh.

The ſelfe-ſame day of this great victory, *Monſieur Lewes de France*, eldeſt Son to the King; wonne another againſt the Engliſh, in the Country of *Anjou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, againſt the King, called *Iohn without Land*. For this double victory, obtayned both in one day, the King rendred thanks to God: and deſiring that ſome marke might remayn for a Trophee thereof to all poſterity, hee cauſed an Abbey to be builded neere to *Senlis*, which (in that reſpect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowed it with great reuennues.

Lewes the 8. Sonne & Succeſſor to Philip Auguſtus.

I can hardly ſtay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Succeſſor in his vertues, wherein he ſeconded him liuing, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning ſo ſhort a time after his Father; I muſt come to the King, called S. *Lewes*, whoſe piety, religion, and ſanctity of life, hath ſufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to bee reckoned as a matter moſt rare, is, that he excelled no leſſe in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warres, wherein ſtill he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: beeing moſt valiant of his perſon, & a very wiſe Captaine.

Lewes the 9 ſirnamed S. Lewes, a religious king & a worthy Soldiour.

The victory at Taillebourg on the Riuer Charante in Poictu.

Hee foyled and droue in diſorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Counts *de la Marche*, and *de Luſignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the Riuer *Charante* in *Poictu*. Where hauing gotten before, with very fewe people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the ſtratagems of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed ſo much by his valiancy, that his Army had leyſure for theyr paſſage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number ſlaine, many taken priſoners, ſome ſay foure thouſand, and the reſt were diſperſed and driuen to flight.

His famous expedition againſt the Turkes and Sarrazins.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generous, then his kingly expeditions againſt the Turkes and Sarrazines, where he wonne the beſt in many foughten battailes, hazarding his owne perſon, and expoſing himſelfe to all dangers, euen in the cheefeſt heate of fight, running where he ſaw the enemy ſtrongeſt, and his owne followers in any diſtreſſe. So that whereſoeuer he went, hee made all to giue him way, none beeing able to withſtand him, but gaue place to the greatneſſe of his courage, and ſtrength of his powerfull arme. The Lord of *Ioinuille*, an eye-witneſſe thereof, ſpeaking of one day among others, vſed theſe very words.

Le Sieur de Ioinuille in the 29. Chapter of his Booke.

And bee you very certaine, that that day the King perfourmed moſt high deedes of Armes, more then euer I ſaw in all the Battailes whereat I haue beene preſent. And one ſaide after the Battaile, that if it had not bene for his perſon, wee had all beene vtterly loſt and ſlaine that day: And ſurely, I can no otherwiſe imagine, but at the very inſtant, his vertue and ſtrength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For hee feared not a iote to thruſt himſelfe into the dangers and perils of the battaile: and where he ſaw his people in any diſtreſſe, there he laide moſt about him to helpe them, deliuering ſo many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the Turkes durſt come neere him. The Lord of Courtnay, and Meſſire Iohn de Salony reported to me, that they ſaw fixe Turkes (the ſame day) preparing towards the King, and hadde forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horſe, intending to leade him away. But the vertuous Prince, ſeeing the danger wherein hee was, ſtroue with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide ſuch loading ſtrokes vppon the Turkes whuch ledde him, ſo that hee alone freed himſelfe from them.

Sixe Turkes ſeized on the Kings Horſe, and yet he freed himſelfe from them all.

In another place the ſame Lord relateth, that the king vnderſtanding how the Earl of *Anjou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in ſuch extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; he gallowped immediately to reſcue him. *And* (ſaith he) *without tarrying for any man, gaue the Spurs to his horſe, his Sword in his hand, & raſhed mainly into the battaile; charging the Turkes and Sarrazins heauily, vntill he came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arriuall, God knowes what paines he tooke, and how many worthy deeds of Armes hee did: for it is moſt certaine, that where hee ſaw the greateſt danger and preaſe, there hee beſtowed himſelfe without any feare. So that by his admirable proweſſe, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the Sarrazines to flight, chaſing them quite out of their owne Hoaſt or Army.*

In the 31. Chapter of his Booke. How the king reſcued his Brother the Earle of Anjou.

Another

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In the 29. chapter of his Booke.

Another day, speaking how the King was ready to assaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardnesse; *His Helmet* (sayth he) *was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a sword of* Germanie, *readily drawne. But let me tell yee, that I neuer saw a more goodly man then he was, for hee appeared aboue all the rest, by the height of his head and shoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Souldiours were encouraged to the battaile, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knightes, without attending for the King, mingled themselues amongest the Turkes, and there assayled them couragiously. The King would alwayes be the formost, and when he came neere to the Turkes, the battaile beganne so fiercely, as it was a matter marueilous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more woorthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one side, as the other, as neuer had beene obserued in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, all pel-mell, one with another, onely by strokes of Swords and Battle Axes.* Further hee addeth; *That the King did more then meruayles in fighting, and would alwayes bee in the verie strongest of the Battaile.*

A very manly resolution in fight.

After the rout and flight of the Turks, at his descent and taking of *Damieta*, and after the three great battailes in Egypt, betweene the Channels of *Nilus*, where he obtained full victory: if famine, and a certaine strange disease (extraordinarily contagious) had not falne amongst his people: it had bene Doomesday vnto the Turkes and Sarrazins, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels so admired the vertue of this Prince, that although he was contrary to them in Religion, and their very seuere persecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as beeing a matter already resolued on among them: but that some labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the firmest, fiercest, and most determinate Christian that euer they did know. And they said among themselues; *That if their Mahomet had suffered them to feele so many mischiefes as his God hadde let him (being a King) to taste: they would neuer more haue adored or beleeued in him.* And yet (neuertheless) some amongst them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holye King, receiued the Christian Faith.

Damieta won from the Infidel, and three great battails fought in Egypt.

King of Ce elected be Soldan of Egypt.

p 33. of oke.

Moreouer, he ordained so well for the state and policy of his Kingdome: that his subiects (beeing before mightily oppressed) liued in perfect peace and quietnes. He vsed great wisedome and prouidence in all his affayres, hauing thereby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the causes thereof, constrained the Duke of *Bretaigne* to acknowledge him, and render such satisfaction as himselfe desired. With very much iudgement also he pacified the differences with the English, and induced the king of England to such friendlinesse, as he becam his Liegeman by faith, and one of the Barons of France: so that hee left not any war to his successors, which caused them to enioy so long a peace.

A King carefull for his kingdome, as well in his absence, as presence.

Aboue all other things, he loued Iustice especially, and was verie carefull thereof in himselfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holye Ordinances) such Vices and Abuses as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was such a Louer of trueth, that (as the Lord of *Ionuille* saith) *He was neuer knowne to falsify his Word.* For, it was reported vnto him, That the Sarrazines, in receyuing his Ransome, were discontented with tenne thousand pounds, he caused more to bee giuen to them.

No meane commendations in so great a person, whose life was a precious example to all his people.

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

Neuer could any feare or mis-fortune disfurnish him of reason; but euer-more he was thankfull to God in all his aduersities. When he saw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for safetie of his owne person, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the lateſt hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer should hee make an end, ỹ would recount the deeds (well deseruing immortality) of this good King. It shall suffice then to say, as the same Lord of *Ionuille* reports of his time. *The common people called him true Father; the Nobility, iust Prince, and preseruer of the Lawes; France, her King of Truth, and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppression.*

In chapter 18 of his Booke.

Philip the 3. succeeded his father S. Lewes, who deceased in Affrica at the city of Thunis.

In the ſame Schoole was bred and noriſhed *Philip* the third, to whom the good ly examples, and profitable inſtructions of this good King his Father, ſerued as an abſolute pattern and excellent inſtitution, which he vnderſtoode ſo well, and made profit of in ſuch ſort, as, although he got not ſo great a name, yet notwithſtanding, he was the moſt worthy heyre of his Fathers vertues. And albeit S. *Lewes* dyed at the ſiedge of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, making warre the ſecond time againſt the Infidels; yet this young Prince gaue ſo good aſſurance to the Armie, much danted by the death of the King; that hee bare away many famous victories from his enemies, although they exceeded his ſtrength in huge multitudes. In the end, he conſtraind the king of *Thunis*, to come humbly, and entreate for peace: rendering himſelfe, and his Vnckle *Charles* king of *Sicily* tributaries to him.

Afterwards, returning home towards France, he paſſed thorow *Italy*, where he was entertained with ſuch fauour and applauſes by all the inhabitants, as the moſt part came and entreated him, that hee would take the command ouer them, deſiring (aboue all things elſe) to be gouerned by ſo good a King, ſo louing and reſpectiue of his people. Beeing returned into his owne kingdome, he maintayned it in peace a long time; vntill being molleſted by the King of *Arragon*, and the Count *de Foix*, hee vndertooke Armes. Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where hauing made war very happily, by aſſault he tooke many places reputed impregnable, conquered a great part of the kingdome of *Arragon*, ouerthrew the *Arragonians* in diuers encounters, and ſlew their King, ſo returning home-ward with Triumphall victory, he died at *Parpignan*.

Guliel. de Nangis, in Philippo tertio.

K. Philip entred Spaine, with an army, and killed the K. of Arragon

But one thing may not bee omitted, that this king moſt oftentimes did weare ſackcloath, and a ſhirt of haire, liuing ſo holily, and vſing ſuch abſtinence, that the Authors of thoſe times were enforced to confeſſe, that he rather reſembled a good Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee a great Prince, & knew well enough how to gouerne his kingdome.

Charles the 5 ſurnamed the Wiſe.

Charles the fift, deſerueth alſo to be ſet in this ranke of choyſe men, being ſurnamed of his time, *the Wiſe*. Onely by his councell and good aduice, without ſtirring from his Chamber, he reconquered whatſoeuer his Predeceſſors had loſt, by the Armies of the Engliſh. His prouident and well tempered wiſedom, did diuers times rebate the keene edged ſword of valiant *Edward* the Prince of Wales, and diſappointed many of his forwarde purpoſes; ſo that, notwithſtanding his high ſpirit, and well ordered Armies, he gained very little from him, nor yet the King of England his Father, but what they wonne one day, they loſt againe in another.

Heere alſo I cannot omit *Charles* the ſeuenth, who comming to the Crowne, his kingdome (for the moſt part) was in the power of the Engliſh: but yet recouered it myraculouſly, as not onely hee regained what he had loſt, but alſo (as ſome ſay) all that the Engliſhmen did hold in France, wiſhing them to reſt contented with their owne Iſland. And heere methinkes it is very ſtrange, what all Hiſtorians haue reported of thoſe times, that this king, being toyled & wearied by the long warres of the Engliſh, to him much vnprofitable, and leſſe pleaſing: ſhould yet be excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in a village of *Lorraine*, named *Ioane d'Arc*. For ſhe being brought before him, & being of great reſolution, made him manie faire remonſtrances, whereby to entice and kindle his courage, for the recouerie of his kingdome, and expulſion of his enimies, which ſurely could not bee but by miracle. And it cannot be denied but that there was a Genius in this Maide, far ſurpaſsing the natural and ordinary condition of her ſexe. And ſo much the more ſtrange, becauſe ſhe ſerued as a Captaine, conducted the Armies, and fought verie valiantly, when as occaſion ſerued.

Charles the 7 much molleſted by the armies of the Engliſh.

Otherwiſe called Ioane the Pucelle of France.

Non hæc ſine numine diuum eueniunt.

Conſider we alſo *Charles* the eight, his yongeſt ſon, who hauing paſt into *Italy*, to reconquer that which the *Arragonians* vſurped from his predeceſſours, filled all the Cities and Townes of *Italy* (at his arriuall, with no meane terror of his armes, none being found thet durſt make heade againſt him. Euery Citty ſubmittted to him, and ſet open their gates, in meer affection and reſpect, both to the vertue of the French, and dread of their name; O-

Charles the ſon & ſucceſſor to Charles the 7.

thers

thers for feare, not beeing able to conteſt with them. So that in leſſe then fiue moneths, he made himſelfe Maſter of all *Italy*, *Geneway*, *Florence*, *Piſa*, *Sienna* and* *Liburnia* being all in his power. He reconquered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and expelled them of *Arragon*, who had vniuſtly vſurped there.

*The country Croatia, betweene Iſtria, and Dalmatia

The Great Turke *Baiazeth* the ſecond, feared nothing more then to meddle with him; & queſtionles, he would haue gon to aſſault him in *Conſtantinople*, wherein hee had ſhut vp himſelfe in meere feare, if vrgent occaſions had not called him backe to France, making ful account to returne thither againe afterward, to attempt that great and honourable expedition againſt the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced and called on all ſides, & for diuers good conſiderations. At his comming back for France, two maine impediments preſented themſelves to him, as well in regarde of difficult waies and mountaines, where (of neceſsity) hee was to paſſe his Artillery: as for daunger of enemies in ſuch places, where they might worke vpon aduantage many wayes; his army beeing alſo much afflicted with famine.

His intended voiage againſt Baiazeth the ſecond.

Beſide all this, a league was made againſt him, by the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Millaine*, and other Potentates, who had leuied an army of 40000. men, to cut him off quite: but yet hee ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, and paſſed through the daungers without any loſſe. The Armie of 40000. men was encamped on the Plaine of *Fornoue*, where it was moſt requiſit for the King to paſſe, they purpoſing to lock him vppe in this paſſage, to the end, that they might conſume his army, with Famine, neceſſity, and miſerie, amongſt the Mountaines where he was. The king with 7000 able fighting men onely, affronted this great army, gaue them battell, paſſed ouer the bellies of all them that hindered his way; and there was ſlaine about foure thouſand of them, the reſt beeing driuen to rout, or ſeized with feare, he ſuſtaining but very little loſſe, about thirtie French ſlaine, and ſome threeſcore Varlets. So not onely he reſcued his army, which hee led in ſafety with all his traine, baggage, Artillery, and carriages; but alſo fought ſucceſſefully, and hadde the victory ouer his enemies, which was a much more honourable Retreate, then that of tenne thouſand, ſo highly renowned by the Greekes.

The Venetians, the Duke of Millaine, & other Princes leagued againſt King Charles, and yet were foyled.

very ſmall ſſe on the ings ſide a- inſt ſo great Army.

An example of rare vertue is recorded of him. At the ſurprizall of a certaine place in *Italy*, a young Maid (of moſt exquiſite beauty) flying from his Soldiours, who woulde haue violated her honour: came and threw her ſelfe at his feete, deſiring him earneſtly, to defend her from the force and outrage of his ſouldiers. As indeed he did; but yet himſelfe fel into an amorous affection toward her, & hauing her priuate in his Chamber, with full intent to accompliſh his pleaſure, the Maid all drowned in tears, humbly deſired him on our knees, ſupplicating and adiuring him in the name of the bleſſed Virgin, the vntoucht mother of the worlds Sauiour, whoſe picture ſhe ſaw hanging by his bed that hee would take pitty on her, and not compell her to that, for ſafety wherof ſhe had eſcaped from his rauiſhing Soldiers, and put her ſelfe wholly into his handes. The King became mooued in ſuch ſort, that being tranſported with loue and paſſion, and in the braue gallantry of his youth, he made a Kingly conqueſt of him ſelfe, and bedewing his cheeks with tears, as beeing much aſhamed at his immodeſt offer, he would not touch her in any vnciuill or vnchaſte faſhion, but gaue her moſt honourable freedome, with a verie liberall Dowrie to her marriage, ſetting alſo at liberty both her Parents and Kindred, that were then (at that inſtant) his priſoners.

A briefe hiſtory, declaring admirable vertue in this King.

Where vertue and honor is truly innated, luſt hath the leſſe power to preuaile.

Surely, this was an acte verie ſtrange and almoſt myraculous, if wee conſider him to bee a King, in the very vigour & flower of his youth, victorious: yet neerely touched with the loue of a Mayden, excelling, and no way inferiour vnto any in Beautie, and hauing her wholly in his priuate power. His great wiſedome, ſingular iudgement, and infinite goodneſſe heerein appeared; and beeing a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes ſay to his Fauourites; *That hee had made choyſe of them, and loued them more then any other, becauſe he was perſwaded of their honeſtie, and might ſafely truſt them. Onely, he ſtill feared one fault in them, that they would ſuffer him to bee taxed with Auarice, in beeing eaſily ſollicited and tempted for acceſſe: in regard of the credite they hadde with him; and his owne facility, in granting*

King Charles his ſpeeches to his fauorits

what they asked. But if afterwards, any ſuch matter came to his knowledge, they vtterly loſt his fauour for euer: for he often entreated them, to continue in the true profeſſion of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preſerue his good opinion of them.

A worthy and Royall minde in a King.

The ſame King alſo vſed to ſay, *I could wiſh, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The ſweete ſmelling fauour of this renown, attracted the ſouls of ſtrangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iuſt reaſon, the ſur-name might bee accommodated to this good Prince, of *The louer and delight of Men:* as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Titus*.

Lewes the 12 ſucceeded Charls in the kingdome of France.

His ſucceſſor *Lewes* the twelfth, made himſelfe likewiſe as famous, by his Conqueſts of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre againſt *Lodouico Sforza*, who vſurped the Dukedome of *Millaine*, which belonged to him. In leſſe ſpace then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expulſed *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and cauſing the people to reuolt: the King went thither in perſon; where, after hee had vanquiſhed *Sforza* (whom hee ſent priſoner into France) he reconquered *Millain*, and receyued the moſt part of the Potentates Cities, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obeyſance to him.

The ſucceſſe of his warr in Italy, and the kingdome of Naples.

From thence he ſent an Armie to the kingdome of *Naples*, which had reuolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Arragon*, ſeeing he could not reſiſt him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, whō he had called to his ayde, and who (neuertheleſſe) would poſſeſſe themſelues of all: he ſubmitted himſelfe into the handes of the King, who vſed him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Anion*, beſide thirty thouſand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinkes) I ſhould not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath ſet downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miſerably in France. Afterward, warr was alwaies continued at *Naples* againſt the Spaniardes, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enimy, charges, skirmiſhes, encounters, aſſaults, and ſallies: and where the French had many victories, & the iſſue of all had ſucceeded happily, if the enemie had not diuers times abuſed the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arreſts. He beleeuing their plighted faith and ſlender aſſurances, was ſomtime the more ſlacke in ſuccouring his people: ſo that their perfidious dealing, rayſed a Million of enemies, leagued and coniured againſt this King, who found himſelfe aſſayled on al ſides. And yet notwithſtanding, he went away with honour, hauing aſtoniſhed and filled with terror, all them that were thus bandyed againſt him.

Paulus Iouius taxed with vntrueth.

War continued againſt the Spaniardes at Naples.

The warre he made againſt the Venetians.

He made warr vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vſurped, during thoſe wars. He entred into their countries, and with a ſmall troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Guiaradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battel to *Bartholmew d' Aluiana*, Generall for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being ſlaine aboue eight thouſand of the enemy, many taken priſoners, & the very cheeſeſt Commander himſelfe.

Two memorable ſayings of the King on the day of battell.

Concerning that dayes ſeruice, two memorable ſayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriuall there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they ſhall lodge on mine*. The other, was at his being ſo neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very eaſily play vpon the place; he was aduiſed to walke wanderingly, for feare he ſhould thereby be offended, hee made anſwer; *Neuer was King of Fraunce ſmitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid* (quoth hee) *let him come and ſtand behinde me*.

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetians ſeized by the King.

Vpon the ſucceſſe of this victory, thoſe places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were ſeized and made vſe of by this King: but afterwardes, they were manfully recouered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Caſtile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) paſſed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimouille*, of *Chaumont*, *Trivulce*, and other woorthy French Captaines, reſcued them backe againe ſo powerfully, that they continued alwayes Warriors. In the end, was giuen the battel

The great battaile at Rauēna, wherof we shall haue occasion to speake more heereafter.

taile of *Rauenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Rauenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Captaine *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The excellency of this good king, consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. Aboue all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to whō (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was desertfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King*.

Frances the first. successor to Lewes the twelfth.

He had as his Successor, Great *Frances* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his raigne: ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the Switzers, on the hot and dreadfull day at *Marignano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, nor at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaile, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the fielde of battaile, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

Of this battell also we will speake heereafter.

He contended with the Emperor Charls the 5.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designes, or euery way more hindred him. And yet notwithst. ding, it is hardly to be credited, with wh t honor, magnificence publikely, and courtesie in particular, hee entertained in his kingdome this Emperor, his principall aduersary. And although he with-held some of his estate vniustly, yet would he not demaund any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuiolably the faith he had giuen him; and moreouer, gaue him all the contentment he could desire.

An admirable disposition in a king.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which euidently declared, that hee had no other ambition, then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for euer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bare to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee sought for euery where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kindes. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was sir-named, *The Father of Learning*.

King Frances an entire louer of learning.

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truely generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperor *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the fift withdrew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leauing the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdome of *Spaine* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paule* the fourth, and then this King sent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of Spaine had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of Spaine were accorded & reconciled.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King Frances.

Charles 5. emperor entreth into a Monastery.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpasse them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take so high a flight, it is a subiect ouerworthy, which ought to bee reserued for the choysest spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselues capable to vndertake it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skilfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, beeing ouercome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not set downe any thing, to equall or come neere so famous merit.

King Henry the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

What hand can worthily describe so many wonne battailes, so many Cities and Townes taken (without losing any one)

He was reputed to be one of the worthieſt Soldiors in all the world.

one) ſo many fights and diuerſity of encounters? Who can figure him, ſhining in his glittering Armes, in the fierceſt and hotteſt brunts of ſo many ſharpe onſets, combates, ranged battailes, aſſaults, ſiedges, and ſurprizals, making himſelfe way whereſoeuer he went? A true Commander and Captaine, for councell and conduct; a moſt valiant Souldiour, to giue example for effect and execution. Finding all France troubled, the people mooued and diuided in parts, by the deuices and factions of ſtrangers, all *Europe* (to ſpeake truely) bandied & coniured againſt him, in very deplorable affayres; he yet gotte the vpper hand of all, diſſipated all ſtorms and tempeſts, ſaued and preſerued France frō that ruine, which euery one ſuppoſed certaine. All the enterprizes of his enemies, ſerued but as matter for his Trophees. Looke how many enemies, ſee ſo many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in his Helmet, to make his vertue the more illuſtrious, and fill the ſoules of his owne people and ſtrangers, with terror, amazement, and admiration, ſuch as cannot bee ſufficiently ſpoken off.

He ſaued France from an expected and hoped for ruine.

He guided all his intentions with ſuch wiſedome, and executed them with ſo high a courage, that they could haue no other yſſue but happineſſe: and it plainly appeared, that his vertue led Fortune by the hand: making truely knowne the ancient ſaying; *That the wiſe man diſpoſeth of Fortune*, and on the contrary; *It is to ſlender purpoſe, to impute that to accident, which prooues to be a mans owne error.* Neuer did any Prince finde an eſtate ſo confuſed and hurried; and neuer could any reduce it to more peaceable calmnes, thē he did meerely by his vertue, he not only danted his enemies, but (of enemies) they became his principall friends: *A ſoueraign degree, & the ſole perfectiō of a great Stateſman*, according to *Plato*. His valiancy, height of courage, and addreſſe to actions of Armes were ſuch, as admited no compariſon therewith: matchleſſe clemency euen towards ſnch as were his moſt determinate enemies. No acte of cruelty, neyther of reuenge, in the very fierceſt fury of warre: neuer was his ſword ſeene vnſheathed, but in the hot extremity of fights. His ſingular prudence, appeared not onely in the managing of war, and when hee was therein very ſeriouſly employed; but alſo in affayres of peace, whē he gaue him ſelfe wholly for the good and quiet of his people, ſhewing at all times, and in al places, that he was an admirable, good and wiſe king, exquiſitely enabled with all perfections. Qualities in ſuch ſort incompatible by nature, as ſince the beginning of the world, they could hardly meet in any one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene ſometime ſaid & deſired, that two ſhould be taken to make one of.

Two ancient worthy ſayings.

Plato in lib. 3. De Legib.

No cruelty obſerued in him towards his greateſt enemies.

In breefe, all things were ſo great and gracefull in him, as ſcarſely could any one ſpirit comprehend them: ſo that (to ſpeak truely) the beſt that men could do, was to ſit downe, and admire them with ſilence. This was the man, whom not only France acknowledged, & adored as her Conſeruator: but likewiſe on whom the whole world caſt an eye, as the true Arbitrator, Author, and Moderator of her quietnes. His right to the crown yeelded him to be the cheefeſt king: but his owne vertues made him confeſſed, to be the moſt worthy among all other Princes.

Henry the fourth accounted to be the man of men.

In that then which is ſaid to be the dignity of the French kings, for their rare vertues and great merits; no other people are thought to equall or come neere thē. There are certaine vertues, which are termed heroycall or diuine, becauſe they ſurpaſſe that which is common in men, or of humane vnderſtanding, euen as an exceſſe and hyperbole of vertue. So in *Homer*, *Priamus* being deſirous to commend the vertue of his Son *Hector*, ſaid; *He ſeemed to be iſſued not of a mortall man, but rather of ſome God.* In like manner the *Lacedemonians*, when they admired any rare or excellent vertue in any one, they would ſay, *That he was a diuine man.* Such great perſonages haue beene noted among our Ancients, whoſe vertues were ſo extraordinary: that their extraction was attributed to the Gods, as *Alexander* the great, and *Scipio Affricanus*: and the very ſame heroycall vertues haue beene carractred in the ſoules of French Kings, euen as being proper and particular to them.

Concerning vertues diuine and heroycall.

Homer in Ilia. Lib. 5.

It is a matter as common, as naturall, for a man to take Armes in his owne defence, or for his owne priuate profite, and to reuenge his vniuſt wrongs and iniuries. But a man to arme himſelfe for another that is offenced, to reuenge his cauſe in zeale of Iuſtice, without any

That which Nature alloweth, hardly admitteth any other exception.

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any other hope, and to re-eſtabliſh him where he had bin formerly expulſed; queſtionleſſe is a carracter of vertue truely heroycall, and ſweetly ſauouring of the diuinity; which euermore hath beene naturall to the French. *Strabo* ſaith; *That they would willingly grow into choller, and vndertake Armes; for ſuch as they ſaw to be vniuſtly wronged, and manifeſt ſhames done vnto them.*

Strabo in lib. 4.

The Kings of France haue beene accounted admirable for Iuſtice, and by an extraordinary affection in them thereto: they haue taken care and paines, to exerciſe and render it in their owne perſons, declaring themſelues alwayes equitable Iudges, not onely betweene particulars, but alſo in theyr owne proper cauſes, whē in a doubtfull caſe, they haue layde the iudgement on themſelues, rather then to iniury any other. The Kings of France euer did ſo, as well when they rendred Iuſtice in theyr owne perſon, as by theyr Soueraigne Courts, and commendation of very ancient Iuſtice.

The Iuſtice of the kings of France.

This report and praiſe of their Iuſtice is very ancient, for *Agathias* the Greeke Hiſtorian admireth them herein, and ſeemed to ſay with great iudgment, or rather by a Propheticall ſpirit: *That liuing ſo, & carrying themſelues in the like behauiour to their actions; hee was not able to coniecture otherwiſe, but that their Eſtate would be alwayes ſtable, inuincible, & impregnable from enemies; being ſuſtained with ſo ſound baſes and foundations, as Iuſtice and the deſire of Honour are.* Among them moſt recent, *Baldus*, a famous Italian Doctor, about the yeare MCCCL. maketh eſpeciall reckoning of the Kings of France: which (for moſt certaine) long time they deliuered in theyr owne perſon.

Agathias Greec. lib. 1.

But the multitude of affayres encreaſing, and they vnable to bee abſent, from rendring Iuſtice to particular perſons, except the State ſhould receiue ſome endamagement, diſtraites, either by the war, or other important charges of the kingdome; they were feigne to eſtabliſh Parliaments to that effect, and therefore appointed ordinary and ſedentary Officers. Before that time, the Eſtates made theyr meeting but foure times euery yeare, termed in the ancient *Annaliſts Conuentus Generales*: wherein aſſiſted the principall Lords of France, and Officers of the Crowne, as well to diſcerne and aduiſe, in what was to be done for the generall Eſtate, as to decide the greateſt and moſt notable differences, happening betweene particulars.

Hauing then decreed and reſolued on theyr ordinary Parliament at *Paris*, there was the appointed place for rendring ſoueraigne Iuſtice: ſo that the arreſts and iudgements there concluded, were as if they had beene pronounced by the Kings owne mouth, and there vpon inſcribed & entitled in his Name. They were likewiſe verefied and publiſhed, as alſo Regiſtred by Letters of eſpeciall prouiſion, in the Offices and Dignities of the Crown, with ſolemne & publike reception of the greater part.

The place for Parliaments appointed at Paris.

It is alſo auouched, (that oftentimes) Lords and Princes, being ſtrangers, ſubmitted theyr differences to the iudgment of that Court, in regard of the great opinion they held of their Iuſtice. The Emperor *Frederick* the ſecond, referred himſelfe vnto the Parliament of the King of France; in the debate and contention betweene him, & Pope *Innocent* the fourth, concerning the kingdome of *Naples*, in the yeare MCCXLIIII. The Earles of *Nemures*, in the yeare MCCCXII. diſputed there the cauſe of his Earldome, againſt *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip le Bel*, & won the day. Likewiſe the Prince of *Tarente*, in the yeare MCCCXX. gained there a ſuite againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, concerning the charges & expences layde out, for the conqueſt and recouery of *Conſtantinople*.

Differences of Princes being ſtrangers, decided by the Parliament of Paris, and worthily ended to their contentments.

In the yeare MCCCXLII. the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Guy de Chaſtillon* debated there their partages. In like manner the *Daulphine*, and the Count of *Sauoye*, hauing proceſſe together, entreted for their Iudges the Court of Parliament, in the yeare MCCCXC. The kings of Spaine made ſuch account of Iuſtice in the kings of France, and integrity of theyr Parliament, that they ſent their ſuites to be conſidered there. The kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugall*, hauing made peace together in the yeare MCCCCIII. ſent theyr difference to the Parliament, to be there veryfied, for the more ſolid and ſound aſſurance: and there it was fully confirmed at their requeſt, and publiſhed at the open doores.

The Kings of Spaine eſteemed the Iuſtice of the Kings & Parliament of France.

We

The familiarity and manſuetude of the Kings of France, in talking with their ſubiects plaine and openly.

We may alſo account among the fauours and prerogatiues of the Kings of France, as an eſpeciall marke of their greatneſſe and Maieſty: one thing which is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs of other Nations. Which is, that they themſelues doe ordinarily conferre with their ſubiects, ſuffering themſelues to bee ſeene daily, not onely in publike, but alſo in particular, vſing priuacy, granting eaſie acceſſe to any one: and yet notwithſtanding, they are not a iote the leſſe reuerenced, obeyed, honoured, and reſpected, nay, rather much more then ſome other kings, who by artificiall trickes and myſteries, ſeeke to haue themſelues honoured of their people. Neyther doth this facility in communication, and friendly familiarity, beget any contempt towards them, or diminiſh the leaſt part of theyr Maieſty: but rather maketh an addition thereto, cauſing them to bee the more eſteemed, in venerable and moſt happy manner.

The ſubiect-like affection of the French to their kings and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (moſt of all) winneth the hearts of the French, rendring themſelues wholly affectionate, yea, vowed and deuote to theyr Prince; whom they loue, feare, and honour altogether, euen with an entire and cordiall affection, and not by any force or conſtraint. A matter truely as admirable, as rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an honourable *Venetian*, and other ſtrangers hauing well obſerued, ſtand not a little amazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) almoſt impoſſible & incompatible. Wherin it is no eaſie matter to ſay, which is the greateſt honour and aduantage, eyther to ſuch kings, or to theyr ſubiects: but bee it howſoeuer, it is a great happineſſe both to the one and other.

In lib. 1. Delle cauſe delle grandezzo della Città.

Of the Deioces elected Kings of the Medes.

Moſt part of the kings in this world, at all times haue ſought many exteriour meanes, by different habites, extraordinary faſhions, crafts, ſecrets, and diuerſity of inuentions, to maintaine their Maieſty, to make themſelues feared and reſpected by theyr ſubiects, and yet notwithſtanding, could not compaſſe it. The ancient *Deioces*, beeing elected king by the *Medes*, frō a particular man as hee was before, changed into all manner of behauiour. Hee would build a great magnificent Caſtle, enuironed with many walles, the very ſight wherof procured amazement. There would he ſhut vppe himſelfe, cloathed in garments of no vſuall wearing, neuer ſhewing himſelfe to the people, but very ſildome and rarely: deliuering Iuſtice by written papers, & by interpoſed perſons, and likewiſe all his anſwers, expeditions, and affayres, euen as if they came from an Oracle.

The Kings among the Perſians.

The kings of the Perſians did vſually weare a *Tiaras* on theyr heads, a Diadem or royall Head-band, all gliſtering with Pearles and precious ſtones, cauſing thēſelues to bee adored by ſuch as ſhall ſee them. And now adayes, moſt part of the Kings and Lords in diuers countryes, obſerue the very ſame order. The great Duke of *Moſcouia* will neuer be ſeene, but cloathed with a rich Sacerdotall habite, vnder a precious Pauillian, accompanied with a ſmall choyſe number of his Domeſtiques, ſo ſumptuouſly apparelled, as one would ſay, they were an aſſembly of Gods. The great king of the *Abyſſines*, or *Æthiopians*, is neuer ſeene at all, he ſpeaketh to Ambaſſadours, with a Curtaine drawne betweene them, no other ſight haue they of him. But when he pleaſeth to ſhew himſelfe, hee weares a Crowne richly faſhioned, exalted or rayſed very curiouſly, a garment all of beaten gold, thickly beautified with precious ſtones; hauing his face couered with a veyle of Taffata, for feare leſte any ſhould ſee his face. It is alſo a rare, and no accuſtomed fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer ſo little, that any part of his viſage may bee ſeene.

The great Duke of Moſcouia.

The king of the Abyſſins and Ethiopians.

The king of China.

The great Seigneur of the Turkes.

The King of Monomatapa.

The king of *China* neuer commeth abroad, but keeps himſelfe continually encloſed in a Pallace, round engirt with very ſtrong fortifications, and cauſeth his very Pictures to be adored. The great Seigneur of the Turkes, is neuer ſeene, but in a habite wholly different from any other, both for the faſhion, as alſo the vnſpeakable riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of all ſuch as looke on him, in regard of the glorious ſtones ſhining on his head, and cauſeth himſelfe to bee ſerued with ſuch Maieſty, reſpect, & ceremonies, as is moſt wonderfull. The king of *Monomatapa*, is not ſerued but by men on their knees. There are other, who cauſe themſelues to be ſerued with ſtrange faſhions, and very ſeruile ſubmiſſions: ſhewing themſelues ſildome or neuer, and ſpeake not a word, but

but it is accounted as an especiall fauour.

The kings of France sutea ble to their subiects.

But the Kings of France haue no medling with these apparences, and exquisite cunning, whereby to support theyr greatnesse, authority, and Royall dignity: because they differ in nothing (for the most part) neyther in habites, food and fashions, from their subiects, maintaining themselues without any subtilty. And the more they are seene, the more are they honoured, and not only honoured, but also loued of the French: as being borne to reigne, carrying Maiesty in theyr Fronts naturally, which maketh them venerable, rauisheth the people with obedience to them, and crowneth them with continuall respect. And although it is no matter rare or difficult for the French, to see their King, because it is so ordinary and common to them: yet as learned *Budeus* hath discreetly obserued, the people runne on heapes, when they heare that the King passeth to any place, reputing it as a happinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of him.

Budeus in lib 1. pag. 7.

To this great and immense loue of the French towards theyr naturall Prince, may well be attributed the long continuance of that Monarchy, one of her other excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hundred yeares, which few kingdomes else can say beside. And that which is most admirable of all, is, that the kings haue bin of the same race and extraction, without any change but twice, & yet in changing, still it came to proximity and kindred, as we haue already declared. One thing also maketh it commendable, that it neuer bare command of a strange Prince, nor so much as desired it: but alwayes hath bin gouerned by her naturall Princes, originaries, and of the most noble blood, not onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the world.

The kingdom France hath ontinued 000. yeares.

ural born ces, origi- es and ssiue.

Learned *Onuphrius*, a famous Italian, obserued it as a matter worth maruaile, saying, that in no other Estate, can be obserued the like felicity. I will set downe his owne words. *Mirum illud obseruandum est, quod cum nulla gens vnquam fuit, quæ aut externos Principes non admiserit, aut assumptos interdum non expulerit, sæpe etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis Francis peculiare hoc est ac proprium, nullos vnquam exteros Reges pati, suos autem vsque adeo amare & colere, vt pro eorum dignitate & Maiestate tuenda non opes tantum sed vitam profundere soleant. Hinc euenisse credendum est, vt per mille & ducentorum fere annorum interuallum non nisi ex tribus familijs Reges orti sint.* Wee must account (saith he) *that this is meruailous, albeit there hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath receiued strange Kings, and after receipte of them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many times massacred them, through some extreme mischiefe. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper and particular to the French, to haue endured no Kings strangers, and therefore haue so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that they not onely imployed all their goods and meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues, for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty. And this may be thought to be the cause, that for the space of about twelue hundred yeares, there hath beene but three families, from whence haue proceeded all their Kings.*

Onuphrius Ital. lib. 4. Impe-

CHAP. IIII.

A Funerall Oration, written vpon the most vnnaturall and vntimely death of Great Henry the fourth, Father to the King now reigning.

THE *Egiptians*, hauing sufficiently tasted the fauours of *Harpocrates* theyr God; did consecrate the Peach-Tree vnto him, in thankfull retribution of his infinite benefits. The leaues of this Tree are shaped like to tongues, and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

* The God of Silence. *Plin. in l. 9. c. 7.*

hearts:

hearts: whereby they would seeme to say, that their hearts should thence-forward serue that *Harpocrotes*, and their tongues be continually busied in celebrating his prayses. O France! wilt thou bee lesse thankfull then those people? So many choise benefits receiued frō the cheefest of thy Monarchs, can they well escape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomlesse oblivion? No, no, wee will not onely consecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioyntly together, because this is the best offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

The greatest losse that euer France sustained.

The strange escape of Telemachus, preserued from drowning by a Dolphine.

Telemachus, the youngest Son of *Vlysses*, sporting himselfe (on a day) childe-like vpon the Sea-shore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did set him safe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expresse his gratitude to the Fish, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemish of vnthankfulnesse, caused all his Gates to bee painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

A familiar allusion to the vertues of Royal Henry.

Henry, great *Henry*, a most Christian, Potent, and Royall King, succourd France in a Sea of seditions & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his shoulders, and set her vp in safety, euen on the shore of a most happy peace, whereof as yet shee enioyeth the benefit. His name shall not onely bee written on our Gates and Walles, but his greatnes, his victories, his mildnesse and paternall bounties, shall bee engrauen on an euerduring Piramede of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto busied in teares, granting no liberty to our sighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophees, and tell the world his countles Triumphs; we do now begin to open thē, and now wee would breake the doores of some sad Funerall discourse, in remembrance of his great Maiesty, and excelling vertues.

Herodot. in Terp. sich.

If *Calisthenes* durst make refusall to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Macedonians*, alledging for his excuse, that their vertues were so well knowne, and their merits so great, as hee should not gaine the least honour or reputation (whatsoeuer) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldest Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; especially in these dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, sometime stolne from the Gods by * *Tantalus*, seemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence she came at the first.

* Sonne to Iupiter and Plota.

No eloquence sufficient to expresse his high deseruings.

There are now no *Ciceroes*, not a *Demosthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortensius*. And albeit they were all aliue againe, to ioyne their best abilities together in well speaking; yet could they not speake in such sort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall farre short, and infinite goodly things would nere come neere them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I speake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combate within me, between bashfulnesse and nature. Bashfulnesse taxing me with shame, to be silent when the whol world cries and complaines; ashamed also, that I cannot ioyne my sighes & teares to yours. Nature likewise tels me, that by an indissoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and seruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may serue for my discharge. The * *Epizephyrian Locrences*, in former times, not hauing the commodity to performe any solemne sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (because there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beasts for oblation left in their City, through the length of a greeuous pestilence, which had consumed them all) when their Elders aduised them to take Cowcumbers, Mellons, and some other kindes of fruites, fitting them with short stickes in forme of feete, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and such like Beasts, they threw them into the fire, & so made their sacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheerefull applause vnto this acte of theirs.

* People of great Greece so called of the Promontory Zephyrium about which they dwelt.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to answer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuse my necessity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or else (if you better affect it) I will imitate those Sauages of *Florida*, who reputing the Sunne to be their

An obseruation vsed among the Sauage people of Florida.

Pa 485

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neere him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hāds at him, which bringing backe to their mouthes, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazeled with his beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shal this day seem dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew some-what that way, when other helpes fayle me.

Caesars funerall Oration for his daughter Iulia.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Caesar*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Iulia: Vt adstantes admonerentur quanta iacturā ex illa morte facta esset: That the bystanders might bee admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death.* For what losse can be greater thē ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

2 Reg.1.19.21

O desiderabilis terra Israel! in excelsis tuis vulneratus est. Quomodo ceciderunt potētes? Quomodo abiecit us est Clypeus fortium? Thus did *Dauid* bemone the death of *Saul*, King of Israel. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophesie. Thus did the annointed of God streame forth his teares, in A Funerall Oration for A Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of Gilboa, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like Rocks, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions. *Nec ros, nec pluuia descendat super vos, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortiū. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee; because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe.* Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismall. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an Israelite Prince? The Monument then ought to bee euery way as yrkesome and horrible.

2 Reg.1.21.

What ought the nature of Monuments to be.

In Funerall pompes, we vse to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels thē with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of greene, as is both faire to see, and

acke, best fitteth Funerall pompe

maruailous pleasing. Therefore *Dauid* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*, but thornes and brambles, that so (among rude Rockes) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might bee condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wofull perpetuall deuastation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Doth not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? Thē, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *Dauid* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses, for the sinnes that were there committed. *Let neyther dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.*

Dewes and raines are the blessings of Heauen.

Alasse, what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He couered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of proofe to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselues, yea, the Seigneurs and Principalities of many strangers, sheltred thēselues vnder that Sunny Banck. Therfore of him may now be said, as somtimes was of *Dauid: The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to bee a Gouernour ouer his people.* For if *Dauid* declared himselfe couragious, in the greatest heate of Alarmes and fights; *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee beene (euery where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunderbolt of warre? If *Dauid* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousands, to bee the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in aciete conspexit superatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euermore a Conquerour, both in warre and peace*, deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power. Vnder which (as *Ennodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *Vidimus euentus optimos de aduersitate generari*, so may wee say; *That out of greatest extremities,*

No better Shield of defence to any kingdome, then a truely generous King.

1 Reg. 13,14.

King Dauid crowned with many glorious victories.

Ennod. in Panegyr. Theor. Reg. Got.

we haue beheld the birth of higheſt and faireſt fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very ſame time he won our hearts alſo, and (by a ſoueraigne amplitude of kindneſſe) ſweetly inſinuated himſelfe into all our ſoules, that beheld him ſo brightly ſhining in Armes: So that ſaying was verefied in him, which *Agapetus* ſpake to the Emperour *Iuſtinian*. *Imperium exornauit ſuperiores Imperatores, tu vero præſtantiſſime illud illuſtre reddidiſti:* That which Empires (in former times) gaue to their Emperours; thou thy ſelfe (O great Prince) haſt giuen to thine, to wit, luſter and ſplendour. Thou didſt finde it full of quarrels, ſeditions, and tumults, thy vnciuill ſubiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) becam enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & ſtrength of thy martiall arme, thou didſt diſpiant their Fortreſſes, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didſt exterminate that proud *Bellona*, that (without all pitty) did cruelly labour to teare her in peeces, and quite deuoure her.

Agapetus in Articulis de recte adminiſtrando Imperio.

The hand of heauen euer ſupporteth the right of true kings.

Oh what a goodly day was that, when we beheld bright victory to deſcend vpon his head, euen glorious and celeſtiall victory, holding in her hand a thouſand Laurels, diſperſing them in the fields of ſo many faire Prouinces? Victory was figured by the Romans, with a gracious countenance, and two great wings diſplayed on her ſhoulders. The Athenians made a mockery thereat, and portraied their victory quite contrary, without wings or any feathers, to the ende, ſhe ſhould neuer flye from them, but alwayes keepe within the girdle of their Citty walles. *Victory* (Companion to the merits of this great Prince) was of the *Athenian* nature. In former times ſhe had bene full of inconſtancy, firſt on one ſide, then on another, neuer long continuing in any one Prouince. But at length, ſhe ſeated herſelfe on the *Louure* of this onely *Mars*, where (firſt of all) ſhe threw off her wings, neuer to ſtart thence all the time of his Reigne. This was ſhe, that not only made him beloued of his owne people: but ſo feared & reuerenced of ſtrangers beſide, that they had and held him alwaies in admiration.

The ſucceſſefull iſſue of his long troubleſome wars.

Victory that accompanied Great Henry.

Pliny tels vs, that there is found in *Africa* a certaine precious ſtone, called *Liparis*, which hath ſo faire a looke, that all eyes are at a ſtand to gaze vpon it. Hunters ther haue no need of ſculking hounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it, becauſe this ſtone, laide open in the midſt of any field, all wilde beaſts (getting but a glimps thereof) gather together about it, and as amorous of the ſtones beauty, doe nothing elſe but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midſt of his French world, the *Germane*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *Engliſh*, *Swethen*, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hither by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one ſtood at gaze to behold him, not any one but wiſhed his preſence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatneſſe in the world. In ſo much, that his preſence ſerued not onely as an ornamament to this State: but it was alſo here as an horne of abundance, out of which, al kindes of goodneſſe that could flow from a ſacred peace, were in a moſt plentifull affluence deriued from him. The poyſons of diſſentions could heere no more produce their Gangrenats; the high vnderſtanding of the King was too preſent an Antidote. And as the dryed body of a Baſiliske, hung with a golden thred in the midſt of *Apollos* Temple (ſaith *Geſner*) kept it alwayes cleane, reſtraining (by an hidden vertue) Spiders from working cobwebs along the pillars and walles: Euen ſo great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the inſolences of enemies, and ſuffered no ſtrange Spiders to come weaue their webs of diſcord within his Prouinces. So auaileable to this Monarchy was his long experience & promptitude, that he held the affaires (in eyther condition) both of church and common-wealth, in an vpright ſway of pollicy, were it in peace or warre. And ſo profitable did this people finde their ſubiection & obedience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuereneced him as their Lord, their Paſtor, and Father.

The rare vertue of the Stone Liparis.

All eyes and harts drawn with admiration at the preſence of Great Henry.

Geſnerus in Animal. cap.

His care of the Church and Common-wealth.

Doe you not know the great vnity which Nature hath planted betweene the *Pinnothere* and the *Pinna*? Haue yee not read of the benefit enſuing to them both, by their mutuall concord & intelligence? France hath beene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnothere*. The *Pinna* is that great

Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 7.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

great kinde of Cockle; which we vse to call a Naker or Scallop. The *Pinnothere* is a little creature, in the kinde of a Crabbe or Creuise, that continually stands as a Porter, awayting the opening of the Cockle; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiueth some prey to enter, which may be beneficall to them both. For then hee pricks or bytes the Cockle, and shee shutting her shell, they then feede both friendly together. And neuer (without this admonition) doth the Naker shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her Gouernor) will shee admit any strange creature to come neere her.

A strange conformity betweene the Naker or Scallop, and the Creuise or Crab.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnothere*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and naturall for her, and by this reason, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vile diseases, that heeretofore bred her so many warres and troubles. A great misfortune is it thē, when such a precious Iewell is taken from foorth the midst of our Temple, whē such a Master and Gouernour is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratum est!* O France, the honour of Israel, glory of the Militant church! *O Paris*, the very faitest among the *Gaules*, or in the world, Metropolitane of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast seene him wounded in thy streetes, slaine in thy bosome, and parricided inhumanely in *excelsis tuis*, in thy places most frequented. O vnspeakable mishap! *Quomodo proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How is the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

The comparison alluded to the Realm of France.

* *Timanthes*, a most famous Painter among the Grecians, being desirous to portrait a Soldior ful of courage, sprightly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace that Arte could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee seene, hee caused foure Trumpets to sound before the Picture, that the person might appeare the more furious and dreadfull. Oderate people, if I could worthily, and (according to true life) represent before your eyes, the prouidence, wisedome, and happines of councell, that remained in this Prince; I should then set before ye one after another) euen all the great and serious assemblies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee presided. Then should you see him not like a silly * *Nestor* by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Nestors*. If you would see his vigidlancy & the care he had of his State affairs; I should then set before yee (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes, the Courtiers and Postillions flying from all parts, their packets open, their Secretaries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights together; for the conseruation of them, that soundly slept in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildenesse & clemency; then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crouding to his feete, but seated in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch, yea, in one and the same bed.

* Sonne to Nelcus and Chloris, and being well neere 300 yeares olde, went with the Greekes to Troy.

In breefe, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-pareill* courage; I should thē here instantly set before ye 50 ranged battailes, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly plotted, the flame and smoak smouldring from Canons, the noyse of Drums, the sound of Trumpets, and at the maine of euery battalion, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then himselfe to giue the onset, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy; euen whose *Cæsars* and *Alexanders* might well crowd in, there to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh insignall disaster! he being dead: *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How are the mighty ouerthrowne? And the Shield of the very strongest cast downe?*

King Henry the 4. might well be a mirrour to all the warriours in the world.

Filiæ Israelis super Saulem flete, qui vestiebat vos coccino in deliciis. Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which cloathed you in skarlet with pleasures. Ladies, Daughters, and Mistres of *Paris*, weepe for your king, he that cloathed you in Scarlet with pleasures, that gaue you these Imbroyderings, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladyes, peace purchased by the prowesse & sweat of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance, filled your houses with the beauties of the East,

2 Reg. 1. 24.

Peace is the nursing mother of plenty & abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the eyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (feareleſſe) with their families, might conſolate themſelues with God, and offer the ſacrifice of their hearts (at eaſe) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & ſmall, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyued ſuch infinity of pleaſures.

2 Reg. 1.23. *Saul & Ionathas amabiles; Aquilis leuiores fuerunt Leonibus fortiores. Saul and Ionathan were louely; they were ſwifter then Eagles, and ſtronger then Lyons.* Swiftneſſe onely in any one ſubiect is vnprofitable, and ſtrength without ſwiftneſſe is as great a maime, as lazineſſe or neglect. Both theſe were ioyned together in our Prince. What legerity was that, when in leſſe then two Moneths, like to a flaſh of lightening, hee made himſelfe ſeene through the Prouinces of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Champaine*, *le Perche*, *Anion*, and *Maine?* Trayling after him a weighty Army, great ſtore of weapons, Canons, Chariots, and great aboundance of other Artillery. O good God! in how ſhort a time did hee winne more thē 160 Leagues of ground, and ſubiected vnto him (euen in paſſing along) fifteene or ſixteene ſtrong Towns. In diuers other places, what power and magnanimity did appeare in him, euen in his very greateſt difficulties, withdrawing the lighted fires from all the parts of his kingdome. There did he ſhew himſelfe like to another *Hercules*, being foulded in the skin of his conſtancy and high valour, his moſt tedious trauailes (which ſeemed to him but as Dwarffes and Pigmeis) hee ſtrangled and cruſht them all, euen as if they had beene ſo many Mice or Muſhrumes, that haue no vertue or reſiſtance whatſoeuer. Wherfore O France, we may well ſay of thee, as it was ſometime ſpoken of the people of Iſrael. *Nunc Rex graditur ante vos, & pugnabit bella veſtra. Thou haſt now a King that walketh before thee.* He ſpared not himſelfe in marching before thee, and this was the man, ordained to terminate the fights and battailes.

Oh, how many meruailes do I behold, meeting in him all together. Let vs take him in his originall. Albeit he deſcended frō the loynes of the moſt happy S. *Lewes*, by a long extended Genealogy, wherein there is not any but Kings: yet had he nothing (in his kinde) more abiect and contemptible, then to be ſhut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatned and purſued by externe accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurſſe, into the Forge of *Mars*; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high ſayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceiued him: others that thought (by ſuch inſtruments) to ouerthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce muſt I (in this caſe) without looking on the pointes of his conſcience, commend his morall vertues.

Achilles, the ſonne of *Aeacus*, who was to conclude the *Troyans* greatneſſe, & to ouerthrow their * *Illium* from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of *Lycomedes*. And our great *Henry* (who was to be a terror to *Spain*) the prop and ſupport of our French Commonweale, was (in his yonger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & diſinherited Prince, in the ſolitude of the Bearniſh Lands and Mountaines. But yet notwithſtanding, God had (euen then) deſtined him to be a ſubiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefeſt dignities, & very greateſt powers of this Land. God I ſay, the great God of hoſts, *Per quē Reges regnant*, & hath his hands ful of crowns, & beſtoweth them where himſelfe beſt pleaſeth.

Reade what *Iob* ſpeaks of the Oſtrich, & there ſhall you ſee this Prince naturally, euen according as deſcription is ther made of her. That Bird (being depriued of wiſedome & loue) without couering her egs, leaues them in the duſt, and ſo loſeth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of Oſtriches, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright ſhining Sun, make the duſt warme about the egges, and ſo cauſe the yong to be hatched, to maruaylous fayre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great *Henry*, was not he forſaken? Left in the duſt of diſfauour, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithſtading as purpoſing to make him an *Aelas*, for the ſupport of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him ſo much abaſed in his beginning, and afterward ſo highly

Some troubles attēding the courſe of his late.

* Troy was called Illum of Ilus, who enlarged it greatly.

Iob 39.16,17, 18,19.

Plin. in L.13 c.

What God will haue to be preſerued in deſpight all extremities, ſhall not periſh.

The notable diligence and ſwiftneſſe of the King, and in a very ſhort time.

King Henry a ſecond Hercules.

1 Reg. 12,2.

King Henry deſcended frō the holy S. Lewes.

29
985

highly exalted: we haue great reason to say with the same *Iob*, *Lampas contempta ad tempus statutum. A Lambe, whereof no account at all was made; yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed.* God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperity, and made his trauailes seeme as Mallets, to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnity, in all the diuided Prouinces of France.

Iob 33. 5. *Tribulatio dat intellectum.*

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperites (as standing vpon an ouer-slippery place) oftentimes they soonest lose themselues. We may deduct an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith *Plutarch*) & yet stand firmely on the borderings about it, because they are more rough and apprehensiue.

Plutar. in Moral.

Labuntur nitidis, scabrisque tenacius hærent.
Smoothe paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

Lucan.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that *Homer* fetcht his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruite of most fine gold. So the life of this French *Atlas*, did shew it selfe (euery where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscured with aduersity: but the rest thereof (euen to his vntimely ending) carryed three Flourets of true gold, in an Azure field of heauenly beauty. Afflictions in him, serued as an apt subiect to * *Polycletus* and *Miron*, whereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very fayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Homer in Illiad. Lib. 9.

* Two famous Caruers of Images.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when wee beheld heauens prouidence to call him from *Bearne*, and the Banicks of * *Garona*, and (with goodly Ensignes) to shew him the *Loire*. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then sought for in the Grottes, many royall Armies (euen then) trusting to his arme: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, *Henry* the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before) to approue the spirit, wisedome, and hand of him, who quickly became her *Halcyon*, to appease and calme those furious tempests.

* A Riuer called in Latine Garumna in France, parting Celtica from Aquitania.

The blowes began at *Tours* and at *Blois*, but within few daies the fiery furie of those Souldiers proceeded through *Beausse*, euen to the engirting of *Paris*: where the execrable and bloody parricide committed on the person of the king, opened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles encreasing, and the Armies rent (as it were) in many peeces, beheld him (neere hand) as soone shut vp in *Dieppe*. But like the Steele that strikes on the Flint, to extort thence the liuely sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

Troubles before the death of king Henry the third, who was murdred by a Iacobine Fryer.

There liueth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the Scia or Sawe of the Sea, in regard of a horne he hath, seruing him in stead of a snoute, carrying no meane resemblance with a Sawe. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full sayle, by diuers times of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seemeth to make open warre against it. He passeth and repasseth many times vnderneath it, imploying his horne (with his vttermost strength) to sawe, as he thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth he torment himselfe, for so long hee vseth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the conflict: at length hee floates on the water with his belly vpward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 17.

A very singular comparison, with as apt an allusion.

And what great act (I pray ye) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of *France*? They imployed all their endeuour and weapons in vaine, hoping to sawe in sunder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wrastling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, did they not become ennerued and broken in pieces, by the power of this great King her Pilote? Wherefore wee may well say, as *Velleius Paterculus* said of *Cato*. *Virtuti quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Dijs quam hominibus propior; qui non recte fecit vt facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

Malice hath no greater enemy to contend against then it selfe.

Plut. in vit. M. Cato.

It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory

The honorable words of a Kingly Souldiour.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) *but to maintayne the liberty of my Subiects, and preserue my Crowne*. And euen so did God fauour his designes, and laide at his feete (myraculously) an infinite number of Trophees. Heere *Arques* made her most signale surrender. There *Yurie* published his high fortune. *Dijon*, *Fontaine-Francoise*, *S. Helena*, and the *Molets* engirt his browes with a thousand Laurels. And for the higher pitch of his honours, the vanquished themselues did (euen then) reioyce at his prosperity and victories. He fought not in one place only at a time but like to a second * *Briarius*, with an hundred hands, and by his Lieutenants, hee smote as many places together. So that posterity reading his heroycall actions, not onely will make doubt to beleeue thē all, but rather grossely receiue, or repute them for fables.

A mighty Giant, the Son to Titan, called of the Gods Briarius

I will leaue them to our Histories, & to tell ye, that his clemency appearing aboue his other vertues; did make him vniuersally both beloued and admired. O good God! how ready was he alwayes in helpe and subuention to the oppressed? How diligent, in finding out for our diseases, both soueraigne, peculiar, & conuenable remedies? When I cast mine eyes on the gastly Theater of our France, me-thinkes I doe there behold that terrible fight betweene *Brutus* and the * *Xanthians*, the very cheefest Inhabitants of *Lycia*, when they (being besiedged, the fire getting mischeeuously into the crannies of their walles, threatning their neighbors houses, and the whole Citty together with a generall deuastation) in a desperate rage and fury, threw on fresh Faggots, made of dryed Reedes, the more to nourish and augment the flame, whereas *Brutus* (being their enemy) employed the vttermost endeuour, both of himselfe & all his Soldiors, to slake and qvench it. He sate on horse-backe, full of compassion, essaying by all possible meanes, to take some good order; and turning himround about, hee held out his hands to the vnhappy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare their owne Citty, and to saue themselues.

The especiall care of a worthy Prince.

* A people of Scythia aboue the Lake of Mæotis.

How many of our blinded French (desperately madded in our last wars) did the very like? What intended those Armes, and hostile preparations in the greater number, but onely the ruine of themselues, and the whole State together? And what was laboured (on the contrary part) by this great King our *Brutus*? Nothing else, but to preserue his people, aud stifle the fires, furiously flaming in the foure corners of his kingdome; yea, to keepe his people from destroying themselues. This was euer (doubtlesse) the full butt and aime of all his warres, during which time, and euen in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: *O Frenchmen, Frenchmen, saue your selues*. And the blood of them, although they were in Armes against him, hee did value at a dearer rate then his owne. An acte truely generous, and which (afterwards) made him so much admired, that they who refused to accept him as their Lord; threw themselues at his feete, and (in endeared loue) called him their gracious Tutor and Father.

A great honour in a king to preserue his people frō spoyling thēselues.

Let *Paris* (onely) stand as a witnesse of my words, which was seene (almost) without Subburbs, without Pallace, with out Vniuersity, or any other Ornament whatsoeuer. The Field of the slothfull man, and the Vineyard of the mis-vnderstanding foole, described by *Salomon* in his Prouerbs; *Which were all ouergrowne with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges broken downe*, might be compared with it. Our buildings beautified with Porphiry and Marble; his Royall goodly places; his *Lounres*; his *Tuilleries*; his new Bridges; his *Arsenall*; the streetes newly re-edefied, and adorned with so many new deuices of Silke and Tapistry; the new foundations of publike Readings: these are as so many Trumpets, to publish the loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true is it then, that his life, so obscured and trauersed in the beginning, did well resemble a fire, which in the making, and before it attaineth to any light, doth cast foorth very grosse and thicke smokes: but being fully kindled, it yeeldeth a bright flame, & giueth no meane delight to the beholder. We haue seene his originall to be dimly obscured and darkened with the clouds of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him, not like *Iobes* despised Lampe, but shining as the Sunne in brightest splendour.

The wofull condition of Paris, during the warres.

Prouer. 24. 29. 30.

Vertue long obserued at length deliuereth the brighter splēdour.

An industrious and skilfull Architeck, labouring his minde with the designe of an intended stately building, walking among

A hard extremity, when people are pitied by their enemy.

mong the ſtones in a Quarry, if hee perceiue any one to be of groſſe Marble, half earthy, miſhapen, and that hath not (as yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, he doeth appoint that ſtone to ſome important place in his edifice. Euen ſo God, proiecting (long time) the building of his Church, did not forget this Prince: but at the time appointed by his eternall preſcience, he tooke him out of the Quarrie of darkneſſe, to make him ſhine as bright day, and ſerue as the Maſter-pillar to the whole frame. Behold him then (O myracle) in midſt of ſo many victories and fauours from heauen; proſtrated at the feete of the Church, and no other cryes were among the people, but *God ſaue the King*.

The Stone neglected and refuſed by the builders, became the head-corner ſtone.

Deare people, from the beginning of my Oration, I haue feared to fall ſhort, & my feare is very iuſt, handling ſo highe a ſubiect, and ſo full of meruailes. Yet notwithſtanding, that great goodnes of his furniſhed me with courage, and hath hitherto vpheld me, in the plentifull field of his flowing vertues. Wherein I felte ſo great a conſolation, and ſuch a boundles liberty of ſpirit, that my tongue (without impeachment) hath (in ſome weake manner) expreſſed thoſe things which I conceyued of his praiſes. But now I feele my ſenſes arreſted by an accident, alas, as nouell, as it ſtrange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne trees, that ſometime did grow about the Tombe of *Proteſilaus*, and they hauing attained to ſuch hight, that (with their tops) they could couer the ruine of olde *Troy*; withered in an inſtant, and loſt all theyr leaues. Euen ſo my diſcourſe could entertaine it ſelfe vnto this point; but when I ſee this great Prince (alas) ſetting from his *Louure* in his Caroach, a ſmal traine, indeed, without traine; my whole heart is frozen, my diſcourſe withereth, and there remaineth no verdure in my words. A miſcheeuous aſſaſſinate, let looſe from *Acheron*, created of the filthy driuell falling from the foule chappes of *Cerberus*, (to bury our whole France) followes haſtily after him. I ſee the Caroch ſtayed; O *Paris!* hapleſſe City of *Paris! in excelſis tuis*, in one of thy cheefeſt foure cornered ſtreets, I ſee the murtherer likewiſe ſtay there with it.

A Thracian captain, ſonto Iphicrus, who firſt of all the Greekes went on Land at Troy, albeit he had heard that he ſhould ſurely die that did ſo. He was ſlaine by Hector.

O God! what iſſue depends vpon his boldneſſe? Gracious Heauen, thou didſt preſerue this great King (before) ſo many times; as againſt *Barriere* at *Melune*, againſt *Chaſtel* in his *Louure*, and againſt an infinite number more of moſt pernitious coniurations. Thy goodneſſe (O Lord) ſhall it ſleepe at this blow? Behold (deare people) it was our ſins that weighed downe the ballance of eternall Iuſtice, for one chaſtiſement. *Auferetur ab impijs lux ſua, & brachium excelſum confrigetur.* *The light that ſhined vpon thoſe Nations, rebellious againſt my Edicts, ſhall be take from them, and the ſtrong Arme that defended them, ſhall be broken.* Yea, and ſo farre it proceedeth, that our great God ſeemeth weary of further aduancing the Name of the glorious French.

Great Henrie eſcapeddiuers great dangers before.

Ieremy 19, 7.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! inſtructed in the ſchoole of Sathan, and enchanted with a diuelliſh Doctrine, that (vnder the ſubborned name of a tyrant) woulde approoue and maintaine the Maſſacre of Kinges. O Deuill, and no man, thy parricide hand is not hindered, but dares boldly imploy the vſe of that helliſh liberty, in a moſt deteſtable ſacriledge, againſt God, againſt his Annointed, and againſt thy naturall Prince. O Sunne, thou bright daybringer, that heeretofore veiled thy golden Treſſes, and didſt with-hold thy heauenly lookes, from the infamous houſe of the *Pelopides*, and the enraged abiding of *Buphales* that vnworthy Romane Citizen, becauſe thou wouldſt behold no Butcheries and maſſacres: how couldeſt thou keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but with one touch of thy hand turned it ſom way elſe, that this day might haue bin couered with darkneſſe?

The doctrine of Marianus the Ieſuite, inſtructing to kill Kings, by his authoritie and warrant.

Among inſect or iniuried Creatures, Bees (ſayth *Pliny*) do ſo much honor their head and King, as they will not liue after the loſſe of him. And among other Animals, haue wee not (almoſt) an infinite number, that haue conſecrated their liues for the defence of their Maſters? *Quintus Curtius*, as one of the faireſt ornaments of his Hiſtory, brings in the Elephant of K. *Porus*, which Elephant ſeeing his Maſter on the ground, in the bloody battel giuen him by *Alexander*: with his trunke drewe him ſoftly out of the crowde (as fearing to hurte him) notwithſtanding all the points and ſtaues of Lances, being thruſt into his breſt and ſides.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

Quint. Curtius, in lib. 4. cap 9.

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The *Scythians* alſo do eternize the memory of a Horſe, who ſeeing his Maſter ſlaine, became the reuenger of his murder, neuer ceaſſing, till (with his heeles) he had inſtantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Heſiodus* is alſo remembred, becauſe he attainted the children of *Ganiſtus*, for the murder committed on the perſon of his Maſter.

Heſiod. in lib. 2. cap. 7.

But that which our owne Fathers haue ſeene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groome of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the firſt. Which Dog, not ſatisfied with the apprehenſion of him that had ſlaine his Maſter, in the Forreſt of *Fonteine-belleau*; but beeing preſent (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this ſpectacle. O moſt ſtrange caſe, that brute beaſts ſhall loue, reſpect, and reuerence theyr Kings and Maſters, and creatures reaſonable (yet without all reaſon) contrary to Nature, or any inſtinct of her, ſhall foyle their fellonious hands, in the ſacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

Phil. Commin. in lib. 3 cap. 8.

Some men are more inhumane then brutiſh creatures.

Tertullian, ſpeaking of Kings; *Secundi ſunt poſt Deum* (ſaith he) *inter quos & Deum optimum maximum nullum eſt medium. They are next after God, betweene whom and the greateſt God, there is no meane.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The Greekes were wont to call them, *Bazilées* of *Bázis*, which ſignifieth a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the *Thigh*, he being as the Thigh, baſe and foundation, whereupon the repoſe of the State and people is ſupported. But to what end are all theſe Epithites, both ſublime and diuine, in compariſon of *The moſt Chriſtian King*, the eldeſt Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Chriſtian Religion.

Tertul. in Dial. Ad Reg.

Homer. in Iliad. lib. 4.

Attributes and titles giuen to kings.

If Emperours haue done any good to the Apoſtolicall See, what deuotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clouis*, the firſt Crown-bearer among ſo many kings, offered a Diadem of ineſtimable value, called *Regnum*, vpon the Altar of S. *Peter*: the which Diadem, according as ſome of our Hiſtorians haue written, ſerued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers preſiding in the Church. What ſhall I ſay of *Charles Martell*, who receiued from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaines wherewith S. *Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknoledging him the Churches Protector, and yeelding him an honourable ſumminations, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatiues therto belonging, againſt the fury and inuaſions of the *Lombardes*? Againſt whom, this Prince began to arme himſelfe, when at the very firſt report of his preparation, the *Lombard* yeelded, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the holy See.

The offering of king Clouis on the Altar of S. Peter

Charles Martell the Churches Protector.

I cannot let ſleepe in ſilence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice ouer the Alpes, to check the inſolences of the ſaid *Lombardes*, againſt *Stephen*, then ſitting in the ſacred ſeate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inſcription, engraued vpon one of the Towers of *Rauenna*; *Pipinus-plus primus amplificandæ Eccleſiæ viam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering teſtimony to all Chriſtendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charlemaigne*, *Philip Auguſtus*, *S. Lewes*, many Kings among them, & many others ſince then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & ſuccour anſwerable to the former Kings, and their enterprizes were moſt commendable & perillous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarrazins*, *Mahumatiſts*, and other ſects of Infidels. Vvhereof matter ſufficient is giuen to our Hiſtorians, to make their volumes the more copleate, and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy ſubiect of writing, in an Epiſtle which he directed *Archiepiſcis & Epiſcopis per Galliam conſtitutis, Exaltatio regni Francorum eſt ſedis Apoſtolicæ ſublimatio.* And if that execrable and diuelliſh murderer, had not impeached the courſe of the great deſignes, and holy intentions of this King (O France, for whom thou now ſo iuſtly lamenteſt) he had ſhaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue ſeene our faire Lillies gliſter in the Church of the Eaſterne Empire, & once more to haue made the true God worſhipped in *Paleſtine*.

The ancient inſcription at Rauenna.

The famous enterprizes of many French kings in defence of the truth.

Then, O vnhappy Realme of France, redouble thy ſorrowes, and reuiue the ſourſe of thy teares, as often as thou ſhalt remem-

99
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remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously ouerthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the maner of a Pegasus, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence, or that the Muses and the Graces meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first proposed to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroyeall vertues, and how much we are al interessed in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrinke vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat thē with the charge of the second. *Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really vnderstood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are depriued*; so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.

The worth of a Iewell is neuer truely valued till it is lost.

For as a Player of Comedies, may easily bring foorth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly shew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and bearing a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and al this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Alcides*: Euen so an Oratour may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*, that most inuincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in middest of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Launces about him, and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circkling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable battailes wonne by this Monarch, and all this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a meere phantasma, because his inwarde man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viuacities of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Maiesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subiects, and terrour of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endureth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Euery man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended: yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no iudgment to be made, whose paine is the most greeuous?

Resemblances differ frō the true substances.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

Syssaganbis, the Mother of *Darius*, her Neeces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselues (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furtheste off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this vnhappy accident, falne vpon the common and publike head. Our Princes pierced throgh with greefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. But great men stand safest on the boord, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnited together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vnity (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

Plut. Ar. in vit. Alexandr.

Common afflictions doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the meaner sort.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loose) gaue it the vigor of aduantage; euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high vnderstanding and credite of our deceassed king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to be neere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselues; but the weake and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Commonwealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are sound) doe not finde themselues so subiect to rheumes or defluctions, but so soone

Comparison of a Commonwealth to the body of a Beast.

soone as they present themselues, do send them to the diseased parts: Euen so, in a body politike, those great ouerflowinges that engender discords, do not so neerely touch the strongest in the State. Noblemen, as being more robust & powerfull, know how to hurle such annoyances behinde them, and then their weight fals vpon the vulgar, who are composed of slendereſt resistance. Who seeth not then that the principall interest is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is falne. That fatall knife hath ript open our brests, and hath sluced forth our bloode, euen so farre as the very furthest Nations; who wholy affrighted at so damnable an attentate, haue testified, that this disaster was in common to them, communicating likewise in our sighes and teares.

The murther of a king is no mean motiue of griefe to al neighbouring Nations.

But now wee sacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O *France!* thou must giue a breathing time to thy sorrowes; thy great *Henry* yet liueth, God hath not left him after so many victories; he hath rather snatcht him from beneath the armes of a temporal peace, to lodge him in his euerlasting rest, & made him change the Scutcheon of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the floures whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or limitation. This life hath nothing in propriety; what any man holds here, it is but as a depost or pawne, it is but for a shorter sauance, and a present of slender continuance. *Spuma gracilis, qua aprocella dispergitur*, saith the wise man: *Fumus qui à vento diffusus est.* It is a highway common to kings & subiects alike, to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet vrna nomen.* Death (notwithstanding he is familiar to vs) yet in his passage along, if he hit his foot against a shepheards cottage only, or if a poore labouring man meet with his sickle, these are blowes that mooue no terror. But contrariwise, when he smites the greatest into the bottom of a tomb, when he shiuers Crownes in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth astonishment in men; this is that wherin they see themselues, euen as in the cleerest Chrystall, best representing to the life, the defects of their fraile and wretched nature.

No man in this life hath any certaintie of his abiding

Eccles. 19, 12.

They that haue contemned God al their life time, may take example by *Entelidas*, lost in the lone of his owne peculiar excellencies: who afterward becomming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grashoppet in the fields of *Egrettum*, wherby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes shortnes. Wherupon, he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; wherein bequeathing all his hopes to God only, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy weather (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a maruellous pleasing sauour: euen so, al the degrees of a great State, beeing prickt in the death of their K. by the intolerable piercing thornes of bemoning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessinges to descend downe vppon their heads.

A worthy example for all Atheistes to take warning by.

All degrees in a State are wounded by the death of their King.

This is also the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to seeke for in our losse, because euen therin God himself hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort ourselues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or since, deliuer so great a sign of anger against the sins of men. And yet notwithstanding, among all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height or top of an oliue tree did shew it self, whereof the Doue brought a presentation to the good old man, as a symbol of grace, carrying an assured testimony, that the ouerflow should soone cease, & the Ark be deliuered from all perils whatsoeuer.

In the midst of most vioIt extremities, God is then readiest with his diuine helpes.

Euen so, in the frightfull deluge of teares, which appeared to swallow vs al vp in the waues, wee haue a sacred Oliue plant, a branch of that royall tree, euery way answerable to that holy Doue, verily raised to this purpose by the holy ghost, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Lewes*, the liuely image of the great *Henry*, so lately taken from vs. *Lewes* I say, the true Oliue braunch sent from heauen, to presage our great mercy; vnder whō we are to expect the increasing of al those choise vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flourishing reigne of his Father.

Lewes the 13. son and successor to great king Henry.

In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) addresse those speeches to thee, deliuered by the wise K. *Salomon. Beata tu terra, cum Rex tuus filius est Nobilium: Blessed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the sonne of Nobles.* Happy art thou O France, for thy

Eccles. 10, 17.

King

King is the ſon of Nobles. For the Father of thy king, deſcending frō ſo many kings, was no leſſe adorned with Vertues, then Crownes: And his Mother on the other ſide) beeing iſſued from ſo many great Dukes of *Tuſcany*, the very beautifulleſt ſeate of all *Italy*, from the illuſtrous blood of that great *Coſimo de Medicis*, that afforded ſo many Fathers to the Church, and floures to thy Diademe, witneſſeth the hight of thy good fortune, having broght foorth this young, yet great Prince, who truly *Filius eſt Nobilium*.

Coſimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

The Iſle of *Delphos* was ſomtime moſt wretched, and yeelded it ſelf to the greedy appetite of the waſting billowes of the ſea; till *Apollo* was borne there, who made it immoueable, and conſtantly confirmed it againſt all tempeſts. O *France!* if heeretofore thou haſt bin beaten with ſtormes and the rude windes of diſcord, agitated by the flux and refluxe of ſome vnhappie partialities, what needeſt thou nowe to feare, *Cum Rex tuus filius eſt Nobilium?* Thy totterings are already paſt, and I ſee thee (for euer) ſetled in the Bay of a moſt bleſſed peace, euen in the armes of thy King, ſo Noble in extraction both by Father and Mother. Theſe are the wiſhes which we yeelde thee, euen from all Orders and eſtates, vnited both in harts and wils, to ſubmit our ſelues in a perfect obedience: As we alſo proteſt, neuer to be ingrateful to the moſt happy memorie of that Great *Henrie*, from whom ſo manie bleſsings hath continually fallen vppon vs.

Vertue and Nobilitie are the beſt pillars to ſupport a kingdome.

In elder times, the Graces were figured holding handes togeather, teaching men thereby, that a benefit receiued with one hand, ought immediately to be requited with the other: But Kings are ouer-great to attend the returne of ſuch benefites, as they poure out vpon their people. And as for vs, wee are not able to acknowledge them, which haue beene receiued from our good Prince; except in ſeruing him loyally both with hearts and hands, as becommeth moſt faithfull & obedient ſubiects. If that the hand (to our great greefe) hence-forward can do nothing, yet let the heart (as being more powerfull) continue that office, in waiting, vntill it ſhal pleaſe the heauenly Maieſty, to make vs bleſſedly ſee him againe, in the Celeſtiall repoſe of his glory.

Seneca in Lib. Benef. cap 1/.

CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna:
Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betweene Gaſton du Foix, *Duke of Namures, Generall for Lewes the xij. King of Fraunce, on the one party: and* Raymond de Cardonna, *Viceroy of Naples, Generall for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other.*

THE Generall of the French Army in *Italy*, being named *Gaſton du Foix*, for *Lewes* K. of France, againſt the Pope and King of Spaine, beeing giuen to vnderſtand that the oppoſit powers for the Pope and Spaniard were marching onward (according to a former paſſed promiſe) for giuing aſsiſtance vnto *Marco Antonio* of *Cardonna*, who was beſiedged by him in the Cittie of *Rauenna*; miſdoubting ſome ſodaine irruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the ſiedge, making a retreate for the ſpace of ſome three miles from *Rauenna*, as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Roueo*, and leuelled the higheſt banks equall with the Riuer, for the eaſier paſſage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of Aprill, beeing then Eaſter day, the Germane foote ſouldiers made their paſſage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the ſouldiers appointed for the vaw-ward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the rere-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegres*, and conſiſting of foure hundred bolde reſolued men, they remained ſtill on the riuer bank towardes *Rauenna*, for better aſsiſting the maine army when neede required, and curbing the Garriſon of *Rauenna*, if they ſhould preſume to ſally foorth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vppon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thouſand foote vnder his charge.

The Authour doth not ſet down the reaſon that vrg'd this battaile.

The paſſage of his people ouer the riuer.

All things being ordered in this maner, his battailes were raunged in this order. The vant-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, conſiſting of 700. horſe, beſide

In what manner he ordred and ranged his ſeuerall battailes, in expectation of the enemie

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Seneschall of *Normandy*; this power was placed on the bank of the riuer, beeing then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vantgard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gascoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, tooke their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the Riuer banke, the reregarde had theyr place, being in number fiue thousād foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Frederico de Bozzolo*: and this battel was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsbacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

The Councel of Pisa leuyed forces against the Pope.

These battailes were not ordered to rere one another, but in the shape of a Cressant or halfe Moon, and directly behinde them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse; conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sanseuerino*, Legate for the Councell of *Pisa*, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of no meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed *Cap a pie* in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in deede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaston du Foix*, ayming onely at honour and victory, he would not betake himselfe to anie particular charge in the Campe; but selecting som thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

Gaston du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendant Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Hauing ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the Riuer, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake.

The Oration of *Gaston du Foix*, before the fight, to his whole Armie.

MY Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coueted & desired, to wit, to encounter the enemy in an open champaign groūd: behold how Fortune hath this day blest yee withall, as not forgetting her former Motherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-won victory. See what a gracious opportunity is heere presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath euer acknowledged, victory houering ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for * Rauenna it self, fully and meerely prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Cities of * Romania, though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts, yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding Italy naked and emptie, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to Rome it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) haled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now, to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Siluer, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners, you may already plead full possession of, the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And Rome thus being yours, Naples lies fairely before ye, inuiting ye to com thether with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.

*An ancient City by the Adriatick Sea.
*A very spacious & fruitfull country.

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woon within the compasse of so few dayes; when your manly lookes, and more then manly actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among yee, but hath made good proofe of his courage, by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any obiection whatsoeuer, to forestall the assured felicitie of victorie. What are our enemies, but the verie same Spaniards, that (meerely vpon our coming)

fled

fled by night out of * Bologna? Nay more, they are the same white-liuer'd men, that (not many daies since) escaped our swordes by base running away, sculking within the wals of * Imola and Fauentza, or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armies in the Neapolitan kingdom, in any place of indifferencie or easie accesse, but euermore vpon aduantage, beeing supplied with munitions, riuers, and ditches, as relying more on close hid ambushes & treacheries, then on any iot of manhood or valor.

* A Towne of Campania in Italy.

* A City in Italy cald somtime Forum Cornely.

And yet let mee further tell yc concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient wel-skild seruitors in the Neapolitane wars, but meere fresh-water souldiers, vtterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrowes, & the blunted Launces of the Moores. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weake in body, worse in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) ouerthrowne the last year, in the Isle of Gerba. And there this very man, Don Pedro de Nauarro, one of so great note & name amõg them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, hee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betweene the beating downe wals with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardment. See, how they are shut vp within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot are couered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggons, as meaning to try the battel with those childish instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull viuacity of spirit. Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordenance shal driue them out of their holes, and beate them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and vnconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilties of the Spaniards. The greatest obscuring of our glory, is that we ouermatch them in nũber, being (very neere) twice as many as they. Neuertheles, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indiscretion not to make vse of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to temerity and improuidence in them, then to any cowardly aduantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour incite them on, but the authority of Fabritio de Colonna, in his rash promise made to Marco Antonio; or rather the iustice of heauen hath thus prouoked them, to the end, that the pride and vnspeakable heynous actions of Iulio, that false and counterfet Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of Arragon, may haue condigne and worthy punishment.

Nauarro was Generall of the Spanish footmen, a man of great skil in vndermining.

But why wast I time in so many words? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by circumstantial speeches in a skilleſſe Oration, vtterly needlesse for souldiers of vndanted spirit? March on then, my valiant fellowes in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shal giue the whol Empire of Italy to my King, & the wealthy spoyle among you all. I, your Captaine and Commander, will bee present with you in euery place; and, as I euer haue done, so this day more especially wil I oppose my life vnto al perils, rather then a wan of ye shall miscarry. Nay, I shall repute my self for the most fortunate Captain that euer was seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my soldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compasse of three hundred yeares.

This Oration ended, and the aire ecchoing the noise of Drums & Trumpets, the Spaniards espying the French past the riuer, in this maner they ranged their battailes. The vantgard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by *Don Fabritio de Colonna*, stood placed along the banke of the riuer, wherto was added 600. foot on the right hand. Likewise along the Riuer, stood the middle battel of 600. horse, being flanked with 4000. foot, the Viceroy being the Leader therof, & with him the Marquesse of *Paluda*, as also *John de Medici*, legat to the Pope. Moreouer, along the same riuer bank stood the rereward, conducted by *Carnaial* a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. All the light horsmen (whose General was *Danalos*, Marques of *Pescara*, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordenance was placed in the front of the horse, & *Don Pedro de Nauarro* General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggons, like to the crooked Chariots vsed in ancient time. Whereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Boares speares, for easier sustaining the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

Both sides stand in expectation of battell.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munitiō of the ditch, but this councel, as it profited nothing in the end; so in the very beginning it appeared to be pernitious. For it was the mind of *Fabritio de Colonna*, to inuade the enemies, so soon as they began to come ouer the Riuer; as thinking it more commodious to incounter with one only part of the enemies, thē to abide in the camp, defenced but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Nauarro* (whose councel the Viceroy followed as Oracles) repugned this aduice: it was decreed (though nothing prouidently) that they should be suffered to passe ouer the riuer. The French being com within 200. paces of the ditch, stayed; perceyuing that their enemies, kept themselues within their camp, not stirring any further least they should giue their enemies such aduantage, as themselues desired to haue.

Much harme done by the great Ordenance on either side.

For more then two houres, both the armies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Ordenance all that while on either side, whereby the French foote endured great detriment. For *Nauarro* had planted his artillery in such a place, as he might at his pleasure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great hast, & brought his Artillery in the rere of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on horsback were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a cressent, was (welneere) on the rere of the enemies, from whence he beganne cruelly to flank their sides, especialy of the horse, for the *Spanish* foot being brought by *Nauarro*, into a low place along the rampier of the riuer, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be iniuried by the shot. *Fabritio* called out aloud, and vrged the Viceroy by messengers often sent to begin the battel, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordnance. But *Nauarro* being guided by peruerse ambition would not agree therto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only thorow the valor of the Spanish foot, yea, & although al the rest of the army wer slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would bee the more augmented, the more ỹ harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

The wilfull obstinacie of Don Pedro de Nauarro.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as it could be no longer born: and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here horses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen flying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabritio* beganne thus to exclaime. *And must we all* (quoth he) *dy here shamefully by the wilful peruersnes of one* Marano? Must this army be vtterly lost, and not one enemy slaine by vs? Where are our so many Trophees ouer the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish, for one only Nauarro?* No sooner had he spoken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command frō the Viceroy, he droue his horsmen ouer the ditch whom the rest of the horse following, *Nauarro* was forced presently to giue the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountred the Germanes, who were by this time come verie neere them. So the battels being met pelmel on all sides together, it was wonderful to behold; & surely this battel was the greatest that euer *Italy* had seene in many yeares: because that at *Tarro* was hardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battels in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash attempts, thē deseruedly to be termed battels. And at *Giaradaedda*, the smallest part of the *Venetians* power had fought: but heere two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope; but also mutuall hatred, which ỹ seuerall nations bare each other.

*A nick-name giuen in scorn to a Spaniard.

This battel of Rauenna was termed the most terrible and dreadful battell.

A valiant fight between the chief Colonels on either side, Iacob Emser, & Zamudo.

In the encounter of the *Germans* foot with the *Spaniards* two Colonels of great fame the one named *Iacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battailes: in which fight, the Spaniard killing his enemie, became the conqueror. The horsemen of the Confederates, were not compareable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endamaged, and meerely torne by the great Ordenance, that they were thereby made farre inferiour. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutnes of stomacke, then strength of body, and *Alegres* sending for *Palice* with the rereward, and the thousand foote also left at *Montona*; they were charged on all sides. Beside,

Fabritio

Fabritio de Colonna fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferraraes* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselues no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & enstructed also by the example of their Captaines, turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and Caruaiall, neuer tarrying the vttermost triall of valour in their Souldiers, fled; leading away with thē the rereward, almost whole and vntoucht. With them also fled *Antonio de Leua*, a man (as then) of meen condition; but afterward being exercised in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous Generall.

The flight of the Viceroy and Caruaial, and Antonio de Leua.

Now all the light horsemen were ouerthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltring in blood & wounds, was taken also, and so was the Marquesse of *Paluda*, who brought the second battail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the aray. Beside, the field was couered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proued no small hinderance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being forsaken of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had bin somwhat repulsed, at their first encoūtring with the *Germanes*, by reason of the strong ranks of Pikes: yet after they came within the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being couered with their Targets) got between the legs of the *Germanes*, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, arrayned (almost) to the midst of the battaile. Among whom the Gascoigne foot, hauing won the way betweene the Riuer and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse, by the Ordenance playing hotly vpon them, yet they had vtterly expelled them, if *Alegres* had not giuen a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force thē good fortune. For when he saw his Son *Viuerroes* slaine in his sight, and almost at the very first encounter, he, vnwilling to suruiue, after a losse so great and greeuous; ranne in with his horse, euen among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slaine many, was slaine himselfe.

The Marquesse of Pescara and Paluda taken.

The Spaniards policy in killing many of the Germans

The valiant death of Alegres and his Viuerroes

The Italian foote, when they could no longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink: but part of the Spaniards comming to their succor, they kept stil in the battaile, and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards, could scarsely stand vp any longer. But now, all the Spanish troopes of horse being put to flight, *Gaston du Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemē, set freshly on the Spaniards, and they, retiring rather, then driuen out of the field, marching in good aray, and in no part broken, took the way lying betweene the Riuer & the high banck, going in an equall pace, with their Front very thicke of men, and repelling the French with the strength therof, began to retire, and orderly depart out of the field. Which *Nauarro* beholding, was more desirous of death then life: & therefore not departing out of the battaile, was taxē prisoner. But high-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victors-like) with their whole rankes vnbroken, perceiuing also, that the victory was imperfect, vnlesse they were broken as well as the rest; in a vehement fury, hee charged on their rere with a troop of horse. But he beeing immediately enclosed in among mong them, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the flundering of his owne horse, was slaine with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtlesse, if they ought to wish for death (according as common opinion is) that haue attained to the highest degree of felicity: then assuredly, the death of this noble Gentlemen was most vnfortunate, hauing gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very yong man, hauing now won (among all mē) immortall fame, because within the space of 3 Moneths, (being a Generall, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good successe, he had gotten so many glorious victories. The Lord *Lautrech* (his Cousin german) hauing receiued twēty greeuous wounds, lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was saued, by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *Du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachmēt. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Enfigns & Ordenance: as also the

Pedro de Nauarro taken prisoner.

The death of the Generall, Gaston du Foix, & meerly through his own rashnesse

The Lord Lautrech cousin-germaine to Gaston du Foix.

What prisoners were taken in this battel.

Popes Legate, *Iohn de Medicis*, *Fabricio de Colonna*, *Nauarro*, the Marqueſſe of *Paluda*, *Bitonto* and *Peſcara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of beſt name among the Spaniardes and *Neapolitans*. The number of them that were ſlaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, moſt do affirme, that (on both ſides) there were ſlaine ten thouſand at the leaſt, whereof the third part vvere French, and the reſt made vp among their enemies. But without all controuerſie, the loſſe on the victors ſide was farre the greater, by reaſon of the death of *Du Foix*, *Alegres*, and many of the French Nobility, as alſo of *Iacob Emſer*, and other the valianteſt Captaines of the German foot, to whoſe valour and manhood this victory (bought with ſuch a deere effuſion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

The number of men that were ſlain on both ſides.

Moreouer, many Captains of the *Gaſcoignes* and *Piccards* (which Nations loſt that day all their glory amõg the French) were ſlaine with *Mounſieur Molard*: but the death of *Du Foix* ſurpaſſed all other loſſes, with whom the courage, ſtrength, life, and fiercenes of that army was vtterly extinguiſhed. The greateſt part of the vanquiſhed, that eſcaped from the battel, fled to * *Ceſena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy ſtay any where, vntill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Vrbine*, not onely rayſed vp the Countrimen againſt them, but alſo ſent ſouldiers to doe the like in *Peſaro*; onely they eſcaped ſafe, that paſſed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

*A Towne of Picenum in Italy, beyonde Appeninus.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and ſacked *Rauenna*, yet within very ſhort time after, when the couetous Treaſurer of *Normandie* (to ſaue charges) had diſmiſſed the *Italian* Soldiers; and part of the men of Armes vvere returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the Germanes: they were (by a new Army of Switzers that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom alſo ioyned the *Venetians*) quite diſpoſſeſſed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that euer the French King had beſide in *Italy*.

The couetous Treaſurer of Normandy.

CHAP. VI.

What they were whom the world tearmed by the name of the Sibillaes; *Of their Propheſies: but more principally of thoſe things which they ſpake concerning Chriſtian Religion.*

THe Hiſtory of the *Sibils*, is generally held to be very certaine, becauſe euery one (almoſt) knoweth, that they foretold and propheſied many things. Neuertheleſſe, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and propheſied, is moſt familiar to him that hath read ancient and authenticall bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their hiſtory, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is a matter of no meane maruel, to contemplate the gift of Propheſy, which God gaue to thoſe women in diuers manners. But particularly to propheſie of the comming of Chriſt, of his life, of his paſſion, and other great myſteries of our holy faith: theſe we do purpoſe to ſpeake of briefly, to the end, ỳ the Ethnicke Pagan may not any way excuſe himſelf (althogh he will reade but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Iew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleeue our faith. I write this the rather, becauſe (by common conſent) thoſe bookes were receyued among all the Gentiles, and the *Sibillaes* credited, eſpecially by the Romanes, who in all theyr affayres and neceſſities had ſtil their recourſe to the *Sibilline* bookes, and tooke their beſt and moſt ſerious counſels from them.

The certainty of the Sibilles hiſtory.

The diuers gifts of Propheſie beſtowed on thoſe women.

The Sibilles bookes receiued among all the Gentiles.

All Hiſtorians, both Greeke & Latine haue written of them: our intent then ſhal beſt fit it ſelfe, without ſelecting ſo great a number, to make choiſe of the cheefeſt, the better to auoide prolixity, & ſet them down in ſome orderly maner. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Elianus*, *Suidas*, *Strabo*, *Marcus Varro*, *Virgil*, with the ſoundeſt part of al the Poets. S. *Auguſtin*, *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and the more part of all our Hiſtorians, largely writeth on them.

Authors that haue written concerning the Sibils.

Diodorus ſaith, that the word *Sibil* or *Sibilla*, implieth ſo much, as if a man ſhould ſay, *A woman Propheteſſe*, & filled or inſpired

Interpretation of the word Sibilla.

red by God. *Seruius* on the fourth of the *Æneides*; and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Diuine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Councell of God*. *Suidas* termeth it *Prophetesse*. These Authors doe not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Ælianus* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

Differ about the Sibilles number.

Lact. Firm in Diuin. Instit. lib. 1.

The first was of *Persica*, named *Samberta*, of whom *Nicanor* maketh great mention, euen he that wrot the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that shee was of *Chaldea*, & others, that she was a Ieweesse, borne in a town seated nere to the red sea, called *Noa*. Her father was named *Berosus* and her mother *Erimantha*: she composed 24. bookes in verse, wherein she recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of Christ, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealement, and deliuered with an artificiall obscuritie, which was not to be vnderstoode of euerie one: whereto al the other *Sibillaes* conformed themselues. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, describeth their particular Prophesies of Christ. Saint *Augustine* maketh a summary of some things, which this woman and the rest said of Christ, and (among other) these very wordes.

1. Sibilla Persica, called also Samberta.

Lact. Firm in diuin. Inst. lib. 4.

He shall be taken by the wicked handes of vnbeleeuers, and they shall giue him blowes on the face with their sacrilegious hands & spet on him with their foul polluted mouths: And he shall giue them his shoulders, suffering thē to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold what feasting they shal make for him: so that thou blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuersing among men. But shalt crown him with thornes, prouiding for him vinegar & gall. Again, the veile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone shall be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shal returne to life, and rise againe.

The prophecie of Sibilla Persica, concerning christ

These words are so pregnant, that they are the very proper tearmes of the Euangelists writing on Christ, and the verie same that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esay*, whereunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Prophesies of the *Sibillaes*, are deriued frō the writings of *Lactantius*, S. *Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of Christ, as *Lactantius* approueth. And say moreouer (of thēselues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead; The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare; the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly*. A little farther is added, *With fiue loaues & two fishes, hee shall feede fiue thousand men in the wilderneſſe: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie*. Thus farre for the first *Sibilla*.

Her words agreeth with the Prophets and Euangelists.

Lact. Firm in diuin. Instit. lib 4. cap. 15.

The second, they say, was a Native of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibilla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Euripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

2. Sibilla Libica Euripid. in Prol. Lam.

The third named her selfe *Themis*, and was sirnamed *Delphica*, in regard that she was borne at *Delphos*. Of her speaketh *Chrisippus*, in his booke of Diuination: & this woman (according to *Pliny*) the Romans made a Statue vnto, and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Homer* hath set downe in his workes, manie verses concerning her. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that she was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Titesias*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Prophetesse in the oracle of *Apollo*; so that (according to his relation) in that respect she was called *Delphica*.

3. Sibilla Delphica, called also Themis. Chrisip. in Lib. diuin. Plin. in l. 7. c. 9.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 9. cap. 14.

The fourth was named *Cumæa*, or *Italiana*, & not *Cumana Amalthea*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. She was a native of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, neere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Prophesies, are written by *Nevius* in the Punicke Bookes, and by *Pisonius* in his Annales, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his Eglogue, which beginneth *Sicelides musæ, &c.*

4. Sibilla Cumæa, or Italiana.

Nevius lib. Punic. Piso. in Annal.

The fift was that so famously remēbred *Sibilla Erythræa*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) prophesied the greater part of our Religion. Wherefore as *Lactantius* sayeth; *In times long since, those Gentiles reputed it as folly, & a defect of braine,*

5. Sibilla Erythræa.

Lact. Firm in Diuin. Instit. lib. 5.

to talke of the Sibillaes verses: because they vnderstood not how it might bee, that a virgin should haue a childe; and other supernaturall things which they wrote, beeing declared in Bookes of ancient Historians and Poets. *Appollodorus* writeth of this *Sibilla*, that the Greekes going to besiege *Troy*, shee propheſied to them that *Troy* should be destroyed. Wherfore, all those that speake of her, make her more ancient then the destruction of *Troy*: yet *Eusebius* maketh her more nouell, for hee woulde haue her liue at such time as *Romulus* lyued in *Rome*. And *Strabo* saith, that she liued in the time of *Alexander* the Great. The Verses of this *Sibilla Erythræa*, are recited by *Eusebius*; the first words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Iesus Christ, Son of God, the Sauiour:* which is a most admirable thing to think on. The consideration of those verses, and their further addition, are set downe by S. *Augustine*, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in these expresse words.

Appolod. in lib. diuinat.

Euseb in Hist. Eccl. lib. 5 cap. 3

Aug. in lib. 18. de Ciuitate dei.

The propheſies of *Sibilla Erythræa.*

The earth shall sweate, a signe of iudgement; from Heauen shall come a King, who shall be King for euer: and further, known in humane flesh, to the end, that by his presence he shall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull shall see God with their eyes, exalted amog his Saints. And in the end of the world, the soules of men shall appeare in their owne flesh, and hee shall iudge them himselfe, when the rotunditie of the inculted earth, shall be full of clods of dust and grasse. Men shall cast away Idols and Images, and all their Iewels and riches. He shal penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkest hell. Then shall fayre and cleare light be giuen to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire shall burne the Wicked. All secrets shall be discouered, euery man shal be knowne of his companion: and GOD shall discouer the Consciences and hearts of all. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starres shal bee darkned; the heauens shal breake, and the Moone lose her light; the mountains shal be humbled, and the valleyes made equal with the hilles. There shall not be any thing in the world that shalbe higher or lower one the another: mountaines and valleyes shall be euen and plain, & all things shall finish. The earth shall be dryed, and conuerted to dust, Wels, springs, and riuers shall burne, and with the same fire shal the earth, sea, and ayre, be burned also. Then from heauen shall sound a Trumpet, with a dreadfull and horrible sound, and the earth in opening, shall discouer the darkenesse and confusion of hell, and the paines & torments of the miserable damned.

These things, and many more beside, are spoken of this *Sibilla* in those Verses, declaring clearly Christ God incarnate, with the last iudgement, and resurrection of the dead. Now these things, before they came to passe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reason, why the Ethnickes and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this *Sibilla Erythræa*, knowing well that which should happen, concerning her owne selfe, spake these words: *They will repute me for a blind & mocking propheteſſe. Neuertheleſſe, when those things which I speak shal be accompliſhed and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a lyar, but a Prophetes of the Great God.*

Sibil. Erythræa her propheſie of her selfe.

The *Romans* had great store of the verses written by this *Sibilla Erythræa*, whereof *Feneſtella* speaketh more at large, and saieth; *That by a decree of the Senate, they sent Ambassadors vnto her, in regard of her Propheſies: and that they brought backe great store of her verses, which they laid vp in the Capitoll, with them which they had before.* She was borne in *Erythræa* in *Ionia*, a Prouince of the lesser *Asia*, and abutting vpon *Caria*: this I relate the rather, because there are found many other Cities to be of that name; as one in *Lybia*, another in *Bœtia*, another in *Locris*, and another in the Isle of *Cyprus*. But that shee was of that *Erythræa* in *Ionia*, *Strabo* is my Author, and saith, *That it hath a Port on the sea, neere to a Mountaine.*

Feneſtel. in lib. de For.

*A City in Asia neere vnto Chios.

Strabo in lib.

Another *Sibilla*, being the sixte, was borne in a place named *Phiton*, in the Isle of *Samos*, which is in the *Ægæum* sea, nere to *Thrace*: or else in the other Isle of *Samos* in the same sea, and opposite against *Ephesus*, for which cause, shee was called *Sibilla Samia*, of whom further mention is made by *Eratosthenes*.

6. Sibilla Samia *Eratosthenes.*

The seauenth in order, is *Sibilla Cumana*, named *Amalthæa*; others call her *Demophila*; and *Suidas* tearmeth her *Hierophyla*. Shee was called *Cumana*, because shee dwelt and propheſied in the Citie of *Cuma* in *Italy*, a Prouince of *Campania*, neere vnto * *Baia*. Of this woman

7. Sibilla Cumana.

*A pleasant City in Campania on the Seaſia.

man writeth *Dionisius Halicarnasseus*, *Solinus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Serutus*. This *Sibilla* brought to sell to *Tarquinius*, the proud King of *Rome*, nine seueral books; neuertheleſſe, *Suidas* saith, that it was to *Tarquinius Priscus*. For which Books, ſhe demanded three hundred peeces of gold, monie then of great value: but becauſe the price ſeemed exceſſiue to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, ſhe burned three of them in his preſence, and yet demanded the ſame ſumme for the ſix that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and ſeemed to mocke her: whereupon ſhe burned three more of the ſixe, and told him, that ſhe had but three left of the nine, and yet he ſhould giue her as much for thoſe three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that thoſe Bookes muſt needs containe ſome extraordinary great myſteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly ſhe demanded for them all, and thoſe Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in ſoueraigne reuerence & veneration.

Nine Books brought to Tarquinius Superbus to be ſold, by this Sibilla Cumana.

Pliny ſaith, that ſhe had but 3 Bookes in all, and that ſhe burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it ſufficeth, that thoſe Books were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other *Sibillaes*. For as *Marcus Varro* reporteth from *Lactantius*; the Romanes beſtowed great coſt and paines, in ſearching all Cities and Townes of *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*, and brought to Rome all the Verſes & Propheſies, that could bee recouered of the *Sibillaes*; eſpecially thoſe of *Sibilla Erythraea*; for the care and ſafe keeping of which Bookes, fifteene men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them. *Feneſtella* ſayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate ſent againe, to entreate *Sibilla Erythraea*, to helpe them in thoſe Bookes. In which reſpect it is to bee preſumed, that they had not at Rome the Bookes of *Sibilla Cumana* onely, but likewiſe al the reſt. And that *Sibilla*, whereof *Virgill* maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Book, who kept herſelfe at *Cuma*, where (he ſayeth) *Aeneas* tooke ſhipping; muſt needs be the other *Cumaa*, whereof we haue already ſpoken. For it can be no way likely, that *Virgil* ſhould ſuppoſe a *Sibilla*, at ſuch time as *Aeneas* entred into *Italy*, nor that ſhe liued till the fift King of Rome. Beſide, *Seruius* interprets the ſame paſſage, ſaying. *Or elſe it muſt needs be, that ſhee who ſold the Bookes, was named Cumana, although it was not her name, and yet notwithſtanding, ſhe dyed in that Citty.*

Plin. in lib. 3. cap. 4.

Mar. Varro in lib. 3. cap. 14.

Virgil. in Aen.

Seruius in l. 3. cap. 9.

The eight *Sibilla*, is ſaid to be a natiue in the Territory of *Troy*, in a place named *Marmiſa*, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For * *Heraclides Ponticus* ſaieth, that ſhe liued in the time of *Solon* the Philoſopher, and of the great King *Cyrus*.

8 Sibilla Helleſpontia.

* Hee was ſcholler to *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*.

The ninth *Sibilla*, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of *Phrygia*, and that ſhee propheſied in the Citty of *Ancyra*; of which name were two Cities, one in *Phrygia*, and the other in *Galatia*.

9 Sibilla Phrygia.

The tenth *Sibilla*, named herſelfe *Albunea*, and was borne in the Citty of * *Tibur*, which ſtanding ſixteene miles diſtant from Rome, ſhee therfore was tearmed *Sibilla Tiburtina*.

10 Sibilla Tiburtina.

* A Citty of the Sabines 16 miles from Rome.

Now, all theſe *Sibillaes* left many Bookes and Verſes, wherein they propheſied of things that were to come, & principally of the fortunes of *Rome*, were they good or bad: ſo that in all important affaires, the Romanes would diligently ſearch, and turne ouer the leaues of the *Sibilline* Bookes, and order their gouernment wholly by them. And in the ſame manner, as when wee would haue our ſpeeches credited, we vſe to ſay, this is Goſpell: ſo would they ſay, theſe are the words of *Sibilla*; ſuch was their credite & account among them. And for this cauſe *Iuuenall* ſaid,

The Romans reſpect of the Sibilline Bookes.

Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibillae.

Iuuenall.

Hereupon ſome ſaid, that the *Sibillaes* gaue their anſweres, written vpon leaues of Trees, as *Virgill* witneſſeth in his ſixt Booke. *Cicero* ſpeaketh of thoſe *Sibillaes* with great reuerence, ſaying: *As wee haue formerly done, euen ſo from the capitall Letters of their Verſes, we may deriue, great, good, and gracious ſentences.*

Virgil. in Aenid. lib. 6.

Cicero in Diuinat lib 2.

Among many other things, they haue ſpoken much of Chriſtian Religion, concerning the birth, life, and death of Ieſus Chriſt, as we haue already declared. *Sibilla*

Diuers Propheſies concerning Chriſt

billa Delphica said, *The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshly copulation.* Another said: *Hee that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in powerty, concealing his Soueraignty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin.* And *Iosephus* (although he was a Iew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of *Babylon*, hath these words. *Sibilla well remembred it, when she said thus. At such as men hauing but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount vp to Heauen: God shall (euen then) send great windes to destroy it, and diuers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named* Babylon.

Ioseph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit.

The acknowledgment of the Sibillaes writings.

These things, and others such like, were written by the *Sibillaes*, and acknowledged both by Christians, Iewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their sinnes) scarsely vnderstood. But it fell out well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophesies greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named *Sibillaes*, because they were reputed to be Diuineresses and Propheteesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*, and *Campusia Celophania*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Manta Thessalonica*, daughter to *Tiresias* the *Thebane*; neuertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

Report of some other Sibillaes.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the seuen Maruailes and Wonders of the World, what they were; also in what seuerall parts and places of the World, they are remembred to bee by graueſt Writers.

SVch as haue read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Books, of 7 Meruailes or Wonders of the World, and that they were in diuers places. All they that haue written, do consent to six, but concerning the seuenth, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great difference, in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the walles of *Babylon*, which are ranked in the number of these Wonders, & vpon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the scituation thereof, seemeth incredible.

Some difference made about the 7 wonders

The first wonder of the world.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diuersity of Languages, wee haue sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the Citty tooke name. Concerning those walles, according to the soundest opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Trogus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Orosius* doe maintaine the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Neuertheles, S. *Augustine*, and *Iosephus* in his Antiquities say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then liuing. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

A reference to the first volume of this worke.

Iustin. in Hist. abreg. lib. 1. Trog. Pomp. in lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3. Ammian. Marcel. in lib. 23. Paul. Oros. in lib. 2. S. Aug. in lib. 3. de Ciuit. Dei. Ioseph. in lib. 6. de antiquit.

The scituation of the City was with a Plaine on the one side, and on the other ran the Riuer of *Euphrates*. The modell & figure of this Citty, was in a quadrangle, and the walles wonderfully high, as also wrought with maruailous cunning. The matter was of stone, ioyned with Lime & Ciment, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *Iudea*, where sometime stood *Sodome* & *Gomorrha*, named *Asphaltida*, which yeeldeth such a kinde of slime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diuersity of the measures they then vsed. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those walles was threescore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fifteene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thicknesse was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

The scituation of the City and Walls

Concerning the circute of the Walles.

Plin. in l. 6. c. 26.

The height of them, and the thicknesse

Diodorus Siculus saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3.

that they were so broad and wide, as sixe Chariots might easily be trained in front together, without offending one another. The Bridges, the Mounts, the Towers, & the Gardens, *Semiramis* caused to bee made, which were works of great astonishment. It is credibly set downe in Records, that shee kept daily at this worke, three hundred thousand mē, out of all the kingdomes which were subiect to her. *Quintus Curtius* addeth thereto eight Stades more in length, and saith, that they were an hundred cubites high: but *Paulus Orosius* saith, that they were 480 Stades in length, which amount (taking six score & fiue paces in euery Stade) to threescore thousand paces, as *Pliny* said. *Strabo* saith and affirmeth, that they contained three hundred, eighty fiue Stades, and also that they were so broad, as the former named Chariots might in that manner goe on them, and yet not hurt or hinder one another, in their passing along together.

A Stade is reputed 200 paces.

Three hūdred thousand men set on worke daily.

Paul Oros. in lib. 2.

Strabo in lib. 16.

Moreouer, Authors doe report maruaylous things, of Gardens made vppon the Arches and Towres, wherein grew Trees of vnmeasurable height. *Iulius Solinus* confirmes the same with *Pliny*. Some among the Authors do auouch, that the walles without, were engirt with Ditches full of water, as large and deepe as an indifferent wide Riuer. In this Citty there were an hundred Gates of mettall, very admirable. And for conclusion, all that is written of the greatnesse and height of the walles, may well be credited, because (in truth) this Citty was the proudest in the whole world, and long time held the vniuersall Monarchy, which is an especiall argument of her greatnesse. And the same is also described by *Aristotle*, when he saith: *That being once taken with enemies, they that dwelt at the one end or side of the City, had no aduertisement thereof, till three whole daies space after.*

Iul. Solin. Polyhist. in lib. 3. c. 9.

An hundred Gates of mettall in the City.

Arist. in Politic. lib. 3.

The second place of the worlds wonders, we giue to the Colossus of the Sun, which was at *Rhodes*. It was a Statue or Figure of a man, offered by the Gentiles, and dedicated to the Sunne, and some say to *Iupiter*. It was made of mettall, of an incredible greatnesse, and in height also like a huge Tower: so that it could hardly be imagined, how it was made and raised in that manner. *Pliny*, who discourseth on all things, saith, that it contained three score and ten cubites in height, and although at the making of it, there were many good workmen continually labouring; yet were they twelue years before it could be perfected, and it cost three hundred Talents. He that vndertooke the workmanship thereof, was named *Cares*, an Indian by birth, and Scholler to * *Lysippus*.

The second wonder of the world. The Colossus of the Sunne at Rhodes.

Plin. in lib. 34. cap. 26.

* A notable Caruer of Sicyon.

This Statue was so immeasurably great, as it seemed, that the earth could not any longer sustaine it, because according to *Pliny* and *Paulus Orosius*, it stood not aboue sixe and fifty yeares: at the end of which time it fell, by reason of a great quaking and trembling of the earth. After which fall, and namely in the time of *Pliny*, many went to see it as a thing to wonder at. For, saith he, there were few men found, that could embrace the great fingers of this Statue: so that the very least of his fingers, was greater then any other Statues, how great soeuer. And yet he speaketh of an hundred other Colosses of meaner stature, which were also at *Rhodes*. But that is nothing to our purpose, except some one be desirous to say, that in regard of this greet one, and the other lesser, the *Rhodians* thereon were called *Colossenses* or *Colossians*. But that opinion is not approued by *Erasmus*, for he saith; *That those Colossians to whom S. Paul wrote, were people of a Citty in Phrygia*, named * *Colossa*.

Paul. Oros. in lib. 2.

A friuilous obiection answered by Erasmus.

* A Towne of Phrygia, not farre from Laodicea.

Returning then againe to our wonderfull Colossus, I say that it lay there ruined a very long time, euen till the dayes of Pope *Martin* the first, which was in the yeare sixe hundred, when the Infidels, and the Soldane of Egypt their Captaine, came vpon the *Rhodians*, and according as *Platina* writeth in the life of Pope *Martin*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in the third part of his Booke: they carried away that which they found of the reliques of this Colossus, and they finde nine hundred Camels to be loden with the mettall. Of other Colosses that were at *Rhodes*, and in other places, nothing so great, we purpose not to speake, because our present aime is at the seuen Wonders of the world onely.

Platina in vit. Martini Pap. An. Sabellic. in lib. 3.

In the third place, wee determine the Piramides of Egypt, and vndoubtedly, if that be true which Historians haue written of them, they are things deseruing admiration.

The third wonder of the world.

The Piramids of Egypt.

miration. Theſe Piramids were certaine buildings, which began beneathe in quadrangle forme, and ſo roſe vp (in a diminiſhing manner) a huge height, in the ſhape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch greatneſſe and taulneſſe, conſiſting of ſuch and ſo many ſtones, as alſo wrought with ſuch perfection, as it is no eaſie matter to deſcribe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things ſo ſufficiently authorized, by Authors both Chriſtians and Gentiles, men well eſteemed and approued; their credence is not raſhly to be ſlighted or denied. Theſe Piramids then are as very high towers, finiſhing in a ſpire or ſharp point, and the etimology of the word commeth of *Pyr* in Greeke, as much to ſay, as fire, becauſe it ſeemeth, that the height commeth to leſſen and fayle, like as a flame of fire doth.

The Etimologie of the word Piramid.

Among all other Piramids, Hiſtorians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betweene the Citty of *Memphis*, which is now the *Cayro*, and the Iſle that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is ranked among the ſeuen wonders. For it is ſaid, that to the making thereof, there were continually imployed three hundred and threeſcore thouſand men, and the work laſted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in ſpeaking more amply, alledging twelue authors for his warrant, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof ſome ſay, that the foundation and ground-work of this Piramid, couered and contained eyght dayes iourney of ground: others ſay ſeauen, and moſt agree on ſixe, and as many (little more or leſſe) in the height. *Pliny* ſaith, that each quadrangle or ſquare contained 883 foote in bredth. The ſtones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the moſt part of them were thirty foote in largeneſſe. Whereby may be gathered, that ſo many thouſand men muſt needs be buſied, ſome in cutting and ſquaring theſe ſtones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beſide the mighty multitudes, imployed for fetching them ſo far off, and about other neceſſary occaſions.

Plin. in lib. 36. cap. 12. *Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1.* *Strabo in lib. 17.* *Pomponius Mela in lib. 1.* *Herodot. in l. 2.* *Ammian. Marcellin. l. 22.*

The bredth of euery ſquare.

Three hundred & threeſcore thouſand men imployed dayly, twenty yeares pace.

Of the other Piramids the like is ſpoken, at leaſt of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richeſt in all the world: as well by the fruitfulneſſe of the earth, as in regard alſo, that no man poſſeſſed any thing in proper, but onely the King. Beſide, after ſuch time as *Ioſeph* the Sonne of *Iacob*, aduiſed *Pharaoh*, to preſerue the Corne in ſeuen yeares abundance, as prouiſion for the time of famine: during which ſpace, by meanes of that Corne, he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you ſee how the Kings became rich, and were ſerued by their ſubiects, euen as if they had bene their ſlaues. And Hiſtorians doe faithfully report, that the Kings cauſed thoſe Piramids to bee builded, onely to feed their people that labored about thē, and becauſe they ſhould leaue no wealth to their ſucceſſors. For they affected rather, to diſpenſe in this manner with their people, then that any of their heyres ſhould attaine the meanes to exceed the deceaſſed by their goods and money.

The Kings of Egypt the richeſt of the world.

The reaſon of building the Piramids.

I finde it recorded alſo, that thoſe Piramids ſerued for Sepulchers to theyr Kings. And whoſoeuer doth well conſider the multitude of hebrew people that ſerued in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Citties and Fortreſſes to bee builded, will not be much amazed heereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that ſixe hundred thouſand men on foote, beſide a great multitude of women & ſmall children, departed out of that ſeruitude, and that all of them were imployed, and ſerued in thoſe wonderfull works. Wherby it is no meruaile at all, that ſuch buildings ſhould be made; for good Authors do auouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to ſuſtaine the multitude of workers, there were diſpenſed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now adayes vſed) is a million and foure-ſcore thouſand Crownes. *Dioderus* ſaith, that round about it, and a large compaſſe alſo ſomewhat farre off, there was not to bee ſeene the very ſmalleſt ſtone, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any ſigne of a foundation; but onely Sand, as ſmall as the fineſt Salt. Whereby it ſeemed, as if that Piramid had beene planted there by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne ſo naturally, and the top appeared

Thoſe Piramids were Sepulchers for their Kings.

In what manner the workmen were fed.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1. cap. 13.

red to touch heauen.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr* of *Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & Dame *Isabell*, to the Soldane of Egypt, in the yeare 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that hee had seene those Piramids, & agreeth with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two seene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces, so that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreouer he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we vse to say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were aboue, they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and onely with looking downward, and tooke themselues to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremity of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The testimony of learned Peter Martyr of Millaine, concerning his owne sight of those Piramids.

A great large Stone on the top of the Piramid.

THe fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Mausolaa*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, a Prouince in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearely affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the king dying first, she lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would she erect a Toombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue shee bare him; and such (indeede) it prooued to be, that it was recorded among the seuen wonders of the world. The stone of the whole construcure, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hundred and eleuen foote in circuite about, and fiue and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, fixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stone, and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The fourth Wonder of the world. Mausolus Toomb. Aulus Gellius in Noct. Attic.

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seuenty three foote in wideneſſe: and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engrauen by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briax*; the South side by *Timotheus*, and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Mausolaa*, and in regard also of the king, for whom it was made: so that euen to this verye day, when any Toombes of such superficiall Arte are made, they are called *Mausolas*. Of these things mention is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, liued in continuall teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could bee fully finished: hauing drunke the bones of her husband, beate into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

What famous workmē made the Toombe, such as the world as then had not their like.

Plin. in lib. 35. cap 5. Pomp. Mela in lib. 1. Herodot. in l. 1. Strabo in lib. 7. Aul. Gelin Noct. Attic.

THE fift Edifice of these VVonders, was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddesse, and it was builded in the Citty of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Prouince of *Ionia*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Democritus*, wrote a particular Booke thereof. *Pliny* writing of this Temple, saith that the *Amazones* caused it to bee builded, and that it contained foure hundred and fiue and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largeneſſe. The worke was so admirably artificiall, that it had 220 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to preuent the peril of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale-dust, & woolle thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marshy place. It had an hundred and seuen Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*:

The fift Wonder of the world. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

Plin. in lib. 16. cap. 34.

The foundation of the Temple.

sia: thirty seuen of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choyesest Marble.

Strabo in li.14 The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dresiphon*: but beleeuing *Strabo*, it was *Archiphron*. Notwithstanding, this diuersity of opinion is sufferable, considering, what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diuersity of such times and intelligence. *Solinus* and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazones* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee reserued this onely still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked seeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be deuised, and that this whole couering was of Cedar, and all the doores and wainscotted works were of Cipres.

Solin. in cap. 14 Pomponius Mela in li. 1.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 49.

Yet afterward, a villaine seeing this solemne and soueraigne building, conceiued a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other ende, but to leaue a famous renowne of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renowne, and *Aulus Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder greeuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should vtterly lose the fame and renowne, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostratus*, and that of him came vp the vsuall Prouerbe, that when any man would striue to be famous for some vicious deed; people would comonly say; *This is the renowne of Herostratus*.

Valer. Max. in lib. 4. Aul. Gel. in l. 2.

Solin. in lib. 3. cap. 14. Strabo in li. 14.

The fame of Herostratus.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander* the Great was borne, the Conquerour of all *Asia*; heereof are Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speaketh it in two places, and likewise in his booke of diuination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all *Asia*; euen as afterward it was ouercome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democrates*.

Plut. in vit. Alex. Cic. in Nat. Deor. lib 2. & in lib. de Diuinat.

THE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Iupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betweene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Iupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for artificiall perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of Porphiry, some say of Iuory, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Caruer and Engrauer for Imagery (in Gold or Iuory) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnes, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of Porphiry, knit and vnited together of infinite small peeces.

The 6 Wonder of the world. The Image of Iupiter Olympus.

Strabo in li. 8. Pomponius Mela in lib. 2.

Plin. lib. 35. & 36.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it sitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuertheless, the renowne of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from fiue years to fiue years: which pastimes were first instituted by *Hercules*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Aemanius*, but (according

The place where the Olympian games were kept, being fiue in number, viz. *Cestus, Cursus, Saltus, Discus, Palestra.*

cording to some Authours) by *Sphiron*, foure or fiue yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Eusebius*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

The seuenth Wonder of the World. The Tower of Pharos.

NOw concerning the seuenth VVonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the Citty of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Nilus*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) engirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authors, the Sea imbraced this firm land, excepting onely a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great Citty of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander* the Great; which Citty was afterward a Colony of *Iulius Cæsar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Menelaus*, and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruailous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the artificiall performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Budæus*. And it was built for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King * *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sostratus*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 2. Plin. in lib. 5. cap. 7.

How the Isle came to be called Pharos

*He also made a goodly Library, which contained 90000. Bookes. Plin. in lib. 35. cap. 10. Iul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 4.

Cæsar in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*, as taking name of the Island. As much saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, in the ende of his 34 Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* of *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, vpon this occasion are called *Pharoses*.

Ammian. Marcellin. l. 1

Solin. in cap. 34

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Lactantius Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon Arches & Towers, yet sheluing downward, admirable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains: the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Cælius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seuen VVonders of the world, doth not insert this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Piramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vpward in a point, and there was no difference betweene an Obeliske and a Piramid; but that the Obeliske was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Piramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly stone. There is one now at Rome, nam'd a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable, to see the greatnes therof, as also to iudge how it was brought thither. Concerning the Obeliske of *Semiramis*, wherof *Cælius* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 VVonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an 150. foot in height, and 24 foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90 foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should bee taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yeelded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authors, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht foorth of their Quarries. Of the Piramids, Obelisks, Statues, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polyphius*, in ỹ beginning of his Booke, cald *Hypne-rotomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 VVonders of the world.

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. *Lactan. Firm. in Diuin. Instit. l. 4*

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1. Cæl. Rhod. in l. 3

The Obeliske of Semiramis.

Cæsars Needle at Rome, a true Obeliske.

The height of Semiramis Obeliske, and the squarenes

Plin. lib. 36. cap. 8. & 9.

Polyph. in lib. Hypnerotomachia.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of *Antipater*, the Father to *Herod*, which he made before *Cæsar*, standing accused, for following *Pompeies* part.

THE ARGVMENT.

After that Pompey *had bin vanquished by* Cæsar, *he was massacred in Egipt, by them whose liues he had sometime saued.* Antigonus *the Iew, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before* Cæsar) Antipater *the* Idumæan, *to haue serued and fauoured* Pompey *in his enterprizes. And that he had done no matter of seruice in Egipt, which could bee interpreted for* Cæsar; *but rather for the succour of* Mithridates, *and to couer his fault committed in following* Pompey. *But* Antipater, *for the better apparance of his good seruices, renting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had receiued in the seruice of* Cæsar, *and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.*

The effect of the accusation obiected by Antigonus against Antipater.

Wounds are a Soldiours speaking witnesses, when himselfe is silent.

BEhold heere assured and certaine witnesses, of my hatred against *Cæsar*, these wounds so apparant, and which are shining markes of my soules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminall. I offer to thee (Lord *Cæsar*) these wounds, as pledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a liberall present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which wil remaine engrauen heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to thē of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I haue receiued all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus pursued? but becausse I haue bin noted loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull seruice.

A free and most honourable confession.

I vnderstand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to *Pompey*, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I haue fauoured his cause. I confesse (Lord *Cæsar*) I confesse, that I haue bin a friend, not to men, but to the Romane name: and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applyed, but onely in doing my most humble seruice to the Senate and people of Rome. I haue then born Armes, not for a Romane, neither for his particular profite, but for the seruice of all. And let the case be admitted, that *Pompey* was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betweene him and *Cæsar*. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinseman, and you were his Father in law. He being in *Iudea*, there was not any particular affection (whatsoeuer) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being Generall of the Roman Army. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he euer finde such kinde knowledge of affection in me; as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue receiued in seruing you. It is for you that I gaue the pledges of death, and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrowes, and Weapons of your enemies.

A Soldiour standes obliged to follow his General.

The Counsel cannot iudge of blowes, nor the obligall, of faithfulnesse.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slaue, nurssed vp in seruitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitiue should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remaines among good minded men? Who can reproue me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for fayling in loue and affection to the people of *Rome*? I am astonished, how *Antigonus* should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the Romans, against whō it is his custome to make war; and that he should be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were snatcht or rauisht from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatnesse or aduancement: but onely to seize on you, to assaile the Romane Legions, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the Romane Emperour, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembring, that a Kinseman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for fellony, treason, and reuolt.

THE

THE EFFECT.

Reason appearing (in Cæsars *iudgement) to be vpon* Antipaters *side, he iudged also for him, and gaue him the gouernment of* Iudea. *By this meanes hee opened him the way, to giue the Iewish kingdome to the children of the said* Antipater, *and disseized them that were of the blood Royall, and of the true seed of* Dauid.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of *Herod* to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the *Arabes*.

THE ARGVMENT.

Fond prodegies and superstitious opinions conceiued in mens braines, make them cowards to warlike attempts.

HErod *seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disaduantageable successe of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceite, grounded vpon prodegies, and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, and in regard whereof, his Souldiers shewed themselues very vnwilling to fight against the* Arabes: *He laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leaue the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.*

THE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, ful of fortune to vs, and transporting them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chuse but meruaile, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidentall occasions to any euident successe, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountring with the enemy, where the *Arabes* did not turne their backes vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight, so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakning of hart, by some earthquakes hapning, they shold be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to thē, who stand with vs to endure this war.

An Army vsing fraud and deceit, seekes a meanes of conquering, or to delay the victory when he cannot.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is falne, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the *Arabes*, constraining them to keepe themselues in the field, because they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopefull ruine of our troopes, they will needs aduenture to endure the war. But alasse, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: insomuch, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer ouerthrowes they chāce to feele, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable; euen so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to bee fortunate. And of all these I can giue you a goodly and most manifest example.

The vncertainty of mans felicities and aduersities.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the *Arabes*, but war taking his course and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and ouerthrew. Which therefore yeeldeth reason to beleeue, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs: considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, whereas aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselues for following successes, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equall companions, and want of discretion in Souldiers, neuer tarries for the wise aduice & councell of their Captaines; in briefe, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are iudiciously fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by aduancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the *Iewes* your Predecessours.

Presumption maketh a man improuident, but discreete feare maketh him wise.

Ordinary and naturall occasions shold neuer breed dismay in Soldiors.

And let not the mouings of insensible things, breed any terrour in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or presage, of any other disaster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what ensueth to themselues: considering, that neither tremblings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne iniuries, and signifie no other perill or preiudice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most afflicting and insupportable greeuances: he that hath punished vs, will bee appeased, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome pestilence, but only his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concerning that which belongeth to this war, all is in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, euē those men that were the cheefest for his battailes. If our Flocks or Heards of Cattell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and sence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The *Arabes* haue broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuiolably respected of them.

Ambassadors ought to be respected of the people, how barbarous soeuer.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to chastise their euill doing; for the sinnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or diuine, that will leaue them vnpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands; but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wiues and children spur ye on to the war; but only the diuine fauor, which you know to be present with you. So going on this manner to the fight, our desires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside, Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed enemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbred or ranked with aduersaries; because their blood being shedde, cryeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdred Ambassadours will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the battaile, and vtter confusion of our enemies.

Ambassadors are neuer accounted or ranked among other enemies.

THE EFFECT.

By these words of the Generall, the Iewish Soldiors recouered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assayled them with such fury; as the Arabes were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yeelded themselues to the Iewes. The rest, affecting rather to die like honest men, then submit themselues basely; fell to handy blowes againe, where they were slaine and hewd in peeces, yet not without leauing sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valor.

CHAP. X. The Oration of *Herod* before *Augustus Cæsar*, who had conceiued anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed *Marke Anthony*.

THE ARGVMENT.

AVgustus Cæsar, *hauing vanquished* Marke Anthony *in Egipt, it seemeth he was aduised, that except he chastised* Herod *also, he was not fully possessed of the victory.* Herod *tasting the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to Rhodes, where presenting himselfe, and vsing the generosity of an inuincible spirit, he declared to* Augustus; *that if he did not helpe* Anthony, *it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no meanes to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had beene an enemy to* Cæsar, *then shew himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a kingly Crowne on his head, and cloathed like a man that had no dignity: yet his words expressed the Maiesty of a great Prince, and these were they.*

Diuers hard measures wer offered to Herod, which made him rather goe to Augustus, thē he to send for him.

1

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch *Augustus*) that I haue beene a loyall companion to *Marke Anthony* in his affayres, as to the man, from whom I receiued the kingdome of *Iudea*. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly beholding to him, as I would more plainely haue expressed by Armes, if the enuy of *Cleopatra* had not giuen mee hinderance, and if the *Arabes* had not broken my designes and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I affraid to enter battaile against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defending mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battaile, yet *Anthony* found mee not vnthankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well assured (Great *Augustus*) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to *Mark Anthony*, if you had beene in the battaile at *Actium*.

A benefit receiued, doth so oblige a true hatted friend, as no feare can keepe him from confessing it.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your enemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successe of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any perill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish mis-behauiours and vices. Consider (gentle Prince) that as I neuer forsooke *Anthony*, so long as Fortune spake fairely to him: euen so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (O *Cæsar*) you haue vanquished *Marke Anthony*, by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisedome of your Councels: the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning, your vertues haue ouerthrowne him, or rather he hath beene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of Egypt made him too soft and delicate, yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the *Alexandrian* luxuries. In briefe, hee hath beene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with *Cleopatra*, then to conquer without her: and so to be deiected by a woman, was more greeuous and insupportable to his friends, then euer it could be to his enemies.

There is nothing comparable to the pure affection of one mā to another; it doth far beyond the loue of women.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I promised him succour in his affaires, and forces to preuaile by in his flight; yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre. But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and meerely enchanted by *Cleopatra*, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that he wold not beleeue me. I confesse (Great *Cæsar*) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great, for although *Cleopatra* quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore *Anthony*; yet she had not the like power ouer mee: And as hee would not abandon that barbarous wanton woman, euen so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduersities. It was hee that did sette a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I receyued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which he did to me: & yet, although I haue left off my knowne liueries of dignity, I haue not lost a iote of my greatnesse in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for whatsoeuer sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with me, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neyther good or bad fortune had power to ouerthrow me,

Monstrous is the misery, when a man leaues a loyall friend, and leanes to the base allurements of a lasciuious woman.

Princes should banish flatterers from about them, their eares euer wold be filled with the true glorious rumour.

CHAP. XI. *The magnanimous answer of* Augustus *to* Herod, *confirming him in his dignity. Whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to affect truth spoken by his friend, then feigned flattery, comming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeit. And therefore* Augustus *perceiuing how freely* Herod *had spoken to him, confessing himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards* Mark Anthony, *and taking delight in his libertie of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart; returned him this answer following.*

HEauen protect thee *Herod*, and enioy at this instant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy vertues, neither doth it dispelase vs, that thou shouldst be such a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs most high contentment. And truely, thou art well worthy to rule & command, seeing thou hast so loyally kept thy faith giuen to a man onely, and being put in distresse, and assayled with aduersities; yet thou art not ashamed to confesse thy selfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and such as thou wast to him in his prosperity, such diddest thou continue still to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to ouercome thee: for thy friendship remaining so entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reason, that I no lesse wish thee for my friend, then I praise and commend thy stedfast loyalty, because no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and desires.

He is a true friend indeed that continueth alwayes one and the same in all conditions.

Thou neuer didst abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that estranged himselfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the councels of *Cleopatra*, then them of so deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony*, is the reason of my winning thee: for hee made choyse of a pernicious and foolish woman, and reiected a most worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* should be vanquished by *Cleopatra*, and keepe himselfe wholly with her: seeing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary slaue. Could you account it strange, that *Cleopatra* should turne *Anthony* from your councelles, seeing she could separate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, cause him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue lost *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpose you shall liue and raigne.

When men become effeminately minded, all manly councell is hatefull to them.

And trust me, your commendable and insigne enterprize deserueth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to bee highly guerdonned: considering that while wee were busied in the late passed warres, you haue ouercome and subiected the *Barbarians*, although they seemed to be vnconquerable. For we reputed them to bee our enemies, and so we do make account of all those that are aduerse to the Iewish Nation, and such as molest them, must know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory; in which respect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you possesse: Commanding, that by our donation it shall be confirmed to you, and established durable, your merite being not little, because you haue made no diminution therof. Also in further recompence, I will deale in such sort with you, as you shall haue no cause to wish for the presence of *Marke Anthony*: esteeming it altogether vnbeseeming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) ouercome him in warre, being now dead, we should not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendship.

A notable signe of a vertuous and well vnderstanding Prince.

THE EFFECT.

Cæsar *and* Herod *hauing thus discoursed together*, Augustus, *to shew what account he made of this great Warriour* Herod: *did set a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limits of his kingdome. As likewise hee did afterward, hauing obserued, how* Herod *acknowledged the benefits of his Maiesty, when as he furnished and refreshed him with water and victualles, at such time as a great dearth and scarsity was in the Romane Army. From whence* Cæsar *being returned, hee gaue Townes and Castles on the Sea to* Herod, *and accepted him as one of his best friends, which he had in the East.*

CHAP. XII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

THE ARGVMENT.

Like as Herod *was happy in his warlike enterprizes, so did bad fortune follow him in the domesticke affaires of his house, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors also of*

When Princes encline their eares to flat erers, their Courts shall neuer want quarrels and contentions-

of them being as diuers: caused the Palace Royall to bee dayly filled with quarrels and desiances, according as flatterers were heard, and fauoured by Herod. Now, the matters grew so farre, that the King and one of his sonnes, named Antipater (*who was his eldest*) *must go to* Rome *to declare their greeuances; where* Antipater *behaued himselfe so well, that he wonne the Emperor, and qualified the anger of his Father, who receiued him into grace againe. Neuertheless,* Cæsar *ordained, that children should be obedient to their fathers, & that it should be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his decease) that stoode best in his liking; because* Antipater *had accused his yonger brethren, being issued of blood Royall on all sides, euen as well as he was borne:* Herod *not being as then in authority, but aspiring to the Crowne. So soone as the king was returned from* Rome, *he caused an assembly of the people of* Ierusalem, *to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, vsing these very Words.*

Contention, quarrell, and disobedience in children, are no meane motiues of griefe to their parents,

NOT without great occasion, and that very beneficiall to my selfe (you Hebrew Cittizens) did I make my voyage vnto *Rome*, to the end that *Cæsar* might iudge, concerning the quarrell betweene me and my children. To him I went, because my selfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to censure a cause, wherein I might easily fayle, by being transported with choller: & therefore he that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fittest to ordaine, concerning the succession, and to bestow it on such a one of my sonnes, whom he should conceiue to be the worthiest. Now, among so many benefites as I receiued from him, this he added to them, that in a great difficulty, he did so facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my sonne againe, whom I had well-nere lost, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betweene them, touching succession in the kingdome. You see mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue beene; and my children also are tutor'd to beare themselues in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great *Augustus*. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my sonnes, and their succession in the kingdome, shall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogatiue and aduancement of which of them soeuer it be, shal not breed any pride or presuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to choose such a successor as I will haue, to wit, he that shall be the most obedient to me, and giueth the greatest honor to his Father.

Now, concerning my selfe (O you my louing Citizens of *Ierusalem*) I wil follow heerein the iudgment of *Cæsar*, who freeing my younger sonnes from the accusation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldest in hope, that (one day) they may succeede after me. In which respect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldest hauing the priuiledge, in regard of his age, and the other because of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, considering that the greatnesse and magnificence of the kingdome, sufficeth to maintaine and furnish effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. First of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witnesses and testifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that *Cæsar* hath accorded, and whom my selfe (being their father) do establish and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom also you may doe such honor, as shall not exceede the bounds of reason in ouer-much esteeming them; and yet in no lesse fashion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with presumption, and neglect or contempt causeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie done vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits deliuered from them: for you cannot giue so much content to him, who is honoured aboue his deserts, as you doe harme to him, to whome dutie is denied vndeseruedly. Oftentimes, it commeth so to passe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meer flattery, which occasioneth the indiscreete sentence of preference.

Too much honouring a man, maketh him insolent, and contempt is the meanes to make him mad.

Beside, let me further say freely to you, that

Honor done to children, is the greater glory to their Father.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselues guilty of treason to them: becauſe they shal proue Authours of the recidiuation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to giue it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuious of the aduancement and glorie of mine owne Children. No, heauen is my witnesse, how I rather wish their power meane and stinted, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is establisshed by pride and inuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly; but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successefull enduring.

What Pride buildeth, Presumption ouer-throweth.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for euer heereafter, betweene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee mooued to loue and cherrish one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that dayly frequent it, and whose soules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

A wicked intention woundeth the heart deeply of him to whom it is reuealed.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and stil, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruerted by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellers. In breefe, it is on mee that all my Subiects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence; for whatsoeuer aduancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is saide, there is not a Captaine or soldier, but will expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of al, and will onely recompence them, who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie perfourmed without peruerting; no doubt but deserued recompence will follow thereon; but deceite and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paide him, that he will vtterly lose all the fruite of his labor, and that which he fawned for by knauish flattery.

Deceite doth most commonly deceiue his owne master, & Flatterers are the falsest knaues that can be.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vppon the common bond of nature, which vniteth bruite beastes together, and causeth their alliance to keepe such a mutuall agreement: as there is not any beast so vntractable, but with the perill of his life, hee will striue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cæsar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather pray yee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are brethren, I would not haue you breake that vnion, neyther to be the occasion of disioynting that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royal honors, but much more precious is that whereto I exhort ye, inuiolable amity, beeing vnited together in one and the same will, If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity fayling, you dart your malice thorow my heart, and thorow the very soule of Kingly Gouernement.

Authoritie without amity is vile & hurtfull.

Therefore, vntill I haue made proofe of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely: if

Pg 985

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while, approue among your selues, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy al that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood: but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublesome burthen of State-affayres, they shall lye vppon me, though it were better to cumber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accommodate your selues to that which I haue desired: because I loue the glorie which should still shine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

THE EFFECT.

Herod *hauing delinered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoeuer some reioyced thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden vnder these words: yet the better sort felt themselues offended. For they perceiued, that this equallity serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the brests of the brethren, who could not indure any aduantages, how litle soeuer, especially hauing all but one and the same prerogatiue. So that this proued to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King* Herod.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battaile of Riotta *or* Nouara, *vvhich vvas fought in the Dukedome of* Millaine, *betweene* Iohn Trivulzi; *and the Lord of* Trimouille, *Generals for* Lewes *the xij. King of* France, *on the one side; and* Maximillian Sforza, *Duke of* Millaine, *accompanied vvith the* Switzers, *on the other, in the yeare* 1513.

The kings former losse of Millaine, was the occasion of this warre.

LEwes King of *Fraunce*, the twelth of that name, ill digesting the losse of *Millaine*, and som other disgraces formerly receiued, made his election of two speciall Captaines, wel experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, to passe the Alps, and enter *Italy*. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of *Robert de la March*, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of *Luca*, and his blacke Regiment of *Germans*, by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord *Lewes Beaumont*, who came from the Frontiers of *Nauarre*, and brought vvith him those seueral bands of *Gascoignes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Pampelona*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be imployed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacrity. Al which power beeing very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordenance vnto theyr owne good liking, they hasted away with speed for *Italy*.

Of what seuerall bands the French Army consisted.

On the contrary side, the Duke of *Millaine*, named *Maximillian Sforza*, vnderstanding this French preparation made for him; he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but mooued the *Switzers* to reuisite *Lombardy*, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to Friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no denial. The *Ammans*, or they that beare the Office of Maiors, in the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, as lying nerest vnto *Italy*, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alpes: beeing seconded or followed by the like bands of *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last consort, consisted of fiue thousand foot, conducted by *Altosaxo*, a most expert and forward captaine. But *Maximillian* became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacramora Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellowes about him in *Millaine*, all errant vnthrifres, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore ioyned with the first company of Switzers, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awaits and

The Switzers are sollicited to succor duke Maximillian Sforza, and come to him with their valiant bands.

and treachery) when the reſt of the Switzers ſhould come.

The French Army cometh before Nouara.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces, yet hearing that the ſecond ſupply of Switzers were ſomwhat neere, and that *Altoſaxo* was at *Galarita*; they retreated to *Rietta*, which was about ſome twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the Riuer of *Mara*. No ſooner were the ſecond Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had theyr Mornings refection; but the Captaines called for a conſultation, for concluding vppon matters fitteſt to be done: whereuppon, *Caraffe*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the firſt motion of ſpeech, began in this manner.

The Oration of Caraffe, *Amman of Zurich.*

This he ſpake in the hearing of the whole Company.

VAliant, and inuincible ſpirited Brethren, let not the attempt which you haue reſoluedly cōcluded on, coole through want of courage, or corruptly loſe it ſelfe, in needleſſe attending for Altoſaxo, *& ſuch as come with him. For it hath euer bene knowne, that the ſureſt and happieſt way to fortunate ſucceſſe, is to ſtifle delay with ſpeedy expedition; and ſo we ſhall finde it, if wee haue the prouidence to purſue it: Nor neede we, whoſe corage and conſtancy ſtand equally kiſſing each other, liſten to any other recreant word, but onely braue and ſpeedy expedition: leſt the day ſhining now fairely for vs, cloud it ſelfe in our lingering, and ſo we loſe our glorious expectation. Occaſion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy fore-locke; for, it is not number, but Nobleneſſe of minde that gines honor to the actions yſſue. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that Altoſaxo is our Lead-ſtarre, and we dare doe nothing till he ſhine out with vs, they may be deceiued in their idle ſuppoſition, & we more then maſters of ſo good aduantage. Let therfore their erroneous conceit, lead vs the way to true diſcipline, for a ſodaine and vnexpected onſet, ſtrikes terror in an enemies ſoule, and followes him both with ſlight and ſlaughter. Let their ouerweening pride vſher them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial councel: which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadleſſe harts you ply & purſue it.*

By friuolous ſuppoſition in an enemy, he is ſooneſt taken tardy.

No ſooner had *Caraffa* come vnto his ſpeeches period, but all the Captains and Enſignes conſented to him, and a graue conſultation grew immediately, for beſt proceeding in their purpoſe. Hereupon, refection and reſt was generally commāded; and after the ſecond watch, preſent repaire vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they ſhould bee acquainted with other inſtructions. Imagine heere (as well you may) that euery minde ſate muſing with ſerious conceite, what iſſue the intended fight would fort vnto; & by this time the Sun was ſet. But now liſten to a wonder, and truly no leſſe in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entred *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with ſuch as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs fawning on the one after another, euen as if they were already become their Maſters, or ſhortly ſhould; laide downe their eares, wagged their tailes in louing manner, and licked their hands.

Diligence is the conducter to happy ſucceſſe.

A very ſtrig and admirable accident

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations diſcouered, cunningly gaue order, that in euerie part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums ſhould ſtill be beaten; that if any ſcouts or ſpies tooke notice of them, they ſhould the eaſier bee perſwaded of their ſodaine comming foorth, as alſo to continue their enemies in Armour ſtill; they hauing all the day before bin ſo prepared, and on horſeback. Thus they ſhaped their outward deſſeignes, while theyr cloſer determinations aimd at other ends, as to ſtrengthen their bodies with food & reſt, and to win another daies reſpit more for their better conteſtation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are ſo ſtrict and ſeuere among the Switzers, that if any ſhal dare (in publike view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, ſhamefull & vnfitting men of valour; he is immediately ſlaine by his following fellow, ſo that the greater feare confounds the leſſe, and begets an honorable death, in ſtead of that which is otherwiſe attended on with nothing but infamy.

Men can neuer be too cunning for an inuading enemy.

The

The Switzers were carefull for losing the least opportunity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horsse beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximillian* and his Horsse (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility:) while the rest did throw themselues into two battailes, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two seuerall wayes.

Now *Trivulzi*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Captaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a fewe tyred foote, and also before *Altosaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he cals vppe *Trimouille* and the other Captaines, giuing order for placing the Ordenance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Opportunitie taken in war, is alwaies attended with fortunate successe.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarsely had leisure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stil what shold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes comming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into theyr Cabines to rest. But the Light-horsse being sooner ready then they looked for, yssueth forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they were marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordenance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the Riuer of *Mora*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so set on the enemies tents in the rere. So marching in a broad way towards the Riuer, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordenance, and mightily pressed also with the light horsse.

noble & valiant resolution in Duke Maximillian.

But then *Mottina*, whose corage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximillian*, (being then in great daunger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulted round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the Citty instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto the tiranny of chances, and there to await the successe of expected victory. *Maximillian* made an honourable refusall; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heereupon, two vnder Captains, and two Ancients seized his horse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horsse, and so conducted him to the Citty, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons; then retiring the wounded into the midst of the battell, and beating back the ouerforward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bosigna*, a noble Grecian Captaine, and so defeated them vtterly.

Alexio Bosigna a Grecian Captain slain

Then rushing into the enemies camp, where the drudges and stragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered; the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little while before *Mottina* had thus preuailed, another company, that tooke a longer iourny through the Corne-fieldes, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordenance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

In what manner the French power were ordered for the fight.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* hauing the leading of the winges, and *Trivulzi* the middle Regiment, or maine battayle. As for the Launcequenets Battallion, they had got themselues within a ditch, and betweene the battailes of the Horsse, because their Trench, being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workemanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warre: vpon so sodaine a comming of the enemy, coulde not by any meanes bee set vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Battailes about towards the right hand, and vppon this squadron of the *Germaines* or *Allemaignes*, very couragiously turned to them; perceyuing that victory would soone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

Which the French Captains beholding, gaue present order to discharge theyr great Ordenance vppon them, breaking through the rankes, with mighty slaughter, the Horsse also comming hotely on them on the left side. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were slaine in this confusion, which nothing dismayed their souldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of theyr Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themselues, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horsse very valiantly, and (as before they had concluded) suddenly getting ouer the ditch, set vpon the *Allemaignes* couragiously. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noise or words spoken on either side; but onely a dismall clashing of Weapons and armor, and the soft sighes of such as fell downe dead, giuing their latest adiew vnto the world.

The Ammans of Zug and Berne slain, & yet the souldiers not a iotte discouraged.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the slaughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pauia*; and now (by new renowne) redeeme their glorie lost fourteene yeares past at *Bruderholtz*, on the confines of *Basile*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yet (one day) destroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) serued the French King; were not a iot beh inde them, either in strength, or feruency of courage.

Where both sides contend for honour, great must the violence of the fight be.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaigns* fought thus at the push of pike, Newes came to *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagge and baggage were taken, those that were appointed for keeping the campe also slaine, beside tumult and slaughter in euery place. Which report so daunted the Frech, that a great part of their horse (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercom it againe.

In another quarter also, & at the same instant almost) the third company or battallion of the Switzers, shewd themselues at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) discharged their Ordenance into a VVood standing before them, in regard that the Switzers (to deceiue the enemy) had politikely left a few of the drudges amongst the trees, as making a shew of ambushed

A stratagem of the Switzers to beguil the French.

armed men) had closely crept along by a side way, by little and little stoopings downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Now, so great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge so dreadfull, that the French and *Nauarrine* foote (their Captaine *Beamont* being slaine) two bands also of *Geneuayes* and *Salucians* defeated, and theyr Ordenance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now beeing almost quite destroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy ouerthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betweene shame and feare turned their backes. VVhen all men were thus dismayed, the Captaines yet continued fearlesse (considering the fearfulnesse of their present estate) and went ralliering the disordered rankes, and turning themselues vnto the cryes of theyr Companions, made them to abide and fight.

Lewes Lord Beamont slain

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancequenets bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horsmen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, shamefully fled. For the Switzers although their Captaine *Mottina* was slaine by a piece of Ordenance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, set fiercely and bloodily on the left side of the Horsse, & likewise on the right, and then on theyr backes came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the disordered horse.

Mottina Captaine of the Switzers slain

In repairing the field, there perrished *Montfalcon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanies* company of horse, and *Coriolano Trivulzi*, a young Gentleman of singular hope. But, the *Allemaignes* losing halfe their men, two Ensignes, and their Generall *Floranges* very greeuously hurt, had fought most constantly a long while together: but perceiuing nowe the Horsse to forsake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordenance taken, accounting flight to be very shameful, yet voide of securitie; set the points of their weapons vpright, according to their vsuall manner, and yeelded, seeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempest of affliction and confusion, *Robert de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, shotte through

Montfalcon and Coriolano and Trivulzi slaine.

The Allemaignes yeilded to the enemies mercy

thorough with deadly sorrow, beholding his two sonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gemese)* engirt by the enemy, and meerly in desperate daunger of life: with a troope of Horsse, boldly brake into the middest of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodyes halfe dead, pittifully embrued with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horsses; to his no little prayse, both for manly prowesse and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preseruing theyr liues for future renowne, and in a farre more fortunate field.

The louing care of a Father to his sonnes.

Thus the Switzers, fighting in three seuerall Squadrons or Companies, within the compasse of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout: perfected a most memorable famous battayle, and vveightie warre.

Discipline obserued among the Switzers.

And although their enemies lay slaine before theyr faces, stored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to allure them: yet would they make no seysure on the spoyle, but kept within care of their Countrey Discipline, which permits not to take any armed man prisoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to stand still a great part of the day, as doubting least the French, prouoked eyther by pollicie in their Captaines, or their owne shame; should retreate backe againe, and take them at aduantage in despoyling the dead. But this feare was much more discreete then needefull, because the Enemy kept on still in flight, and *Trivulzi* galloping too and fro, confounded with extremity of dust and hoarsenesse in crying to them, was vtterly vnable, eyther by foule or faire perswasions, or the commanding Authoritie of a Generall, to stay the Ensignes or the Horsse, that throwing away their Lances, stroue with greatest eagernesse, who should bee foremost.

When confusion is in an army, perswasions preuaile vtle.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horsse might haue beene vterly ouerthrowne and spoyled in theyr flight, if Duke *Maximilian* had made an opposition but with two hundred light Horsse: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Sesithes*, such was their heate and hast to be gone.

And yet within a short while after, *Silvia Sabello*, and *Corradino Cribelly*, with certaine light Horsse, pursued them vnto the Towne of *Trecate*: but the Contadines and Peazants, flocking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the spoile, made a most cruell slaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the tired French in their flight.

The same day the Switzers, gathering together the slaine bodyes of their countreymen, carryed them on their shoulders into the Cittie, to giue them the latest honour of buriall. Amongst them, were slaine a thousand and three hundered, seauen hundred beeing borne vvith the great pieces of Ordenance, and almost as many were wounded, but of the French were slaine eight thousand of all degrees.

The losse sustained on both sides.

Duke *Maximillian*, not a little ioyfull of such fortunate successe, summoned the Souldiors together, and ioy so confounding speech, as he was scarse able to vtter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all most hearty thankes; and, as a gift of instant benefite and pleasure, all the Victualles then taken, beside the Ordenance and generall spoyle, hee frankely bestowed vppon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein consisted such vndoubted hope of Victorie, inuented by a warlike witte, brought ouer the Alpes vvith much labour, and great charge: that being taken from the enemy, was set vp in a publique place, for a future Monument of that victorie: and this deceyued the *Allemaignes* most, that they holde it vtterly needlesse to erect their Trenche that day, which lay still in the Waggons; because successe seemed then to frowne on the enemy.

The gratitude of Duke Maximillian Sforza towards his soldiers.

Vppon Conference had afterwardes with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all these matters; he did not friuolously impute the fault vnto *Trivulzi*, for not encamping on his owne grounds (as *Trimouille* had perswaded him) in regard of spoyling the Grasse, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Trivulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet disputing on seuerall euents hapning in the battaile, threwe the maine errour on aduerse fate, which too much enuyed

When a losse is sustained, excuses or complaints are alledged then, to no end.

his worth and renowne. And hee saide very truely, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefest heate and fury of fight; are no way able to be restrained or ordered, by the best or most skilfull Captaine that euer liued.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the force of sudden Chances and vnexpected Euents, for the dissipation as well of mans power, as of his pollicy: And of the hazards and doubtfull euents of Battailes, and other enterprizes of Warre.

The euents of war most doubtfull.

ALthough the successe of mens affayrs is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinit chances and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters, wherein mans power is most seene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euents are so doubtfull and dangerous, that (as *Iason* saide to *Epimanondas*) *He is not wise that doth not feare them.* And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a most excellent Captaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was chosen fiue and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himselfe did euer perswade the to peace, as fearing the successe of warre. And *Hannibal* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the Romane had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthagenians*, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course of his victories, not onely what had hapned to other men, but also what might ensue to himselfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory should bee in the hands of God. And lastly, that *Nusquam minus quam in bello euentus respondent. The euents of things do no where lesse answer the expectation of men, then in warre.*

Supplement of *Plutarch* in *Epaminondas.*

Plutarch, in Phocion.

Hannibal feared the euent of warre.

Tit. Liuius in Dec 3 lib. 10.

Idem.

To make peace is in the hands of man, but victory is in the hands of God. *Ibid.*

Idem.

Thus spake *Hannibal*, who may also well serue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the scourge of the *Romanes*, and the most famous and renowned Captaine then liuing, yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in forreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of Rome; yet was hee at length vtterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferiour to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he imployed all the endeuour, military arte and skil he had, or which could bee required in a most prudent and valiant Captaine.

The ouerthrow of Hannibal by a yong Romane *Ibid.*

The change & decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Captaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Iudas Machabeus*; *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epyrus*; *Marcellus*; *Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcus Antonius*, Competitor of *Augustus Cæsar*; the Emperour *Constantius*; and *Heraclius*; *Belizarius*; *Edward* the third, King of England; our famous Countriman, *Iohn Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgongne*; *Nicholo Pricinico*; *Lewes* the 12. king of France; and now lastly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the fift. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities sake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renowne of most famous Captaines, were eyther at last disgraciously killed, or else receyued some great ouerthrowes, or had (at least) some notorious decay of their former and wonted prosperous successe.

The change & decay of fortune in warre exemplified in many famous Captaines. *Macabæ. 1. & 2. Iustin. lib. 1. Plutarch. Polyæn. Vrs. Plin. Comin. Guicciard. Pedro Mexia. Swint.*

The consideration hereof, had mooued diuers most valiant Captaines, to auoide the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather seek to ouercome their enemies by stratagems, practises, and delayes: as *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who (by such meanes) distressed *Hannibal*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Ennius* the Poet saide of him; *Cunctando restituit rem*; *He repaired the State of the Romanes by delayes.* And it is also written of the valiant

The doubtfull euent of a battaile is greatly to be feared.

Ennius apud Cicer. Offic.

valiant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwise choose.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no lesse valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philip de Commines* testifieth, then the hazard of warre; and especially of a battaile, which by all meanes possible hee sought to auoid. Insomuch, that when any enemie entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatsoeuer it cost him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was ther with a strong Armie, to whom he gaue a great summe of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thousand Crownes a yeare, besides diuers pensions to his Councellors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the casualtie thereof, and that as *Commineus* saith, *Vne bataille perdu a mauuaise queüe*; A battaile lost hath an ill taile or consequence. For, it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it astonisheth and discourageth the vanquished; it shaketh the fidelity of subiects, it ministreth matter and opportunity of conspiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but also other wise Princes haue vsed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countries: to dismantle all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make strong the rest, retyring thither all the Cattle and prouision of the countrey, and destroying all the Corne vppon the ground, thereby to consume him with Famine, long siedges, and all kindes of delayes whatsoeuer, rather then seek to ouerthrow it by a maine battail. This was very prudently practised by *Frances* the first, King of *France*, at such time as the Emperor *Charles* determined to enter into *Prouence*, with a great and puissant army: insomuch, that when K. *Frances* vnderstoode, that the people of the Countrey resisted the destruction of theyr Corne, and other commodities; he straight way sent his armie to destroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouision abroad was left them, were forced (after hee had besiedged *Marseilles* some certaine moneths) to retire himselfe for lack of victuals.

And this I haue thought good to signifie by the way, for that *Phillip de Commines*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Historiographers, and Councellers, the first to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *Frances* the first) do greatly approue this manner of proceeding in these Princes, and propose it for a rule of state to al such Kings & Princes, as, beeing in possession their Kingdomes and States, are inuaded by Forreiners; though for those that inuade and seeke to conquer, *Phillip de Commines*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to seeke battaile, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to bee succoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happē by delayes to an armie of strangers in forraine countreyes. Besides, hee that inuadeth and seeketh to conquer, commonly aduenture more but his present armie, and ther can hope to gaine a Crowne, whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost (many times) with the losse of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

But nowe let vs returne to speake of sodaine Chances, and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew very manifestly and euidently, the vweakenesse of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts.

Let vs first and formost consider, by howe many accidents the mightiest armies are many times quite dispersed and dissipated, and the greatest enterprizes ouerthrowne: as sometimes it falleth out by the death of some one man, sometimes by the dissention of Leaders and Captaines amongst themselues, sometimes by the mutiny of souldiers, sometimes by meanes of a Tempest or vnseasonable weather; sometimes agayne by plagues, or other diseases in the Campe, and sometimes againe (as *Guicchiardine* noteth in his second Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderstood, or ill executed; by a little temeritie or disorder, which may chaunce to happen by some vaine worde or speech, euen of the meanest Souldiour. And last of all

Sebast. Vria lection. cap. 1. Part 2.

Philip Commin. cap. 18, 20, & 115.

Philip Commin. cap. 19, & 64.

A battell lost hath an ill taile, and why. Commin. idem

Idem Cap. 64. The practise of Lewes the 11. of France to ouercome his enemie without battell.

Guicciardine Lib. 2.

Philip Commin cap. 19 The inuader ought to seek battell, & why.

The diuers casualties of warlike attempts.

(saith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnawares, vnpossible to bee foreseene and preuented, by the wit or counsell of any Captaine.

Heereto I also adde out of *Comminæus*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed: yet it is neuer or seldome executed in the fielde, as it is ordayned in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: *Which* (saith hee) *is a great Mystery, whereby Kingdomes and States do rise or fall*. And heereuppon, the selfe-same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his wil and pleasure.

Phil. Com in c. 5 Plots are seldome or neuer executed in the field, as they are ordained in the chamber.

Idem Ibid.

This will be made cleare by examples; by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of sodaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the prouidence and hand of God, and not from the power and pollicie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolued by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemie. When *Lewes* the Emperour (called *Lewes* of *Bauaria*) was in *Italy*, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whom the Florentines feared more then any man liuing; it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereuppon, the Emperor broke his designement, and returned into Germanie with his army.

Pedro Mexia, in Lodouico Bauaro.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Vrbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the seuenth, and liued in *Auignion*; *Lewes* Duke of *Anion*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the sixt, King of *France*, went into *Italy* with an huge armie, wherein hee hadde aboue thirtie thousand Horse, partly to deliuer *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besiedged by *Charles Durazzo*, Nephew vnto *Lewes* King of *Hungaria*) and partly to depose Pope *Vrbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When he had already entered into *Italy*, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Bologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; he sodainly fell sicke and dyed; whereuppon, all that mightie and inuincible army, dispersed and dissolued it self; and euery man returned from whence he came.

Paul. Emil. in Carolo 6.

Lewes Duke of Anion, his death in Italy.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armes, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Affrica*, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Lewes*, the ninth, King of France: which armie was so molested with pestilence, that it vvas forced for to rise from the siedge at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendred it selfe within few daies.

Paul. Emil. in Lodouico nono

Furthermore, such is the force of sodaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vtterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a sodaine feare. And therefore the Lacedemonians, before they went forth to fight, were woont to sacrifice to the Muses, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of sodaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnawares, and (as it were) at an aduantage, doe so oppresse it, that they bereaue a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanish Captaine in France, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certaine Troopes vppon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne home with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instãt time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe escaped very hardly. Neuertheless, within fiue or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after ano-

Of the force of sodain fear in battels.

Plut. in Trall. de tranquil. animæ.

No passion bereaueth a man of his senses, more then sodaine feare.

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. Which would haue vtterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

Rome surprized by Arnulphus the Emperor through a sodain feare *Sigon. de Regno Italiæ. An. 896*

But to shewe the like effect of sodaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Arnulphus* the Emperor besiedged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towardes the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cryes, which the Romains seeing from the Towne, and conceyuing that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemie espying, and taking the opportunity thereof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

A battell lost by the Christians to the Turkes onely through a sodaine feare. *Naucler. Chron. An. 1396.*

Also, when *Sigismond*, King of *Hungaria*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, neere to *Nicopolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horsse being in the vantgard, and seeing themselues (after a while) hardly oppresst, alighted from their Horsses to fight on foote. But their Horsses beeing loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the rere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horsse-men were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the christians, especially of the French, who were almost all slaine.

The Christiãs ouerthrowne by the Soldan through a sodaine feare. *Paul. Emil. in Philippo Iouan. Victorius in eum.*

Also at *Ptolomais* in Ægypt, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Soldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horse, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their rankes (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behinde, and some-what farre off, to run away; whereuppon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Soldiers (being put to the worse) were running out of the field: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

Philip Commin. cap. 5. Charles Duke of Burgundie ouerthrowne by the Switzers at Grauson.

Charles Duke of *Bourgogne*, besiedging *Grauson*, & vnderstanding that the Switzers came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vantgard, as they wer marching, meaning for to take a better way, retired a little backe. The rereward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselues to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the Switzers, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet slew only but seuen men, for all the rest saued themselues by slight. Thus much concerning sodaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

Examples of Battailes lost by diuers other accidents *Osorius. in lib 7 cap. 36.*

Gildo Gouernor of Affrica ouerthrowne by a strange accidẽt.

Gildo, Gouernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascezill* was imployed against him for Generall, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboue 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being so nere together, that they were ready to Charge one another, *Mascezill* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vppon the same arme that helde it, wherewith the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yeelded it, went in great hast, and yeelded themselues. VVhereuppon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest surrendred themselues to *Mascezill*.

Guic. in lib. 5. The French ouerthrowue by the Spaniards, through a word mistaken.

Also in the battell of *Cirignola*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniardes and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemours*, (who vvas then Generall of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begunne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a certaine Ditch (ouer which he had thoght to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniardes on the other side,

cryed vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cauſe, vnderſtood that he bad them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (ſeeing the ſame) followd their example. It chanced alſo at the ſame time, that the Count was ſlaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fielde and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whoſoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in theſe our times; cannot be ignorant, what confuſion may bee bred in a battaile, by a little diſorder growing vppon ſome ſodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are cauſes of theyr owne ouerthrow. As it chanced to *Hanniball* in his laſt battaile with *Scipio*, wherin his owne Elephants turning backe vppon his Horſſe-men, ſo brake & diſordered them, that the Romans taking aduantage thereof, did eaſily put them all vnto flight.

Battell loſt by a little diſorder.

The like to this, hath happened ſometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares paſt in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betweene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke *de Mayne*, then Generall for the League. In which Battaile, the Horſſemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in ſuch ſort, that theyr Enemie entring withall eaſily defeated them.

The battell of Yury in Frãce in Anno 1590

Laſtly, to ſhew euidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vnconſtant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheleſſe, thereupon (many times) dependeth the ſucceſſe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; eſpecially by ſea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Nauie neuer ſo potent, it can neyther goe out of the harbour, nor arriue where it ſhould tõencounter the enemie, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is alſo as neceſſary and importãt for obtaining victory in a conflict by ſea, wherein, the firſt aduantage that an expert Sea-man ſeeketh to get of his Enemie, is to winne the winde of him: which winde alſo changing (ſometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduantage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaile of *Lepanto*, which happened betweene the Chriſtians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde beeing firſt fauourable vnto the Turkes, ſodainly changed, and draue all the ſmoake of the Artillerie and ſmall ſhot vpon them, whereby they were ſo blinded, that they were very eaſily and ſpeedily ouerthrowne.

The victory in batte s depen deth ſomtime vpon winde & weather aſwel by land as ſea.

The battell of Lepanto, betweene the Chriſtians & the Turkes. *Surius in Commentar.* 1571.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vppon Land; and therefore wiſe Captaines ſeeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but alſo the winde on theyr backes: for, it often falleth out, that a ſtorme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driuing either the duſt, or the ſmoake of ſhot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemie. As in the famous battaile at *Cannas*, when *Hannibal* ouerthrew the *Romaines*, and ſlew foure thouſand foote, and ſeuen and twenty hundred horſe, and tooke three thouſand and three hundred priſoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall ſo violent, that it draue the duſt into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The great victory of Hanniball at Cannas. *Tit. Liuius in Dec. 3 lib. 2.*

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Aſiaticus* againſt *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and ſlew fiue thouſand foote, and foure thouſand horſe, with the loſſe only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy miſt, and a ſhowre of raine. For the miſt was ſo thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it ſee another: whereas it wrought no ſuch effect in the ſmall Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine ſo weakned the Bowes and Slinges of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they ſerued to little or no purpoſe: whereas the *Romaines* vſing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee reade that *Adolphus* the Emperour was ſlaine, and his vvhole armie cleane ouerthrowne and vanquiſhed by *Albertus*, by reaſon that the Sun vvas in their faces.

The victory of Scipio Aſiaticus, againſt Antiochus. *Titus Liuius Dec. 4 lib. 7.*

Pedro Mexia in vit. Imp. Adolpho. Guicciardin lib. 3.

Alſo, amongſt ſome other cauſes of the loſſe of the great Battaile of *Ghiaradadda*, betweene the Venetians, and the French, *Guicchiardine* obſerueth, that a certain ſhowre of raine; which fel euen

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as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the *Venetians* could not hold their footing, to defend themselues against the French Horse. By which meanes they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

How little confidence is to be had in the pollicy or power of man for the good successe of a battaile.

Thus then we see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeuour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich dependeth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisedome of any Generall can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though al should concurre in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Captaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall so dismay both Captaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erronious conceite of some few, or bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailes, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

CHAP. XV.

How our Ancients and reuerend Predecessors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresses.

The Authors reason for this Chapter here set downe.

IVVas the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the ende that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladyes, Gentlewomen, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and ouerthroweth himselfe.

Plutarch, in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licaonians* had a law, that if any strangers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouthes; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Plut. in lib. Matr. cap. 9.*

The seuerity of Iulius Cæsar to a Captaine.

Iulius Cæsar caused one of his Captaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

Marcus Aurelius, a iust and seuere Emperour.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse softly by the sleeue of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deposed, that it was onely done in iest: yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuertheless) the same hand to be smitten off.

Macrobius in Saturn.

Macrobius writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the Romanes, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behauiour, or any other seemely quality. For such praises they reputed, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Aulus Gellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue. *Aul. Gelin. Noct. Attic.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning diuers kindes of Salutation, vſed among our Ancients, when they met together.

THE maner that our Elders obſerued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vſe.

The Idumæans. The *Idumæans* at their meetings, vſed to ſpeake theſe words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The Hebrues. The true *Hebrues*, ſaluting each other, ſaid; *God ſaue you my Brother.*

The Philoſophers. The Philoſophers were wont to ſay; *Goe in a good houre.*

The Thebanes. The *Thebanes* ſaid; *God giue you health.*

The Romans. The *Romanes* ſalutations were as if they would ſay; *God ſend or giue you good fortune.*

The Sicillians. The *Sicillians* ſaid; *God keepe you.*

The Carthagenians. The *Carthagenians* did not vſe any ſalutations by ſpeeches at their meetings, but as a ſigne of loue and friendlines, they would kiſſe their right hands each together, and then kiſſe one another.

The Moores. The *Moores* likewiſe at their meetings, would kiſſe the right ſhoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kis each others knee.

The Italians. In *Italy*, they haue three ſeuerall kindes of ſalutations for a whole day. In the morning they ſay, *Dio vi dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morrow*: At midnoon, *Dio vi dia ſalute*; *God giue you health.* And at euening they ſay, *Buona ſera*, *Good euen.* They ſay alſo many times, *Mi raccommando*, *I commend me to yee.* And after two or three houres of night is paſt, then they ſay, *Dio vi dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodneſſe of the night.* Sometime alſo they are accuſtomed to ſay, *Iddio vi contenti*, *God content ye.*

The Valentians. In the kingdome of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, when men meete together, they ſalute each other in this manner; *Gentle Sir, you are well come.* And at the departing, the one ſaith, *God remaine with you*: and the other replyeth, *Goe in a good houre.*

The Cathalognians. In *Cathalognia*, ſuch perſons as chance to meete together, ſalute one another thus; *You are very well arriued heere Sir.*

The Caſtilians. In *Caſtile* ſome vſe to ſay, *God keepe you*: others, *God be with you.* And when they leaue each other, the one ſaith, *God conduct you*: and the other anſwereth, *The bleſſed Angels beare you company.* Some alſo vſe to ſay; *With your good grace and fauour.* And others, *Adieu Sir.* In the Court ſome vſe to ſay, *I kiſſe the hands of your mercy.* And ſome other, *I kiſſe the feet of your Honour or Worſhip.* Which Courting ſalutations are altogether vaine, and (for the moſt part) deliuered with feigning and diſſimulation. For many offer to kiſſe the hands and feete of one another, that would much rather cut them off, thē any way kiſſe them, deſiring indeed to ſee each others vtter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and reſpect, ought not to vſe any ſuch ſalutations; becauſe to kiſſe the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope onely. And to kiſſe the hand, is a gracious fauour affoorded by Kings and Princes, to ſuch Subiects as they thinke worthy of ſuch grace.

Court Salutations.

The vanity of Court ſalutations.

But without gadding after ſo many kindes of vanities, and diuerſity of idle words, it is a matter meete and reaſonable, that wee who are Chriſtians, ſhould imitate Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour, ſaluting one another, with ſuch words as he ſaluted his Diſciples, ſaying; *Peace be with you.* Our Redeemer enſtructed vs alſo, to ſalute houſes at our entring into them, ſaying; *Peace be in this houſe.*

How Chriſtians ſhould ſalute one another.

An excellent obſeruation of the famous Epaminondas.

Epaminondas ſaid, that vntill the age of thirty yeares, we ſhould ſalute men thus: *You are very well come hither*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to ſalute thus; *Well bee yee*; becauſe that then they know what maner of thing the world is. And from fifty deſcending downe againe, to ſay, *Goe in a good and bleſſed houre.* For then it appeareth, that they are beginning to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entring into it, ſo there muſt needs be a departing from it.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVII.

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, especially in Princes and great Lords.

An excellent question mooued to Cæsar, and by him as worthily answered.

IT hath euermore bene a praise-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords should neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Iulius Cæsar* spake to *Manilius*. Who (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he therby thought to receiue the greatest glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought most to reioyce? VVhereto he thus answered. *By the immortall Gods I sweare to thee* Manilius, *that I neuer thought my selfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatsoeuer in this life, nor any other else so much to reioyce me; then in pardoning such as had iniuried me, and rewarding them that did me seruice.* VVords vndoubtedly worthy of praise, pleasing to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to be followed. For althogh *Iulius Cæsar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works sauoured of a good Christian: and we miserable men, beleeuing all as Christians, yet our works come farre short of such beleefe, through the tentations of our corrupt flesh. Because humane wretchednesse is grown to such an encreasing in these cases, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who vnderstanding, that such a man is willing to forgiue his enemy, presently vse to say; that hee rather doth it through weaknesse and cowardise, then in any respect of charity.

CHAP. XVIII.

From whence (at the first) came the title or name of King, and also of Emperour.

OVR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuersity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The *Egiptians* called their cheefest Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Bythians*, *Ptolomeis*. The *Parthians*, *Arsacides*: The *Albanes*, *Syluies*: The *Sicillians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argiues*, *Kings*. Heere we are to vnderstand, that long since in former times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office onely: as euen now (among vs) is a Gouernour of the Common-wea'th.

Diuersity of Nations caused diuersity of tytles giuen to their Princes.

Plutarch in his Bookes of Commonwealth, saith, that at the beginning, al such as gouerned, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all those that gouerned badly, were tearmed *Tyrants*, and such as ruled well were styled Kings, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vtility, and preferred the safety of the Commonwealth, before his owne respects and commodities; so the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will onely, as the sole reason of all his vniust commands. The King fed the flock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded aboue them, and also would breake them when himselfe pleased: this man was equall, the other vniust; the one obtayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conserued it; the other vsurped it by power, and so by power held it.

The diffrence of the words Tyrant and King, and the seuerall manner of their gouerning in the Commonwealth.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the Romanes created Kings, to bee gouerned and defended by them: neuertheless, they afterward found such kinde of gouernment to be so bad, as they would endure no more but seuen Kings. And after they had banished perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleansed or purged the Citty, and slaine their offerings: they made a solemne oath, for them, their children, and successors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne Rome or them. But forasmuch as the Romane Common-wealth, had formerly receiued great benefits by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompillius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of sacred things: they resolued to keepe the name of King perpetually in their Citty, to the end, it should not appeare, that with the expulsion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Seruice.

The first creation of Kings in Rome.

Dionisius Halycarn. Lib. 5.

And becaus the Auguries or Diuiners had saide, that that name was consecrated to the Gods: the Romanes ordayned, that one man among them should be

The King or Master of the Sacrifices.

The first cheefe Priest in Rome.

The original! of the name of Emperour, and whereof it was deriued.

The Romane Dictatour.

The name of Emperour giuen to Cæsar by the people.

The fiue dignities of the Senate.

Many other Offices of state among the Romanes.

be chosen, who (for the times to come) should beare the name of the Sacrificing King, to be cheefe Priest, and Superintendent in hallowed things, and exempted from going to warre. The first man that had this honour in Rome, was *Manius Papirius*, a *Patrician*, a louer of peace & quietnesse: who was high Priest in the Temple of *Iupiter*, and called King.

Now, as concerning the name of Emperour, at the first it was not giuen by the Romanes, to such as held any soueraigne power; but onely to their Captaines and Generals, who had effected some worthy acte or enterprize in warre. And no other man was called Emperour, but onely the Colonell of the army, because hee gaue command there. *Nam Imperator dictus est ab imperando*; *For Imperator or Emperour is deriued of commanding*: which office was held but for a limited time, and that being past, it was deliuered ouer to another.

But after the battaile of *Pharsalia* in *Thessalie*, wherein *Cæsar* vanquished *Pompey*: the entire gouernment of the Roman Common-wealth, beeing fallen into the hands of the Dictator *Cæsar*, he coueting to make the authority and soueraigne power, to be proper and hereditary, wold not take on him the title of King (albeit he was so in effect) because that name was hatefull to the people. And they being desirous to please him, granted that he should be named Emperour, a name acceptable to all) especially to Souldiers, and which was onely but the fift dignity of the Senate. For the first was the Sacrificing Priest, whom they called King: The second, the Dictator: The third, the Consull: The fourth, the Tribune of the people: and the fift, the Emperour.

There was also diuers other degrees of State, as the *Censor*, the *Prator*, the *Proconsull*, the *Questor*, the *Edilis*, and other of order and ranke, whereof shall need no question heere. By this meanes then, *Iulius Cæsar* hauing gotten to be perpetuall Dictator, all such as succeeded him in the gouernment of the Romanes, were also called by the name of Emperours, and *Cæsars* likewise by his sir-name, which was giuen him *Ab Elephante cæso*. As afterwards of *Augustus*, the Emperours which came in succession to him, vsed also to name them-selues euery man *Augustus*.

CHAP. XIX.

What was the reason, and vpon what occasion, Kings in ancient times were created & established: And of the Dignity Royall.

FOR two principall causes, Kings were at first anciently established: One, to the end they should preserue common iustice and equity, by which bond humane society is maintayned, and without which the lesser would be oppressed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right obserued. The other, because they should defend the goods and safety of their Cittizens from enemies. The necessities of life assembled men among themselues, and conioyned them by a naturall society: which hath beene caused by mutuall succours, support, and offices fitting mankinde. The beginning of this society, was reason and speech, whereby wee are differing from all brutish creatures. Reason caused many and infinite artes to bee inuented, and speech (which is the interpreter of the spirit) learned, enstructed, & communicated them, not onely by this mutuall coniunction; but also hath stored the life of man with many commodities.

Two reasons for the establishing of Kings.

The beginning of humane society.

The first and cheefest, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one house, wherein all things were to thē in common, & thence ensued plurality of houses. For Brothers, Sisters, and Cosins contracting mariage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one house, they went to dwell in other houses. So of one house at the first, came Borroughs and Villages, euen as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Borroughs & Villages were deriued Cities, and becomming to bee peopled, were enclosed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and enstructed with sciences: for without all these, they could not be preserued from the conspiracies of men, and therefore were to bee ruled by some one, and couetousnesse of reigning is so great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

The first coniunction of man and woman, & what ensued thereof.

Of one house at the first followed the peopling of Townes and Villages.

VVherefore, like as Saylers, when they are surprized with an impetuous tempest, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship, yea,

An apt and worthy comparison.

Dq 985

yea, & before they will set foorth to Sea, fore-seeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so is requisite it, to giue the gouernment of a Citty, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to euery man. *For where there is no Gouernor* (saith *Ecclesiastes*) *the people are scattered*. All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheese. Which we may obserue in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who obserue a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselues, by admirable order and artificial workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not gouerned by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselues to the regiment of one; in whom, for opinion of wisedome and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. *Not onely then to the* Medes (saith *Herodotus*) *but also to all other people, Kings* (*vertuously enclined*) *were established for the administration of Iustice.*

Ecclesi. 9.

The world would perish if the power of God did not gouerne it.

Herodot. in l. 4.

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in euery Citty, and after other Townes became annexed to the principality and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to gouerne ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romanes tearmed Prouinces. Moreouer, euery King should excell one another in iustice and power; to the end, that he may the better vnite his people by equitye, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maiestie ought not only to be decorated with Armes: but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly gouerne.

The first beginning of Royall and Kingly Iurisdiction.

Royall Maiesty ought to be armed with good lawes.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignitie, doubtlesse it is so great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and gouerne all things, & therefore by good right, they may be tearmed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soueraign Rector of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. *Plato* reputed a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soueraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpasse each other in many things, so a King doth excell al other men in dignity and honor, not humane but diuine.

Kings imitate the prouidēce and goodnes of God.

Plato in lib 4. de Legib.

Porus, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in battaile, when *Alexander* demanded of him, after what manner he would be vsed; *Like a King*, quoth he. Againe he vrged the same demand, & still he returned the same answer. *For* (quoth hee) *all is comprized vnder the word King*. The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the *Indians* and *Persians* adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their highest and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Poets renowned *Iupiter* by the name of king, more then any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely gouerne the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the *Hebrewes* with one and the same oyle, annointed both their Kings & high Priests.

An excellent example of Porus King of India.

The charge and office of Kings in ancient times.

Let vs see and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do gouerne in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre aboue Aristocratie, Democratie, Oligarchy, or Laocratie, yea, all other kindes of gouernment, where eyther many persons, or few, or the people themselues do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one onely: so is it more hard, that the manners of one man should be so soone corrupted, as of many. So that

Things imitating nature, are the most perfect and excellent.

The world to be gouerned by one man onely.

that if the whole world were gouerned by one man, there would not bee ſo many differences, manners, cuſtomes, nor diuerſities of religion, nor ſo many warres, offences, and ſlaughters. But when Cities are vnder the ſway and power of many, they are then ouer-toyled with troubles, ſeditions, and diſſentions, by reaſon of inordinate willes and affections in the greateſt: who licence themſelues to all euill, beeing partiall and diſcordant one towards another. Whereof God ſaid by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Paſtours haue ruined my Vine.*

To ſerue and attend vpon the command of many, is no meane ſlauery

Let me demaund one queſtion, is it not much more ſeruile and ſlauiſh, to attend on the willes of many, then of one onely. Nay, are not the couetous deſires of one man ſooner to be ſatisfied, then of many? you cannot chuſe but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor neceſſary, that in one houſe there ſhould be many fathers of the Family: euen ſo is it neyther ſecure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth ſhould bee gouerned by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good aſſurance, when ſome one required, that Democratie ſhould bee eſtabliſhed in *Sparta*, hee returned this anſwer; *Begin it then in thine owne houſe firſt.*

The power & prerogatiue of a King by his Lieutenants.

Yet very true it is, that one man onely, how great or ſmall ſoeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himſelfe) prouide for all occaſions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenants (as God by the miniſtery of his Angels) exerciſe his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for containing his Subiects in quietneſſe, and cauſing iuſtice to be adminiſtred vnto them. I ſay then, as a concluſion to this Chapter, that wee ought to liue, in and vnder the vnity of theſe foure things; *Of one God; Of one King; Of one faith; And of one Law.*

THE

The End of the Second Booke.

D4 985

THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Originall of the Switzers, and their seuerall CANTONS.

Containing, the Gouernment of the Countrey; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particuler: Their Baylywickes, and Iurisdictions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, conquests, and other memorable actions; from the Emperor Raoul *of* Habspourg, *vntil the time of* Charles *the fift.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface or induction of the Author

BEcause amongest those Commonweales of Freedome, gouerned by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Common-wealth was first established & gouerned. For they did highly marualle, that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselues in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensiue wall or circuite, and continue firmely knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The common wealth of the Athenians.

The Common-wealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achaians, composed of twelue townes or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder

The common wealth of the Achaians.

Aratus and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Iosbua*, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as beeing glutted or surfetted with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion

The common wealth of Israel.

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermedling and solicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of * *Suaba* vnited themselues together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed she recouered againe, when the confederates expulsed the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruinated all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theeues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friendes and allies, were reputed by them as their greatest enemies, and ioyned themselues with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeares this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

*By some termed Pomerania.

All Switzerland is no other but one Commonwealth, & the reason therof.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*; yet is it neuertheleſſe, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, becauſe they ſuppoſe vs to haue no ſociety, nor any coniunction of gouernment, and ſo (by conſequent) it cannot be ſaid, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth; conſidering alſo, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conuentions priuate of aſſociates. So it is, that in the ſame degree of Commonwealth, whatſoeuer hath paſſed by plurality of voyces, it bindeth all the Subiects of that Commonwealth. As for my ſelf, I am not willing to conteſt with the learned: for I freely confeſſe the trueth of their ſaying; if wee conſider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers conſiſteth of common eſtates, gouerning many Prouinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almoſt) a like Lawes and Cuſtomes, and are ſo ſtrictly conioyned by perpetuall Conuentions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in ſuch nature as hath beene formerly ſpoken of; yet notwithſtanding, wee that write and ſpeake of theſe matters ſome-what more popularly, do imagine, that we ſhall not much faile, in calling this aſſociation and league, the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Passage by plurality of vowes, bindeth all subiects.

The nation of the Switzer conſiſteth of eſtates in cõmon.

Thus then this Commonwealth eſtabliſhed by perpetuall alliances, hath conſerued her liberty for the ſpace of more then two hundred yeares, with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice (according as it hapneth almoſt ordinarily in all great Commonweals) they haue beene prouoked and ſtirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithſtanding, thoſe troubles were immediately pacified, and al reunited together againe in ſincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable deſire of their predeceſſors, to ſtudy ſtill for the freedome of their Countreyes maintenance. Neuertheleſſe, there are ſome kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) ſo impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*, euery man is a maſter or commander, and that our Anceſtors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of our Noblemen, by theſe meanes entred into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reaſon. Others do (more truly) confeſſe, that our Noble-men did offer ſuch outrage to our predeceſſors, both in words and deeds, that they had iuſt occaſion to vndertake Armes, which all that while they managed very ſharpely, as it happeneth among people much abuſed and prouoked. But to ſatisfie the irreſolution of ſome friends, who vnderſtand not the eſtate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to imploy my labour, in deſcribing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth, by reprouing all vntruthes to the full, and aſcending to the heighth of their originall.

How Commonweals are maintained.

Troubles ſoon ended, & mutuall loue embraced.

The reaſon for the Authors writing of this diſcourſe.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day conſidered in three parts: for firſt of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allyed and combined themſelues, as into one body of a City. And theſe are they, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vndernald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouſe*, and *Appenzel*. In the ſecond place are the aſſociates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, firſt of all, the Abbot and Towne of S. *Gal*; next, the confedered *Griſons*, the Byſhop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais*, *Rotuille*, *Mulhouſe*, and *Bienne*. Conſequently, the territories or Bayliwickes, which are gouerned by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow*, *Bade*, the *Rheguſces*, now adayes called *Rhinthall*, *Sargans*, the free Prouinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendriſe*, and the Vale *Madie*; whereto may well bee ioyned them of *Bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three leſſer Cantons The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Zug*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouſe*, S. *Gal*, *Coire* of the *Griſons*, *Syon* in *Valais*, *Rotuille*, *Mulhouſe*, and *Bien ne* for all the reſt do dwell in villages.

The parts and portions of Heluetia.

The thirteene Cantons.

Aſſocians and Confederates

Iuriſdictions or Bayliwicks

Cities and Towns of the Cantons and Confederates

Villages appertaining to him.

Moreouer, all of them abide not in Switzerland, neither within thoſe limites propoſed by *Cæſar* in his Commentaries: for of the thirteen *Cantons*, *Baſile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Rauraſians*. *Schaffouſe* is in *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, on the further ſide

Iul. Cæſ. in com. ment. Lib. 4.

side of the *Rhine*: and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grisons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Town of S. *Gal* and *Bienne*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient country of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grisons* retaine still their name and olde country of the* *Rhætians*. Next is the *Valasians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins*, *Seduſians*, and *Veragrians*. *Rotuille* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouſe* towardes the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iuriſdictions or Baylywickes, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Griſons*. But they of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendriſe*, of the Vale *Medie*, and of *Bellizone*, are Italians by originall and Language: the other Iuriſdictions remaine in Switzerland.

The Abbot & the towne of Saint Gal.

*An ancient people of Germany.

The order of the Baylywickes.

And heere you are to vnderſtand, that theſe Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the diſtinct countries; but according as the aſſociations haue beene made in diuerſity of times, euenſo are the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the ſeauen moſt ancient *Cantons*, namely, *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug* & *Glaris*. *Berne*, *Fribourg*, & *Soleurre*, do vndergoe ſome right in criminall cauſes. For the Prouoſtſhip or Precendency of the Empire (as they vſed to tearme it) and iudgement of criminall proceſſes, was heeretofore referred to them of *Conſtance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suaba*, this authority was granted vnto the *Switzers*, which appertained equally to the fore-named *Cantons*, becauſe they all ioyned together in the ſelfe-ſame warre. Moreouer, thoſe ſeuen *Cantons* commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans*, *Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Prouinces alſo. True it is, that in their gouernement of *Bada*, they aſſociated the men of *Berne* with them; and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the *Cantons* to the foure Baylywickes, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *Bellizone* is ſubiect to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*: and ſuch (at this day) is the condition and eſtate of the *Switzers* Common-wealth. Now, I purpoſe to ſhew the times, the cauſe, and the principall Articles of the Switzers league. Alſo, what hath beene the eſtate of each *Canton*, before they became allyed together, and what their dues and tightes haue beene, and are. Laſtly, what warres they haue maintained ſince their League vvas made.

Diuerſity of authoritie in the iuriſdiction of the Cantons.

Authority of cenſure in criminall occaſions.

Aſſociations in matter of gouernment and authority

CHAP. II.

Of the three firſt Cantons of the Switzers.

IN the yeare after the natiuity of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, 1307. they of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, wer the very firſt that Cantonned themſelues. They were tearmed Swaines or Boores of the countrey, dwelling in vallies, and in their owne Language, ſtiled, **Die drey Lander**, alſo **Die drey Waldſtett:** And, in time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place. They dwelt in the Valleyes of the Alpes, betweene the *Griſons* countrey, the Vale of *Liuiner*, and high *Valais*, and were ſeated betweene the *Canton* of *Zurich*, and the countrie of *Ergow*. Some doe affirme, that they of *Suits*, are deſcēded of the *Cimbrians*; they of *Vri*, of the *Tauriſci*; & they of *Vnderuald*, of certaine baniſhed Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be iſſued of generous Anceſtors.

The three firſt Cantons, and how they Cantonned themſelues.

Of whom and whence theſe people are ſeuerally deſcended.

Their Annals do teſtifie, that the Emperor *Lewes*, ſonne to *Charlemaign*, at the requeſt of the Byſhop of *Rome*, graunted theſe people liberty, to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themſelues, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for theyr faithfull ſeruice in warre againſt the Sazarins, in behalfe of the cittie of Rome. For the Sarrazins, who in thoſe times much troubled *Affrica*, hauing inuaded *Sicilie*, came likewiſe into *Italy*: where they tooke ſome places: and afterward marching vnto Rome, eaſily made themſelues Maſters of the Vatican, vvhich

The Emperors fauour to theſe people.

then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint *Pecer*, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of siluer and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Hauing continued there diuers dayes in determination to surprize the whole Cittie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to [v] *Cisalpine Gaule*, came to the succor of Rome, which made them forthwith recoile, and to wast all the plaine Countrey about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of S. *Paul* vpon the way to [*] *Ostia*, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vtterly ruined. From thence continuing on theyr course in spoile and rauage, euen so far as mount *Cassinum*, they stole away all the Iewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their stolne booties: finding them ready to set saile, they lanched forth into the maine.

[v] Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, betweene them and the Alpes

[*] A citty built by Ancus Martius in the months of Tyber.

Now, the Annales of *Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, do say; that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of *Hasell*, were present at this fore-mentioned succour and supply, and passed two seuerall times into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian Marquesse, named *Guy*. They pursued the Sarazins, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of S. *Peter*, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard wherof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of *France*; and moreouer, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards; which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Collected out of the Heluetian Annales.

A great spoile made of the Sarazins by the three first Cantons.

Notwithstanding, the Emperor *Lewes* sonne to *Lewes* the *Debonnaire*, and youngest sonne to *Charlemaigne*, gaue them of *Vri*, to the Abbey which he had builte at *Turegum*, now called *Zurich*, where his daughter *Hildegarde* was Lady Abbesse: and the wordes of the Donation (truely translated out of the Latine Coppie) are these which follow.

The lands & people of Vri giuen to the Abbay of Turegum.

The Donation of the Emperour Lewes to the Abbay of Turegum.

We giue to our Abbay, founded at Turegum, where Saint Felix and Saint Regula rest in the Lord with their bodyes; our Bourrough or Towne of Turegum, scituated in the Dutchy of Suaba, in the Territory of Durgan, with all the appurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of Vri, with the churches, houses, and other buildings aboue named: The slaues, male and female, young and old, lands eareable and desert, Woods, Meddowes, pasture grounds, Fish ponds, Riuers, Ports, Passages, things found and yet to find, with all olde rents and reuennewes. Moreouer, our Forrest named Albis, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that eyther now or heereafter do and may appertaine vnto vs, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoeuer.

According to the autentical latine Coppy

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did wholly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of Vri: For, if we may credit them, the Emperor gaue not the Seigneury of all the country to this recited Abbay, but of one Village or two onely. Moreouer, if it were so that the whole valley of Vri had bin vnder subiection to this Abbay, yet notwithstanding, it coulde not much preiudice their freedome: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enioyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

The ancient priuiledges & liberties of Vri, not frustrated by this gift.

Beside, they receiued their Gouernors or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of Vri also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their Iudge, whom they tearme *Amman* (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgomaster) with his Councellors or Assistants, was chosen from among

mong the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to prouide in common for the affayres of the Commonwealth. They of *Suits* & *Vnderuald* do gouerne themselues in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these seuerall quarters wer good store of Noblemen. As among them of *Vri*, the Barons of *Attinghuse*, *Schwynsberg* and *Vrsinge*: The Lords of *Sillini*, *Winterberg*, *Mose*, *Sedorf*, *Spiring*, *Meier*, of *Bourgs* and of *Oeztfeld*. Among them of *Suits*, the Lords of *Stouffacker*, *Rogkenberg*, *Schuuanow*. In the quarters of *Vnderuald*, the Lords of *Wolffenschiess*, *Blumenec*, *Rudentz*, *Altnach*, *Waltersperg*, *Lembourg*, *Liebourg*, and *Huneville*. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carryed themselues very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassailes to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow succession of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vniust commands. The Gouernors, who ought to conserue the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behauiours: fauoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselues, and by those meanes both augmented & supported their power.

Lords & Noblemen in these Cantons seuerally distinguished by their places.

The fourse or originall of confusion in any estate whatsoeuer.

In those times especially, not onelie the freedome of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperors were excommunicated, and in open warres assayled by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperors. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, tooke part with *Frederick* the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the auncient priuiledges of their liberty. They of *Suits* can yet shew the Letters Patents of *Frederick* the second, written in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1240. wherby he receiued them of *Suites* into the safegard of the empire, as members therof; and that they should not be any way alienated or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

Partialities do euermore proue most dangerous.

Their liberties renewed and confirmed by the Emperors Letters Patents.

On the contrary side, the most part of the Nobility, especially such as were as vassals to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence sprung the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissentions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the *Interregnum* of manie yeares, after the death of *Fredericke*. Neuertheless, in those very times, the forenamed people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambuscadoes were prepared to depriue them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of *Vri* and *Suits*, with them of the Towne of *Zurich*, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

The vacancie of a Princes rule, make way to manie harmes.

Meanes to resist against tirranny.

A true Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.

Translated truly out of the ancient record.

TO all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be either seen or heard: We Arnol Maieur de Sillini, Amman, and the people of Vri: and we Conrad de Iberg, Amman and the people of Suits, and of the Dioceese of Constance. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other, from the Feast of the natiuity of Iesus Christ, vntill & for the space of three yeares insuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before ỳ day, doth not any way ty vs togither. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruant or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruãt shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custom which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall constraine him beyond that limitation; then will we endeuor to succour the seruant. If any of the Allies or confederates shal possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the counsell and liking of the other Allies, they shal not stand bound to furnish thẽ with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done endamagement by fire or spoile on any place, Wee wil ioyn all our meanes together, to make war on them that shal haue committed such an offence. If any shal attempt to inuade or set vpon the lands of Vri and Suits: they of Zurich shal impeach them to their vttermost power. If they cannot attaine thereunto: they shall then endamage them by burning, sacking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiedge the Towne of Zurich, and shall

The couenant of conditions agreed vpon between them

For vassals and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against inuasion to be offered on eyther side.

For the Vines and trees about Zurich.

ſpoyle the Vines and trees about it: they of Vri *and* Suites *ſhall oppoſe all their forces againſt them, and ſhall rob and burne the enemies Country. If any one of theſe inter-obliged parties, doe make confederation with any other, the other Allies ſhall not ſtand bounde thereto.*

Againſt nouelty in alliance.

Six men choſen for Vri & Suits out of Zurich, and as many out of Vri and Suits, to command all the reſt.

Moreouer, we of Vri *and of* Suits, *haue made choiſe of ſixe perſons among the Cittizens of* Zurich; *namely*, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, *Knightes*, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, *and* Conrad Krieg. *And We of* Zurich *haue choſen three among them of* Vri; *namely*, Garnier de Attinghuſe, Burckhard, *the old* Amman, Conrad Maieur of *Ortſchueld. And as many of* Suits, *namely*; Conrad, Amman *of* Iberg, Raoul Stuffacher, *and* Conrad Hun. *Theſe twelue men, according to their diſcretion, ſhall giue command to all the Allies, for mutuall ayding & ſuccouring one another, both how and whenſoeuer neede ſhall require, in thoſe affayres whereof the conditions haue formerly bin expreſſed. If any one of theſe twelue men ſhall chaunce to die within compaſſe of the three yeares alliance; the other ſhall ſtand bound by Oath, to ſubſtitute another in his place, within fourteene dayes after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Citizens of Zurich. and we the people of* Vri *and* Suits, *haue put our Seales to three inſtruments of the ſame tenure, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Giuen at Zurich the day of* Saint Gal, *in the year of our Lord God*, M. CC. LI.

Prouiſion for death of any of the twelue in the time of confederation

The Switzers continually ielous of their liberty.

The Nobilitie inſulted too much ouer the people.

These Letters of alliance, made an 100. yeares before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetuall alliance with the three firſt Cantons, do euidently declare how thoſe people were euermore iealous of their liberty, without offering wrong neuertheleſſe vnto any perſon in conſeruing it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being troubled with factions, in regard it was deſtitute of an Emperor, and *Heluetia* much moleſted by the ouermuch licenſe, which the Nobility tooke to themſelues day by day: the three Cantons hauing heard *Raoul* of *Habſpourg* (who was afterward Emperor) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearely ſhining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that theyr liberty might be maintained at the ſwords point, if neede required. They of *Zurich*, *Baſile*, and *Strasbourg* did as much at the very ſame time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their ſuccour, and gaue mony euery yeare to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be ſecured by their meanes.

Alliance made with the Emp. Raoul to preſerue their liberty.

The authority of *Raoul*, beeing buſied in other warres about *Zurich*, *Baſile*, and *Strasbourg*, comming ſhort of abilitie to repreſſe the inſolence of the Nobilitie: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great mens outrages) vndertooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Countrey that had raiſed this diſorder. This warre continued twelue yeares, about the yeare of our Lord, 1260. and ſome few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the paſſages of their Countreyes. They of *Suits* builded a Tower at Mount *Sattell*, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of *Vnderuald*, did dam vp the Lake with a ſtrong prouiſion of ſtakes & ſhrubs, toward the village of *Stantz*, and fortified the Port, by meanes of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273. it came to paſſe, that *Raoul* of *Habſpourg* was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of *Switzerland* went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderſtand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and ſeene the priuiledges of the people, gaue ſentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expulſed out of *Heluetia*, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the reſt of the country, the king did generally confirme Gouernors in the name of the Empire, & not of the houſe of *Auſtria*: which Gouernors (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themſelues in their Caſtles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearely, to iudge in caſes of proceſſe, but more eſpecially in criminal cauſes.

The firſt war of the Nobility againſt the Cantons.

Erection of Towers and Caſtles of defence.

The trueſt remedy to impeach confuſions of eſtats

Gouernors placed in the Emperors name, & not in the houſe of Auſtria.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germanie, that receiued ſuch Gouernours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but onely cauſes criminall, & had no other occaſions in Townes to attend vpon, but only thē. And ſo far off was king

Raoul

D9 985

King Raoul abridged none of the Switzers liberties.

Raoul, from diminiſhing the liberties of the *Switzers*: as rather many of the Cantons ſtood beholding to him, for not only the confirmation, but likewiſe the amplification of their priuiledges. For, without depending on them of *Zurich*; he confirmed and augmented the priuiledges of the Canton of *Suits*, in the 18. yeare of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters giuen at *Bada*, in the yeare 1291. where, in expreſſe termes, they of *Suits* are called people of free condition.

They of Suits were termed free people.

The Switzers liberties left entirely to thē

True it is, that the King himſelfe tooke very great paines, to make the houſe of *Habſpourg* great: but he left to the *Switzers* their liberties entire. Either becauſe he would not be accounted vnthankfull, in ruinating thē that had ſuccoured him, and ſhewne themſelues faithfull in his right, before he was Emperour, perſwading himſelfe alſo, that his affaires would proſper the better, by hauing the *Switzers* his loyall friends and aſſociates, then to make rebels of ſubiects, who would carry but bad affection to the oppreſſors of their liberty: Or elſe in regard, that hauing (but a very little before) ioyned the Dukedome of *Auſtria*, as alſo of *Allemaigne* or *Suaba*, to his other poſſeſſions, he might thereby imagine, that it would beget him a generall hatred, to faſten on things of ſuch ſlender conſequence, and that all the profite hee could procure, by vſurping ouer the *Switzers*, could not value the ill-will he ſhould gaine thereby.

Auſtria and Suaba ioyned to the Emperours other rights.

Adolph de Naſſau, who was ſucceſſour to *Raoul* in the Empire, confirmed to the *Switzers* their priuiledges. By meanes whereof, the *Switzers* were highly hated of *Albert*, Sonne to *Raoul*, and enemy to *Adolph*. This *Albert* was the very greateſt aduerſary and perſecutor of the liberties of the *Switzers*. Hee had a great number of children, and to aduance and enrich them, hee began to ſtretch foorth his wings ſo farre as poſsibly he could, & eſpecially he reſolued, to prouide a new kinde of principality in *Switzerland*. Hee being become Emperour, attributed many things to the houſe of *Auſtria*, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offenſiue and inſupportable to his neighbours, in being ſhameleſſe, to get to himſelfe whatſoeuer he deſired, eyther by vniuſt demands, or elſe by manifeſt violence. And becauſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons were very powerfull; he practiſed by all meanes, eyther to make ſale to them of their iuriſdictions, or elſe to make them acknowledge him and his childrē, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors, In this manner he dealt with the Colledges and Conuents of *Strasbourg*, *Baſile*, *Conſtance*, *Coire*, *S. Gal*, the Hermitage, *S. Blaſe*, *Diſentz*, *Pfauertz*, *Rinow*, *Wettinghen*, *Muren*, *Interlach*, *Trubic*, *Certia*, *Seconn*, *Schenniſis*, *Zurich*, and many other places beſide. By the ſelfe-ſame cunning, he ſollicited & oppreſſed the Earles and Barons of *Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, to put themſelues into the ſafegard, and become vaſſals to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Among others were the Lords of *Vilſow*, *Rotenburg*, *Keynſpourg*, *Eſchenbach*, *Albourg*, *Wolhuſe* and *Grencinge*.

Church priuiledges inſulted vpon by the Emperor Albert.

Lords made vaſſals to the houſe of Auſtria, by the Emperours cunning.

In former times, the Colledges and Conuents depended vpon the Empire, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperor onely: but this *Albert* labouted to faſten all to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Wee may eaſily iudge of his violence towards ſtrangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to whō he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the Hermitage paternall, which he gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of Saint *Gal*, two Colledges of the Towne of *Zurich*, and the Count of Hombourg, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of *Auſtria* for their Protectors, neyther to ſell them any portion of their iuriſdictions. They continually alledged their ancient priuiledges, and would not permit, that they ſhoulde be diſmembred from the Empire: which much incenſed and offended the Emperour, who had practiſed vpon the rights of many other, eſpecially the Conuents *Secoun*, *Murbach*, the Hermitage, *Interlach*, *Diſentz*, and *Lucerne*, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at *Glaris*, *Lucerne*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. Howbeit, they had formerly promiſed (by veric authenticall letters) to the inhabitants of thoſe places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, *Albert* cunningly wonne the harts of ſimple people, and by goodly promiſes, made them to ratifie theſe alienations.

The Emperors cruelty to his owne Nephew.

Tyrants doe alwaies meete with ſome people that will reſiſt againſt their deſignes.

An euil example is no rule of imitation in others.

Hauing (by theſe meanes) gotten footing

The Emperor Albert a great enemy to the Switzers liberty.

anny is reſous in proceed-gs, to com e his in-ions.

The practiſes of the Emperor Albert, to ſubiect them of Suits and Vnderuald.

ting in the round neighbouring Countries,& bought ſome Caſtles of the Conuents, in the Territories of the forenamed Cantons: hee began to looke into ſome meanes,whereby he might become Maſter of *Suits* and *Vnderuald*, which being encloſed by thē of *Auſtria* (that domineerd ouer the Hermitage,*Glaris*,*Zug*, *Lucerne*,& other places thereabout) cauſed many to imagine, that except hee could preuaile againſt thē too, they wold quit their liberty as the other did. Neuertheles, *Albert* being deſirous to reach the height of his deſire, by ſuch meanes as he had propounded to himſelfe: ſent in Embaſſie to them of *Suits* and *Vnderuald*,the Baron of *Liechtenberg*,Gouernor of *Alſatia*, and the Baron of *Ochſenſtin*, two of his intimate Councellers. They addreſſed themſelues firſt to thē of *Suits*, and perſwaded them to yeeld themſelues into the protection of the houſe of *Auſtria*,who were very beningne Princes,& vnder whoſe dominion they might liue much more peaceably,thē formerly they had done vnder the Empire,diſmembred and rent in peeces (as it were) while the Princes were in debate about the election of Emperors.They further added that they of *Auſtria* had the reuenues of many Conuents in thoſe very quarters, and that if they refuſed; by diſpleaſing *Albert*, they might well conceiue, that their affaires would but badly carry themſelues; but in doing the contrary, his highneſſe made them promiſe,of all honeſt and amiable entertainmēt, that a Prince could affoord them.

Faire words are of no coſt to the enemies of free peoples liberty.

Threatnings of a Princes diſfauour ominous.

The men of *Suits*,hauing bene aduertiſed before,concerning the intention & demaund of *Albert*,by *Garnier*,Count of *Hombourg*,Lord of a neere neighbouring Country, called *La Marche*: a man not well affected by *Albert*,becauſe he had refuſed to yeeld himſelfe vaſſale to ỹ houſe of *Auſtria*: And hauing conferred with them of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, returned thus their anſwer to the Ambaſſadours. That the Kings and Romane Emperours had giuen them faire and ample priuiledges, carrying expreſſe charge, that they ſhould neuer bee diſmembred from the Empire: wherefore they were fully reſolued,in imitation of their Anceſtours example, to continue firmely ioyned to the Romane Empire. As for the Monaſteries of *Murbach* and *Beron*, whoſe rights and reuenues (eſpecially about *Suitz*) were then in the hands of the *Auſtrian* Princes, hauing formerly promiſed by authentical inſtruments,neuer to alienate themſelues to any other authority whatſoeuer: If they had kept their promiſe, they would haue done the like in duty to them. But ſeeing that they had broken their faith; and all former contracts were vnnaturally cancelled: their example was no warrant to them for the like. Moreouer,they would render to *Albert* and his children, Princes of *Auſtria*,ſuch fidelity and obedience as they ought to do: entreating *Albert*,ſeeing he was Emperor; that he would not permit them to be diuided from the Empire. Beſide,in regard his Predeceſſours had confirmed their priuiledges to them of *Suits* (which himſelfe as yet had not done) they therefore againe did humbly entreate him, that he would vouchſafe to confirm them. They alſo deſired the Ambaſſadors, to returne this their anſwer to his Imperiall Maieſty, and to entreate on their behalfe,that he would benignly receiue them.

Wiſedome & good councell is neuer wanting in them that maintain their liberty by lawfull meanes.

Bad preſidents do not merit to be followed when their extendure is to generall preiudice.

The Ambaſſadors hauing this anſwer, went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnderuald*: who (according to that which had beene accorded on among them before) made the ſelfe-ſame anſwere as they of *Suits* had done. In all the forenamed Villages, they did nothing elſe but ſhew to the Ambaſſadors,the Letters Patents and priuiledges, granted them by *Fredericke*, *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*, and other Emperors, together with the letters and conſents of the Monaſteries:all of them making humble entreaty,that they might not be compelled to ſee al thoſe things fruſtrated.But the Emperor hauing heard the Ambaſſadors, was highly offended at the anſwer, becauſe the *Switzers* not only refuſed to acknowledge them of *Auſtria* for their Lords, & would not willingly be ſeparated from the Empires body: but alſo declared, that they would yeelde to no diſiunction from the Monaſteries, by which meanes,all the precedent attempts of *Albert*, built vppon great coſt and trauaile, were vtterly diſappointed.

Vnity is requiſite among ſuch people as deſire to preſerue their liberties.

The Emperor greatly offended that his expectation was diſaponted.

In ſome ſhort while after,they of *Suits*, *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, hauing againe ſent their Ambaſſadours vnto the Emperour, to obtaine confirmation of their priui-

985

priuiledges: hee answered them in choller, that hee would satisfie their requests, according as they had done his demands. And that hee had deputed certaine Gouernors, which he purposed to send vnto them, and by whom they should more amply vnderstand his minde.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperor by the Switzers.

Following this intention, hee sent as Gouernors, the Knight *Grisler*, and *Peregrin Landberg*. *Grisler* was appointed for *Suits* and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an olde Castell aboue *Suits*, called *Cusnach*, and beside, hee builded another Fortresse on the Land of *Vri*. *Landberg*, the Gouernour of *Vnderuald*, had two Castles, to wit, *Sarne* aboue the Forrest, and *Rotzberg* beneath, which Forrest diuided the country of *Vnderuald* iust in the midst. These two Castles did formerly belong to the Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the Maiors or Bourgomaisters made their dwellings there: but the Emperor *Albert* had solde them to the house of *Austria*, and there he appointed Garrisons. These deportments were something nouell and strange to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*: for till that time, these three seuerall places together had but one Gouernour, who (ouer and beside) was many times Gouernor of *Zurich* and other Townes. Hee remained in his Seigneuries out of the Cantons, and euery yeare once or twice (being called) hee came thither to iudge in law-cases. The rest of the time, he had a Lieutenant chosen among the Country people, that executed his charge But now there was appointed two perpetuall Gouernors, keeping Garrison in the very strongest parts of the Country: which the people were constrained to endure, onely in feare of the Emperour, and in regard beside, that those places were in the power of the *Austrian* Princes.

Extraordinary Gouernors Castels erected, and Garrison placed in the Country, are the beginning of manifest tyranny.

Multitude of Gouernors are very dangerous in any Commonwealth.

At the beginning, these Gouernours shewed themselues very courteous and affable to all men: labouring by blandishments and faire lookes, to winne the peoples harts, & to subiect them to the house of *Austria*. But perceiuing that these carriages did little availe them, they began to checke and oppresse the people, by the command of *Albert*; who was againe greeuously enraged, by reason of a new league or alliance (made for the space of ten yeares) betweene them of *Suits*, and the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in name of the three Villages) were sent to the Emperour, who would neyther see nor heare them: so that they were constrained to declare their Commission to his Councellers. The summe whereof was, that being people of the Roman Empire, they had obtained very ample franchizes and priuiledges of the Emperors: whereof they were now in danger to bee despoiled, and oppressed by an irkesome and insupportable tyranny. For the inhabitants of the recited places, were without cause, or vpon very slender occasion, immediately imprisoned, & pressed with nouell exactions. Beside all this, euery man in particuler, was compelled at a certaine time, especially the first day of the year, to bring presents to the Gouernors, which neuer had beene put in practise before. In which respect, they most humbly desired the Councellers, to intercede on their behalfe to the Emperour: that such charges might bee taken from them, and that their auncient priuiledges might bee confirmed and put in full force againe. But the Emperours Councellers hauing conferred and agreed together, made answer; that the Villages themselues were the cause of this oppression, and that the Emperour was thus seuere to them, because they would not follow the example of *Luceane*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding themselues to the house of *Austria*. Which doing, and making more account (then formerly they had done) of *Albert* and his children; they should find him a Prince that would vse them very kindly.

A cunning tricke in the Emperour, whereby to frustrate and auoid the peoples complaints.

New exactions & gifts to the Gouernors enforced on the people

Such as the Master is, such commonly are his Seruants.

The Deputies hauing receiued this answer, returned without doing any thing else: in the meane while, the tyranny of the Gouernors (being fauoured & winked at by the Emperour) grew more and more to greater strength. In a certaine Valley of *Vnderuald*, called *Melchtall*, ther dwelled an aged rich man, iealous of his Countries liberty, and one that had bene the cheefest in councelling his compatriots, neuer to subiect themselues vnto the house of *Austria*, but carefully to preserue their ancient liberty, which mā was named *Henry* of *Melchtall*. *Landberg* sent a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring away with him a couple of Oxen. Whereto *Henry* answered, that he knew not himselfe

Landberg was a most tyrannicall Gouernour.

The extortions of Landberg, witnessed in the History of Henry de Melchtall.

ſelfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Gouernour ſhould exact ſuch amends of him: and albeit hee had committed ſome offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vppon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The ſeruant being of humour anſwerable to his Maſter, arrogantly replyed, that inſtantly he wold driue thence the Oxen: and if he ſtood in need of them to plough his Land, his Country lubbers ſhould ſerue to draw in the yoake. Thus ſpeaking, hee tooke the Oxen out of their yoakes, and made himſelfe ready to driue them away.

Oppreſsion is an eaſie matter to procure impatience in a Sonne, ſeeing his Father iniuried.

Arnoul, a luſty young man, and Son to *Henry*, mooued at this outrage offered to his father; gaue the ſeruant a ſound blow with a cudgell, as hee was driuing on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Maſter, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himſelfe among them of Vri, where hee kept cloſe with one of his kindred. *Landberg* vnderſtanding al that had paſt, ſent out for *Henry Melchtall*, demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made anſwer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was meerely ignorant of his flight: whereat the Gouernour was ſo furiouſly enraged, that he cauſed the old mans eies to be pluckt foorth, droue away his Oxen, & deſpoyled him beſide, of the moſt part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberts* power and oppreſſions, commanding ouer them very ſtearnely, there was no man (as then) that durſt ſtir againſt him. And becauſe wicked courſes grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen ſo inſolent iniquity in the Gouernors, did driue them out of one miſchiefe into another.

Tyranny may iuſtly be tearmed the Mother of wrong and iniuſtice.

Tyranny blindfolded by his villanous companion concupiſcence, and chaſtiſed by the iuſt iudgement of God.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolffenſchiez*, in a place named *Alzelen*, there dwelt a country mã called *Conrad de Bomgarten*, maried to a very faire and beautifull woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolffenſchieſz*, being Lieutenant to the Gouernor, returning from *Engelberg*, & paſsing by *Alzelen*, to goe home to his houſe at *Rotzberg*, found this womã in a meadow, buſied about ſome commendable exerciſe. He vnderſtanding that her husband was abſent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might waſh himſelfe, becauſe he was ouer-trauelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refuſall, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he preſſed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein ſhee promiſed to obey, prouided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themſelues, as accordingly they preſently did vppon their maſters command.

One lewd attention ouermore drawes on another.

The woman vſing ſome delay, yet feigning preparation of her ſelfe to come into the Bath; got recouery of a doore behinde in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguiſh. Her husband returning from the Forreſt, chanced to meete her, and vnderſtanding what had happened; entred his houſe, and with an Axe or Hatcher, which he then had in his hand, ſlew the Lieutenant ſitting in the Bath, and ſo he receiued the chaſtiſement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modeſt woman. The Gouernour ſought all means to reuenge his death: but he was ſo hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beſide, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, with-held him from daring to require any helpe of the Country: in regard alſo, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderuald*, & kept himſelfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some ſay, and among others, *Eternilerus*, and *Stumpfius* in his Annales of *Heluetia*, that this man was the Gouernour himſelfe; who ſeeking thus to violence an honeſt woman, became ſo ſlaine. But they of *vnderuald* maintaine, that hee who was kild in the Bath, was called *Wolffenſchieſz* a ſeruant to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and dwelling at *Rotzberg*.

Modeſty ſeeketh meanes to preſerue her chaſte reputation, and alwaies findeth helpe when ſhe leaſt looketh for it.

Eternilerus & Stumfius in the Annales of Swaterland.

While theſe Tragedies were thus acting at Vnderuald, *Griſler*, the Gouernour of Vri and Suits alſo, to keepe the people in the more awe and ſubiection; began to builde (by command from his Maſter) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Altorff*, vpon a ſmall Hill called *Solturne*. This *Griſler* beeing a verye vaine-glorious man, made vaunt of abaſing the people in ſuch ſort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

The tyranny of the Gouernour Griſler.

A Citadell called the yoake of extreme slauery to the people.

his pleasure; whereupon he called his Fort, *A yoake of extreme slauery to the Vrians*. He perceiuing, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, lest some matter might secretly be contriued against him; to compasse discouery thereof, he vndertooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Altorff*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knees, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Gouernor, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was heereby, that such as were maliciously addicted towards him, would neuer humble themselues, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any consorts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discouery to his spies, and so tortures might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Gouernor.

A Bonnet or Hat to be reuerenced by the people.

Note the subtilty of a Tyrant.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Stouffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortuned, that the Gouernor *Grisler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Stouffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Gouernor, because he had alwayes before councelled the people, not to subiect themselues to them of *Austria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessour of it. Then the Gouernor answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feele before it be long.

Garnier Stouffacher Sonne to Raoul Stouffacher first Magistrate of Suits.

Tyrants are enemies to men that maintaine the peoples liberty.

This answer deliuered with outragious menaces, greatly displeased *Stouffacher*, who (from that time forward) could not dissemble his greefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wise, modest, and discreete Lady, perceiuing her husband sad and pensiue, and vnderstanding the reason thereof: exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, would neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreouer, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioyne their meanes together, to recouer the liberty of their Country; for shee durst assure him, that God would blesse so holy an enterprize. *Stouffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits*, to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceiued, that *Grisler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefest in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Stouffacher*. This Baron first began to complaine, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grisler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

Councels of small & slender appearance, grow to great effects: especially against Tyrants and tyranny.

Afflicted minded doe comfort one another by conference.

But *Stouffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, only but to sound him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secretst cogitations: kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furst*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their councell (as a third party) *Arnould Melchtall* of *vnderuald*; bound themselues together by mutuall oath, to ioyne all their meanes, and imploy their paines by a cõmon consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreouer they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure so many men as possibly he could, prouided, that they were people of good and discreet carriage: who should all sweare, to imploy both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recouery of the Countries former freedome; and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe of

The three first men that wer the first foundation & beginners of the league of Switzers, and their manner of proceeding

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monaſteries, as alſo to al Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promiſing likewiſe, to keepe this league & combination ſecret, vntill ſuch time as (by common aduice) all the confederates ſhould bee reſolued to publiſh it. They made choiſe alſo of a priuate place, neere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grutly*, where theſe three chiefe heads of the League vſed to meete, accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduiſe together what was to be done.

Promiſe and place of primacy appointed for meeting, to conferre on theſe ſerious affairs.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-worke of the League of *Switzers* was then begunne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furſt*, and *Melchtall*: and being ſo agreed vppon, each man returned by himſelfe home, to make coniunction with his cõpanions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewiſe the moſt part of the Nobility in the Villages, ranked themſelues with the confederates: For the Gouernours did moleſt the Noblemen, no leſſe then they did the common ſort, not making any difference betweene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of raſcality. In like manner, they of *Auſtria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themſelues, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forſaken (as it were) the part of *Auſtria*, as we haue formerly obſerued by the Baron of *Attinghuſe*.

Stouffacher, Furſt, and Melchtall, the three men of the league.

Oppreſſion is a key to open the vnderſtanding of moſt and leaſt.

The number of the confederates beeing encreaſed, it ſeemed good (to many) that it was time to ſet hand to the worke, namely, to chaſe thence the Gouernors, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (leſte by ouer-long delay, their enterprize would be diſcouered (by ſome meanes) to the Gouernors. And therefore, in the yeare 1207. the 17. day of October, twelue of the principall men among all the confederates, aſſembled themſelues at a certaine place appointed. All inſiſted to lay hand to the buſineſſe ſo ſoone as poſsible might be; againſt which, they of *Vnderuald* onely oppoſed themſelues: becauſe that the Caſtles or Fortreſſes, which the Gouernor held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzberg*, were places well munited, and almoſt impregnable, and if ſiedge ſhould bee planted before them, the King of the Romaines would come forthwith, bringing an Army ſufficient to ſuccour them. The other confederates yeelded to this motion, and agreed together, that the firſt day of Ianuary then next following, through al the Cantons, ſeizure ſhould be made, on all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles belonging vnto the Gouernor. To whom notwithſtanding, not any outrage ſhould be offered, neyther to any of their family or Garriſons: except only to ſuch as would make head, and withſtand them in Armies; but to ſend the Gouernors ſafely and well away, with their goods. Moreouer, that the Caſtles and ſtrongeſt holds or Cittadels, ſhould be raſed from the top to the bottome: to declare by manifeſt effect, that they had not vndertaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conſerue their Countries liberty. This reſolution agreed on, each man retired home to his houſe, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane ſpace, according to faithfull promiſe, they kept their determination very ſecret.

Aduice taken for beginning the buſineſſe publikely.

In ſerious conferences, each ſide ought to be iudicially heard.

A reſolution to expell the Gouernors from the neſt of their tyranny.

While theſe affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times paſſed by before the Hat exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath beene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accuſed to the Gouernor *Griſler*: he entreated, that his inciuility might bee excuſed, becauſe hee reputed ſuch reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the Gouernor, who held him a man much to be ſuſpected, among *Guillaumes* children, made choiſe of a young little boy, whom the Father loued very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent archer) to ſet his ſonne ſome good diſtance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleaue an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head ſhould be ſmitten off. *Guillaume Tel* anſwered, that his commaund was too ſtrange and ſeuere, and he had rather die, then thorough default of ſhooting right, to kill his deereſt ſonne. If thou doeſt not performe it, ſaide the Gouernour, it ſhall coſt both thy life, and thy ſonnes.

A notable hiſtory of Guillaum Tell, much inuried by the tyran Gouernor.

An hard iniunction to a Father by the Tyrant, and not eaſily to be aduenured.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailing, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the prouidence of God (who queſtionleſſe guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his ſonnes head. Euerie

one

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SWITZ. VNDERVALD. ZVG. GLARIS. BASEL.

5 VRI.

6

7

8

9 FRIBVRG.

4 LVCERNE.

10 SOLLEVRE.

3 BERNE.

11 SCAFFOVSE.

2 ZVRICH.

12 APPENZEL.

1 ABBEY OF S GAL.

13 BIENNE.

THE·FIRST·AVCTORS·OR·FOVNDERS·OF·THE·LIBERTY·OF·THE·SWITZERS·

WILLIAM·TELL·OF·VRI.

STOVFFACHER OF SWITZ.

ARNOVLD·OF·VNDER-WALDEN.

ANNO·1296·

S.GAL. GRISONS. VALAIS. ROTVILL. MVLHOVSE.

one of the beholders did not a little reioyce, at such a faire and admirable shoot: but the Gouernor, not contented with so petillous a satisfaction, perceiuing another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaumes* girdle, demanded of him, what vse hee meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custom among Archers, to draw more arrowes then one out of their Quiuers, for any occasiō that might happen. But the Gouernor suspecting something else, pressed him more & more; & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth: which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Gouernor, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Gouernor declared, that he wold not take away his life, becausse he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetuall prison, and liue miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man liuing. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuaied to the Castle of *Cusnach*. The Gouernor, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake; a greeuous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiuing themselues in extreame danger of their liues: one of *Grislers* seruants said to his master, that there was but one only means whereby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tel*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Marriner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that euery man allowed the councell, & vnbound *Tell*; who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preserued the Barque among the rougheſt billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vnto a Rock) aboue the water, which to this day is called *Telles* Stone. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his Bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping foorth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his foote against the Barques side, that it returned back among the stearn billows. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountaines. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Gouernours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Gouernour set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy straite, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Gouernor, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (to our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Gouernour was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successefull shoote, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stouffacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountains, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing foūd *Gautier Furst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Gouernors family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderuald*, and remembring their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept thēselues quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderuald* made themselues Masters of two Fortresses, according to a compromise passed betweene them. In the Fort of *Rotzberg* there dwelt a chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderuald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Souldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deceit, was mounted vp aloft to her by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staide sometime of dalliance with her, making her to beleeue one thing for another; he left the chamber a while, going to the window whereat he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his lasse againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellowes,

Tyrants are neuer in safetie of themselues, but alwaies suspitious.

The admirable prouidēce of God, to bring such a wicked wretch to his end.

Guillaume Telles Stone or rock, which was (next to God) the meanes of his deliuerance.

The correspondency of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappels erected in especiall places as liuing memorials of the tyrants ouerthrow, & the good fortune of Tell.

The retraite of the tyrants is attempted and wonne by them of Vnderuald.

Pa 485

lowes, (who were vnmatchable for ſtrength and courage) and ſo got poſſeſſion of the place: where they kept all the gates ſtrongly defended, and cloſe ſhut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other conſorts, who were to ſeize the other Fortreſſe, called *Sarnz*.

That other company conſiſted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambuſhed themſelues in a neere neighboring wood: the reſt went directly towards the Caſtle, leaning vpon ſtaues and croutches, and carrying preſents to the Gouernor, (according to cuſtome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calues, Cheeſes, and ſuch like things. The Gouernor was going to church, anſwerable to his ordinary wont at ſuch a time, and met them on the way, where perceiuing them to haue no other Armes then ſtaues and croutches, which ſerued (as it ſeemed) to ſupport their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but paſſed on, not a little pleaſed with thoſe preſents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their ſtaues and croutches were made round, and pierced ſo hollow within: that they could eaſily ſcrew in long ſharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried cloſe hid in his boſome. They came to the Caſtle, where beeing permitted entrance with their New-yeares gifts: they poſſeſſed theſelues of the Gates, giuing an appoinſted ſignall to their fellow-ſouldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to ſuccour them, and tooke them all priſoners that were in the Caſtle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzberg* was ſurprized by their other aſſociates, they releaſed all their priſoners, and the Gouernor alſo, whom they had laid ſure hold on, as hee was about to eſcape. When the Gouernor and his followers had ſolemnly promiſed vpon oath, neuer more to returne againe into thoſe quarters; they gaue thē leaue to depart, & ſent them by ſafe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined thoſe two ſtrong Forts or Caſtles flat to the ground. The very ſame day alſo, they of *Vri* demoliſhed the new Cittadell, which *Griſler* had named, *The yoake of the Vrians*, being not as yet fully finiſhed: and in *Suits*, *Stouffacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Cittadell of *Louerts*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the morrow, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, cōfirming them al by ſolemne oath. Behold the end of their tyranniçall gouernment, whom *Albert* had eſtabliſhed ouer the Cantons

When *Albert* had receiued tydings of this ſudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and reſolued to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by ſtrong hand to bring them in ſubiection. He ſent firſt of all to his ſubiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, to ſuffer no victuals to be conuayed to them. But in a ſhort while after, he was ſlaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in paſſing ouer the Riuer of *Ruſſ*: ſo that this war by him intended, remained now to be freſhly attempted. His ſonnes, being ſufficiently hindred from reuenging his deth, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing leſte they ſhould ioyne with the Gentlemen, who had ſlaine their Father. About this time, they of *Auſtria* ruined many ſtrong places in *Heluetia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Multperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maſchuande* the Towne and Caſtle, and *Farwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some moſt noble families alſo were by them ſubuerted and extermined, to wit, that of *Eſchinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Caſtle of *Forwange*, in one day, 63. Gentlemen, with their ſeruants, had their heads ſmitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Auſtria* cauſed to be ſlaine, or baniſhed out of the country, about a 1000. perſons, the moſt part wherof were Noble. There are ſome ill-wiliers, that do falſely accuſe the *Switzers*, to haue deſolated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when al this while, thoſe horrid actions (for the moſt part) were committed by them of the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Henry of *Luzelbourg*, 7. Emperor of that name, ſucceeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & eſtabliſhed a Prouoſt or Aduocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law caſes in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouoſt was named *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*, Lord of *Lauffenberg*, Sonne to *Godfrey*,

By baſe and contemptible meanes, the power of the oppreſſors was vtterly brought to nothing.

The onely means to fortifie themſelues againſt tyranny.

Albert a fatall enemy to the Switzers, ſlaine by his own nephew.

When the iudgement of heauen intendeth to ſtrike, the beſt wiſedome in men cannot preuent it.

Spoile and waſte made by the Auſtrians in Switzerland, on Noble & Gentlemen.

False imputations laid on the Switzers.

Henry the 7. confirmed the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherin may be ſeene the goodneſſe of god to ſhine clearely, by ſending milde comfort after ſo long oppreſſion.

Godfrey, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, vnkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which iourney an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouoſt was falſely accuſed (as ſome ſay) before the Emperor, by the means of Duke *Leopold*, who hated him, and ſaid that he had abuſed his authority. So that he was depoſed, and *Edward de Burgle*, dwelling at *Turge*, ſubſtituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to anſwer his cauſe at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His ſeruants brought backe his body, and cauſed it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettinghen*.

The reuenge of the Emperour Alberts Sonnes on the murderers of their Father.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, hauing ſlaine all them that were preſent at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; beeame rich and powerfull, for they had ſeized on the goods of al thē that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and diſgrace, yet they durſt not begin war vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuertheleſſe, they moleſted the Cantons by diuers in-roades, for they could eaſily offend them of *Vnderuald*, by Boates deſcending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themſelues carefully within compaſſe of their guards, & mutually aſſiſted one another.

A difference betweene them of Lucerne & the men of Vnderuald.

In the yeare one thouſand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munited & furniſhed with men, ſet foorth from *Lucern*, to make aſſault on thē of *Vnderuald*, who in the defence of them of *Vri*, that were come (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to aſsiſt them; did both bondge & ſinke the Veſſell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Soldiers, and taking the reſt priſoners. This loſſe thus receiued, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours) tooke truce with the Cantons.

Lucerne glad to take truce with the Cantons.

In the ſame yeare, they of *Suits*, being deſirous to pacifie all matters among them; bought of *Ewrard*, Count of *Habſpourg*, *Arte* and *Cuſnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and ſubiects to the houſe of *Habſpourg*, encreaſing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other ſide they had warre againſt the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the ſpace of about four hundred years; each being at puſh of the Pike againſt the other, and for thoſe reaſons which I will breefely relate.

War by them of Suits againſt the Monkes of the Hermitage.

The Emperor *Otho*, ſurnamed the great, about the yeare 950. hadde eſtabliſhed certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In theſe limitations, ſome Mountaines (fertile for paſturage) were left to the Monks, which till that time had bene poſſeſſed by them of *Suits*. It came to paſſe, that they wold not keepe themſelues to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout thē out of their poſſeſſion; gaue not ouer to obtaine of the Emperors ſucceſſors, confirmation of the ordinance ſet downe by *Otho*. About the yeare one thouſand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accuſed them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnoul*, Earles of *Lentzbourg*, & Gouernors of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewiſe, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithſtanding, they of *Suits* kept themſelues in their ancient poſſeſſiō ſtill, in deſpight of all ỳ the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the yeare of our Lord, 1144. the Abbot *Raoul* accuſed them before *Conrad* the ſecond, Emperor, who confirmed alſo the ſentence of *Otho*. Neuertheleſſe, they of *Suits* maintained themſelues (perforce) in poſſeſſion ſtill, and the Abbot (on the contrary ſide) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperor, and making vſe of them accordingly; raiſed warre vpon them, inuading continually one another, and taking priſoners on eyther ſide. Theſe enmities endured a long time, and at laſt *Raoul*, Count of *Raſperwill*, brought them to an agreement, in the yeare 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the ſpace of fifty yeares, at the end of which time, there came an Abbot, named *Anſelme*, vnder whom nouell differences began: becauſe that both ſides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary ſence and meaning.

The ground and originall of ſo many yeares warre betweene the men of Suits & the Monks of the Hermitage.

The grant of Otho the Great, reconfirmed by the Emperor Henry, the third of that name.

The Count of Raſperwille came a good peace-maker betweene being diſcontented enemies.

The war being againe renewed, continued foure and forty yeares: but ſoone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seauenth. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villianously and publikely outraged by certaine Monks, which wholy brake off the negotiation. Moreouer, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselues the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endamaged: at length, in the yeare 1313. the 23. day of February, they went foorth secretly into the fields in the night time, & hauing deceiued the guardes; entred by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monkes that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *Iohn*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*, and *Henry of Wnenberg*, *Iohn Regensperg*, and *Burckhard Fleminger*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habspourg* and of *Togge*, and the Baron of *Kegensperg*, who were their neere allies and kinsmen, as also *Iohn* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly imployed their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monks had sollemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deale with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize, nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vpon them: they were released, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tourbois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appeasing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they sought all meanes whereby to iniure them of *Suits*.

Peace broken off againe by villanous behauiour in the Monks of the Hermitage to holy Pilgrims

The Abby entred in the night time by them of Suits, to reuenge their wrong vpon the Monkes.

A reconciled enemy is very hardly to be credited.

Heereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperor *Henry*, in the yeare 1314. the States of the Empire beeing assembled to create a new Emperor; the Electors found themselues to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, fourth of that name: but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equall in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*, maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Country. *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces: albeit that *Iohn*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceased king. This dismembring of the Empire, caused those greeuous troubles in *Germany* and *Heluetia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselues with *Lewes* of *Bauaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approoued that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he preuailed so far, that (by his accusation) the Bishoppe of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they wer banished by the Court Imperiall, which was at *Rotuille*. They were charged, that they had violenced the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* firmely and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, seuerely to punish the offenders in such a delict, prouided, ỳ they might be discouered to them. And althogh they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperor *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

The cause of the dismall troubles in Germany and Switzerland.

The three Cantons excommunicated and banished, because they would not yeeld themselues to seruitude.

Election of Lewes of Bauaria fourth of that name, Emperor, and difference arising among the Princes Electors.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouernors; solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Monfort* rouled on this wheele with their best helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed, to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The yong Prince, being young, powerfull, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds: suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this wat. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers: ỳ Soldiers were people aptly disposed for war, and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreouer, he leuied a

Warre prepared by Prince Leopold of Austria against the 3. Cantons, and the cause thereof.

The diuision of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Suisse*, *Suaba*, and *Alsatia*, diuiding all these powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suits*. He gaue the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Gouernor of the vale of *Hasell*, that they might ascend the Mountaine of *Brunig*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderuald*.

The voluntary offer of the Cantons to the Prince, requiring peace and no way desirous of warre.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince, by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off; a Fast was published & cõmanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers deuoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into ẽ countries.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled thẽselues at *Suits*, which is the very neerest Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustred foure hundred Souldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderuald*, and sixe hundred of *Suits*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolued to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conseruation of their countries, liberties, wiues, and children: declaring themselues (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedemonians, who fighting for the freedome of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopyla*. It is said, that the Lord of *Huneberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throtes flying knives lay ouerready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shot vnto thẽ fastened at an Arrow, that the day of S. *Omer* (which was the 15. of Nouember) they should be assayled at a place called *Morgarten*, and therfore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place; appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselues aloft on the Mountaine.

The great mercy and prouidence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

Fifty men had then ranked themselues together, which had bene banished from *Suits*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to imploy their paines couragiously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greeuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing lette those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for al this) would not giue ouer their good affection, which they had intirely addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (of necessity) the enemy must passe.

War ought not to barr or abridge iustice, in cases of important necessity.

The fixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the yeare, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue foorth of Zug, about the breake of day; the infantery marching formost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolued to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they tearmed the Seditious. As they were entred on the confines of *Zuits*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betweene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big sharpe-pointed Flints: then showted them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men ouerthrew fourty thousand.

Despised and refused assistance makes the best way to an honourable successe.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great trouble; for men were not able to gouerne their horses, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greeuous wounds they receiued by thẽ. This being noted by them of *Suits*, who were ranged

ranged vpon a very high place: they marched on to meete the enemy in the face; and (from a farre off) threw huge stones, and shot sharpe pointed arrows at them. Afterward, they came to handy grapling, and charges with Halberds so furiously, that both horse and foote were put to flight; among whom, the Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Mountfort* were the formost, as is credibly reported. Ouer and beside the footmen, 1500. horsmen were slaine in this battell, beside many drowned in the Lake, & a great number (by reason of the narrowe passage, which hindred the saving of themselues) were murdred by their own fellowes, and trodden to death with horses. Two and fifty Citizens of *Zurich*, being all habited alike in garments of one colour, and well knowne by the Cantons, to be the most valiant men in all the enemies army, being sent by the Senate to succour the Duke of *Austria*, were slaine in the field.

The ouerthrow of the Count of Strasberg at Vnderuald, & in what maner it was performed.

The selfesame day as the battaile was fought at *Morgarten*, the Count of *Strasberg* (having chased the Garrison of *Brunig* from the Mountain;) entred into the Country with three thousand men, and began to forrage euery where. He incamped at *Alpenach*, which is a Village in the Canton of *Vnderuald*, threatning the next morning to inuade the other part of the country beyond the Forrest, if they on the hither side did not willingly yeeld themselues. But in the meane while, they of *Vnderuald* beyond the Forrest, assembled them of the Mountaines round about, & called to their assistance them on the hither side the Forrest, whom the enemie had not found as yet, and by the same meanes gaue knowledge to theyr partakers which were at *Suits*. The Messenger arriued at *Brunen* the morrow after the battaile, but others say, that it was the very same day. These newes beeing thus come, they of *Vnderuald* put themselues vpon the Lake, and made such diligence in getting to their houses, as in two hours space (by painfull labour and speed of the Ferry men) they crossed ouer the Lake, which indeede was very broad. An hundred men of *Suits* did accompanie them, with whome they arriued at the Port of *Buchs*, which is a village appertaining to them; then going on from thence to *Burgenstad*, ioyned their people with the others troops.

Diligence and most expedient & availeable when vrgent necessitie is a spur thereto.

Soone after, they came to assaile the enemy, who was come thither by the Lake of *Lucerne*, and ranged on through the country: but they compelled them to flight, and made them glad speedily to recouer their Boats. Hauing thus chased them thence, they went towardes *Alpenach*, to seeke the Count of *Strasberg*: & although it was late, they concluded (nevertheless) to assault the enemy, because his powers were dispersed amongst the Villages, where they pilled and rauaged. Moreouer, night could be no hinderance to them, that were well acquainted with all the straites and passages of the Countrey: which was an excellent resolution, and wonderfull contrary to the enemie. For very hardly could the Count of *Strasberg* endure their first shocke or encounter, because the dispersion of his soldiers amazed him: and when hee saw two Ensignes belonging to them of *Vnderuald*, like a good and discreet warrior, hee perswaded himself, that they of *Austria* were ouerthrowne at *Morgarten*.

Their marching towardes Alpenach to deale with the Count of Strasberg and his forces.

Heereupon, he speedily retired (thorow the Mountaines) home to his owne house, and the rest fled amaine and confusedly: but yet not all, for three hundred of them were left slaine in the fielde, and the whole booty taken from the enemies hand. They of *Suits* and *Vri*, hauing prouided for their affaires, came to succour their confederates of *Vnderuald*, and in the night arriued at *Buchs*, where they did heare tidings of the victory. Wherefore hauing first giuen thankes to God, & gratified their friends with so fortunate a successe, they returned home vnto theyr owne houses.

The foile and flight of the Count of Stratberg, and all his followers.

This victorie, setled and assured the foundation of the Switzers confederacie or alliance, and from thence forward, they of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, changed their league of ten yeares, into a perpetuall alliance, and so passed it by authenticall Letters. The Switzers tooke theyr name of **Eydgnossen** (which signifieth partakers in swearing, or conioyned together by one and the same oath) by this alliance. At this time, among strangers, they are called Lords of Leagues, and Switzers, by reason of the Village or Canton of Suits. It may be, because they fought in that quarter, for the maintenance of their libertie: or in regard of their long warre

A League of perpetuall Alliance betweene the 3. Cantons.

Eydgnossen.

warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vniust, as some (to their great shame, haue falsely accused vs.

The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betweene the three Cantons.

Taken foorth of the true Originall coppy.

IN the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: It is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquility, profite, and honour of men, shold be couched and published by writings, and authenticall instruments. So then We of Vri, Suites, *&* Vnderuald, *giue all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & prouiding for difficult and queazie times, and for our more commodious enioying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conserue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworne each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, councell, and ayd one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods, to Vs or Ours, in any manner whatsoeuer.*

A careful and Christian confideration in any Common wealth.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendshippe or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaired. Moreouer, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receyue any man as Lord and Commander, without the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their naturall Lords and Maisters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruices iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoeuer) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Maisters they shall do no seruice, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue couenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shal minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a straunger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons shalbe without a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infrindge any thing, or point of that which is contained in these Presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyall and periured person, and his body and goodes confiscate to the Cantons.

A losing League, wher a particular iniury extendeth it selfe in generall.

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, or communication with him.

MOREOVER, WE *haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any Iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Countrey. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to bee of most honesty and wisedome, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by louing composition, or censure of right. If the one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, That the debate may bee ended, either by amity or iudiciall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.*

A worthy example for all Commonweales to imitate.

If any suite or warre shall arise betweene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Canton shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it, either to end the contention by a louing composition or by iudiciall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne fellowes, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Iudges likewise auouchit by their sentence, that he did it vpon vrgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he flye for the fact, whosoeuer of our Countries shall receiue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetually, except by common consent of the Confederates

Of strife betweene two Cantons, what the third is to do to appease the contention: And also if one man kill another.

federates he can win grace.

For such as shall fire eyther houses or goods in the Cantons.

If any of the Confederates either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall fire any house or goods of some other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countries; and whosoeuer lodgeth or maintaineth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a pawne or gage, except it be of his debter, or one vnable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Iudge. That euery man shall be obedient vnto his Iudge, and make publike declaration, which Iudge (of our Countries) hee will accept, to vndergoe iudgement before him. Whosoeuer refuseth to obey the sentence giuen, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was deliuered.

For such as refuse the sentence giuen by the Iudge.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuiolable and perpetuall: WE subnamed Citizens & Allies of Vri, Suites, *and* Vnderuald, *haue put our Seales to these presents, at* Brunen, *in the yeare of our Sauiour Iesus Christ,* 1315. *being the morrow after the day of S. Nicholas.*

The liberties and alliances of the Switzers, confirmed by the Emp. Lewes.

These Cantons hauing conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor *Lewes*, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the yeare, held a day imperiall at *Nurenberg*, where the Princes of *Austria* were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in *Suisse*, confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were giuen in the campe at *Merride*, the 23. day of March, in the yeare 1316. & the second yeere of the Emperor *Lewes*. The same Emperor, about the yeare 1323. established as Gouernour in these three Cantons, *Iohn*, Count of *Arberg*, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperour *Lewes*) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The power & authoritie of the Gouernor granted, at his entrance into his rule ouer the Cantons.

The Gouernor promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish (to preiudice (in any maner whatsoeuer) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of *Austria*, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countries of the Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countries, and that their Iudges should not be taken from any place else, but meerly from among themselues. And because the Gouernours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperor, and prohibited (vnder greeuous penalties) from diminishing in any manner whatsoeuer, the liberties graunted to the Cantons. The Letters Patents which contained these articles, were giuen at *Pauia* in the yeare 1329. and on the day of S. *Iohn Baptist*. The Emperors that succeeded *Lewes*, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Gouernours (for their countries) among themselues but in the Emperors name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

Gouernours chosen among themselues.

They of *Austria* hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath beene declared, grew to truce, not because theyr forces were wholly weakned: but in regard that they were impeached in war against the Emperor *Lewes*, so that they could not deale with so many matters all at a time. In the meane while (neuertheless) some incursions and losses were made in *Suisse* on either side. It came to passe, that they of *Wesen* and their neighbours, which liued below the gouernment of *Glaris*, and in diuers kinds molested them of *Suites*: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of Suits: first by the bishop of *Constance*, & afterward by the Pope. *Fredericke* of *Austria*, who termed himselfe to bee Emperor, likewise banished them: but the Emperor *Lewes* tooke away the curse, and by his commandement, *Peter*, Archbishop of *Mayence*, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of Suits that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to bee serued against them.

It is the Nature of tirants themselues being disquieted, to permit the people not to liue in peace.

The Emperor contradicteth the curse of the Bishop & Pope.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of *Austria* drew into league with them, *Hermin* & *Ewrad*, Counts of *Kybourg*, and Lordes of *Dun*: this happened in the yeare, 1317. By the meanes

meanes of theſe Earles, they procured ſuch an hindrance, that the men of *Interlach* could ſend no victuals to *Vnderuald*. In the yeere one thouſand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, Lord of *Raſperwill*, and heyre to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themſelues with him, againſt the Cantons, becauſe his Landes neighboured to the *Canton* of *Suites*, and lay aptly to cut off all releeſe, and rayſe warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Werdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance alſo with *Leopold* of *Auſtria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperour *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and depriued of the Empire by the Pope. By theſe meanes, great diuiſions fell in the empire, ſome depending on the Popes decree; others mocking it, and cleauing to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperor.

The cunning proceeding of them of Auſtria againſt the Cantons.

The Emperor excommunicated and depriued by the Pope.

In theſe troubles, the Cantons maintained themſelues carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereto alſo, many Townes of *Suiſſe* conformed themſelues. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and ſome others followed the part of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*: yet notwithſtanding, he being priſoner, and hauing renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre againſt *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* ioyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their onely true Emperor. In the yeare 1327. the *Cantons* made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that ſtood faſt for *Lewes*, to wit, *Mayence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Straſbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Conſtance*, *Lindaw* and *Vberlingen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themſelues. But fiue hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three *Cantons*. In few words, I will tell you the occaſion, after I haue firſt declared ſomwhat, concerning the beginning and eſtate of the ſaid City, before it becam allied with the *Cantons*.

The Cantons ioyn with the Cities that held for Lewes the true Emperor.

Lucerne ioyned to the 3. Cantons.

CHAP. III.

Of the Originall eſtate of Lucerna, before it leagued it ſelfe with the Cantons.

THe city of *Lucerna* is ſeated on the riuer *Ruſſe*, which iſſueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may paſſe to the three *Cantons*. Alſo, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The ſcituation is commodious, becauſe this is the way, to trauell by the mountain of Saint *Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are tranſported ouer the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beaſts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of Italy deſcend by the Lake and Riuer of *Ruſſe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean ſea.

A deſcription concerning the ſituation of the City of Lucerna.

It is not certainly knowne, neyther at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one ſaith well, that on each ſide of the Riuer there is a caſtle (which are houſes nowe inhabited by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemains* or *Germaines*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote ſome ſmall hiſtory of *Suiſſe* or *Swetia*, referring theſe matters to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and thinketh that thoſe caſtles ſerued as a retreate for robbers and theeues: he abuſeth his own iudgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul* of *Habſpourg* (and no ſooner) they of *Auſtria* began to commaund in theſe quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Auſtria* fell to the houſe of *Habſpourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would euer endure, that theeues ſhould make vſe of a paſſage ſo commodious, for trauelling from *Suiſſe* into Italy.

The time when and by whom Lucerna was built, is vncertaine.

At what time they of Auſtria began their rule ouer the Cantons.

It ſeemeth, that *Lucerna* was ſo named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly euery night is there aduanced, and bright lights clearly ſhining therein, for benefite of

How Lucerne became to be ſo named.

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower, which (at this day) standeth aloft on the bridge (as in like maner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellemberg*) serued for that purpose. Our graue ancients & forefathers, termed euery such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth; that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the Annales of *Lucerna* do declare, that the Lucernians (hauing serued *Charlemaigne* in a warre against the Sarazins) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vse of Cornets, wherewith they did both summon the battrailes and retreats, euen as they doe nowe at this present time.

The Charter of Guichard the priest, out of the Annals of Lucerna.

Be it howsoeuer, anciently, the Cannons of the colledge of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of Germany. This colledge was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Ruperte*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theodorick*, who died in the yeare seuen hundered, & founded also the colledge of Cannons at *Zurich*. The colledge of *Lucerna* fell to the Abbot of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *Pepin*. The same Abbot was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the Emperor *Albert* of *Austria*: who hauing resolued to establish a new kinde of principality in *Swetia*, as already wee haue told you; bought *Lucern* of the Abbot of *Murbach*, by giuing him foure villages in *Alsatia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand Markes of money, as it is affirmed.

The colledge of Lucerna, founded by Guichard the Priest, & what Donations were thereto annexed.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside, so long as the Abbots were Lords thereof; and yet they held no soueraigne iurisdiction: for, the cittizens were the greatnes of the citty, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The Prince of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conserue their priuiledges inuiolably, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord, as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* proued to gripe and oppresse the Lucernians, who were constrained (to their great

The priuiledges of Lucerna while Abbots ruled.

disaduantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselues to make incursions on the Cantons, and maintained a garrison in their cities at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cõfirmeth what hath bin said: for there it was, where the Lucernians planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incursions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Trafficke ceased, the fields were forraged, and many times the Lucernians fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreouer, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Otho*, Captaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the Emperor *Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselues had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on scedules, to Captaines of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and mony vtterly lost.

The Tower of Sbourg.

Otho, captain of Colmar, leader to the of Lucerna.

Being thus tyred and harried so many seuerall waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the Cantons. But perceiuing they trauailed all this while in vaine, themselues (in the end) accorded with the Cantons, leauing (neuertheless) the rights of the house of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many cittizens, seruants, and pentioners to Gentlemen, by whom they benefited & inriched themselues. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three Cantons, and that in so doing, they wold estrange themselues from the Austrians. And therefore they conspired together, to oppresse them that had counceld the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied with som other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league; the substance whereof was this, That at a certaine houre of the night, they of the citty should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seazure of the Cittie. Afterwardes, hauing ioyned their

The men of Lucerna, at the refusall of their Lord, made peace with their enemies.

The first conjuration against the mẽ of Lucerna.

Faire promises cost nothing to oppressors of the people.

The proiect and intention of the Conſpiracie.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would puniſh the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garriſon in the city, to the end, that afterward no ſuch matter might be againe attempted.

The care and prouidence of the Citizens in a time of vrgent neceſsity.

But the Cittizens being aduertiſed, of the traines and ambuſhes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themſelues into armes, placed good guards at the gates, & prouided ſo ſurely for their ſafety, that ſuch as tooke part with the houſe of *Auſtria*, durſt not bee ſeene any way to ſtirre. Then the Gouernour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) beeing come to the gates, they of the Citty (to whom he termed himſelfe a friend) gaue him entrance, and ſome ſmall number with him, ſuffered the reſt to ſtand without. Perceiuing that this cunning tricke tooke no ſuch ſucceſſe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force, becauſe he was the weaker; he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and ſome Citizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Auſtrians*, fearing to be puniſhed by the City, went away with him.

The league & Alliance made betweene them of Lucerna, & the 3. Cantons

This combination was the cauſe of haſtening the league between the *Lucermans* and the three Cantons; for, perceyuing the iniuries and ambuſhes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatned them: they thought it fit not to reiect the ſuccour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as ſent from heauen. So they became vnited together, on the Saturday before Saint *Martins* day, in the year one thouſand, three hundred, thirty two.

Extremity vrged againſt the Lucernians by them of Auſtria.

When the *Auſtrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garriſons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotenbourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by meanes whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians*: and if any aduentured farre from the City, they were either ſlaine, or taken priſoners, ſo that they were conſtrained to goe ſeeke for food with a maine army. The yeare enſuing, and the ſeuenteenth day of March, the Lucernians going with their troopes towards *Buchnaß* (which is a Caſtle, now called *Hertenſtein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramſwag*, Gouernour of *Rotenbourg*, for the houſe of *Auſtria*, layde an ambuſcado for them on the way, and ſlew about ſome foureſcore of them. The reſt that were ſcattered in the fieldes, and looking after pillage, aſſembled themſelues together, neere to *Buchnaß*, and charged the enemy ſo couragiouſly, that they enforced them to flight, hauing firſt loſt an hundred foote, and eighteene horſe.

The brttel giuen at Buchnaſſ, and what ſucceſſe enſued thereon.

The Gouernor of *Auſtria* well perceiuing, that ouuert power ſtood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his buſineſſe: vndertooke the firſt traine of ambuſcadoes, and priuate practiſes. There were then at *Lucerna*, many perſons that had beene penſioners to the houſe of *Auſtria*. This war was verie troubleſome to them, for they had loſt their penſions, and beſides, enioyed not the reuennewes of their owne inheritances; which (for the moſt part) lay on the lands of the *Auſtrians*. The Gouernour conferred with them, and becauſe they were of the very worthieſt houſes in the Citty, and the cheefeſt of them: he aduiſed them to perſwade the Citizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cãtons, and render themſelues again to the houſe of *Auſtria*. He ſhewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & ſo neere a neighbour, then by the three Cantons, who (in the paſſed Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

The ſecond coniuration againſt the men of Lucerna.

And foraſmuch as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne, and the fields about it, were greatly iniuried by impetuous and extraordinarie raines: the Gouernor made vſe of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God puniſhed them by ſuch a means, becauſe they rebelled againſt their lawfull Prince. But becauſe theſe coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee moue the people with all his goodly perſwaſions; he would compaſſe his intention by another ſtratageme, and complotted with cloſe confederates, to maſſacre the Authors and conſeruators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters ſigned and ſealed. And, becauſe they might be known one to another, each of the Conſpirators did weare red ſleeues, which onely was their noted marke. Whereupon grew the Pro-

When the fox is preaching, let the Geese beware.

A maſſacre plotted againſt the Lucernians.

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uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*; *Beware the band of Red ſleeues*, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red ſleeues band.

The feaſt day of S. Peter & S. Paule, appointed to be the maſſacre day, and in what manner it was to bee done.

The number of the conſpirators encreaſed, and then they aſſigned the day for the maſſacre, which was the laſt day of Iune, being the Feaſt day of S. *Peter* & S. *Paul*, Apoſtles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike houſe of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night ſhould ceaſe to walke the round in that quarter: Alſo, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Auſtria*, muſt haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conſpiratours, who (purpoſely) ſhould open the gates. But God (by his gracious prouidence) diſcouered theſe bloody conſultations, the very ſame night as the maſſacre was to bee executed. For, as the conſpirers met in Armes at the place appointed, a yong man, paſsing accidentally by, vvithout dreaming or thinking on any ſuch matter, diſcouered the buſineſſe, and vnderſtood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by meanes whereof, he ſoftly ſlipt away, hying ſpeedily to the butchery or Shambles, where perceiuing by the lighted candles and noiſe he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongeſt them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

The bloodie intention happily diſcouered, euen whē it was to bee performed.

Forthwith they ran to the Gouernor, and acquainted him with the compact, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themſelues, and good Guards alſo ſent to the gates: moreouer, they ruſhed in ſodainly vpon the conſpirators, and tooke them priſoners, before they could giue entrance to ſuch ſupply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Auſtria*, from attempting any thing by manifeſt force, or violence againſt the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the ſame night they ſent (in poſte) for ſuccour vnto the three Cantons, who alſo ſent them three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy ſupply was thus come to thē, they conſulted then togither, concerning puniſhment to bee inflicted on the conſpirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and ſuch other guilty perſons, who had eſcaped out of the tumult, by fauour of the nights extreame darkeneſſe, vvere likewiſe apprehended and impriſoned, as was moſt conuenient.

The conſpirators taken and impriſoned ſodainly.

Punishment to be inflicted on the offenders.

Now, in regard that the number of the conſpirators was great; and, many among thē of the principall houſes, vvhich had ſtore of kindred and friends in the city. At requeſt of the three Cantons, their liues were ſaued, and they puniſhed by the purſe, after they had ſolemnly ſworne neuer to attempt any thing more againſt the ſtate of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Heereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, wherby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any aſſemblies or clandeſtine meetings in any place, nor to bind themſelues one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they ſhould leaue twice as much in the hands of the Seigneury.

Grace and fauour done vndeſeruedly to the offenders.

A law againſt conuenticles and cloſe meetings.

At this time, they of *Auſtria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Iewes*, to whom alſo, a great accuſation was made of the three Cantons & the Lucernians. Who (contrarywiſe) well excuſed themſelues, and ſhewed, that they were allied vppon plenty of good reaſons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperour gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, and *Baſile*, who were then allyed to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and friends alſo to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had aſsiſted them in a Warre againſt the *Griſons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Auſtrians*.

Complaint made to the Emp. againſt the three Cātons and Lucernians.

VVherefore, in the yeare, one thouſand three hundred thirty foure, by entermiſe of their Ambaſſadors, truce vvas taken for two yeares and an half, on theſe conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* ſhould not be conſtrained to pay the moneyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the Lucernians by the Captaines. That they might make vſe and ſeruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zofinge*, forged in their Cittie: rendering obedience and honor done to the Dukes.

Conditions of truce betweene the Auſtrians and the Cantons agreed vpon.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in abſolute integrity. and the *Cantons* not to hinder the D. of *Auſtria* from inioying the goods and reuennews which they helde in the countries of the

 ſaid can-

Cantons. The Emperour was to depute the Commiſſaries, for hearing the differences of the Dukes with the Cantons, at any time whatſoeuer.

The truce further prolonged betweene them.

Afterward, the truce was further prolonged, and although the peace was ſcarſely well aſſured, but was ſometimes broken: yet they of *Auſtria* made no more open warre vpon the confederates. Vntill after ſuch time as they of Zurich wrung themſelues into the alliance, in the yeare, 1351. Then *Glaris* and *Zug* came in the yeare following, and *Berne* the yeare after that: Concerning the eſtate and alliance of theſe Cantons, we come to diſcourſe more at large.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Originall, condition, and eſtate of Zurich, *before it leagued in with the amity of the Cantons.*

Concerning the antiquitie of Zurich, and when it was builded.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that Zurich is one of the moſt ancient Citties of *Swetia*. The Annals of the country doe declare, that it was builded ſixeteene yeares after the cittie of *Treues* or *Treuris*. *Marianus Scotus* ſaieth in his Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, ſon to *Ninus*, builded the city of *Treues*, in the time of the Patriarch *Abraham*. The Romane hiſtories make honourable mention of the

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The Tigurins are the people of Zurich, and were conqueted by Iulius Cæſar.

Tigurines, who are they of Zurich, becauſe they were preſent in the war of the *Cimbrians* againſt the Romans, and ouerthrew the Conſull *Caſſius*. Afterwards, when *Iulius Cæſar* came to the conqueſt of the Gaules, they were vanquiſhed and ruined by him. After that time, to the inuaſion which the *Allemaines* or *Germaines* made: *Zurich* was ſubiect to the Romane Empire, then fell into the handes of the Kings of *France*; and laſtly, came to the Germane Empire, which beareth y name and ſhadow of the Romane empire.

Two Colleigiall Churches in Zurich, and a caſtle on the riuer of Limagus.

There are in Zurich two Colledgiall churches; one of men, the other of Women founded by the Kings of *France*. In ancient times, theſe colledges were (wellneere) Lords & commanders of the citie. There was alſo (heretofore) a caſtle, builded vpon a little hill, nere to the Riuer of *Limagus*, where the Gouernours (eſtabliſhed by the Kings of *France*) kepte theyr abiding, who were Prouoſts of the city, & of thoſe colledges. Afterward, vnder the Germane Emperors, thoſe Prouoſtes ſtill continued, but they dwelt not in the caſtle: becauſe the gouernment was willingly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles, ſince thoſe times, there grew in the city a councell of ſixe and thirty men, twelue whereof gouerned for the ſpace of foure moneths. The commonwealth was ſo ordered in the yeare, 1100. and continued in that eſtate till the yeare, 1336. and then it fell to changing, in manner as heereafter we ſhall declare.

A Councel of 36. men, to gouern by ſeuerall turnes.

The beginning of the city of Zurich, and in what manner it proceeded.

From ſuch time as the city beganne to throwe off the yoake of the Colledgiall churches, it began alſo to conſider on hir owne freedome, and how it might beſt receiue increaſing. For, amongſt the diſſentions of the Emperors and Popes, the men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors, and followed *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, *Fredericke* the ſecond, and *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who augmented theyr liberties and franchiſes, eſpecially *Fredericke* the ſecond. For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the laſt Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouoſt of the Colledges, and alſo of the Citie of Zurich: he receiued the cittizens into protection of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218. Then afterward, he tooke many priuiledges from the Colledgiall churches. Amongſt other, the right of electing the councell, and graunted it to the citizens, ordaining, that it ſhould neuer bee lawfull to alienate *zurich* from the Empyre. Alſo, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Cittizens made the ditches and walles about the City.

Zurich not to be alienated from the Empire.

It came to paſſe, that they requeſted the Prieſts w were citizens of the Cittie, to furniſh their part of charge towardes theſe

these fortifications, and commaded them moreouer, to rid their houses of some women ill reported of: which offended them in such sort, as they withdrewe themselues from the Citizens. But this difference was appeased by the byshop of *Constance*. Some few yeares after, the Pope excommunicated them of Zurich, because they tooke part with the Emperor *Frederick*. At the same time, they ruinated (by permission of the Emperor) the old Castle, fearing least some (enemies to their liberties) should get possession therof. At this day it is a very pleasant place, beautified with Linden and other fayre trees planted there. And because the City stood excommunicated, and (by consequence) exposed to the violence of any man: many Gentlemen round about, much molested the Citizens, so that the trafficke of silkes, being very great before in that place, was from thence transported to *Come*.

The Pope excommunicated them of Zurich.

In the yeare, 1351. they of Zurich did take their first alliance with the Cantons of *Vri* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you haue already seene. Some few yeares after the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew *Conradine* laboured to subiect them of Zurich, to the Dukes of *Suaba*: vnder the pretence and colour, that they had long time bin Prouostes and Gouernors thereof. The Cittizens maintained theyr liberty very firme and strongly, which caused *Conradine* to worke so with the Emperor *Conrad*, that Zurich stood proscribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of England, king of the Romanes, tooke away the proscription, and by Imperiall Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of the Cittizens. In those Letters, amongst other matters, these words following are contained.

The first alliance of Zurich with the Cantons of Vri and Suits.

A true Coppy of the fauor done by Richard of England, K. of the Romanes, to them of Zurich.

BY faithfull report, which is come to our serenity, we haue vnderstood, that Conradine, Sonne to the late King Conrad, *who named himselfe D. of* Suaba; *not contented with this fault, in vainely vsurping the honor appertaining to another, without hauing any right or power so to do: hath published a sentence of banishment, against our Citizens of Zurich (as if they were subiects to that Dutchy) planted in the especiall bosome of Vs and our Empire, & not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but immediately to the Empire, according as frō antiquitie hath beene established, and is now approued in our time, &c. Giuen at Haguenaw, the xx. day of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixty two. And of our reigne the sixt.*

These Letters do render an ample testimony, of the liberty belonging vnto them of Zurich: notwithstanding, they tooke no great effect then, because such as succeeded in the Empire after *Fredericke* the second, to *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, held no great credit, so that (by manie) they are not numbred among the Emperors, but all this interuall or respite of time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*, wherein the most part of al the variances were decided by the sword, rather then by iustice and law, and the stronger trampled the weaker vnder their feet. Aboue all, the Gentlemen that had anie means, did nothing else but machinate against the liberties of those Cities that were their neighbors. All the wayes were couered with theeues, & (in briefe) this License wrought a meere confusion among the most wicked and desperate, mouing them to attempt and execute euen whatsoeuer themselues pleased.

How and at what time the people of Zurich lost theyr liberty.

Heereuppon, they of Zurich, desiring to conserue their liberty, and maintaine themselues in peace: sent an honorable Ambassage to the Lord of *Regenspourg*, entreating him to be their Gouernour and Captaine, vntill the election of a newe Emperor, and (for that effect) offered him honest and sufficient gages. The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zurich, a rich and powerfull Lorde in those times. Hee proudly reiected the honour which the men of Zurich did him, and made them answere in this manner. If the Citizens would obey al his commandements, and subiect the Cittie to him: hee was readie to take them into his protection, and would be their benign Lord. But if they refused his offer, they should

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despight of them: because their Citty was ingirt and inuelloped with his castles, as Fish within a Weele, or water Leape.

The strong places of the Lord of Regenspourg, neere to Zurich, and his potent Confederates.

This vauntery of the Lord of *Regenspourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the cittie: as *Wrtpia* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halfe from the cittie; *Glanzembourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the riuer of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the cittie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sunne-setting, two castles, to wit, *Vltiberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their scituation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regenspourg*, not aboue fiue miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Earles were Leagued with him; among other, the Count of *Rybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorff*, the Count of *Rasperwill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eschenbach*, of *Riggenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balme*, of *Hombourg*, of *Warts*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing beene so ignominiously refused: addressed themselues to *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regenspourg*; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Vtznaberg*, *Wrtpia*, *Vtliberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzembourg*, molesting *Regenspourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred, sixtie sixe, and the yeares following.

Pride & scorn full contempt very iustly scourged and rewarded.

Raoul of Habspourg King of the Romanes, and a friend to them of Zurich.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred, seuenty three, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, was created king of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Cittizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant souldiers. In the warre of *Bohemia*, he had two hundred, which he placed betweene the Ensignes in the first ranke: exhorting the others souldiours to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made proofe of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of Zurich, gaue them diuers priuiledges: and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

The standard of Zurich carried away by the enemy, at the battaile of Winterberg.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar sort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of theyr ignominy. But there are many thinges yeelding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meerly black. And afterward, when *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgongne*; they of Zurich would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of theyr Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, fiue hundred and twelue, when Pope *Iulius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of Zurich would not alter any thing whatsoeuer in theyr Ensigne, no, not so much as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had beene any notes of infamy.

The constancy of the Switzers, for their ensignes of Armes.

Moreouer, *Iohn* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of Zurich wer conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words: *He crowned the Standard of Zurich with great action of graces.* The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Reigenspourg*, *Iaques Mulner*, a cittizen of Zurich, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, who was cast from his horse: and hauing remounted him vpon his own, brought him forth of the preasse safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of Zurich. This they auouch, because *Carion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the cittie of Zurich, accusing it of sedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

Iaques Mulner, a worthie Citizen of Zurich, and his honorable acte.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, they of Zurich maintayned the part of *Adolph*, and so did the Abbot of S. *Gall*, and

The estate of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Hab spourg.

and the byshop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of Zurich might ioyn themselues with the other: they assayled the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert* of *Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensigne belonging to the Byshop of *Constance*, to be carried before him: by this cunning stratageme, the men of Zurich were ouerthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of Zurich. But *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, beeing informed by his people, that the greater part of them of Zurich, were slaine at *Winterduer*; which caused him to come and besiedge Zurich, which hee imagined to bee quite emptie of any defensiue men.

The Lorde of Werdenberg, his cunning stratagem, against them of Zurich.

A policike stratagem performed by them of Zurich, against Albert Duc of Austria.

The Citizens made a muster of theyr men (apt for armes) in the Citty, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Castle stood; and that the Duke of *Austriaes* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and theyr children of biggest stature: which made the enemy to imagine, that there vvere great store of warlike people within the Citty. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that cittie; that the cittizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselues faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruiceable friendes, then to beleeue false rumors spred abroad by their il-willers, considering withall, that they vvere ready to giue him satisfaction.

Peace concluded betweene K. Albert, & the men of Zurich.

Albert answered the Ambassadors very kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*; where the peace was confirmed betweene him and them of Zurich: vppon condition, that they should acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperor. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*, and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him: the cittizens of Zurich kept themselues stil faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of Zurich were slaine in the field, as hath alreadie beene declared. Moreouer, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewes*, Prince of *Bauaria*; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of Zurich helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

Worthy seruices done by the of Zurich.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, whereat, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewes* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment, Namely, *Zurich*, *Schaffouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neuburg* on the *Rheine*. But they of Zurich, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they vvere so incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no meanes) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperor; and then, although he loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke*: yet notwithstanding hee lefte them to their owne liberties, and insted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewes* greatly affected, because they had alwayes beene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of Zurich was a louing & frendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times. Beside, they of Zurich promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who was then their only lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly beene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians*: for,

Zurich, a louing friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes* of *Bauaria*. By which means *Zurich* fell off againe from friendshippe with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eighteene years, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the Romane Church) vsed in *Zurich*. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion; others were expelled by the Bourgesses, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Cordeliers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie of Zurich excommunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18. yeares.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, seruants vnto that house, much molested the Cittizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1333. they of *Zurich*, with the men of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, and *Berne*, besiedged and took a castle on the *Rheine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Geroltzegh*, and ruinated it, because it was one of the retreats for theeues. The yeare following, the men of *Zurich* ruined many castles, to wit, *Fryenstein*, on the riuer of *Tose*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenenwert*, on the *Limagus*, about three miles from *Zurich* and *Schlatte*, neere to *Esgow*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of *Zurich*.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rheine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The next yeare insuing, the Gouernement of the Common-wealth of *Zurich* was changed; which prooued to bee the cause of great garboiles, and the principall occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Swetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwelth was gouerned by 36. men, and in such sort, as twelue commaunded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demaund an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Cittie in in no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselues to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by seuerall nomination.

The Gouernment of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of 12. men.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealth by his Letters Patents, and the succeeding Emperours also approued the same. They that had withdrawne themselues from the Citie, yeelding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in seuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heereto also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neyther they, nor any of their children, shold euer be admitted into Councell. The ancient men and councellors, beeing affraide of a iudgement so seuere, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Cittie. This departure of theyrs was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them were condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselues before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

Election of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperor Lewes, &c.

Old Councellors doubtfull of their owne honesties.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, scituated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from *Zurich*, named *Rasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *Iohn*, of the House of *Habspourg*. Three years before, he had made request to them of *Zurich*, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them, vnder certaine conditions; for securitie vvhereof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus commodiously lodged & fortified, began to ac-

How, and in what place the banished men bestowed themselues

accuſe them of *Zurich*, pretending to haue ſuffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Conſull and new councell, and to make attempts againſt the Citie, vſing (to this effect) the helpe of ſome of their friends, that remained ſtill in *Zurich*. Some of them being diſcouered by the councell, were puniſhed: others fled away ſecretly, and ioyned with the baniſhed men. And becauſe theſe baniſhed men had falſified their ſolemne promiſes: they were baniſhed perpetually by the Senate, eſpecially they that ſtood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

The baniſhed men conſpire againſt them of Zurich, & are baniſhed for euer.

Warre raiſed by them of Zurich againſt the baniſhed men.

Now, becauſe the citizens of *Zurich* ſtood in ſlender ſecurity, either for themſelues or their goods, ſince thoſe baniſhed men were excluded the city: diuers times they admoniſhed the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourges, ought not to continue his fauour to the baniſhed men, but rather to withdraw al helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuied another Army, and went and beſiedged *Raſperwill*, the retire and refuge of the baniſhed men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, becauſe the baniſhed men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themſelues valiantly, which made the other to raiſe their ſiedg. Glady therefore they quitted the place, & ſo much the rather, becauſe the Count of *Habſpourg*, protector of the baniſhed, and whom moſt eſpecially they ſought for; was not at *Raſperwill*, but in a Caſtle called *Grinow*, which is at the head of *Zurich* Lake. They diſcamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, beeing conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuerſie with the other, concerning the caſtle of *Grinow*.

The baniſhed proued too ſtrong for them of Zurich, in warre raiſed againſt them.

The Count of *Habſpourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Buchberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of *zurich*, who landed ſuddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leyſure to bee raunged in order of battaile, put all in rout and diſorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confuſion they loſt not many mē, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken priſoner. But after that al their troops were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and deſirous to wipe off the ſhame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on ſhore againe, bauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that the Count of *Habſpourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were ſlaine in the field: moreouer, they carried away in their Boates a mighty boory, & ſixe Enſignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Raſperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuaied on Land, ſo ſoone as he had beene taken priſoner in the firſt encounter.

The ſucceſſe of the men of Zurich, gainſt the Count of Habſpourg at Buchberg.

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the ſame yeare, the Emperor *Lewes*, and *Albert* of *Auſtria*, ſecond of that name, ſurnamed the Cripple, made peace betweene *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, Sonne to the deceaſed Count; the baniſhed men of *Zurich*, and the Conſull and Citizens of the City, vpon theſe conditions following. That the baniſhed men ſhould pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the ſumme of ſixe hundred markes of money: remaining ſtill out of *Zurich* fiue years, during which time, they ſhold not come neare the citty, by the ſpace of two miles; which beeing expired, they ſhould againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperor conceiued, that this new gouernment in the ſtate, would highly ſtrengthen it in theſe fiue years: for there was appearance of great danger, that if the ancient Councellors were re-eſtabliſhed, alterations would enſue in many matters, & nothing elſe pleaſe them, but the old form of rule, as many of their friends and partakers earneſtly deſired.

Peace newly confirmed betweene the men of Zurich, & them that were baniſhed, vpon diuers conditions.

This peace laſted not long, for the baniſhed men (fauoured by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promiſes: but moleſted the citizens, and conſpired daily ſomething or other againſt the city. In regard whereof, by permiſſion of the Emperour, the houſes, and al the goods which the baniſhed had in the city, were confiſcated. Notwithſtanding, the yeare following, by the intermiſe of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, firſt of that name, and after the death of her Father, remai-

The peace broken againe betweene the baniſhed men and they of Zurich, yet afterward renewed.

remained in *Swetia* the moſt part of her time) of *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, and ſome other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the baniſhed, and the citizens of *Zurich*: yet this was no firmer, or dured any longer then the former. For although the baniſhed promiſed faithfully, that they would ſtand to the councell of *Zurichs* ſentence, and pay the fines wherin they were condemned; yet would they not make any ſatisfaction at all.

Peace once more renewed, & broken againe the ſecond time.

Many of the houſe of *Habſpourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *Iohn*, whom they of *Zurich* ſlew in the battaile at *Grinow*) aſſembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democritall gouernment, as being too popular in their opinion: fauoured the baniſhed, and prouoked them ſtill on againſt them of *Zurich*. And they on the other ſide, for their better maintenance, firſt of all burned two Caſtles: one neere to the *Toſe*, appertaining to the Lords of *Landberg*, Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schowenberg*, on an high hill aboue *Elgow*, becauſe theſe places did much iniure them. And to fortifie themſelues yet ſtronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Conſtance* and S. *Gall*. Alſo, becauſe ſome differences remained to be appeaſed with them of *Schaffouze*, and war might be moued from thē: they yeelded willingly (by intermiſſion of Ambaſſadors to ſome other cities) & in ſhort time after, comprehended them of *Schaffouze* in alliance with the cities of *Conſtance* and S. *Gall*. At the ſame time, they allied themſelues alſo with the Biſhop and city of *Baſile*. Afterward they receiued into the number of their Bourgeſſes, many houſes of the Rhodes, or of S. Iohn of Ieruſalem: to be ſupplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of Knights of S. *Iohn*.

Meanes deuiſed and vndertaken, to reſiſt enemies and maintain their liberties.

Schaffouze, Conſtance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

Theſe puiſſant cities and people round about, being leagued with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the eſtate of the city remained more peaceable, and it ſeemed, that the baniſhed had loſt all hope of euer enioying the city by power. But in this ſleeping time, they conſpired very ſecretly, to make themſelues Maſters thereof by treaſon. Count *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, Son to him that was ſlaine on the day at *Grinow*, as already we haue ſhewn, was ioyned with them; vpon condition, that he ſhould re-eſtabliſh the baniſhed men, in poſſeſſion of their goods in the country, and that they ſhould diſingage the lands of the Count, morgaged for debts to his creditors. With them ioyned the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Landberg* (who ſome yeares before, had beene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all ſeemed to be laide aſleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Marzing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pentioners and vaſſails to the Count of *Habſpourg*, whō they gladly endeuored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the baniſhed, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, ſome wherof were well acquainted with al the conſpiracy, and others alſo that would ioyne with them, if the firſt attempt ſucceeded well. A further hope alſo was conceiued, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but ſee the ancient councellors, namely, ſuch as were greatly indebted, and could ſubſiſt by no other meanes. Such likewiſe, as in this alteration of the ſtate, wer not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were vnworthy to be ſeene of others, aduanced and preferred before them. Then again, ſome others, who were weary of the eſtate in her preſent condition, deſiring nothing more then nouelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many ſuch kinde of people. The reſolution of the conſpirators was, to make vſe of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the ſtreetes of *Zurich*, and to force the houſes of *Raoul le Brun*, Conſull alſo of all the new Councellors, and the reſt of their enemies, to maſſacre them, ſeize the citty, make themſelues Lords therof, and take away the liberties of the cittizens.

Loue of goods and greedy deſire of reuenge, are the onely Councellers of this conſpiracy.

Other reaſons inducing hope of mens partaken in the treaſon.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the yeat 1350. *Peregrin Landberg*, Count of *Habſpourg*, many Gentlemē, and ſome of the baniſhed with them, came vnto *Zurich*. The fame ranne through the Citty, that they came to preſent a requeſt to the Councell, in behalfe of the baniſhed. At the ſame time, diuers armed

A new conſpiration of the baniſhed men againſt them of Zurich & the City.

Preparation to execute & performe the conſpiration by cunning pretences.

armed men had secretly slipt into the city, and hid themselues in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoeuer their Masters should command them. Moreouer, there wer sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the citty: to rush on by impetuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to helpe or releeue it.

Treacherie by water, as well as by land.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, vpon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discouered: more by the prouidence of God, then any councell or industry of men. For God (vndoubtedly) preserued this city, to be (very soone after) the first, for conseruing the *Switzers* liberties, as also, for the retreate of his church.

The admirable prouidece of God in the conseruation of Zurich.

The chiefe men of this coniuration, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the houre of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A seruant of the house, who neuer had knowledge of this enterprize, being layd vpon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, obserued their words very carefully, yet snored as if hee had bene in a sound sleepe. So soone as he could conueniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoul le Brun*, who was Consull then, reuealing to him at full, what danger hung ouer the head of him, the whole councel, and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies shold be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

In what manner the treason was discouered by a seruant of the house where the conspirators met together.

The Consull hauing heard the seruants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and comming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A seruant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, hauing not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

Care and prouidence of the Consull *Raoul le Brun* with an vnfortune of the citty.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seigneury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted maner, to signifie the comming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-house to be round enuirt with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-house, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himselfe) cryed out aloud on the top of the Town-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies.* Now the Riuer named *Limagus*, or *Limmatus*, diuided the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioyned together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast, nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this meanes, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioyned neere to the Towne-house.

The watch-bell reports the enemies being in the City, & summoneth the Citizens together.

Honest care makes vse of any the least meanes of helpe.

There is a place of indifferent greatnesse, at the entrance to the said Bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from fourth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other cittizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their best helpe. The Butchers were the formost men in the fight; for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being builded neere to the Riuer) killing Oxen and other cattell: Hauing heard the noise and out-cryes of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardinesse; the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brasse, which

Citizens fight for liberty against an vniust inuasion of deadly enemies.

which (as yet) they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the citty. They were moued to vndertake Armes, by these meanes following.

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward cowards.

The Count of *Toggenbourg*, beeing with-drawne into a house of one of the conspirators, and perceiuing the danger, fearing also his owne skin-coate; after he had a while consulted with his Host: determined to free himselfe from blowes, resoluing thus; that if matters fell out wel for his companions, he could easily come in againe among the troopes, and speake to them, as if he had bin alwayes in the crowd. But if it happened otherwise, he wold be sure to saue himselfe, & learne to meddle with better businesse. According to this conclusion, himselfe, his Host, and his seruant, well laden with money, got into a small Boate, belonging to a fisherman, named *Bax*, who should conduct them along the Riuer out of the city. But fearing lest this *Bax* should discouer their flight, the Count commanded his seruant, that so soone as they were out of the city, he should presently kill the fisherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reason of the nights darknesse) vnderstood their purpose and resolution concerning himselfe: wherein he wisely preuented them, by suffering the boat to tilt suddenly on the one side, and so they all three together fell into the Riuer.

Mischieuous and wicked councell, returnes many times to the ruine of the author & deuiser.

Making haste afterward home to his owne house, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; hee desired them to take Armes secretly, because the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how, nor what was their intent. Heereupon, they armed themselues presently, and hearing the Consull still crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whose helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themselues orderly in fight against the enemy. It is further said, that the Priests of the great church, being then singing Matins, and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themselues from the houses round about, and entred in among the thickest throngs, fighting valiantly for the freedome & safety of their country. It might so come to passe, that this year the Popes excommunication was first raised, and that after eighteene yeares were expired, the Priests entred into the city againe.

The safety & liberty of our Country, ought to be deare & precious to euery man.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their strength together, for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in so great a need, the enemies that were in the citty (constrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were slaine, and more then thirty seuen taken prisoners, among whom was the Count of *Habspourg*; others saued themselues by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzinge*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the slaine lay three whole daies on the pauement, exposed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery passenger.

Diuers of the conspirators ouercome and slaine.

An ignominious, yet deserued handling of such enemies.

On the morrow, seuenteene, the principall men in the coniuration, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheeles: eighteene were beheaded. The Count of *Habspourg*, *Huldrich*, Baron of *Bonstett*, and some other, remained prisoners. The Army of the Count of *Habspourg*, as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land, hearing this tumult in the citty, and seeing no man came that should open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, so that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre, which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them, for their easier escaping.

A shamefull kinde of death inflicted on some of them.

The Count arm-glaive runaway.

Matters being thus appeased at *Zurich*, to preuent any more new troubles in the city: the Consull brought an Army into the field, on the second day of March, & being seconded with supplies sent them by the men of *Schaffouze*; they went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the Fortresse & retreate of the conspirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the banished mangled in peeces, or made fugitiues and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of succour: on the third day of the siedge yeelded, and bound themselues sollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*, promising (for euer after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all such duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two ad-

He that thinketh to deprive a man of his liberty, many times (in the meane) loseth his own.

tan-

uantages. One was, that from thence forward, no pilling or rauage was more to be made of their country, as oftentimes before had bene, and that the city wold now safely be preserued from ambushes and treasons. The other, that the kindred and friends to the imprisoned Count, began to treate on peace: fearing to lose all the country about *Rasperwill*, because the Towne and the Count were taken.

Two aduantages for the of Zurich in their owne opinion for their best benefit.

Heereupon, the Queene of *Hungary* procured, that truce should be accorded for certaine moneths: but *Raoul* & *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, being summoned by them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared no affection thereto. Considering withall, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours, but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited them rather to make warre. So all hope of peace being quite cut off, the first day of September (the same yeare) they of *Zurich* conducted their Army towards the country of the *Marche*, situated at the beginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards the Sun-setting, then being in obedience to the Count of *Habspourg*. The cities of *Constance* and Saint *Gall*, sent succour to the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoylde & burnt all the country, they besiedged a Castle, called *Rasperwill* the olde, and followed it so closely; that the besiedged, hauing no more meanes of resistance, yeelded, & went away with their liues saued. The Castle was ruined downe to the ground, and they of the *March* promised fidelity and subiection to the commonwealth of *zurich*. This done, the Army went to a Towne, called *Rasperwill* the new. They brake downe the Bridge that ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Castle, and most part of the walles of the Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine) that *Albert* of *Austria* meant to come aid them of *Habspourg* with great forces: they set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholy, not leauing any iote thereof remaining.

Enemies to the liberty of the people, gaine nothing by the refusall of peace.

Another Army made out by them of Zurich, vpon denying the peace offered against the two Rasperwilles.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen, named the *Wadners* of *Sultz*, dwelling in *Alsatia*, declared warre against them of *zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling & outraging them by all manner of wayes. They of *Basile* and *Strasbourg* withdrew, & gaue supportance to these wars there. Vpon these indignities, they of *zurich* wer moued, to seize on about eight score and ten persons of *Basile* and *Strasbourg*, that were come on pilgrimage to the Chappell of the Hermitage. As essaying by this meanes, whether they of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, compassionating the imprisonment of their citizens: would expell from their countries those Gentlemen that were the cause of this disturbance. This fell out to proue but a very vaine hope, for these cities and their Bishops, offended with this vniust detention of their pilgrims; ioyned themselues with *Fredericke* of *Austria*, *Fribourg* in *Brisgow*, *Selestad*, *Brissac* and *Colmar*. Hauing vnited their forces together, they resolued to make warre on *zurich*, and redemand their prisoners by Armes. The men of *zurich*, finding themselues not strong enough, in regard of their precedent warres, seditions and losse of men, which had greatly impaired them in power: deliuered backe the prisoners, and so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

To auoid and put by a great danger, it is good to passe one of lesse power.

Now because they had suffered great outrages, and saw no likelihood of any better successe to ensue: they sent Ambassadors to *Charles* IV. to whom they made their businesse knowne. They told him, that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & within their citty) the Count of *Habspourg* their enemy, for maintaining their cause against him, they were molested and assaulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But that which most of all greeued them, was, to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Fredericke* of *Austria*, and other potent citties of the Empire. And because *zurich* was an Imperiall Citty also; they made their recourse to him, as being the sole head of the Empire. They humbly desired him, to lend them both aide and councell, and to take order by his power and authority, that (in succeeding times) the Princes of *Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Empire, nor any other Gentlemen might make warre against them, contrary to all right and reason. But rather to permit, that their citty might enioy her wonted liberty, in peace and quietnesse: considering, that they were ready (as they ought to be) to answer before the Emperor, to all whatsoeuer any man could obiect against them.

The men of Zurich demand succour of the Emperor, by sending their Ambassadors to him.

The Emperor hauing heard the complaint of them of *zurich*, answered the Ambassadors most humanely: that hee coueted nothing more, then to haue their liber-

The milde & honourable answer of the Emperor to the Ambassadours.

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeauor, to accord them with *Fredericke* of *Austria*, and his associates. But he could giue them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherfore, they of *Zurich* should deuise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The negotiation of the men of Zurich, with Albert of Austria.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Swetia*: they of *zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gaue kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came vnto him againe at *Bruges* in *Swetia*, he was become an enemy to *zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *zurich* had done him great wrong in ruinating both the old and new *Rasperwills*, and spoyling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seigneury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuilde those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

How the lands of Iohn of Habspourg belonged to Albert of Austria, in manner of a right by title.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *Iohn* of *Habspourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garnier* Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Rasperwill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine, named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basile*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, who was slaine at *Grinow*. But *Otho* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garnier*, including both *Rasperwill* the elder, & all the *March*. Neuertheless, they rendred all vnto *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their vassaile and pentioner. Thus you see, why *Albert* of *Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

Innocence hath euermore an armor of proofe wherewith to defend it selfe.

The Ambassadors of *zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had beene made against their citty, their cittizens spoyled and slaine, and in those castles their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Rasperwill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreate for theeues & banished men: they thoght it no way meete, that any should be compelled to builde it againe, or in the selfesame place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing: they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and cities of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was not a difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seigneury. But if all were not reduced againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would imploy all his forces, and constraine them of *zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The alliance of Zurich with the Cantons, to maintaine all their liberties together.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councell of *zurich*, & they perceiuing also euidently, that the cittie would very shortly be besiedged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes: the men of *zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was meerly to abuse themselues; resolued to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preseruation of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselues in amity one with another, and although in the day at *Morgarten*, they of *zurich* gaue succour to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approoue the hardinesse and valour of the men of *zurich* in fight.

Vnity of harts and hands, maketh any people to become inuincible.

Hauing then so maine an enemy (in common) against them all, to wit, the Duke of *Austria*; both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces beeing thus combined together, they had thereby the better meanes for re-

reſiſtance. Moreouer, the Cantons were not ignorant, that this their alliance with them of *zurich*, did highly accommodate them for prouiſion of victuals; becauſe there was a very excellent market at *zurich*, and the Lake was apt to tranſport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *zurich* had ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their preſent dangers: the Cantons imbraced their motion very thankfully, and (ſoone after) ſent their Ambaſſadors to *zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully reſolued on in the Moneth of Aprill, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, fifty one, and engroſſed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *zurich* is the fift, coming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it is a citty much renowned and mighty; the firſt place was giuen to it, and *zurich* named to be the firſt Canton. The men of *zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes oceaſions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambaſſages, and other publike actions whatſoeuer.

Zurich had the honour granted it, to be named the firſt Canton.

This vnity of them of *zurich*, cauſed warre (ſo much the ſooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Auſtria* was already very angry with them of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, which firſt of all were leagued together: neuertheleſſe, hee aſſured himſelfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoake. For, becauſe the country was barren, and not conueniently grounded for warre; there grew ſome apparance, that (at length) it might bee ſubdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well reſolued for fight. But when *Lucerna*, which was vnder the dominion of *Auſtria*, ioyned with them, and then (ſoone after) *zurich*, a free citty, and cheefeſt of all other in the country: the Prince became much more mooued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had ſtrengthened and authoriſed them of *zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occaſion, to make warre on the men of *zurich*, and beſiedge their citty; to eſſay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following example of the former) ſhould make any more new leagues. See heere the true cauſe of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cauſe (concerning the ruine of *Raſperwill*) incited it; becauſe (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Auſtria* neuer vrged that article, concerning the building againe of *Raſperwill*; but rather that they of *zurich*, ſhold renounce their alliance with the cantons.

The alliance and vnion of people, is as a thorne in the horn of all ſuch as would oppreſſe them

The principall intention of the Duke of Auſtria.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the yeare 1351. *Albert* of *Auſtria* beſiedged *zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenberg*, *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Vrſilinge*, and the Burggraue of *Nuremberg*. The Biſhops of *Wircebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Eriſingen*, *Coire*, and *Baſile* ſent him ſuccour. He had fiue and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Ewrad*, Count of *Wirtenberg*, conducter of the Army: *Lewes*, count of *Ottigen*: *Frederick*, count of *Ortemberg*: the two counts of *Schmanalach*: the two counts of *Tetnanges*: the two counts of *Furſtemberg*: the three of *Tierſtein*: they of *Habſpourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Hermand* of *Werdemberg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nellembourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Immer* of *Strasberg*, of *New-chaſtle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolerin*, and of *Metbourg*. Likewiſe the citties of *Straſbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg* in *Briſgoye*, *Soleurre*, and ſome others ſent aide to the Duke. It is ſaid, that he had in his Army two thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand foote. On the other ſide, the foure Cantons ſent a good Garriſon to them of *zurich*. The Souldiers and the cittizens fortified the citty, and made diligent prouiſion of all things requiſite to withſtand the ſiedge, and to defend it: ſo that (on both ſides) there were ſome ſallies and skirmiſhes.

The firſt beſiedging of the Citty of Zurich.

Thère neuer wants ſtore of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppreſſed.

But few daies after the ſiedge, peace was made, by the intermiſe of *Frederick*, count of *Togge*, and of *Hertbeg Ketchberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Vateuil*, with them of *Baſile* and of *Berne* on condition, that the *Switzers* ſhould refer themſelues vnto the definitiue iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther ſide ſhould ſend their Aſſeſſours, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, eyther party ſhould ratifie. For this effect, they of *zurich* were to giue in 161 Hoſtages, of the cheefeſt

Peace made, and on what condition.

A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be ouercome by force.

of the Citty, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should bee done vnto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be giuen to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to giue sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he beeing her brother. Neuertheless, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so presse the other Cantons, that they subsigned together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

A sentence no lesse pernitious then the warre.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoëffelen*, commander of *Tannenfels*. They gaue sentence in behalfe of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condition) the olde and new *Rasperwilles*, and giue satisfaction to *Albert*: rendring backe *Lucerna* vnder his gouernment, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderuald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forrests. Finally, they condemned all the fiue Cãtons, in great fines of money: neuer hauing any regard, what wrongs the city of *zurich* had endured, by them of *Rasperwill*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philip Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Baume*, Consull of *Berne*, their Iudges deleagued.

Religion and protestation of willingnes to peace, in the mouth of a woman, exalted to authority, are apest instruments (among all other) whereby to deceiue and abuse the people.

Queene *Agnes* approued the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly vnfurnished; then would she bee sure to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better prouided for a sudden assailing thẽ at vnawares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enioying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniust; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being not contented with all this, commanded them of *zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ransome) Count *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Heereupon, they of *zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

More infestation of the Duke of Austria.

CHAP. V.

How Glaris, being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.

The determination of the Switzers, whē peace was made voide, and war must needs be vndertaken.

THE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was vtterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among thẽselues, to inuade the country of *Glaris*, for feare leste (in that quarter) the enemy would make courses on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of November, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow smitten, they made themselues Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulnesse, as also their approued valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they receiued them into their alliance.

A breefe description of Glaris.

Glaris is a straite Valley and long, cõtaining a league and an halfe of the Germane measure, neere to the Riuer of *Limagus* or *Limmatus*. It tookname from the principall Towne of all the Country, being engirt on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grisons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Grisons*

Pg 985

sons country, by which, the Riuer of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secon*, & was giuen to S. *Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours*, and *Landolphe*. They of *Glaris* paied tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any impostes, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes; & a councell among their cittizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbesse; but the Prouostship or gouernment (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperors onely, & in his power.

The Abbey of Secon giuen to S. Fridolin, by two brothers.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbaroßa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgongne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habspourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raoul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despight of the whole country: who had promised to the forenamed Abbey, neuer to be separated or alienated from it. This vsurpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselues thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expulsed out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloued in those parts, appropriating all his goods to themselues. They vsurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouelty neuer before practised: sending Gouernors into that country, to haue a seuere eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by processe in law.

What meanes the oppressors of any people do vse, to bereauing their liberty, & at length to dispose all at their owne pleasure.

Those Gouernors were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despight of the *Austrians*) yeelded themselues voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Gouernour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among themselues (according to their ancient custome) a *Maior* or *Amman*, and their vsuall number of councellers. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naifell*, where was the easiest entrance into the country; that needed no fortification; but only there, al the rest being engirt with Mountaines round about.

Glaris yeelded willingly to the Switzers.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roades made much waste on the Lands of *zurich*. To requite them with money of the same stamp, they of *zurich* forradged the country about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vp on the Mountaine, to come neerer to them. But towards *Tetiuille*, on the Mountaine, a Captaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbach*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly auouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

Of the day at Tetiuille, where the menof Zurich had a worthy victory gainst their enemies the Austrians

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Gouernor of *Glaris*, hauing leuied an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country again to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged battel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2. day of February.

The ouerthrow of Gautier de Stad, late Gouernor of Glaris.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, beeing gone by Boates to *Arte*; did set vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, al the confederates sent an Army to forradge *Berone*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued foorth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidayes of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habspourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were there in Garrison, & ruinated it quite frō the top to the bottom.

Another ouerthrow happening the same day.

Courses and out-roades made onely for spoyle.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Switzers.

Concerning the ſcituation & firſt eſtate of Zug.

IN thoſe times, *Zug* hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Switzers*. It is a Towne betweene *Zurich* and *Suits*, ſeated at the foote of a Mountain, rich in paſturages, and vines planted on the ſides ioyning to the Lake, which aboundeth with plenty of Fiſh, common to them both of *Zug* and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capitall Towne of certaine people, which accomppaied thē of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cimbrians* againſt the *Romanes*. Sometimes ſhee aknowledged diuers Gētlemen as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Auſtria*, who, during the warre againſt the Switzers, maintained there an ordinary Garriſon, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cauſe, that in the yeare 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go againſt *Zug*. The Soldiers finding their ſtrength far too weake, would not attend the *Switzers* comming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout. But the Townesmen, who would be faithfull to the Duke of *Auſtria*, maintained the ſiedge for fifteene daies ſpace: neuertheleſſe, hauing receiued a very violent aſſault: they yeelded themſelues, & tooke an oath to the *Switzers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Auſtria* brought an Army, to cauſe the ſiedge to bee remoued: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and ſtand acquitted of their oath giuen to the *Switzers*. To effect this buſineſſe, they ſent their Ambaſſadors, to require ſuccour from the Duke of *Auſtria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royall*, about fifteene leagues from *Zug*, & there the Ambaſſadors let him vnderſtand their charge and meſſage.

The Cantons made an Army forth againſt Zug.

Zug being aſſaulted by the Cantons, yeelds it ſelfe vpon condition.

It chanced at that inſtant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) fed his Hawkes or no? Thē the cheefeſt of the Ambaſſadors, named *Herman*, taking him at that word, ſaid. Alaſſe my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subiects, thē of Hawks? Eſpecially now, when the enemy hath ſo ſtrictly engirt vs, as if you ſend not preſent ſupply, conſtrainedly we muſt ſurrender our ſelues? The Prince returned this anſwer. It is wel, yeeld your ſelues; before it be long time, we will recouer againe whatſoeuer wee haue loſt. And becauſe they of *Zug* well ſaw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioyned themſelues in vnity and alliance with the *Switzers*.

By tyrants & oppreſſors, people are (oftentimes) leſſe valued and eſteemed then Hawkes and Hounds.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combining thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*, now the ſecond time beſiedged the citty of *Zurich*, about the midſt of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermiſe of the Matqueſſe of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on theſe conditions following. They of *zurich* ſhould ſet at liberty *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, their three yeares priſoner, without eyther fine or ranſome. Alſo, that the Duke of *Auſtria* ſhould acquit (frank and freely) the hoſtages of *zurich*, whom he had likewiſe impriſoned. They of *Zug* and *Glaris*, abſolued of their oath taken to the *Switzers*, ſhould (as before) yeeld obedience to the houſe of *Auſtria*. In the meane while, nothing ſhould hinder, but that the alliance of the *Switzers* muſt ſtand firme.

A ſecond beſiedging the Citty of Zurich.

Conditions of the peace concluded on.

In the time of this treaty, *Iohn* of *Habſpourg* came forth of priſon, without paying any ranſome; but the Hoſtages of *zurich* wer not releaſed, according to ſworn promiſe: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay ſixteen hundred crownes for a ranſome, & yet could not enioy eyther peace or ſafety. For ſo ſoone as the Count of *Habſpourg* was releaſed, hee gaue *Raſperwill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert* of *Auſtria*; who immediately fortified *Raſperwill*, and planted a Garriſon there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garriſon ranne in on the Lands of *zurich*, and ſlew fifty men at *Meile*,

The crafty ſleights of ſuch men, as hold neither piety nor honour in due reſpect and eſtimation.

Meile, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanons of *zurich*.

Heereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The yeare following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the fiue Cantons) to require of them of *zug*, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expulsed them away with outrages. In regard whereof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselues Masters of *zug* the second time, and then commanded the cittizens, to giue their oath to the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, 1352. the sixteenth day of March, *Berne* ioyned it selfe in alliance with the *Switzers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this citty; which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

At what time Berne allied it selfe with the Switzers.

CHAP. VII.

Of the building of Berne, the situation and condition thereof, and how it was yeelded to the Empire.

BErthoul, fift of that name, & the last Duke of *zeringen*, built the citty of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to bee poysoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire, & affranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the yeare, 1218. a Gouernor was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho* of *Rauenspourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Gouernor.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Kybourg*, Lord of Burgdorff, stroue to abolish the citties liberty, leaguing himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours, and the Towne of *Fribourg*, which *Berthoul* the fourth had built: And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euer. As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of Berne had bought certaine Lands beyond the Riuer of *Ar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, he beeing Lord beyond the Riuer. Whereupon they of Berne, (desirous to make themselues as strong as their enemies) did put themselues into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who represed the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compasse and roundure of the citty. Then after warre was moued, betweene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of Bourgongne, the Count promised the men of Berne, that if they carried themselues valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt; he would grant them whatsoeuer they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of Berne were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.

The Citty being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Switzers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conseruation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, in the yeare, 1241. but that was to their owne disaduantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreouer, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besiedged (two seuerall times) the Citty of Berne; vnder colour of accusing them of Berne, that they had violated the publike faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine Iewes. *Albert* of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the citty, and many citizens were there slaine.

The men of Berne had diuers warres before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

A great league and combination made against the Citty of Berne.

slaine. In the yeare 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Neuberg*, and *Gruyere*, the Bishop of *Lausanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beside some Townes and Gentlemen, made a league against *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as also the citty of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Auldrich Erlach* was cheefe of the *Bernish* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Castles, neighbouring to the citty, were taken in war, and demolished by them of *Berne*. They also had victories in the warres moued in the vale of *Simmia*, and in many other places, against the Noblemen that much molested them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Also the inhabitants of the vale of *Hasell*, who were at free liberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happinesse of theirs, so enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen against *Berne*, as thereon ensued the memorable battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorable battaile giuen by Counts and Gentlemen, against the men of Berne at Loupen.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuied a well prepared Army, of sixteene thousand foote, and three thousand, fiue hundred horse, at the least, went and besiedged *Loupen*, which is a small Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about fiue thousand, assisted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *Vnderuald*, and as many of the Vale of *Hasell*, *Raoul Erlach* being chiefe of these troopes This small number ouercame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the fielde, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was sent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treate on peace: but the other constrained him to make one in the battaile. There were slaine also, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valendis*, fifteene hundred horsemen, among whom were fourescore Gētlemen, of marke, and aboue three thousand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the yeare 1339.

A fortunate and successefull pursuite of victory, against them of Fribourg and many townes more.

After this successefull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their aduantage) against them of *Fribourg*, who were vassails to the house of *Austria*, and also to the Gētlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schonnenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and lost many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Langnow*, *Burgdorff*, *Longuenall*, *Pyrnestic*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Thun*, and other Townes and great Villages, were eyther spoyled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by meanes of a peace which shee compounded. In all these warres, they of Berne euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vassails to the house of *Austria*, most laboured to oppresse them: whereas (contrariwise) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre; wherein they of *Vnderuald* ioyned themselues with their enemies. The Lord of *Ringenberg*, and the Prouost of the Abbey scituated betweene the two Mountaines, were Bourgesses of Bern. They were Gouernors or Bayliffs also of that country, which lies neere to the Mountaine of Brunic, and the Lake of Brientz.

An vnexpected warre of the men of Berne, against the men of Vnderuald.

The reason of the warre beginning and proceeding.

It came to passe, that they of the country, accounting the gouernment of these two Lords to be rude and harsh: began to mutiny against them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *Vnderuald*, who were neere neighbors; they tooke the Castle of *Ringenberg*, in absence of the Lord, set it on fire, and denied the Prouost such duties and tythes, as they were accustomed to pay. They of Berne sent Ambassadors, to exhort them of *Vnderuald*, not to succour such seditious persons against all right and reason. But they of *Vnderuald* made no reckoning of this aduertisement, but went and encamped with the seditious at Brientz. On the other side, the men of Berne, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Thun*, *Bienne*, and *Morat* to send them succour, and it being sent them; marched with all their troopes to Brientz, gaue battaile to the seditious and them of *Vnderuald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *Vnderuald* (storming at this disgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* sent their Ambassadors to those Cantons, offering the iustice & equity of their cause, and to haue it tried before them.

Amity or alliance being vniust, is the ruine and ouerthrow of their confederates.

Heereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

29
985

where the Deputies of the Switzers, hauing heard the reasons aledged on either side, commanded them of *Vnderuald*, to renounce their alliance with them of *Brientz*. On the same day, the men of Berne made a perpetual alliance with the three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. Now, although this alliance is made but with three, yet Zurich and Lucerna are comprized therein. For the three first Cantons bound themselues to succour them of Zurich & Lucerna whensoeuer they called them, and to bring with them the men of Berne, who by the same alliance are tyed thereto, if Zurich and Lucerna do desire it. In reciprocall manner they of Zurich and Lucerna, promised solemnly, to go assist (with all their power) the men of Bern, if the three Cantons cal them thereto.

Alliance and league perpetuall made by them of Bern with the Cantons.

Immediately after this alliance made, the city of Zurich was besiedged agayne the third time. For, *Albert* of *Austria*, accused the Cantons before the Emperour *Charles* the fourth; who hauing heard the answer of the *Cantons*, made a truce, vntill his returne from a voyage, which hee was constrained to vndertake, about som affayres of the Empire. Beeing returned, he came to Zurich, where he heard either parties, and directing himselfe vnto the Switzers, especially to them of Zurich, he aduised them to renounce this alliance: adding withall, that the citty was Imperiall, and could make no alliance vvithout consent of the Emperor. But the confederates rendred a sufficient reason for what they had done, exhibiting their priuiledges, and making it manifest, that the alliance contracted between them, could not any way preiudice the rightes of the Empire. Seeing he could not driue the Switzers out of this league, then he made his re-course to *Albert*, desiring him to sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* into the Empire, because the difference did concerne those three places especially. But *Albert* audaciously answered him; *That he would rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour would sell him any, then let him haue any of his for mony.*

The third time of siedge laide to the City of Zurich.

A proud answer of Albert of Austria to the Emperor.

Once againe the Emperor pressed the Switzers, to suffer him to end the difference, and promise to tye themselues to such orders as he should set downe, assuring them that *Albert* would do the like. But the Switzers would not consent ther to, without plaine exception of their priuiledges; and the Emperor vrged his authority, without any reseruation: by the which meanes, all this long imparlance serued to no purpose, but only that a truce was taken for some time. Which beeing expired, the Emperor being incessantly importuned, ioyned with *Albert* of *Austria*, and besiedged Zurich. The besied- (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Emperor, not to presse thus into the house of *Austriaes* fauour) their citty, which was Imperiall: for they desired nothing but conseruation of their priuiledges, and would not reiect any composition whatsoeuer, if it were reasonable.

The Emperor ioyned with Albert of Austria.

Then the Emperor began to summon *Albert* to listen to a pacification; which hee would not doe: in which respect, the Emperor raised the siedge, and returned home. That which also moued him hereto, was, because his Camp stood composed of soldiers, who were (almost al) prest forth of Imperiall Townes and Citties; & (in his opinion) bare more affection to the Switzers, then to the house of *Austria*, albeit those souldiers during the siedge) would obey none other then the Emperor. After the Emperors departure the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him gon: hauing heard, that the other Cantons had sent forth supply vnto them of Zurich. Neuertheless, hee lodged his troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles round about, enioyning them, not to suffer the Cantonnes to haue any rest, but continually to make incursions on theyr Lands.

The siege raised from Zurich by Gods most singular prouidence.

At length, in the fift year of this war, by authority and intermise of the emperor *Charles* the fourth, peace was concluded betweene the Prince of *Austria*, and them of Zurich. Now because it would seeme a troublesome matter, to insert heere the whole Tenure at large; we will be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the Articles, which are these following.

Peace made between them of Zurich, and the Duke of Austria.

Articles of Peace concluded on, betweene the Duke of Austria and Zurich.

1. *WHatsoeuer hath bene taken on either side in this Warre shall be restored againe.*

2 *They of* Zurich *shall not receiue into the*

the number of their Bourgesses such as remaine vnder the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselues to Zurich, *they may be receyued. Prouided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Cittie might receiue, before this peace was made.*

3 *Such as hold any other way then in fee-seruice, shall be vnder the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make vse of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shal stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.*

4 *From hence forward, they of* Zurich *shall not ally themselues with the seruantes of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recouer his rights.*

5 *If any difference happen to bee mooued, betweene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Iudges shall consider on the cause.*

6 *Those alliances which the Switzers haue made together, shall remaine in their ful power and integrity.*

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification: but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and cheefest.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise begat new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blowes, for either sides purse being emptied of money, and their forces fayling, made them vnwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Bucheimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of *Austria*, pressed them of *Zug*, to giue their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cãtons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Towns, neyther hinder any way his gouernment in them.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperour.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greeuous to the Switzers, considering, that in one of the Articles, the alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassails to the house of *Austria*: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer glutted with war, as they wer vpon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of *Austria*; if they of *Suites* (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselues against it. They then sodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demaunding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to *Suits* to require confirmation of the faith first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded; by meanes of the Lorde of *Torberg*, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was till after the decease of *Albert*. During this truce, they of *Zug* and *Glaris* continued allyed with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acquitting themselues of all duties due to the house of *Austria*. The Duke receiued from *Suits* a man, from foure yeares to foure yeares, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or Maior at Zug: And he gaue as Gouernour vnto them of *Glaris*, *Godfrey Mulner* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The Switzers being wearie of war, would yeeld to their owne iniurie, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on for 11. yeares, lasting till after the death of Albert.

The sonne of *Albert*, named *Leopolde*, greatly hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them; least hee should gaine as litile thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *Rheine*, entred into *Swetia*, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some incounters, after they had forraged in Swetia, and all the countrey about *Montbeliard*, *Basile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

Six years after, war was moued against the Count of *Kybourg*. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Solluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of *Kyburg* made

War made against the Count of Kybourg.

Pa 985

made open war vpon them of *Solleurre*, to whome they of *Berne* and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of *Austria*, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of *Rybourg*, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with victuals, and other necessaries for warre. Neuertheless, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betweene them of *Solleurre* and *Bern*, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

To ruinate the people they must bee diuided.

The Duke of *Austria* had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein *Zurich*, *Berne Solluerre*, and *Zug* were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning deuices, pacifying himselfe amiably with the Townes of *Suaba* and *Francomia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rheine* in *Halsatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did so aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of *Swetia* vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter* of *Torberg*, Gouernour of *Wolhouse*, and in the Vale of *Entlibuch*; and *Herman Grunenberg*, gouernour of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of *Austria*, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyranized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt withall, sent men to Lucerna, to desire acceptation into their Bourguership. But the two Gouernours hauing discouered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had anie hand in the matter, recompencing them with death, that had faithfully imployed their paines, to giue life againe to theyr languishing countrey. Moreouer, they impose new passage Tolles at *Rottembourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

Warre begun by Leopold of Austria, against the Switzers.

Tyrants neuer want execrable and monstrous cruelties.

The Lucernians manhood at Rottenburg.

The Lucernians, too much prouoked by so many iniuries, being ayded by the men of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*: made themselues masters of *Rottembourg*, the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1386. spoyling the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vppe the Ditches: for feare least the Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molest the Lucernians againe. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellow-Bourgeship with the Lucernians, & two hundred men were put in garrison by the Lucernians, into the Town of *Richensee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of *Austria*, hauing sodainely leuied an Armie, tooke the Towne by assault, cut § throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest aliue, in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embraced, shewing no pitty to aged, sicke women, or children. On the other side, al the Cantons, except *Bern*, took a place in those parts, named *Meyenberg*, & there planted a garison but the Austrians (faigning a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the opē field, where they slewe fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retyre speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduertised heereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leauing not a iote of them vnruined.

Richensee taken by assault burnt, and all in it slaine or burned, by them of Austria.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the *Switzers* with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of *Austria* made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and euery day (by Letters and Heraulds) denounced warre against the *Switzers*, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The *Switzers* considered likewise on their owne affaires, and prouided to set vpon all those enemies, which had enclosed thē round about. The men of *Berne*, who had not boudge as yet, beeing sollicited by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter* of *Torberg*. They of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, spoyled the Castle and Towne of *Woolhouse*; as also *Liele*, *Rinach* and *Baldeg*. The men of *zurich* ioyned their forces with the Cantons, and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neerest to their limits: in retiring backe, they tooke (by assault) the Castle of *Rumelange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of *Austria* made the mustering of his people, especially at *Brug* & *Bada*, neere to Zurich: it was imagined, that he would go and besiedge that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the foure

The Confederates ioyne their powers together.

foure Cantons ſent ſixteen hundred men to ſuccour them of Zurich.

Duke *Leopold* vnderſtanding that ſuch a Garriſon was at Zurich, marched ſodainly with his army towardes the Cantons, which ſeemed then naked of the moſt part of their troopes. But this enterprize was diſcouered by their ſpies, & therefore left the citty of Zurich, in the cittizens guard, and returned back thoſe ſixteene hundred men which marched vnder their Enſignes day and night; and ſo diligently, that they arriued at *Sempache*, euen at the ſame inſtant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of Iuly, and battell was giuen the very ſame day, wherein *Leopold* ſonne to *Albert* the wiſe, and Nephew or youngeſt childe to the Emperor *Albert*, was ſlaine in open field, with ſix hundred ſeuenty ſix Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the reſt by reaſon of theyr Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After ſo faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their ſtrength thoroughout all *Swetia*, and chaſtiſed ſuch as hadde forraged their country, pilled the Citizens, & moued Warre vpon no occaſion: many caſtles were ruinated, and many Towns taken.

The battell at Sempach, in the which, the D. of Auſtria, and 676. gentlemen were ſlaine in the plaine field.

In the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore, and ſeauen, the ſecond day of the moneth of February, truce was agreed on for a yeare, by the entermiſe of ſome Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Weſen*, on the Lake *de Rine*, deliuered vp their Cittie to them of *Auſtria*, who ſlew the Switzers that were there in Garriſon. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thouſand at the leaſt, ſet vpon the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of Aprill. Some ſay, that they were aboue ſixteene thouſand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Torberg*, *Iohn* of *Klingenberg*, *Iohn* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This laſt man made choyſe of two thouſand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to encloſe the Switzers, and make them turne theyr backes with ſhame.

Truce fully agreed vpon for the ſpace of a year, but being expired new quarrels aroſe againe.

The other marched boldly on towards the Walles, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made ſtrong their countries entrance the yeare before, gayning thereby ſuch aſſurance of the wall, as the victory was almoſt intirely in their hand; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beſide, which they of Suits had ſent from the nereſt valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatneſſe of corage and reſolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow paſſage; where they ſaluted them with ſuch impetuous ſtormes of great ſtones, & whereof the place affoorded no ſcarſity: as, drawing them into a place more open, they preſſed and purſued on them vvith ſuch extreame boldneſſe; that the great armie was forced to flight, after they had renewed the charge eleauen ſeuerall times, as the Annales of *Glaris* do teſtify; for, ſo often did the enemy labour ſtill to ſet vpon them.

A notable victory obtained by 380 Swetzers, against 6000. enimies to their liberty.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himſelfe vnto) and perceyuing the ouerthrow of his aſſociates, ſaued his owne ſtake, as ſwiftly as he poſſibly could. There were two thouſand enemies ſlaine in this battaile, and about fiue hundred vvere drowned in the Lake: becauſe the multitude of Runne-awayes, brake downe the Bridge in theyr haſte, vvhereby they ſhould paſſe from *Glaris* to *Weſen*.

After this battell, the Cantons ſhewed themſelues ſtill in many other skirmiſhes againſt the Auſtrians, taking towns and Caſtles, either by force or compoſition: but they fought no more battels. For by entremiſe of the Cities of *Conſtance*, *Vberlingen*, *Rauenſpourg*, & *Rotuille*, truce was taken for ſeauen yeares: and afterwards it was prolonged, euen ſo farre as for the ſpace of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Townes and Caſtles taken by skirmiſhe but no man battell giuen or fought.

Peace being eſtabliſhed for ſuch length of time, brought ſome more eaſe & quyetneſſe to the Cantons. But in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundered and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued ſeuen whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Swetia*, ſeated neere vnto the Alpes, towardes the Eaſt, and on the Head of the Lake of *Conſtance*. At this day, it is

The begining of the warre of Appenzell and how long it continued.

A bargaine made, but without any certainty.

is one of the thirteene Cantons; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers: it onely acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who was then called, **Cuno de Stouffen**. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzell*, and after it had long time bene debated in Lawe before Iudges; they fell at length to pleade theyr cause at the swords point. The Townes neereſt to the Lake of *Conſtance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had ſundered them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined. The Abbot hauing leuied an army of the inhabitants of thoſe townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in diſorder, with great loſſe of their men.

Townes diuided from Appenzel to take part with the Abbot, yet foiled in fight.

After this foile, they of *S. Gal*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, aſſociated theſelues together. The Duke of *Auſtria* ioyned with the Abbot; but they of *Appenzel* prooued ſtill victorious in all other encounters. And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them, ruined many Caſtles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compeld the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty.

Seuen yeares after theſe troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it ſelfe, betweene *Frederick* of *Auſtria* and the Cantons. The occaſion was, becauſe *Fredericke* had carried away (from foorth the Councel of *Conſtance*) Pope *Iohn* the 22. He was put to baniſhment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the councell. By this decree of the Emperour, and of the Councell, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons abſolued of their Oath, and commandement giuen them to take armes againſt the Emperor: which they did, and tooke in that warre *Biberſtein*, *Bada*, and other places belonging to them of *Auſtria*.

A new warre ariſing betweene the Cantons, and Fredericke of Auſtria.

In the yeare, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the Alpes, and by the Griſons, to beſiedge Bellizona; it beeing a Towne which the Count of *Monſax* had ſold to them of *Suites*, *Vri*, & *Vnderwald*. The Duke of *Millaine* ſeemed to ſay, that this place appertained to him; and therevpon tooke it by intelligence. To recouer it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this yeare, then in *Anno* 1425. and the year following alſo. But they could not take the Towne notwithſtanding, they made hauocke, and forraged the Valleyes round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Millaine*.

War of the Switzers, for recouerie of Bellizona, with the duke of Millaine.

But in the yeare, 1436. they of *Auſtria*, by cunning tricks and ſubtle deuices raiſed a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. Firſt, betweene the Canton of Zurich and the men of *Suits*, to whom (ſoon after) the other confederats ioyned themſelues. The Duke of *Auſtria* (firſt of all) ranked himſelfe with them of Suits: and then (ſoone after) made alliance with the men of Zurich, and gaue them aſsiſtance There were ſome encounters, and the Switzers beſiedged Zurich: but ther was no battaile more memorable, then that which (not long after) was giuen at Baſile, the yeare, 1444. and the 26. day of Auguſt.

Cunning deuices prepared onely to ouerthrow the people.

The Dolphine of France, who was afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puiſſant army betweene *Montbeliard* and Baſile; prouided partly by the practiſes of Pope *Eugenius*, to breake the Councell of Baſile; and partly by the emperor *Frederick*, as wiſhing well vnto the Switzers. Sixteene hundred Switzers entred into battell againſt that great armie, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them. True it is, that all the ſixteene hundered men were ſlaine likewiſe, as beeing ouerborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in ſuch ſort, as they forſooke all Germanie immediately, to get themſelues into France againe. This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the Lacedemonians, at their paſſage of the *Thermopyla*, conſidering the magnanimity of ſo ſmall a number: who, for the ſafety of their country (euen all Germany) oppoſed themſelues valiantly, againſt an infinitie of enemies. In theſe ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cauſe, why ſuch as haue written thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war laſted ſeuen yeares: but it began in the yeare, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450.

The battell of the Switzers againſt the Armignacs before Baſile.

*A verie long mountaine, which paſſeth from Leucadia, thorough the middle of Greece, to the Egean ſea.

A yeare after this peace, the Abbot of S. *Gall* made alliance with foure Cantons of

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friendes & confederats

of the Switzers. And the yeare following, they of *Appenzel* allyed themſelues with ſeauen Cantons. And again, a yeare after, the Citty of Saint *Gall*, with ſixe Cantons. Conſequently, and in the year one thouſand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffouze* allyed themſelues with the ſixe Cantons. But I ſhall make better mention of theſe alliances heereafter, and in apter manner.

Warre by the Switzers, againſt Sigiſmond, Duke of Auſtria.

Theſe alliances were no ſooner made but a new warre beganne to ſhew it ſelfe, againſt *Sigiſmond* Duke of *Auſtria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occaſion, and ſo incited the Switzers to warre. On the other ſide, the Lords of *Grandler*, brethren of *Gratz* a Towne in *Styria*, hauing bene diſpoiled of their goods by *Sigiſmond*, deſired ayde of them of Zurich, who had receyued them into the number of their Burgeſſes. Then the Switzers went and aſſaulted *Winterduer*, tooke *Raſperwill*, *Dieſſenow*, *Frawenfeld*, and *Turgaw*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the meanes of *Lewes* Duke of *Bauaria*. Afterward, in the yeare, 1466. certaine Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were ſet downe in Writing. Two yeares after, warre was renewed againſt the Duke of Auſtria, ſo that the Switzers led their troopes towardes the Towne of *Mulhouſe*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons ſome moneths before: and in the ſame yeare, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Baſile*, named *Waltzhut*, was beſiedged by the Switzers.

Articles of peace ſet downe in writing, yet warre enſued thereon againe.

Warre of the Switzers againſt the D. of Burgundie.

In the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty foure, began the *Switzers* warre againſt *Charles* Duke of *Burgongne*. It grew hot, and wonderfull ſharp, in the yeare ſeuenty ſixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquiſhed; but it tooke ending at the beginning of ſeuenty ſeauen, by reaſon of the Dukes death, who was ſlaine in Lorraine. The Princes of *Auſtria* were the ſparkes to kindle this warre. For *Sigiſmond* Duke of *Auſtria*, hauing ill performed his buſineſſe in warre, which he maintained ſo long a time againſt the *Switzers*, was conſtrained to agree with them, although much againſt his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by ſome other meanes, he engaged thoſe Landes which hee helde in *La Franche Comte* (as *Montbeliard* and *Baſile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongn*, the moſt potent Prince of his time, aduenturous, and of an high hand. *Sigiſmond* perſwaded himſelfe, that (as manie times it fals out among neighbours) ſome difference would ſhortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had ſent Ambaſſadours to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the houſe of Bourgongne with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigiſmond*, in ſo much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambaſſadors could neuer gaine acceſſe to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of Bourgongne, and eſtabliſhed Gouernor by him ouer thoſe countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principall fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outragious words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theyr enemies, as *Heudorff*, *Eptinger*, and ſome other Gentlemen, who had threatned the Switzers with war.

Sigiſmond ingaged Montbeliard & Baſile to the D. of Burgundie.

Minions attending on Princes, are oftentimes firebrandes to kindle warre.

Hee tyranized alſo cruelly in thoſe pawned countries, ſo that the poore ſubiects who vvere able to performe no more, intreated moſt earneſtly Duke *Sigiſmond*, their ancient Lord, to diſingage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This requeſt vvas quickly granted them by *Sigiſmond*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) ſir-named the Simple.

D Sigiſmond, ſirnamed the Simple.

But the Duke of Bourgongne deſired not to purſſe the money againe. And on the other ſide, the tiranny of *Hagenbach* ſtill increaſed, ſo that hee grevv inſupportable to the people, & neighboring lords. There vvere ſome other thornes between the Switzers and the D. of Bourgongne: becauſe *Count Ramont* being ſeruant vnto him, had ſent away diuers chariots from them, laden vvith Hides. In the mean vvhile, King *Lewes* the eleuenth, vvho deſired not greatly the Dukes life, and had prooued (neere to Baſile) the valour of the Switzers horſemen, made alliance vvith them. And although himſelf vvould not meddle vvith the vvarre, yet he could vvhet on the Switzers, and (by vnderhand trickes) furniſh them vvith money, to the end that neceſſity ſhould not inforce any

The Switzers wer not voyde of oppreſſors.

pacifi-

pacification. He accorded *Sigiſmond* likewiſe with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *Rene* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Baſile*, with theyr Byſhoppes; *Colmar*, *Seleſtad*, *Montbeliard*, and ſome other cities, ioyned themſelues likewiſe into this confederacy.

Hagenbach had the wages due vnto his villany and oppreſsion: & ſo may all other ſpecie, that abuſe their Princes.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Briſſac*, and the D. of *Auſtria* hauing conſigned the money at Baſile, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon poſſeſſion of them, and (by ſentence) cauſed *Hagenbach* to be condemnd, and his head publikely ſmitten off. Contrarywiſe, Duke *Charles* made warre vppon the byſhop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Prouoſtes Office, or protection of the Byſhopprick appertained to him, and therefore planted his ſiedge before *Nuß*, aboue *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanyed with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maieſty of the Empire, ſent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to aſſault (on their ſide) the Duke of Bourgongne, that his forces might be broken and ſcattered. But immediately after, hee ſhewed himſelfe to bee of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and (conſequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For ſo ſoone as the Switzers were entered into Bourgongne, and had won a battel, and taken ſome Townes, hee made peace vvith the Duke of Bourgongne, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had ſuccored the Emperour in this warre. But the confederats were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigiſmond*, Duke *René*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Hatred & enmity of great perſons, do laſt a long time.

Duke *Charles*, beeing deliuered from the warre which he had againſt the Emperor and the Germaines: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theyr Allies. There were ſome encounters on either ſide: but the very greateſt effortes and valour, ſhewed themſelues in three battailes, whereat the Duke himſelf was preſent in perſon. The firſt was fought at *Granſon*, neere to the Lake of Yuerdun, which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcaſtle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and re-taken againe by them vpon compoſition: neuertheleſſe, the Duke of Bourgongne (contrarie to his promiſe) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garriſon; but (ſoone after) hee receiued wages anſwerable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers ouercomming him in a fielde of battaile. True it is, that then he loſt not many of his men, for the Cauallerie ſuſtayned, and meerely couered the Infantery beeing broken and diſordered, and the Switzers had not their Horſemen there, becauſe they came not at a conuenient time: yet notwithſtanding, the Duke of Bourgongne loſt his baggage, wherein hee had great ſtore of Riches and Treaſure.

That Duke ſirnamed the Terrible, felte at length the trueth of thiſ ſentence; Shame & deſtruction doe alwaies follow after pride, cloſe at the heeles.

The battell that was fought at Granſon.

Then afterwardes, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great ouerthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is ſayde, that eighteene thouſand *Bourguignons* lay ſlaine in the fielde; and to this day, there is ſtill to be ſeene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Teſtimony of that victory.

The battell fought at Morat.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, beſiedged by the duke of Bourgongne: but the Switzers ſent in ſuccour vnto the Duke *René* of *Lorraine*, (who had ſixe hundered men at Armes, well neere all Frenchmen well prouided) eight thouſand foot, and the other confederates three thouſande more. With all theſe forces Duke *René* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuertheleſſe, he was ouercome, & (in flight) ſlaine by the Switzers, and ſo (with him) dyed all this warre. A yeare after, the Switzers paſſed the * *Leopontine* Alps, which mountaine is now called S. *Godard*, & went to giue battell to the D. of *Millain*, in a place named *Iornico*. The occaſion of the war, was, becauſe the inhabitants of the valley towardes *Iornico*, ſubiects to the Canton of *Vri*, complaind of diuers outrages doone them by theyr neighbours, who molleſted and troubled them in the vſe and poſſeſsion of certaine Forreſts. The Switzers Ambaſſadours, being vnable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vri*, craued ſuccour of theyr confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Bellizona*. But becauſe they could not beſiedge it in regard of the winter: they lefte ſixe hundered men in Garriſon at *Iornico*, which is not farre from thence.

The battell fought at Nãcy, wher duke Charles of Burgundie was ſlaine.

*Lepontii, people of the Alpes, next to the Salaſsi.

War vndertaken by the Switzers, againſt the D. of Millaine.

These two places are vpon the *Tesinus*, a Riuer passing thwart the Lake *Maior*, and so goes to *Pauia*.

They of Millaine goe against the Switzers, and a battaile is fought.

The *Millainese* came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the straites of the Mountaines; the more speedily and easily slew fourteene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of Nouember, 1478. And in the Moneth of December following, by the intermise of the King of *France*, peace was made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, & the *Switzers*.

Pope Sixtus allyeth with the Switzers, & giues them large pardons

In the same yeare, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and beside other priuiledges, he gaue thē also strong pardons. Two yeares after, the *Switzers* sent seuen thousand men, to aide King *Lewes* the eleuenth, according to the tenour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chaalons*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprise) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to imploy them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they stroue among themselues, who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

The seedes of warre among the Switzers, quite smothered by means of a Hermit.

The yeare after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceiued, that their associates had carried thēselues inhumanely on their behalfe, in the war against the Duke of *Bourgongne*. For the forenamed citties and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreouer, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuertheless, when they shold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich; the cantons that had defraied nothing, neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by equall portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended it) and some other light offences; these citties and townes, desiring to prouide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselues onely together. But the other cantons were heereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*: maintaining, that it was not lawfull for the Lucernians, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

A particular combination of some Cantons by themselues from the rest.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderuald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderuald* (who was then in verie great authority among the Switzers, by theyr resolued opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte; That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantonnes of *Swetia*, so that there should be tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allyed themselues together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the Switzers, for the space of sixe score and fiue yeares, or thereabout; I will heere set downe a Summarie of the articles of the alliances which those olde Cantons made, and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

Conditions concluded on by the Hermit and Cantons, for a generall contentment.

A briefe Summary, of the Alliances and Confederations, made betweene the 8. ancient Cantons of Swetia.

The first Article of the leagues, concerneth mutuall succours, and publike affairs

THe principall & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assayle them: wherein all thinges are verie well ordered, gouerned by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly mooued, and vpon small or slender occasions; It is first of all ordained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in generall for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and out-rage is done, it may demaund succour and assist-

Concerning the alliance of Glaris.

Euery Canton is not allied with al the rest.

Vri, Suits, and Vnderuald.

The Lucernians in their necessity.

All the Cantons haue not their rights alike.

siſtance.

In ſome other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allyed Cantons. After that the equity of the cauſe hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interreſſed, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Cãton may not make recourſe to whom it liketh beſt; but onely to that vvhich is allyed to it in ſome eſpeciall manner. For (as I haue hitherto ſhewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allyed with all the other. In the firſt place, concerning them of Zurich, allyed by antiquity with ſix of the cheefeſt Cantons; they may demand ayde of all thoſe ſixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of Berne: and ſo (by conſequent) they are bound likewiſe to giue them aſsiſtance, being therto required. The Berniſhmen may call vnto their aſsiſtance, them of Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, by reaſon of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may cal to their ayde, and for their other confederats the Canton of Berne. But by reaſon of the new league, they of Zurich and Berne, muſt require ayde one of another. The Lucernians (in times of neceſsitie) may haue recourſe to the men of Zurich, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald, and Zug. They of Vri, Suits, and Vnderuald, may call all the other Cantons. And they of Zug haue the ſame right as the Lucernians, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of Zurich, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald, and Lucerna. They of Glaris, haue recourſe vnto the Cantons of Zurich, Vri, Suits, & Vnderuald.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithſtanding if one *Canton* require one or two of his allies to come and ſuccour him: all the *Cantons* muſt aſſemble together, becauſe they which are firſt called, ſhall giue aduertiſement to the other. But, aboue all things, they ſhal ſend their Ambaſſadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Kienholtz*, and if queſtion bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of Berne: they muſt aduiſe altogether (by all meanes) to appeaſe the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not ſo bee done) how they may aſſuredly giue ſuccour. Their alliance ſpeaketh expreſſely, that ſuch as are called vnto aſſiſtance, ſhall not vſe any fraude or deceit, neither any friuolous or vaine excuſe, but to aſſiſt with all their power.

No fraud or excuſe to bee vſed in giuing ſuccour.

When any Canton ſhall be ſodainly or vnawares aſſaulted by the enemie, and when no help can be required.

And becauſe it may ſo happen, that a Canton ſhall bee ſo ſodainly aſſayled at vnawares, as the enemy may ſtoppe all the paſſages, and ſo (by conſequent) the *Canton* can compaſſe no meanes of craning ſuccour, neyther by Letters or Ambaſſages. For this it is prouided and expreſſely ordained, that in ſuch a caſe, and when moſt neede is of ſpeedyeſt helpe: al the confederate *Cantons*, ſhall aſſiſt with all their forces, euen as if they had beene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of Berne, it is ordained; That if the enemie aſſault the higher countrie, the confederates ſhall make ſpoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemie: thereby to ſcatter his forces. And the ſame to bee done in the higher countreys, if the enemie intrude vppon the lower. They that are called to ſuccour, ſhall come at their owne expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of Berne, with Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, mention is made of Wages, Namely, of a *Sol Tournois* (each day) for euerie man on foote. Neuertheleſſe, if the Warre be in the countrey of *Ergow*, then they of Berne ſhall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the firſt Lake of the Riuer *Ar*, which is called *Vnderſee*: beyonde which, ſuch foote Souldiours as come to aſſiſt the one or other partie, ſhall receiue that aforeſaid Wages.

Aide on theyr own expence, and without wages, or elſe what wages is to be receiued

If the warre laſt of any continuance, and that they muſt beſiedge and batter ſome Towne, Village, or Caſtle, and the ſame is fully concluded and agreed vppon, by common conſent and aduice of the Cantones: then that Canton, in whoſe fauour, and on whoſe limites, the Towne or Caſtle of the Enemie is beſiedged, ſhall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, pouder, conuoy of Artillerie, Pionners, as all other things neceſſarie and requiſite in a batterie. Neuertheleſſe, if the Warre bee vndertaken, not onelie in the name of one cãton, but ỹ vnder name of the Switzers whole Commonwealth:

For a warre of long laſting, and beſieging or battering Townes, or Caſtles.

then they shal euery one pay their shares alike.

Of wrong done to the whole Nation, or in particular in places farre distant.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwel far off from *Swetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuent & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Switzers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure foorth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Swetia*.

Orders for the Soldiours of the Switzers.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publike differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. For asmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessors did deuise, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing leste alliance and kindnesse might thereby perish, & vtterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall send their Ambassadours, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administred in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Iudges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Iudges, a fift must bee added, named Vnipire or Superarbitrator: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the controuersie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

The second Article concerneth publike controuersies.

Iudges chosen to heare and define variations, and a Superarbitrator added to them.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other) to bind themselues by Oath, or make alliance with any, whosoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may reserue to themselues, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient stil in ful force. They kept also the freedome, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publike and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from fiue or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to be obserued firmly.

The third article touching alliances, and beginning with the foure first Cantons.

Liberty to augment and lessen leagues and alliances.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions; because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vndernald*, excepted the Empire, and the rightes thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoeuer.

Lucerna and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoires due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine sound and intire to euerie one.

The fourth Article speaketh of exceptions to bee obserued in the alliances.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance; yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conseruation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head; except hee can make good proofe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

For punishment of homicides and banished persons, in their seuerall quarters of offence.

safety of his life. Whosoeuer shalbe condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cãtons: and whosoeuer lodgeth or assisteth anie such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

Concerning debts, pawnes matrimony, & knowen vsury.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest Vsury, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawne of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawnes of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Of iudgements not standing to the award and censure.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordayned, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interresseth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the acte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceite. And euerie man shall content him selfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discoursing them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus breefely & summarily toucht them.

Matters too largely dilated, do manie times breed offence.

The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at Stantz.

The first Article is for pacification of wars that may happe amongst the Cantons, and of differences betweene particular persons.

FIrst, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other ioyned there-with in this alliance. Neither shal offer anywrong to their bodies, goods, Townes, Countreyes, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Bretheren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselues with that which is offended, and conserue the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shal doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in vvhat place soeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserued. Neuertheless, if any one shall commit such insolences vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answere may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custom of the country.

Of insolencies committed on the iurisdictions of other men.

The 2. Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

Secondly we say, that hence-forward, none shall attempt to make anie assembly, and therein to purpose anie thing whatsoeuer (either secretly or publikely) in the Cities, Townes, or Countries of *Swetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first knowen, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whosoeuer swerueth, and endeuoureth to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or infringing their orders and decrees.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressely ordaine, that (honour and oath reserued) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to excite the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or moone the people to any disobedience or reuolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof: that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme those subiectes to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

The third Article concerneth the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, becauſe that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Anceſtors reſolued vpon ſome ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it ſeemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetuall, euen the principall Article of thoſe ordinances, and in regard of our ſelues and our ſucceſſors, to ſet it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours diſplayed againſt the enemy: all they that march vnder thoſe colours, muſt continue together for the fight, as honeſt men ought to do. And according to the example of our Anceſtours, what neceſſity ſoeuer is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battraile, in skirmiſh, or otherwiſe, how ſhort or long ſoeuer the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article concerneth matters of contracts paſſed long ago by our Anceſtors

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that thoſe contracts paſſed long time ſince, by our Anceſtours, as concerning Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and other things, in the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred and ſeuenty; ſhall bee obſerued inuiolably, firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at al ſuch times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: thoſe two tranſactions and ordinances, concerning affaires of warre and Eccleſiaſticks, together with this amiable agreement, ſhall be publikely read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that yong men, and they of meaner yeares alſo, may the better remember our alliances, and obſerue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that hereafter (from fiue yeares to fiue yeares) the alliances ſhall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which ſhall bee giuen for this effect.

For yong men and they of vnder age.

The fift Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ranſomes of priſoners.

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and thoſe ſums payed by priſoners for their ranſomes: ſhall be diſtributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Citties, Townes, Caſtles, Countries, paſſages, anuall reuenewes, iuriſdictions, and other things of the ſame nature, though conquered in warre, ſhall be equally parted or diuided among the Cantons, according to their ancient cuſtome. If we permit any of theſe things to be bought or ſolde to any; the money paide, or ariſing thereby, ſhall be diſtributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

The reaſon of making and publiſhing this amiable agreement ſo generally abrood.

We haue determined and publiſhed this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all ſuch as haue or ſhall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, cittizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioyned with vs, may haue their iuſt portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Countries, men, reuenewes yearly, iuriſdictions, ports, and conquered paſſages: ſuch things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetuall alliances, intending that nothing thereof ſhall bee infringed; but that this preſent tranſaction ſhall be inuiolably maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

This Arreſt was ratified with the conſent of all, in the yeare, 1481. in the houſe for particular alliances of our Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, were receiued into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the ſpace of twenty yeares) ſtood compoſed of ten Cantons; whereto conſequently, *Baſile* and *Schaffouze*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we ſpeake of their alliances, wee muſt ſay ſomewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*: then will we ſummarily declare, what they did, after their receiuing into alliance.

Fribourg and Solleurre receiued into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of Fribourg; who was the first Founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.

FRibourg is a Towne, seated vpon the Riuer of *Sana*, builded by *Berthoull*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zeringen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselues long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiected to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Kybourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgdorff*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they forsook their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were present in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Kybourg*, against the Bernians. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with Berne; the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any preiudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count solde *Fribourg* to *Raoul*, King of the Romanes, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred years it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the *Fribourgers* beeing conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the Bernians at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Againe, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity, with the men of Berne.

In the yeare 1403. after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetuall alliance with the Bernians: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty fiue yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauoye*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of Berne followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauoye*, to whom they had beene allied, and stood friends a long time. There were some courses on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Grierez*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The yeare after, the Ambassadours to the King of France, of the Duke of Bourgongne, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the yeare following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*; some certaine men of the Towne complotted with him, to make warre vpon the Bernians. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: if the men of Berne (by a singular prouidence and addresse) had not appeased the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

Albert perceiuing that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons, and leaned to that side, and that the citizens, who enioyed the priuiledges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of Berne, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the cheefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince, as some say) where he caused instantly to be noysed through the Towne; that the Prince wold very suddenly come thether, how soone he knew not. Heere-vpon, he borrowed and got together, all the siluer Vessels, Tapistries, and such like costly mooueables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the towne.

The day beeing come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode foorth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the household, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

The originall of the Towne of Fribourg.

The diuers deportments and carriage of the Fribourgers.

Fribourg solde vnto the King of the Romans.

The perpetuall alliance made betweene the Fribourgers and the men of Berne.

The enemies of peace put themselues formost into the greatest danger.

Albert seeing he should lose Fribourg before he could quit it, taketh the latter hand or course.

A cunning tricke of the Master of the household.

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they repoſed, in their league made with the men of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it ſtood with reaſon and iuſtice, that the Prince ſhould get what he could from them: as namely, the ſiluer veſſels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

There is nothing gained by goods ill gotten, and loſing the harts & obedience of ſubiects.

Speaking theſe words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the ſpoiles of *Fribourg*. But the cittizens, beeing thus vnworthily handled, made a far ſtricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themſelues alſo with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, the Cantons ſent a thouſand men for Garriſon into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewiſe, were preſent in the battailes with their confederates, againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, carrying themſelues very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were receiued (with them of *Solleurre*) into the nũber of the Cantons, as heereafter we ſhal tell you.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Citty of Solleurre, being one of greateſt name in Swetia.

The originall and antiquity of Solleurre.

SOlleurre is one of the moſt ancient cities or townes in all *Swetia*. It is called by many, the Siſter of *Treuers*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Romane inſcriptions, which are yet to bee ſeene at *Solleurre*, do teſtifie the antiquity of the citty. But by the warres and courſes of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnes*, and *Franconians* in *Gaule*, vpon the declination of the Romane Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other citties and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Franconians* became Lords & Maſters, it was rebuilded, and yeelded in ſubiection to the Biſhop of *Geneua*. For it is ſaid, that in the Church or Temple of S. *Victor*, neere to *Geneua*, theſe words are found written.

Solleurre rebuilt and ſubiected to the Biſhop of Geneua.

Acta ſunt hac regnante Domitiano, Epiſcopo Geneuenſi, quo tempore etiam Caſtrũ Salodorenſe Epiſcopatus Geneuenſi ſubditum erat, &c.

Theſe things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Biſhop of *Geneua*: during which time, the Caſtle of *Solleurre* was ſubiect to the Biſhop of *Geneua*, &c.

Solleurre numbred among the Imperiall cities.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *Germane* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbred with the Imperiall cities & townes: yet (notwithſtanding) in ſuch ſort, as the colledge of the chanons enioyed the principal priuiledges and franchiſes. And it is ſaide, that they haue the ſame rights as the chanons of *Zurich*.

The Dukes of Suaba, Gouernors of Solleurre.

The Dukes of *Suaba* were Prouoſts or Gouernours of this citty, as likewiſe of other Imperiall towns in *Swetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in auncient times) made an alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what yeare; but ſince that time, the two citties haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almoſt) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore ſuccoured them with happy ſucceſſe.

The men of Solleurre excommunicated by the Pope, for taking part with the true Emperor.

Vpon the contention moued betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, which ſhould be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occaſion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward beſiedged by the Duke of *Auſtria*. But they of Berne ſent them foure hundred men for their Garriſon. Moreouer, they had warre againſt the Count of *Kyboury*, who wonne a battaile of thẽ, by treaſon of one of their cittizens. Finally, in the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetuall alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Auſtria*, wherein *Leopold* was ſlaine; they made peace and alliance with the houſe of

of *Auſtria*. But it was vpon thoſe ſame conditions, that the other Cantons, with whom they were ioyned in letters and contracts of alliance; by generall and common aduice, ſhould eſtabliſh and ſweare them together in the Military ordinances. Then after that the war againſt the Duke of Bourgongne was ended, wherein they deliuered true teſtimony of proweſſe and valour, in the iudgement of all men; they were accepted and receiued (with them of *Fribourg*) into the nũber of the Cantons.

Their receiuing into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. X.

Of the Switzers wars againſt them of Millaine; againſt the Venetians; and at the conqueſt of Naples.

THE men of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, being admitted into ranke with the Cantons; the *Switzers* made theſe warres enſuing. In the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, eighty and ſeuen; *Iuſtus de Sillim*, Biſhop of *Sion*, leuied an Army of *Valachians* and *Switzers*, which he led beyond the Alps, againſt the Duke of *Millaine*. But the iſſue of that voyage was vnfortunate, becauſe the Duke ouerthrew them: ſo that they were enforced to returne home againe to their owne houſes, after they had loſt very many of their men.

War made by the Switzers, againſt the Millaineſes.

The yeare following, the *Switzers* ſent ſuccour (according to the tenour of their alliance) to *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*, againſt the *Venetians*. And then afterward, they were in pay with the King of *France*, *Charles* the eight, who had renewed the alliance, which his Father made with the *Switzers*. They were firſt in *Bretaigne*, where the King won a great victory againſt the Duke, at Saint *Aubin*. Then againe in *Italy*, when *Charles* conquered the kingdome of *Naples*. And at *Fornolie*, when hee gaue battaile to the Princes of *Italy*, that were leagued againſt him. In all theſe warres, the *Switzers* did good and faithfull ſeruice vnto the King.

Succour ſent againſt the Venetians.

They ſerued the King of France for pay, in many places.

In the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it ſelfe in *Swetia*. The Abbot of S. *Gall* had begun to build a new Abbey at *Roſack*. The cittizens of S. *Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the ſubiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwilling that the bones and reliques of S. *Gall*, ſhould be carried any where elſe; and partly alſo for their owne profit, fearing leſte the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) ſhould be tranſported to *Roſack*, conſpired together, and at vnawares, went out in Arms, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finiſhed. The Abbot not a little moued with this iniury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The ſixe other Cantons, mediatours for peace, exhorted thẽ of S. *Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by courſe of right in law. But becauſe the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) abolishing their ancient priuiledges; therefore conſequently, they had iuſt occaſion to vndertake Armes, and wold not haue it debated in iuſtice. The foure Cantons with ſome other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgaw*: but this warre was appeaſed without blowes. For firſt of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the *Switzers*, who took from them the Valley of *Rheguſce*. Then afterward, the citty of S. *Gall* being beſiedged, peace was made betweene the cittizens & the *Switzers*; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gaudentius*, Count of *Metſch*, and the Lords of *Conſtance*. In like manner, the ſubiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paide his fine.

Strife about the bones and reliques of S. Gall, & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot craueth aide of foure Cantons.

The war vndertaken of S. Gall.

A war ended, and neuer a blow ſmitten.

Some ſhort while after, followed the laſt warre againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, which the *Switzers* called, the warre of *Suaba*: the Emperor *Frederick* did ſpread the ſeeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Succeſſor *Maximillian*, gathered them together. *Fredericke* had procured, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes ſhould make an alliance, which they tearmed, The great league of *Suaba*: and (among other matters) to oppreſſe eſpecially (as was conceiued) the liberties of the *Switzers*. The Emperour

The laſt war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, tearmed the war of Suaba.

was

a great league to oppreſſe the liberties of the Switzers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that meanes, the wayes were more ſafe & aſſured, theeues were taken and puniſhed, and their caſtles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had beene (long time before) ſome enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and ſome of their neighbours, vaſſails to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* ſuffered inſupportable iniuries and outrages. On the other ſide, they of *Auſtria*, greeued the *Griſons* with nouell charges, and had caſt them out of their ancient poſſeſſions in ſome places.

Vpon this occaſion, and to prouide for their owne ſecurity, againſt the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Griſons* made a perpetuall league together.

A league of the Switzers and Griſons, againſt that of their enemies.

Moreouer, King *Lewes* the twelfth, deſirous to recouer the Duchy of *Millaine*, which he auouched to belong vnto him: purchaſed the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in ſuch a perillous time, thought good not to refuſe it, neyther to let ſo fit and apt occaſion ſlippe them.

Many goings and commings were betweene them, to pacifie this buſineſſe, and the parties on eyther ſide took arms, in the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* ſtill remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Conſtance*.

Diuers victories of the Switzers.

But they recouered their honour againe the ſame day, hauing freſhly recollected their forces, and then giuing battaile to the enemy, enforced him to forſake the place. Moreouer, they and the *Griſons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmiſhes, had ſtill the aduantage: as at *Mont de Lucé*, at *Treiſe*, *Harden*, *Fraſtenz*, on the plaine of *Malſa*, neere to *Baſile*, in the Forreſt *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*; and laſtly, at the Caſtle of *Dornech*, appertaining to them of *Solleurre*.

They of *Auſtria*, beeing tired and ſpent with ſo many loſſes, came finally to a compoſition; by the intermiſe of *Lodowicke Sforzza*, Duke of *Millaine*, who ſent thether the Vicount *Galeazzo*. And ſo peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* ſhould remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe places which they had taken before from them of *Auſtria*. In like manner, the iuriſdiction in criminall cauſes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Conſtance* had enioyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Behold what gaines they get, that labour to abolish the peoples liberty.

Thus you ſee the laſt warre (except that of the *Griſons* againſt *Iohn Iaques de Medicis*, Lord of *Muſs*) that the *Switzers* had to this preſent time, to maintaine the liberties of their countries, againſt the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward preſent in many other warres, and wonne renowne of beeing hardy and valiant men: but thoſe warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of Popes, or of the Dukes of *Millaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Auſtria*; the Vicount *Galeazzo* began to make ſecretly a leuye of *Switzers*.

Reſt and quietneſſe doth well helpe, after long toile and labour ſpent in war.

Contrariwiſe, the King of *France* demanded ſuccour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithſtanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galeazzo* enrolled fiue hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodowicke* recouered *Millaine*.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puiſſant Army to beſiedge *Nouara*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garriſon, perceiuing it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munited, nor wherein they could any way reſiſt the enemy; agreed to depart, and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke tooke the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier, and mingled himſelfe among the reſt, onely to eſcape: but happening to be knowne and diſcouered, by a certaine man named *Turman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led priſoner into *France*, and kept in the Caſtle of *Loches*. For the reſt, they do great

The Frenchmens beſieging of Nouara.

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impute to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man onely. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, becauſe (maulgre his will) they compoſed with the French: yet (for all that) they muſt not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Conſidering, they that did the deede, were not ſent by their Cantons, to ſuccour Duke *Sforza*; but followed his faction, againſt the edicts of their Lords. Heereto may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-braind in the buſines, when they departed by compoſition.

One mans offence may not blemiſh a whole nation.

In the ſame yeare, when theſe things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Huldrich*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximillian* renewed the hereditary alliance, made formerly by Duke *Sigiſmond*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*. In the yeare, one thouſand, fiue hundred and one, two potent cities on the *Rhine*, namely, *Baſile* and *Schaffouze*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzers* cantons.

Alliances of Princes made with the Switzers.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Citty of Baſile, and diuerſity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As alſo the originall and antiquity of the Citty.

THE Citty of *Baſile*, capitall & cheefeſt in the country of the * *Rauratians*, is the very greateſt of all the cities and townes in *Swetia*. It is not knowne at what time it was firſt of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his hiſtory of it, calling it *Baſilia*, and teſtifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courſes of the *Allemanes*. There are ſome other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Baſilica*, Mother to the Emperor *Iulian*. *Phlegonius*, the enfranchiſed ſeruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh mention of *Baſilia*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meaneth this citty or no, whereof we now ſpeake. But the opinion of them is moſt probable, that hold the citty of *Baſile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, ſent by *Auguſtus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.

*A people of Belgia, neere to the Riuer Rhene.

Opinions concerning the name of Basile.

But *Baſile* is in the number of the free cities of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) verie franke and liberall priuiledges, from the Romane Emperors. The Biſhoppricke and Vniuerſity encreaſed the renowne thereof. And as it is a neighbour to the *Switzers*, ſo hath it beene likewiſe very carefull for maintaining it ſelfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (in which caſe all *Germany* was combuſted with great troubles) they of *Baſile* made alliance, and promiſe of mutuall ſuccours, with them of the three firſt Cantons; and afterward, in the yeare, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other cities and townes of *Germany*. In the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, forty fiue, they made a particular alliance (for 2. yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the yeare 1365. by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, an Army of Engliſhmen came and forraged the country of *Halſatia*, beſiedged *Strasbourg*, and threatned *Baſile* with the ſame behauior, becauſe the cittizens of the leſſer *Baſile*, engaged by the Biſhop to the Duke of *Auſtria*; would not ſubmit themſelues wholly to his will.

Basile numbred among the free Cities of the Empire.

The men of Basile were friends with the Switzers a long time.

Engliſhmen inuaded the Country of Halſatia, by Duke Leopolds meanes

On the other ſide, *Baſile* beeing not ſtrong for reſiſtance of an enemy, by reaſon of an earth-quake, which had caſt downe the walles and many houſes, and fire had conſumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Solleurre* ſent a ſtrong Garriſon to *Baſile*: ſo that the Engliſhmen durſt not beſiedge the citty, but retired thence, becauſe the Empe-

A ſtrong garriſon ſent to Basile.

Katherine the Widdow to Duke Leopold.

The Dolphin of France brought an Army into Germany.

Emperor *Charles* the fourth, alſo broght an Army againſt them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Baſile*, againſt *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widdow of *Leopold*, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Solleurre* ſent ſuccour: the other Cantons imploying themſelues carefully, to accord them with the houſe of *Auſtria*. Moreouer, at the time of the councell of Baſile, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France, brought a great Army into *Germany*, to breake the councell, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the inſtance & working of the Duke of *Auſtria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the citty and councell, againſt the encountering of a ſtrange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it beeing not aboue ſixteene yeares, ſince they had coaped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well neere) loſt their liues there: but yet they did ſo weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with thē which fled faſteſt.

The Baſilians ioyne with the Switzers againſt the Duke of Auſtria.

They being thus auoyded, the men of Baſile ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and ſo made warre together on the Duke of *Auſtria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himſelfe ſo terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of Baſile ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other citties on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*; *Renê*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they ſhewed themſelues both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betweene the Emperour *Maximillian*, the *Switzers* and *Griſons*: they of Baſile remained neuters, without giuing ſuccour to eyther ſide, nor receiued their Garriſons; but they furniſhed them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almoſt) againſt the walles of Baſile, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of Baſile. But during all this war, the cittizens of Baſile fauoured equally both the one and other ſide. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*, the Ambaſſadors on both ſides met at Baſile, & peace was made betweene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

War between the Emperor Maximillian, the Switzers and Griſons.

The Emperor and the Switzers no way diſtaſte the dealing of the men of Baſile in the warre.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of Baſile during this warre, and the Emperor *Maximillian* (for his part) ſeemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held Baſile (almoſt) in the ranke of a foe, becauſe the citty did not then ſhew it ſelfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the ſubiects to the houſe of *Auſtria*, but many more, who till then had beene cittizens; with-drew themſelues to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montbeliard*, into *Halſatia*, and to *Briſgow*, countries appertaining to them of *Auſtria*. Being in thoſe places, they ceaſſed not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of Baſile, who being moued with ſuch indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thouſand, fiue hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and ſo were left in peace with their neighbours, who ſtood in awe of the *Switzers* ſuccour.

CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffouſe was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.

The originall and ſcituation of Schaffouſe

Many citties in Germany tooke their names of Abbeyes.

SChaffouſe, accepted the very ſame yeare, to be nūbred among the cantons, is not of ſo great age and antiquity. It is ſeated on the Riuer of *Rheine*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithſtanding, the Bridge is in *Swetia*. In the time of the Emperor *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which ſtandeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the cittie: as likewiſe the citties of S. *Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rheine* is alſo another cauſe of the citties encreaſing, continuing ſo for ſome thouſand of yeares ſince, beneath the citty, where

wherewith it is (in a manner) encloſed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with ſuch a dreadfull noyſe, and remounting vp againe into the ayre ſo vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myſt. And for this cauſe, and the vncapableneſſe of any Boats to paſſe there, all ſuch as deſcend downe the Lake of *Conſtance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rheine*, are conſtraind to diſcharge at *Schaffouſe*; which hath beene conceiued by many, to giue that name to the Citty, to wit, of a Squiffe, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*, thence to bee tearmed *Schaffouſe*. Neuertheleſſe, the vulgar ſort, taking vp a falſe etymologye of the word *Schaff*, which ſignifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion ſtrongly thereon, and forged Armes alſo of the ſame nature. There is a great tole or cuſtome gathered in this Citty, eſpecially for the paſſage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the Citty, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffouſe*.

No Boates able to paſſe the water at Schaffouſe.

Concerning the name of Schaffouſe.

A great Tolle or Cuſtome for ſalt.

12

At the beginning, the principall dominion or ſway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and choſe one halfe of the Magiſtrates; but (by little) and little) they exempted thēſelues from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchiſes of the Emperors. But *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Auſtria*, ſuch monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betweene them, which cauſed him to alienate and ſell *Schaffouſe*, together with ſome other Townes, and ſo (by that meanes) it became diſmembred from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouſe* remained ſubiect to the Dukes of *Auſtria*, for the ſpace of foureſcore and fiue years, euen vntill the councell of *Conſtance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, becauſe hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the councell, was baniſhed by the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who cauſed him to bee ſo narrowly purſued, that all his goods were partly pilled, and partly confiſcated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

Schaffouſe ſubiected to the Dukes of Auſtria for 85 yeare.

Schaffouſe at liberty at the firſt, but afterward alienated by the emperour.

In this warre, *Schaffouſe* became reunited to the Empire, and the cittizens (hauing giuen a good ſumme of money, to the Emperor) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patents: and therein was plainly expreſſed, that (thence forward) their Citty ſhould not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Frederick* the third, of the houſe of *Auſtria*, being Emperor: laboured to ſubiect it againe, and that the citty of *Schaffouſe* might remaine to his ſucceſſors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigiſmond*, to compell the cittizens to ſweare fidelity to him; which they refuſed to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambaſſadors into the citty, but vppon that condition. Contrariwiſe, the Ambaſſadors preſſed them earneſtly, to oblige themſelues to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the cittizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

Schaffouſe vnited to the empire again, and great priuiledges grāted thereto.

The men of *Schaffouſe*, ſeeing the Ambaſſadors perſiſt ſtill in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receiued the Switzers Ambaſſadors into their citty, and made alliance (for ſome yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, ſo that the Ambaſſadors of *Auſtria* returned backe, and performed iuſt nothing.

The Switzers Ambaſſadors receiued into Schaffouſe, & alliance made with them.

Before this, they of *Schaffouſe* were in good amity with the Switzers, and from the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, forty fiue, made alliance (for ſome time) with them of *Zurich*. But becauſe they were Subiects to the houſe of *Auſtria*, againſt whom, the Switzers had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmely this amity, but were compelled, to go in war againſt the Switzers, vnder the Enſignes of the *Auſtrians*. But after this laſt alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

The Switzers had continuall warre againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

began: the *Auſtrians* came and aſſaulted the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouſe*.

The Cantons made war on Sigiſmond of Auſtria, by the Popes command.

It came to paſſe, that the Cantons (obeying the command of Pope *Pius*) made war with *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtria*, which being pacified, they of *Auſtria* tooke Armes againe, becauſe *Mulhouſe* and *Schaffouſe* had ioyned themſelues with the *Switzers*, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montbeliard*. At the ſame time, *Peregrin de Hewdorff*, accuſed them of *Schaffouſe* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuille*, and ſollicited ſo much, that they were put to baniſhment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *Iohn* and *Conrad de Fulach*, brethren & cittizens of *Schaffouſe*; of a noble and ancient Family, who ſometimes poſſeſſed a Caſtle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rheine*, whence *Albert* of *Auſtria* had expelled them, but ſoone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other cittizens that maintained their iuſt quarrell, were proſcribed. In this war the Cantons ſent a good Garriſon vnto *Schaffouſe*.

The men of Schaffouſe accuſed by Peregrin de Hewdorff.

Incurſions made on the Auſtrians lands, b them of Schaffouſe.

While theſe helpes and ſuccours laſted, the cittizens made diuers courſes into the lands about, appertaining to the houſe of *Auſtria*; as in the Mountaines of the black Foreſt, in *Hegow*, *Kleckgow*, and other limitrophing lands of *Suaba* and of *Baſile*. Finally, hauing laide ſiedge before *Waldshout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Foreſt, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rheine*, and which was vnder the *Auſtrian* gouernment, peace was made; wherein they of *Suaba* were exempted, & ſtood baniſhed from the Empire, at the purſuite and charges of *Sigiſmond*. Thus then the Cantons hauing experimented in theſe warres, the faithfulneſſe of them of *Schaffouſe*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they receiued from ſuch a citty, ſeated in ſo apt a place on the confines of *Swetia*; And reciprocally, the men of *Schaffouſe*, feeling themſelues to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good aſſiſtance of the *Switzers*; they thought it very expedient, both for the one ſide and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the yeare 1479. they made an alliance for twenty fiue yeares following: wherein were comprehended, the men of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, with whom *Schaffouſe* (till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

A new alliance of Schaffouſe for 25. yeares, made with the cantons.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almoſt) anſwerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the firſt place, they binde theſelues to aide one another. Afterward, they eſtabliſh a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding ſuch differences, as ſhould happen between them of *Schaffouſe* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paide, & what meanes are to be vſed in ſuch caſes. Then for the puniſhment of homicides, or men-killers. The laſt Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one ſide ſhall make no new alliance, without the will and conſent of the other: And that the auncient alliances ſhall alwayes be eſteemed of moſt aduantage, & to precede all the other.

A breefe of the Articles and conditions of the alliance.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgongne* hapned, and ſome yeares conſequently, that of *Suaba*, mooued by the Emperour *Maximillian*, againſt the *Switzers*. In both theſe warres, they of *Schaffouſe* did their duty exceeding well, furniſhing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then euer they did before, and wonne great honour. Alſo, the yeare after the laſt warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roome.

Schaffouſe is reckoned for the twelfth Canton.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the Switzers, ſince ſuch time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them twelue.

AFter that *Baſile* and *Schaffouſe* were numbred with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the yeare, 1503. ſome among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuertheleſſe, and againſt the Edicts of their Magiſtrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of ſmall happineſſe, in the firſt warre of *Naples*,

Wars in Italy, the Frenchmé & Switzers not fortunate in the war of Naples.

Naples, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune prooued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their trauaile, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was tearmed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* euill, and the *French* Pocks: At the last war they were ouercome in two battailes, and lost a great number of their men. The yeare 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Geneuayes* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their citty, which (soon after) yeelded it selfe.

The Spaniards brought it first out of the Indies into Christendome, & bestowed it on the French, at the siedge of Naples.

At the same time, the Emperor *Maximillian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuye of 6000. men, prouided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their allie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuye remained, and was not made.

An honorable minde in the Switzers, not to beare armes against their Allie.

Soone after, to witte, in the yeare 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperor, Pope *Iulius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, leagued themselues together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherin the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The yeare following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led sixe thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Millaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discouered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Swetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

The Cardinal of Sion a warlour and capitall enemy to the French

In the yeare 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgongne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance with their King: but the most part of them were disp[illegible]sed, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearely pensions.

The Switzers offended with the King of France, about their payes & pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no sound well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing leste hee should excommunicate them, they durst not allie themselues with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herauld of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seigneury about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heraulds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they solde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the yeare following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great battaile at *Rauenna*, at encountring there with the French) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into Italy, an Army of twenty thousand me. They beeing ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriuall *Cremona* and *Pauia*, driuing the French out of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but onely the Castle of *Millaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publikely gaue to the whole Nation of the Switzers, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted marke of liberty. *Maximillian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the Switzers succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Locarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

The Switzers reuenged on the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Sword & Bonnet, signes of liberty.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Volturena*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of Sauoye, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

The King of France is denied to bee leagued with the Cantons.

In the ſame yeare, the King of France ſolicited the Switzers, to become agayne allied with them: but becauſe hee would not ſet free the Caſtle of *Millaine*, and ſome diſcouery was made beſide, that his Ambaſſadors laboured to corrupt ſome particulars by gifts, and to buy theyr voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and ſo the warre was renewed again. For the King ſent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Trinulſe* and *Trimouille*, who beſiedged *Maximillian Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied vvith foure thouſand Switzers, to whoſe ayde, eight thouſand more were ſent. Their vantgard being arriued at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquiſhing & driuing them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Hiſtorian much renowned, writes that the *Switzers* won ſuch honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy ſucceſſe of theirs, with (almoſt) all the braue exploites of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithſtanding, the field was deere enough bought by them, becauſe fourteen hundred *Switzers* were there ſlaine, and the moſt part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handye ſtroakes. Which made the people of *Swetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: ſo that diuers withdrew themſelues from *Swetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads ſmitten off in thoſe mutinies and commotions: for the reſt, all was well pacified, without any effuſion of blood.

The victorie of the Switzers ouer the French at Nouara, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by councel of the Emperor, entred into France thorowe Bourgongne.

After this victory of the *Switzers*, the Emperor *Maximillian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduiſed the *Switzers*, to enter France by Bourgongn, with an army of ſix thouſand men; wherto (wel-neere) ſixteene thouſande other voluntary ioyned themſelues, together with ſome troopes of horſe belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conducte of the Prince of *Wirtemberg*. There they beſieged *Dijon, the capitall City of all Bourgongne. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Captaine, beeing not of ſtrength to defend well the place, agreed vvith the Switzers, on conditions, that the King ſhould acquit whatſoeuer he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) ſixe hundred thouſand Crowns; for aſſurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hoſtages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

* Dijon.

Meanes made to get the Switzers out of France

Nowe, although it was a matter moſt palpable and notorious to all men, that this compoſition warranted the kingdom becauſe that *Dijon* being taken, the *Switzers* might haue run vp ſo farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyne themſelues there with the Engliſh; and beſide that king *Lewes* hadde not a ſufficient Army to make head againſt them; yet notwithſtanding, he would not ratifie his compoſition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of Millaine, ſhould be ſo much as talkt of. The Switzers ſeeing themſelues thus handled, and highly offended with ſuch ſlye trickes: threatned to kill the Hoſtages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuertheleſſe, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they reſolued to re-enter France in the month of Nouember: But the King ſent his Ambaſſadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they coulde no way ioyne, becauſe the conditions which the King propounded, were very vnreaſonable: which was the cauſe that the time ſpent it ſelfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and friuolous diſputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the reſt of theſe meetings and aſſemblies, they were thus conſidered on, that in the month of December, the ſame yeare, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

The King of France refuſeth the former compoſition agreed on by Trimouille.

Much talke and nothing done.

Appenzel the 13. Canton.

CHAP

PAGINATION INCORRECT

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customes, & maner of gouernment there obserued.

A description of the scituation of Appenzel, and the villages therto belonging.

APpenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somwhat aboue S. *Gall*, betweene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzell*, whereof all the rest of the countrey beareth name. This Countrey was sometimes vnder the gouernment of the Abbots of saint *Gall*, and becaufe they alwaies vfed to dwel in the chiefeft town or village, wher they builte a very ftrong Caftle, named *Claux*: the village was therefore cald *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to fay, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

Abbatis Cella The Abbots Chamber or dwelling.

The inhabitants of Appenzel buy their liberty.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, firft by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themfelus & their children, by meanes of a great fum of mony, which they paied to the Abbot. They had wars which continued feuen yeares, againft *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of S. *Gall*; to whom the townes about the Lake of *Conftance*, and belonging to *Frederick* D. of *Auftria*, the bifhoppe of *Conftance*, the Count of *Wirtenberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue fuccour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themfelues for all this, but being ayded by the Cittizens of S. *Gal* (who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won fom battels, tooke fiue Townes, and more then fixty Caftles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themfelues with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the houfe of *Auftria*. Some fay, that they allyed themfelues with *Suits* and *Glaris* only; but others doe maintaine, that it vvas with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour *Rupert*, agreement was made betvveene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Conftance*.

Their warre against Abbot of Gall.

Their league with the Switzers.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of gouernment to themfelues, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her enfign, and her eftates apart, or by it felfe. Now there was but one Enfigne, one aflembly of their eftates, and one Councell, compofed of the moft honeft people, and the notableft perfons in all the Villages thoroughout the countrey. Then three years after the peace was made, the Abbot of Saint *Gall* attempted a new fuite againft them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald* *Zug*, & *Glaris*, which fo offended the Abbots of Saint *Gall*, as, about the yeare one thoufand foure hundred twenty fiue, *Henrie Manfdorff* (then Abbot) preuailed fo far, that they of *Appenzel* were proferibed by the Empetour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banifhment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatfoeuer, becaufe the countrey (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almoft with any bodie) no inuafion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication fent from the Pope, they refolued in an aflembly of al the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the prieftes (that obferued the command of the Pope) out of their Countrey, and vvould not permit them to adminifter the Sacraments: amongft all which they killed but one.

Their form & maner of their order and gouernment, firft by themfelues, and afterwards in due fafhion.

People are banifhed and excommunicated, becaufe they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of Saint *Gall*, perceiuing that this courfe did him not any feruice; and that (on the other fide) the men of *Appenzell* ranne verie fiercely vpon fuch, as durft tearme them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Caftelles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Byfhoppe of *Conftance*, and the Noblemen of *Suaba*, hee accufed them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extreamitie. The Electors fent to the Switzers, and to

The Abbot of S. Gall appealeth to the Electors.

the Cities of *Suaba*, that they ſhould bring them of *Appenzel* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow cittizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this excommunication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing beene (before) ouercome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

The Switzers would not war on their neighbours.

This peace laſted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Conſtance*, aſſembled a great number of horſemen, wherewith to inuade them of *Appenzell*. But they diſappointed their hope, and got before them; poſſeſſing themſelues of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rheguſce*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: cauſed them of *Appenzell* to be cenſured with baniſhment, by the Imperiall Chamber eſtabliſhed at *Rotuille*. But gaining nothing by the bargaine, they ſolde them their right, for the ſumme of ſixe thouſand crowns, and tooke off the cenſure. In the yeare, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with ſeauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themſelues with the *Switzers*, in the warres againſt the Dukes of *Auſtria*, of *Bourgongne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they ſhewed themſelues both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

Warre made vpon the Noble-men by them of Appenzell.

When anger helps not, patience muſt preuaile.

Appenzell receiued into the Cantons.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betweene the fiue laſt Cantons; And a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.

ALL the latter cantons, except *Baſile*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at ſundry times they were receiued and numbred with the cantons, according as wee haue noted already.

Now thoſe Cantons doe hold this right aboue their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of conſultation, for all occaſions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a ſhare or part, in all commodities and diſcommodities of the comminalty. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baliwicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publikely, all booties gotten in warre. For the reſt, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the firſt, are almoſt alike.

What rights and priuiledges belonged to the Cantons.

The firſt and principall Article, concerneth mutuall ſuccour or aſſiſtance, wherein there are diuerſity of clauſes. The Cantons which ſhall be called, ought to ſuccour their aſſociate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be ſo ſuddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambaſſadors; yet ſhall not they forbeare (for all that) from giuing ſuccour, and in as ſpeedy manner, as if they had receiued expreſſe aduertiſement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithſtanding, they ſhall mooue no warre againſt any perſon, without the will and conſent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cauſe in iuſtice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent iudgement: the Canton may not attempt to purſue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, ſhall come to ſuccour the other, and ſend ſuch numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they ſhall ſee it commodious, wherewith the other Canton muſt content it ſelfe. In like manner, the limits are preſcribed, wherein the auncient Cantones ſtand bound to ſend helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then ſtand. There is likewiſe mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the beſiedging and battering of Townes and Caſtles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stantz*, touching the partage of booties, which alſo are heerein confirmed.

Articles of alliance of the latter cantons with the former.

The limitation & bounds of ſuccour to be ſent.

The ſecond Article declareth, what kinde

Of differences betweene two Cantons or many.

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference do happen between two Cãtons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreouer, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of iniuries betweene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Trafficke, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the

Subiects of one Canton to be entertained by another Canton

citizens and subiects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whosoeuer, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is mooued betweene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges rights, and customes in their true integritie.

An especiall survey of the conditions most material

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shal not mone any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the countrey; and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Swetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importãce: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

CHAP. XVI.

Heere we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French vndertooke to recouer the Dukedome of Millaine, &c.

The death of Lewes, the 12 K. of France, after whome succeeded Frances de Valois.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, fiue hundred, & fifteene, King *Lewes* the twelfth dyed. He had newly sought by his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the Switzers. Neuertheless, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Millaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor) to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixed on the *Millaineses*. The Switzers (on the other side) allyed with the Emperour *Maximillian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: vndertook to defend *Millaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Millaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioyne with the first.

The Switzers attempt to guard Millain against the French.

King *Frances* passed ouer the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccustomd waies, shunning the Garrisons of the Switzers, which were vpon the vsuall passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germaines. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more thether, so that the campe of Switzers onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well prouided and resolued, yet they woulde not hazard any thing, nor set vppon so great an Army of Switzers: it being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before beene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the Switzers: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie vvith them.

The Camp of Swizers, was 31000. men in number, and neuer so many of them seene before in the field at one time.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreouer the Emperor had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knightes (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of Spaine were neere-

Reasons inducing the Switzers to listen topeace when it was moued.

yet

yet notwithſtanding, they could hardlie be perſwaded to paſſe the *Pau*, and ioyne themſelues with the *Switzers*. Beſide, there were meſſengers gooing and comming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* ſeeing themſelues vvithout money, and forſaken of their Conſortes: made peace in the village of *Gallerus*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honeſt conditions. Which hauing bene confirmed by ſome Cantons, immediatly twelue thouſand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their countrey, without tarrying for the reſt, who likewiſe prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to ſ French) laboured by oblique meanes, to breake & fruſtrate all.

12000. Switzers part home to theyr country, without the reſt of their cõpanie.

It came to paſſe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and ſome others beſide offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, ſending worde inſtantly to aduertiſe their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their preſent ſuccour. The other, imagining that it would be a great ſhame vnto them, to forſake their friendes in ſuch a neede, and being made to beleeue withall, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to aſſiſt them. The fight was very ſharp on all ſides; but the night parted them. In this charge was ſlaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, alſo the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talemond*, ſonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Buſſy d'Amboſe*, and manie other: which made ſome to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maiſters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very ſame night, the King hauing mounted his Artilletie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the Gaſcoigns and Germaines, re-aſſembling the horſemen vnder their Regiments, and ſending *Bertelomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very earely in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquiſhed, after they had loſt manie of their men.

A hot & fierce fight between the Switzers & the French wherein the Switzers wer ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lord du Bellay, in the firſt book of his Memories.

The *Switzers* ſeeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-ſelues to *Millaine*; yet in ſuch ſort, that their retreate ſauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the middeſt among them, and going but a very ſoftly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horſe or Foot, durſt purſue them. On the morrow, hauing left the Duke of *Millaine* fifteene hundred men, to ſtrengthen his garriſon in the Caſtle, they returned into *Swetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reaſon of their foile, the French recouered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The retreat of the Switzers backe to Millaine.

The Emperour *Maximillian* conteſted hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and ſo was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victorie coſt him: he neuer ceaſed till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred, and eighteene, the laſt day of Nouember: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thouſand, fiue hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are ſet downe in their due place, heereafter following.

The Dukedome of Millain recouerd by the French

Perpetuall peace betweene the Switzers and the French.

CHAP. XVII.

A Diſcourſe, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.

AT that very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were earneſtly

Certaine reasons why the m̃e of Zurich refused to be allied with the king of France

neſtly ſollicited by the reſt, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yeelding to this alliance. In the firſt place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perſwaſiue ſpeeches, had wholly eſtranged them from the French. On the other ſide, *Huldrich Zwinglius*, being then a principal miniſter at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceaſed not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre ſeruice. Shewing by arguments & remonſtrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Chriſtian man, to ſet himſelfe to ſale for a price of money, and go ſhed the bloode of ſuch as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He ſayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their countrey. All which while, they wholly eſtranged themſelues from ſuch courſe of liuing; their liues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themſelues vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be ſold.

The allegations of Huldrich Zuinglius, why Chriſtian men ſhould not make themſelues hyrelings in warre.

And as hee had words verie readie at command; ſo he approued by great ſtore of ſound reaſons and arguments, that ſuch alliances did but eneruate & meerely proſtitute the liberty of the Switzers to forraine Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwiſe) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires; were much mooued with his ſpeeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other ſide, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleuenth, diſſwaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderſtood & comprehended the occaſion of the war; they made choiſe of ſuch Captaines and ſoldiers as they ſhould ſend to the king, according to their promiſe. But in the Newe League, the Cantons neither choſe Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all; what the occaſions of the warre were, nor whether they vvere iuſt, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he choſe ſuch Captains of the Switzers as himſelfe pleaſed, and cauſed them to come whether he thoght good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Moreouer, many ſaide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the firſt Article they ſtand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, againſt all enemies whatſoeuer they are. True it is, that the firſt alliances were exempted; but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to ſend ſuccour to the King, againſt the other: whereon enſued (as it ſeemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reaſon (in friendly maner) of the King of France, and would purſue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promiſes of the ancient alliances.

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetual Alliances of the Switzers.

Moreouer, it is not any long time, ſince the Switzers denied theyr troopes to the Emperor *Maximilian*, alleadging (for their excuſe, becauſe he would haue had them ſerue at his Corronation) that they were occaſioned (for many reaſons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne countrey. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they ſhould then allye themſelues with the King, who would make a Leuye of them, ſo ſoone as the alliance was concluded.

The Switzers denyed their troopes to the Emperor Maximilian, and vpon what cauſe.

They conceyued alſo, that it would be farre off from theyr auncient grauity and magnanimity, if they ſhould league themſelues ſo ſtrictly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he ſhould gouern the affayres of Germanie, ſo that if he ſhould be elected Emperor, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there vvere others of opinion, that the profite would fall into ſome particular purſes, and eſpecially of ſuch, as enriched themſelues by the penſions of Fraunce; but the Com-

The Switzers denied obedience to the King of Frãce if hee were choſen Empẽror.

mon-

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargaine, as very easily was to be proued.

Arguments very considerately alledged by the Switzers, against ioyning in League with the King of France.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantery, hauing worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that imployment. Moreouer, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the Switzers of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idlenesse. And then is easily known what followeth; dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are lerned in the armies of strange Princes.

The fruites of war in forrain Princes seruices.

For a finall conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especiallie the men of Zurich) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of Bourgongne: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such straunge warres they lost many of their people: or els in those coũtries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations; the inhabitants of Zurich could not (as then) be induced to ally themselues with the king of France.

Some former examples wer not altogither warrantable.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaind what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prooue it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holye persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioyned by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Arguments for alliance of the Switzers with the K. of Frãce, against those formerly alledged by the of Zurich.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine: the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the Switzers Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

The Switzers countries stored with people, but very barren.

To these we will adde, that the Switzers ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, som wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselues with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the Switzers in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard whereof, warlike people haue euermore beene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the Switzers haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Lewes* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the twelfth. And therfore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

Martial & militarie Discipline very expedient for all Commonweales.

This was the discourse then made concerning aliance with the French: as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfesame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euen in my time, by men well grounded in the affayres of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

of

Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.

Another Discourse of the Author, concerning the associates in particular manner.

HItherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the Switzers Commonwealth, and what hath beene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselues in a body politicke. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vppon what conditions they allyed themselues with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the Citty of Saint *Gall* do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.

The City of S Gal tooke name at first of one Gallus, a Gentleman of Scotland.

Gallus, of whom the city of Saint *Gal* hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombanius*, with whome hee came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the Riuer named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of Zurich. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of *Swetia*, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Gonzo* Duke of *Suaba*, hauing called him to bee Bysshoppe of *Constance*; he would not accept that charge: but councelled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *Iohn*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, aboue the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of S. *Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with som of his schollers, in the studye and meditation of holy matters.

Gallus refused to be bysshop of Constance, and preferred one of his schollers to it.

After the death of S. *Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of anie certaine rule or order. But the Kinges of France, and the Dukes of *Suaba*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of saint *Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of S. *Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertrand*, Gouernor of the countrey for the Kinges of *France*, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Coire* of the Grisons, and towardes *Pepin*, Prince of France, sonne to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of Saint *Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of S. *Benet*.

The death of S. Gal, & succession of his schollers, and his litle house becomming an Abbey.

Omer a priest the first Abbot of S. Gall.

Af-

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Gouernors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceiued that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, becausе the Townesmen or Cittizens of S. *Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzell*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

The Abbot of S. Gal desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

For this cause *Gaspar de Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monks) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of al his goods, possessions, vsances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected; hee promiseth this accord, and that al the places of his Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free accesse thither. And if diffrence shal happen between him and any other: he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

Landberg the Abbot beeing dead, Huldrich firnamd the Red, succeeded after him.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldrich*, and sir-named *Le Roux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to bee Captaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the moity of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreouer, it was ordained in this allyance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons. As concerning that vvhich *Abbot Huldrich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometimes before, the Citizens of Saint *Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cãtons to theyr assistance, reseated the *Abbot* in his rites, and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Captaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

Abbot Huldrich renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more strictly.

Couenants of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

THE Citie of Saint *Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath beene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnited it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courses and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The cittie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperors liberalities.

The Abbey began and increased the city of S. Gall.

Now, when the number of cittizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Original, betweene the abbot and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chamber, would set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the Abbots demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rightes of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stouffen*; the men of S. *Gall* beganne to take part with the Abbot, and got nothing for their labour but blovves, vvhich caused them (soone after) to make alliance vvith them of *Appenzel*. This vvarre being ended, and some other after, abbot *Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse vvith

Wealth and ease are the first cause of strifes & ciuill contentions.

with foure Cantons · the cittizens of S. *Gall*, to maintaine themselues by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with Zurich, Berne, Lucerna, Suits, Zug, and Glaris. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of S. *Iohn* Baptist, in the yeare, 1454. And they of Saint *Gall* made a publicke banket for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, whereat were present aboue fifteene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderuald*, in the yeare 1329. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day.

1500 men present at one banquet.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.

Concerning the antiquitie of the Grisons, beeing sometime called Rhetians, of the captain Rhætus.

IT is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Sauior Iesus Christ, the Tuscans beeing driuen from their houses by the *Gauls* they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhætus*, for whose sake they called themselues Rhætians. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Romane Emperors made two Rhætian Prouinces, named the first & second *Rhætia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Bauaria*. Now, it is well knowne, that this first *Rhætia* beginneth at § sourse of *Rheine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people ther are (to this day) called Grisons; and in former times they were tearmed *Gris*: as likewise the *Allmains* gaue them the same name, & call them beside, **Graw pundter**, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these Rhætians are Leagued, not onely with the Switzers, but also among themselues, and that of verie long time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & som times the Switzers names them simply, **Pundter**, that is, Confederates.

Diuersitie of names giuen to the people of Rhætia.

Three seueral Leagues of the Grisons.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the scituation of the countrey: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshippes, among whom (heeretofore) the Abbot of *Dissentiss*, and the Baron of *Rhætia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the cheefest ranke:

1. The High Leauge, or high Grisons.

but the families of the 2. latter are expired. Neuertheless, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhætia*, are called Lords of *Rhætzurs*, a title which (some short while after) the Lordes of *Marbrée* took; and after them, they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Tauetscher*, *Liuiner*, and *Masoxertal* are the principall people of this league.

2. The league of gods house or of the Hospitall.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Coire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities; two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vse the Rhætian or Grison, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principal people of this league are the city of *Coire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregaul* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Etsch* and *Inn*.

3. The league of ten iurisdictions.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdictions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchemberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vvith the Cantons neerest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the Byshop, the Chapter, & the cittie of *Coire*, made Allyance vvith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vvith them of *Glaris*. And the Grisons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetuall alliance vvith seauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do-

Seuerall alliances, & at seuerall times.

Alliance of the Griſons with the Switzers, and vpon what occaſions.

entertaine this amity and ſociety with the confederates, euen as firmely and faithfully, as if they ſtood ſolemnly bound thereto.

First then, in the yeare 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Griſon league*, made perpetuall alliance with ſeauen Cantons: and the yeare following, the league of *Gods-houſe* ioyned it ſelfe with them, by this occaſion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-Houſe* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyroll*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximillian*, it was decreed; that the parties ſhould chuſe an equall number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Conſtance*, ſhould be Arbitrator aboue all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this diſcord, the Biſhop of *Conſtance* dyed: and in his ſtead, *Maximillian* ſubrogated *Fredericke*, Biſhop of *Ansbourg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the deciſion of the ſuite, as before they had done: all this while molleſting the *Griſons*, and charging them ſtill with nouell impoſitions.

A great difference between the league of Gods-houſe, and them of Tyroll.

The Griſons depute two of each league for ending their cauſe.

They perceiuing no ceſſation, deputed two of each league, and ſent to *Inſpruk*, inſiſting, that this difference ſhould end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximillian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the reſt) the chancellor was preſent when the decree was ſet downe. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the Deputies ſhould not bee ſent backe without anſwer; they aſſigned a day at *Velcure*, in Lent the next yeare enſuing. In the meane while, they of *Auſtria* planted Garriſons vpon the Frontiers, and ſtrong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expreſſely, becauſe they would ſet vpon them at vnawares, & vtterly ouerthrow the *Griſons*, no way ſtanding on their guard: wherein the Biſhop of *Coire* lent his helping hand to them of *Auſtria*. But the league of *Gods-Houſe*, hauing diſcouered the enemies intent; ſent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderſtand this eminent danger.

Cunning trics, and fit for ſuch to vſe, as deſire to oppreſſe the peoples liberty.

The Ambaſſadors declared, that beſide the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betweene them of *Auſtria* and the Switzers, ſo that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & ſecurity both of the Switzers & Griſons, it ſeemed good, that they ſhould be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Griſons* ſhold eaſily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almoſt none at all. On the other ſide, the Switzers ſhould haue a Bulwarke to back them, and ſo might the more ſtrongly make head againſt the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Griſons* before, and knew thoſe Mountaine-bred men, to bee a warlike diſpoſed people, and how beneficiall this alliance wold be both to the one and other: concluded and eſtabliſhed a perpetuity of loue with the *Griſons*, in the yeare 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are theſe that follow.

An offer of alliance betweene the Switzers and Griſons.

A perpetuall league of loue with the Griſons.

The Articles of alliance, betweene the Switzers and the Griſons.

For friendſhip and aſſiſtance

1. *Firſt, that they ſhall be friends, & giue mutuall ſuccour one to another.*

Agreeing of controuerſies.

2. *The ſecond Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betweene confederates.*

No ſelling of debts.

3. *The third is, that no man ſhall giue or ſell away, thoſe actions that he hath againſt his debter, or the anſwerer, or ſurety for him.*

For food and trading.

4. *The fourth concerneth victualles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without ſtanding bound to pay any new tributes.*

For new alliances, & making of peace.

5. *That neither the one nor other ſide, ſhall make any new alliance, wherein theſe Articles ſhall be compriſed, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one ſide ſhall not make peace, except the other be therin comprehended alſo.*

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the yeare following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Griſons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, againſt the men of *Auſtria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the aſſiſtance of the Switzers, diuers braue battailes were

New troubles happened by the warre of Suaba.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the citty of *Basile*, with the Emperor *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

Peace made in the citty of Basile, for the Switzers and Grisons.

It came to passe, that in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirty and one: *John Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Marignano*, getting vsurped possession of the Castle of *Muß*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was ouercome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of Swetia, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuertheless, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated of the Switzers, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

John Iaques de Medicis, Marquesse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

CHAP. XXI.

The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehendes three distinct people, encloſed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the sourse of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake * *Lemanus*. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Seduſians*, or *Seguſians*, some say, *Sebuſians*, and *Veragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Seduſians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Dioceſſes, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Veragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the soueraignty both temporall and spirituall, and he is called Count, or Gouernor of *Valois*. We haue described in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.

A description of Valais or Valois.

* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneua and Lausana.

The Bishop of Sion is Count and Gouernor of Valais or Valois.

Fiue Wardes or Dioceſſes of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, in the yeare 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The Bernians gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgesses: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselues with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing leste this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betweene the Bernians, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the businesse, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-establiſhed in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten yeares) with them of Berne, in the yeare 1250. Againe, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the Bernians. But in the yeare 1475. they made a league defensiue and offensiue. And in the same yeare when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred yeares being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were leagued with the Bernians, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*.

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences mooued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wardes of the *Valaisians*, in the yeare 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollenurre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is vsed in the other) it

Differences about the ceremonies, liues, and manners of the Cleargy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vsed and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotwill, or Rotuill.

Opinions concerning the name of Rotwill, or Rotuill, which is an Imperiall Towne or Citty.

SOme haue imagined, that *Taxgatium*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glareanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceiue themselues. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxgatium* in the country of the *Grisons*, and *Rotuille* is scituated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the Riuer *Nicra*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Riuers. This citty is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofgricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.

The first alliance of them of Rotuille with the cantons.

The first alliance that they of *Rotuille* made with the Switzers, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredericke* the third, in the yeare 1463. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the yeare 1519. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the Switzers. Dvring the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuille* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselues alwayes faithfull to the Switzers; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the Switzers could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their citty against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuille* is scituated along the limits of Swetia, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens lands: the alliance speaketh expressely, that they must be carefull for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

Rotuille is scituated through the midst of Swetia.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any whosoeuer, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of Swetia, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreouer, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto thē; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuille* must also consent therto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuille* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conserue (with all their power) the Imperial chamber of *Rotuille*; which (in the mean while) shall vse no authority against the Switzers, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thether a Switzer; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molest any Switzer in that iurisdiction.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperiall Chamber of Rotuille, to be powerfully defended.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

Mvlhouse is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thoght that in ancient times it was called *Ariabinum*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*; this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensheym*; then Mount *Brisfac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Gouernor thereof, also of the Towne

The situation and nomination of Mulhouse.

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to paſſe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul* of *Habſpurg*, and the Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouſe* was taken from the Biſhop, & the Caſtle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouſe* was againe re-obtained, and numbred among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her firſt alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molleſted the Towne, and narrowly watched all occaſions to aſſault it; the cittizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fifteene yeares, as alſo with *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, and by meanes of the *Bernians* interceſſion, the other ſeuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued ſo diſpleaſing to the Noble-men, that theſe priuate enmities conuerted themſelues (ſoone after) into open warre: which cauſed the Switzers immediately, to ſend and plant Garriſons in *Mulhouſe*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great aſſiſtance to releeue *Mulhouſe*.

Alliance made with Berne for fifteene yeares, and other.

In the end, hauing beſiedged the towne of *Waldshout*, appertaining to the houſe of *Auſtria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to ſome equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouſe* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeſſes with them of *Baſile*, and thereby more ſtrictly vnited to the Switzers. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuille*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with ſtrangers.

Alliance with all the thirteen Cantons

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of Bienna.

The ſituation and eſtate of Bienna.

Bienna is at the ende of a very pleaſant Lake, abounding with plenty of fiſh & round engirt (on all ſides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the gouernment of the Biſhop of *Baſile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regiment a part by it ſelfe, as alſo liberall frãchiſes and priuiledges.

The firſt alliance of thẽ of *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theeues, which wandred there in ſo great numbers, as almoſt no way had any ſecurity for paſſage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg* and *Solleurre* were alſo compriſed. Three years after, in regard of ſome great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the Bernians. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, becauſe *Iohn de Viana*, Biſhop of Baſile, (a man of turbulent ſpirit) wold not ſuffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of Bienna, deſirous to prouide for their owne eaſe and tranquility, ioyned themſelues more ſtrictly with the men of Berne, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeſſes. The Biſhop very angry at this vnion, muſtred together ſome troopes of horſe, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of Bienna, and clapt vp in priſon the Authors of this aſſociation.

Iohn de Viana Biſhop of Baſile, a man troubleſome to his neighbours.

When the men of Berne heard of this deede, they came to ſuccour their fellow Bourgeſſes, tooke (by force) the Caſtle, which the Byſhop had in Bienna, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Byſhoppe, as alſo on them of *Solleurre*, his aſſociates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in ſubiection to the byſhop.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneua.

Geneua is the laſt and vtmoſt Cittie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongſt other of Antiquity,) *Caſar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

Iulius Caſar in comment. lib. 1

Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 1. The ſcituation and antiquitie of Geneua.

It is neere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an iſſue of *Rhone* commeth into it. Not onely the words of *Iulius Cæſar*, but alſo many antiquities there found, do teſtifie the ancientneſſe of the citty. Many famous Monuments might haue beene ſeene there, but that the citty was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much deſtroyed and defaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Heliogabalus*, *Geneua* was embraced with ſo fierce a fire, as hardly was any one houſe to be found, that ſtood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* reſtored the citty againe, being ſo pitifully diſfigured, granted it great priuiledges, and gaue it the right of Fairs, and of the Empire, becauſe it was ſcituated moſt commodiouſly. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death, ſhe took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forradged (as many other citties were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themſelues into France. And ſome 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the ſpace of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in ſuch terrible manner, as the moſt part of the citty was quite ruined.

Geneua called by the name of Aurelia.

The Biſhoppricke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuiledges & franchiſes: yet notwithſtanding, the cittizens held their liberties to themſelues, and alwayes carefully conſerued theyr leagues perpetuall with the Biſhop, according as they were left vnto them by their anceſtors. The Counts of *Geneway* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuertheleſſe) were vaſſailes of the Biſhoppricke, and held their Earledomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the cittizens maintained their rights and priuiledges couragiouſly againſt the Counts.

The Countes of Geneway and of Sauoye, great enimies to the liberties of the cittizens of Geneua.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the firſt Duke of Sauoye, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of enterchange, the right and ſuperiority (as they call it) ouer the citty of *Geneua*: the Biſhop named *Iohn de Pierre-ſcize*, made an agreement for him, and all his ſucceſſors with the cittizens, that he nor they ſhould at any time conſent, that the liberties of *Geneua* ſhould be exchanged or alienated. If eyther he, or any of his ſucceſſors did otherwiſe; the cittizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors and conſpiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperor *Maximillian*, hauing amply publiſhed his Sonne in law, *Philebert*, Duke of Sauoye, Vicar of the Empire in thoſe parts: then againe, *Philebert* and his brother *Charles*, ſtroue to ſubiect *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right, and priuiledges of the Vicarſhip, giuen in former times to the Counts of Sauoye, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithſtanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iuriſdiction, and preheminence, ouer the citty and territory of *Geneua*.

An agreement made betweene the Biſhop and cittizens of Geneua, concerning the liberties of the City.

While theſe practiſes and conſpiracies of the neighbouring Princes laſted, they of *Geneua* maintained themſelues heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the Bernians and Fribourgers, for certain years. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeſhip perpetually, with thē of *Berne*, and confirmed it more ſtrictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Biſhop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the cittizens, they being ſuccoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (ſince then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to allie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reaſon, why it is nor executed and done.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of New-Caſtle.

THE Citty of *New-Caſtle*, is ſeated in the country of the *Auantici*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Caſtle*, at the head whereof is another little Towne, called *Tuerdun*. *New-Caſtle* is both a citty and country, and the Count thereof was choſen by ſucceſſion of the Counts of *New-Caſtle*: but ſince, falne to the Counts of *Hochberg*, the Marqueſſe of *Rotelin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of Berne (in name

The eſtate of New-caſtle, being both a City & Country in the ancient country of the Auantici.

name of all the cantons their confederates) poſſeſſed themſelues of the citty of *New-caſtle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Gouernor. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing loſt their ranke: at the returne of it to their turne againe, they ſhould command at *New-caſtle* two yeares together.

A Gouernor placed in New-caſtle by the Cantons.

But when the time drew neere, *Ione* of *Hochberg*, widdow to the Duke of *Longueille*, preuailed ſo much, as (with certaine conditions) the county was ſurrendred back againe, in the yeare 1529. Somtime before, this county had beene allied from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Soleurre* by meanes of ſome Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this reſtoring or ſurrender. At this day, the counties of *New-caſtle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of thoſe people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers.

WEe haue appointed for a third part of our Switzers common-wealth, thoſe people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers. It is neceſſary then, to ſay ſome-what of the time, and by what title, they became ſubiects to the Switzers. Among them there are ſome Townes, which wee may tearme ſtipendaries: becauſe (at their owne proper coſts and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuertheleſſe, they gouerne themſelues by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magiſtrates; & yet the maine ſoueraignty appertaineth to the Switzers, to whoſe Lawes and Edicts, thoſe Townes ſtand bound to obey. Anciently they belonged to the houſe of *Auſtria*, but during the warres againſt that houſe, the Switzers became Maſters of the neighbouring countries, and theſe Townes yeelded themſelues to them vpon certaine conditions; to wit, that they ſhould be as well ſubiect to them, as to the houſe of *Auſtria*, their ancient priuiledges ſaued and excepted. Thoſe Towns are *Bada*, *Brengarten*, *Frauuenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Raſperwill*.

The cauſe & reaſon of this inſtant argument.

A good and ſingular kinde of gouernmẽt and well obſerued among them in thoſe parts.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bada.

BAda is a Towne vppon the Riuer *Limagus*, or *Limmathus*, and ſo called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Welles or Fountaines in that place, whereunto men and women vſe to reſort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cauſe ſome haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Caſtle. According to cuſtome of our Elders, who called Baths, thoſe places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: ſo may wee tearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of Statiell, and others: In France, the Baths of *Aix*, of the *Conuenes*, and of the *Tarbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spaw*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada*, a Towne of the Marquiſate of *Bada*, in a certaine inſcription, is named, *The Bathes*: And in the inſcription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The cittizens of the Baths.

Hot waters or Baths belonging to the Switzers.

Of Baths in diuers countries.

In England likewiſe is a Towne of Baths.

This Towne is one of the moſt ancient of Swetia, by the teſtimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne or Citty, hauing in abundance, and with great pleaſure, very wholeſome waters. The ſame Author ſaith, that the Romans took notice of a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Bada*, and reputed it ſelfe to be a Garriſon: for the Mountaines which cloſe & ioyne together in that quarter, do locke vp the country. To paſſe out of Germany and Swetia into France, and into Italy, wee muſt goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*; from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwart ouer Swetia. In ancient times, this Towne had two Caſtles, one ſeated vpon an high Rocke, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being ſpoyled and defaced by the Switzers, as we ſhall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

The teſtimony of Cornelius Tacitus, concerning Bada.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouernours, which were ſent thither by the Cantons. *Bada* hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their ſucceſſors haue bene the Lords of *Habſpourg*, who ioyned that County to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and diuers other goods. But from the houſe of *Auſtria*, *Bada* came into the Switzers hands, at the time of the Councel of *Conſtance*, in manner following.

Bada ioyned to the houſe of Auſtria, & reuolued to the Switzers.

Fredericke of *Auſtria*, brought Pope *Iohn* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him againſt the Emperour and the Councell. For which cauſe, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, baniſhed from the Empire, and his goods confiſcated. The Emperour himſelfe, with an aſſembled Army, from the Townes and Cities of *Germanie* and *Suaba*, the Duke of *Bauaria*, and ſome others, made warre vpon him. Alſo commandement was giuen to the Switzers, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to aſſaile *Frederick* with al their forces. Whereof they made refuſall, alledging that they could not doe it, and their honor ſaued: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Auſtria*, confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made anſwere to this excuſe of the *Switzers*: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and baniſhed by publike order: This warre concerned the good of ỹ Church, who was offended and iniuried (in her members) by *Frederick*.

By what meanes Bada came into the power of the Switzers.

A Councel of war, & their anſwer returned vnto the Switzers.

Wherefore, if in this cauſe the Switzers vndertooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they ſhould do a good and holy worke. They ſhould alſo well conſider with themſelues, how much it woulde wounde their honour, if (in contrary oppoſition) they continued idle excuſes, which would wrap them vp in the ſame cenſure and condemnation with *Frederick*. Ouer and beſide all this, according to the aduice of the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the Switzers might (vvith a good and ſafe conſcience) make warre vppon *Fredericke*, notwithſtanding the peace made. Becauſe that the Subiects of the Empire, in all actions doe except expreſſely or couertly, the right and Maieſty of the Emperor.

In the ſelfe-ſame councell it was decreed, that men did not ſtande bound to keepe Faith with them that were called heretikes.

The Emperor ſent a copy of this areſt and decree to the *Switzers*, enioyning them againe to make warre on *Fredericke*, and by the ſame meanes adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Auſtria* had engaged to them before. Promiſing alſo, not to make any peace with *Fredericke*, til the *Switzers* were firſt reintegrated into their former agreement. The *Switzers* being then perſwaded with ſuch reaſons, leuied their Armes; but becauſe they were to Warre in the name of the Emperor, and of the Romane Empyre, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reaſon, that they ſhould furniſh themſelues at theyr owne charge, and the fruite of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that theyr wealth was not ſufficient to furniſh ſuch expences.

A Copy of the Decree ſent by the Emperour to the Switzers

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperor for their ſeruice.

The Emperour thought this demand to be made in equity: neuertheleſſe, becauſe he was ſomewhat empty of money, hee agreed with the Switzers, that all the goodes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which they poſſeſſed already, or could conquer in this warre; they ſhould enioy it in the Empires name, vntil they ſhould be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By eſpeciall Letters, the Emperor exhorted them of Zurich to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Albius*, named the Free Prouince, which they of *Auſtria* held. According heereto, the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and fifteene, about the fifteenth day of April, the men of Zurich, with their troops well prepared; went to beſiedge a Towne ſeated on the Riuer of *Ruſs*, named *Mellingen* and on the third day tooke it by compoſition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of Suits & Zug ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yeelded thẽſelues to the *Switzers*, vnder protection of the Empire.

The Emperors Letters to them of Zurich.

The Conqueſts of the Switzers.

At the ſame time, the Lucernians tooke a Towne named *Surſey*. The Bernians, aſsiſted by them of *Solleurre*, *Bienna*, the County of *New-caſtle*, and ſome others beſide, got into their power *Loſingen*, *Arberg*, *Arow*, *Lentzbourg* & *Brug*, to-

together with the country of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they beſiedged *Bada*. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioynd with them, for they of *Auſtria* held no place in *Swetia* of greater ſtrēgth then this: and the Garriſon of *Bada* had much ouer-trauelled the Switzers, eſpecially them of Zurich, and this was the reaſon, that the Cantons reſolued to force both the Towne and Caſtle. As for the towne, after it had beene beaten with the Cannon, for the ſpace of three weekes, without ceaſing, it yeelded. But the ſoldiours ſtill defended themſelues in regard of the fortreſſe, and held out well, after reddition of the Towne. The Switzers on the other ſide, hauing receiued ſuccour from them of Berne, did dayly beate the place, and preſſed the Garriſon to yeelde themſelues. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more ſtones, arrowes, darts, nor anie other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for ſome dayes: vpon condition that if within a limited time *Fredericke* of *Auſtria* did not deliuer thē from this ſiedge, they would quit the place, and deliuer the caſtle into the power of the Switzers.

The towne of Bada is yeelded vp to the Switzers.

The Caſtle of Bada vpon conditions of deliuery.

While theſe things were in working, by the interceſſion of the Duke of Bauaria, and the Burggraue of Nuremberg, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who ſent immediately his Ambaſſadours to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceaſing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garriſon of Bada had done vnto them, ſo ſoon as the truce time was expired, ſo preſſed them within, that two dayes after Pentecoſt, the caſtle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as ſoone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambaſſadour from the Emperor, being arriued at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne, that they ſhould giue ouer armes, found the caſtle to be taken and ſpoyled. This ſtrooke ſomewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occaſion to complaine, becauſe the Switzers had done nothing, but in caſe of open & lawfull warre.

Subtle deuices, to breake the blowes of the Switzers, and to holde their liberties dayly bridled.

Then, as the Emperor was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*, that he might be Pope, who afterwardes was called *Benet* the eleuenth; beeing in need of money, becauſe his cofers vvere emptied (hauing diſburſed great payes, without any intermiſſion in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Councell) he engaged to them of Zurich, Bada, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Surſey, and the Lands to them belonging. Alſo to them of Berne, the country of Ergow, vvhich they had taken, as already hath beene declared: yet paying a great ſum of crowns. At this day, the country of *Ergow* is poſſeſſed by them of Berne onely. The yeare following, they of *Zurich* made a part of that which was ingaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

A counterſtratagem of the Switzers.

The Emperor engageth lāds to them of Zurich, and of Berne.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* vvould not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of theſe places, contradicted the treaty of peace made vvith *Fredericke*. But after they vnderſtood the reaſons of their confederates, who proteſted (in themſelues) the ſame deſire of obſeruing the peace: but that by commaund of the Emperor, and of the Councel, they vndertooke armes. Next, that by the will and conſent of them both, they poſſeſſed now thoſe places for wages, and price of warre-ſeruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperor, the ſoueraigne Lorde; yet for a great ſumme of money, vvhich they had layd out & diſburſed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard theſe Reaſons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians alſo vvere receiued in at the length.

Vri ſtood free from all theſe partakings, til further information from their confederates.

Vri and Berne accepted into this combination at laſt.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

Bremgarten is a Towne, ſituated on the Riuer of *Ruſs*, which encloſeth it in the midſt almoſt, in forme of a demy Iſland, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuiledges of this Towne, that it was (heretofore) numbred among the Imperials. Neuertheles, it became (afterwards) ſubiect vnto the Counts of *Habſpourg*, then to the Princes of

How and in what manner Bremgarten is ſeated.

of *Auſtria* deſcended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themſelues Lords thereof.

A deſcription of the ſcituation of Mellingen.

Mellingen is a little ſmall Towne vpon the ſelfeſame Riuer, about half a German mile below Bremgarten. It hath alwayes beene vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habſpourg*. Theſe two Towns were taken (as Bada) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Empires name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigiſmond* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rightes, priuiledges, and cuſtomes, ſhould remain entire, and the Cittizens to yeelde the ſame dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habſpourg*, and Princes of *Auſtria* their Lordes. At this very day, both theſe Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight firſt Cantons.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Raſperwill.

The forme & ſcituation of Raſperwill.

AS concerning *Raſperwill*, it is a town on the Lake of Zurich, wherin dwelt (ſometimes the Counts of *Raſperwil*, who had to their ſucceſſours the Countes of *Habſpourg*, that gouernd likewiſe in theſe quarters. In the yeare 1458. the Switzers became maſters thereof. There were then two factions in this town, the one of *Auſtrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigiſmond*, tooke ſome of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as priſoners to *Inſpruk*. The reſt amazed at this deede, fled into *Swetia*; but by entermiſe of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Raſperwill* againe. For the Cantons proteſted out alowde, that they would come and aſſault the towne, except the priſoners might be enlarged, and the baniſhed receiued.

Two factions of Auſtrians and Switzers in Raſperwill.

How Raſperwill became ioyned to the Cantons, and ſo afterward continued.

It came to paſſe the yeare following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Conſtance*, who had done them ſome deſpightfull outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, and *Glaris* returned homeward to their houſes, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and paſſage thorow *Raſperwil*, which they eaſily obtained by the purſuite of their partakes. But, being entred more ſtrong, and in greater number then the Cittizens (the moſt part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Cittizens to ſweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Raſperwill* remained in the power of thoſe foure Cantons: who (neuertheleſſe) left the citizens to the ſame liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Auſtria*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Frawenfeld.

How the town came to be taken by the 7. Cantons.

TWo yeares after the taking of *Raſperwill*, the ſeauen Cantons then being in warre againſt *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*, tooke *Frawenfeld*, the chiefeſt town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reaſons and occaſions enow, whereby this warre was vndertaken and attempted. The Duke had impriſoned Cardinall *Cuſano*, byſhoppe of Breſcia, and becauſe he did not releaſe him, ſo ſoone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Æneas Syluius*) ſent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, becauſe this Thunder-bolte did not diſmay him, and he appealed from that ſentence, to the next Councell: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rightes, and to ſet vpon *Sigiſmond*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as vvith the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occaſions to induce this warre.

The cauſes that procured this warre.

The Pope commanded the warre.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of Zurich, was ſubiected to the Duke of *Auſtria*. There is euery yeare in that place a Fayre, on the day of Saint *Gal*, the ſixte of October, whereat the Countrey people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates vver ſhut againſt them, vppon a ſiniſter ſuſpition of the inhabitants, that they of Zurich would ſurprize the Towne, during the Faire time, & had therefore made ſome preparation.

Small ſparkes can cauſe and kindle a great fire, and friuolous ſuſpition proue to produce great harme.

Now, as the Bayliffe eſtabliſhed by the Canton of Zurich in thoſe quarters, required that the Gates might be ſet open, and that they of Kybourg might haue free trading, according to theyr accuſtomd maner, promiſing that the town ſhould

One wrong or iniury draweth another, and to no meane danger

Iris now called both Stiria and Austria.

Violence and cruelty is deaf and will not heare any iustice.

A new Garrison is planted at Winterduer, which soon after was besieged.

should receiue no endamagement; notwithstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counterchange of this iniury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vppon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happned before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the mooving of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stiria*, named *Vigilius*, and *Bernard Gradlers*. They of *Austria*, had inforced them from their houses, and despoyled them of all their goods: without excepting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernards* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenberg*. After they had sollicited the Duke a long time, to restore theyr goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but vvhat iustice did allow: at length, they withdrew themselues into *Swetia*, and were receyued as Bourgesses into Zurich. Afterward, hauing brought a little town, called *Eglisow*: they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the troopes of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fel betweene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (hauing demanded succour of their confederates) went foorth into the fielde, going to besiedge *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diessenhow*, a Towne on the *Rheine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the nine Baylywicks, or Gouernments.

The Baylywickes gouerned by the 7. Cantons, and others with them.

THE common Baylywickes, are gouerned (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywicks, or Gouernments in all, to wit; the Countie of Bada, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Sargans*, the *Rheguscees*, that is to say, the valley of *Rheine*, which they call *Rinthall*, *Lugano*, *Locarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Millainneses*, & speak Italian; the other the Germane tongue. *Sargans*, and the valley of *Rhinthall*, are on the Frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3. are seated within the confines of ancient *Swetia*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Bada and Turgow.

The maner of their Conquest hath bin already declared.

IN this manner (then) were the Towne and County of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the *Switzers* conquered; at such times, and by those meanes, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderualde*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Berne*, commaunded at Bada. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of Bern, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismond* tooke it from *Frederick* of *Austria*, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kepte it till the yeare 1499. when the Emperor *Maximillian* attributed that authority to the *Switzers*, by a treaty of peace which hee made with thē. And therefore the seuen first Cantons aboue named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes, appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the tenne first Cantons, who made warre agaynst the Emperour *Maximillian*, and the League of *Suaba*.

Criminal causes took away by the Emp. Sigismond.

The authority belonging to the ten first Cantons.

CHAP. 34.

Of the three first Prouinces.

Concerning the situation and true names of the free Prouinces.

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the Riuer of *Russ* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albius*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperor *Sigismond*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time when

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Caſtles & Villages, which lye along the Riuer of *Ruſs*, both aboue and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) becauſe that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richenſee* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iuriſdiction, Magiſtrates, and Officers by themſelues: ſo that they ſeemed as three ſeuerall Prouinces, nowe ioyned all into one. In times paſt, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and ſo it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Muren*. The caſtle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Arow*.

The reaſon why the name was thus giuẽ them, according to the authors opinion

At ſuch time, as (by command of the Emperor and the Councel of *Conſtance*) the Switzers made warre on *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered thoſe places, which are along the Riuer of *Ruſs*, and namely that county of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended vvho ſhould be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* oppoſed againſt them, and in diuers dayes held at *Begkenried*, *Vnderuald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before Bremgarten, they ſhewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they ſhould be Lords (in common) of all places in the countrey of *Ergow*, that ſhould be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambaſſadors; yet notwithſtanding, after the teſtimonies were gathered both of the one ſide & other, the Lords of Berne beeing appointed iudges of the variance pronounced, that theſe 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conqueſt of the free Prouinces.

The Lucernians pleaded their Title in right of theyr Ambaſſadors.

Tenne yeares after that, by conſent of the ſixe *Cantons*, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and badde a great part alſo in that gouernment. And therfore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The countrey is not great; and therefore, of what *Canton* ſoeuer the Bayliffe is, hee makes not his reſidence there: but vvhen neceſſity doth ſo require, he comes once a yeare to iudge ſuites in law, and then he is lodged (moſt often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

Vri ioyned with them ten yeeres after, & had a part in the gouernment.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Sargans.

AMong the Griſons, the *Sarunetes* liued long time ſince; but at this day, both their towne and countrey is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers ætymologies are made. But in the auncients Chartes, this Towne is named *Sarunegans*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarunetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, becauſe the dwelling of the *Sarunetes* was at the ſpring of the Riuer *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munſtertal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in queſtion) it may be, are yſſued from them there: or elſe might take their name of the Riuer called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

The ſcituation of the Country and Town of Sargans, and diuerſitie of names therto belonging.

In former times, this countrey belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that reſpect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Auſtrian* Ptinces, and at another time to the *Counts* of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and poſſeſſed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George Count* of *Werdenberg*, ſold it to the ſeuen firſt *Cantons*, who ſent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the caſtle where the *Countes* were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is ſubiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithſtanding, it enioyeth hir priuiledges, and electeth Magiſtrates that adminiſter Iuſtice, and alſo deale in criminall cauſes.

The Counts of Werdenberg, Counts of Sargans.

Sargans ſolde to the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Rheguſces: now adayes called Rhinthall.

That is to ſay: *The Valley of Rheine.*

THE *Rheguſces* are of the Griſons countrey, dwelling on the bankes of Rheine, aboue the Lake of *Conſtance*. As for them that dwell beyond the Rheine, where

The ſcituation of Rhinthall, and of the countries on either ſide of Rheine.

where are *Bregents* and *Velcure*: they are yet to this day, ſubiects to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But they on the other ſide, as *Rhinek* and *Altſtetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdemberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heeretofore, all this countrey appertained vnto them of *Auſtria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Conſtance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Auſtria* was baniſhed by the Emperour *Sigiſmond*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted ſonne, ſeized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the houſe of *Auſtria*, by diſburſing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

The valley of Rhein ſeized by the Count of Togge adopted ſon to the Emperor.

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of Rheine, for a great ſumme of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldrich* and *Conrad* Beierer, brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Iaques* Beierer, their Brother and heyre, hauing ſome variance with them of *Appenzel*, and fearing his vnablenes of keeping this valley againſt their ſtrength: willingly ſolde them his rights, and reſigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzel*, for the ſpace of thirty yeares, or thereabout.

The valley ſolde to them of Appenzell.

But when it ſo fell out, that the men of *Appenzel* were troubled in warre, againſt the Abbot of S. *Gall*, his ſubiects, and the Cittizens alſo, and the Abbey of *Roſach* (new built) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, muſtred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whoſe helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzel* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beſide, to offer them the rule of the Valley of Rheine: the poſſeſſion whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of Zurich, Lucerna, Suits, and Glaris. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seigneury, to the Cantons of Vri, Vnderuald, and Zug, who had aſsiſted thē: likewiſe to *Appenzel*, who indeed wer ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) theſe eight Cantons, each after other) ſend a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a ſmall Towne, called *Rhinek*, at one end of the valley, ſomewhat aboue the place, where the Rheine enters into the Lake of *Conſtance*.

How Rhinthall came to belong to the Switzers.

Bayliffes ſent by the eight Cantons to the valley for Rulers there.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Gouernments and baylywickes which are in Italy.

FOure Bailywicks do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywicks beyond the Mountaines, becauſe they are quite ouer the Alpes. The firſt is *Lugano* or *Luca*, a Towne vppon the Lake, which ſome call the Lake of *Gauna*; others, the Lake of Lugano. This Lake is in the middeſt of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Coma* on the left hād, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maior*, whereinto it ſhutteth vp it ſelfe.

Baylywickes beyond the mountaines.

Lugano or Luca the firſt Bayliwicke.

The ſecond Baylywicke, and neereſt of all to this former, is *Locarna*: a very pleaſant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maior*, ſometimes beautified vvith verie goodly and ſtrong Caſtles, and accounted the cheefeſt in Lombardie, next vnto that of Millaine.

Locarna the 2

The Bayliwick of *Mendriſa*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Gauna*, maketh the third.

Mendriſa the third.

And for the laſt, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heeretofore vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendriſa* on *Lugano*.

The vale Madia the fourth

Theſe foure Baylywickes fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximillian Sforza*, Duke of Millaine. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counſell and authority of Pope *Iulius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a preſent of theſe four Baylywickes (abutting on the Frontiers of their countrey) to the Switzers. He gaue alſo the Vale of *Tellina* to the Griſons. But three yeares after, King *Frances* hauing vanquiſhed the Switzers at Marignano, expelled the Duke, and re-vnited to his Crowne the Dukedome of Millaine. By an accord made at Fribourg, he confirmed this donation of his owne royal authority, as his ſucceſſors in the dukedome of Millaine did the like.

How and in what manner theſe ſeuerall Baylywickes came to bee commanded by the Switzers.

All the Cantons ſend their bayliffs thether by turnes, except that of Appenzell, which vvas not in the number of the Cā-

tons, when as theſe countries were firſt giuen to the Switzers: but they were receiued in a yeare after onely.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

Bellizona in obedience to three of the Cantons, yet recouered by the Dukes of Millaine.

WE might ranke among theſe Bayliwickes of *Italy*, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Miſauk*, who were reiected by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they ſold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*. But the Duke of *Millain* recouered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the ſame ſubtle tricks which the Counts of *Miſauk* had vſed to repoſſeſſe it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

Bellizona yeilded to the Cáton of Vri.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mountaines to recouer *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into poſſeſſion of it agen. For, in regard of continuall warres betweene the *Sforzaes* and the French: the men of Bellizona willing to prouide for their owne ſafety, yeelded themſelues to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becomming maſters of the *Millaneſes*, labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at ſuch time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Baylywickes to the Cantons, they were alſo confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Bellizona.

The Switzers in full poſſeſſion of Bellizona.

Three Baylywickes in Bellizona, & how their gouernment is ordered equally.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwicks, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riuiera*; and in like maner gouerned (turne after turne) by thoſe three Cantons, that they haue a Balywicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe eſtabliſh a Gouernour or Bayliffe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one alſo in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderuald* one at *Riuiera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riuiera*, *Vnderuald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And becauſe that the Baylywick of *Riuiera* is of the leaſt reuennew, moſt commonly, he that hath bene Bayliffe at *Bellizona*, is eſtabliſhed nexte after at *Riuiera*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

DEmoſthenes, the moſt eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man woonderfully well acquainted with affayres of State, and (aboue all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Ouer-great familiarity with Tyrants, ſhould be ſuſpitious to ciuill and free Citties: And no truſt is to bee repoſed in them, eſpecially if they bee neighbours, becauſe euery King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and ſucceſſe attending on ſuch caſes, did well witneſſe, that this Learned man had giuen very wholeſome counſell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the ſonne of *Amyntas* (againſt whom *Demoſthenes* made head) and the ſucceeding Kings of Macedon oppreſſed the liberty of the Greekes, by a diſſembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuiſed onely for their owne aduantage.

The Learned & wiſe counſel of the Grecian Orator Demoſthenes wel approued and experienced by his own country.

The caſe ſtanding thus, I thinke, that many ſtand thus amazed, what ſhoulde moue the ancient *Switzers* to make ſuch alliances as they haue done with ſtraungers, Kinges and Princes, their Neighbours. But heere is to bee noted and obſerued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be miſtruſted, which do import a league offenſiue and defenſiue, & ouer-great familiarity. Otherwiſe, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull ſometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, ſhould ally themſelues togither, for the better vſe of ſome rightes, and the eaſier mannaging of their affayres. The ancient *Switzers* made many ſuch alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more ſtrictly to ſome King or Prince, it was not inconſiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer ſuch, as their liberties could no waies be eaſily touched or wronged.

The Switzers haue bin woondred at, for their leagues.

What alliances are ſaid to be dangerous and what are indifferent, & not hurtfull.

The prouident care of the Switzers, in making their Leagues.

They

Leagues with Popes.

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Leo* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Byshoppes of *Constance*, the Cities of *Suaba*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the Riuer of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, vvhich were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgongne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkeable and last of all, with the King of France.

With neighbour Princes.

With Bishops and Cities.

Their alliances of most note and obseruation.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.

Vncertaincie of the first treaty of alliance.

I Cannot well set downe what treaty or discourse was anciently had, and at the first time, betweene the Duke of Millain, and the Switzers. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and sixe, Duke *Galeazo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other auncient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the Switzers, especialy they of Vri, which inhabite at the Alpes, had beene associates with the Lombardes, vnder certaine conditions. But because the auncient Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propose the Summary of the accord with Duke *Galeazo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

Galeazo Duke of Millaine, and his Wife Blanche Maria capitulate with eight Cantons

The Articles of Agreement, betweene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.

HE first Article, concerneth them of Vri. The Ordinary of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Processe against them, concerning the Valley of *Luainer*. By this first Article, the Duke agreeth with them of Vri, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill Iurisdiction: reuouncing his owne rightes, and promising to obtain the same of the Ordinary.

The Ordinary of the great Church of Millaine, against them of Vri, and vpon what occasion

They of Vri, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of Iune or Iuly, or before midde-August, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a Crosse-bow. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennewes, betweene the Ordinary, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges, and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shal adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinarie. And if there happen anie varianee besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

Iudges apointed betweene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enioy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shal stand exempt from all tributes, impostes, and tolles, throughout Millaine, euen to the ditches of the Towne.

The nature of the 2. Article.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The third.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen between the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fourth.

The fift, is for processe and suites of particular persons.

The fift.

The sixt, matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their Wares and Cattle:

The sixte.

tle: and the Duke no way to impeach them in their selling, or his Subiectes in their buying.

The seuenth. The seuenth importeth, that the duke and the *Switzers* shall maintain and preserue themselues in good amity: and that neither party shall giue passage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither side.

Renewing & reconfirmation of these articles. Now, in regard that after this transaction, *Millaine* changed her Lordes oftentimes, these Articles haue beene also renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the yeare, 1512. *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, Gouernour of *Millaine*. in the name of the Emperor *Charles* the fifte, renewed this accord with the *Switzers*, very neere with the same conditions.

The Articles of Agreement, betweene Ferdinando Gonzaga, *Gouernor, and the Switzers.*

Freedome from Tolles. THE first Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it shall be lawfull for the Switzers, to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market measure is sold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to transport any. Neuertheleſſe, for our amity with the Switzers, they may carry away two hundred measures. The Cantons did make the same condition with them of *Millaine*.

For Bread Corne.

A Franke is two shillings sterling.

Selling of salt The second, is for the selling and carriage away of salt.

Free passage and trading. The third, confirmeth to the Switzers their ancient priuiledges, for going and comming freely, and trafficking through all countries of *Millain*, without any need of support or safe conduct; except in the time of pestilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of *Millaine* excepted.

To whome these priuiledges belongeth The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that must enioy these priuiledges, wherein are (by name) excluded all *Millaineſes*, that shall retire themselues into *Swetia*.

For auoyding of fraud and deceit. The fift ordaineth, to preuent & auoyd all means of fraud, that such as inioy these priuiledges, shall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vncapable, or may not haue the benefit of them.

Awarders in suites. The sixt speakes of awards, and decision of law suites.

Disobedience in awarders or sentence. The seuenth willeth, that if criminall parties on either side, doe withdraw to anie one of their precincts, after that they or he shalbe adiudged culpable, on knowledge of the cause: he or they shall be sent backe to their Magistrate, who is to chastise them according to the exigence of the case.

Of restorum goods, &c. on either side. The eight is, that in such reuennews, dismes, goods mouable and immouable, which the Switzers possesse in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or which may fal to the from this time forward: they shall haue the same rights in them heere, as the *Millainneſes* enioy in Swetia.

For free and friendly passage in either countries. The ninth; that passe & passage may be as free and safe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.

Of other Alliances. In the tenth, the Switzers make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent instruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.

The time of this aliance. In the last, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for foure yeals after the death of the Emperor *Charles*.

Of the Switzers alliance yet with Millaine. Now, although (for diuers reasons) this agreement hath not beene renewed to this instant between the King of *Spain*, Duke of *Millaine*, and the Switzers: yet notwithstanding, both on his part, and theirs likewise, ancient amity hath beene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the Switzers enioy (almost) the same priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of *Millaine*.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Switzers Alliances with the Dukes of Austria and Burgongne.

A strange course, that much contention should beget as many frendships. LIke as there hath beene no Prince or Princes, that haue made so much war vpon the Cantons, as the Dukes of Austria: so in the same manner, the Switzers did neuer make so many accords, treaties and alliances, as with those Dukes. At this time, I meane not to make mention of those

those alliances which haue lasted but for some few years, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely; but rather will resolue my selfe on the perpetuall and hereditary alliance of *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria* with the Cãtons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Charles* the fifte, and *Ferdinand*.

The Emperor Sigismond, firnam'd the Simple, a great enemy to the Switzers.

This *Sigismond*, firnamed the Simple, was sonne vnto *Fredericke*, who brought Pope *Iohn* the 22. out of the Councel of *Constance*, whereby he was banisht from the Empire. *Sigismond* was a great Enemy to the Switzers, and had many warres against them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at *Winterduer*, *Mulhouse*, *Waidshout*, in *Turgow*, and other places, & lost in these warres the countrey of *Turgowe*, which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the Switzers. Seeing by Armes he could not quaile the Switzers, hee withdrewe into Fraunce, and required succour of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denyed: because the King would not entangle himselfe in warre with the Switzers, of whose magnanimity he had formerly made good proof, being Dolphin, when the battell was fought against them neere to Basile.

K. Lewes the 11. denied ayd to Sigismond against the Switzers

Sigismond engageth Ferrara to the Duke of Bourgongne.

Hereupon, he made his recourse to the Duke of Bourgongn, and pawned to him the County of *Ferrara*, and other Seigneuries on the Frontiers of Swetia, for the sum of fourscore thousand crownes: onely that he might finde busines for the Switzers, by meanes and help of the duke of Bourgongne. *Lazius* writes, that *Sigismond* sold *Swetia* it selfe, but therein he abuseth himself. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto *Sigismonds* expectation: for *Hagenbach*, gouernor in these pawned countries to *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne, began to tyranize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occasion; *Sigismond* being moued to compassion, and incited by the continual complaints of his subiects; redeemed the pawned countries, & consigned the mony to be paid at Basile. But notwithstanding all this, D. *Charls* would not forsake his possession, but stroue still to hold the same by force. The Switzers (on the other side) were but crookedly dealt withall by Duke *Charles*.

The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.

To be plaine, *Sigismond* nor the *Switzers* were strong enough to make head against the Duke, and therfore some men, better seene and skild in such businesse, layd downe their opinion; that *Sigismond* and the *Switzers* were best to agree in vnity, and make war together vppon their common enemy. King *Lewes* the eleuẽth pusht hardly at that point, and followed the matter very hotly: for it was his custome to prepare such diets for the Duke of Bourgongne, and to raise him so many enemies as might bee. To further these practises, he serued his owne turne with a *Switzer*, named *Iustus de Sillini*, who soon after was byshop of *Sion*, and of *Granoble* also. *Sigismond* likewise fauored him, and gaue him as many good respects, as hee could receiue by his byshopprickes. At length also by his meanes, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the substantiall points wherof follow thus.

Good aduice in cases of extremity, much auaile.

Iustus de Sillini, byshop of Sion & Granoble.

A breuiate of the Articles of hereditarie Alliance, betweene the Duke of Austria, and the Switzers.

For trading in frendly manner.

FIrst, They shall continue them-selues in mutuall peace and amitie, so that the Austrians in Swetia, and the Switzers in the Countreyes belonging to the Duke of Austria: may freely and safely Trafficke, and also mannage theyr other affayres.

For differẽces

If any variance or contention happen betweene them: they shall pursue their right in iustice, and not by armes.

For Arbitrators to censure causes.

The Arbitrators to iudge their causes shall be the Bishop or Citie of *Constance*, and the Byshop or Seigneury of Basile. And before they take knowledge of the cause, both parties shall promise to the Iudges, by authenticke Letters vnder their handes: that they wil beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what sentence soeuer is giuen vppon their difference.

For ordinarie Law-suites.

As for common suites, concerning successions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iustice, are to take order for them.

If Duke *Sigismond* stand in need of succor from the Switzers, they shal send him

men: prouided, that it may be done with their honor, and without preiudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receyue as much wages, as the Cantons haue custommarily payed to their Souldiers. The same is also to bee done by the Duke, if the Switzers desire any succour from him.

Of succour from the Switzers, and from the D.

The Cantons shall deliuer such Charters, Letters, Registers, Bookes of reason, and other like instructions to the Duke, as are or shalbe in their hands, and belong to him, or declare to whom they haue formerly giuen them: onely excepted, such letters and Registers, as concerne cities, townes, and castles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

Of Charters, letters, Registers, and books of causes.

The Duke and the Switzers shall remaine Lords of those countries, cities, castles, Fortresses, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now possesse; without any suite in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to bee offered on eyther side for them; neyther shall suffer anie wrong or iniurie to bee done, neither to the countries, citties, castles, &c. of one another.

For benefit of enioying their owne rightes.

Neither side shall make alliance with the other subiectes, nor giue them the right of Bourgeship, nor receiue them into protection to eithers damage or preiudice; except any one with al his goods retire into the countrey. And yet with this exception notwithstanding, that hee shall remaine answerable to the iurisdiction of his first Lord. But if any such person do pursue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated himselfe, shall present him immediately in iustice. Because neither the Duke, nor the *Cantons* ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatsoeuer) the Enemies of one another.

Of medling with the subiects one of another.

The Duke shall make satisfaction, for the transaction of *Waldshout*; wherein the Switzers shall assist him with al their forces.

No enemies of each other to be fauored on either side.

The transaction of Waldshout.

The one shal not greeue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

For portages and tolles.

Such personnes as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigismond*, shall continue his Subiectes: excepting them of conquered countreyes, and of places engaged, and that haue not beene redeemed.

For tenure in case of fealty.

This alliance shall bee renewed from tenne yeeres to tenne yeers: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party interessed shall demand Iustice, without mouing any warre.

For renouation of this alliance.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue beene betweene Duke *Sigismond*, and the Switzers, and their predecessors, shall bee appeased and layde to sleep, by meanes of this agreement; which is to be inuiolably kept on either side.

All former wars and iars, cut off by this peace.

This first transaction was made before the war of Bourgongne; in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie & foure. In the same year, *Sigismond* of Austria, *René* of Lorraine, the Byshoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Colmar*, *Selestad*, *Montbeliard*, and some others, made alliance with the Switzers for certaine yeares, against the violence and tyranny of the Duke of Bourgongne, who being slaine 3. yeares after in the battaile of *Nancy*, *Sigismond* of *Austria* renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this first transaction made with the Switzers, by the entermise of K. *Lewes* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Solleurre*, with liberty to the other *Cantons*, to enter into the same alliance if they pleased. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutuall succour, which was couched in far more cleare and plaine tearmes. Some years after this, Duke *Sigismond* not hauing any legittimate children, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximillian*, reseruing onely to himself an annual pension. *Maximillian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But because they had beene at some variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew some apparance of warre (considering it seemed euidently, that *Sigismond* had thus despoyled himselfe, to iniury the Switzers:) they would not enter into any nouell alliance, especially, because hee meant nothing else but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainely declared. For immediately, they of *Austria*, and of the league of *Swaba*, moued warre against the Switzers and Grisons.

The alliances of many commonwealthes to resist the proud D. of Bourgongne.

D. Sigismond, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor Maximillian.

Maximillian intended nothing else but falshoode in his dealing.

After peace was made, betweene the Emperor *Maximillian* and the Cantons,

on

The Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of Austria with the Switzers.

on the twelfth yeare, which was in Anno, 1511. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the house of *Austria*, with the *Switzers*, and ioyned in one, the house of *Bourgongne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreouer, not onely the *Switzers* of the first alliance, but the twelue Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of S. *Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houses of *Austria* & *Bourgongne*.

The contents of the alliance or transaction made by the meanes of K. Lewes the 11.

In this alliance or transaction so confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, is expressely set downe first of all: that therein is comprehended only the county of *Bourgongne*, and the high countries of *Austria*, the county of *Tiroll*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, some Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Lauffenberg*, *Secon*, *Rhunfeld*, & others that are on this side the Mountain. Neuertheleſſe there is added, that order shall be giuen, that those other countries not comprized in the alliance, shall not enterprise any thing by Arms against the *Switzers*, nor the *Switzers* against them. All outragious words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their harts, as hath happened sometimes heeretofore thereby.

Money giuen by the Emperor in the name of his Nephew Charles.

Moreouer, the Emperor *Maximillian* promised, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in present) euery yeare in the citty of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and citty of S. *Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill such time as *Charles* shall be growne greater, to gouern these countries himselfe, & then he shal stand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the yeare 1521. by letters which the Emperour *Charles* the fift, sent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; insomuch as concerned the house and county of *Bourgongne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was chosen then Duke of *Austria*.

Charles the 5. confirmed the alliance with the Switzers when he came to age.

The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgongne*, are the very same as them of *Austria*. To wit, that it shall be lawfull for eyther side, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one anothers countries. Item, that they neyther doe, nor suffer any of the countries, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) some enemy would doe violence to one of the two sides: the other (being thereto required) shall be carefull to preuent it without any delay, for feare, leste against right and equity, it should be oppressed.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betweene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the * *Allobrogians*) long since, and for long space of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philibert*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty fiue years, in Anno, 1512.

* People of Prouence, containing the Countries of Sauoy and Daulphine.

The alliance of Duke Charles with the Cantons.

For preseruation of amity.

The first Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either side, without any outrage, or seconding an enemy to passe among the Allies.

The second ruleth the knowledge of Processes and Law-cases, wherein Iudges of equall number are to bee elected on both sides, who shall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienna*, and there ende the difference. If two sentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one side as other: the Iudges shall elect a subarbitratour in one of the cantons, that shall haue no part of interest in the Processe. As for causes betweene particular persons; they are to be decided by Iudges of the places.

For suites and law-cases.

The third ordaineth, that it shall be lawfull for the subiects of the allies, to goe about their affaires freely, and in all safety, in the countries of *Swetia* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new imposts, portages, or tolles.

For freedome of commerce on both sides.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference against the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders spoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not stand bound (by any alliance) to assist any such party against the Duke.

For any difference against the Duke.

The fift speaketh, that if the Switzers are assayled and pressed with warre, the Duke shall send them (at his own charge) sixe hundred horse at the leste; prouided, that

For mutuall succour in warre on eyther side.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demandeth ſuccour; the Switzers ſhall ſend him ſixe thouſand foot, or more, to each man wherof, the Duke ſhall pay *6. Liures Trurnois*, for wages euery Moneth. If (ouer and aboue this number) hee demandeth ſome other Switzers, that deſire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him; hee ſhall not ſtand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Liure Tournois is two ſhillings ſterling.

The Duke may demand no ſeruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cauſe them to paſſe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they poſſeſſe at the day of making this alliance.

No Nauall war, or paſſage of the Seas.

To the end that this accord may bee firmely kept, the Duke nor the Switzers ſhall meddle with any affaires of ſtrangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther ſhall they giue right of Bourgeſhip, to any ſubiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to ſuch, as ſhall haue their perſons and goods tranſported into eythers countries.

For preſeruation of this alliance firmely.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke ſhall yearely pay in the Citty of *Berne*, to each Canton, the ſumme of two hundred crownes.

Payment of 200. crowns to each Canton yearely.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which laſted almoſt 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the firſt, deſpoyled Duke *Charles* of the moſt part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cauſe of their fellow-Bourgeſſes of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Vaut*, county of *Romont* and *Yuian*. After this time, the Emperour *Charles* the fift (in the protection of whō the Duke of Sauoy was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* gainſt the Frēch: and that was the cauſe of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philebert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recouered his countries, by the meanes of peace betweene the Kings of Spaine and France: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Solleurre*. It is (almoſt) the very ſame as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (to my remembrance) of mutuall ſuccour. Soone after, the other Cantons renewed with him, the very ſame conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

The men of Berne ioyned with their fellow-Bourgeſſes of Geneua

A new and perpetuall alliance betweene Philebert and the Cantons.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.

KIng *Lewes* the 11. was the firſt King of France, that allied himſelfe with the Switzers, and that aſſigned rewards & penſions annually to all the Cantons. Being as yet Dolphin, hee led a great Army into Germany, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This he did in fauor of Pope *Eugenius*, and of the Emperor *Frederike*, onely to breake the councell of *Baſile*, as the Pope deſired: and furiouſly to inuade the Switzers, whom the Emperor hated, and to break off their ſiedge (in meere deſpight of them) which they had planted before the citty of *Zurich*, becauſe he was allied with the houſe of *Auſtria*. The Switzers had another Army before the caſtle of *Franſperg*: 1600 men whereof, they ſent thence, to ſuccour *Baſile* & the Fathers there in the councell.

Rewards and penſions yearly allowed to all the Cantons, by King Lewes the 11.

Being about 2 miles from Baſile, they did ſet vpon the Dolphins troops ſo ſtifly, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had encloſed them on all ſides) they were euery man (almoſt) ſlaine in the field: yet notwithſtanding, they ſo weakened the French Army (for there were ſlaine about 6000 of them) that the Dolphin ſtanding in feare of a further loſſe, and of the valour of the Switzers; tooke his way ſuddenly home to France, leauing the buſineſſe vnexecuted, which he came for. It is reported, that the Dolphin ſeeing his enemies ſlaine bodies lying on the ground, ſaide thus. Sometimes with farre leſſe forces, and in the ſpace of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thouſand men, without any ſuch paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day toughly, to ouercome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and faſt enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euer warring any more againſt them. Which hee moſt truely and faithfully performed a long time after, euen

The Switzers ſet vpon the Dolphins troopes neere to Baſile.

The words of the Dolphin vpon the ſlaughter of his enemies the Switzers.

euen vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and yet durst not make open warre on him, because hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore he laboured by all meanes, to set the Duke a iustling with the Switzers. But to compasse his intent the more easily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when he shold stand in need of their assistance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall pension to each Canton, the summe of seuen thousand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of *Bourgongne* against the Switzers, the King furnished them with a great summe of money: as fearing least (through want of coine) they should giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at Morat; the King gaue publikely great gifts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, slaine in *Lorraine*, to set an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers should not possesse themselues of *Bourgongne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion; hee bought the country for a goodly summe of money. And because he must needs make warre, to get into possession of the country: hee made vse of the foote Switzers to serue him, giuing to them farre greater wages, then euer any Prince had done before.

Charles the eight, sonne to *Lewes*, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, fourscore and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers: and vsed their seruice in the warre, whē he ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, he diuers wayes made good proofe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their persons. His successour, *Lewes* the twelfth, hauing vndertaken the conquest of *Millaine*, and very desirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, he thanked the Switzers, & denyed to pay the rewards and yearely pensions, which he had payed in publike and to particular persons. Which so highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*, who sollicited the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Iulius* the second, in the yeare, one thousand, fiue hundred and ten. Oftentimes afterward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers beeing ioyned with the Pope, would neuer listen to it. But in the yeare, one thousand fiue hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-established *Maximillian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nauara*, and came with a maine Army along into *Bourgongne*.

Lewes the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his successour: who wonne a memorable battaile against the Switzers, when he ouercame them at *Marignano*: Hee brought into France, *Maximillian Sforza*, and made himselfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory so remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deare a price the French had bought it: the first thing he did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in these thirteene Articles following.

First, all enmities, dissentions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are vtterly brought to nothing: and as for particular variances, which concern nothing in common with the occasions of warre, they shall stand vtterly void, by those Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all prisoners, in what part or place soeuer they are deteyned as prisoners, or as slaues; they shall be released and set at liberty, without paying any ransome.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any suite against the King of France, not for any matter of warre, he may contest in iustice, according to the Articles following.

Fourthly, all such persons as after the accord made betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons,) were, and are allied with them, or receiued into the nūber of their Bourgesses: shall be comprehended in this treaty, and enioy the benefit

King Lewes a great enemy to Charles Duke of Bourgongne, yet durst not war with him.

Great gifts & presents to the Switzers for foyling the Duke at Morat.

King Charles renewed his fathers league with the Switzers.

King Lewes the 12. made alliance with the Switzers for ten years.

The Switzers pleased with K. Lewes

The Switzers chased the French out of Millaine.

Frances de Valois successor to Lewes the twelfth.

The tenour of the peace made betweene King Frances the first and the Switzers.

For free deliuery of prisoners.

For suites in law against the King.

For such as are to enioy the benefit of this peace.

nefit thereof. Onely ſuch excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that ſpeake not the Germane tongue, and are not ſubiects to the Cantons.

For priuiledges and franchiſes.

The fift Article, confirmeth to Merchants and ſubiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchiſes, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

The kings bounty to the Switzers.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderſtand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe preſently a great ſumme of crownes, for their great charges at the ſiedge of *Dijon*, and afterwards in Italy.

For maintainance of loue and amity.

Seauenthly, that peace may bee the more firmely maintained on eyther ſide, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other ſhall vndertake Armes, in that manner to purſue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demaund reaſon by courſe of iuſtice.

No harboring of enemies on either ſide.

Eighthly, neyther ſide ſhall giue paſſage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor ſuffer their ſubiects to vndergo Armes, for ſuch Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the Switzers. Such as do the contrary, ſhall be repealed to their country, and puniſhed according as they haue deſerued.

For free permiſſion of trafficke and paſſage.

Ninthly, permiſſion is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or Switzers, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and Swetia; without any outrage, or beeing offended by any new tolles or taxes.

Yearely penſions giuen by the King to the Cantons, &c.

Tenthly, the King giueth yearely to each Canton, the ſum of two thouſand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaiſians*, and as much to the *Griſons*, as was granted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreouer, the ſum of 20000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of S. *Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the ſum of 600 *Liures Tournois*: To the citty of S. *Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouſe*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gruyere*, 600.

Priuiledges belonging to particular places.

Eleuenthly, the ancient priuiledges and franchiſes, which they haue (till then) enioyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Bellizana*, *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully reſerued and confirmed.

A courteſie left by the king to the Switzers choiſe.

Twelfthly, the king leaueth it in choiſe to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compaſſe of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and caſtles of *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or elſe to forſake them, for the ſum of thirtie thouſand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telina*, and of the county of *Clauenna*, ſhal haue their part in this ſumme, as much as one of the Cantons.

For continuance of this amity.

The laſt Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, ſhal continue inuiolable and perpetuall.

Exception made by the K. of France.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nauarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Gueldres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Venice*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the houſe of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Biſhop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

Exception made by the Switzers.

The Switzers alſo except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the houſe of *Auſtria*; the Dukes of *Sauoye*, and of *Wirtemberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marſhall of *Bourgongne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgeſſes.

The reaſon of theſe exceptions.

The reaſon for theſe exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the Switzers may keepe what promiſe or alliance they haue formerly made or ſworne, to thoſe Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of thoſe Princes or common-wealths, come to aſſault the king in his owne kingdome: the Cantons ſhall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre againſt the king; but ſhall countermaund them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obſerue inuiolably.

To theſe conditions is added the forme to be kept, in the cleciding of ſtrifes and differences. But it ſeemeth to me, that it would bee great loſſe of time and

paper

The Author auoydeth needleſſe inſertions.

paper to inſert it: becauſe it agreeth almoſt altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, whereof we haue ſpoken heeretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambaſſadours on eyther ſide, and ſette downe in writing in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on S. *Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1516.

The King made a more ſtrict alliance with the Switzers.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath beene declared: yet hee would needs proceede ſomewhat farther, and allie them more ſtrictly to his crowne. Which alſo he obtayned, and that agreement was paſt at *Lucerna*, fiue yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themſelues with the K. of France: and the tenour of that alliance was as followeth,

The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

Concerning warre in any place belonging to the crowne, and leuye of men.

1. IF any one (whoſoeuer it be) make warre within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, eyther on this ſide, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuye of Switzers, when and at what time himſelfe ſhall thinke meete, to wit, of ſixe thouſand men at the leaſt, and ſeauen thouſand at the moſt, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

For choiſe of Captains and Colonels out of the cantons

2. Hee may alſo chuſe out of all the Cantons and confederates, ſuch Colonels and Captaines as he ſhall thinke fit: prouided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

Againſt hindering of men and delay of time.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues ſhall giue no hinderance to thoſe Colonels, Captaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any caſe in queſtion, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that firſt day, whereon the King required ſuccour, they ſhall bee permitted to march away.

For continuance in the Kings ſeruice, except warres be at home in Swetia.

4. They ſhall continue in the Kings ſeruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it ſeeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King ſhall alſo pay them (euery one) his accuſtomed wages. But if there happen warre in Swetia, and that thereby the cantons cannot ſuccour the King, as they otherwiſe wold: In this caſe, they ſhall ſtand quit of their promiſe, and they may ſuddenly countermand home their men; to whom alſo the King ſtands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

When the King ſhall haue occaſion to make war,

5 If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the ſame leuie of ſixe thouſand Switzers at the leaſt, and ſeuen thouſand at the moſt; chuſing Colonels and Captaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

6. The King may not ſeparate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garriſons in diuers places: and they are not to ſerue at Sea, but on the land.

wages agreed on for the horſemen, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Moneths pay

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both ſides, that the King ſhall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure Florius and an halfe, of them that are called *Florius du Rhin*. And their wages ſhall begin on the day, when they ſet foorth from their houſes: and then ſhall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vſe them in ſeruice ſo long. And before they part out of Swetia, they muſt receiue the firſt Moneths pay: and the reſt for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need ſhall require. If after thoſe three Moneths are paſt, the King will longer retaine the *Switzers*; hee ſhal pay them the ſame wages euery Moneth, vntill ſuch time as they may commodiouſly returne home to their owne houſe.

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

8. The Colonels, Captaines, Enſigns, Ambaſſadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; ſhall bee payed after their accuſtomed manner, and according as the Predeceſſours to the Kings of France haue done.

Concerning ſuccour to bee ſent the Switzers, whē war is made on them.

9. If any war is made vpon the *Switzers*, the King of France ſhal ſtand bound to ſuccour them at his owne coſt: ſending them two hundred compleat horſemen, and twelue peeces of Artillery, with all their equipage and furniture; to wit, ſixe peeces for battery, and ſixe Cannons. Moreouer, hee ſhall furniſh the *Switzers* (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the citty of *Lyons*, with certaine ſums of

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of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred compleate horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

Vpon dearth or necessity of Salt.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre heere or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

Against releeuing eyther others enemies.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to eyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

The liberality of the King to the Cantons.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promiseth, to pay yearely to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moity of the pension which they had before.

Exception made on the Kings behalfe

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The Romane See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sauoye*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halsatia*, and of *Gueldres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Marquesses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Montferrat*.

Exception also on the cantons behalfe.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth the Romane See and Empire: the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Duke of *Sauoy*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgesses and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Octauian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Lauda*.

A caueat or generall warning.

Neuertheless, if any of these aboue named, make warre on eyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the other shall giue succour, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three yeares after his death.

This alliance being expired, K. *Henry* the second, Sonne and Successor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembred from the crowne, when this newe league was contracted: It is expressely set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succour, for recouery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recouery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenois* in *Picardy*.

King Henry the second succeeded his Father King Frances.

Concerning the losse of the Dukedom of Millaine.

A breuiate of the new adioyned Articles.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Captaines *Switzers*, and command a leuye of sixe thousand men at the least.

For leuye of men.

He may not disioyne or separate the Switzers Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant thē in Garrisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

No sundering of the Switzers army.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

For wages & rewards.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages rest vnpaide, it is thus ordayned. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpright; he shal goe or send to the kings Ambassadours, which are in Swetia, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the K. yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demāder may then cal his cause be-

When wages remaine vnpayed.

In cases concerning the King and a priuate man.

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the Switzers may passe on to further knowledge of the facte, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and auaileable to eyther party, euen as if the Iudges on eyther side had therein assisted.

For new taxations.

The Merchants both French and Switzers, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greeued with any new taxes, tolles, or impostes.

If any suite be moued betweene parties on eyther side, the demaunder may pleade before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

For suites in law.

This alliance was treated and past at *Solleurre*, in the yeare, 1549. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

When this alliance was made.

Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the Switzers, vpon conditions little differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

King Charles the 9. allied with the Switzers.

THE MANNER OF GOVERNment obserued among the *Switzers*.

The Second Part.

A breefe discourse of the first Bookes Argument.

WEe haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselues together, to make vp one body of a Commonwealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselues. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is gouerned. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrates, Lawes, and particular gouernment, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a councell in common to the whole Nation, and lawes and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* commonwealth in generall; then I will describe the estate and gouernment of the Cantons, seuerally in their places.

Breuiate of the second Bookes Argument.

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

Three seuerall kindes of cõmon wealths, & their hurtfull shadowes.

The first, when all the managing and gouernment of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King, if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behauiour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kindes of Common-wealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocraty, & Democraty: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be tearmed mixt and compounded,

A forme or shape of the Switzers commonwealth.

A Democraticall kinde of gouernment in some of the Cantons.

because (in some matters) they shared or tooke part, with all the three kindes of gouernments; so in like maner, the commō-welth of the Switzers is mingled or composed of a Seigneuriall, Lordly, and Popular gouernment. For among all the people, of whom the whole common-wealth of the Switzers is compounded: there are some, whose gouernment is meerely democraticall, & where al things (almost) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in those Cantons that haue no cities, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*: yea, euen in *Zug*, although it is a citty. The other are gouerned by Lords, as cities commonly vse to be, namely *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Solleurre*, and *Schaffouse*. But because the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect these Lords, these common-wealths are compounded of two kindes of gouernment: so that notwithstanding, the one is more Aristocraticall, and the other more Popular.

The other are Aristocraticall and Popular.

So then, the common-wealth of the Switzers beeing compounded of people, that haue not al one, and the same forme of gouernment: the order and pollicy also is very diuers and mixt. For if vpon some dayes of audience, ambassadors do aduise on matters of the whole common-wealth, or end some differences: this appeareth to be a gouernment meerely Aristocraticall. And yet neuertheless, because they are (for the most part) elected by the people, and that in causes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they must render an account of their negotiation: it may easily bee noted, that such a kinde of gouernment is not altogether Aristocraticall.

Affaires of State & differences ended by Ambassadors.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Switzers common-wealth cannot bee better gouerned, for the liberties which they do enioy, was gotten by their ancestors, not by the industry and power of one, or of a small number of particular men: but the people themselues were imploied therein, and did enfranchize it with the expence of their purses, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reason, that they should reape some fruite of their trauaile. And as concerning, that

The common wealth of the Switzers is not otherwise to be gouerned then as it is.

it seemeth incommodious and perillous in a populare estate, that all men should deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of most wisedome, and men of best quality: This danger is not to bee doubted in the Switzers Common-wealth, for they do most imploy, and send on their dayes of audience, the best and wisest persons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiuely (because it might be a dangerous consequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithstanding, they are as the cheefest councellers, and make a conference of opinions, vpon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their consent, by assemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now such as are not altogether stupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in those dayes meetings, for common benefit: considering, they giue them plainly to vnderstand euery thing.

No danger to be feared in the Switzers common-wealth.

The obseruation among the Switzers.

CHAP. II.

Of the manner and behauiour of the Switzers, in the times of both peace and warre.

Forasmuch as the right gouernement of a common-wealth, is best discerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behoueth vs to shew how our predecessors haue carried themselues therein. As concerning exercises of war, beside that which nature hath done, in fashioning the Switzers fit thereto: necessity also hath constrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earnest. The Country is Mountainy, sharpe, and hard for culture, anciently desert and sauage for the most part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but also robuste, stiffe, & strong, and so (by consequent) very apt for warre.

The best glasse to shew any common-wealth in his true nature.

The nature & quality of the country.

Now as natuarally the people of *Europe* are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of *Asia*: so the *Europeans* which

The Switzers are naturally men fit for warlike imployments.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Proofe heereof appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths*, *Vandales*, *Hunnes*, *Lombards*, *Franconians*, and other people, who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselues ouer the fayrest parts of *Europe*, and eyther forraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of Rome, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the Alpes, do beare the highest and tallest Trees, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and temperature of the ayre, produceth men more robuste and strong then others are. Wherefore, in many Countries, some are men for Armes, others are labourers, and others artezans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiours borne, euen by a meere manner of desire, and there is not a *Switzer*, (prouided that hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may bee seene the very liues (to life) of a man of warre.

Concerning those people bred on the Alpes, & nature of the country.

All the Switzers are soldiers borne.

And becausse almost all the neighbors to the Cantons, but especially the Princes of Austria, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Switzers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Switzers* martiall, beeing compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the headstrong courses of their enemies, & to preserue their wiues and children. And as it was said of *Agesilaus*, after he was wounded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the arte of warre: euen so Noblemen that enstructed the olde *Switzers*, simple peasants, and shepheards, to handle a Sword, and compelled them to vnderstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their apprentiship, hauing beene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally driuen out of *Switzerland*.

The Princes of Austria haue most inuried the Switzers.

A comparison well worth the obseruation.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Switzerland*, dwell he in Citty, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very basest condition can be deuised; but he is strictly commanded to haue Arms, according to his quality. And becausse that in our time, the Harquebuz or Caliuer was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward proposed in publike, for such as would exercise, and could dexteriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Citties, as was done in many parts of *Germany*: but also in the most peopled Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children, that could draw the bow; to the end, that they might afterward be the better fashioned for weapons of more danger: which prooued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselues to discharge the Caliuer.

It is an especiall command to euery Switzer yong and olde to beare Armes.

Prizes & rewards proposed onely for encouragement to handle the caliuer

Their other pastimes also sauored all of war. For they neuer vsed to meete together, were it on solemne daies & festiuals, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occasions, but with Drums and Trumpets for war. And it was, (and stil is) a great honor for a Bride-groome, to bee attended on with a great number of Pikes, Halberts, & Shot, who (vnentreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a muster, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make musters, with Drums & Ensignes, some bearing Caliuers, others Halberts, & others Pikes: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already, apt to manage those warlike weapons. In this manner, they that neuer vnderstood any thing set downe in the Military precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any other, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to Armes, can carry and manage themselues with countenances and steppings fit for Soldiors. In many places, euery yeare, or at certaine times of the yeare, the Lords cause general musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were going to war against the enemy. These musters are somtimes performed at the dedication of Temples, somtimes at Fairs; and in some other places, when the

All the exercises and pastimes of the Switzers sauour of war.

The exercises of the Switzers children, that they become Soldiors from their Cradles.

Good & vertuous examples are terrible to bad minded men.

Subiects take their oath to a Gouernor, ſent newly to ſome Bayliwicke, for then they all muſter, and ſhew themſelues in Armes.

Other agilities and commendable qualities exerciſed by the Switzers in ſeueral kinds.

It is altogether needleſſe, that I ſhould make any long diſcourſe of other exerciſes, which do diſpoſe thē to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the ſtone and barre, to wraſtle, to ſhew all kindes of defence fit for Armes; for which there are prizes publikely appointed euery yeare. Moreouer, I am of the minde, that in all chriſtendome, there is not any people, that do exerciſe themſelues more in ſwimming, then the Switzers: who (with much eaſe) can vſe that Arte, ſwimming thorough great Lakes, Riuers, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound. When they are at leyſure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, ſometimes ouer the higheſt Mountaines and Rockes, almoſt inacceſſable, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beaſts. At other times they purſue Beares, Wolues, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputing it as an honour to him that can kil one of thoſe ſauage creatures, and faſten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet ſometimes hee makes a preſent of it to the Seigneury. The Grecians had an ancient cuſtome among thē, to giue the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouernours of the country, as an honourable preſent after hunting.

Their ſports and paſtimes after tilling their grounds

How the ſwitzers do beare themſelues in warre.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themſelues in warre. Firſt then, I will make mention of their Armes: next, how they chuſe and enroule theyr Soldiours: And conſequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiors are well furniſhed with Armes in their houſes: yet (oftentimes) the Citties and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publike Arſenalles and Magazines. Their Armes are commonly thoſe of the Germane Lance-Knights, to wit: the Harquebuze, or Caliuer, or Musket; the Pike of eighteene foote in length; the Halbert; the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They weare alſo a long Sword by their ſides, whereas their anceſtors did weare one farre ſhorter on their thighes, proper to ioyne with the enemy neerer hand, and to giue him the Stoccado.

What kinde of Armes are moſt in vſe with the Switzers, according to the elder times.

Now adayes, ouer and beſide this long Sword, they weare a large Poniard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers bredth, and ſharpe pointed: which the very meaneſt of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanſhip of gold and ſiluer. Some weare ſhirtes of Mayle; others Corſelets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

What they vſe now at this preſent day, in their due order.

The poorer ſort, and eſpecially the Muskettiers, content themſelues with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in ſtead of Armes plated with yron or ſteele, make vſe of skinnes of Beares or Buffelles: Others weare doublets of linnen cloth, redoubled in iuſt thickneſſe, and made full of oylet-holes, and theſe doublets thus made, are not eaſily to bee tranſpierced. For the reſt, as *Polybius* writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vſed to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, becauſe this addition to the reſt of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour ſeeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed, much more comly to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen ſo the *Switzers* Soldiours, who couet to appeare ſightly among all other, do weare on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other anſwerable to the Enſigne, or Colours of their diſtinct Cantons.

The braue Parado, or Soldiour of Rome in his gallantry of Plumes.

They beare euery man vpon his Armes, a white croſſe, plaine and right, which is the *Switzers* Enſigne of war: Each man yeelds himſelfe vnder the Standard of his Canton. They ſerue their turne with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in ſuch ſort, notwithſtanding, that the Drums of the *Switzers* are eaſily diſcerned frō them of the *Allemanes* or *Germanes*, becauſe the ſound of the *Switzers* Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more bluſtring. Particularly, they of *Vri* vſe in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles horne. They of *Vnderuald* do the like. The *Lucernians* often-times vſe a Cornet of Braſſe, which they ſay was giuen them by *Charlemaigne*.

The Impreſe or ſignall on the Armes of the Switzers purpoſed for warre.

Now as concerning the enrollement of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

If

How and in what manner they vse to enroule theyr men for war.

If warre be made vpon the *Switzers*, and that they are assailed in their owne country; as no person was excused at Rome, when *Hannibal* was at the gates of the Citty; euen so (without the least delay) all such as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with speedy succour, as to a sudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Captaines, Ensignes, and chosen men, that ought still to be ready vpon any warning. But because it cometh to passe more often, that they must leade their troops out of their countrie, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for feare the country should be left naked of men of warre, and so remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choise of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very strongest Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

When they march forth abroad to war.

The care of the old Switzers in their enrolement.

The ancient *Switzers* well knowing this, tooke especiall care, that in their enrolement, friends, and such as knew one another, might be ranked together. And hereupon they ordained, that in warre, *Switzers* should aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one against another. The other *Allemaigne* Soldiours had a custom to call one another brother: in regard whereof, some haue thought, that our ancients named them *Germanes*, which is as much to say, as brethren. Yet notwithstanding, they were all (almost) at the Swords point one against another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and slasht faces, seeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gashes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

A reason concerning the name of Germanes, and how it came vp at first.

A great happinesse to be among such men, and in such a campe.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the *Switzers* Campe, there is a very great tranquility, & one louing another (thogh otherwise they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greatest enemies in the world: yet notwithstanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce all spleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my ancestors.

A very memorable example of great vertue in the Switzers, appearing by two mortall enemies.

Two *Switzers* being deadly enemies, to wit, *Arnould* of *Vnderuald*, who afterward was a great Captaine, and *Zerchintes* of *Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to passe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Camp: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their enmity) commanded them to be friends, and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to releeue him, and did set him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellowes and followers, beeing ignorant of that which had happened, were perswaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combate with the other. Wherefore they stept betweene them, & admonished *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captains, and to take heede of mouing any trouble in the Campe. He answered, that he came with a quite contrary disposition, and so acquainted them with all the aduenture. And instantly presented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horse, fit for warre seruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

How the ancient Switzers vsed to deuide such booties as they won in the warre.

As the ancient *Switzers* shewed themselues brethren, in succouring and assisting their companions, doing as they wold be done to themselues: so did they obserue the same forme, in sharing and dituding a gotten booty. For first of al, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, should bee so hardy or bold, as to forsake his ranck & the troops, vntill such time as the enemy should bee driuen in route. Afterward, when the Captaines had giuen licence to rifle and ransacke; all the booty was brought in common, & distributed by the poll. And because the cantons are publikely vnited; euen so the publike booty, as Artillery, Castles, conquered Countries, Tolles,

Distribution by equality of portions.

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equall portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles fiue times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuertheleſſe, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiers, that haue borne themselues valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue beene more imployed and charged, then the other.

They that deserue best ought to haue best.

The ancient Switzers order for victuals, Armes, munitions, &c.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, and came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should be fauoured & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiors, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

Prohibition for violating of Churches, maids, and women.

Of the maner of the Switzers battalion

As concerning the manner of camping, and raunging themselues in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew heere, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our auncestors; among all Infantery, the battalion of the Switzers hath alwayes beene highly esteemed. For being composed of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battalion may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouara*, the Infantery of the Switzers beeing not couered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantery and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignane*, hauing had battaile against king *Francis*, two seuerall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundring Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuertheleſſe, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Millaine*, ranged in battaile, so that their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Reistres* & the French Cauelery, liuely charged the battalion of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding, the Switzers rallied themselues three times, and kept their rankes so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed theſelues, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

Example of the battaile of Nouara.

Example of the two dayes at Marignano

Example of the day at Dreux.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you, how the Switzers busie themselues in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very carefull thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volscians*, *Veientes*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rusticall songs celebrated the valiancy of their ancestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre, bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbeare not to reade Histories of all kindes, either concerning gouernment of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

How the Switzers carry themselues in times of peace and are trained vp from their childehood.

Letters or learning little regarded among the ancient Switzers.

Many in the Cantons learned in tongs and sciences.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colledges of the Abbey of S. *Gall*, and of *Coire* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as wee haue already shewne elſe-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Syluius*, prouided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, frō whence

Of Schooles for the furthering and maintenance of learning.

Pope Pius erected a Vniuersity at Basile.

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, becauſe they are ſufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are alſo diuers notable and publike Schooles at *Zurich*, at *Berne*, and one eſtabliſhed at *Lauſanna*, by the Lords of *Berne*. Nor muſt I let ſleepe in ſilence, the goodly Printing-houſes at *Baſile*, *Zurich*, and *Geneua*, renowned among them all that are in *Germany*.

Goodly Printing-houſes.

Beſide the ſtudy of good letters, whereof I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and eſpecially of Iuſtice, which appertaineth alſo to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter moſt certaine, that the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is grounded vpon moſt great equity, and hath euermore beene famous, in regard of heniuſtice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, cuſtomes, and manner of life among the ancient *Switzers*, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, becauſe they agree with thoſe of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and miſdeeds are ſeuerely puniſhed, without any exception of perſons.

Loue of vertue & iuſtice among the Switzers.

The Lawes of the Switzers.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the firſt Booke: do declare, with what vprightneſſe, diligence, & faithfulneſſe they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enioy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common conſent) all violence may be expulſt and baniſhed. For the better gouerning of this caſe, it is expreſſely forbidden, to goe and aſſault, and make warre one vpon another, either raſhly, or without iuſt cauſe. And therefore alſo, before Armes may be vndertaken, the wiſeſt and moſt diſcreete perſons in all the nation: in a publike aſſembly, muſt examine the cauſes of the warre, and vnderſtand them to be iuſt and lawfull. Then afterward, when queſtion is vrged of repulſing an enemy, it is moſt ſtrictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue aſſiſtance; to vſe therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by meſſages, or, admit they could not bee called, the paſſages being fore-cloſed by the enemy: yet notwithſtanding, they are commanded to go and giue ſuccour, euen to their vtmoſt power.

The alliances of the Switzers.

Of vndertaking Armes or going to warre.

In the caſe of mutuall aide and aſſiſtance

Moreouer, becauſe it many times happens, that the recouery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, ſo that ſuch differences betweene particular perſons, doe ſometimes ſet the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances do euery where make mention, what courſe is to bee obſerued in the recouery of ſuch debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the ouer great licence of lenders, and to ſhunne the fraudulency of borrowers. Whoſoeuer hath beene but a meane reader of Hiſtories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happned in Rome, in the caſe of debts, at all times, and whenſoeuer the people are oppreſſed by the violence of vſurers, & taxed in great ſummes: then they would mutiny, and demaund, that the vſurers contracts might be torne in peeces, & other made of more honeſt nature. But the prouidence and vprightneſſe of the auncient Switzers, made ſuch an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrged in Switzerland, although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath beene troubled with warres continually.

Concerning debts & borrowed monies.

Great troubles in Rome about caſes of debts.

Great care & prouidence in the Switzers.

Becauſe alſo, that men of warre are prompt and ready, to lay hand on their weapons, and (oftentimes) fight vnder a falſe and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, ſturdy & outragious, then valiant, yet taking a delight in this forwardneſſe of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and inuincible: the auncient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, firſt by impoſition of great fines, on ſuch as began the ſtirre, and to outrage their aſſociates. But becauſe choller is a furious beaſt, and very difficult to be brideled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that ſuch as were found preſent at thoſe quarrels and debates, if they did not pacifie and hinder their proceeding, and impoſe on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themſelues ſhould bee greeuouſly puniſhed by the Magiſtrate. For they would not permit, that men ſhould be ſo ouerſwaied and maſtered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) loſe their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and eſcaped from the hand of iuſtice: hee could not be receiued into any of the Cantons.

An eſpeciall care againſt quarrels and frayes of particular perſons.

A good law to be vſed in other places.

Againſt ſuch as committed murder.

It

If any man were banished, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to stand excluded from all the rest, except hee could proue by sufficient witnesses, that he slew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

The Switzers are protectors of the oppressed.

Such hath beene, and still is, the equity of the *Switzers* in doing iustice, & punishing the faulty from time to time: that many strãgers haue made their recourse to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do shew themselues protectors of all such as haue any wrong done to them, and vpon this their comming to them; they haue sent Ambassadours, nay, haue vndertaken Armes, to re-establish in their goods and possessions, some that haue bene despoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the Switzers.

The Cantons (in this cause) made war on the Princes of *Austria*, to maintaine the right of the *Fulachs*, Cittizens of *Schaffouse*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Gradlers*: & constrained the Duke of *Austria*, to restore such goods as he deteyned from them. In the like case, but of much greater importance they gaue battaile vnto Duke *Charles* of *Bourgongne*; to maintaine *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had dispossed of the most part of his countries. In like manner also, many times haue they made warre on certaine theeues, who couering themselues with the title of Noblemen; robbed and spoyled Merchants. To foile these theeues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*; but also in countries further off, allying themselues (to effect so good a worke) with those farre off townes. By which meanes, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue beene made very secure: so that Merchants, charged with neuer so great summes of money, goe and come in al safety, transporting their Merchandizes whether they please, without any need of company or transport. And a pleasant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his purse full of gold or siluer on his staffes end; hee might safely passe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

The Switzers haue made warre vpon theeues that robbed and spoiled passengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to bee commended.

Iustice sildome walkes without her companion Liberality, vnder which epithite wee will comprehend hospitality, which alwayes hath made the people of *Switzerland* to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicates of the *Italian* and *French*, but they offer liberally those presents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Hony. And who would bee ashamed, or can despise this liberality; seeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with such viands, when they came to see him? And yet the country is not without good store of wilde Beasts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fishes, both in Lakes & Riuers. And as great men in times past, (so sweetly sung of by learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them flesh for their food: euen so oftentimes in *Switzerland*, presents are giuen to strãgers, and them of the same country also, passing from one place to another, of good and delicate flesh, namely Venison, and also of very dainty Fish. But principally, the *Switzers* are liberall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furnishing them with other needefull things: so that there are very few countries, wherein so many poore beggers are to be seene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not heere dispute, whether the Magistrate doth well, or no, in suffering or supporting them: onely I was desirous to shew heerein, the great humanity of the *Switzers* towards the poore, which resort thether from all parts.

The bounty and hospitality of the Switzers.

It is no shame to follow vertuous & good examples.

The Switzers are greatly charitable to the poore.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleasure in Feasts and publike Banquets. In Citties and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houses ordained to assemble themselues in. Euery Village (almost) hath a house by it selfe, which they cal the house of good company: because they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and sometimes the women are inuited thether, to sitte and banquet with their husbands. They do not vse any sumptuous dishes or delicates, but most often content themselues with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his dish, and there feed friendly together, on that which was prouided for their owne priuate houses. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magistrates should be present at banquets, to the ende, that euery man should carry himselfe honestly: the very

The Switzers delight in feasting & banquetting, only for the maintaining of louing neighbourhood.

Aged men & Magistrates allowed by the Lacedemonians to be at Feasts and Banquets.

very fame is practiſed in *Switzerland*, ſo that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their diſtinct places, and the Magiſtrate, with the moſt auncient men, haue the higher ende of the Table allowed to them.

The Switzers delight not in Muſicke at their meetings.

They do not much delight in Muſicke at ſuch Banquets, becauſe they conceiue more pleaſure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike buſineſſe. Aboue all, when one of the moſt aged begins to diſcourſe on ſome notable matters, which happened in his youth, or that himſelfe had learned from his predeceſſors; euery one is very attentiue, without the leaſt interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleaſing tongue, will ſpeake loud enough on the faire deſeruings of his Anceſtors. The ancient *Switzers* were very ſober & modeſt in all things, eſpecially at publike Feaſts and Banquets: ſo that it is a matter rare & moſt ignominious, if any man ſhould be drunke in ſuch an aſſembly.

The Author greeued to write that which the peoples folly compels him to do.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great greeſe, that although there is more moderation in the *Switzers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany*: yet notwithſtanding, drunkenneſſe will not be baniſhed, nor ſo vilely thought on, as in elder times it hath beene. And as *Xenophon* ſaide of the *Lacedemonians* (whoſe common-wealth hee had moſt highly commended) that hee durſt not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, becauſe in former times, ſober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Citties, where they might poſſeſſe worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greateſt power among them, contended to haue the gouernment of citties, as fearing they ſhould be compeld to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themſelues openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Anceſtors were ſtudious, to make themſelues become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: theſe men coueted after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made requeſt to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became ſo contrarily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to reſiſt againſt the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulſe thē vtterly, fearing leſte they ſhould vſurpe vpon the gouernment.

The words of Xenophon concerning the Lacedemonians.

The change alteration in ſo a gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may be ſaid of the *Switzers*: for I muſt needs confeſſe, that the frugality & temperance of our auncients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole courſe of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer beene at all. The *Switzers* are not now ſo continent and ſpare in liuing, as heeretofore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, ſtrangers to them. And therfore I am much affraid, leſte we loſe that wholy too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and ſtrength in warre, humanity, debonarity, iuſtice, and vprightneſſe. So that one day, they who (heretofore) haue ſo carefully compaſſed amity & alliance with the *Switzers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and ſtudy how they ſhall beſt ſubdue them. I deſire of God, that he will turne from my country ſo deadly a danger; and I deſire alſo, and exhort all them that ought to think theron, to ſtriue to bring in vſe againe thoſe honeſt ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & conſtancy of the olde *Switzers* in al their actions.

The Switzers are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors eſpeciall care of his countries honour, and of his countrymen.

CHAP. III.

Of publike aſſemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councell and Senate of the Switzers.

IN all Commonwealths, three things are eſpecially to be cõſidered, to wit, the Councell or Senate, the Magiſtrate, and Iuſtice; for the Common-wealth of the *Switzers* hath no common Magiſtrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are ſent heere and there, not by the councell of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it ſelfe. For the reſt, the coun-

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The councell of the Switzers not equal alwayes.

councell of *Switzerland* is not alwayes equall in number; for sometimes, ouer & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of S. *Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, do meete together. And then this is the very greateſt councell, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affayres, which appertaine equally to all the confederates.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftneſt together, but not vpon all occasions.

Ofteneſt of all other, there do none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and aduiſe on matters of the Common-wealth. Euery man of them hath a deliberate voyce, as well as the other, and therefore, though one Canton do send two Ambassadors: yet they shall haue but one voyce, & one aduice, becauſe the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuertheleſſe, all the Cantons doe not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is queſtion of the Bayliwicks, gouerned by the seauen or eight firſt Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then seuen or eight ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberatiue voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelue firſt Cantons: then thoſe twelue ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Commonwealth: the ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, do then make a perfect & compleate body of councell.

The Ambassadors haue their assemblies according to their cauſes.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewiſe instituted particular assemblies: ſo that the fiue Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, and *Zug*, that make expreſſe profeſſion of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very ſtrictly vnited together, by especiall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councell apart. And therefore, when speech is made of the fiue ſmall Cantons, they before named are vnderſtood, and not the fiue firſt in alliance. As alſo in making mention of three, of seuen, or of eight Cantons: it muſt be conſidered according to the time and order, when they were entred into league; as thus. *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Lucerna* and *Zurich*, ſhall be the fiue Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, assemble themſelues with the fiue forenamed, and call themſelues the seuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & Maſſe is ſung in their cheefeſt Villages: yet notwithſtanding, they are not rancked among the catholikes, becauſe (for the moſt part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the foure Citties, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Baſile*, and *Schaffouſe*, haue likewiſe (ſometimes) their aſſembly apart; but yet it is not ſo often as the other.

Factions among the Switzers, about matter of religion.

Lucerna, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald and Zug, are the fiue ſmall cantons.

The ſeuen Catholike Cantons, that will be ſo diſtinguiſhed by themſelues.

Moreouer, it is very vneaſie to diſcipher particularly, all thoſe things whereon the councell of *Switzers* do deliberate: neuertheleſſe, I will touch ſome of the principall articles. The firſt and cheefeſt, is concerning war and peace, as likewiſe mention is made in moſt part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reaſon by armes: it muſt firſt bee referred to the councell of the leagues, to the end that the ambaſſadors may regard together, whether the cauſe of warre bee iuſt, or no, leſte warre ſhould bee lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occaſions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the ſafety of the common-wealth, the meanes muſt next be conſulted on.

Of what matters the councell of the Switzers vſe to take knowledge.

War is not to be moued on ſleight occaſions.

It chanced (in my time) that *Chriſtopher Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiouſly to inuade them of *Rotuille*, allied to the Cantons: many ſaid, that ſuch ſuccour ought to be ſent to *Rotuille*, as the inhabitants deſired. But the greater part of the Senatours, and Deputies to the councell of *Switzerland*, hauing vnderſtood the cauſes of the variance; hindred any ſuch proceeding. For they ſaw plainely, that the whole State would ouerthrow it ſelfe into very great perill, and vpon ſilly occaſion: becauſe there was pregnant apparance, that by inuading *Landberg*, they muſt therby meddle with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* his neighbour, to whom the Switzers hadde beene good friends a long time. Nor could they come ſo neere him, without irrita-

An example of Rotuille allied to the Cantons, diſtened with danger.

irritating (by the ſame meanes) many other Princes, that wer his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe they of *Rotuille* ſhould not complaine, that they were forſaken in ſuch a neceſſity: fifty Soldiors of each Canton were ſent as a Garriſon to their Towne, but they ſtayed at *Schaffouſe*, and (ſoone after) the difference was pacified by Iudges, choſen for eyther ſide. And as the councell deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it ſhould be begun, or no: peace alſo was treated on by the ſame councell, and not by the Cantons in particular.

Example of the warre at Suaba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

According hereto, in the warre of *Suaba*, all the Cantons together ſent their ambaſſadors to *Baſile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximillian*. So the councell of *Switzerland*, aſſembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the yeare, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioyned with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our anceſtors, and in ours alſo, the Cantons (by aduice of their councell) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherin this order is kept ſtill to this day, that no one of the Cantons can bee conſtrained to make alliance with a ſtrange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the yeare, 1519. when all the cantons allied themſelues with king *Frácis*; they of *Zurich* refuſed to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the Switzers: firſt the fiue ſmall cantons began, and then *Solleurre* ioyned with them afterward.

No Canton can be compelled to make alliance with a ſtrange Prince.

The ſecond Article, of ſuch things as the councell of *Switzerland* do ordaine, concerneth lawes and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and cuſtomes by himſelfe, which remaine firme and inuiolable: neuertheleſſe, by a common conſent, our anceſtors deuiſed and eſtabliſhed many publike Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the fore-mentioned lawes of warre: wherewith alſo may the accord at *Stantz* bee rancked, paſſed betweene the eight firſt Cantons, and whereof we haue ſpoken in the firſt book. Alſo, becauſe Prieſts abuſed their immunities and priuiledges; they were reproo-

For the eſtabliſhment of lawes and ordinances.

ued by a publike Edict, containing this in effect. Whoſoeuer of the cittizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Prieſt or no, be he a Counceller, Vaſſaile, or bound to the Princes of *Auſtria*: he ſhall ſtand bound neuertheles, and promiſe by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite therof, and of all the confederats, and diſcouer ſpeedily and in good conſcience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath ſhall precede all other, and no obligation, how expreſſe ſoeuer it be, ſhall excuſe them, if they go againſt this oath.

Againſt Prieſts that abuſed their immunities & priuiledges.

Such Prieſts as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or eccleſiaſticall iuſtice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and eccleſiaſticall cauſes. If any one dare do otherwiſe, the Magiſtrates of the canton wherein he dwelleth, ſhall prohibite all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none ſhall preſume to protect him, vntill ſuch time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iuſtice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamagement by ſuch iuſtice. Whoſoeuer ſhall doe wrong to his neighbour, eyther in taking pawnes againſt order of right, or by any other meanes: he ſhall be puniſhable in body and goods, vntill hee haue ſatisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath ſummond his aduerſary, eyther before a Iudge of the Church, or ſeculer, and out of the country: he ſhall pay all the charges endured in that cauſe, in regard hee ought to pleade in the ſame place, where the party dwelleth. No man ſhall aſſigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the eaſier afflict the contrary party.

No Prieſt may commence law-ſuites out of the Country, but with exception.

For puniſhing of wrong done to neighbors.

No ſuite to be pleaded out of the country

If any man ſhall renounce his Bourgeſhip, and therby do wrong to another, by drawing him into ſtrange iuſtice: hee ſhall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the cittizens, till firſt hee haue made ſatisfaction to the party. All the cantons ſhall take order, that the waies be ſure and ſafe, becauſe both Switzers & ſtrangers may paſſe ſecurely, conuaying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whoſoeuer ſhall attempt otherwiſe, by common conſent of all, and our helpe to the vttermoſt, hee ſhall be compelled

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For ſecure & ſafe paſſage on the high-wayes.

No pawne to be taken but by the Magistrates consent.

pelled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoeuer, shall receiue pawne or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neyther shall do, or procure any iniury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the vttermost damage.

An Edict against Brokers for Benefices.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the sixe cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*. There was another Edict also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellowes did oftentimes cause much trouble vnto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the yeare, 1520. that if such people pursued to maintaine the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publike lawes, but I thinke it needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient *Switzers*, who were deuoutly affected to their Religion, and euermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publike liberty and tranquility.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alledged

Concerning Embassages sent foorth of the country, or imployment at home on serious affairs.

If any Embassages were to bee sent out of *Switzerland*, for the appointing of some difference, contracting of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in *Switzerland*, to negotiate with some Canton, Citty, Towne, &c: The councell consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadours of all the Cantons, or of some few onely.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

When there is a question in hand, for contracting alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadors: As when the alliance was made and signed with King *Henry*, not onely the Cantons, but also the confederates sent their ambassadors to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or fiue Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadors of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Glaris* went to the day at *Ansbourg*, & obtained of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, confirmation of the priuiledges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreouer, this councell hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to bee negotiated, or answering ambassadors of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publike assemblies of the Switzers.

In other occasions.

Aduice for negotiation, & answering Ambassadors.

For gouerning & gouerning of the Bayliwicks and Prouinces.

Landman & Landweibel.

Finally, the councell aduiseth to prouide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may bee gouerned as best beseemeth. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commissaries, Officers, Interpreters, *Landmans*, & *Landweibell* in the country of *Turgow* (whereof the first, to wit, the *Landman* is Iudge criminall, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Proctor or Atturney) the councell commits these estates to certaine men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreouer, if some difficult processe or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Gouernors or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the councel, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to bee vniust to eyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Councel of the Switzers.

When difficult cases happen in any Prouinc.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Gouernments beyond the Mountaines; the ambassadors (which are yearely sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the councell of *Bada* doth iudge them: And appeale also may bee made from the sentence of the ambassadours that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the councell of *Bada*; because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnder-

Order for causes on the other side the Mountaines.

The cou of Bada

stand

ſtand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Alſo the Gouernors and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the councell, of the tolles, reuennues, and fines: the annuall reuennues are diſtributed by equall portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like alſo of the Abbeyes in thoſe Bayliwicks, the protection and gouernment whereof (in temporall occaſions) do belong to the Cantons. In briefe, the councell doth know all things, which concerne the adminiſtration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cauſe the Gouernors to render their accounts; they giue audience to whoſoeuer can accuſe them, and they puniſh them, if they haue deſerued it; eyther by depriuing them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that eſtabliſhed them, to haue ſome other ſent in their ſtead. To ſpeake all in one word, the councell takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquility of the common-wealth: as well in the Gouernments and Bayliwicks, as alſo in the Cantons themſelues.

Diſtribution of annuall reuennues.

The capacity and power of the councell, in all matters whatſoeuer that concerne the common-wealths welfare.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and aſſembling the councell, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancient time) to the Canton of *Zurich*; which by a very authenticall priuiledge, holds the cheefeſt ranke among all the Cantons. Whenſoeuer then there is queſtion made, to hold a generall councell of the nation: the Lords of *Zurich* make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it neceſſary, that the councell publike and general ſhould be aſſembled; firſt they giue aduertiſement to the canton of *Zurich*, and require by their letters, that the Ambaſſadours of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are preſſiue, and require ſpeedy deliberation, then each canton muſt aduertiſe his confederates, to be in readineſſe for aduiſing (altogether) on that which is to bee done.

To whom the calling & the aſſembling of the councell appertaineth.

The order & obſeruation in calling the generall aſſembly.

Likewiſe the Ambaſſadours from Kings and Princes ſtrangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to preſent thēſelues at thoſe dayes of meetings: & ſomtimes they make requeſt, that one day (extraordinary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceed otherwiſe, becauſe *Zurich* ſignifies the ſame to foure Townes: and when to fiue or ſeuen catholike cantons; they of *Lucerna* do aſſemble them. There are alſo daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whoſe Ambaſſador reſiding at *Solleurre*, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permiſſion alſo, for the ambaſſadors of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the *Switzers*, to demand their dayes: prouided, they are at their Maſters expences.

Of Ambaſſadors from Kings and Princes.

Dayes of particular aſſemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

The ancient *Switzers* had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall councell: for I am perſwaded, there is no one of the firſt eight cantons, but they made an aſſembly at ſome times, though moſt often it was done at *Lucerna*, at *Zurich*, *Bremgarten*, and at *Bada*. In our time, the cuſtome hath beene (not by any law or ordinance purpoſely made for it) that the *Switzers* kept their dayes at *Bada*, in the Towne-houſe: and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Towne hath many commodities for ſuch aſſemblies. Firſt, the place is beautified with goodly buildings, and very apt Innes or houſes of lodging. The ſcituation of the place is pleaſant and healthfull, and the neereneſſe of the Bathes yeelde wonderfull pleaſure, drawing thether great reſort of people from farre remote countries. By meanes whereof, the neighbouring people to *Bada*, (feeling the gaines ſweetneſſe) bring thether all kindes of victuals in great aboundance, which cauſeth the Towne to be well furniſhed with all good prouiſion, and at all needfull ſeaſons.

In what place the councell did aſſemble on their daies of meeting.

The commodious ſcituation of the Towne of Bada.

Next, it is ſeated (almoſt) in the midſt of *Switzerland*, ſo that the cantons furtheſt off, may appeare there (by neereneſſe of wayes) all at one and at the ſame time. Alſo it appertaineth to the eight firſt cantons, & (by that meanes) the moſt part of the cantons are Lords therof, and haue equall authority in the place. Beſide, the particular aſſemblies of the foure Townes, is oftenеſt kept in the Towne of *Arow*, appertaining vnto the canton of *Berne*; howbeit (ſometimes) it hath bin of *Baſile*, when queſtion was made of entring accord with *Luther*, & that for the cauſe

Bada belongeth to the 8. firſt cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then ſent their Ambaſſadors thether. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes aſſemble at *Lucerna*, ſometimes at *Beckenried*, in the territory of *Vri*, or at *Brunnen*, which belongeth to them of *Suits*. But when the Ambaſſador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leuye of men of the *Switzers*: the day is ofteneſt held at *Solleurre*, where he entreateth the Cantons to be preſent: and ſometimes alſo it is at *Lucerna*.

The meeting of the Catholike Cantons.

The cuſtome is, that (euery yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-Iune. Then the Bayliffes or Gouernors appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reaſon of their ſeuerall charges before the councell, and attend to the ending of ſuites concerning the Prouinces. At the ſame time, the Ambaſſadors of the twelue firſt Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the foure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the cauſes of appeale: but yet in ſuch ſort as a man may appeale from them, to the Counceil or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councell ſo aſſembled, they ſit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende ſuch controuerſiall caſes, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes cauſes of importance are not ended at the firſt Seſſion, either becauſe they appeare not of ſufficient merit, or want due power of prooſe. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambaſſadors craue aduice of the Lords of their ſeuerall Cantons, to know how they ſhall carry themſelues therein. Sometimes alſo, in an vnexpected accident, or ſome other ſuch caſe of conſequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or ſome other, will aſſigne the day, eſpecially, if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Councell are aſſembled only for publike affaires; yet notwitſtanding, after they haue taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their cauſes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and thoſe that the Ambaſſador of France cauſeth to bee held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occaſions offer themſelues, & as it is pleaſing to them that haue power to aſſemble the councell.

At what times the dayes of audience for ſuites are held.

The reaſon of the councels ſitting and meeting.

Concerning ſudden & vnexpected accidents, and ſuites of particular perſons, from the generall buſines.

Particular dayes for the Cantons.

The manner of proceeding on theſe daies of meeting, is thus. At the day aſſigned by the ordinary councell, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambaſſador for the canton of *Zurich*, ſends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the Innes and houſes of receit, to know what Ambaſſadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiueth them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth thē to come to the Townhouſe. If the Ambaſſadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treate on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if vpon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Baſile*, *Schaffouſe*, *Solleurre*, and *Fribourg*, are not as yet arriued, as oftentimes it comes ſo to paſſe: then ſeuen or eight Cantons do aſſemble, and diſcourſe on matters only concerning themſelues.

Of the order and manner of proceeding on the dayes of meeting.

The Ambaſſadors are ſeated in councell, according to the order & number of the Cantons, ſo that he of *Zurich* ſits in the higheſt and moſt eminent place; he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & ſo conſequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being ſeated, the ambaſſador of *Zurich* ſaluteth them all, and hauing made ſome breefe preface & excuſe, according to cuſtome; he declareth ỳ which the Ambaſſadours had in charge on the laſt dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are aſſembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned ſince then, he propoundeth it alſo. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giuē him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambaſſadors do the like in their ranke, & declare whatſoeuer their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowne that which they haue in charge to ſay: the Bayliffe or Gouernor of *Bada* (of whatſoeuer Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each counceller, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in queſtion. Thē he of *Zurich* ſpeaketh firſt, and the reſt after, according to their ranke. Hauing all ſpoken, the Bayliffe counteth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the councellers: for ſometimes one Canton ſends two ambaſſadors, who may well aſſiſt in councell, yet they haue but

In what manner the Ambaſſadors do ſit in councell according to their degree.

Each man ma keth his com miſsiō knowe in councel.

but one voyce, as of one man onely.

Particular causes haue the same order of proceeding as them in general.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publike good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice, and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to pleade on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for *Zurich*, who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councell, sometimes the parties themselues will pleade their owne causes: or haue Aduocates, Procters, or speakers, which they bring with them, or chuse among such as they finde in *Bada*. For at all times, and whensoeuer these dayes are appointed, there will meet there a great number of such mē, belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs, pentioners of the Switzers. Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law, nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people, long time obserued among them.

After what manner their causes are debated.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading, to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselues often, in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe, I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skilfull in affaires, and I will not infrindge their authority in any manner whatsoeuer. But yet I say, that the proceeding obserued by the *Switzers*, for ending controuersiall cases, is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sẽtence according to the Romane lawes. And I am well assured, that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied, that many Aduocates and Atturnies, are much more carefull for maintaining the ciuill law, then eyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tye themselues to sillables, words, and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumuent a party, and to take him by the nose, as we vse to say. And surely, they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purses, troubling thẽselues ouermuch, to obscure and muffle vp matters; by which meanes, suites are made immortall, to the inuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme pouerty and misery.

The Romans order for pleding law-cases, not so conuenient as that of the Switzers.

The negligence of many Aduocates & Atturnies do sometimes preiudice very iust causes.

Lawyers make suites to seem immortall.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that tearmed such practitioners and brablers, blood suckers of the people: for they empty their purses, yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of *Switzerland*, an error happen to be commited, in the decision of difficult causes, which commeth very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding, it causeth no such harme, as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say, that the manner of proceeding among the *Switzers*, doth lessen expences, ease the people, cuts vp the rootes of lingring suites and differences: because the sentence doth sooner resolue both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places, we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vndecided, growes a great number of nouel variances.

Errour sildom committed among the Switzers in law causes, because the suites are quickly ended

CHAP. IIII.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences.

HAuing thus made mention of the councell, and daies of audience among the *Switzers*; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen betweene particular persons in the Bayliwicks: the Bayliffs or Gouernors are Iudges in those places, or else the Canton (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knoledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this, there is iustice for publike suites, which are variances, happening betweene two or more Cantons, or betweene some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Concerning suites of particular persons in the Bayliwicks.

Publike variances betweene Cantons.

Afterward, when the Burgeſſe (by common conſent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the yeare, 1501. the moſt part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzers: diſlodged from the citty, and withdrew themſelues to Caſtles heere and there, ſo that their authority diminiſhed greatly then, and all the reſt was loſt in the yeare, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order ſent from the councell, againſt which, many Noblemen oppoſed themſelues. And althogh they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the citty, and would not abide in it.

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

After which time, the two companies whereof we ſpake, entred in againe, and got poſſeſſion of ſome priuate houſes, & as yet they keepe thoſe houſes to themſelues, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And thoſe houſes are called in their language, **Zum ſunfft̃ en vnd zum brunnen**, but yet none of thē is of the councell. For although the councell do meete together (almoſt) euery day, and the Gentlemen (hauing forſaken the citty) dwelt moſt part of the time in their Caſtles: by common aduice of the Burgeſſes, they were excluded frō gouerning in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Neuertheleſſe, ſome noble Families that dwell in the citty, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Bourgeſſes, are in ranke of the foure firſt companies or ſupporters of the citty, and (in them) are choſen to be of the councell. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; theſe Tribes or companies are called **herren zunfft**, that is to ſay, the companies of Lords.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the Citty, but wer excluded from gouerning in the State.

The companies of Lords ſo called to do them honour.

Therefore, there are no more companies of theſe Noblemen in *Baſile*, but thoſe that are diſtinguiſhed with the other Bourgeſſes. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouſe*, the Noblemē haue their companies apart by themſelues. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beſide, aboue the tribes and companies of Tradeſmen, to take the moity, that is, the moſt part of the Lords of the councell, from foorth the company of theſe Noblemen: ſo that they are as a counterpoiſe to the other companies. Notwithſtanding, there is ſome difference among theſe Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themſelues, and they are called **Die Stubler**, by reaſon of the place where they aſſemble apart by themſelues, by right & eſpeciall priuiledge. To the whole body of theſe tribes or companies, are ioyned many cittizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which reſpect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other ſuch like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call **Ein Conſtaffell**, and receiue wages: they haue a voyce in electing the Maſter of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneuries councell, in regard of his place.

The priuiledg of them of Zurich in chuſing their Lords of councell.

Porters, Labourers, and toyling men are of the body politique.

Beſide the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of thoſe citties & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call **Zunfft**. The word (it may be) taketh name or originall, of **Zamenkunfft**, which ſignifieth to meete and aſſemble themſelues in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeyes: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the forenamed Citties and Townes. For there are fifteene at *Baſile*: whereof the foure firſt are eſteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath beene ſaid. The firſt tribe or companie, is that of Merchants. The ſecond of Gold-ſmiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing onely in wines: with whom the Notaries, Maſters of Hoſpitals, Spittles, and other ſuch like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greateſt of them all. The other eleuen, are of all ſorts of trades and handy-crafts men.

Of other Tribes and Companies beſide the Noblemen.

Fifteene companies at Baſile, and how they are diſtinguiſhed from the Noblemen.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heeretofore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by it ſelfe. But now adaies, the weauers of woollen cloth and other things, are ioyned into one cō-

Twelue tribes or companies are at Zurich.

pany

Eleuen tribes or companies are at Schaffouse.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies onely: neuertheleſſe, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themſelues: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Mettall men. So at *Basile*, the Fiſhermen and Marriners or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. Theſe companies are diuided, and they are called **Gſpaltne Zunfft.** For when there is queſtion of cheeſe Trades, and eſpecially workmen in them, their houſes of meetings and aſſemblies are by themſelues.

Chiefe trades and artezans are diſtinguiſhed by themſelues.

But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be preſent, to elect Lords of the councell, or the **Zunfft**-Maſters, who muſt be alſo in the councell; euery man ſpeaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Concerning the election of the councell.

Out of each of theſe companies, ſome men are choſen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of councell. In euery city there are two publike councels, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great councell, when as a good number of councellers meete together, in name of all the people: as is vſed in the affaires of greateſt importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth.

The great councell.

Next, the leſſer councell, who meete together euery day, about the common-wealths buſineſſe, and take knowledge of differences happening among the cittizens.

The leſſer councell.

The great councell of *Zurich*, conſiſteth of two hundred mē: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouſe*, is of foure-ſcore and ſixe.

The great councels of Zurich, Basile, & Schaffouſe.

As concerning the leſſer councell of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threeſcore and foure: and that of *Schaffouſe*, hath but twenty ſixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great councell: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eighteene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* alſo each company giueth three men for the leſſer councell: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouſe*, two.

Of the leſſer councels ſeuerally.

Next, in euery of theſe citties, there are two Conſuls or Bourgmaſters, who are the cheeſe and Preſidents of councell. Ouer and beſide theſe two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are cheeſe in councell with the Bourgmaſters. Moreouer, at *Zurich* the Noblemen ſend ſixe from among them, to the leſſer councell: the other companies doe ſend each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choiſe is made of ſixe other men, out of ſuch companies as the councell do propoſe, to fill vp the number.

Of Conſulles and Bourgmaſters in each Citty.

How many are ſent from each company?

As concerning the election of councellers (for ſo will wee hereafter call the Lords of the leſſer councell) it is done in manner following. Euery yeare, about mid-Iune, and mid-December, all the cittizens of *Zurich* aſſemble themſelues together, euery man in his tribe and company: and thē elelect a chiefe man, whom they call, **Zunfftmeiſter**, that is to ſay, Maſter of the tribe or company. The cuſtome of theſe three citties, is, that the companies haue two Maſters: but one of them is in eſtate but ſixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other ſucceedeth him. Neuertheleſſe, it often comes to paſſe, that hee who was **Zunfftmeiſter** the halfe yeare before, is choſen againe. By this meanes, the leſſer councell is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue beene in charge the firſt ſixe Moneths, we tearme them of the olde councell; for although they be called whē the councell is helde, yet notwithſtanding, it is not alwayes ſo done, and there are many matters which paſſe in the new councell onely.

The election of councellers for the leſſer councell, and after what order they elect the Zunfftmeiſter.

Of the old & new councels.

The great councell of *Basile* is diuided in the ſame manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are ſixe of the new councell, and ſixe of the olde. Beſide the **Zunfftmeiſters**, the leſſer councell of *Zurich* chuſeth one counceller from each of the companies: but the leſſer councell of *Basile* chuſeth two. Theſe councellers thus elected, with the other which we haue ſaid to bee choſen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are diuided into two bands: whereof the one is the old councel, and the other the new. Theſe two councels are changed euerie ſixe Moneths at *Zurich*; ſo that at their ending, the olde councell electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouſe*, they continue in the eſtate a whole yeare together.

The great councell of Basile diuided in like maner.

The changing of the old and new councels.

The election of the councell at *Schaffouſe*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoſte: and that of *Basile*, on Satterday be-

The times of theſe elections, & their approbation.

before the foure and twentieth day of Iune. At *Zurich*, the **Zunfftmeisters** are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting: then the councell of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at *Basile* this confirmation belongeth to the olde councell. The voyce is giuen openly at *Zurich*, and secretly at *Schaffouse*. For in each tribe or company, charge is giuen to particular persons, to collect the voice, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they giue voyce to be **Zunfftmeister**. The lesser councell assemble at the oftenest, three times euery weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The old and new councellers of *Zurich*, are seated one by another, & somtimes one among another: but at *Basile*, the old councellers are aboue the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a counceller of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new councell: and they call the reporter **Den Offner**.

Of giuing the voyce it is not in all places alike.

The sitting of the olde and new councellers.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Burgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgesses, is President of the old and new councels. The great councel electeth him by open voyce at *Zurich*; at *Schaffouse* by secret voyce: and at *Basile*, the olde councell first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new councell the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, sixe Moneths: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councellers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunfftmeisters**, and **Oberstermeisters** at *Zurich* (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

Of the Bourgmasters or Consuls, the manner of their election.

Masters of companies & communities, Tribunes of the people.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser councel at Basile, are ioyned to these four in cheefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the councell of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greatest importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser councell: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first councellers. Moreouer, there is a particular councell at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publike affaires: and is composed of eight councellers, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde councell for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Tresurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councellers, two of the olde, and two of the new councell. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger councell demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then giue their report to the yonger councell.

The councel of thirteene men.

The chamber of accounts, & the officers thereof.

To these publike councels, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefest is cald **Stattschryber**, that is to say, Secretary of the citty. At Zurich, the other is called **Underschryber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Raatschryber**, that is, Secretary to the councell. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts; whom they of Zurich call **Rechenschryber**. The estate of Secretary in these citties is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard wherof, the Gentlemen striue to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Two Secretaries assisting to the councellers.

The office of Secretary, honorable.

Next to the councels publike, are Iustices of the citty. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Stattgricht**, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or cheefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or yonger councell. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Serieant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the *Switzers* vse to say, they iudge **Umb erb vnd eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

A Iustice for dealing in ciuill causes.

What causes they take knowledge of.

No appeale from the Iustices sentence

difficult cauſe, they ſend it to the Councell.

The office & authority of the other Iuſtice.

The other Iuſtice, whom they call **Das Zinſsgricht**, is a Iudgement of proceſſe and ſuites, which happen for rents and yearely reuennues. The Secretary of the other Iuſtice, and two Lords of the younger councell, it ſeemes doe daily aſſiſt for the ending of all ſuch differences. In the bigger *Baſile* there are two ſuch kindes of Iuſtices, and a third in the leſſer *Baſile*.

The Iuſtice of greateſt power and authority.

That Law or Iuſtice of greateſt authority, which they tearme alſo **Das Statgricht**, is compoſed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the councell, and the other, ſuch as the people do name. They take knowledge of all cauſes, ciuill and criminall: but when there is queſtion of teſtaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other ſuch like things: the Prouoſt or Lieutenant of the citty ſitteth in iudgement. As for cauſes criminall, the Prouoſt of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the councell, who do purſue criminall cauſes, by the ſollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Atturney, named by them, **Oberſtenknecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, hauing an aduocate waiting on him.

Law and Iuſtice for criminall cauſes.

Criminall iudgements are openly performed.

Theſe iudgements are done publikely, and haue eight open audiences, whereby all are permitted to be there preſent, to heare and ſee whatſoeuer is done. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouſe*, the new councell doth iudge the criminall cauſes. Neuertheleſſe, the Bourgmaſter doth not then ſit: but it is the Prouoſt of the Empire, whom **Rychſuogt**, or, **Blutrichter**, who preſideth and collecteth the voices. Euery yeare the councell chuſeth ſome one of that body, to exerciſe that charge. Proceſſe and ſuites criminall are handled at *Zurich*, with the doores faſt ſhut: but at *Schaffouſe* in open Court, ſo that all men may vnderſtand the accuſations and defences. But the councell commandeth all to bee abſent, when there is queſtion of pronouncing ſentence.

Criminall cauſes at Zurich not openly heard.

The other orders of Iuſtice at great and leſſer Baſile.

The ſecond order of Iuſtice at great *Baſile*, iudgeth not but in caſes of ſmall importance, which hardly exceedeth the ſumme of ten pounds. But the Iuſtice of ſmaller *Baſile*, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all cauſes, except of criminall.

There are two Courts, or kindes of Iuſtices at *Schaffouſe*. The one which they call **Das Schuldgricht**, is law or iuſtice for debts: for therein onely is ended differences of contracts, debts, and ſuch like things. And if the ſumme whereof queſtion is made, doe amount aboue an hundred crownes, the councell then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty aſſeſſors or aſſiſtants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreouer, eight other perſons, choſen by the councell. The other order of Iuſtice is named **Vogtgricht**, or, **Buſſengricht**, that is to ſay, Iuſtice for fines and amercements: becauſe the Prouoſt of the empire, or Iudge in cauſes criminall, preſideth there, and condemneth all ſuch forfeitures & fines. There are twelue aſſeſſours out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great councell. Cauſes criminall of leſſer importance, are debated and ended in this Iuſtice there; as light iniuries, vulgar outrages, and ſuch like. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not eaſie to bee diſſembled or digeſted; the knowledge of ſuch caſes appertaineth to the leſſer councell.

Two kindes of Iuſtice at Schaffouſe.

The ſecond kinde of Iuſtice at Schaffouſe.

Criminall offences of ſlender importance.

Beſide what hath beene ſaide, theſe three cities haue each one their particular councell, which they tearme **Ein Chorgricht**, or, **Egegricht**, where they diſcourſe on cauſes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councels of the three cities eſtabliſhed one councell: wherein were a certaine number of aſſiſtants, elected by buplike ſuffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councels, and among whom were ſome Diuines or Theologians as they cal them. Neuertheleſſe, at *Schaffouſe* none of the Miniſters were aſſiſtants, but onely ſome learned men admitted to councell, who had each one as his adiunct, ſome Doctour of the Law. Theſe Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall cauſes: puniſh whoredomes and adulteries, and haue charge to obſerue the liues & manners of euery one.

The three cities haue peculiar councels beſide the other.

Diuines admitted to be of the councell.

Beſide, in theſe common-wealths, baſtards are depriued of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to bee ſeene at the councell, nor in the Courts of Iuſtice. True it is, they are not guilty of that ſtaine to their birth, neither can it bee denied, but that (oftentimes) baſtards haue wonne more commendations for

Of ſuch as are exempted & prohibited, not to be ſeen in the councell, or in any Court of iuſtice.

for their vertues, then euer could their legitimate brethren: as we haue an example of *Iephta*, a Iudge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiſcences of many, and to conſerue the dignity of ſacred marriage: Baſtards ſtand as branded with infamy, and yrkeſome eye-ſores to well ordered common-wealths.

For time of dwelling.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne yeares within the citty of *Zurich*, cannot be choſen to be one of the publike councell.

For men born out of Switzerland.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the leſſer councell at *Schaffouſe*: But if they be Bourgeſſes of twenty yeares ſtanding, they may be brought into the great councell, & into the number of the Iudges.

Againſt ſtrangers not natiues.

I will not tell you that ſtrangers are vnworthy of theſe honors: but it is requiſite firſt of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, ſhould be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and ſeene, in the lawes and cuſtomes of the country.

For natiues.

And me-thinks, cittizens, and ſuch as (from their youth) haue beene bred in a common-wealth; ſhould haue more aduantage therein, then ſtrangers.

Againſt aduancement of ſtrangers and vnworthy perſons.

Moreouer, there is nothing more pernitious to common-wealths, then enuies and deſpights, proceeding from ſuch aduancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when naturall borne ſubiects are left deſpiſed, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to ſtrangers, & men of no merit.

Adulterers, murderers, & infamous perſons.

Beſide baſtards and ſtrangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from councell in theſe common-wealths.

Of publike offices and eſtates.

Publike eſtates and conditions are of diuers kindes in theſe common-wealths, and in great number, according as the citties are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

Treaſurers of the publike monies, & of Cuſtomes and Impoſts.

The higheſt degree, next after the Bourg-maſters and **Zunfft**-Maſters, are ſuch as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, **Seckelmeiſter**, as much to ſay, as Treaſurers or Purſe-bearers. At *Baſile* there are three, named **Dryerherren**, that haue the keeping of the citties treaſures. Beſides them, there are three other, named **Ladenherren**, who manage the monies of the Impoſts, Cuſtomes, and yearely reuennues of the common-wealth: They alſo purſue criminall cauſes, making themſelues parties, by meanes of the ordinary Atturney. At *Zurich* there are men (almoſt) in the ſelfe-ſame charge, whom they call **Die Vmbgelter**; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cauſe to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publikely ſold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeſſes eate and drinke in their houſes, they pay not any thing.

The order at Zurich.

Tolle or taxe for corne and wine.

Beſide theſe two Treaſurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuennues of the Church, & he is called **Der Kloeſteren obman**: he gathereth certaine reuennues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Miniſters wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cheriſhed or releeued, and the ouerplus remaining, is reſerued to eaſe the people in times of publike neceeſſities. Some yeares paſt, the country of *Zurich* hauing beene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiuer ſold corne at a meane price to them of the citty, and to moſt part of the Villages round about, bought with the reſerued mony at the beſt rate, and thereby the Subiects of the Seigneury were greatly releeued.

The Treaſurer of churches reuenue.

A great dearth in the country of Zurich.

Next to theſe, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Voyers*, the Germans **Bawherren**, and they of *Baſile*, **Lonherren**, becauſe they pay the works & workmen that ſerue in publike. Theſe Suruayers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couduits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they ſhall bee maintained and kept in their beſt ability. Moreouer, they iudge with three Lords of the councell (who are their adiuncts) ſuch differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windowes, Walles, and ſuch like things, & wherin the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Baſile* there are fiue Seigneurs, that take knowledge of theſe matters.

Suruayers of publike buildings & their further charge.

They ioyne iudgement with the councell on eſpecial occaſions.

There

Viuers Officers appointed to take charge of victuals.

For bread.

For flesh.

For fish.

For butter & cheese.

Other Officers noted by their names.

Of Schooles & vniuersities

The Vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius 2.

The reason why so few Schollers are, in the Vniuersity of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the visiters for Bread, to consider if the Loafe carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Flesh in the Butchery, and aduisedly obserue, that they kill not any Beast, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully foresee, that none be taken whē they are spawny, and haue an eye beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widdowes and Orphanes, **Schirmvoegt**, and at *Basile*, **Weissenherren**: The Almoners; Visiters for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of matters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Visiters of Schooles.

Moreouer, in these cities there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erdford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the councell was kept there. He found the citty so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that hee reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yeelded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse heere to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the citty, and the fame of the Doctours there abiding, there are but few Schollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* rendreth the reason, and saith; It is occasioned by the smalnesse of reuennues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented then they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, euen to this present day, the tongues haue beene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Mints for the coyning of mony in these three citties.

Finally, these three citties whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are fordging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the citty, shold beare full weight, and be of a good allay. Each of these citties hath her mony apart by her selfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same mony with them of *Halsatia* and of *Bourgongne*, and call it a **Rappenmuntz**, in regard of a Rauen, which serueth for Armes to many peeces of their mony. Fiue & twenty Sols of this mony, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threescore cruizers. At *Schaffouse* the mony is of the same allay & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of mony, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of mony, which they cal *Baches*, wherof sixteene makes a Florin.

The mony of Basile.

The monie of Schaffouse.

The monie of Zurich.

The watch may not be forgot among other officers in publike, & tending to the generall good

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetuall guardes at the cities cost, who keepe watch euery night, and diligently search through all parts of the citty, crying at all houres of the night. Ouer and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgesses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconueniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) all maters may be peaceable and quiet.

The office of them that are guards for accidents of fire.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happeneth in the citty, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may bee done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the mis-fortune of the fire.

What the order is in times of fire.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye ouer the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; leste any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgesses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole citty is distributed into certaine bandes, euery one of them hauing his Captaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councellers and officers of the Seigneury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not onely Carpenters, Masons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgesses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women shew themselues of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the citty, the lustiest disposed of euery Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue foorth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councell Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to bee done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

The citty distinguished into diuers bands in martiall order.

When fire taketh a village ont of the citty.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

We haue already told you, that the *Switzers* take great care for the poore. At *Zurich*, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in *Zurich*, sometimes forty, otherwhiles fourescore, that are thus releeued; some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seigneury of *Zurich* are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiuall dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at euery two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the citty, and such as liue abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherin needy cittizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphanes, and many other are releeued. The Seigneury appointeth diuers honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Procters, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state gouernment obserued in the cities: but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of *Zurich* hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther *Basile* or *Schaffouse*. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of gouernment. For certaine Bayliwicks are gouerned by the councell of the citty, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the citty, and are councellers of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminall suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capitall, the councell taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not only in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the greatnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some also haue law and iustice apart by themselues, and are administred by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The cities exercise gouernment abroad, fourth of the cities limits.

All the Bayliwicks are not alike in their extendant authority.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselues onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of *Zurich* hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the county of *Kybourg*, the Bailiwicks of *Groningen*, *Andelfingen*, *Grifensee*, *Eglisow*, the free Prouince, *Regenspourg*, *Vadeuille*, and *Lauffen*, neere to the fall of *Rhein*. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-ships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwickes, two pleasant Townes, namely *Winterdner* and *Stein*, are vnder the protection of *Zurichs* canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are tyed

ed in obedience to the Seigneury of *Zurich*, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect the two Townes haue their seuerall Ensignes by themselues.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of *Basile*, are the Castle of *Farnsberg*, seated on the top of a Mountaine aboue *Rhinfeld*; *Wallbourg*, a small towne on the Mount *Iura*, which they tearme **Der Howenstein**, in regard of the Rock there cut in sunder; *Hombourg*, *Munchenstein*, and *Kanstein*.

Schaffouse hath the most part of the country of *Cletgew*, all about *Basile*, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and gouernment, of the Townes of Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse are.

Of the second kinde of gouernment, how tribes or companies.

WEe haue already said, that the second kinde of publike gouernment, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councell and Iustice. In these towns they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councell, are called **Ein Schuldtheissen**. The old *Allemain* word is found in the Lawes of the *Lombardes*, where it is written, *Schuldahis*. Itseemeth that the word came of debt, which the *Switzers* tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldahis* commands the debters to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this sence it is found written in the *Lombards* lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

Schuldahis, & demands the word.

If a free man who is a debter hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne priuate Cattell, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the paile: then he that challengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the Schuldahis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debter hath nothing else to make repaiment withall, but the matters aboue rehearsed. Then the Schuldahis is to make seizure on the said Cattell, &c.

Words and sentences are written in the Lombard lawes.

The same word is found also in the twentieth title of King *Luitprands* lawes, in significant tearmes, as followeth. *If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his Schuldahis to demand iustice: if in case that the Schuldahis do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander sixe Sols, and to his Iudge sixe Sols.*

The words out of King Luitprandes lawes to the same effect.

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldahis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuey on the debters goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuertheless, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of *Germany*: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the *Switzers* it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldahis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the *Switzers*, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldahis* ought to be called Prestors. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike councel. The French call him an *Anoyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldtheis*.

A Iudge that sentenced cases of debts onely.

The cheefe Magistrate of any Towne among the Switzers.

Now as concerning the Towns whereof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which probibite them from so doing. But although the forme of the Commonwelths of *Zurich* and *Berne* are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conserue the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of **Gesellschafften**, and not **Zunfften**.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such maner as at Zurich.

Two publike councels in those Towns: the great and the lesser.

In these Townes there are two publike councels, as at *Zurich*, *Basile*, & *Schaffouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great councell of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more then two hundred councellers. The lesser councell of *Berne*, is of sixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councellers do gouerne the estate, during the space of sixe Moneths, and eighteene other sixe Moneths, or the rest of the yeare. To elect the councell of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderet is the Captaine of a quarter in any good Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the foure Banderets of the Towne, doe chuse, and take with them sixteene Bourgesses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auoyer*, do elect the great councell, wherfore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the liues and manners of all them that are to be of the councell of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villainous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as wel of the deposed, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, vntill the euening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councels: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-house.

The manner of electing the councell of two hundred.

The first Feries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the councell do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-house, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgesses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke foorth into the fields: exercising themselues there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auoyer* goes againe to the towne-house, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councellers, that are to be of the lesser councell. On the morrow, they are named to the councell of two hundred, and after that their election is approued, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the councell of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the sixe Moneths onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater councell, is made twice yearely, if there be any vacant places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councellers are taken from the lesser councell, that gouerned during the sixe precedent Moneths.

The Seigneurs of the great councel meete in the Towne-house

The election of the lesser councell.

The councell of Lucerna chosen twice yearely.

The *Auoyers* or Consuls, who are aboue the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councels, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auoyer* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a yeare, and 2. years at *Berne*: but yet in such manner that the voyces are yearely taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auoyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the commonwealth, are the foure Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The election of the Auoyers or Consuls.

The chusing of the foure Banderets out of foure companies.

The Towne of *Berne* is diuided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and ouer-see the Armes of all the Bourgesses, and prouide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure yeares: but euery yeare on the same day as the *Auoyer* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliuer into the hands of the cheefe Vsher of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other markes of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auoyer* and the councell: and then the great and lesser councell giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them haue continued in his charge fully foure years, or is preuented by death, another is planted in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure yeares, his successour must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

The diuision of Berne in the foure Banderets.

The time of the Banderets continuing in their office.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limitted at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as pleaseth the councell, and themselues also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiueth the reuennues of the Towne, and of the *Allemaigne* country: the

The dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers.

Two Treasurers at Berne, and their charge.

the other is for the Romane country, because hee receiueth the reuennues which the Seigneury deriueth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auoyers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one counceller of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, **Die heimlichen Rath**, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy councell. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

Concerning the election of other publike Officers.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue beene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councels; aduice is vsed, concerning other publike Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Serieants, Executers of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser councell bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The election of councellers at Berne for the lesser councell.

The Bernians hold this properly to themselues, as concerning election of their councellers, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser councell, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councellers were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councellers are absent, about occasions of the weale-publike, and for the gouerning of some Bayliwicke: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great councell, they may bee elected that are borne out of Berne: prouided that they be Bourgesses, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzers* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the councell of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from coūcell.

The ordinary manner of Iustice at Berne.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at Berne, all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser councell.

The first Court of iustice is called, **Das Ussergricht**. The *Auoyer* presideth there, but the cheefe Viher, whom they call **Der grosz Weibell**, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12. Assistants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser councell, and tenne of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, iniuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giues some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councell, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a councell composed of Seigneurs of the lesser councel, and of sixe and thirty councellers of the great councell. From the sixty, appeale may bee made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble euery day to conclude causes, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The first Court of Iustice, how and what causes are therein determined.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoy*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; **Das welsch Appellatz gricht.** The Pursse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, sitteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assistants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser councell, and eight of the great, with one Secretarie and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoye*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oftē as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vse is to meete after the day of S. *Martin* in Nouember, vntill the Moneth of December. All they of *Sauoye* come thether to the appellations, they onely of *Lausanna* excepted: but at euery two yeares, the Treasurer commeth to *Lausanna* with some assistants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The second Court is called the Court of appellations, or appeales.

The ordinary meeting of the Court.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Consistory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser councell, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church; foure of the great councell, and they haue a Secretary or Clearke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke,

The third Court, the Consistory for mariage-matters.

Two Iudges choſen for either ſide.

Thus then, for the deciding of ſuch differences, each of the parties doe chuſe two Iudges for either ſide, who are abſolued of the oath which they haue taken to their Canton: and promiſe to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the ſuite may bee louingly and very ſpeedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

Places apointed for the ending of ſuites & differences according to ancient cuſtome.

By the ancient alliances, there were certaine places appointed, for the ending of ſuch ſuites. The ſeuen firſt Cantons ſent their ambaſſadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end ther ſuch ſuites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expreſſely ſaid: that if they had any ſuite with them of *Vri*, the aſſembly ſhould be at *Merch*. If againſt the canton of *Suits*; the arbitrators ſhold meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Erunen*, if againſt them of *Vnderuald*. And then the other Cantons, hauing had knowledge of the cauſe, pronounced the ſentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, aſſembled at a place named *Daskienholtz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Zofinge*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleurre*, hauing a ſuite againſt the eight firſt Cantons, or ſome of them, ſent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Williſow*. As for the cauſes of them of *Baſile*, *Schaffouſe*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of theſe Cantons, allied with them of *Rotuille* and of *Mulhouſe*. But the differences of them of S. *Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Griſons*, at *Wallenſtad*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

They that met at one place, went not toanother except by eſpeciall appointment.

Whē matters cannot be louingly ended, what courſe they take then

When then ſome difference happeneth, which cannot bee kindly accorded, and that the entreaty of the Cantons ſerueth to no purpoſe: the arbitrators and ambaſſadours of the Cantons that are in ſuite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambaſſadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thether to attone the parties, and to make ſome amiable compoſition. The Iudges and Arbitrators beeing aſſembled, after that the parties haue pleaded their cauſes: if the Iudges take reſolution, & giue ſentence, the parties muſt (of neceſſity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opinions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one ſide, as on the other; then a fift Iudge or arbitrator is choſen, whom they call **Ein obmann**, or, **Ein gmeinen mann**. He giueth no ſentence at all, but onely approueth one of thoſe, which the arbitratours haue pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themſelues do chuſe the odde arbitrator: yet in ſuch ſort notwithſtanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor hauing any intereſt in the cauſe.

When voyces are alike on either ſide: then a fift Arbitrator is choſen.

The alliance of the ſeuen firſt Cantons, makes mention of this election and choiſe: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleurre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of S. *Gall* and of *Mulhouſe*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouſe*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choiſe of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they ſhall then take one of the Lords of the councell of S. *Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotuille*, command is giuen to the Iudges, to chuſe for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councell of S. *Gall* or of *Mulhouſe*. Sometimes alſo the complainant chuſeth. As if the *Bernians* haue a ſuite againſt the three firſt Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons ſhal name ſixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuſe a ſub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for ſub-arbitrator) chuſe one of the Lords of the leſſer councell of *Berne*. If ſome difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuſe for an odde arbitratour, one of the defendants Lords of the councell. The ſame is obſerued in ſuites for them of *Baſile*, againſt the other cantons; and ſo in the *Griſons* cauſes.

The addition to the Article of Schaffouſe.

The complainant is alowed ſometime to chuſe the odde Arbitratour.

Thus you ſee how the *Switzers* gouerne themſelues, in the deciding of controuerſiall ſuites betweene the commonwealths. I know very well, that ſome may diſpute ſubtilly, both for, and againſt this order there obſerued: but I will leaue that diſcourſe to the Readers. For mine owne part, I admire the ſimplicity and integrity of our anceſtors, who by ſuch manner of proceeding, haue often broght to end very great variances, and carefully conſerued publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profite, neither deſired any thing more

There is nothing ſo well becomming one place, but it may ſeeme vnfit for another.

Their ends & ours are quite contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that marke: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appeased, that are the hottest attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the seuerall Cantons.

And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.

HAuing shewne already, how the whol Commonwealth of the *Switzers* is gouerned in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may bee referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soueraign Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselues.

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councell, are called *Ammans*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Cities or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the soueraignty appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatest affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their cities and townes, which haue the soueraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the cities and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or sometimes haue beene subiected to them: are gouerned by an *Auoyer*, whom they call, **Schultheiz**, (who is cheefe of the councell) and by some number of councellers chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of cittizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocraticall* among all the other: and in this manner are gouerned the common-wealths of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*.

In townes or cities, the cheefe man is called the Auoyer, the cheefe man of the councell.

There are other cities and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councell are elected, and the soueraigne Magistrate or cheefe of the councell, who by them is tearmed **Burgermeister**, that is to say, Master of the Bourgesses, which we in a shorter word cal *Bourgmaster*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

Election of the Lords of the councell and the supreame Magistrate, called a Burgermeister.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two rankes: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselues, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, **Ein Gesellschafft**, and they of *Zurich*, **Ein Constaffell**.

Townes diuided into two rankes, Noblemen and Yeomen.

In elder times, in the citty of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the soueraignty: so that out of the one cõpany they chose the Consull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Captaine of the citty, which is the estate of greatest authority, next vnto that of Consull or Bourgmaster.

Two bands of Noblemen in Basile. The Consull and the Tribune or Captaine of the City, the two cheefe offices

Neuertheless, afterward the Noblemen lost this soueraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councell of *Basile*, when *Lewes*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioyned with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity depriued & excluded from all publike honours.

The Noblemen banished and their posterity depriued.

The office of the Treasurer.

and are chosen by the great & lesse councels, as many other Officers are. Then followeth the office of the Treasurer, who manageth the monies, and all the reuennues of the Towne: he hath (as his coadiuter) the Secretary or Clearke of the Towne, or his Committees, who register downe all those summes, which the Treasurer receiueth, or imployeth. His charge also is, to haue an eye on all the publike buildings. Twice euery yeare he renders an account to the lesser councell, and remaineth in his charge, the space of three yeares.

Foure principall Secretaries in Fribourg.

In *Fribourg* there are foure principall Secretaries: the first is called Secretary of the Towne; the second, Secretary of the councell; the third, Secretary of the country; and the fourth, Secretary of law or iustice. In like manner, the estate of *Saultier*, or cheefe Vsher, is honoureble both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is named, **Groszweibels**. He is very often neere to the *Auoyer*, and when the Seigneurs are set in councel, he is at the door, counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and takes care of prisoners. His charge continueth three yeares.

The Saultier or chiefe Vsher.

The Courts of law and iustice at Fribourg.

As concerning Law and Iustice at *Fribourg*, they are established in manner following. First, the Court of Iustice belonging to the Towne, called, **Das Stattgricht**, is a particular assembly of certaine Iudges, to know and decide differences among the Bourgesses. And if there be any criminall processe or suite; their charge is to interrogate the prisoners, to present & deliuer the case in question, and then to relate all to the lesser councell. The other assembly of Iudges, is tearmed **Das Landtgricht**, iudging the causes of dwellers in the country. In each of these iurisdictions, there are two Seigneurs of the lesser councell, and two of the great, and they meet three times euery week. Appeale may be made from their sentence, to the lesser councel. Moreouer, there are twelue Iudges, chosen out of the great and lesser councels, for the appellations of the Bayliwickes, conquered in the last warre against the Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together once in euery Moneth, and there is no appealing from their sentence.

The first Court or assembly.

The other Court of iustice.

Twelue Iudges for the conquered Bayliwicks.

At *Fribourg* there are two kindes of Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the one of Bayliwicks neighbouring to the Towne, which are gouerned by certaine Seigneurs of the councell, who dwell in the Towne, and come dayly to councell, and of such Bayliwicks there are fiue. The other is, when the Bayliffes are sent to dwell on distinct places with ample authority: and they of *Fribourg* haue fourteene such Bayliwicks, and foure in common with the *Bernians*. The Bayliffes are elected by the great and lesser councels, the morrow after S. *Iohn Baptists* day, and hold in office the space of fiue yeares: but euery yeare they render an account of their charge, before the lesser councell. They enstruct also, and deale in criminall suites: but them they send to the lesser councell with their sentence, which the councell hath power to approue, change, or moderate.

Two kindes of Bayliwicks belonging to Fribourg.

Foure Bayliwicks in common with that of Berne.

Dealing in criminall occasions.

That which at *Fribourg* is called **Trostungen**, and in the vulgar, **Leistungen**, is carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. By these words is vnderstood a remise or tariance for certaine time, and the charges to be on his owne head; when the debter doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of assignement, as in this manner. When the debter maketh not satisfaction, on the day appointed for repayment, the creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more seruants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or Hostery, whose expences there the debter is constrained to pay (tarry they there neuer so long) vntill hee hath made satisfaction to the creditor. Some say, that the Duke of *Zeringen* established this Law. Such as infringe or breake it, are punished by imprisonment, banishment, or by the purse. And there is a certaine Iudge, who they call Bourgmaster, that holdeth a strict hand in this case. Moreouer, if action or suite is moued, and a man demand the **Trostung** three times, if it is not grãted to the demander, it is present banishment. Such as breake the peace, wherein they are enioyned to liue one with another, are banished likewise: and they that (without iust cause) will meddle, or take part on eyther side, when a cause is in pleading.

A stay or forbearing of a debt at the cost & charg of the debter.

A law made by the Duke of Zeringen, for payment of debts.

Banishment for the breach of peace.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting yearely, with solemne procession of all estates through the Towne, on the second day of March, and on the eight and twentieth day of Iune; which are dayes of battailes

Dayes of solemn feasting for victories obtained.

ſiles giuen, and victories wonne by the *Switzers*, againſt the Duke of *Bourgongne*, at *Granſon*, and at *Morat*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of thoſe Cantons that haue neither Cities nor Towns, but dwell onely in Villages.

The author diſtinguiſheth the Cantons according to their qualities of gouernmẽt & ſituation.

HItherto we haue diſcourſed on two formes of Common-wealths, concerued in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, that haue Cities and Townes. There remaineth now a third, which is of thoſe Cantons that haue no Townes, but make their abode in Villages, and for that cauſe are called, **Die Laender.** There are ſixe of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a towne, & hath her Officers in the towne, but the ſoueraignty of the Canton appertaineth to them that dwell in the lands of the Canton, with them of the towne, and are Lords as well the one as other. In all theſe Cantons, the cheefe of the publike councell, is tearmed **Amman**, which ſignifieth a man in office and authority, and that name is attributed to all publike Officers. So that Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, do call their Iudges, Receiuers, and other ſuch like Officers, **Ammang.**

Amman is held as a Maior or Bourgomaſter among the Switzers.

As the Townes are diuided or parted, by Companies and Colledges of Artezans, or Tradeſmen; ſo the Cantons are diſtributed into certaine parts and portions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of all the ſixe Cantons forenamed, which in this enſuing Chapter we will handle together, according to their ſeuerall rights & iuriſdictions.

The Cantons diuided into certaine portions.

THE whole country of *Vri* is diuided into ten parts, which by them are called **Gnoſzaminen**, as if a man would ſay, Partieipations. It may be in this reſpect, becauſe they are all partakers in paſturages, goods, honours, and publike charges, and that from thoſe ten parts onely, they are ſummoned and called, to be preſent at thoſe aſſemblies which are yearely made.

The diuiſion of Suits.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into ſixe parts, which they call quarters. Becauſe the country (heeretofore) was diſtributed into foure portions: but the people coming to encreaſe greatly, they made a new partage into ſixe portions, which neuertheleſſe do reteine the ancient name.

Vnderuald diuided in the midſt.

As for the Country of *Vnderuald*, there is a Foreſt that diuideth it in the middeſt: and therfore the diuiſion is thus made to them that dwell aboue and beneathe the Foreſt. The whole Country taketh name of that part which is beneath the Foreſt: for **Underualden** is as much to ſay, as beneathe or vnder the wood. In elder times, *Stants*, a principall Village beneathe the Foreſt, and neere to the Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of the country, and the people were called, inhabitants of the Valley of *Stants*. But now adayes, becauſe the word *Vnderuald* is taken for the whole country, the *Switzers* haue added theſe words, aboue and beneathe the wood, **Underualden ob vnd nidt dem kernwald.**

Of the name.

Stants a principall village.

The partition of Zug, the Towne & the Villages.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we haue ſaid already, that they are diuided in two parts; the one is the Towne it ſelfe, the other the Villages round about, comprehended vnder three aſſemblies, to wit, the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Bara*, a Pariſh very neere to the Towne.

The diuiſion of Glaris.

Glaris is diuided into fifteene parts, which they tearme **Tagwan.** The word ſignifieth the work of a day, and as much diſtance or ſpaciouſneſſe of ground, as a man can plow in a day. It may be, that theſe parts were called Iournals, or day-labours: becauſe euery one prepareth & ordereth the way in his quarter, and each one knoweth where he is to labour.

The orders or proportions belonging to Appenzell.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted into twelue orders or portions, which they call **Raden**, whereof thoſe ſixe conioyned to the Village of *Appenzell*, they name them the orders within, and anciently were ſubiects to the Abbot of S. *Gall*. The other ſixe are called the orders without: to wit; out of the Abbots Seigneury,

Election of the councell.

Seigneury; heeretofore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equall number) are chosen certaine men, for the councell of the Canton: in many of them there are threescore councellers, beside such as (hauing beene in office) continue perpetuall councellers. At *Zug* there are fiue and forty councellers, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The generall councell of Appenzell.

The councell of *Appenzell*, consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelue of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the councell of all the people: then they will double or treble the councell in this manner. Each of the councellers takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a coũcell of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vse to do: and one of the councellers, on Sunday, in the Church after Seruice is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councellers are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a counceller, neither can he assist in the generall councell, if he be not borne in the country, **Ein Landman**: And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the *Switzers*, then in these Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselues very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserue the common-wealth (the more easily) in one and the same estate and condition.

Publication of a councell to be holden on a day appointed.

None but natiues can be councelers

The Switzers louing and kinde to strãgers liuing among them.

The councel generall of all the people, & their appointed places of meeting.

The soueraignty in these sixe Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or sixteene, or vpwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midst of the country. As they of *Vri* meete at *Betzelinge*, distant halfe a dayes iourney from *Altorff*, the cheefest Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Suanda*. The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made euery yeare about the beginning of May. They of *Suits*, of *Vndernald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the last Sunday of Aprill. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall councel the 24. day of Iune, being S. *Iohn Baptists* day. They of *Vnderuald* aboue the wood, meete the first day of May.

The yearely assembling of these cantons.

In these assemblies, first of all he is elected whom they call the **Amman**, in which office hee continueth the space of two yeares. Heeretofore there was no terme of time assigned, but (oftentimes) the same **Amman** gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be chosen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wisedome) shall be thought most worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelleth. Notwithstanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the **Amman** is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike councell keepeth most.

The Amman is the first Officer chosen in the assembly.

At *Zug* there are three assembles of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two assemblies and the **ammans** are chosen by order of each assembly. They that are elected of the assemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are **ammans**. In the same assembly wher the **amman** is elected, his Lieutenant also is chosen, whom they tearme **Statthalter**: and so are the Treasurers or Purse-bearers, called by them **Seckelmeisters**. Next, the Secretaries and Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliwickes of the Canton: or those which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreouer, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearely, by the voyces of all the people: so likewise sports, and playing at cardes, dice, dancing, excessiue drinking, fore-stalling Markets of victuals, and such like things.

Of the assemblies that are at Zug both without and within.

The election of the Lieutenant.

Secretaries & Bayliffes.

When the councell is thus held yeare by yeare, councellers are elected and confirmed:

The electing and confirming of councellers.

firmed: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary councell is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

An extraordinary councell holden.

Councell more secret and priuate.

Beside the lesser councell and the generall, composed of all the people; some of the cantons haue a councell more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for diuision of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in sixe parts, the principall counceller of each part is taken: and these sixe, with the **Amman**, make the councell of seuen, called secret. These seuen do manage and order all the reuennues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreouer, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible iniuries, hard to be endured.

The councel of seuen at Suit.

The 2 Courts of iustice. The first of nine.

The Court of seuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those seuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same gouernment: for there the Court of seuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threescore pounds. There is another iudiciall Court of fifteene, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

The second of seuen.

The order at Vri.

The Court of fifteene there.

At *Vnderuald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stants* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* aboue the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred and fifty; when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one councell, and one Standard, bearing a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were aboue the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneathe the wood, receiued from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stants* (long before) had beene the principall Village of the Canton, they therefore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stants*.

Two Courts of law & iustice at Vnderuald.

But one councell and one Standard till the diuision.

The Popes gaue them another Ensigne.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the councell generall of the whole country, hath a councell apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgesses, and manage all the publike affaires.

The obseruation at Zug.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of fiue Iudges, which the councell generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous iniuries. The fiue do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of sixe dayes) haue ended.

Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and their seuerall authorities.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a publike place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it **Das gassen gricht**. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vsher of the canton, **Der Landtweibell**, and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called **Das geschwoꝛen gricht**, iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreouer, from each order of the canton, a counceller is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake publike ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the councell generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councellers: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.

The first Court.

The second Court.

Another order of councellers, and their power.

ton **Landthelick**.

Of the catholike Cantons.

Suits, *Vri*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzel*, are Catholicke, and vnder the Dioceſſe of *Conſtance*. And if there happen any difference concerning mariages, they goe to the Officialtie of the ſayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to *Zurich*.

Puniſhment for adultery.

As for adulteries, they are chaſtiſed in each Canton: ſome, by confiſcation of goods; others (ſometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewiſe, that (diuers times) the councell general of the whole Canton, doeth decide ſome differences concerning marriages.

Iuſtice in criminall cauſes.

Iuſtice in cauſes criminall, is adminiſtred (almoſt in all the Cantons) by the publike councell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary councellers; the **Amman** ſitting Preſident, or his Lieutenant. At *Zug*, in criminal matters, other aſsiſtants are ioyned with the councell or Iudges, choſen out of each diuiſion or aſſembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are diſcuſt in an open publique place, where all may heare that which is ſaid, and know the merite of the ſentence giuen by the Iudges.

The order & diſpoſition of the Baylywicks in theſe Cantons.

Now to ſpeake of the Baylywickes or Gouernements appertaining vnto theſe Cantons, they are carried and diſpoſed in manner following. They of *Vri* ſend a Bayliffe into the valley of *Liuiner* beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the ſame valley for his Lieutenant and Aſſiſtants alſo; with whom he iudgeth cauſes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the ſpace of three yeeres. Beyond the ſame Mountaines, they ſend Bayliffes alſo to *Bellizona*, and to two other places. They of *Bellizona* haue three Bayliwickes, to wit, *Bellizona*, the Vale *Brune*, and *Riuiera*, where the three Cantons do command in ſuch manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliwicke. Moreouer, the inhabitants of Mount S. *Godardo*, are ſubiectes to the Canton of *Vri*; neuertheleſſe, they haue their Councell and their *Amman*, who are confirmed by them of *Vri*, & when there are criminal ſuites, two of the councell of *Vri* do meet there. They haue their Standard likewiſe: but when they of *Vri* do diſplay that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.

Bellizona hath 3. Baylywicks belonging to it.

They of *Suites* haue ſometimes hadde foure Bayliwickes, to wit, the *Marche*, the *Hermitage*, *Cuſnach*, and certaine ſmall Villages or great Farmes, neer to the lake of *Zurich*: but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councell and triall of ſuites in their owne bodye. Notwithſtanding, euery yeare, when a councell generall is held at *Suits*, ordinarily they ſend their Ambaſſadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magiſtrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modeſt and obedient, for otherwiſe it remaineth in the peoples power of *Suits*, to ſend a Gouernour thether, whenſoeuer they thinke meet.

Foure Baylywickes heeretofore belonging to Suits, but two of them altered.

Cuſnach hath the ſame condition, but becauſe, within ſome few yeares certaine ſtraungers (cuſtomers for carriage of ſalt and other thinges that way) made their complaint, that they of *Cuſnach* did them wrong, and vſed them harſhlie vpon no occaſion: the men of *Suits* knowing the accuſation to bee true, ſent a Bayliffe thether againe, and appointed new ordinations for *Cuſnach*. Beſides, they haue two Bayliwickes in common with them of *Glaris*, to wit, *Vznac*, which is a Towne, and *Gaſtall*. Thether they ſend Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of *Suits* in one of the Bailywickes, and one of *Glaris* in the other.

What priuiledges belonged to Cuſnach, but loſt through their owne neglect.

What Baylywickes they enioy in common with other.

In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwickes in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of *Liuiner*, with the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. The charge and office of all their Bayliffes laſteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwickes beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the ſpace of three yeares; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law controuerſies.

What time their Bayliffes continue in authority of gouerning.

The order and maner of ſending their Bayliffes, to their ſeuerall places of Iuriſdiction.

They of *Toggenbourg* are not ſubiects but Bourgeſſes of *Suits* and *Glaris*, and go to warre for them ſucceſsiuely. They of *Zug* ſend Bayliffes to *Cham*, a very little Towne neere vnto their lake. To Saint *Andrew*, ſometimes a Towne. To *Huneberg*, *Walcheuill*, *Stein-houſe*. To Saint *Wolfgang*, and to other Villages. They bought this Countie in the yeare 1517. Next, with them of *Suites*, they ſend (turne by turne) Bayliffes to

Vznac

Vznac and *Gaſtal*. They of *Toggenbourg* are their Bourgeſſes, as we haue ſayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of *Suits*. Finally, the fiue firſt Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks gouerned by them in common: except the men of *Appenzel*, who ſend a Bayliffe onely to *Rhinthal*, with the ſeuen firſt Cantons, & in the ſame manner.

Of cuſtomes belonging to theſe ſix Cantons.

Now follow ſome particular cuſtoms of theſe ſixe Cantons, and which are not common to all the Switzers. Whoſoeuer ſhall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is conſtrained to forſake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the leſſer councell to repeale him; but hee may demaund and obtaine leaue of the councell generall to returne againe.

In caſe of murther.

Againſt morgaging of lands and inheritances to ſtrangers.

They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of inheritances ſhould bee pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their countrey, if once they will becom bound for debts and morgage in ſuch manner their inheritances to ſtraungers. Likewiſe in the Canton of *Vri*, it is not lawfull for ſtrangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a houſe and a ſmall garden for Pot-herbes onely.

Againſt drunkenneſſe

If any man being drunke, doe commit ſome ſcandalous action, hee is puniſhed by impriſonment, and beſide, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the ſpace of a certaine time, and vntill the Councell generall haue pardoned him.

In publike aſſemblies, and in the diſtribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is preſent, and his parents, brethren, and ſons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and ſome are ſet in an eminent place to count them. If they ſtand in doubt, and cannot ſo decide it, then they haue another courſe. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do paſſe vnder them, and two other men count them as they paſſe.

Finally, they vſe Feaſts and Proceſsions, on ſuch dayes as their Anceſtors obtained any remarkable victory. As they of *Glaris* do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne againſt the *Auſtrians*, in the yeare 1387. and in the month of Aprill, I wil declare at large, the ceremonies obſerued by them in this feſtiuall; to the end, the better iudgment may be made of ſuch feaſts as are vſed by others.

Reade in the former part.

The order of the ſolemne Feaſt and Proceſsion, performed by the men of Glaris, in honor of their victory againſt the Auſtrians.

The great Feaſt of Glaris.

IN the moneth of Aprill, euerie yeare, on the Thurſday of the firſt weeke (except Eaſter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thurſday in the weeke after) the Feaſt is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly publiſhed in the church, in behalf of the Seigneury, that on Thurſday following, the moſt honourable perſons of euerie Family, eſpecially the men, are to meete and go in ſolemne Proceſsion to *Mulhouſere*, by thoſe waies, places, and paſſages, where their Anceſtors were in great danger, euen ſo far as the Fountain, and to be warie of deſcending to the Village of *Haures*, til firſt they haue paſt the other way. Moreouer, that all keepe ſilence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themſelues (that day) ſo modeſtly in their refection, that no diſorder may bee noted, becauſe the Seigneury will chaſtiſe them ſeuerely that do otherwiſe, and becauſe the whole Canton of *Glaris* doth ſolemnly feaſt that day. Forbidding alſo, that no man ſhall mount on Horſebacke out of the Village of *Glaris*, ſicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being ſo mounted) to goe anie further then *Scheneiſinge*.

Remembrãce of their Anceſtors great peril.

After they are all aſſembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were, the Ammann, who is in the midſt, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto ſuch ſtrangers as are come thether. Firſt, to the Ambaſſador of *Suits*, who is yearly ſent for celebration of the Feaſt: becauſe thirtie Souldiers of *Suites* were preſent in the battell for which this Feaſt is kept. Likewiſe, he ſalureth the Abbots, Prieſts, & neighbors of *Gaſtal*, *la Marche*, *Raſperwill* and *Toggenbourg*, giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this

Obſeruation after their meeting together.

this ſolemne Proceſſion, and to thanke & ſing praiſes to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, S. *Fridolin*, and S. *Hillary*.

The order of the Proceſſion in marching, as they paſſe along to the place where the battaile was fought.

Firſt, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of S. *Fridolin*, then follow 4 men, bearing a guilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchaſed. Then come the Croſſe-bearers, carrying the Croſſes of *Glaris*, *Haures*, of the Vale of *Liuthe*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schenniß*, *Weſen*, and others. The Croſſes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Prieſts come after them, ſinging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the firſt, accoſted by an Abbot, or elſe ſome other man of the Church. Among the ſtrangers the other Prieſts follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambaſſadour of *Suits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the moſt honourable ſtrangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and concluſion of the Proceſſion.

The ceremonies in the Proceſſion of Glaris, being come to the field where the eleuen ſtones are fixed in the ground.

Beeing come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleuen ſtones ſet down in thoſe ſeueral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blowes, eleuen ſeuerall times, and at each of thoſe ſtones the Standards and Banners ſtay, and all fall vpon their knees in prayer to God. Whē they are come to the ſixt ſtone, they caſt themſelues round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cauſe and originall of this Proceſſion, the ſummary whereof is this. War being moued betweene *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solleurre*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was ouercome, and ſlaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore, and ſixe, beſide ſixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

The reaſon and originall of the Proceſſion, read in particulars by the Secretary.

Afterward, in mid-Auguſt following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*, beſiedged and tooke the towne of *Weſen*, & the inhabitants promiſed perpetuall fidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till the beginning of Lent in the yeare following, which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* ſent a Garriſon to *Weſon*, wher the Souldiers thinking themſelues to be in ſafety, and confiding on the oath of the townesmen, were ſlaine (for the moſt part) in a night by them of *Auſtria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany againſt the garriſon, and opened the gates to their enemies.

A ſecond reaſon, vpon the beſieging & taking of *Weſen*.

Furthermore, that the very ſame yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Auſtria* brought an Army of fifteene thouſand men towards *Haures*, and wonne the Fortreſſe of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Suits* ſent to aſſiſt them, aſſayled the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, S. *Fridolin* and S. *Hilarie*) they became conquerors, wonne eleuen of their cheeſeſt Enſignes, and left two thouſand fiue hundred enemies ſlaine in the field, beſide them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the reſt, many of *Weſen* were there ſlaine, that formerly had betraied the Garriſon of *Glaris*. And therefore, in dutifull thankfulnes to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and S. *Fridolin*, and S. *Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Sainteſſes of Paradiſe, & in euerlaſting remembrance of ſo great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceſſion was ordained vppon thoſe limits, where their Anceſtours had ſuffered many inconueniences.

A third reaſon of coming with an Army againſt Haures.

God not indigrant for breach of faith.

After the reading of theſe ſeuerall letters, a Sermon is made in the ſame place; the Prieſts of *Glaris* performe their Aniuerſary, and followeth the Miniſter of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the ſame ſtones, in the ſame ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haures*, towards *Weſen*, where they aſſayled the enemy at the laſt time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haures*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houſes. The reſt go to the church, where they ſing a Maſſe for the *Switzers* that were ſlaine in the battaile: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that periſhed there. Soone after this, a banquet

Performance of the ſaid ceremonies.

The concluding of the ceremonies at the ſtones.

A Banquet made at the Cantons cost.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the strangers that came in the Procession. After dinner, the Priests singing, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the guilded Toombe, the Banners and Crosses.

This is the manner of the annuall Procession and Feast of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of so famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons also haue their Feasts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And first of all, Of the Abbey of S. Gall.

The Abbot and Abbey of S. Gall the first confederate.

AFter we haue spoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their seuerall Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the same order) wee should make mention of their Confederates, I among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of S. *Gall* holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of S. *Gall*, haue bin great Lords for the space of many ages possessed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they receiued this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad de Pfauerts*, Annalist of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Huldrich*, of the house of *Altsax*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the citty of *Basile*. Now albeit these Abbots are not of such power as heeretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue still great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

Abbot Huldrich was made a prince of Basile.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreouer, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all subiect to them. The inhabitants are called **Die Gottshuszlut**, the Subiects of the house of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rosac*, *Thumbech*, *Gold*, *Vndereg*, *Marswill*, *Tablate*, *Gozow*, *Waldkilch*, *Romishorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Hotischwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumiswill*, *Berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Rodtmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geiserwald*, *Helbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Luzwill*, *Ziberwangen*, *Vnd Wiger*. These places are diuided into Castle-wicks or President-ships, and the Abbot sendeth Prouosts thether. Moreouer, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Iustice in many places. Beside, he hath a higher Court of iustice, whether resort all appellations, and where causes of importance are decided. All kindes of duties, and such as are rendred to Princes, in these places are confirmd vpon him.

Beside this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of S. *Gall*, who sendeth a Gouernour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall causes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgesses of *Suits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchises; by meanes whereof (among other things) they enioy the freedome of Religion. Also in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthall* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of iustice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpose.

The Abbots power in the county of Toggenbourg

CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or Cittie of S. Gall.

SAint *Gall*, *Mulhouse*, and *Rotuille*, are numbred among the Imperial townes, and therfore haue (almost) the same manner of gouernement, as we haue already described vnto you. But because the cittizens of S. *Gall*, do hold something in particular; I will here set downe a summary description of their common-wealth.

Imperiall Townes.

In the first place then, the Towne of S. *Gall* is diuided into sixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The first & principal of these Tribes, is of weauers, because of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in abounding quantity: which afterward is sold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in S. *Gall*, and ma-

Sixe Tribes or Companies in S. Gall.

The first tribe is of weauers.

Two councels in S.Gall.

king the Towne much renowned. It hath two councels, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelue *Zunfftmasters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesser councell; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunfftmaster*, is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great councell.

Twelue masters.

The election of the Zunfftmasters.

The *Zunfftmasters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesser councell. Euery yeare, the councell and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunfftmasters*, nine other Senatours do assist in the lesser councell, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty councellers: For there are three Consuls in S. *Gall*, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consull, for hauing gouerned in the very neereſt yeare before; and the third presideth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, **Repchuogt**. The councell is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesser councell, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mit derrun*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunfftmasters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

Nine Senators.

Three Consuls, and how they gouerne.

Election of the Councell.

The great Councell, in what manner they are chosen, and what order they obserue.

The great councell is composed of threescore and sixe, to wit, twelue of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesser councels. After the election of the Consuls and the councell, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new councell do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named S. *Laurence*, where all the cittizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiueth of the councell and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following, the *Zunfftmasters*, and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesser councell, do meete together in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgermaster*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Ouerseers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

The election of the Sub-Consull or Vnderburgermaster.

Euery weeke, the lesser councell do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, **Den Vnsinnigen donstag**: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the councell, by meanes whereof, it was ordained, that (frō thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on ỳ day. The lesser councell manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and willes: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Scedules, Obligations and iniuries.

When the lesser councell do assemble together.

The mad Thursday.

The office of the lesser councell.

The great councell meeteth together fiue times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before S. *Bartholmewes* day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fiftly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of S. *Gall*; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The fiue meetings of the great Councell euery yeare.

The great councell also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the councell ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesser councell electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great councell decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiueth such strangers as desire to be Bourgesses.

Extraordinary meetings of the great Councell.

Election of the Prouost by the lesse Councell.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great councell, and

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesser councell sendeth affaires of importance to the great councell, to bee considered on.

The three meetings of the Councell generall of all the people, and their appointed times

Euery yeare, the councell generall of all the people, is assembled three times, about publike affaires. First to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. *Bartholmewes* day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vppon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreouer, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The cheefest Court of Iustice and authority thereof.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of fiue; who are the Consull, the Sub Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new **Zunfftmasters**, and two of the new councell. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, iniuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesser councell.

The Court of Iustice, called the Towne or City Court, and what Officers belong thereto.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, **Das Stattgricht**, composed of twelue Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies: so that the one is of **Zunfftmasters**, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called **Statamman**, Maior of the citty, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great councell. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great councell, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, & by the lesser councell, about S. *Iohn Baptists* day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debtes, barterings, and yearely rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that all the councell doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councell, prouided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appeallant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two councellers of the lesser councel, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesser councell, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee reduceth both parties to such a course, as hee conceiueth to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the councell, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the councell, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publike estates, charges & offices.

As for publike Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiuers, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Voyers*, &c. Such as hold these places, doe render their accounts, first to the **Zunfftmasters**, next to the lesser, and lastly to the great councell, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great councell do elect new officers, or reconfirme the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the councell, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

New Officers chosen, or the olde admitted againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

And because the very greatest trading of S. *Gall*, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not onely the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues therby; the councell is diligent and

namely, on Monday, Wensday, and Friday, then they consider not onely on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as giue scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreouer, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the yeare, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

The limitation of their authority.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call **Das nouchengricht**, because the Iudges do meete euery weeke, and decide al suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called **Das nutr gricht**, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Solleurre*: because they are Catholiques, and subiected to the iurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

Two Courts of iustice at Lucerna, and what causes are censured in them.

As for criminall matters capitall, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neyther at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller councels take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyers* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is resolued on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seigneury. Then the Clearke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to bee deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the councell do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call **Landtgricht**, and thether the Iudges of all the Bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the councell of *Berne* may approue, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

Criminall causes concerning life and death.

How they proceed in cases of death.

In the Bayliwicks of Bern

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman* or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauoyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliffes, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreouer, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hasell*, which hath an *Amman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the councell of *Berne*, & there rendreth an account of his charge. *Vndersée* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: thether is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*. The vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliffes **Schachtlandt**, that is to say, Castilians. *Frutingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliffe, Gouernour. *Laupen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Of the Bayliwicks belonging to them of Berne.

The Amman of the Vale of Hasell.

The Auoyer of Vndersée.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Riuers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbred among the Bourgesses of *Berne*. *Sumiswald*, where the Masters of the *Teutonicke* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorff* and *Pyrnestic* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersée*, *Landbourt*, *Arberg*, *Nidow*, *Erlach*, *Bippiũ*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arbourg*, *Biberstain*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Lentzbourg*. Moreouer, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seigneury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Auanches*, *Modon*, *Tuerdun*, *Lausanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille* and *Veuay*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwickes in common; as *Mort*, *Schuartzenbourg*, *Granson*, & *Chalansé*, whether they send a Bayliffe successiuely at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are Prouosts beside, for the gouernment of Abbeyes. The *Berninans* had nine in the *Allemane* country, sixe wherof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

The Bayliffe of the Vale of Emme.

*The company of the Hanse-Merchants.

Eight Roman Bayliwicks.

Foure Bayliwicks in common.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

Of the Bayliwicks that belong to Lucerna.

As

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the councell. Those Bayliwickes are *Willison*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Habspourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring countrie, which they call, *Chelampt*: *Merisuande*, that hath this priuiledge, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of councell in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggiss*. *Ebicon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreouer, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: Neuertheless, they haue their councell apart by themselues, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. He of *Sempach* is elected by the councell at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the cittizens of *Sempach*.

The priuiledg of Merisuande, and of other places beside.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines tearmed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vsed (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kil a citizen of the place, although he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing beene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouer all pursuite: hee may obtaine leaue of the councell to come againe into the towne.

Lex Talionis is as yet in some vse at Lucerna.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vse of Brasse Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they cal **Parschhoener**, giues a frightfull sound. The *Romanes* also made vse of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that sounded or winded those Cornets, were called **Cornicines**. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemaigne* gaue those Cornets to thē; because they carried themselues valiantly in a warre which he had against the *Sarrazins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemaigne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

Cornets of brasse vsed in stead of trumpets at Lucerna.

Cornicines.

Rowland who the Italians call Orlando.

These forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue one particular kind of coyne: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rheine*. Moreouer, they stampe another more great sort of money, which the *Switzers* call **Ein Dickenpfenning**, and the French a *Teston*. These *Testones* are minted at *Solleurre* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare **Baeren** and **Baetzen**. Afterward, the other Cities and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Suaba*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The mony of *Lucerna* commeth not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moity of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Worth eighteene pence sterling.

Mony with a Beare stamped on it.

The valuation of the coines.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borrough, the second, the Island, or the Medow; the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The councellers of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publike councels; to wit, the great councell, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before S. *Iohn Baptist* day. The lesser councell manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the councell of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great councels, is elected on S. *Iohns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

The estate & condition of Fribourg, and how it is diuided into foure parts.

The two coūcels.

The office of the lesser coūcell and of the greater.

The Auoyer in his place of charge.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of seuerall quarters in the citty or towne, & although they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser councell: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the councell of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares:

The foure Banderets next to the Auoyer.

are encloſed in the ſame walles: euen ſo are they counted but forone Comminalty, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalties. The citty (for ſo we will call it) of *Coire*, hath a common-wealth apart by it ſelfe, like (wāting but little) to that of *Zurich*, and to other gouernments of the ſame condition. For firſt of all, the cittizens are wholly diuided into fiue companies, from each of which are choſen fourteene men, who are of the great councell publike: ſo that the great councell and generall, is compoſed of ſeuenty. From theſe ſeuenty men, are choſen fiue of each company, for the leſſer councell: to whom are ioyned the fiue **Zunfftmaſters** of the precedent yeare, whereby the leſſer councell hath thirty councellers, whereof fifteene called Senatours, gouerne the common-wealth.

The eſtate & condition of the common-wealth of Coire.

The great councell of ſeauenty.

The leſſer councell of thirty.

In the councell there are two Conſuls, who are Preſidents (turne by turne) a whole yeare. The councell and the Officers of iuſtice, are yearely elected on the eleuenth of Nouember, being the day of S. *Martin*. The thirty of the leſſer councell do iudge in criminall cauſes, and the Gouernor or Prouoſt ſitteth then as Preſident, remaining in that charge a yeare: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Conſuls. Next, there is a Court of iuſtice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fifteene Aſſiſtants, to witte, the fiue **Zunfftmaſters**, and ten from the thirty of the leſſer councell. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill cauſes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the leſſer councell, who doe decide alſo matrimoniall matters.

Two Conſuls.

The Gouernour or Prouoſt Preſident

The Lieutenants Court of Iuſtice, and his Aſſiſtants.

The ſecond Comminalty, which wee ſhould count for the third, becauſe *Coire* takes it ſelfe for two, is named **Die vier doerffer**, the foure Villages. 4. *Bergon*. 5. *Tieffencaſten*. 6. *Stalla*. 7. *Trintzen*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tieffencaſten*, make one iuriſdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall cauſes. 8. *Vatz* the high, where ſometimes dwelt the Barons of *Vatz*: this Comminalty is ioyned with the fourth. 9. *Purſtnow*. 10. *Ortenſtein* in *Tumleſch*. 11. *Sinnada*. 12. *Zutz*: theſe two are in *Engadin* the high, and make one of the great comminalties. 13. *Ardetie*. 14. *Scultine*. 15. *Remuſs*: which with two other ſmall comminalties, maketh one of the great. 16. *Bergell* aboue the Port. 17. *Bergell* vnder the Port. 18. *Peſclaw*, or *Poſtlaaf*. 19. *Bruſch*, which is ioyned with *Poſtlaaf*, and maketh one of the eleuen great Comminalties. 20. *Munſtertall*. 21. *Mals*. Each Comminalty hath his *Ammans*, *Podeſtats*, and vnder-Officers as they tearme them in leaſt authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

Of the ſecond Comminalty.

Theſe Comminalties are heere counted as they ſtand in the Record.

The third League tearmeth it ſelfe the League of Iuriſdictions, or the league of Rights. The firſt and principall of the ten, is called *Tafaas*, in regard of a Village ſo named, where the houſe of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalties are held. 2. *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*. 3. *Churwalden*. 4. *Langwiß*. 5. S. *Peter de Schanſik*. 6. The little Abbey in *Brettigow*. 7. *Ienats*, or *Caſtelſer*. 8. *Schiers*. Theſe eight iuriſdictions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Vatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race fayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* ſucceeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amat*, whereof one being named *Gaudentius*, dying in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left theſe eight iuriſdictions to the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*.

The League of Iuriſdictions, or of Rights.

The houſe of the League for their meetings.

How they came to the Duke of Auſtria.

The Arch-Duke eſtabliſhed a Gouernor there, which to this day is choſen among the *Griſons*. The Gouernor dwelleth at *Caſtelſer*; and preſideth in ſentence of criminall cauſes: he manageth and conſerueth the other rights of the Arch Duke, who hath not the ſame right and equall authority ouer the eight iuriſdictions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular cuſtomes, the inſtruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tafaas*. The firſt and fourth iuriſdiction haue great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The Arch-Dukes authority not abſolute there in euery part.

The ninth Iuriſdiction is called *Malans*, by reaſon of a Village ſo named, betweene the Riuer of *Langquart*, & Mount * *Rhatica* towards the South.

* A high Hill by Rhæna

The tenth is named *Meyenfeld*. Theſe two laſt did belong ſometimes to the Barons of *Vatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in reſpect of his Wife, who was of the houſe of *Werdenberg*. The they

The addition of the third league to the two other.

they becam ioyned (with the other eight Iurisdictions) to the two Leagues of *Grisons*, and made the third; reseruing to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right iustly to them appertaining. Afterwardes, these three leagues together bought these Iurisdictions, and sent a Gouernor thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Meyenfeld*, and sate President to iudge in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolles, and other publike reuennewes. The ten Iurisdictions allyed themselues together, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling al wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enioying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendred, they permitting them to possesse their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest beeing carefull and prouident to preserue the good and benefit of one another.

The Iurisdictions bought by the three Leagues.

The ten Iurisdictions ally themselues together faithfully.

In the same yeare, or the next following, these Iurisdictions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof haue bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherin notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalties of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalties of the *Grise* league, are the vally of *Lugnitz*, *Ylants*, *Oberfachs*, *Walterspurg*, *Laax*, *Siniß*, and other places about the Woods, *Flims*, *Schewis*, *Trimmis*, *Retzuns*, *Hemtenberg* and *Tusis*, *Schamps*, *Rhinuald*, *Masax* and *Rufflee*, *Safien*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminalties of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Furstnow*, the foure villages descending on *Aspremont*, *Yatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tiefencasten*, *Gryfenstein*, *Beuio* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* aboue and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sumada*, *Postlaaf*, *Steinsperg*, *Schuls*, *Remuss*, *Munstertal*, *Mals*, *Galsen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Iurisdictions, I

The 3. leagues vnited all together in a perpetuall alliance.

The Author proceedeth to a more significant expression of the Comminalties, in their seuerall places and order.

vnderstand their order thus. *Tasaus*, the three Iurisdictions of *Brettigow*, *Beelfort* or *Aluanuw*, *Churwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwisz*, *Malans* and *Meyenfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalties otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminaltie there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminalty sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalties.

He leaueth his labour herein to due consideration.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grisons*, containing fifty Comminalties, which (neuertheless) doe make but one Commonwealth. For, although many of the Comminalty haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, aswel ciuill as criminall; yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the councel of the three leagues (which they name in theyr Language, **Ein pundts tag**) by dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminalty of the *Grisons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadours, others but one onely. If the councell bee ordinary, the Grise League sendeth thether 28. Ambassadors or councellors; that of *Cade* 23. and from the Iurisdictions, 14. If either one or other doe send a greater number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the councell general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) do meet together: but that is very rarely.

Fifty Comminalties in the 3. leagues

The Councel of the three Leagues of the Grisons, and sending their Ambassadors thither.

The fore-mentioned councell, manageth the affayres of the common-wealth: yet in such sort, that the councellers or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best seeming, but as the commaunds and remembrances from theyr comminalties, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The councel of the *Grisons* is (almost) like to that of the Switzers: for there they treate on the selfesame things which concerne the good of the vvhole countrey; of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassages, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Baylywickes. There are three places appointed for thē to sitte in councel, to wit, *Ylants* in the *Grise* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their directions.

& *Tafaas* in that of the ten Iuriſdictions. But ofteneſt the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the yeare: about the ſixe and twenty day of Ianuary, the beginning of Iune, and the eleuenth day of Nouember.

Another principal Councel or Senate for them al.

They haue another Councell or Senate, which they name **Embytag**: whē the principal Magiſtrates onely, and, as being the cheeſe of the three Leagues, do aſſemble themſelues together. Theſe men, are the Iudge-Prouincrall for the Griſe-League; the Councel of *Coire* for the league of *Cade*, and the **Amman** of *Tafaas*, for the League of the tenne Iuriſdictions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to prouide for the publique affayres; and it appeareth not conuenient, to call all the Deputies of the countrey together; then thoſe 3. Principals do meete, with ſome of the cheeſeſt of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine abſolutely, onely they referre ſeparately vnto the Comminalties of the three Leagues, whatſoeuer hath beene diſcuſt among the Councellers, and that which is approoued by plurality of voyces, is receyued of all. There is appeal alſo from the councel, to the Comminalties, and then matters are propounded in the Comminalties, whoſe ſentences are ſet downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a reſolution and an arreſt, by the pluralitie of Voyces.

The Principals meete together when the other need not.

Appeale from the Councel to the Comminalties.

As concerning iudgements in criminal cauſes: the Griſons doe therein proceede like the Switzers. If there happen any difference among the three Leagues, three or foure Iudges muſt bee choſen on eyther ſide, and diſcharged of the Oathe which bindeth them to their league. They are to accord the difference by kind compoſition, or iudge according to theyr conſciences. If the voyces fal out equall: an Arbitratour muſt bee choſen by voyces and common ſuffrages of the three Leagues. If two Leagues bee in ſuite, they muſt referre themſelues to the third, who ſhal deliuer vnto both the parties, the right whereby they are to bee quieted. If it chaunce betweene two Comminalties of one and the ſame League: they muſt take (as Iudge) the verie neereſt comminalty or Iuriſdiction belonging to the ſame League. But when the Comminalties of diuers Leagues are at difference: the councel of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to prouide therefore.

Concerning iudgements in publike cauſes

When variances happen amongſt the Leagues, how they are then to behaue themſelues.

When one Comminaltie hath ſuite againſt the 3. Leagues.

When one Comminalty, or ſome particular perſon therein, hath proceſſe and ſuite againſt the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be choſen for it. And when two Leagues are at difference againſt the other; ſixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and ſixe of the other alone, are to bee appointed. If they cannot conclude the ſtriſe; an arbitratour muſt bee choſen, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. Theſe iudgements are to be deliuered firſt at Ylantz, nexte at *Coire*: a ſecond time againe at Ylantz, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafaas* the laſt of all.

The places appointed for iudgements.

It would much weary mee, if I ſhould deſcribe at large the Statutes & cuſtomes of the *Griſons*: notwithſtanding, I ſhall not greatly diſpleaſe or offend the Reader if heere I glance at a worde or two. Firſt then, it is agreed vppon betweene them, by the conſent and aduice of the vvhole councel, that neyther the Byſhoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Eccleſiaſtical Order: ſhal elect or eſtabliſh any ciuile Magiſtrate, nor aduance a Gouernor or Amman, for any Comminaltie or Iuriſdiction whatſoeuer; but that the people of the Griſons (by theyr ſuffrages onely) ſhal elect and chooſe theyr owne Magiſtrates.

Concerning ſom ſtatutes & cuſtoms amōg the Griſons.

For election of Magiſtrates

Such as haue obtayned any Offices of the Byſhoppe, may not be accepted into councel, ſo long as they do remaine in his ſeruice.

For Miniſters of the church.

As concerning the Miniſters of the Church, euery Pariſh electeth their owne: may depoſe them, pay them their Wages, which are too little in many places.

For admiſsion to Councel.

Thoroughout the countrey of the *Griſons*, no ſmal Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the fielde, but they giue it in the houſe, and alwayes after the haruеſts both for their Grapes and corne.

For paying of Tythes.

All they that are of a comminaltie, may fiſh in al the Riuers and Pondes, and hunt both Beaſts, and flye Fowles freely, within

For Fiſhing, hunting, and Fowling.

within their sayd Comminalty.

For weight and measure.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things licquid and dry, is to be vsed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawful for the Bourgesses of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

Of their Gouernments & Baylywickes, and how they stand in the Grisons country.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Gouernments and Bayliwickes, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grisons* do command equally. On this side the Alps nere to *Coire*, they send a Gouernor to *Meyenfeld* and to *Melantz*. On the other side the Alpes beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuer of *Maire*, the Gouernment or Baylywick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes: and on the bankes of *Maire* riuer, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocke-stone coales, which serue as fewell for the kitchin; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish commeth to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Gouernour (whom they terme **Podstat**) decideth causes, & is soueraigne in that place in name of the *Grisons*, and deputed by them.

Coales called stone or rock-coales in wonderful plenty.

The Towne and Countie of Clauenna.

Next is the Towne and county of *Clauenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Clauenna* is a Towne aboue the Lake of *Coma*, about fiue miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also, in his booke of the wayes. The *Grisons* call the Gouernor of *Clauenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telina*, famous for the excellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telina*, is diuided into sixe Bayliwickes. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne aboue the valley; towardes the Mountaine of *Braull*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the towne of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, wherof (as some thinke) the vale *Telina* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, & appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Prouince. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telina*, maketh the fourth Baylywicke. It is the most rich & powerfull among all the rest, and he that is Gouernor thereof, is called Captain, because ouer and beside the Bayliwicke, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuil causes of the the Bayliwicke. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his councel, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telina*: which neuertheless (may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwicke by the *Podestats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the councel of the *Grisons* Signeuries, or to them that they haue ordained commisaries, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the councel of the Comminalties, who haue the soueraigne power. The fift Bayliwicke is called *Morben*, and the sixt *Trahon*, which is last of al.

1. Bormia.

2. Tiran. Tel.

3. Morben. 6. Trahon.

4. Sondria.

The Gouernor of Sondria is calld Captaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the Grisons Councel.

This is the order of the Baylywickes of the vale *Telina*, yet some doe not set the Bailywick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuide the whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tel*: *Sondria* maketh the second; and *Morben* and *Trahon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Comminalties. As for example; if the *Grise* League establish a Captaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thether for the two following years: at the end whereof, the League of the Iurisdictions sends one for two other yeares, this order is obserued in each League of the Comminalties. And sometimes the Comminalties, who should send a Bayliffe by their turn, would elect him only: but now the councel of the *Grisons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Dissentis* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes.

Coyning of money.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth of the Valasians, or people of Valois.

The diuision of the country of Valois or Valois, the higher, & the lower.

THE whole countrey of *Valois* is diuided into two parts The higher *Valois* from the sourse or spring of the riuer of *Rhone*, so farre as the riuer of *Morsia*, which vniteth it selfe with *Rhone*, somewhat beneath *Sion*. This was the dwelling of the ancient *Viberines* and *Seduſians*. The lower *Valois*, is from the riuer of *Morsia*, so farre as Saint *Mauris*, and this was the countrey of the *Veragrians*.

Seuen Iurisdictions in the higher Valois

The higher *Valois* is diuided into 7 Iurisdictions, which they call *Dixaines*, wards, and Zenden in the *Alleman* tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Iurisdictions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as Diocesses, because that euery Ward hath his Diocesse or Iurisdiction, his Common-wealth, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word Zenden commeth of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the Lawes of *France*, the Offices of the Earledomes or Counties, the Vicariates and Hundreds are number; and in some places of *Germany*, they are called *Zendgraues*, the Iudges of some certaine Iurisdiction. But without standing so strictly on the words originall: wee may verie fitly tearme them Diocesses or Comminalties. So then, there are seuen Comminalties in the higher *Valois*, to wit, *Goms*, *Brighe*, *Vespie*, *Raron*, *Leuck*, *Siders*, and *Syon*. These seuen Comminalties haue thirty parishes. The lower *Valois* hath sixe Comminalties, which they cal *Banneries*: because each one hath his particular standard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbred.

Hundreds or Baronnies, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seuen Comminalties.

Six Banneries in the lower Valois.

Long warres betweene the Veragrians & Viberines.

The *Veragrians* or lower *Valasians*, had (in times past) long warre against the *Seduſians* and *Viberines*. In the end, after foureſcore and thirteen yeares, they were ouercome and subiected; so that the *Seduſians* and *Viberines* ruined sixteene Castles, the old pittifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawful for any to builde them againe, for feare they should prooue hurtfull to the countries liberty. And therefore the higher *Valois* ouer-ruleth the lower, and sendeth Gouernors thether to iudge in causes, & manage the affayres of the State. The Byshop of *Syon* (whom some call Count & Gouernor of *Valois*) is Prince of the countrey. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the Chapter of *Syon*, and of the 7 *Dizaines* of higher *Valois*.

Higher Valois ruleth ouer the lower.

The Byshop of Sion Prince of Valois.

The Annales of *Valois* do declare, that *Charlemaigne* gaue the County and Gouernment of *Valois*, to *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Syon*, and to his successors: with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdiction, and other priuiledges of Princes of the Empire. Because that Byshop (by reuelation of an Angel) had declared to *Charlemaigne*, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiuen him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the county into suspition, as we haue already made more amplemention in our description of the country of *Valois*. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the Emperors which came after *Charlemaign*, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the byshops of *Syon*: namely, the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, then *Charles* the fift renewed & increased them willingly, at the request of *Mathew Shiner* Byshop and Cardinal of *Sion*, from whom he had deriued many good and graceſull seruices.

Charlemaign gaue the Gouernment of Valois to the Bishop of Syon.

The priuiledges of Valois confirmed by the Emperors

Afterward, the Byshop had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the captaine or Bayliffe of the whole country whom they vse to call Landts Hauptman. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the Byshop, and by the Ambassadours of the *Dizaines* or comminalties. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the comminalties, which haue each one his Magistrate, whom they of *Goms*, *Raron*, and *Leuck*, call *Maire*, the others *Castillian*. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the councellers which the comminalties giue him as assistants. There be *Ammans* also (who are so-

The Captain or Bayliffe of Valois, and his authority.

The Councell of Valois, and their meetings and how farre their power extendeth.

soueraigne Magistrates in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, but they of *Valois* are iudged inferiours, and haue *Maires* as their superiors.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminalty, to the councell of *Valois*, who are called **Den landts rath**; and according to the custome of their Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meete at *Syon*, in a Castle named *Maierin*. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliffe cals for the causes, and then they treate on affayres of the Common-wealth, election of gouernors and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of *Raron*, were sometimes great Lordes in the countrey of *Valois*. Their successors were the Lords of *Chinron*, who are Marshalles of the Bishoppricke of *Syon*, Vicounts of *Syon*, and Stewards of *Valois*.

The Barons of Raron, and their successors.

As for the *Maze*, which they tearme **Mutzen**, it is a particular inuention of the people of *Valois*, to oppose themselues against the power of great and rich men. Wee haue made ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

Of the Maze.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seuen *Dizaines* of the higher *Valois*, hold the soueraignety of the whole country in their handes. The lower *Valois* is subiect to them, and is parted into sixe Comminalties, viz. *Gundes* nere to *Syon*, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminalty of lower *valois*. Heeretofore it appertayned to the Canton of *Berne*, but in the war which the Switzers made on the Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1536. the Valasians did there recouer it, in exchange of another country. 2. *Ardon*, 3. *Sallion*, 4. *Entremont*, 5. *Martinach*, 6. the Towne of Saint *Mauris* in *Chablais*, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all *valois*, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the *Rhone* glydeth. In the yeare, 1475. the *valasians* brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of Saint *Mauris*. Without the country of *valois*, the *valasians* possessed themselues of 3. Bayliwickes, during the warre of *Sauoye*: as namely, *Montey*, *Tuian*, and *Hochtall*. Neuertheless, some few yeares after that they surrendred *Yuian* to *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, and retained both the other.

Of the Comminalties that are in the lower Valois.

The manner of the situation Valois.

Saint Mauris why spared.

3. Baylywickes without Valois.

CHAP. XIII.

The Common-wealth of Bienna.

THE Towne of *Bienna* made perpetuall alliance with the Bernians, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Allyance with *Solleurre*; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with *Fribourg*, so it became allyed with three cantons of the Switzers. It acknowledgeth as temporall Lord, the Byshop of *Basile*, because as concerning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, it is the Dioceese of *Lausanna*: but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spirituall gouernement of the Bishop, as in like maner were the citizens of *Zurich* and *Berne*.

Bienna made alliance with the Bernians.

The Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction of Bienna.

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the Bernians got the possession of the Bishoppricke of *Lusanna*, they enfranchised *Bienna* of the Ecclesiasticall subiection. The Byshop of *Basile* is Lord thereof very peaceably, in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraign Magistrate, whom they call *Maire*: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes councellers, and the *Maire* giues oath to the councell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the councell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to aboue 3. *Liures Tournois*, apertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuennewes: but the ports, tolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoeuer vpon the Bourgesses, nor to engage the Towne: but the Bourgesses are bound to goe

The soueraign Magistrate of Bienna, & his authoritie in criminal causes.

The Byshop imposeth no charges on the Bourgesses

go in warre for the Byſhop, and at theyr owne expences, yet no further then a dayes iourney from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearely, there is repetition made to the Councel, what priuiledges Byſhop *Immer Ramſtein* gaue to the Town, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Baſile*.

The priuiledges giuen by Immer Ramſtein.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in maner following. All the Bourgeſſes are diuided into ſixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in ſuch order & carriage, as no one man whatſoeuer may ioyn himſelfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Maſters, & a ſeruant attending. The Councell publike is choſen out of the number of theſe Bourgeſſes. The leſſer councel is compoſed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councellers. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the yeare following, theyr names are openly publiſht in the church. There is choiſe made of ſome Electours, out of the great and leſſer councell: who (in preſence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councellers, or elect new, if there be any ſuch need.

The gouernement of the Common-wealth of Bienna.

He that ſitteth Preſident in the councell generall, is called Bourgmaſter, and is elected by the great and leſſer councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and queſtion is vrged concerning ciuil cases: the Maire and Officers to the Byſhop depart, and leaue the Bourgmaſter Preſident. Next to him are the Treaſurers, *Banderets*, *voyers*, or Surueyers, the Iudges of the Conſiſtory, the Hoſpitaliers, and others elected in publike charges, by the great and leſſer councell, who are not aduanced to ſuch Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The Banderet onely, is choſen by all the people. Hee hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but alſo (with the Bourgmaſter) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Ouerſeeers, and to take their accounts. The leſſer councel aſſembleth three times euery weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wedneſday, and Saturday, but if any man doe deſire to haue a cauſe extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the Maire, the councell ſhall be then aſſembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iuriſdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all cauſes ciuill and criminal.

Bourgmaſter Preſident of the General Councel.

Other officers of the Commonwealth.

The office of the Banderet.

Care for ſchollers.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of Saint *Immer*, for ſo likewiſe is the Seigneury of *Ærgua* called, and is diuided into many Comminalties, vvhich haue (each one) their Maire or **Amman** elected and confirmed euery yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courtes of Iuſtice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cauſe is ſent to the councel of the Towne, who ſend ſometimes aſſiſtants to helpe in the country pleadings, and to end their ſuits: but appeale may be made from their ſentences to the councel of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standardes of *Bienna*.

The valley of S. Immer, and Seigneurie of Ergua.

Bienna hath no Bayliwick

CHAP. XIIII.

The Common-wealthes of ſuch people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And firſt of all, of ſtipendary Townes.

IN our former booke, we haue diſtributed the people gouernd in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into fiue ſtipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Thoſe Townes haue their Magiſtrates & Councell by themſelues, to wit, a leſſer Councell compoſed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councellers, comprehending the twelue of the leſſer in the number. The cheefe of the councel is called **Schuldheſſ**, or *Auoyer*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the leſſer and great councell.

The diuiſion of the ſtipendary Townes.

Election at Bada.

At *Bremgarten*, the ſixe firſt Cantons eſtabliſh one of the two *Auoyers*: who (notwithſtanding) is in number of the Bourgeſſes, onely of whome the other is elected.

At Bremgarten.

He

At Frawenfeld.

Hee of *Frawenfeld*, is elected by the Councell generall but in ſecret voyce. The Councell of theſe Townes doe elect Treaſurers, *Voyers*, and other Magiſtrats: for the Townes haue priuiledges, to prouide for publike charges, and haue likewiſe treaſuries, and good round ſums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extendure, becauſe the cuſtomes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuertheleſſe, in the towne of *Bada*, which is the paſſage of Germany into France, the cuſtome belongeth to the towne; but the tolle for Merchandizes tranſported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The leſſer councell of theſe townes, prouide not onely for the townes affaires, but alſo do decide ſuites: for they haue no other Courts of iuſtice, except at *Frawenfeld*, & they haue likewiſe both ciuill and criminall iuriſdiction.

The priuiledges of the Townes.

The cuſtom at Bada is the Townes, but not the Tolles

Concerning the Towne of Bremgarten.

Bremgarten commandeth ouer ſome Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged ſometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. Wherethe Emperour *Sigiſmond* did put them of *Zurich* in poſſeſſion of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to diſengadge the country: but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betweene the two townes, they would leaue the country to them, which was eaſily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it them by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in poſſeſſion of the country, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and eighteene.

Enterchange betweene Zurich & Bremgarten.

Neuertheleſſe, they of *Zurich* reſerued to themſelues the ſouereignty, & the puniſhment of Malefactours deſeruing death. The yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betweene them of Zurich and Bremgarten; to wit, about the cauſes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The ſeuen Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to Zurich: but as concerning ſuites mooued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Cantons.

The reſeruations of Zurich

The confirmation of the ſeauen Cantons.

The towne of *Frawenfeld*, beſide the councell apart by it ſelfe, hath an aſſembly of twelue Iudges, who decide ſuites among the Bourgeſſes, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iuriſdiction. But as for criminall cauſes, and variances touching inheritances, and ſuch like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. Theſe Iudges execute their arreſts, in condemning of certaine fines, and making ſeizure on the goods of condemned perſons. Appeale may bee made from them, to the ſeauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councels ſentence.

An aſſembly of xii. Iudges at Frawenfeld

No Appeale from the councels ſentence.

For the preſent, by permiſſion of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of thoſe Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares ſince, it was to the Apparatour of the towne, and afterward to the Agent or Prouoſt of the Empire.

When any Malefactour is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choiſe (as pleaſeth themſelues) of twelue other men of the towne, or of the villages reſorting thether; and then theſe foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawenfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigiſmond*; and therefore they haue priſons purpoſely. From the time of the *Auſtrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall perſons to death; now adayes the Cantons conſerue and maintaine the rights to *Frawenfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawenfeld* ſtands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is ſubiect but to the ſeauen firſt Cantons, the priuiledges reſerued.

When any one is ſentenced to death

Frawenfeld ſubiect to the ſeuen firſt Cantons.

Moreouer, this Towne hath ſome particular rights, touching teſtaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeſſes may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Turgow* (annuall reuennues excepted) according to the rights of Iuſtice of the Prouince, and may (without puniſhment) lodge ſuch as haue beene baniſhed by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any ſtrange iuſtice, but the demander muſt come and pleade at *Frawenfeld*.

Particular rights belonging to Frawenfeld.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath

The Abbey of Auge the rich and priuiledges it hath at Frawenfeld.

some rightes at *Frawenfeld*, whereto the Bourgesses stand obliged, and(anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey: but afterward, they enfranchised themselues from all charges of seruitude, and now adayes, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promiseth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rights which he hath at *Frawenfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conserue and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customes.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seigneurie of *Frawenfeld* elected the Captaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the countrey of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standardes of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christes face, as in a Linnen hand-kercher. But within some fewe yeares they of the Prouince of *Turgow* obtayned leaue, to haue their particular captaines and Standards. In meane while the Towne of *Frawenfeld*, and the places that are of her Iurisdiction, haue theyr Captaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standards.

Turgow at liberty by it self

CHAP. XV.

Of the Baylywickes or Gouernments.

The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Baylywickes.

WE haue already formerly set downe, how many Baylywickes or Gouernements the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they becam Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councellers of the lesser councell. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Canton. They gouerne the Bayliwicks according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuertheless, in the Baylywickes on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiunctes or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince; in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice, **Ein Landgricht.** They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminall, and giue sentence; Notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

The custome on this side the mountains

But in the Bayliwickes of *Italy*, or beyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vvell call some learned men for councell, but those Councellers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about midde-Iune, they render an account of theyr administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some straunge enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Bayliwickes send theyr people, who march vnder their particular Standards, and euery bayliwicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgongne*, they of the baylywicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if there happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the baylywicks do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

The custome on this side the mountains

When some strange enemy warres on the Switzers.

Intime of ciuill warre in Switzerland

CHAP. XVI.

Of Bada.

THE Gouernement or Baylywicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demaunding for the causes in order, and sea-

sealeth with his Signet, such things as are written in the name of all the Councell. Moreouer, if the voyces be equall vppon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that meanes endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authoritie ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdictions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe; exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdictions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe electeth them: but the custome is, that after they haue beene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges, giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuertheless, the Bayliffe (who hath the soueraignty in his hand) may mittigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is hee that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, because all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreouer and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of al the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

The Bailywicke and Countie of *Bada*, hath two small Townes vnder it, the one named *Clingenow*, and the other, *Keyserstoull*; but the Byshop of *Constance* sendeth Bayliffes thether, and hee of *Bada* hath nothing to looke to there, saue onely, the acknowledgement of causes criminall appertaineth to him, and the people of those places, are comprehended with the rest of the County of *Bada*, when they goe to warre, with, or for the Switzers. Betweene these two little Townes, is a great Village, neere vnto the *Rheine*, named *Zurzach*, inhabited as if it were a good great Towne, subiect vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and depending on the Baylywickes of *Clingenow*. I must needes say somewhat concerning the policy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Many villages and Iurisdictions commanded by the Bayliffe.

In cases concerning life & death.

The Secretary of the whol Prouince.

Two little Townes, belonging to Bada, Clingenow, and Keyserstoul.

Zurzach a great Village.

Two great Fayres yearly at Zurzach.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing beene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of M. *Iunius Certius*, a famous Romane Souldier, buryed in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe electeth an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and eyght Senatours, foure whereof, are in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called sworne Senatours; and then the other foure doe succeede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meete once in xv. dayes; but if any man requireth (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirteene Shillings of the Money of *Lucerna*.

Forū Tiberii.

Sworne Senators.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow

Moreouer, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confest theyr fault, and are conuinced of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Weeke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Auncestors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safegard and

Power of condemning fines or otherwise.

Concerning the times whē the Faires are kept.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the anoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Visiters or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it. and according as it is good, or indiffrent, they set on such and such markes. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunfftmaster** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunfftmasters**; who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midst, or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

Viewers and Ouerseers for the goodnesse or badnesse of linnen cloth.

A Market of linnen cloth onely.

After that the cloth hath beene seene and approoued; the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and marke it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts; and the Merchants haue with them the Ouer-seers of the measuring. They call them **Den reiff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134. Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whitsters, wher the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Die wyssen Schower.** They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whitster in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whitsters houses and grounds, to see if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Euery yeare the Masters whitsters take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

What is done after approbation of the cloths goodnesse.

Viewers of the whiting of cloth, & how they are thickened.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they vsually tearme **Blaw vnd Schwartz gschower**) thinke fit to send to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lynwathschnyder**, do cut them iust in the midst, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iust measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainer and Diar are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is seuerely punished. For the Towne or Citty of S. *Gall* hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite; to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plaining, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Linnen cloth reputed fit to be died in colours, & how they deale therein.

Penalty for cloth spoyled in dying.

The priuiledg belonging to S. Gall.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. *Gall* take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: because they hauing beene heeretofore much endamaged thereby, it hath made them (suruiuing) to be the more prouident. Euery euening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die Feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth euery one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare leste fire shold take in any part. Then are there two **Zunfftmasters**, that foure times yearely do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die Feurgschower**, Visiters for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgesses haue: and whether they be prouided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

What prouision they make against the inconueniences of fire.

Visiters for fire.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wachtbieter**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of euery Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the Citty, to preuent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Against troublesom winds and tempests.

Captaines of the Watch.

Euery night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the Citty, beeing appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunfftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

If

When fire takes in any place.

If fire take in any part, some of the Cittizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and Walles, some into the cheefest streetes; some keepe company with the Consull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are foure Captaines of the lesser councell, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding euery one to that which is to be done, and punishing greeuously the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the citty, they send foorth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the Walles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

Foure Captaines of the lesser councel

Schooles, Almes-houses Hospitals, &c. spared to be spoken of.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almes-houses, and Hospitals, because they of S. *Gall* gouerne themselues therein, as other well pollicied citties do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies; because in this worke, we treate on the matters of pollicy onely, reseruing to discourse on the other, at some apter time and place.

CHAP. XI.

The Common-wealth of the Grisons.

Concerning the Grisons in elder time.

THE name and dominion of the *Grisons* heeretofore was of great extendure: but now wee vnderstande by that word, a people of the Alps, whō the *French* and *Italians* haue named *Grisons*, and the *Switzers* **Grawpundter.** In ancient times, they inhabited *Rhætia* in the Alpes, neere to the sourse or head of *Rheine*, and of *Iun*.

The *Grisons* are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League *Grise*, and hath ten Comminalties, to wit, the Abbey of *Dissentiß*, which the ancient Cardes or Mappes called *Disertine*. To this Abbey are ioynd *Tauetch*, *Trumb*, and some other places. 2. *Walterspourg*. 3. *Obersachs*. 4. *Lugnits*. 5. *Fals*. 6. *Flantz*. 7. *Schlæwiß*. 8. They of *Laax*, *Siniß*, and them enuironing about the wood. 9. *Thænnen*. The *Grisons* call these nine Communities; the part aboue the wood, **Die obdem Wald**; and the other ten, they call, vnder the wood. 10. *Flims*. 11. *Trimon*. 12. *Safien*. 13. *Ratzuns*, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of *Ratzuns*. 14. *Henltzenberg*, and *Tusiis*. 15. *Schopine*. 16. *Schamps* 17. *Splugen*. 18. *Masax*. 19. *Rufflee*.

Three leagus diuided of the Grisons.

The first league, hauing all these Comminalties belonging to it.

In each of these Comminalties, they yearely elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call *Amman*, who with the Iudges or Assistants, elected by the same comminalty, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the caso. Beside these *Ammans*, there is a great Prouost of the whole League, whom they call **Den Landtrichter**, who is chosen by euery one in the generall assembly of all the comminalties, and sitteth President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

A soueraigne Magistrate in each of the Communalties.

These meeting dayes for this *Grise* League, is in the Village of *Trumb*, which is the cheefe comminalty, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the **Landtichter** sitteth President, who hath fifteene Assistants, one Clearke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of *Ratzuns*, is yet aboue the **Landtrichter**, by an ancient prerogatiue, belonging to the race of the Barons of *Ratzuns*, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue euermore succeeded.

The Grand Prouost of the whole League, and his order in Court of Iustice.

The second League is called **Der Gottshuszpundt**, The League of *Gods Houshold*, or of the *Cade* or League *Cathedrall*, because of the Bishoppricke and Colledge of *Coire*: and it hath one and twenty Comminalties, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or Citty of *Coire* is numbred in the first place, as the chiefe of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Comminalties) is compounded of two lesser. But as the cittizens

The League of the Cade, or of Gods House.

protection of such as were soueraignes, and had meanes to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of *Austria*, were Lords of the Countie of *Bada*; but now it belongeth to the eyght first Cantons. As for the gouernment of *Zurzach*, it is managed by sixteene councellers, to wit, the twelue before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councell generall.

The gouernement of Zurzach.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Turgow.

AMong all the Bayliwickes of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then *Turgow*, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seuen most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe, & to them appertaineth the Seigneury and ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of *Turgow* ranke themselues with the seauen Cantons: but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capitall, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Turgow the greatest of all the Bayliwicks

Beside, there are many Noblemen, & Ecclesiasticall persons, that haue meane courts of Iustice in diuers villages of *Turgow*, yet in such sort notwithstading, that all the villages are subiects to the Bayliffe of the whole country. The inferior Seigneurs may condemne fines of twentie shillings, and sometimes so farre as tenne poundes: but the moity of the fines belongeth to the Bayliffe, according to the ordinances well vnderstoode, and established among them.

Mean Courts of iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Condemnation of fines.

All they that haue Iurisdictions, are called **Grichtsherren.** The Ecclesiastickes, are the byshop of *Constance*, who hath his Prouosts in *Turgow*, to witte, at *Arbonna*, *Tanneg*, *Guttingen*, and *Gottliebe*. The Chapter of *Constance* hath Iurisdiction within *Altnaw*. The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, nowe vnited and incorporated with the Byshoppricke of *Constance*, hath great reuennewes, and many Iurisdictions in the countrey of *Turgow*, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Bernange*, *Mannebach*, *Ermatingen*, *Tribeltingen*, &c. Many Gentlemen are vassailes to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Eschentz*. In like manner, the Abbey of S. *Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages: as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of *Turgow* haue, as *Tobel*, the Commanderie of the Knightes of Saint *Iohn*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Ittinge*, *Chartrouse*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisteaux* order. Also *Veldbach*. *Calchere* Saint *Katharine du Val*, nere to *Dissenhow*; and some other Prouosts in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iurisdictions they haue.

The Abbey of Auge.

The Abbey of Benedictines.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iurisdictions: the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Vlme* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Griesenberg*. *Herdere* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Giel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lordes of *Montprat*. *Vinfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelneberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Nuuenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstein* and *Blidec*, to the Lords of *Hanuille*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lordes of *Herdneheimer*. *Ottlishouse*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishouse*, to the Lords of *Hagenuille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neusere*, to the Lords of *Stocker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenson*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whose Iurisdictions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons: but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen.

A Towne on the limites of the country.

Castles ruined and defaced.

Beside, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminal in the towne of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted theyr campe there heeretofore, to encounter with the Germaines.

The Abbey of Rinow.

In

The Isle within the Rheine.

In the Isle which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be seene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuertheless, if any Malefactor be condemned to death: he is deliuered vnto the Prouost or *Amman* of the Prouince, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seuen Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their standard, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreouer, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

The Standard of Rinow.

Bischoffzel, or Episcopalla.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuers, called *Sittera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow*: and it hath his Standard, where vnder the souldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Gouernour of the countrey is onely but to bee seene there, and can commaund nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee gouerneth according to their ordinances.

The Byshops bailiff in the Towne Castle.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moitie of the Fines: but the Townesmen doe elect the Councel, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councellers. One of the two, iudgeth in criminal causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate: neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuennews belong to the common-wealth. When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townesmen, hee promiseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoeuer, their auncient Priuiledges and Franchises.

The Councell and two Presidents.

The Byshop taketh oath of the townsmen

Arbonna is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe: but they of the Towne doe elect theyr *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuil causes. The Switzers haue some Seigneuriall rights in that place: for the castle is open to them in the times of warre, for best accommodating themselues, and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

The sufficient towne of Arbonna on the lake of Constance.

Diessenhow, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betweene *Stein* and *Schaffouse*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seauen Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey: *Berne* and *Schaffouse* haue some right in the domination of *Diessenhow*. Neuertheless, the Townesmen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges: their councel and *Auoyer* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are esteemed to bee vnder the gouernment of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers: but yet vnder the Standard of *Diessenhow*.

Diessenhow on the Riuer of Rheine.

Oath to eight Cantons only

But besides the Iurisdictions of the Ecclesiasticks, and of the Gentlemen: there are many Villages, wherof the Cantons are entirely Lords, and they are called the Iurisdictions of the county of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, do holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heeretofore there were diuers formes of pleas, and manie customes: but the seauen Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iurisdictions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction; he presents it to the Bayliffe or Gouernor of the country, and of him demandeth iustice.

The Iurisdictions of the county of Turgow.

Order for the suits and pleas in Turgow.

There are two kindes of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgowe*: for they must pleade before the Iusticiary bench of the Prouince, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seauen Cantons, who establish a Gouernour in the countrey: but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterduer*, when as the countrie of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde neere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigismond* had engaged *Winterduer* to the Bourgesses of *Costance*, & somtimes in other places: but

it is fully reſolued on at *Frawenfeld*, and the Cantons haue concluded, that it ſhal neuer bee tranſported any whether elſe heereafter.

The election of xii. Iudges, by the Bayliffe

Twelue Iudges are choſen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frawenfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe ſits Preſident in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of ỹ country, eſtabliſhed by the Cantons; or the Lieutenant whom the Bailiffe ſubſtituteth in his place. The cauſes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*, are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iuſtice, together with the ſuits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: alſo the cauſes of iniuries, crimes, and other offences deſeruing death. The Bayliffe and his aſſiſtants (who moſt often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheeſe Vſher) do cenſure alſo in the ſame ſuites: & it is at the diſcretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choiſe before which of the two courts he will pleade.

Cauſes ended in the Prouincial Court.

Power of the Plaintiffe in his plea.

Difference betweene the Bailiffes Court, & the Prouincial Court.

The Bayliffe cauſeth the ſentences and ordinances to bee executed, with impoſition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that ſatisfieth not the ſentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iuſtice, impoſeth no fine of mony, but baniſheth: onely reſerued, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cauſe in perſon (becauſe the cuſtom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vſe to ſit. He that is accuſed to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is impriſoned.

Appeale from both the Courtes to the Cantons.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the ſentence giuen in either of the Courtes; and, according to the importance of the cauſe to the ſeuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewiſe al Fines (as the goods of perſons put to death, confiſcations, and fines impoſed on ſuch as are acceſſaries to crimes deſeruing death) doe appertaine partly to the ſeauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alledged (for example ſake) mighty and horrid iniuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is ſtrictly commaunded to liue in peace with his aduerſary, outragious acts committed to a man vpon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any ſuch like violence. Alſo, if any man vſurpe, encroach vpon, encloſe, or appropriate to himſelfe any part of the high-way, tranſpoſe or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in truſt to keepe; if he violate Fayth, or forſweare himſelfe openly; or if he cary himſelfe inſolently toward the Bailiffe or Iudges, &c.

Concerning ſentences of death.

Beſides, all ſuch as the Prouinciall court of Iuſtice declareth guilty of death: are ſent vnto the other Iudges with theyr cauſes, to haue the ſentence pronounced on them. Theſe Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the cuſtom was, that the Bayliffe ioyned twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iuſtice, and choſe them thoroughout the countrey, at his owne diſcretion: but now adayes (and oftner then any other) the Iudges of *Frawenfeld* doe pronounce the ſentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater vvithout compariſon, if the Iudges ſhould bee called from diuers parts of the country, it being of ſo large extendure.

A cuſtom vſed in former times, but otherwiſe prouided, and vpon good reaſon.

A great power granted to the Bayliffe.

There is no appeale granted from this ſentence: neuertheleſſe it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges ſentence, or to alter the manner of the punniſhment vpon the Offender; or elſe to ſaue the condemned mans life; but hee may not (by any meanes) aggrauate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

CHAP. XVIII

Of Sargans.

Concerning the Originall of Sargans, taking name of the Riuer Sar.

THE Countrey of *Sargans*, hath heeretofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and ſold it vnto the Switzers Countrey. Thoſe Counts were of the houſe of *Werdenberg*, by reaſon of the Counties thereunto belonging, and alſo of *Montfort*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey ſtandeth ſeparated by a certain ſmal Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, aboue the Riuer, hath ſome villages; the cheefeſt whereof

whereof is called *Regatz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfeuertz*, the Abbot where of hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemes that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneathe the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowed their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the sourse or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell aboue the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rheguſces* and *Rhucans*, at this day tearmed *Rhinthall* and *Rhuchenberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselues, and other weights and measures, then they beneathe the Riuer.

Of them beneathe the Riuer Sar.

Another Sargans or Sarunettes.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliwicke. There is a councell at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (beeing Lords there) do establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliwick, named *Walhenſtat*, on the Lake of *Riue*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or lateſt appellations, for causes criminall and capitall, are held at *Sargans*; where Iudges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliwicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender, and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenſtat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenſtat*.

Of the Bayliffe & Councell of Sargans & their Auoyer.

For criminall and capitall causes.

The Amman gouerneth sometimes in stead of the Bayliffe.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, aboue his entrance into the Lake of *Conſtance*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, somewhat below the Valley.

Rhinthall taketh name of the Riuer of Rheine.

The whole Bayliwick is diuided into certaine portions or see-farmes, which they tearme *Hoef*, and these are their names: *Alſtett*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernange*, *Taall*, whereon *Rhinek* dependeth, and *Oberriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Ammans*; whereof the one is enstalled by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of S. *Gall*. The moity of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuertheleſſe, at *Alſtett* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Luſtenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amſa*. The acknowledgment of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, hauing *Ammans* for their Iudges.

The Bayliwicks diuision and their seuerall iurisdictions.

The diuision at Alſtet.

Acknowledging of criminall causes.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally imploy themselues in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at S. *Gall*, & liue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of S. *Gall* haue store of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthall*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publike sale, and pay the mony to the Vine-dressers. This taxe bindeth not them who haue not solde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village do meete at S. *Gall*, and the Seigneury appointeth one or two of the councell to sit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines. If they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For euery Village (in his raucke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not lawfull

How the inhabitants of the Valley bestowed their time.

A taxe set vpon the wine to such as are buyers before the vintage.

In what manner they set a price vpon the wines, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

full to begin before.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altſax.

The ſcituation of the Seigneury of Altſax.

BEtweene the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*, and the county of *Werdenberg*, you may ſee the Seigneury belonging to the Barons of *Altſax*. Now, although the Barons are ſoueraigne Lords; yet notwithſtanding, in regard of the ſcituation of *Rhinthall*, I was not willing to paſſe any further, without making ſome mention thereof.

The Antiquities of the Barons of Altſax

The race of the Lords of *Altſax* is moſt ancient, and hee that hath written concerning Iuſtes and Tournaments, declareth, that the Emperour *Henry*, ſirnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choiſe among all the Gentlemen of *Suaba*, of *Frederick*, Baron of *Altſax*, to preſcribe to others, the order to be obſerued in thoſe Royall paſtimes. They of *Miſauk* in the *Griſons* country (whom *Pliny* calleth * *Hirſaces*, at the Trophee of *Auguſtus*) were ſometimes ſubiects to the Barons of *Monſax*: to whom the Emperour *Sigiſmond* gaue the name and dignity of Counts, and *Wolffe*, Baron of *Monſax* was in the warre againſt the *Obotrites*, in the yeare nine hundred, thirty fiue. Some ſay, that thoſe Counts deſcended of the houſe of *Altſax*, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the *Griſons*, deſcended of the firſt *Rhatians*, who were of *Tuſcany*, and vaunt themſelues alſo to be iſſued of the Romanes.

* So named of the Foreſt of Hircinia running thorough Germany.

Gentlemen deſcended of the firſt Rhætians.

The Valley of Lengs.

In Antiquity, the Lords of *Altſax* dwelt in the *Griſons* country. For neere to the Valley of *Lengs*, where they inhabite, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themſelues, to bee of moſt noble and ancient race; there is the Village of *Obierſax*, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Caſtle of the ſame name. I am of the minde then, that the houſe of *Altſax* is *Griſon* by originall, and deſcended (with many other of the *Griſons*) of the *Tuſcanes*, who were before the Romanes. Alſo the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heeretofore reputed to be of the *Griſons*: conſidering, that *Strabo* extendeth the *Griſons* limits, ſo farre as the Lake of *Conſtance*.

The originall of the houſe of Altſax of the Griſons.

This Baronny hath had heeretofore two ſtrong Caſtles, to wit, *Sax* (which was burnt before the warre of *Appenzell*) and *Fortege*, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of *Vlrich* of *Altſax*, Abbot of S. *Gall*, at ſuch time as the Barons were in warre againſt the Counts of *Montfort*. There are many Villages in this Valley, ſubiect to the Barons of *Altſax*. If any warre threaten *Switzerland*, they chuſe their moſt valiant Soldiours, which they ſend to their ſuccour. Alſo *Huldrich*, Father to *Huldrich Phillip*, now Baron of *Altſax*, fought valiantly for the Switzers, in the warre which they had againſt the Emperour *Maximillian*, and the league of *Suaba*: and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

Two ancient Caſtles belonging to the Baronny.

When warre is menaced againſt Switzerland.

It is a long time ſince the Barons of *Altſax* haue beene Bourgeſſes of *Zurich*, the reſt of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of *Altſax*: but themſelues were ſoueraigne Lords, and no man might appeale frō their ſentence, to any other iuſtice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of *Altſax* left, but one, namely, the Lord *Huldrich Phillip*: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, becauſe this lord hath had (by two wiues) fiue ſonnes, already of good ſtature, and which promiſe faire hope, namely, *Albert Iohn*, *Thibault Iohn*, *Phillip Iohn*, *Iohn Chriſtopher*, and *Iohn Huldrich*.

The Baron of Altſax Bourgeſſe of Zurich.

The now liuing iſſue of the preſent Baron of Altſax.

CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Gouernements of Italy.

THE firſt and principall of the foure Bayliwicks of *Italy*, is called *Lugano*, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commaunding ouer all the foure, if any warre doth happen vnexpected.

Lugano the firſt Bayliwick.

The ſecond is that of *Locarna*, almoſt of

Locarna the ſecond.

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugano*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarna*, made (at my request) by M. *Thaddeus Dun*, Physition, and a natiue of *Locarna*, my very good friend. For therby may be knowne, what the gouernment of the other Bayliwicks is, which althogh they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are gouerned in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

A mã of great experience & knowledge.

The Towne of *Locarna*, is called *Luggari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in al the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Banck of the Lake *Maior*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Moũtaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Bellizona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearely a plentifull Hay-harueſt, & thwart it passeth *Thesina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountains, and the Lake bancks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine, and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath beene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part therof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

The description of Locarna, and how it is scituated by euery way.

The flethy Territory, or where fleth is in great plenty.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarna* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maior*, neyther are there more Gentlemen in any towne of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is, the ayre also is there temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can bee desired. The windes of the South do blow there very little, and euen as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defencing before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so that to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Great Families in Locarna, and store of Gentleme.

Locarna appeareth to be very healthfully seated.

Heeretofore, the towne of *Locarna* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rusque*: and the French were Masters there, the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two Switzer Archers of his Guard, of whom wee shall make more ample mention heereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, there was a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The ancient good y Castle of Locarna.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is imployed.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maior* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such aboundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become farre enough off from the Lake. Since the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishments for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicchiardine* maketh mention in the fift Booke of his Histories, that fifteene thousand *Switzers* got themselues together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleuenth Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

The singularity of the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite defaced by the Switzers.

Guicchiard in Lib. 5. 11. 12.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Millaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarna* (except the towne of *Brisag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rusques* were Lords, they beeing Gentlemen of marke in the towne

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of Locarna.

The County of Locarna diuided in twaine.

towne of *Coma*, whereof alſo they were Maſters ſometimes, but after they ſurrendred it to the Duke of *Millaine*, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred and ſixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Maina* ſeparated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time alſo, the Vale of *Verzaſche* and *Gambaron* (whereof ſhall be ſpoken heereafter) obtayned leaue, to elect their *Podeſtats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Pariſhes, whereof there are twenty and more.

Of the fertility of the country, and encreaſe of their Vines.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hilles and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and ſtore of good graſſe groweth vnder them. On the plaines they ſhoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; alſo the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they ſtand too farre off, where the branches come too ſhort, then they fixe poles in the midſt, whereto they faſten the branches, for feare leſte they ſhould hinder the Cornes encreaſe, or the other ſorts of pulſe, which are alſo there ſowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which cauſeth an extraordinary plēty of wine.

Of the Fields and Meddow grounds about Locarna

The fields cannot be very ſpacious, in regard of the ſo neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithſtanding, they are very fertile, by reaſon of the grounds goodneſſe, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For becauſe there are no great ſtore of fields and meddowes, and the towne is ſufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leyſures. Many times they render twenty graines for one, and they haue two Harueſts in one yeare. In the Moneth of Iune, they reape and gather Wheat and Rie: In the Moneth of October, they haue the like of Millet, Panicke, and other Pulſes ſowed in Spring time.

Two harueſts gathered in a yeare continually.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furniſhed with cattell in great aboundance, eſpecially Goates. Alſo there is plenty of Partridges, Phezants, Larks, Hares, Conies, Butter, Cheeſe, and admirable ſtore of Cheſtnuts, for the nouriſhment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dryed, and afterward boyled, roſted, and fried. Alſo they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale ſerues thē to diuers vſes: but Gentlemen eate cheſtnuts among their other delicates.

What fleſh, Fowles, and other helpfull food the country affoordeth.

When therefore there is a good ſeaſon of cheſtnuts, the dearth of other victuals is not great in that country: wher alſo is ſtore of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cheries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kindes, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fiſh, dainty and good; eſpecially Trowts, whereof ſtore are brought & ſold in *Millaine*. In briefe, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet ſometimes there is ſcarſity of Corne, by reaſon of the countries narrowneſſe, and Salt is brought thether from other places.

Variety of all kindes of fruites, and of dainty fiſh.

All bleſſings for the life of man.

Euery Thurſday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane ſtore of people. You ſhall ſee many boats arriue there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Maior*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then ſell. They come thether alſo from ſundry parts of the Dutchy of *Millaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellizona*, neighbouring Bayliwicks: as alſo from *Miſauk*, and the Valley of *Liuiner*, not ſpeaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*: It is one of the goodlieſt Markets in all thoſe countries. There is a very ſpacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants ſet vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and ſuch like accidents.

A market at Locarna euery Thurſday.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees, to wit, Noblemen, ancient cittizens, whom they call Bourgeſſes, and the inhabitants, deſcended from diuers parts, and whoſe anceſtors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

Noblemen, Bourgeſſes, & Inhabitants, the three degrees of people in Locarna.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurelles*, *Muraltes*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the moſt auncient, and before the other: their houſes and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Scone*, which is a Towne neere

A fourth deſcent of Noblemen.

neere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, seated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and aduanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seigneury or Bayliwicke, is called the Comminalty.

In memory of former receiued fauour.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call Commissary, hee is chosen by the twelue Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* euery yeare, by one of the said cantons, as it is then in rancke, according to their lawes and alliances. This commissary is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the faulty, yea, to condemne to death, if the case do so require. His custome is to take wise & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his councellers. Hee is not receiued into his charge, til he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants tearme municipall rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledg him for their lawfull Gouernor; with solemne and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

The Commissary, and how he is elected.

The Commissaries power and authority.

Municipale lawes, the priuate law of euery City.

Now, because the commissiary speaketh the Switzers language, and the people Italian; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a Truchman, who vnderstands and speakes both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the Truchеman, the commissary, the parties that plead as Atturnies or Aduocates, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the Secretary or Prognotary writeth downe in Latine. The commissiary medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect Magistrates and Officers, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

A Truchеman allowed to the Commissary to be his interpreter.

The people haue power to elect Magistrates.

Moreouer, they elect an ordinary Atturney, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chamber*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this Atturney; who is one of the Bourgesses of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as pleaseth the said Lords.

The election of the Atturney.

They establish also the Receiuers of the taxes. For euery yeare, in Summer, when the twelue Ambassadours of the Cantons come thether: they giue the farming of the taxe (mittigating a certain summe) to one, or to many Bourgesses, who then also receiue ample power, to exact the taxe, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The Receiuers of the taxes & tolles

The Commissary chuseth (oftentimes) a Switzer Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an Halbert and a Sword. He is the cheefest of the Serieants, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the Ambassadors come to *Locarna*, hee is their Vsher: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the Truchеman.

The Officer waiting on the Commissary.

The same Commissary electeth his Lieutenant, some one of the Bourgesses, fitte to decide suites and criminall causes. This Lieutenant giues attendance in the Commissaries absence, or when hee is with-held by sickneſſe, or any other hinderance: hauing (in those causes) the same power and authority, as the Commissary hath.

The Lieutenant to the Commissary.

Moreouer, the councell (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choise of some Serieants among the people. Their charge is to serue the Common-wealth, and to execute the commands of the cõmissary.

The Serieants and Officers.

The Bourgesses and inhabitants that are of this County and Comminalty, do meete together according to their custome, which yearely is the first day of Ianuary, and then they elect the one and twenty councellers of the Common-wealth. Twelue among them are of *Locarna*; three of the towne of *Scone*, which is neere: the other sixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelue of *Locarna*; sixe of them are Noblemen, foure Bourgesses, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fiue Nobles. The three of *Scone*, there is one of the family of Gentlemen, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other sixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other Gouernour, but the fore-mentioned Commissary.

Of the councell their mãner of meeting, and orders obserued amongthem in their election of councellers.

A contrary kinde of gouernment & Officers.

sary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brisag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gâbaron*: which haue their Podestats or Lieutenants, and some rights apart by themselues, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any councellers.

What charge the councell do vndertake

The councell of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages: to dispose and set in order, whatsoeuer seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Of the seuen Attorneys, & what their office is,

Seuen Procurators or Atturnies are added to the one and twenty councellers, who giue order, that the decrees of the councel may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voyers* or Suruayors: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoeuer that are concluded on by the councell.

The Secretary or Chancellor.

A Treasurer euery yeare elected.

And forasmuch as the Comminalty lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearely a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the councell. For euery community or parish hath his Consull (so called, because they councell and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a Receiuer. They leuye vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the councel, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of housholds in euery community.

Consuls appointed, and their office.

The sum of one of the least assessements.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessement. One of their cottisations amoûteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seuen and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annuall accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physitions, to Masters of Schooles, Officers, and other persons, who are al at wages of the common-wealth: And beside, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee yeeldeth vp his account to the councell, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then receiued; his successour disbursseth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if the receipt doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer vnto his successour. Moreouer, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and prouision. And other two are elected by the councell, to see the wayes and streetes duely and decently repaired and well kept.

The Treasurers account to the Councell.

Now in regard that the country is enuironed with Mountaines and Vallies, repleated with woods of extraordinary taul trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarna* make very great benefit) the Merchant dealing in wood, do elect a Iudge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge therof to him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maior*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thesina* to *Millaine* and *Pauia*, in great Trunkes, Beames, Ioists, and long Planks; together with great quantities of wood-coales, and other brush-wood, for heating Ouens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pauia*, by the Riuer *Po* (wherein *Thesina* dischargeth it selfe) so farre as *Cremona*, and *Plasentia*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thicknesse iust, and the Merchants marks on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very abundantly, when the Riuers swell higher then their vsuall wont.

The gouernment of the Forrest.

The Iudge or Master of the Forest, his authority.

The Merchants set their marks on the trees.

The towne of *Brisag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maior* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Switzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, and

Brisag belonging to the Bayliwick of Locarna.

and is but foure miles distant off from *Canobio*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maior*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning them criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commissary of *Locarna*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselues) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brisag* haue not that authority, but yearely doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentlemen of *Locarna*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or sessed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commissary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges that are in their Villages and Communities.

The gouernment of Podestats.

Brisag differing in authority from Gãbaron.

Of this Towne of *Locarna* thus described, are descended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not aboue thirty yeares since, that some Cittizens of *Locarna*, yet liuing, affected to the new Religion; tooke knowledge thereof, by the reading of certain bookes, and afterward enstructed it to many of their Townesmen. From the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, forty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seigneurs and people, not willing to suffer it, expulsed (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kindes in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poore; great and small; husbands without their wiues, and wiues without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of thē are embraced as Bourgesses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seigneury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, sent by them of *Berne*, and another collected at *Basile*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

The Locarnians inhabiting at Zurich

Religion receiued in Zurich.

Persecution is the true Christians touch-stone.

Hh THE

The End of the third Booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; *the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the people, as also the diuision and scituation of the Country.*

SPaine, so tearmed of * *Hispalis*, or of * *Hesperia*, or *Hesperus*, by being a part of *Europe*, and neereſt to the VVeſt; hath her Confines in this manner. On the Eaſt, the Mediterranean Sea: On the VVeſt, the Ocean: On the South, the ſtreights of *Gibraltare*: And on the North, the Pyrenean Mountains, which make diuiſion of *France* & *Spaine*. The principall Riuers in this Prouince, are ſixe in number: *Myuo*, *Duria*, *Traia*, *Guadiana*, *Guadalquabir*, and *Iberus*. This Kingdome (by our Auncients) was diuided into three parts, to wit; *Batica*, *Luſitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Batica* contayneth three Regions, namely, *Granata*, with her Citty Royall, which is called *Granada*; *Andaluſia*, with the City of *Siuill*; and *Eſtramadura*, with the City of *Menda*. *Luſitania* hath two Regions, to wit, *Portugall*, with the Citty Royall, named *Lisborne*: and *Galicia*, with the citty that is called *Compoſtella*, where the body of S. *Iames* is ſaide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine Regions; as *Arragon*, with the citty of * *Sarragoſſa*; *Nauarre*, with the citty of *Pampalona*; *Cathalonia*, with the citty of *Barcellona*; *Biſcay*, with the city of *Vilucro*; * *Caſtile* the elder, with the citty of *Burgos* or *Braga*; *Caſtile* the newer, with the citty of *Tolledo*; *Leupuſca*, with the citty of S. *Sebaſtiano*; *Valenza*, with the citty of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the citty ſo called. In the kingdome of *Granada*, ther is an Iſland named *Caliz*, which hath a citty alſo called by the ſame name. In the Ocean Sea, and in the Mediterranean, there are three ſeuerall Iſlands, ſubiected to the gouernement of *Valencia*, to wit, *Ieniza*, *Maiorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* vſe their nauigation into the Eaſt Indiaes; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuill* and *Caliz*, into the VVeſt. The circumference of *Spaine*, is about 1893. miles. The kingdom of *Portugall*, frō the South part, beginneth at the citty of *Leppe*, and on the North it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicia*. The moſt notable Ports or Hauens of *Spaine*, on the North part, are S. *Sebaſtiano*; the Port *Galette*; the Port *Andrea*; the Port *di S. Vincenzo*; the Port of *Ribadeo*; the Port *Ieroll*; and the Port *delle Grugne*, or of the *Groyne*. On the VVeſt part, are the Port *di Monuedra*; the Port of *Portugall*; the Port of *Lisborne*; & the Port *Secuball*. On the South part are the Port *di Siluas*; the Port of *Siuill*; the Port of *Calix*; and the Port of *Caliz* in the Iſland; and the Port *Beger*; & the famous Port *Cartagenia*. On the Eaſt part is Port *Calibre*, now called *Porto venere*.

Spaine hath ſeuen Arch-Biſhoppricks, and the reſidence is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Sarragoſſa*, in *Tolledo*, in *Compoſtella*, in *Braga*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named Arch-Biſhopricks, are many Citties and their Biſhops; as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Ierida*, *Tortoſa*, *Valenza*, *Maiorica*, *Oſtia*, *Monuedro*, *Burgos*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legion*, *Tariffa*, *Almaria*, *Siuiglia*, and others.

This Country (in many places) is not reduced to tillage & husbandry, becauſe the ground conſiſts of a very ſtony earth, and is much ſquallide and filthy through deſertneſſe: notwithſtanding, in reſpect of *Affrica*, it is very fertile, and this enſueth through the ouer-great heate which is in

* The Citty Siuil in Bætica.
* The Weſt ſtar, and ſuppoſed to be the ſartheſt Country Weſtward.

Riuers in Spaine.

The firſt three diuiſions of Spaine, and how ſince altered. Bætica. Andaluſia. Eſtremadura.

* Called alſo Cæſar auguſta.

* Called alſo Vlterior and Citerior.

Of Iſlands in the kingdome of Spaine.

Nauigation.

The cheefe Ports and Hauens in Spain On the north.

On the Weſt.

On the South.

On the Eaſt.

Archbiſhoppricks, & Cities & Biſhops vnder their command.

Not much tillage or husbandry in many places of the Country.

All things necessary for man.

in *Affrica*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man: as in VVine, Corne, Fruites, Oyle, Cattell, Line for all garments, yron mettals, VVaxe, Hony, VVaters well stored with Fish, and such other like things. They make no Salt by boyling or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they haue not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, whereby the ayre is much corrupted. There is not found any Gold, Siluer, or Yron, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the Mines, but also out of the Riuers, which when they encrease by much plenty of raine; they doe produce sandes of gold, & especially the Riuer *Tagus*. There are found out in many places, diuers wels and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & sundry infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men. There is likewise great abundance of Beasts, both wilde and tame; and especially of swift horses, which were supposed by our Elders, to bee conceiued by the windes. They haue no hurtful creatures in any great store, Conies onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth. Their Riuers glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-flow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with Fish, because the Sea (by helpe of the Riuers) doth not send any plenty on land. *Galicia* is much commended for the Mines there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this Region, that by plowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold. The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiected to the Romane Empire. On the Northerly part, the Prouince is not so colde as in that climate of *France*: for it sendeth into *France*, Oyle, Hony, Waxe, Saffron, Madder, Barly, dying-coulors, Chuchinelo, Snger, Oliues, Lemons, Dates, Cedar, Pomgranats, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of wool, & muchwine, dried plums or pruins, rasines, almonds, chesnuts, bay-berries, salted salmon, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & frō thence transported to *France*.

Salt digged out of the earth.

Of Gold, Siluer, & Yron.

Gold in Riuers.

Springs of hot and cold water.

Swift running horses.

Noysome harmfull creatures

Slow paced riuers, stored with Fish.

The gold Mines of Galicia.

The Spanish language.

Commodities of the and places.

The temper and coullor of the Spaniards, compared with the French.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry, and their coullor more dun & foggy, thē that of the *French*: because they are more cold and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spanish* are. The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned men of body, thē the *French*, and in war they feed with councell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissemble their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behauiour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, liue with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words. In *Spain* there are a great number of Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, & Barons, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand Ducates yearely. The Marquesses are 20, beside the like reuennues. The Earls are 60. with reuenues from ten, to twenty thousand Ducates. Then there are Viscounts, Gouernors, and Barons, which are called *Adalantadoes*. There are great Masters of the Orders of knighthood; as of S. *Iames*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatraua*, of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montese*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand Ducates in reuennues yearely. The women go pompeously apparelled, wearing rich eare-rings of Pearl & Gold, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. When they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-seruants goe before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drink water, and so paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsom to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and lasciuious, & deliuered with effectuall gestures, especially in amorous matters. It is not many yeares since, that the people of this Prouince, hath gotten a great name of military seruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilties in Soldier-like affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fift, Emperor.

Their disposition of body and aptnesse to war.

The Princes and Nobility of *Spaine*, & their reuennues.

The Adalantadoes of Spaine. Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

The women of Spaine, their attire and behauiour.

The fame for Military seruices, of no long antiquity among the Spaniards.

Of the Maiesty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth vertuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shall hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) nested by the Moores; whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politicke body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, whereon the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The king then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdome, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the originall & succession of this kingdome.

The loue and beneuolence of Subiects is much encreased by the life of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiected to the Moores for many yeares.

Spaine in her yonger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Tetrarches, & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths, six in number, as some haue written. The *Carthagenians*, a people of *Affrica*, hazzarding their fortune thether: held one part therof, and possessed themselues of many Citties, Townes, and places; vntill they were expelled thence by the *Romanes*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman common-wealth, & reduced into forme of a Prouince onely, in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Honorius* in whose dayes, the *Vandales* (a people of the North parts) broght it vnder their command. But they (were soone after) chased thence by the *Gothes*, who established there the seate of their kingdome; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of aboue 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Gothes*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Gothes*, the Moores entred *Spaine*, in the year 715. they being broght thither by one named *Iulian*; in very despitefull indignation, and to shape out a way to his bloody reuenge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, wherof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moores possesse themselues of all *Spaine*, seizing the citty of *Tolledo*, which was then the capitall citty. So ended the kingdome and name of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Asturies* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Vnkle and Successor of *Rodericke*, had fled too for refuge, & there shut vp himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarrazins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonsus* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemaigne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moores were beaten thence a great way, and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being so formerly preserued, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expeditiõ performd by the *French*, the strength of the *Moores* was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdomes were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Nauarre*, by *Enocho*, Count of *Bigorre*, in the yeare 950. which hee tooke away from the *Moores* and *Sarrazins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the yeare 116. was *Arragon* reduced to a kingdome, by the will and testament of *Sanchio* the great, fourth king of *Nauarre*; for loue to *Ramyrus* his naturall Sonne, who was the first king thereof. This was the same *Sanchio*, who being Earle of *Castile*, in the kingdome of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

Spaine in the gouernment of petty kings & Tetrarches.

1 Tarracon.
2 Carthage.
3 Lusitania.
4 Gallicia.
5 Bætica.
6 Tingitana.

The Vandales got the rule of Spaine.

No Kings of Spaine, but Kings of the Gothes.

The Moores in possession of all Spaine.

Pelagius, Vnkle and Successor to king Roderick.

Charlemaign king of France against the Moores.

The strength of the Moores much weakened.

The kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon.

The first king of Castile.

Portugall conquered from the Moores.

The kingdome and name of *Portugall* was also conquered frõ the same *Moores*, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*; who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the yeare 1110. but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdome. *Spaine* did

did continue ſo (in this kinde of ſtate) for a long time, diuided into many kingdoms: & the *Moores* had alſo their abiding ther, poſſeſſing ſtill a great part thereof; till ſuch time as *Ferdinand*, the fift, king of *Arragon* (who was married to *Iſabell*, the onely heire of *Caſtile*) wholly expulſed the *Moores* out of *Spain*, in the year 1492. In no great diſtance of time after, he poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, inuading alſo the Eaſt *Indiaes*. But fraudulently he vſurped the kingdome of *Nauarre*, againſt *Iohn d'Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly ſay, that the kingdome of *Spaine* had her firſt beginning. They left one only daughter, named *Ioane*, who was married to *Philip* the firſt, of *Auſtria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximillian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he ſucceeded in this kingdom of *Spaine*, and other countries beſide. He was likewiſe Earle of *Bourgundy*; of *Flaunders*, and Lord of the Low-countries, in the right of his Mother. In this his marriage, was borne *Charles* the fift, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preſeruing his Prouinces very happily: and hee left for ſucceſſion (both in *Spaine*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the ſecond, who reigned three and forty years, hauing ioyned to his other eſtates, the kingdom of *Portugall*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1580. and ſo (conſequently) al that which the *Portugals* held in the Eaſt *Indiaes*, and elſewhere; as in *Affrica* and *Braſile*, which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinall. He died, aged ſeuenty yeares, the thirteenth day of September, 1598. No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and moſt chriſtian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne, ſucceeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day. He married *Margret*, daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, by whom he had a Sonne, in the Moneth of Aprill, 1606. Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spaine*, who being a good king, and liuing orderly; therfore on him doe depend the following councellers, who are ſpeciall members of gouernement, both in the Court and elſewhere.

The Moores wholly beaten out of Spaine.

The begining of the kingdom of Spain and deſcent of their kings

The birth of Charles the fift, Emperor.

Portugall added to the dominion of Spaine.

Philip the 3. king of Spain liuing.

Councellers of Eſtate Royall.

THE ſupreame aſſembly of *Spaine*, which is the very ſame, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of moſt important affayres in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Councel, ſo tearmed of the vocable king; becauſe they are (among all other councellers) as the King himſelfe among his greateſt Lords. Theſe councellers doe prouide for the peoples liuing, in all things that appertaine to a well ordered ſtate: becauſe from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations, concerning matters of Graine, taxations, cuſtomes, prouiſions, and other ſubſtantiall occaſions for ſafe being; but euermore aſſiſted by the Princes authority. Theſe councellers are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdome, & noble by blood, hauing a Preſident as their cheefe. And from theſe Noble men, being aſſembled together, do come all orders, wherby the whole Realme of *Spaine* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiences, called the Chanceries of three kingdomes, do all reſort to this councell.

The reaſon of the Kings Councelles name.

The care and prouidence of the Councell.

The Preſident of the Councell.

The Councell of Inquiſition.

IN regard of the conqueſts which the *Moores* (in former times) made of this kingdome, reformation of the people was thought moſt conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptiſme, and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this councel was firſt created, and called, *The ſacred Councell of Inquiſition*. Whereof there is a Preſident, and hee is alwayes an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, as the Arch-Biſhop of *Tolledo*, or the Arch-Biſhop of *Siuill*. He is aſſiſted by twelue others councellers, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chaſtiſement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affayres; and peruſe all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other the like buſineſſes are referred to their charge, for the better preſeruation of holy faith.

The reaſon of firſt inſtituting the councell of Inquiſition.

The Councell of Inquiſition onely for Religious occaſions.

The Councell of the Orders.

IN *Spaine* there are three ſeueral degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing euery one by themſelues, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land. The firſt and principal among all the other, is that of the knights

Three ſeueral Orders of Knighthood in Spaine. Of S. Iames. Of Calatraua Of Alcantara.

of S. *Iames*: the ſecond, the Knights of *Calatraua*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. Theſe three Orders haue (each one to it ſelfe) many Cities and Caſtles vnder their gouernment, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and becauſe their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdome within it ſelfe, therefore this Councel of theſe Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a Preſident, with foure Councellers, and theſe meeting all together, do prouide Magiſtrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foreſaid Orders. The King is the great Maſter of theſe Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of S. *Iames*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary ſtile or title that is vſually giuen him, writeth; *And perpetual Adminiſtrator of S. Iames, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of S. *Iames*; and after him, the Commendator of *Caſtile*. Theſe altogether with the King, do diſpenſe the commendums of ſpirituall liuings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

The reaſon for this councels firſt ordination.

The great Maſter of theſe Orders.

Their Office & authority.

The Councell of the Indiaes.

WHen it pleaſed God, by the means of *Don Chriſtophero Colombo*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was ſhut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for gouernment of that part (as neceſſity required) a Councell of the *Indiaes* was created, conſiſting of twelue Councellers, with one Preſident. Theſe then do attend vpon all ſuch matters, as appertaine to the gouerning of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, ſending thether Gouernors, Officers, and all kinde of prouiſion, as is fit for thoſe kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Caſtile*.

Columbus the firſt reuealer of the Indiaes.

Twelue councellers of the Indiaes, and one Preſident

The Councell of Warre.

WHen it ſo falleth out, that any matter of action is to be vndertaken, eyther for defence of themſelues, or any new acquiſition, the Councell of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Councell Royal, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Caſtile*, with other cheefe Rulers.

The reaſon of this Councels negotiation.

The ſecret Councell.

LAſt of all is the Councell for matters of ſecrecy, wherin the King is preſent, the great Chancellor, the great Commẽdator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Councell Royall, with the Preſident. Being ſet together, they giue diſpatch to matters of greateſt ſecrecy, and which do moſt import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

They haue the charge of priuate and ſecret occaſions.

Three Iudges, and the Rector.

FOr cauſes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Iudges are ordayned in criminall occaſions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do diſpatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Podeſta*, or cheefe Officers are there preſent; thẽ they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in perſon, the three Iudges doe then take order in ciuill matters. Theſe are alwayes in thoſe Cities, where the appointed Courts are kept.

After the ancient manner of the Romane Tribunes.

The three Chanceries.

OVer and beſide the fore-named Coũcels and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Vallidolid*, conſiſting of twelue Councellers, and with one Preſident. Theſe do ſit euery morning ſeparately in foure Halles, three in each Hall. The ſecond is in *Granada*, the principall citty of the kingdome of *Granada*, as being the firſt and cheefe. The third and laſt is in *Galitia*, beeing neyther more or leſſe in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the cauſes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themſelues) expedite their cauſes, without any interuention one of another. The appeales and chalendges of the *Rector* of *Granada*, doe paſſe to the audience of *Granada*; and thoſe of *Caſtile*, to *Vallidolid*, and ſo from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue ſuperiours, and for better ſatisfaction of the people, ſuch as finde themſelues greeued in the fore-named Audiences or Chaunceries, may appeale from them to the Councell Royall. Moreouer, each of theſe fore-named Chaunceries haue Rectors or Commanders,

Three ſeuerall Courts of audience, in Vallidolid, Granada, and Galitia.

The Appeales and Chalendges of each Court.

Appeales to the Royall Councell.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.

Aragon the principall kingdome of Spaine.

BEcause *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdoms, the cheefe or principall whereof is *Aragon*: the King hath and doth vsually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to gouern there in his name. They are elected and made choyse of by him, beeing first affirmed by the councell Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deseruing aduancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who gouerneth the kingdome of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was receiued from the former Kings of *Aragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdome. In *Barcellona* likewise, the principall citty of *Catalogna, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making vse of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdome of *Barcellona*. In *Aragon* also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy gouerneth by the ancient lawes of *Aragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castillian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdome of *Nauarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdome according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinando*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his councell Royall, in all their causes.

The manner and order of the Vice-Royes gouerning in their seuerall charges.

*Hispania Citerior.

*Cæsar augusta of Tarracon in Spaine

Pampalona conquered by King Ferdinando.

The Treasurer of Castile.

LAst of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receyueth the monies of all the kingdomes reuennues. Hee hath foure Contadories or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made foorth, as command is giuen by the King to the Treasurer.

Foure Auditors of collections and accounts.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdome of Portugall; *the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.*

THE kingdome of *Portugall* began in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, fiue hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry* Earle of *Lorrayne* comming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrazins*, and his high deseruings mooued *Alphonsus* the sixt king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Tiresia*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galiecia*, which was then contained in *Lusitania*.

How the kingdome had her first begyning.

Of this marriage was *Alphonsus* borne, who was the first that euer stiled himselfe king of *Portugall*: and hee was the first also, that tooke the citty of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrazins*. For he hauing conquered fiue of their Kings in seuerall battailes; caused his Armes to bee adorned with fiue seuerall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which euer after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetuall memory of his valour. But he quickly stayned this faire fame, with cruelty vsed by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope laboured the matter greatly, by the meanes of his Legate; yet could he neuer compasse his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was seuerely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Sancio* succeeded him, and after *Sanctio*, diuers other, to *Iohn*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

*The third part of Spaine now called Portugall, parted on the North from Tarracon, by the River Durus, on the South, from Bætica, by the River Anas.

The succession in the kingdome after Alphonsus the first.

This *Iohn* was (at the first) expulsed from his kingdome, and made a Knight of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*: but at length hee was re-called to his kingdome, where hee made very honourable proofe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrazins* the citty of *Septia*. Hee had seuen Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life) was

The King of Portugall a knight of S. Iohn of Ierusalem.

was termed a Saint.

Henry another of his ſonnes, was the firſt that found *Noua Inſula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the Mathematickes, liued continually vvithout a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint * *Vincent*, and there he died, in the yeare, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldeſt Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdome of *Portugall*, by meanes of his warres, *Zelia*, *Tegea*, and *Alcazar* in *Affrica*. Hee had two daughters, or ſiſters (as ſome ſay) named *Ioane* and *Leonora*; the firſt was marryed to the King of *Caſtile*, and the other vnto *Frederick* the third, Emperor, of whome was borne *Maximillian* the firſt, who was afterward Emperor, and Grandfather to *Charles* the fift. He had alſo a ſon, named *Alphonſus*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and begate *Iohn* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *Iohn*, who tooke to wife the ſiſter of the fore-named *Charles* the fifte, Emperour, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodwicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Iſabell* who was wife to the ſaid *Charles*, and had another daughter alſo, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After theſe ſucceeded *Sebaſtian*, who (in our time) fighting againſt the Moores, was ſlain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, beſides diuers other great Lords of the Moores.

Henrie, Vncle to the deceaſed King, followed him in ſucceſsion, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome ſome few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, entred on the kingdome; withſtanding the claime and title of *Don Anthonio*, beeing a Brothers ſonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & ſo outwearied him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full poſſeſſion, and ſo it remaineth ſtill in the Spaniards power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very ſame forme & obſeruation as all the reſt of Spaine hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Conſtable, and a Lorde Great Steward, with all other dignities elſewhere related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braganzia*, the Duke of *Colimbra*, the Duke of *Viſeo*, the Duke of *Traſcoſſa*, the Duke of *Barcella* and the Duke of *Auaria*. There is alſo the Marqueſſe of *Villa Reale*, the Marqueſſe of *Torra Nuoua*, the Marques of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marqueſſe of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewiſe the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Chriſt*, honoured and eſteemed much aboue all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maiſter.

Among theſe honourable perſons in this Order, a man approoued of valour, moſt ſignale for many vertues, liberall minde and courteſie, beſide ſpeedyeſt intelligence in matters of Military diſcipline; is the Lorde *Flaminio Zambeccaro*, Lord of *Caſtella* in *Campagnia*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

*A high mountaine in Portugal, called Satrum Promontorium.

The ſucceſſion of the Kings of Portugal, in their right line and order.

Sebaſtian K. of Portugal, ſlaine in the battel of Alcazar.

Philip the firſt King of Spain

Of the order and gouernement of the kingdome.

Dukes.

Marqueſſes.

Earles.

Order of Knight hood.

CHAP. III.

Of the Antiquity, Originall, Cuſtoms, Lawes and adminiſtration of Iuſtice, obſerued in the kingdome of Naples.

THE Cittie of *Naples*, beeing moſt ancient and Noble in all reſpectes, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and poſſeſſeth, euen by hir owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatneſſe of that Citty hath formerly beene, in regard that all the parts by it poſſeſſed, deriueth from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquitie, becauſe the Normanes tooke it from the Græcians, who poſſeſſed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it vvas tearmed the County or Earledome of * *Puglia*, or *Apulia*, as ſome do yet call it.

Robert Guiſcard, a verie valiant and worthy man, hauing expulſed (in a manner) all the Grecians thence, & taken *Sicily* alſo from the Sarrazins; would needes ſtyle himſelfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephevve *Ruggiero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Cittie of

How the kingdome dayneth that title by the Cittie name.

* A part of Italy, bording vpon the Adriaticke ſea.

Robert Guiſcard the valiant Norman.

of *Naples*, which till that time had beene in the Grecians gouernment) obtayned the title of King of both the *Sicillies*, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the yeare 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side [a] *Pharos*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it becam diuided from *Sicily*, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Vespro Siciliano*, the *Sicilian* Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreouer in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. seuerall Names, to wit; the kingdome of *Naples*, the Kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

a A little Isle against the mouth of Nylus, ioyning to Alexandria.

The Sicilian Euening.

A description of the whole kingdome in length and breath.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdom, with the Sea-shores & stronds; as also *Campagna di Roma*, sometimes called *Latium*, which (at this day) terminateth the riuer of *Offento* on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the sayde Riuer, where it entereth into the *Terrene* Sea, proceeding on still towards the *Appenines*, with *Latium*, and part of *Sabina*: then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenam*, now called *Marca d' Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the Riuer *Truentus* or *Tronto*, where it entereth into the bosom of the *Adriatick* maine. Which Scale or Lone, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Riuers to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from [c] *Terracina*, by the confines of the kingdome, to *Ponte Corno*, and *Ceperano*, and by the confines of *Kieti*, thorow the country of *Tagliacozzo*, to *Interdoco*, and *Ciuita Reale*, then to *Matrice*, and thence (by the riuer) to *Ascoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tronto*, the Line heere being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrhene* Sea, and so on to the *Sicilian* sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* sea, so farre as [d] *Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriatick* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tronto*, the Kingdome extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the saide sea: all which circumference, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418. miles, in this manner.

d A hil in Apulia, now called Mons S. Angeli.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the heade of the gulfe of *Policrasto*, an hundred fortie seuen miles. From the head of *Policrasto* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartinento*, so to *Capo delle Colonne*, now called [e] *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Collona*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Salento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, sixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the vttermost confines, which is the riuer of *Tronto*, two hundred miles. All which sums in this roundure (by the sea boundes) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eighteene miles. Whereunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioyne to the other part of *Italy*, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, it summeth vp, one thousand fiue hundered sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

The iust account or numbering of the miles fromone place to another thorough the kingdome.

e A Promontorie in the furtheft part of Italy, deuiding the Ionian and Adriaticke Seas, where Hercules built a Temple to Iuno, and cald it Lacinia.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latio Nouo*, that is one part, so much as is from the Riuer of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latio*, which anciently extended it selfe so farre as the Riuer [f] *Liris*, that now adayes is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Offento* vppon the *Terrhene* sea. And although in these times, there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye betweene *Tenere*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three seuerall names, to witte, *Latio*, *Compagna di Roma*, and [g] *Maremma*: yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes (so farre

Regions and Prouinces contayned in this kingdom.

f A Riuer in Campania, running by the town Minturnæ.

g The sea before Tuscia or Hetruria, called also Mare inferum.

farre as *Garigliano*) was called all by one name, to wit, *Latio Nuouo*, or new *Latium*. And in this Region the chiefe landes and Citties, are *Formella*, *Fondi*, and *Gaeta*.

Olde *Campania*, which ſtretcheth from *Garigliano*, ſo farre as the riuer[h] *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a moſt noble Citty, as well in auncient as moderne times.

Picenum, or where the *Picentines* inhabite, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the Riuer[i] *Silarus*, and the moſt famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera de Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

Lucania, called ſomtimes *Sao*, containes it ſelf betweene the riuer *Silarus*, and that called[k] *Saprio*. And therein the Cities of moſt note are *Pontecaſtro* & *Saleo*: in elder times alſo there were *Peſtum* and *Buxentum*. and among the mountaines are many Caſtles.

Where the[l] *Brutij* do liue, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the riuer *Saprio* vppon the *Terrhene* ſea, ſo farre as the Promontory of *Lencopetra*, at this day called[m] *Capo dell'arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountaines do end, which beginning at the Alpes, run all along through the midſt of *Italy*, and the verie toppe ouer the ſaide *Cape*, is now adayes called by Marriners, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the moſt principall places are *Coſenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwiſe tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and diſtinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardi*, ſo named by *Lepidus*.

[n] *Magna Grecia*, or Great *Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell'arme*, turning Northerly towardes the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartimento*, now called[o] *Herculanium*, by the Seacoaſt ſo farre as *Taranto*, where it entreth into the Adriaticke ſea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotroni*.

The countrey of the[p] *Salentines*, is on the breaſt of *Taranto*, ſo farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are ſcituated *Callipolis* and *Vgento*.

Calabria it ſelfe, which hath ſo continued, turneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, ſo farre as[q] *Brunduſium* in the *Ionian* ſea. The famous Citties therein, are *Lecci*, *Brunduſium*, or *Brandizzium*, and *Hydruntum*, now called *Otronto*. Theſe two Regions (I meane *Salentinum* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the Eaſt, betweene the Gulffe of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* ſea;) being ioyned together with one name, now adayes termed *Terra d'Otronto*, was called by our forefathers) *Lapigia* and[r] *Meſſapea*. And it is an Iſland round engirte with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brunduſium*, which are vpon the two ſeas, there is not in firme land aboue 35. miles.

Apulia[t] *Pucetia*, betweene *Brunduſium* & *Offento*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe, is now adayes (along the ſea-coaſt) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Louenazzo*, & lyeth betweene the ſandy countries.

Capitanato, of plain *Apulia*, with his extendure betweene *Offento* and the Riuer called *Fortore*, paſſeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulffe, ſo far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the Adriaticke boſome to *Fortore*. The places of moſt note, are *Salupis*,[u] *Siporto*, and *Manfredonia*, a new citty builte by King *Manfred*. It is alſo between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera de Saracini*, and *Canoſa*.

Frentani are a people liuing from *Fortore* to the Riuer[x] *Sagrus*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody riuer, on the Adriatike Gulfe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Eſtonni*, ſomtime cald *Iſtonium*; *Larino*, & *Lāciano*.

The *Peligni* dwell betweene the Riuer *Sagra*, and that called[y] *Peſcara*, ſometime *Aternus*. The faireſt citty, between *Terra*[z] *Sulmona*, and *Pentina* on the ſeacoaſt, is *Ortano*.

The[a] *Marucini* do inhabite from the riuer of *Peſcara*, ſo farre as *Tronto*, the vtmoſt ending of the kingdome, along the ſea-ſhore on the Adriaticke gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francauilla* or[b] *Frentana*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

Aboue the *Marucini*, betweene the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take beſt rooting, beginning at the confines of the[c] *Peligni*, ſo now called, and turning towardes *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Veſtini*, whoſe Citty was named *Pinna*, and now called the citty of *Penna*; the *Anniterni* and *Furroni*, of whoſe ruines the citie of[d] *Aquila* was builded, ſome ſmal diſtance off.

The *Veſtini*, neighbor with the *Precutij*, of whom

h A Riuer of Campania, riſing out of Sarnus, a hil in Picenum.

i A Riuer of Lucania, diuiding it from Picenum.

k Taking nam of Leda a City in Italie.

l People dwelling aboue the Lucani.

m A promontory of Rhegium in Italy againſt Sicily.

n That part of Italy, from Laurentum to Cumæ.

o A Towne in Campania.

p People almoſt enuironed with the ſea, neere to Apulia.

q A city of Calabria by the Adriatick ſea, it hath a goodly Hauen.

r The land of the Salentines

ſ Where Iupiter was worſhipped in Laconia.

t An Ile whoſe narrow entrance is a whole dayes iourney.

u Called alſo Sepius or Sepinum among the Samnites in Italy

x A riuer in Italy, parting the Peligni from the Frentani.

y A riuer paſſing by Feſcennum in Italy.

z Where Ouid was borne.

a A people in Italy.

b Next to the Daunii and Frentani.

c People of Italy, next to the Marſi.

d A Citie in Campania.

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Brutij*, now tearmed [a] *Abruzzesi*, was first derived.

The [b] *Marsi* dwell more inward to the Mountaines, whose most famous place is *Celæna*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marsi* and *Albi*. These sixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

[*] *Sammio*, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdome, hath *Latium* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the Riuer *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Esernia*, *Sepino*, *Telesio*, *Beneuentum* and *Bouiano*.

The [d] *Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now [e] *Auellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) beene diuided into seuen seuerall principall partes or Prouinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra di Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Which Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

[f] *Terra di Lauoro*, which hath in lands, Cities, and Castelles, to the number of 198.

Contado di Montisio, hath 108.
Abruzzo the neerest, hath 155.
Abruzzo the furthest, hath 288.
Capitanata, hath 96.
Terra di Bari, hath 50.
Basilicata, hath 103.
Terra d'Otranto, hath 172.
Principato the neerest, hath 129.
Principato the furthest, hath 164.
Calabria the neerest, hath 162.
Calabria the furthest, hath 147.

All which beeing fully summed together, in Cities, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly beene sayde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all thinges commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seuen hundred, seuenty foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdome, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gaeta*, are the Isles of *Ponza*, and of *Palmarola*. And ouer-against [g] *Nola*, is the Ile of *Desente*. At the encountering of [h] *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Ischia*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochyta*, made famous by those yong Gallants that deuised & performed the *Sicilian* Euening beside *Nisari* and [i] *Capræa*, so highly beloued of the Emperor *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerua*.

The three [k] *Sirenusse* do front *Passitano*; one of them being called *Gale*, another *Mona*, and the third S. *Pietro*. There is likewise the Isle of [l] *Lipara*, which circleth aboue ten miles, wherein are some Cities. On the Adriaticke maine, right against *Varano*, are those of *Rasata* & *Gargano*; and the foure other called [m] *Diomedæ*, now adayes called *Tremito*, but they are very little; and the two greater thereof are called, the one S. *Maria*, the other S. *Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Catizzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended within the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*.

With them might bee ranked that of [n] *Sicily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy: but that it is an Isle of it selfe, & at this day deuided from the kingdome. Notwithstanding, it did somtime partake in name with the kingdome of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleuenth, *Maufred* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Aniou*, and *Alphonsus* the first of *Arragon*, possessing both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond [o] *Pharos*. Whereuppon, when we find it written simply the kingdome of *Sicily*: it is meant of this Isle, & not of *Sicily* on this side *Pharos* in *Italy*.

In this Kingdome are twenty Archbyshoppricks, to wit, of *Naples*: which hath fiue Byshoppes vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten. Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

a So called for their Cowardice and base manners.
b Bordering on the Samnites & Aequiculani.
c Heere liue the mountaine people, betweene the Sabines and the Marsi.
d Heere the riuer Ausidius in Apulia riseth.
e Called also Vulturnum.
Seuen principall parts or diuisions, after ward made 12
Campania, accounted the most fertile & pleasant in all the world.
The generall sum collected together
Islands in the Kingdome.
g The Cittie Nola in Campania.
h Puteoli, 8. miles from Naples
i Beyond Surrentum in Campania.
k Three Isles before Lucania.
l Containing seuen Isles betweene Italy and Sicily.
m Isles opposite to Garganus.
n A famous Isle in the Terrhene sea, 618 miles about, sometime pertaining to the Kingdome of Naples.
o A Gulfe of the sea by Sicily, cald also Charybdis, dangerous to passe.
How manie Archbyshoppricks are in the kingdome and Byshops vnder them.

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrenzo* three. Of *Conza* six. Of *Cilenza* six. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brundusium* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-byshoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* six. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* six. Of *Hiponte* one, and hath vnited with it the Archbyshoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. of *Ciuita di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleuen. Of *Cosenza* one. Of *Rossano*, which hath no Byshops See vnder it. Of Saint *Seuerina* ten. And there is the Archbishoppricke of *Matera* beside.

124. Byshops vnder the 20. Archbyshops.

There are also an hundred twenty four Byshops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbyshoppricks; only the byshop of *Bisignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

Of the Principalities in the kingdome

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Prince is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principalities ther are ten in number, to wit, of *Ascoli*, of *Bisignano*, of *Euoli*, of *Melsi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Monchercole*, of *Squillati*, of *Siegliano*, of *Sulmona*, and of *Venosa*.

Of the seuerall dukedoms being 23. in number.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Andri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Ariano*, of *Asu*, of *Boiano*, of *Castronillari*, of *Noceri*, of *Popala*, of *Rocca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro* in *Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozzo*, of *Termoli*, of *Terra nouo*, and of *Traieto*, together with those of *Grauina di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

Of the Marquesates, to the number of 29

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anna*, of *Arienza*, of *Bellate*, of *Bucchianico*, of *Campania*, of *Capo Vrso*, of *Castel Vetere*, of *Chierchiato*, of *Ciuita S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Laina*, of *Lauro*, of *Sicito*, of *Misuraca*, of *Oria*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula Beruentana*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Francolise*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Triuico*, of *Turso*, of *Valle Siciliana*, of *Vasto*, and of *Vico*.

Of Earles, Lords, and Barons in their seuerall numbers.

There are in like manner, 54. Earles of State, 15. Lords, and 443. entituled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Registers, bearing date of the yeare 1521. that the Emperor *Charles* the fifte, sold many Titles and Lordshippes in the kingdom, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

The Normans gouerned Naples many yeares

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time gouerned by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie yeares, and (as hath beene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixte his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Maufredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corrodina* was dead vsurped the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Maufredo*) excommunicated him, and depriued him of the kingdome: inuesting therein in *Anno* 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Anion*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of *France*; who (first of all) slewe *Maufredo*, and afterwardes causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

The succession of the Kings of Naples after the Normans.

Charles the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerne* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very louing friend to *Petrach*. After him, the succession fel to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charls*; and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of [b] *Durazzo*.

[b] Epidamnum called also Durace, in that part of Macedon lying on the Adriaticke Sea

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betweene *Ladislaus* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Anion*: but *Ladislaus* remaining ful Patron, held it till the yeare one thousand foure hundred and foureteene: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his sister; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Arragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who troubled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the comming of *Charles* the eight, K. of France into Italy, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vncle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

The Emperor Charles the 5

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fifte, Em-

Emperor, who had the inueſtiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was ſuch a conſtitution betweene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whoſoeuer was Emperor, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the firſt, King of *Spaine*, vvhoſe ſonne *Philip* the ſecond, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with moſt ample authority, and repreſenteth there the Kings owne perſon. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his ſubordinate Gouernors, according as he cauſeth himſelfe to be eſteemed, both by his valour and authority.

A conſtitution concerning the kingdome of Naples

The High Conſtable.

Seuen ſeuerall places of Authority appertaining to the Kingdome.

The Officers or Magiſtrates of the Kingdome, are ſeauen in theyr ſeuerall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that repreſenteth the whole City, and ſpeaketh for all as chiefeſt Aduocate, is the Conſtable, or rather high Marſhall. He is the firſt man of the kingdome, and Captaine generall for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and prouideth all ſuch things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: hauing charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, prouiding tents and lodgings, appointing the Enſignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chaſtiſe, and to put to death ſuch perſons as commit Theſte, Rapine, Homicides, and other miſdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth ſo long as warres laſteth. When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he vſeth theſe words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou ſhalt expell the aduerſaries of my people.*

The Office of the high Conſtable or Marſhall.

The maner of the Conſtables creation.

The Great Iuſticer.

The ſecond Office, is that of Great Iuſticer, or Lord chiefe Iuſtice, who hath iuriſdiction as well in ciuil cauſes, as thoſe that be criminall; and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences againſt the Maieſty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *Vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and criminall, and his Tribunall is in the Court of the *Vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearely prouiſion, ſixe hundred Ducates.

The L. chiefe Iuſtice, the ſecond Officer of the Kingdome, and his authority.

The High Admirall.

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea cauſes, and ſuch things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profeſſion. Hee looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall ſeruice, and keeping of all ſuch veſſels as come into the kingdome, from vvhat parts ſoeuer. VVhen occaſion ſo requireth, and that it is impoſed on him by the King, he ſetteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall puniſhments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iuriſdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affayres.

The L. High Admirall, the third Officer, & his authority.

The Great Chamberlaine.

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, chooſe yee whether: whoſe Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgement Seate, in the Chamber called *Sommaria*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges perſon, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as alſo his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treaſurers. Hee keepeth all the cuſtomes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tenths, tolles, fines, reuennewes, and other things appertaining to the Kings perſon.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authority.

The Protonotary.

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee ſtandeth obliged to reade before the King, and to conſerue the writings and regiſters. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legittimate Baſtards. But the Catholike King hath (ſince then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Regiſters, to the Kings Chancery.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretary, and his office

The Great Steward.

The ſixte Office, is that of Great Seneſ-

Seneſchall or Steward, tearmed the *Maiordomo* or Maſter of the houſhold. This man hath the gouernment of the houſehold Royal, and to prouide all things neceſſary for life, as alſo garments for the Seruants in the Kings Court; hauing likewiſe abſolute power, to correct & puniſh all the familiars of the Kings houſe.

Great Chancellor.

Lord Chiefe Chancellour, the laſt office, & his charge.

The ſeuenth and laſt Office (of moſt importance in the kingdome) is that of Great Chancellor; who writeth the kings Letters of ſecrecie, and ſealeth al the priuiledges (graunted by the King) to any perſon. He hath alſo command ouer the walkers of Stations, the Beadles, the Studies, and ſuch like things. It is alſo to be remembred, that the high Conſtable, the Admirall, and the Protonotary, do ſit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Iuſtice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he ſitteth on a ſtoole at the Kings feete.

Their order of ſitting with the King.

CHAP. IIII.

Of a Law obſerued amongſt the Rhodians, which enioyned and commanded Fathers (ſetting aſide all other buſineſſe and affayres) to marry their daughters with all poſſible ſpeed.

Greece the Mother of ancient Lawes.

THere are very fewe people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came firſt forth of *Greece*, and are continued to this day: ſurpaſsing al other nations whatſoeuer, in the actions of Iuſtice and Policy, and among them haue many Common-weales flouriſhed, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but alſo in good manners and policies. Among the reſt, that of the *Rhodians* is to be eſteemed; which not onely eſtabliſhed great ſtore of Lawes, to render euerie man what belonged to him, & preſerue the weaker ſort from oppreſsion; but alſo concerning the marriage of their daughters, becauſe no inconuenience ſhould enſue to them, as to too many elſewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was breefely ſet downe in theſe words.

The Rhodians eſtabliſht manie good Lawes.

The words of the Rhodians written Law, for the marriage of Maides.

WE command, that a Father doe not torment himſelfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten ſonnes, if hee ſhould haue ſo many: but rather to labour and trauayle tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee ſtand in water vp to the mouth; That he ſweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horſſe; That he do rather diſinherit all his Male-children, leaue all his welth and riches to vtter abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life; onely to prouide ſafetie for his daughters chaſtity.

A verie great error and iniurie in Fathers towards their daughters.

This Law had bene worthy of obſeruation in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue; ſo many famous Families had neuer bin diſhonoured, by the ſhameleſſe immodeſties of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very wofull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oftentimes thorow greedy couetouſneſſe) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, anſwerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue cauſed them to be forſaken, and not ſought vnto by any perſon. Sometimes alſo they haue giuen them greater eſtates then either was conuenient, or ſtood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obſerued likewiſe, ſome ill aduiſed fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-ſwayed with affection to theyr ſonnes, and bearing no reſpect at all to their daughters; eyther ſuffering them to enter too farre into yeares, or elſe to bee ſhut vp in Religious houſes (by not affording them money meete for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miſerably, and (many times) as vnchaſtly, and with much leſſe honour then they could haue done, if they had remaind at liberty.

Fathers that loue their ſonnes more then their daughters.

A great fault committed by ouer-many Maidens.

The common Prouerb is, that ther are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themſelues: And the third of them is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they wil marry theſelues; and oftentimes, to ſuch as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great diſhonor of

of themſelues and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonwelth, alliances looſe themſelues, and there is nothing but reproch on the one ſide and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do ariſe, ſuites in law, and other deſperate inconueniences.

A great blemiſh to any Commonwelth.

To auoyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertiſed, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarried; For as one ſaieth very well; *It is a merchandiſe, which beeing kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouiſion therefore (in this caſe) ſhould be made, when theyr daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is, at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermoſt) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if poſſibly it may be don: for then they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruite. If they be kept any longer time, for the moſt part they loſe their beautie, and faireſt graces. They affoord (according to common naturall inſtinct, as well in beaſts, as in men, throwing all reaſon and reſpect behinde them) their affection to ſome ſuch, whom their Parents doe not thinke meete and conuenient, and (in the end) worke ſome taint or blemiſh vnto their owne modeſty. Or if they doe not; by reaſon of their frequent familiaritie with men, they ſhall be ſure talked of verie ſtrangely, which now adaies is grown ſo common and reproachfull, that euen the verie chaſteſt that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themſelues, from badde fame and ill reports.

To let them run to ſeede like hearbes vngathered.

Meete time for marriage in Maids

The manie harmes that do enſue, by the deferring of marrying maidens.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe prouide for their daughters, ſuch as are ſomewhat entred into yeares, they will refuſe the men that are thought meete for them, and made offer of to them in good diſcretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to paſſe) to ſuch a one as is vtter enemie to their houſe; compelling their parents either to forſake them, without any choiſe at all, or elſe (with much ſorrow) to conſent thereto, onely to auoide the woorſt, whereby both Fathers and mothers remaine diſcontented ſo long as they liue. Theſe warnings do ſpeake themſelues, as well vnto great perſons, ſuch as are not onely Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other illuſtrious bloodes, but alſo to Plebeians, and men of vſuall ranke, who do ſtand no more exempt from ill husbanding their children, then the other do, but are euen as ready to faile therein, yea, and many times ſooneſt. Which I will approoue by ſome Hiſtories, deriued from *Bandello* the Italian, and the Annalles of *France*.

The folly of ſome daughters in diſliking the Election of theyr parents.

Aduertiſment vel vnto great men, as alſo of meaner degree.

Adelaſia, daughter to one of the greateſt and moſt vertuous Emperors, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing liſtened vnto many Kings and Princes, who ſought his Daughter *Adelaſia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinarie beautie, as her other excellent Graces, and Royall extraction: yet hee aſpiring (as it ſhould ſeeme) at ſome greater and more nobler match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of theſe delayes, broght incomparable misfortune to his Imperial houſe which elſe had flouriſhed in no meane happineſſe. *Adelaſia* grew enamored of a young youth, a Sonne to the houſe of *Saxony*, and both of them being ſecretly married, furniſhed with ſome ſmall ſtore of money, beſide a few Iewels and precious ſtones; betooke themſelues to trauaile, attired and diſguiſed like Pilgrims, *Adelaſia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abyding in ſome ſtrange countrey, far enough from *Allemaigne*.

The Hiſtory of Adelaſia, daughter to the Emperor Otho the 3.

Alerane, one of the youngeſt ſons to the Duke of Saxony.

Thus wandering as fugitiues, to ſatiſfie their owne voluptuous deſires: at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and ſo by that meanes, were conſtrained (after long and importunate begging, trauerſing manie Countreyes) to retire into a great Forreſt, ſcituated betweene *Aſt* and * *Sauona*, in *Italy*; where (thorough great neceſsity) they began to exerciſe the labour of Colliars, enduring many ſtormes and hard afflictions, for the ſpace of eighteen years together. In the end, it pleaſed God to be ſatisfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their ſons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, betooke himſelfe to make one in the Imperiall Armies in *Italy*, & greatly reſembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be iſſued of *Adelaſia*: which being found to fall out

*Called alſo Sabatia in Liguria, a hilly country, reaching from Apeninus to the Tuſcane Sea, one way, and from the Riuer Macra, to Varus, another way.

Naturall Nobility can neuer be concealed from maniteſt apparance.

out true, and the poore retreate of the Colliars (his parents) made knowne, the Emperor pardoned them; & calling them home into *Allemaigne*, gaue them great and liberall meanes; but much blamed himselfe, that he hadde not marryed his daughter in such time as was fittest for her. The like happened to that far more puissant and great Emperour (his predecessor) *Charlemaigne*; whose eldest daughter was found paillardising with one named *Eginhard*, his Secretary, or (as some say) Chauncellour vnto the saide *Charlemaigne*.

Example of great Charlemains daughter.

The history of Iudith, daughter to Charles the Bald, king of France.

Some Kings of France haue also bene payed with coine of the same stampe, as well as these fore-named Emperors; witnesse *Iudith*, daughter to *Charls* the Bald, second of that name. Her Father refused to giue her in marriage to diuerse young *Allemaigne* Princes, of great extraction, as Dukes, Marquesses, and others: affecting (much rather) to giue her in wedlocke to a King of England, who had formerly beene an Archbyshop, a man aged sickly, and impotent, with whome she remained eight months only, and without any hope of yssue. Repassing the sea, to returne home into France, she sent vnto *Baldwine*, Gouernor of the colliars countrey, then termed *Pais Charbomieres*, but now adayes called the countrey of *Flanders*, a poore Prouince, wherto no other Lieutenants or Gouernours were giuen by the King, but such as were of smal and slender renowne. This *Baldwine* had clandestinely promised marriage to Lady *Iudith*, before shee was sent into England, he being a goodly person, faire and of absolute forme, as many of that country oftentimes are, yet of no great discent, a Gentleman in the midst of many necessities, who surprized her on the seas (she being willing enough to be so taken) & carried her home with him into his gouernment. The King was so displeased heerewith, & that iustly, that he appointed diuers forces to goe punish the rauisher of his daughter, being his owne disloyal subiect. But he was round engirt with so many Wars, as well against his Nephewes, as his Brothers, and the Danes, that he was sodainely enforced to defer his intention for that time, dying not long after, bearing no meane greefe for this rape (with him) to his graue. By means wherof *Baldwine* & she liued a long while as priuate persons, not hauing any great store of meanes for their maintenance.

Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who had secretly promised marriage to Iudith, before her going to England.

Charles the Bald, molested with many warres, dyed.

Lewes the stammerer, successor & brother to *Charls* the Bald, as much offended as the father of *Iudith*, persisted in resolution to punish these two louers. Neuertheless, by the humble entreaties made vnto him by diuers worthy Church-men, of holy life & vnstaind fame, beside diuers other great personages of his kingdome, (who deliuered liuely representation to him of the yong yeares wherin they then were, subiect to the prouocations of nature, who hath not alwayes reason for her guide, and laying the blame on hir deceased father, that would not admit her to marry, when she was so sought and sued vnto:) he pardoned them, giuing vnto his Neece *Iudith* and her heires, the country and Forrest of the Colliers, whereof *Baldwine* had formerly bin Gouernor; yet afterward depriued, & thus restored. And albeit it was a matter of small moment in these times; yet he reserued the homage thereof to the crowne of France, which homage the kings of France successiuely enioyed, vntil the taking of king *Frances*, first of that name, who quitted the soueraignty therof to *Charles* the fift, and Emperor. At this day it is a goodly & wealthy country, populous; hauing great store of faire Cities and Towns, and greatly merchandized; in regard of the sea, and diuers faire riuers which adorne the Prouince. But let vs nowe see, if Gentlemen haue stoode free from this disaster, more then Emperors and Kings haue done; it shall not be amisse therefore to alledge some, as well of *Italy*, as of *France*.

Lewes the Stammerer, purposed reuenge vpon Baldwine and Iudith.

At what time the countrey of Flanders was brought to yeelde homage vnto Fraunce.

The great difference from former times, in the condition of Flanders.

In *Verona*, a famous City of *Italy*, liued a yong Gentlewoman, named *Iulietta*, of the noble house of the *Montesches*, or *Montacutes*. Her father being not willing that she should marry, when both the decency of time, and aptnesse of her yeares made tender of themselues: therefore (in her fairest flower) shee espoused her selfe, vnknown to her parents, to a gentlemans son of another house and family, cald, the *Capelets*, whose name was *Romeo*, and the *Capelets* were mortall enemies vnto the *Montesches* or *Montacutes*. This mariage sorted vnto the lamentable death of both the louers, as you shall briefly hear in this manner. They being secretly maried, and na-

The memorable history of faire Iulietta, of Verona the Montacute, & Romeo the Capelet.

by the hand of a Gordelier or Franciscan Friar, a man most expert in the secrets of nature, who tooke great compassion on their earnest reciprocal affection & dayly torments between them indured: it happned on a certain day, that an vncle to *Iulietta*, in regard of the inuetred hatred between both the families, drew vppon *Romeo*, who (defending his owne body) slew the said Vncle, whereupon he was banished, or inforced (at the least) to be absent from *Verona*. The wofull Gentlewoman hauing made her moane vnto the honest minded Friar, vnder the shaddow of confession, concerning the irksom absence of her best esteemed friend, he gaue her aduice to receiue a little potion when shee went to bed, which should cause her to sleep for more then 30. houres, so that she shold be verily supposed to be dead. She boldly aduentured on his counsel, & her parents imagining her to be dead indeed caused her to be buried in the Tombe or vault belonging to the house of her predecessors. From thence the Friar purposed to fetch her, at a certaine houre of the night, & to conduct her (in the habit of a Nouice) to banished *Romeo*, who lived in the land of another iurisdiction, yet no far distance from the city. All this was possible & easy to be performed, for it was and is a common custome there, not to burie deceased bodies in graues, as it is obserued among vs, but in Grottes or vaulted caues. While these things were framing themselues according to premeditated purposes, it fortuned that a seruant belonging to *Romeo* came to *Verona*, to bring Letters of recommendation to *Iulietta*, & being returned backe to his master, reported the certaine tidings of her death, and that himselfe was present at her interring. *Romeo*, confounded with greefe & extremity of passions, found the meanes (in a disguised habit) before the shutting vp of *Verona* gates, to enter the city. In the dead time of night also hee compassed his intent, entering the Church with a lighted Torch in his hand, hauing opened the doores by the help of his seruant, and also the tombe wherein she lay inclosed. Hauing commanded the absence of his seruant, he entred into the vault, & after kisses infinitly bestowed by him on *Iulietta*, whom he verily conceited to be dead, he dranke a most deadly poyson, which hee had formerly bought of a very needie Apothecary, and which immediatly fel to operation, so slept hee (for euer) by the body of *Iulietta*. After her drinke hadde wrought his full power, she awaked; and by meanes of the burning Torch perceyued her *Romeo* to bee quite dead: whereat eraged with greef, and snatching a poniard that hung at his girdle, she presently there slewe her selfe. The honest Fryar came, and (as he thought) at such a conuenient houre, when *Iulietta* shold awake from her artificiall sleepe, that truely represented the shape of death: but when he beheld that tragicke wofull spectacle, let his sorrow be censured by them of best iudgement. On the morrow after, the death of these two Louers was discouered, and all matters rehearsed by Fryar *Laurence*, for so was the Cordelier nam'd. All which mournfull disaster happened, because *Iuliettaes* father would not suffer her to marry when reason required. Now I will declare another French Historie, which happened within the compasse of mine owne memory.

Damoiselle Geneuiefue, Daughter vnto *Monsieur Megrelin*, a Gentleman in ordinary in the Court of King *Francis* the 2. espoused her selfe by word onely, & without knowledg of any in hir fathers house, to one that was schoolemaster vnto her brethren, named *Medard*, a *Biscard* by nation, borne in *Bain*, a yong man of passable handsomnes, and of indifferent knowledge for his time, being about 23. yeares old. She found her selfe to be conceiued with child, and fearing the displeasure of her mother more (then) the frowns of her father, because she was a very seuere woman, forsooke her Fathers house, and the goodly city of *Paris*, accompanied vvith none but her troth-plighted husband the schoolemaster. Trauailing thorow the countrey, they made their stay in a great Borrough town of *Champaign*, where likewise he became schoolmaster, taking great paines to supply their necessities. Within som few months after their residing ther, *Medard* dyed, and fiue dayes after the death of her husband, one Euening after supper, in a publike place, declared to all such as gaue fauour to heare her, the whol Historie of their fore-passed Loue, her marriage by promise, her extraction, want of gouernement, and the iniurie

Conference betweene the holy Friar & Iulietta, what was to be don in such an vrgent necessity

The cunning of a seruant of Romeo to Verona, in the return of the former of the seruous affect.

Romeo coueth himselfe to Verona, & hid in the tome of Iulietta.

The death of Iulietta, after she found Romeo dead.

Friar Laurence related the whole maner of the tragedy

The history of a yong Gentlewoman of Paris.

The Gentlewomans departure from her Fathers house.

The death of Medard the schoolemaster

done by her to her ſeruants, deſiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and the. So, feigning as if ſhe intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about ſix weekes old; ſhee went and hanged her ſelfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire; of which miſhap, the people of the Towne ſoon aduertiſed her parents. For mine owne part, in the ſame manner as I haue ſet it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monſieur Megrelin*, who made no ſmall account of my friendſhip, and dyed with verie great greefe; often ſaying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refuſing his daughters marriage with a yong Aduocate, one of ſufficient wealth, and that had requeſted her many times to bee his wife, which ſtill hee denied, intending to beſtow her on a Gentleman.

The deſperate death of Damoiſelle Genenieſue.

The death of her Father.

In the City of *Rome*, no long while ſince, there was a young maiden (named *Lucrecia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) ſecretly eſpouſd to a yong man, called *Paulo*, ſonne alſo to another Merchant, the two fathers beeing vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiuing how faſt aged yeares came ſtealing on him; determined a marriage for his ſon, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choiſe of one meete for him, commaunding him alſo to faſhion himſelf to good liking thereof, becauſe hee would haue it accompliſhed within very few dayes. The ſonne deferred it off ſo long as vvell hee could; yet to declare ſome obedience to his father, hee craued reſpite to conſider thereof: but in the mean while, it was generally noiſed thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* muſt be married vnto another. Theſe newes comming vnto the eares of *Lucrecia*, ſhe diſſembled her inward conceyued diſpleaſure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* comming, as oftentimes he did when fit time fauoured him, to viſit his *Lucrecia* in the night time, ſo iocond and merry as at no time more; after accuſtomed kindneſſes paſſed betweene them, *Paulo* fell into a very ſound ſleep. *Lucrecia* beholding him in that fearleſſe eſtate, with a great Knife ſhe gaue him ſo many ſtabbes and deepe wounds, both in the breſt and belly, that he fell downe ſtarke dead, and afterward committed the like violence on her ſelfe. This act, ſo full of ſorrow and ſadde miſchance, came to the eare of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Chriſtian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Iacobine* by Religion, made ſo excellent an Oration to the Pope, againſt the vnkinde parents of the deceaſed Louers; that Obſequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a ſeruant to *Lucrecia*, who had beene the meanes of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iuſtice) burned aliue, becauſe ſhe had not aduertiſed the parents thereof.

The hiſtory of Paulo and Lucrecia, two Roman louers

Another marriage purpoſed for Paulo by his Father.

Affection is too full of too light credulity

Lucrecia, a Daughter of Rome, ſlewe both her huſband and her ſelfe.

If theſe Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and thoſe of meaner condition, had obſerued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had falne into thoſe dreadfull miſcheefes, which theyr owne wilfull folly brought vpon them. They may alſo ſerue as a good warning to Fathers at this inſtant, and ſuch as ſhall bee heereafter, how to auoyde ſo enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewiſe to ſuch Maidens, as hauing paſt the age of fiue and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choiſe in marriage; prouided, that they firſt make it knowne vnto theyr parents. And then if they will not yeeld conſent, they may proceed on further: alwayes prouided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And leaſt their Fathers ſhould diſinherit them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authentical rule; *Sed ſi poſt. C. de inofficioſa teſta.* The like ordinance is to bee found in the French *Code*, in the chapter of cladeſtine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the ſecond. And there may bee noted another inconuenience, which vnaduiſed fathers do incurre themſelues, that in due time, and vpon iuſt reaſon, will not yeelde to theyr daughters marriages.

How all daungers might haue ben preuented in all the alledged hiſtories.

Aduice giuen to maidens of theſe times.

A law againſt diſobedient maidens, that make theyr owne choyſe when their parents will not.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That Tyrants do liue continually in feares: and that their ends are most miserable.

THE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; euery man detesteth him; all are offended at him, and he is subiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Aristippus*, to whom the very walles were dreadfull? What that of *Alexander Pharæus*, who liued in an hourely suspition of his owne wife? What that of *Dyonisius* the *Syracusane*, who neuer durst trust his Barber, for feare least in trimming his beard, hee should cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely, *Aristomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, vntill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber wherein he vsed to sleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

Tyrants at all times and in all places are full of feares.

All things whatsoeuer, are continually suspected so much by Tyrants, that it was not spoken without good aduice; *That Tyranny is the Nurse of feare.* For it commonly cometh so to passe, that such as liue till men feare them, doe also feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, so full of care and dread, *Dyonisius* the Tyrant discouered to his Orator *Damocles*, of whom the History followeth in this manner.

Tyranny is the Nurse of feare. Horat. in Epist.

Damocles defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the presence of king *Dyonisius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his inumerable wealth & treasures, beside the abundance of all things in his kingdome. *O Damocles* (instantly said the Tyrant) *seeing my life is so well liked by thee, I desire that thou wouldst presently but taste and experiment my fortune.* Whereto *Damocles* consenting, the *Syracusane* king caused him to sitte vpon a stately & sumptuous bed, richly embroydered with gold: and before him stood Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all couered with vessels of Gold and Siluer. He was serued by many young children, endued with singular beauty, & the seruice was extraordinarily magnificient, with all kindes of delicious and exquisite viands. The golden Hall, which glistered round about him, was perfumed with vnguents of excellent odors, beside Flowers, Chaplets, and curious Nosegayes. To be short, in this so triumphant and royall furnishment, *Damocles* helde such a proud, enflated, and swolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maiesty Royall. King *Dyonisius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was instantly ouer it. There he shewed him a fayre bright Sword, which he had caused to be fastened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. He seeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horses maine, ready to fall on the least occasion; considering thereon with deliberation, and perceiuing that death was his present companion; he began to dispraise the royalty and riches of the King, desiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

History of Dyonisius Tyrant, & Damocles.

Damocles in all his pompe and pride was dismated with a fearefull sight.

Hereupon *Dyonisius* said vnto him, *Doest thou not see, O* Damocles, *how greatly thou art deceiued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long since) thou heldst to be so happy: but now thou plainly perceiuest, that eminent death is alwayes attending.* By which example we may easily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpose *Horace* writ these verses.

Dyonisius his words to Damocles.

Not the fine fare of Sicily,
Will sauour sweet and dayntily,
Nor the rare sound of the Lyre,
Nor the sweet Birdes in their quire:
All these affoord no pleasure can,
To that wofull wretched man,
That beholds aboue his head,
A naked Sword to strike him dead.

Verses translated out of Horace.

And as *Iob* saith, *The sound of feare and dreadful affrights is alwaies in his eares:* Iob 19, 14.
and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of close ambushes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iust occasion) learned men reamed them to be cruell beasts, and plagues to mankinde. In the human figure of whō is so much sauage cruelty, that *Salomon* saide directly; *A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-starued Beare ouer poore people.* Prouer. 17, 12.

And

And yet God hath and ſometimes doth permit that Tyrants ſhall reigne, for the chaſtiſement of wicked men, ſaying; *I wil take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies. God* (ſaith *Iob*) *maketh the hipocriticall man to reigne, in regard of the peoples ſinnes.* And in *Hoſea* God ſpeaketh thus: *I will giue thee a king in my fury.* And in *Eſay*; *Aſſur is the rod and ſtaffe of my fury, I will ſend thee to a deceitfull people.* Neuertheleſſe, they are not acceptable to God, who throwes them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath therewith beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies ſo falne out, that all theſe Tyrants, or the moſt part of thē, haue ended their liues miſerably, & oftentimes by violent death, cauſed by their owne friends; and approoued by conſent of all the people. But becauſe the examples of tragicall endes in ſuch Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatiſes, & experience hath made it daily manifeſt vnto vs; I may the ſooner conclude this Chapter.

Malach. 2, 9. Iob 22, 8. Hoſea 6, 10. Eſay 50, 7.

Miſerable & violent deths of Tyrants.

CHAP. VI.

A moſt horrible cruelty vſed by the Numantines *againſt the* Romanes; *and in the end vpon themſelues.*

SCipio hauing continued ſiedge before the Citty of *Numantia* in *Spaine*, the ſpace of a yeare and ſeuen Moneths, and neuer ceaſſing: munition and victuals began to fayle among the beſiedged, ſo that very many died with famine. Whereupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the firſt morſell they would eate euery day, ſhould be the fleſh of ſome Romane: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had ſwallowed the blood of ſuch as they ſlew.

Extremities are the occaſion of deſperate vowes & promiſes.

The *Numantines* hauing all ſworne to this vow, they iſſued foorth of the Citty, and like men more then deſperate, chaſed the *Romanes*, euen as if they had beene brute beaſts: and ſuch as they ſlew or ſurprized, immediately they killed and broyled in hugmonely, or being ſliced in peeces, they ſolde the by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Romane taken by them, or ſlaine, was of farre greater price and eſtimation, then to liue and pay his ranſome. Finally, the *Numantines* perceiuing, that they had no more meanes of ſupportation, beeing oppreſſed with famine, and encloſed on euery ſide: they conſulted among themſelues to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the Citty; which (without any feare or reſpect at all) they put in execution.

Extremity ſtil waiteth vpon extremity, and begetteth daily worſe and worſe courſes.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and mooueables of the Citty, the Iewels & Treaſures of the Temples, were broght together in ſpacious places, & there conſumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the Citty, without leauing a houſe ſtanding, ſuffered the very ſame conſummation; and euery man tooke a ſudden & ſpeedy diſpatching poyſon, whereby they might the ſooneſt dye. Thus the Temples, houſes, goods, and perſons of the *Numantines*, which had continued in proſperity foure hundred, ſixty & ſixe yeares, had finall concluſion all in one day. A ſight moſt horrible it was to behold, that the *Numantines* did thoſe things liuing, ſo full of gaſtly terror, and not be remooued from them at their houre of death. For they left not to *Scipio*, any goods as booty or pillage, nor ſo much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

The proſperity of 466 yeares conſumed all in one day.

Scipio ſeeing *Numantia* flaming, and afterward entring thereinto, beheld all the buildings demoliſhed, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieued very greatly, and being vnable to containe himſelfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O moſt happy* Numantia, *to whom the Gods appointed, that thou ſhouldſt rather remaine deſtroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompilius*, king of the *Romans*, cauſed this Citty of *Numantia* to be builded, & *Scipio* the *Romane*, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, ſaw the ruine of it.

The words of Scipio on ruined Numantia.

CHAP. VII.

That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought firſt to embrace wiſedome & prouidence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and alſo that after victory, he ſhold be milde and pittifull.

TO be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended by

The dangerous Office of a Captaine or Generall.

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile; and returne him off with out victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisedome hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly deuise; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

The saying of Scipio Affricanus.

Scipio Affricanus vsed to say; *That all things ought to bee essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons.* And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. *Cicero* writing to *Attica*, saith; *That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by councell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword. Silla, Tiberius, Caligula*, and *Nero*, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, *Augustus, Titus*, and *Traiane* knew no better way, then to entreate fairely and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they wold not be so ready, in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the ende) become vanquished themselues.

Cicero ad Attic.

A great difference in mens natures.

Theodosius the Emperour, when hee besiedged any Citty, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, vntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Cittizens, but daily admonished them, saying. *I grant ye the tearme of ten daies, wherein yee may preuaile with mee by fauour and mildnesse, rather then hazard the triall of my power.* When great *Alexander* saw the dead body of *Darius*: *Iulius Cæsar* the head of *Pompey*; when *Marcellus* burned *Siracusa*, and *Scipio* beheld *Numantia* flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall *Emanuell Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, & Prince of *Piedmont*, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince *Frances* of *Burbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of S. *Quintins*: All these great persons could not refraine from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obtayning victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their cases might haue beene the like.

A noble mind of the Emperour Theodosius.

A signe of a most honorable disposition in such Generalles.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther beene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that *Iulius Cæsar* carried immortall renowne among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for beeing more faire, more strong, more couragious, and fortunate; but onely because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly affoorded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine *Narses*, who subdued the *Gothes*, vanquished the *Bactrians*, and domineered ouer the *Allemaignes*, neuer vndertooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. *Trogus Pompeius* recordeth, that the most signale victories of the Romanes, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexterious, actiue, and gallant, in all seruices they vndertooke.

The reason why Iulius Cæsar was so highly renowned.

He was Generall to the Emperour Iustinian.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (aboue all other things) should be vigilant, & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army; affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discouered before they can be effected. *Suetonius* declareth, that it was neuer heard said to *Iulius Cæsar*; Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow? Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what is then to bee done.* *Plutarch* writeth in his Moralles, that *Lucius Metellus* beeing requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile; made him this

Secrecy is most necessary in martiall affaires.

Suetoa. in vit. Iul. Cæsar.

Plut. in Moral.

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is wel done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neyther ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may bee published before they are fully concluded. And especiall care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are eyther obstinate in their councels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

Few councellers in occasions of warre are fittest, and what men are to be shunned

Alcibiades, a valiant Captaine among the *Grecians*, vsed to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye then tarry; because honour commands attendance, and wisedome wils flight.* For in greatest perils, it is better that men should submit themselues to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Captaine ought to be councelled in all things, except when he meetes with a dãger not foreseene. For many Captaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselues by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling; they stood then musing, & idely called a councell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wise Captaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vse and enioy it. For if *Hanniball*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vsed his fortune, *Scipio* the *Affricane* had neuer conquered him.

A worthie saying of Alcibiades, and not vnmeete to be obserued.

How to make vse of a victorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Salique Law, the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuenters of it.

See a Tract written by Iohn Ferald, and I.C. theron.

IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Franconians* hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabite along the Riuer of *Rheine*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treues*. Now as these people were of barbarous manners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Son vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chose foure cheefe and principal men of the *Sicambrians*, who by their councel and determination, might giue a law to the people. The names of those foure men, were *Vzucast*, *Lozocast*, *Salgast*, and *Visogast*, who by authority of the king and people, set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approoued and published, causing it to bee called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Salethami*, wher it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgast*, who was Chauncellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

How the Law came to be called Salique.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath euer since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and deprived of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the King: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profites by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the Roman Law, cald *Voconia*, which was made at the time betweene the second & last war of the *Romanes* with the *Carthagenians*, and which was pronounced by *Voconius*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common-wealth, then the said law, which debouteth women from succession; which *Tit. Liuius* saith, *Marcus Cato* (a graue mã) perswaded in an Oration made by him.

The nature and condition of the Salique Law.

The Law Voconia among the Romans.

Aul. Gel. in Noct. Attic.

Titus. Liuius. Dec. 3. cap. 1.

And althogh it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuiledge or custome to the contrary. So noteth *Iohn de Imola*, on the Chapter *Grandi, tit. de simplici neglegen. prela.* to the sixt. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui feoda poss. ff. hoc autem. C. dilecti, de arb.*

This Law containeth no equitie for women.

Iohn de Imol. in cap. Grand.

Baldus

Baldus is of the ſame opinion, ſpeaking expreſſely concerning the kingdome of *France*, and ſaying, that the king of *England*, Sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and ſaith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the firſt law. *ff. de Sena.* And as I haue formerly ſaide, it hath euermore bin ſo obſerued and held in *France*.

Baldus in Leg. de Sena.

The ſucceſſion in the Crowne of France, after the death of Lewes Hutin, in a continued deſcent.

For example, when *Lewes Hutin* deceaſed, he left one daughter, wife to the Count *d Eureux*: *Philip le long*, his Brother, ſucceeded him, (neuertheleſſe) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) ſucceeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the deceaſe of *Charles le Bel*, notwithſtanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, his couſin: yet *Philip de Valois* ſucceeded him. In like maner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance*, his couſin ſucceeded him, before Madame *Anne* of *France*, his Siſter, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his deceaſe) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Renee*: yet neuertheſſe, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angouleſme*, the very neereſt in the line collaterall and maſculine, ſucceeded him as well in the Crowne, as alſo in the Dukedome of *Orleance*, albeit the ſaide *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance* his Grandfather, had held the Dukedome of *Orleance*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the ſaid *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleance* his Sonne.

Concerning ſuch lands as are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of France.

For right and iuſtice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, ſhall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the ſame Crowne is; as well in regard of ſucceſſions and acquiſitions, as other cauſes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnited to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and muſt be gouerned in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuerſall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is ſaid in the Law *Peculium. ff. de Legatij.* And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but alſo it is found in many ſtatutes in *Italy*, and elſewhere, prohibiting women to ſucceed, which is done, ſaith the Text of the Law, * *Fauore agnationis conſeruandæ, vt dignitas familiarum ſalua ſit.* And *Baldus* ſaith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the ende thereof.

* *Lib. 1. ff. vi public. ff. de ventre i ſpic.*

Paulus de Caſtro, on the Law *Maritus. C. de procur.* ſaith, that the linage and family beginneth in the males, and is conſerued by the males. And ſo it ſeemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antiſtius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius*. *Soror appellata eſt quod quaſi ſeorſum naſcitur ſeparatúrque ab ea domo in qua nata eſt, & in aliam familiam tranſgreditur.* That is to ſay. *A ſiſter is ſo called, as ſhe that is borne almoſt apart by herſelfe, and is ſeparated from the houſe wherein ſhee was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.*

Paul. de Caſt. in lib. 9.

Aul Gellius in lib. 13. cap. 10.

CHAP. IX.

Examples of ſome Letters containing ſecrecie, and ſent in ſuch manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to ſuch whom they eſpecially concerned.

A Letter ſent in the belly of a Hare.

Harpagus writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treaſon of King *Aſtiages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniouſly ſowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntſmen, the faithfulleſt of all his houſhold, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

Writing on the skull-skin of the head.

Hyſtyæus, deſirous to write to *Ariſtagoras*, did ſhaue the head of one that was his truſtieſt ſeruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne what hee would, containing three or foure Carracters, and afterward kept him in his houſe, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he ſent him to *Ariſtagoras*, willing that he ſhould cauſe him to be ſhauen againe, ſo ſoone as he was come vnto him, and ſo he vnderſtood the others minde.

Aulus Gellius reporteth, that *Iulius Cæſar*

How Iulius Cæsar wrote his Letters of especiall intelligence.

Cæsar sometimes sent him Missiues, when he had any vrgent occasion, and to some peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any sillables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and questioned, no word could be collected to any purpose, but by himselfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and secret inuention, yet familiar to such as vnderstood them.

Frontinus in lib. 3. cap. 13.

Many (saith *Frontinus*) *being desirous in actions of warre, to send their letters missiue secretly, to haue their inuentions known, and yet to auoide all meanes of discouery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and sent them as acceptable presents whereby they haue cleanly escaped.*

Small Tablets of wood couered with Waxe.

Demaratus desiring to make knowne to the *Lacedemonians*, how king *Xerxes* was armed and prepared for his iourney against *Greece*; did write the councell of the king in small Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner sent them to the *Lacedemonians*, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

The cunning of Hirtius in conueighing his Letters.

Hirtius the Consull sent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to *Marke Anthony*, besiedged at *Modena*; they were carried by an honest Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them swom ouer the Riuer *Scultena*. The same *Hirtius* likewise tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doues, which hee kept close lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to bee seene, neyther did he giue them any food; that when he should let them loose neere to the walles of the Citty (as easily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houses, where beeing taken by *Brutus*, and by the meanes of food, purposely appointed there for thē, he vnderstood what he desired.

A Letter sent into the enemies Campe by an arrow.

Paradine, in his history of our times, writeth, that when as *Rhodes* was besiedged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar *Andrew de Merail*, a knight of *Portugall*, making a shew of carefull looking to the Watch; shot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, whereby he gaue them aduertisement, in what estate the Citty stood.

Frontinus in lib. 3. cap. 13.

Frontinus hath many other examples of secret Letters, in matters of loue, of which I will relate two only, remembred by *Aeneas Syluius Picholini* Pope *Pius* the second. *Pachorus* a young man (saieth he) sent a loue-letter in a Nosegay of Violets to *Lucretia*, whom hee dearely affected. And finding no successe, wrapt another in a pellet of waxe, which he couered as a snow-ball, and so threw it in at his Mistresses Window.

CHAP. X.

A Discourse concerning the originall of the Normanes, *what valiant actes haue bin performed by them: and of* Robert Guiscardo.

THE *Normanes* are anciently descended of the *Gothes*, and vsurped that great half-Island, somtimes called *Dania*, and since *Dacia*: whereby the kings of that Prouince, were named kings of the *Danes*, and of the *Gothes*. They had a custome, that the kingdome came to the eldest Sonne, and therefore sent the other Sonnes to seeke their fortune. It came so to passe, that *Lutrocus* their king (who was not a Christian) hauing two Sonnes; according to the precedent custome, sent the youngest named *Biergostus*, out of the kingdome, albeit he loued him very dearely, and therefore cōmitted the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named *Attengus*, to whom he gaue in charge, that he should furnish him with a troope of valiant men.

Vide Saliscus Enneid. cap. 2.

Biergostus sent to seeke his fortune abroad.

An indifferent Army beeing giuen him, they came vppon the confines of *France*, and entring *Picardy*, possessed thēselues of most of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt Saint *Quintins* and *Noyon*, and for the space of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of *France*. For after that *Biergostus* was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Captaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called *Rollo*, who made three Campes, which entered *France* on three seuerall sides: the one mounted vp the Riuer of *Seyne*; the other along the Riuer of *Loyre*; and the third by the Riuer of *Gerunda*, sometime called *Garona* at *Bourdeaux*, and so

The death of Biergostus, & the election of Rollo.

ſo ſcattred theſelues throughout *France*, rauaging and burning whereſoeuer they came. Which being perceiued by *Charles* the third of that name, and called the ſimple king of *France*, and knowing alſo, that he had no meanes to reſiſt them; he treated a peace betweene *Rollo* and him, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, named *Franquon*, which was concluded neere to the Riuer of *Epta*, the King being on the one ſide of the Riuer, and *Rollo* on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that *Charles* ſhould giue his Daughter, named *Giletta*, in mariage to *Rollo*, to whom he aſſigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this mariage, and not otherwiſe, the Prouince of * *Neuſtria*, which *Rollo* cauſed afterward to be called *Nortemania*, which ſignifieth a Northerne people. For *Nort* (in the *Dacian* tongue) is as much to ſay as *North*, and man implieth *Homo*, ſo interpreted of it ſelfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of ſpeech afterward, it was called *Nortmandie*.

A peace made betweene Rollo and Charles the Simple.

* That which is now called Normandie.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in marriage to the ſaid *Rollo*, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that *Rollo* ſhould become a Chriſtian: whereto he condiſcending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by *Franquon*, Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, beeing then named *Robert*, by *Robert*, Count of *Poictiers*, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of *Rollo*, all the *Normans* that were *Pagans*, cauſed themſelues to be baptized; which cauſed Duke *Robert* to do homage to king *Charles*, for the Country of *Neuſtria*, then conuerted to be *Normandy*.

Rollo is baptized and named Robbert, marying with the daughter of King Charles.

Hiſtorians doe report a pleaſant and ridiculous acte, which *Rollo* did on the day when hee came to performe his homage to the king, for ſome aduiſed him to kiſſe the feete of his Maieſty, according to a cuſtome in that caſe obſerued. But hee diſdayning to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, lifting it vp to reach his mouth, and ſo ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his ſeate. Wherat the *Normanes* fell into a great laughter; but the *French* were offended and vexed, taking this behauiour in very ill manner. Neuertheleſſe, this deed was imputed to ſimplicity, becauſe *Rollo*, in making his excuſe, auouched, that ſuch kinde of kiſſing the foote, had beene an ancient cuſtome in his Country. About a yeare after, *Rollo* ſeeing himſelfe peaceably poſſeſſed of all *Normandy*, repudiated his wife *Giletta*, & put her to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any childe by her; in which reſpect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the marriage, without all queſtion, the Country and Dukedome ſhould haue returned to the Crowne of *France* again, as at the firſt.

Duke Robert performed his homage in homely manner.

The Duke diuorced his Wife, and put her to death.

Long time before *Rolla* became a Chriſtian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to *Berengarius*, Earle of *Beaunais*, ſhe beeing named *Pompeia*, by whom he had a Sonne called *William*, that afterward was tearmed *Long-Sword*. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and ſinfull copulation, out of marriage, and the acte committed by a Chriſtian with a Pagane, was conſequently diſabled from ſucceeding in the Dukedome. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the *Normanes* finding theſelues ſo ſtrong and dreadfull; poſſeſſed this *William* of the Dukedome, and the kings of *France* were enforced (by reaſon of hauing ſo ſlender meanes in thoſe times) to endure and ſuffer all. So that the Succeſſors of *Rollo* or *Robert*, enioyed ſtill that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

William Long-ſword the baſtard ſonne to Rollo, became his ſucceſſour in his Dukedome.

Of this *William* came *Richard*, ſirnamed *Long-ſhankes*; and of that *Richard* a ſecond *Richard*; and of this ſecond *Richard* a third *Richard*; who was Father to *Robert*, that was Father to *William* the Baſtard, which conquered England. Whereby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named *Rollo* or *Robert*, the Dukes of *Normandy*, and three Kings of England receiued originall.

The line and ſucceſſion from Willam Long-ſword.

Three Engliſhe Kings of the Normans race.

Now concerning *Richard*, the Sonne to *William*, Sonne to *Rollo* or *Robert*, hee had two Sonnes, the one named *Robert*, and the other *Richard* alſo, who beeing deſirous of glory and fame, went into *Sicily* with great troopes of men, and there they made war ſucceſſefully many yeares together. Theſe two brethren beeing dead, the *Normanes* beeing then in pay to the Duke of *Salerne*; made choiſe of a new cheefe Commaunder or Captaine named *Triſtram Ciſtello*, who hauing ſlaine a Serpent, and beeing in-

Triſtram Ciſtello Captaine of the Normans.

fected with her poyſon, dyed thereof. After him ſucceeded *Raymond*, and ſome other (afterward) elected for their Captaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, *Conte de haute ville*, who had twelue Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Godfrey*, *Drogon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to ſay, *Armeſtrong*, *Haufrey*, *Robert*, ſirnamed *Guiſcardo*, *Roger*, *Piccard*, *Godfrey* the ſecond, or younger, *Frumentino*, and *Maloger*.

Tancred and his 12 ſounes, all worthy Warriors.

Tancred with his twelue Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exerciſe of Armes, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, held then by vſurpation *Pouilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the gouernment of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in thoſe Countries. Some other places alſo were inuaded by the *Sarrazins*, who poſſeſſed *Sicily*, continually moleſting the ſaide kingdome. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Captaine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerne*, and alſo with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All theſe paſſed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* againſt the *Sarrazins*, and hauing vanquiſhed and expelled them thence, diuided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* ſurrendred the lands of that Iſle to thoſe Gouernors which the Emperour had ſent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet diſſembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Pouilla*, where hee poſſeſſed himſelfe of many places, and entring *Melphes*, there ſtrongly fortefied himſelfe.

The Sarazins conquered & expulſed out of Sicily.

When *Malocco* heard theſe newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and ſuddenly went with his Army to *Melphes*; but *William* being come foorth of the Towne, gaue ſuch a valiant aſſault vpon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chaſing him from the greateſt iuriſdictions of *Pouilla*; hee fully enioyed it, and made himſelfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Drogon* his Brother obtained the Seigneury of *Pauilla*, and being a man of great valiancy, as alſo very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day againſt the *Grecians*, and ouercame them, encreaſing his Countries daily more and more.

Melphes ſurprized by William.

About ſeuen yeares after, *Drogon* died, and *Haufrey* or *Hunfroy* his Brother ſucceeded; and after him, *Godfrey*, who left *Balegard* his Sonne ſucceſſor in the Earledome. But *Robert* being a moſt valiant young man, diſpleaſed that his Brother *Godfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expulſed his Nephew by force of Armes, and ſo helde the Counties of *Pauilla* and *Calabria*; annexing alſo *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued ſubiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent ſpirit & witty prouidence, was ſirnamed *Guiſcardo*, which in the *Norman* Language, ſignifieth ingenious and cunning: although ſome others ſay, that ſuch a ſirname ſignifieth errant and wandering, becauſe the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, ſecond of that name, hee was created the firſt Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Pouilla*, in the yeare one thouſand and ſixty.

The ſucceſſion of William in the County of Pouilla.

Robert expelleth his Nephew Bagelard.

The valiant Robert, ſirnamed Guiſcardo Duke of Pouilla and Calabria.

In the ende, *Robert* hauing by his proweſſe, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eighteene yeares) the whole Iſle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; ſought moreouer to make himſelfe Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, for which he leuied a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and Imperiall Armies twice, and vanquiſhed them. But being retired to *Caſſiopolis*, a Promontory in the Iſle of *Corfue*, and there ſurprized with a moſt violent Feauer, hee finiſhed his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thouſand, eighty two, hauing liued gloriouſly (and won many victories) for the ſpace of threeſcore yeares.

Robert ſeeketh to make himſelfe Emperor of Conſtantinople.

This moſt noble Family of the *Normane Guiſcardoes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thouſand, one hundred, ninety fiue, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the ſixt cauſed to bee guelded, to the ende hee ſhould haue no ability of producing any more iſſue by him. And moreouer, he made him to loſe the ſight of his eyes, by Baſons extremely heated, which hee conſtrayned him to looke vpon ſo long, vntill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly depriued him of ſight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vſe vnto him; becauſe none of that race (afterward) ſhould hinder his enioying the kingdome of *Sicily*.

The finall concluſion of the Norman Guiſcardoes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of two young youthes of Paris, *that trauailed to the* Indiaes, *to cure themſelues of the* Neapolitane *diſeaſe, or French Pox.*

The Chapter here mentioned, is inſerted hereafter.

Anthony du Verdier, Lord of *Vauprivaz*, in his Booke of diuers Readings, hath well deſcribed the originall of the *Neopolitane* diſeaſe, otherwiſe called the great pox, & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, diſcouered firſt by *Columbus*, in thoſe Iſlands which the *Indians* call *Haity*, and *Quiſqueia*. And as this diſeaſe is very familiar in thoſe lands; ſo is the remedy therof alſo found there, by the meanes of a wood, called *Guyaich*, whereof there are diuers Foreſts, and by the vſe thereof it is eaſily healed. Many people in theſe parts, who haue read the ſore-named Chapter, haue highly contraried it: eſpecially ſuch as haue had, and yet at this preſent, do finde no eaſe thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and euening of that decoction, hauing afterward ſoundly ſweated twice a yeare, in thoſe two temperate ſeaſons, the Spring time, and fall of the leafe, nay moreouer, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

From whence firſt came the Neapolitane diſeaſe.

Contradiction made againſt that Chapter.

For mine owne part, I dare maintaine, that the ſaid Lord of *Vauprivaz*, hath ſaid nothing but the truth, and if the greater part of ſicke perſons, infected with that diſeaſe, haue found no remedy by the wood; the fault is in ſuch as ſell it, & haue not wel ordered it, not hauing knowledge what kinde of *Guyaicum* ſhould be vſed, nor the place, nor the climate, nor by whom it is brought thence, being ignorantly perſwaded, that there is but one kinde thereof onely, againſt the opinion of ſome that will meddle with preſcriptions, not hauing bin in the country where this wood naturally groweth. Wherefore I purpoſe to make good what I write, by a hiſtory of two *Pariſian* youths, who were healed by the vſe of *Guyaicum*; not ſuch as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will ſet downe the whole diſcourſe.

The authors iuſtification of Verdier.

Many haue been deceiued in the Guyaicum heere vſde.

I being at *Paris*, in the yeare 1563. I had great familiarity with the two youths, being both borne in the Citty, of good and worthy houſes; but I conceale their names, by reaſon of their infection with that veneriall contagion, it beeing moſt commonly taken by diſhoneſt dealing with leud women, and ſo by conſequent, carrieth ſhame with it. This ſickneſs they concealed ſo long as they could, but in the end, it made it ſelfe to be knowne, by loſſe of their haire, by red puſhes appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighes, and ſhoulders, as alſo in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other ſuch like ſignes; as paine in the throate, being ſcarſely able to ſwallow any food. Now, albeit that all theſe euidences are not ſeene, in all ſuch perſons as are touched with that diſeaſe: yet it plainly appeared, that in both theſe young bodies, all the fore-named teſtimonies, and many more beſide (which I let ſleepe in ſilence) were apparantly noted.

The Author ſpeaketh this Hiſtory of his owne knowledge.

Outward apparances of that wicked diſeaſe, whereby beſt note of the ſicknes is obſerued.

In regard of theſe rehearſed accidents, which were ſo manifeſt, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this diſeaſe; and yet for more certaine aſſurance therein, they cauſed them to bee viſited by very skilfull Phyſitions and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A ſecond time, other Phyſitions were called to this buſineſſe, who applyed likewiſe the vttermoſt of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the diſeaſe it ſelfe grew worſe and worſe, riſing into knots and tophies in the foremoſt part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighes, and legs, they procured inſupportable nightly paines. For when night drew neere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained inceſſantly, ſo that the neighbors (on all ſides) heard their pitifull lamentations, by meanes whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

Helpe ſought for to skilfull Phyſitions & Chyrurgions.

A ſecond attempt by phyſicke, but preuailing like the firſt.

Night time a great enemy to the diſeaſe.

The Phyſitions alleadged, that there was ſome great extraordinary matter in

Parties of diuers complections may haue all one diſeaſe.

the diſeaſe. For theſe two young men came nothing neere to one another in conſanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, ſoft, merry, whitiſh, and of tender diſpoſition: but the other was of blackiſh coulor, ſtrong, hardy, and many times addicted to penſiueneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apiomes in the arte of Phyſicke; their diſeaſes ſeemed conformable, which neuer hapneth to other perſons, offended with the ſame contagion, becauſe ſome haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Heereupon the Phyſitions referred the cauſe of this diſeaſe (ſimpathizing ſo directly, yet in ſuch different bodies) to the venome of ſome paillardizing women, that had infected them.

The iudgement of the Phyſitions concerning their diſeaſe.

The young men giuen ouer, as no way to be cured.

But to make ſhort, after theſe youthes had endured much extremity of paines & anguiſh, as well by Phyſitions and Chirurgions, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended ſo farre in expences, and no meane heart-greeuing of the Parents, al which notwithſtanding, they were giuen ouer as incurable, & becauſe there was no likely-hood of theyr healths recouery, they daily deſired the ſeizure of death. Matters ſtanding in this lamentable eſtate, God tooke compaſſion on them and their Parents, becauſe they were deuout perſons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, preſenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of *Chantonnay*, a Gentleman of *Burgundy*, and of the *Franche Comte*, was ſent (by the King of *Spaine*) Ambaſſadour to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, who ordinarily made his reſiding at *Paris*. This Ambaſſadour was lodged directly ouer againſt the houſe, to one of the Fathers of the ſicke yong men, and both their chambers being outward, on the ſtreetes ſide; it cauſed the ſaid Lord Ambaſſadour (who was none of the ſleepieſt men) to heare the greeuous moanings, which the poore ſickly *Neapolitan* continually made, wherupon hee entreated his Hoſte to informe him, whence proceeded thoſe wofull lamentations, thus nightly made by the ſick young man. His Hoſte hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambaſſadour wrought ſo by his Hoſte, that hee might come to ſee the ſickly youth; which accordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

When the hope of man is at the weakeſt, Gods helpe is then ſtrongeſt

The Lord of Chantonnay beareth one of the young mens hourely complainings

The Ambaſſador goeth to viſite the ſicke young man.

The Lord of *Chantonnay*, well vnderſtanding whence the diſeaſe proceeded, & thoſe nocturnall heauy greeuings, ſaid, that he had ſeen many in diuers Prouinces, as in *Bourgundy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, & *Spaine*, afflicted with the ſelfeſame ſickneſſe; and notwithſtanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indiaes*. For inſtance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who preſently came thither, and had (as wel as his Lord) paſſed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his ſpeeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

Cure obtayned by going to the Indies

The Mother to the ſicke youth, after ſhe had thanked the Lord Ambaſſadour for his aduice, withdrew herſelfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Maſter of the * Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of *Chantonnay* had ſaid vnto her. He being a very learned and wiſe Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the ſaid Lord Ambaſſadour; whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had paſt through the Pikes, as we vſe to tearme it.

* The Exchequer or Checquer Chamber.

The Sonne to the Maſter of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his ſickly Companion, who aduertiſed his Mother alſo thereof, and ſhe her husband, who was a Merchant trading in ſilkes, and furniſhed the houſe of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in *France*; and heereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breefe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perſwading themſelues, that ſeeing they reputed to bee incurable; it might ſo fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their paſſage vnder the * Equator, vnder which, ſuch as fayle, doe oftentimes become ſicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the moſt part doe, of them that aduenture to the *Indiaes*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to paſſe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had beene; they ſtood bound in the greater thankfulneſſe to God. For they being daily in their ſight ſo diſeaſed, to their

The matter fully related and acquainted to both ſides.

* Or equinoctiall Circle, equally diſtant from the 2 Poles.

no

no little diſcontentment and ſhame, beſide the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any eſtate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reaſon of their ſickneſſe being ſo noyſed quite through the Citty of *Paris*. Thus theſe two Fathers reſolued to ſend their Sonnes to the *Indiaes*, eyther for their vtter loſſe, or healthfull recouery.

A ſtrange reſolution in two Fathers.

No paſſage to the Indiaes, without the King of Spains permiſſion.

Now becauſe it was not lawfull for any to paſſe thither, without permiſſion from the King of *Spaine*; Queene Mother, vnderſtanding by her Mercer (Father to one of the ſicke youthes) the purpoſed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of *Spaine*, for her aſſiſtance to the poore paſſengers, to fauour them with Paſſe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to ſuch as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being aſſiſted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Proteſtants and Catholiques, they trauailed to *Spaine*, and there preſented their Letters.

The arriuall of the young men in Spain

The Queene immediately ſollicited their licence and diſpatch: but firſt they were viſited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had ſlaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Breſile*, called by thē *Tououeinambouts*, ſaying, that all the *Indiaes* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to bee diſeaſed perſons, they were diſcharged, and going on to the Port of *Siuill*, fortune was ſo fauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound alſo for that part of the *Indiaes*, whereto theſe ſicke men intended to go; which was the Iſlands of *Haity* and of *Quiſqueia*, named by *Columbus*, *Hiſpaniola*, and afterward the Iſle of Saint *Dominico*.

All the Frēch in Breſile ſlain, by the Spaniards.

Good fortune in ſo great neceſſity.

They went aboord a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threeſcore Ducates, both for their paſſage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage ſucceeded ſo well, that although it contayned aboue eighteene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arriued there, landing in the Iſle of S. *Dominico*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they preſented their Letters of fauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to ſee that the young men and their company ſhold be kindely entreated, ſending them vnto Phyſitions, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more conuenient for them to paſſe thence to another Iſland, which was called Saint *Iohn de Porterico*, where the women there dwelling, were verye skilfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it ſucceeded to them,

The arriuall of the two ſicke young men in India, and their courteous entertainment there.

Their remouing to the Iſle of S. Iohn de Porterico.

Firſt, the Gouernour of the Iſland, by commaundement giuen him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indiaes*, lodged the young men ſo well as hee could in that ſauage Country: which was in a Lodging made with paliſadoes, or a wall of Pales, which beeing but badly ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The manner of their lodging in S. Iohn de Porterico.

The Roofe conſiſted of leaues of Trees, ſo were their Beds alſo, and in ſtead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotten: their Sheetes being of plaine Fuſtian, and all their vtenſilles of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cowfleſh ſomewhat tender, of great Serpents roaſted, which ſerued highly to their healing, and alſo on ſtrong Tortuiſes, as great as an indifferent Porket.

Their ordinary viands in the Iſle of S. Iohn.

Their bread was Biſcuit, and is much better in that Country, then elſewhere; for within the ſpace of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigeſtible. But howſoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, not to greeue themſelues, and brought a Muſitian vnto them to delight them, whoſe Inſtrument was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewiſe ſent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, ſo ſoone as they were cured, ſhe did aſſure herſelfe, that they would very well content her.

The kindneſſe of the Spaniards to them.

This Woman ſo affrighted our young *Pariſians*, that they could verye willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her meanes. For ſhe went ſtarke naked, her skin being of an

The deſcription of the beauty of a ſauage womã.

Such a ſight could be ſcãtly pleaſing to ſickneſſe, and in a place ſo deſert and vncouth.

Oliue-coulour; flat noſed, like to a little dog: her breaſts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was ſhorne cloſe before, but behinde, the hayre hanged ſo low as her heeles, all friſled, and like to the tayle of ſome ill-fauoured Cow. The nayles of her hands and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betweene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough aſunder. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet coulor, the leaſt of them weighing aboue two ounces: her vpper lip was ſlit in the midſt, in the top whereof ſtood another ſtone of grayiſh coulor, and thence paſſed her ſpettle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent faſhion, ſweete, faire, & affable enough for a ſauage creature.

A drink made of Guyaicum, or Pockwood, by the ſauage woman.

This woman prepared a drinke, which ſhe made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, hauing firſt bruiſed them betweene her goodly teeth, thẽ afterward ſhe boyled thẽ in an earthen veſſell, without any thing to couer it, and contrary to all courſes obſerued in our Countries. This drinke ſhe cauſed them euery morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a * *Paris Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they muſt walke a while, exerciſe Fencing, or ſome other cheerefull ſtirring of their bodies; or elſe trauell to a Mine of gold, which was not far off frõ the Village, ſo to weare out the ſpace of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the houſe, all ſweaty, they would change onely their ſhirts; and going to dinner, they muſt drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled ſtanding Poole, wherein was nothing but raine-water. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallypands* or Cocks of *India*, which they did eate ſodden for the moſt part. But after they had bene vſed to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very ſauory meate; beſide diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene ſeene in theſe parts. About three houres in the euening, they muſt drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vſe the ſame exerciſes. And without any other ceremony, remedy, or deuiſes vſed to them, they found themſelues to bee throughly healed, iuſt within the ſpace of ſix weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become ſwolne and enflamed. But they were made ſound, with a ſharpe-pointed bone of a Fiſh, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recouered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vaniſhed away, all their nightly afflictions ceaſſed wholly within fifteene daies: appetite came afreſh to them both, and their haire being loſt, was reſtored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not ſo much as the print of any puſh or blaine, eyther in their fore-heads, or on their breaſts, likewiſe all vlcers which they had in their ſecret parts, dried vp and were gone.

* The Pariſian halfe pinte almoſt as big as our whole pinte.

Their manner of giuing Phiſicke in the Indiaes.

Cuſtome brought them to the Countries dyet.

The young men were cured in the ſpace of fiue weekes, and their former ſtrength perfectly recouered.

They perceiuing themſelues to be thorowly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coyne, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie; purpoſed to begge it of her, not doubting but eaſily ſhe wold giue it him. But it fell out farre otherwiſe, for ſhee refuſed the Gold, and would by no meanes touch it, but ran into the houſe, and took a Bow and Arrowes, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made ſignes of amity towards them, and cauſed him to ſpeake to the woman, becauſe they vnderſtood not her language. Conference by ſignes hauing paſt betweene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that ſhee would be payed in ſome ſmall wares or trifles. They not knowing where they ſhould ſo prouide themſelues, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profeſſion of ſelling ſuch things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Sols) they bought theſe following trinkets. Six very bigge Combes, ſix little kniues, ſold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their ſheathes, ſix ſmall looking-glaſſes, a dozen of points, ſixe needles, a glaſſe ſpoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Wherwith ſhe was extraordinarily pleaſed, & tooke her-

Their grateful mynde towards the ſauage woma

The danger of the curiouſ youngmen, by the treacherie of a Spaniard

Trifles and matters of ſmall value, yet pleaſing to the eie, are beſt welcome to the Indians

her selfe highly beholding to them. She presently sung a Song, after her countrey manner, made them a Feast, wherin were serued foure small *Guinny* hennes boyled, two Toads very fat, vnbowelled and roasted. They dranke a Beuerage, made of Turky wheate, passable enough. And afterward, she gaue them halfe a dozen of Bowes, and some store of Arrowes, to beare away with them homeward; beside she gaue to each of them, fiue Hand-kerchers of Cotton, properly made.

The Sauage womans thanksgiuing to the two young men.

They returned thence to the Island of Saint *Dominico*, where they presented themselues vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recouered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sickenesse by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselues in *Spaine*. Being entred their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Siuill*. Thence they went to *Madrille*, humblie to thanke the Queene, who gaue them Letters and Passe-portes, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertayned by their parents and friends, who did conceale their voyage and sickenesse, so much as in them lay.

Their returning vnto the Vice-roy at S. Dominico, & their saying homeward.

Their coming to Paris, and welcomming by their parents.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whol aduenture, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physitians heere, may trauaile for their recouery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are prouided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a worthie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong: I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyacum*, which healed these two young *Parisians*.

Their condition at this day in their owne Country.

CHAP. XII.

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum *that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselues do make vse, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.*

AS God hath beene, is, and euer-more declareth himselfe to bee good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitantes of the whole Countrie of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the meanes whereof they can cure themselues, which they attayned vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The Spaniardes which had conquered those countreyes, hauing co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the Indians; as Fellons or VVhitlawes, and Feauers do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recouered themselues by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning, rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to preuent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his solidity could not rotte or perish. And our Physitians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the breuage or drinke made thereof, they fayled in annointing (oftentimes) the diseased body, with hotte Oyntments, compounded with Quick-siluer, wherby some of good habitude, perceiued themselues to be cured, and others not.

The great mercy of God to the naturally infected Indian people.

Spaniardes were the first th tooke the pox of the Indian women.

The want of knowledge in som Phisitians.

Now, by that which I coulde gather, from the discourse of these two young *Parisians*, the olde *Guyaicum*, which is brought hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the Indians any way vse it. And our deceiued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

The Authors obseruation by report of the two Parisians.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of thoſe great trunkes, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They alſo perſwade thēſelues that there are two kindes of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Neuertheleſſe, they are both of one tree, inſomuch as that which hath no blackneſſe, is of the branches, and euermore the oldeſt, albeit they take it for the yongeſt. Theſe young *Pariſians*, beeing of good and apprehenſiue ſpirits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had very little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyuing the leaſt eaſe thereby.

There is but one kinde of Guyaicum onely.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, ſomewhat tender, hauing hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher thē the ſtature of a man, did heale very eaſily. For in the making thereof, there would bee felte and perceiued, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleaſing vnto the heart, which is not to bee found in that made heere among vs. And they concluded, that the drineſſe and coldneſſe of the trunkes of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only cauſe, why ſuch an irkeſome diſeaſe cannot bee cured.

Trial of Guyaicum by the Pariſians experience both heere, and in India.

Yet do I not inferre heereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath ſome power and vertue: as in preparing the bodie (to receiue the vnguents fit for the diſeaſe) that is of a cold or melancholly nature, and hauing made vſe thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the Vnguents. Or elſe, when one is ſuppoſed to haue that ſickneſſe, and there remaineth paines or aches in ſome parts of the body, or ſome Vlcer is feared: ſome haue beene obſerued, that by the vſe of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be found. Some alſo haue beene ſore afflicted, yea, diuers times left in deploreable condition; yet hauing made vſe hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyacum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Atturney of the Parliament at *Rouen*: but this is very rare and extreamly painfull.

Some vertue in the olde Guyaicum, & how it is to be applyed in that il diſeaſe.

Some forſaken, yet ſoundly cured by the olde Guyaicum.

The voyage to the *Indiaes* ſeemeth not ſo dolorous, nor yet ſo greatly chargeable: for theſe two young *Pariſians*, of whome wee made mention in our precedent Chapter, it coſt but three hundred Crownes betweene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groome or ſeruant to attend them both.

The Pariſians charges in their voyage.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not ſerue onely for the Pox, or thoſe offended therewith; but likewiſe for all perſons ouer-abounding in moyſture, or that haue diſeaſes cauſed by ſome cold humors. Alſo for ſuch as haue opilations in the Liuer, Spleene, and other of the bowels, cauſing them to ſweate after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and eaſe alſo thereby; as ſome touched with palſies; others that haue had ſwolne legs; others with vlcers ſubiect to certaine times; and defluxions, deaffenes, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themſelues thereby to be releaſed. But people offended with hectique Feauers, muſt keepe themſelues from any way vſing it. I will now deſcribe the forme of this Tree.

Concerning the decoction of Guyaicum, and how it auaileth for diuers other diſeaſes beſide the pox

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and groſſe, as are the Oakes in theſe our countries, hauing the Barke or Rinde of blackiſh coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then Ibony, and the rinde ſeparateth it ſelfe very eaſily from the trunke, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like thoſe of Plantaine, but they are much leſſe, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing within it ſtones, like to thoſe of a Medlar: no vſe hath beene made of the fruite, ſo farre as I can learne, and yet there muſt needs be ſome vertue in them. Thus you perceiue what I know, and haue vnderſtood, concerning the Wood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof, many heere among vs haue found themſelues to be deceiued; by thinking that it had the ſelfe-ſame faculties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indiaes*.

A Deſcription of the tree called Guyaicum according to the diligent paines of the Author

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preserued in our Countries, as it hath beene, and still is in Egypt. *Also in what maner our Lands and Vines should be corrected and qualified, without dunging. With many remedies, for the preseruing of our Corn from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.*

Coniectures concerning the long Keeping of Corn in Egypt.

SOme haue supposed, that such seuerall kinds of corn as were kept for the space of fiftcene daies, or thereabout (safe and soundly) in the ro all Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of *Ioseph*, to prouide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for seuen yeares after follow, according as he Prophetically foretold; came to passe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I must needs confesse, that there was there both great abundance, and as great sterrility of Corne, in the seuen consecutiue yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there fiue and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes prouided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating: neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermines, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreyes, and the cause thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The Grain or Corne of Egypt may bee kept hundreds of yeares and more.

The reason why our Corn cannot be preserued for any long time.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyptians neuer vsed to fatten their groundes, but contented themselues with such manurage, as the soyle it selfe, and *Nylus* ouerflowing them, onely affoorded neuer vsing any dung, as heere we do, neyther Vrines, Leystals, and other excrements of beasts, which is the onely cause, vvhy our Graine cannot be preserued; but is subiect to Wormes, VVeeuilles, Mites, and other small creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yeeldeth no sauoury taste, neither can bee kepte in goodnesse for any long time. *Hippocrates* seemeth to be of the same opinion affirming, that such as vse breade made of Corne, which any dunged ground hath yeelded, they cannot liue so healthfully, neither so long a time, as others, feeding on the contrary. *Hip. in l. c. 17*

Lands that are dunged, doe not yeeld such plenty of Corne, nor so sauoury, as others.

Some one may say vnto me, thē what shall we do in these countreyes, where if our fields be not manured and dunged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the best) very little? Is it not apparant euery where amongst vs? That there are verie good meanes whereby to franke and fatten grounds, with other things then dung and filth, *Hesiodus* plainly enstructeth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he sayth: *There is nothing better, to cherish & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of* * Lapines, *the chaffe of Chiches, of Beanes, of Tares, Lentilles, and other such like, vtterly reiecting all vse of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputations.* *Hesiod. in lib. de Agricult. cap. 5.*

* A kinde of Pulse, so called

Of this opinion also, *Liebaud* appeareth to bee, in his Booke called *Maison Rustique*, or the Countrey Farme, where he saith; *Instead of dung, they may vse the straw of Lupines, hacks or cut small. Or else to sowe the ground with Lupines, and other Pulses, and afterward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will serue for dung, much better then that of any beast.* *Liebaud in 4. lib. de Maison Rustique, cap. 10*

Another maner of manuring ground, by Heath, Broome, Bryars, &c.

There is mention also made, of another kind of manuring the ground, which is not so good as the precedent, alledged by *Hesiodus*; but approaching somewhat neere it, as thus. To cut some store of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bushy stalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all those Lands therewith, which are intended to be sowen: there let these seuerall matters ly drying about the space of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them bee set on fire, and so carefully tended, that they may bee altogether reduced into ashes, by kindling the fire still where it would not fasten. Afterward, let those grounds be Tilled after one maner onely, and then sowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry wil cause great quantity of Corne, which the poore make vse of in many places, where they haue no Cattle:

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great moyst graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to Nylus.

Here it is to be remembred, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on eyther side three or foure Leagues in largenesse, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulses, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Heards of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, also their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner) manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

Dung is verie hurtfull for Vines.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well imployed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of seedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eate, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Whereby ensueth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and Weeds, then of good Corne; because they take away his true vertue of nouriture, and do meerely smother it.

Dungs doe engender many wilde and vnwholsome hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

Seruius in Com. sup. Eneid. 1. 3

Seruius hath left written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Æneides*, that the man was named *Pitunius*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinium*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These few notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselues in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of grounds & Vines, but they neuer approued the vse of dung.

The Author excuse on their behalfe, that despise his Counsell.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoeuer *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our grounds and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, foule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome: in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vppon the sodaine.

Knowledge in the diuersitie of dungs, for their good nesse or badnesse.

Therefore, I wil now set downe vnto you some certaine receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermine, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoeuer, they doe dailie encrease and augment diseases amongst the people.

Concerning the husbandrie fit for Vines.

Heere I must not ouerpasse, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then grounds bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower *Lymosine*; about *Lymoges*, and else-where. The dooing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the sauour of the sayde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becomming fat and Oyly, are easie to turne of themselues. Moreouer, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberall of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

Of bringing Corne in sheaues into the Barne.

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaues into the Barne, the said sheaues be very dry, and free from al moisture. Next, not to lay them on the earthen floore, without there bee some dry boords betweene the Corne and it. Then that there bee no muck-hill, or lakes, eyther in the Barne, or neere it: for ill sauor will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and aboue all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Barnes, as in the most part of *Languedocke*; then order must be taken, that the Stacke of Corne be (at least) so wel couered and enclosed, that no raine may get power of entrance, for otherwise, the Corne will sproute it selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

Of places where no Barnes are vsed.

What care is to be vsed for prouiding a good Garner, or Corne-loft.

After that the Corne is threshed, and meete to bee laide vp in the Garner or Corne-lofte, choise must be made of one that receiueth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the Southerne blasts, and those leaning that way, by no meanes to enter it. The couerture ouer head, need no great costlinesse, because of the ayres easier entrance thorow the Tyles, or other sheltring, that the Corne may not be heated or chafed. The floore may bee of earth, or pauing tyles; and the walles of whited morter. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoyde ouer-heating; remouing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Moneths. The Garner must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noysome sauour, or any such vnfit being; from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

For the roofe.

For the floore and walles.

Corne-heapes

Scituation of the Garner.

The planchers and walles of the Garner, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vineger, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue beene boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumbers, the pithe or graine of Coloquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxe gaules; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truely tried, that no Weeuils, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene vsed. And they that scorne to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneathe, aloft, and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernewood, or dried wilde Marierome. Or else annoint the walles and planchers of the Garner, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps vrine. To salt-powder the ground vnderneathe the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeeuils.

How to auoyd vermine that do great harm to Corne.

An easier way for such as can take no paines.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or warming, ouer and beside our forenamed remouing, let there bee layde vnder euery ten Bushels of Corne, one of Millet; or if it be mingled therewith, it is easily separated afterward with a raunging Siue. Salt-Niter and the scum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preserueth them wonderfully, as also frō sprouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse thereof, to their no meane profite. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies, if he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Propher *Ezechiell*, That hee will preserue the goods of them that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise; That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with vermine, that hoorde them vp, to get great gaine by them, and hurt the people vexed with famine.

How to preserue the Corne from heating and chafing.

Ezek. 37, 10.

CHAP. XNII.

Of the great difference, which both Ancient and Moderne Writers haue obserued to be, betweene the Royall title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a Tyrant.

BEfore I begin to describe the difference, that is betweene a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to bee a matter most conuenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

The definition of a King, or him that holdeth the estate and dignity Royall.

ture, as he desireth his Subiects to bee towards him: forsaking naturall liberity, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I obserue in this definition, that Subiects ought to bee obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraigne Maiesty. The King also ought to bee obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say; to gouerne his Subiects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to be seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall marke or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and plyable to the lawes of nature; as hee wisheth his Subiects to be obeysant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God aboue all things, be pittifull to the afflicted, prouident in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in aduersity, firme in his word, wise in his councell, carefull of his subiects, succourable to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

The note or marke of royalty.

What things are possible in a King.

A Tyrant is such a man, as defileth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subiects, euen as if they were his slaues, and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is Greeke in his owne propriety, and was honourable, signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Cittizens and Subiects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, although he were a most wise and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dyonisius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dyonisius* the tyrant, to *Plato* greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked, it euidently appeareth heerein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the seuen Sages of *Greece*, were called tyrants, for hauing seized the Estates of their Countries.

The definition of a Tyrant, & what the signification of the word Tyrant implyeth.

Who were called tyrants in elder times

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had inuaded and obtained the Soueraignty, perceiuing that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their enemies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose paiment of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leuied. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wiues. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and malliced. For wee reade, that *Dyonisius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallyes, readily hyred and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subiects as were vnder his seruice; he wrung & griped his people in so small an Island, whereof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and sixteene Italian miles in all.

Gripping and insulting Tyrants were compelled to entertaine Guards for their owne safety.

The cause why Tyrants were mostly hated.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some-what more easily to be knowne.

Weakenesse in some iudgements betweene a good King & a Tyrant.

The most notable difference betweene a King and a Tyrant, is; that the King cōformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neyther God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh whatsoeuer he doth, serue for the weale publike, & tuition of his Subiects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profite, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subiects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publike Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure

The apparant and best noted differences betweene a Royall King & a Tyrant, in very small obseruations.

Of publike benefit.

Pardoning iniuries.

Of womens honour.

to

to be aduiſed in all freedome and liberty, and will be wiſely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more irkeſome to the other, then the counſell of a graue and vertuous man.

Of generall vnity. The one ſtriueth to maintaine his Subiectes in peace and vnitie; but the other mooueth dayly diuiſions, to make the one part ruinate the other, and then to fatten himſelfe with their Confiſcations.

Of affability. The one, delighteth to bee ſometimes ſeene, and heard of his Subiectes; but the other euer-more hydeth himſelfe from them, as from his enemies.

Of Loue. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subiectes Loue,

Of Feare. but the other of their Feare. The one, neuer feareth, but for the wel-fare of his people: but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

Of Taxations The one, will not charge his ſubiects more then needes muſt, remembring alwayes the publique neceſſity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth theyr bones, and ſucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them.

Of honeſt ſeruices. The one ſearcheth out men of beſt condition, to imploy in publike Offices; but the other imployeth none but Theeues, and moſt wicked perſons in his ſeruice, like to Spundges.

Of free-giuing Offices. The one maketh free gifte of eſtates and offices, to auoide concuſſions, and crowdes of people; but the other ſelleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Theftes; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for theyr vvealth, becauſe he would be reputed a good Iuſticer.

Of Law. A King meaſureth his actions and maners, by the foote of the Law: but the tirant maketh the Law to ſerue his maners.

Of peoples loue. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people: and the other generally hated of them all.

Of Warre. The one hath no other recourſe in war, but to his ſubiects: but the other, will make no warre but with them.

Of Guardes. The one, hath no Guards or Garriſons but of his owne people: but the others defence is onely in ſtrangers.

Of Peace. The one delighteth in an aſſured repoſe and tranquility; but the other languiſheth in perpetuall feare.

Of happy life The hope & expectation of the one, is euerlaſting life in bleſſednes: but the other cannot auoid eternall puniſhment.

Of a happy death. The one is honored in this life, & deſired again after death: the other is infamous in this life, and torne in peeces with ſhame after death.

But becauſe the continuation of this chapter might ſeeme ouer-tedious to the Reader, if I ſhould verify al theſe relations by hiſtoricall examples, I wil refetre ſuch as are willing to take the paynes, to reade the hiſtories themſelues, both in Greeke, Latine, & other languages, wher they ſhal find that to be moſt true, which hath bin ſpoken of Kings and Tyrants. The Concluſion.

CHAP. XV.

In what high account and eſteeme, Philoſophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences ſoeuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.

WE need not now complaine, that in theſe dayes of ours, there is ſuch want of excellent ſpirits, in all kindes of Arts and Sciences: but if we ſuruey with more wary iudgment, we ſhal plainely perceiue, that there are learned men enow, who may iuſtly find fault, that neither they are in ſuch eſteeme, or any way ſo well recompenced of Princes in theſe times, as many worthie men vvere heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in thoſe famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Inſted of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iuſtice of their reaſon, I will lightly paſſe ouer; & in ſted of long ſpeaking, onely remember ye with ſome hiſtories and examples of Famous Potentates in former ages, who wer Friends, and Nurſing fathers to Philoſophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions beeing compared with thoſe of theſe dayes, it may bee knowne, whether they haue cauſe to complaine, or no, in a caſe ſo highly importing. A great cauſe of diſcouragement to learned men.

And firſt of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain *Pompey*, who (as we read) after he had vanquiſhed the puiſſant king *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and aduentures in war, coming to *Athens* with al his warlike furniſhment, ſuch as the *Roman* Conſuls and Captaines vſed to haue borne before thē: he was aduertiſed that *Poſidonius* the Potentates & Princes of elder times. Pompey, his victory againſt Mithridates.

Philosopher lay sicke in his bed. Being desirous to go and see him, he would not onely honor him with his personall Visitation; but when he came neere the door of the house, he caused his Standards and Imperial Ensigns to march in before him. For it was euermore his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himselfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greatest Potentate then liuing.

Dyonisius the Tyrant, king of Syracusa.

Dionysius the Tyrant, king of *Syracusa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philosopher, that he would come & see him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere approching, he went to meete him on the way, causing him to sit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horsses. Such was the reputation which wise and learned men had in those times.

Alexander the Great.

When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vtter ruine & subuersion of the *Thebans*, he gaue especiall charge first of all, that no man should touch the house of the Poet [l] *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly standing. If I should tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and esteemed by *Octauianus*, it is a matter so perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. According to *Pliny* in his seuenth Booke, whensoeuer he entred into the Theater, there to deliuer some of his Verses, all the people would stand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet, did yearly solemnize the day of his Natiuity, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and presents daily giuen him by *Octauian*, *Mecanas*, and many more, were so great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) saith, that his goods (in very short time) amounted to the value of sixe thousand *Sestertiaes*, which arise vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenall* in his 7. Satyre saith, *That he was one of the richest men in those dayes.*

l A famous poet of Thebs

Plin. lib. 7. Virgill was the most excellent of all Latine Poets, sonne to Maro and Maia, and borne in Mantua.

Seruius in lib. 6 cap. 4.

Iuuen. in Sat. 7

Vpon a day, in the presence of *Octauian*, and *Liuia* his wife, the mother vnto [m] *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vttered certaine Verses of his bookes *Æneidos*, and comming to the end of the sixt Booke, where hee discourseth most elegantly of *Marcellus*, lately dead before; the hart of the mother became so strangely and passionately moued thereat, that she fell into a swound, not hauing any power to heare the rest. But being reuiued to her selfe againe, she cõmaunded, that for each of those whereof shee had lost the hearing, *Virgill* shoulde haue ten *Sestertiaes* giuen him. The remainder (which she heard not) being one and twenty verses in number; the valewation of his reward, contained the summe of 5000. Ducates, of our instant money.

m Not he who had bene fiue times Consul, but young Marcellus, that should haue bin heyr to Octauian.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracusanes* had some *Athenian* prisoners, that could rehearse (by heart) certayne verses of [n] *Euripides* the Greeke Poet, and dayly pronounced them; by which occasion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne country. *Scipio* the *Affrican*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars) the Statue of [o] *Ennius*; and when he died, he tooke especiall order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, caused [p] *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spaine*) to bee made three times Consull of *Rome*, as *Martiall* witnesseth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Augusto Piathura.*

n An excellẽt Tragical poet in the time of Archelaus K. of Macedon.

o An olde Latine poet borne at Tarentum, and brought vnto Rome by Cato the Censr.

p A worthie poet, borne at Italica in Spaine. *Mart. in Epig.*

But I know not what to say, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Politian*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to speak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronsard*, *Bellay*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will answer me, their hopes may bee to come hereafter, because some of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wisedome and vnderstanding, and worthy to bee equalled with many of former times. But because I see so little respect, let vs goe backe againe to those renowned Ancients. King *Mithridates* held *Plato* and his learning in so high reputation, [q] being desirous to haue his statue; sent to find out [r] *Syllanion* to performe it, because he was a most excellent workeman. For in those dayes, the greatest honour that could be, was (in publike places) to erect Figures & Statues: yet none might be permitted, except it were of some worthy man, made famous, and knowne by some vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cause the men of *Athens* made one of *Demosthenes*, with a title of the

Poets of our moderne & later times, whereof some are yet liuing, or died very lately.

The loue of K. Mithridates to Plato & his learning.

q A famous Caruer.

The honour done to learned men in elder times.

the very greateſt honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and theſe were the words of the inſcription. *If the power and ſtrength of Demoſthenes had bin equal to his ſpirit, wiſedome, and learning: the King of Macedon could neuer haue ſurmounted the Greekes.*

The inſcription on the Statue of Demoſthenes.

Ioſephus the Iew, being one in number amongſt the captiues of *Ieruſalem*, was brought priſoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithſtanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the Iewes Antiquities, they reputed him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* conſidering the wiſedome of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ſcholler vnto *Theophraſtus*, cauſed his ſtatue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were ſo highly honoured, doubtles they were as well rewarded. For *Atheneus* writeth in the 9. book of his *Gymnoſophiſts* that *Ariſtotle* for his Booke *de Animalium* receiued of *Alexander* 800. talents: which of the currant money now in *France*, valeweth foure hundred & foureſcore thouſand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight book. There he declareth, that *Alexāders* deſire was ſo great to haue this book performed by *Ariſtotle*, that he ſent many thouſands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Aſia*, with letters and expreſſe commandement, that they ſhold be obedient to whatſoeuer hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fiſhes, and all the like exerciſes, becauſe they ſhould know & vnderſtand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, & then to aduertiſe *Ariſtotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Homer*, the very beſt of Greek Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to bee preſumed that he wold haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Ariſtotle*. Becauſe when a cheſt or Casket was preſented vnto him, wherein K. *Darius* kept his moſt precious Vnguents, the Cheſt being very pleaſing to him, he ſaid; *I will make this Cheſt the keeper of far richer treaſure*: and preſently hee did put therein the Workes of *Homer*, which he euermore tooke great delight to reade in continually.

Ioſephus was brought priſoner to Rome.

A notable Philoſopher, that for his vertues gouerned the Athenians ten yeares.

Atheneus in Gymnoſ. lib. 9.

Rewards giuen to lerned men.

Plin in l. 8. ca. 3

Alexanders earneſt deſire of Ariſtotles book of creatures.

Homer the beſt of all the Grecian Poets.

The words of Great Alexander, of Homers Iliads.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning onely, did ſo eſpecially honour the Philoſopher *Dyon*, that when he rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre; hee would haue him to ſit neereſt vnto him in his owne Chariot, and ſo ride on along with him thorough *Rome*, making it his triumphall entrance.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octauius* made in Egypt, againſt *Mark Antony*, hee ſayde; *That hee did forbeare to deſtroy Alexandria, for the reſpect hee bare to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philoſopher*[a] *Arrius*. The ſame Emperor alſo, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely becauſe hee was a moſt elegant Poet.

[a] Whoſe birth place was in Alexandria.

Suetonius in the life of *Veſpaſian*, ſheweth, what rewardes were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he ſayth, *Although Veſpaſian was taxed with couetouſneſſe: yet notwithſtanding, he greatly fauoured exerciſes and Artes, and gaue as penſions to each Maſter of them, ſuch quantity of golden peeces, as being reduced to the ſummes of our moneyes* (according to *Beroaldus* and *Budæus*) *their ſtipends valewed two thouſand and fiue hundred Ducates*, but as ſome ſay Crownes.

Sueton. in Vit. Veſpaſ. Of the Emperor Veſpaſians rewards to Learning.

By the Teſtimony of *Pliny*, in his ſeuenth Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of [b] *Iſocrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very eaſily perceyue, in vvhat account and eſtimation the learned were then. For hee ſayeth, that this *Iſocrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which valew (according vnto our preſent computation) twelue thouſand Crownes.

Plin in l. 7. c. 9.

[b] A famous Oratour of Greece, Scholler to Plato.

We finde it likewiſe written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Sonne vnto *Seuerus*, that hee gaue to *Appian*, ſo many Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verſes in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kindes of Fiſhes.

Sucton. in vit. Imp. Antonin.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that [c] *Auſonius* compoſed well in Verſe: gaue him (onely for his deſert that way) the Conſulſhippe, which was the verie greateſt dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

[c] Not the ſon of Vlyſſes and Calipſo, but an Italian Poet borne.

Domitian, albeit hee was a moſt wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet [d] *Euſtathius*. And in a ſolemn Feaſt, hee cauſed him to ſit at his Table, Crowned with a Garland of Lawrell; where-with all our graue Elders vſed to Crowne their Poets. *Seleius Baſſus*, a Ly-

[d] Hee wrote the Hiſtorie from Eneas, to Anaſtaſius the Emperor.

rick Poet, was much commended by *Veſpaſian*, with no leſſe honourable wordes then others, and alſo had in giftes great ſummes of money. [h] *Arrianus* for the hiſtorie which hee wrote in Greeke, of the actes of *Alexander* the Great, but more eſpecially, becauſe he was a very Learned man; was made Conſull of Rome by *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. Nor were theſe learned men thus honoured during their life time, but alſo after their death. As may bee noted by *Ptolomy*, who was King of Egypt, who made a Temple and Statue to *Homer*, as he did to his other Goddes. For *Virgil* likewiſe, there was a Statue erected in *Mantua*, long time after he was dead. The excellent Poet *Horace*, althogh we are not certaine how wealthy he was; yet notwithſtanding, he had great dignities of *Octauius* in *Rome*.

I could produce many examples vnto this purpoſe, which I forbeare, onely to auoide prolixity. But heere, if any man ſhall obiect vnto me, that wiſe and Learned *Seneca* dyed by the command of *Nero*; I anſwere, it was moſt bloodye *Nero* that did it, not any defect in his learning, and before his death, he attained to great dignities and honours in *Rome*, onely by the meanes of his Learning. It is an olde, but a true Prouerb; *That Honors and giftes, are both the makers and maintainers of Arts*. Therefore wee finde, that in thoſe times when Emperors and Kings fauoured ſtudies and learning; there wanted then no ſtore of Learned men. As in the daies of *Octauius*, *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Antoninus*. For our modern times, when the Emperor *Sigiſmund* liued; *Robert* king of *Sicily*, Pope *Nicholas* the fift, King *Alphonſus* of *Naples*, and *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*, beſide thoſe of the houſe of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The flower of vvhich Stemme, yet liueth at this day crowned in *France*, imitating the moſt graceſull ſteps of his euer-famous foregoers: but eſpecially of good King *Francer*, in whoſe moſt happy time, *France* reached vnto ſuch a height for Learning, that it might meritoriouſly haue bene ſtyled, another *Greece* or *Athens*.

[h] He is ſaid to be very familiar with Cicero.

Honour not onely during life, but after death alſo done to learned men.

An obiection and anſwere concerning learned Seneca.

A true prouerbe.

Learned men liuing in ancient times.

Thoſe of more moderne dayes.

CHAP. XVI.

That Learning is not onely neceſſary in Kings and Princes: but alſo for Generalles, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the Exerciſe and Art Military.

I Could alledge manifold Hiſtories, beſides true, good, and ſufficient Reaſons, that Princes (in ancient times) found no better forme, or directe rule for their orderly gouernment, then Learning, and Knowledge. And becauſe the euidence heereof remaineth ſo plaine and pregnant vnto vs, I will obſerue ſome fewe examples, tending to this purpoſe. When King *Phillip* vnderſtood the birth of his ſonne *Alexander*, and knowing *Ariſtotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he ſent a very notable Letter vnto him (recorded by *Plutarke*, and *Aulus Gellius*) wherein hee thanked the Goddes, not ſo much for the ſafe birth of his ſonne, but becauſe hee was borne in the life time of *Ariſtotle*. By which few words, may be apparantly diſcerned, how much the King thought lerning and knowledge fitte for his ſonne, to the end, he might proue to be ſuch a King and Captaine, as hee was indeede afterward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto yeares meete for the embracing of ſtudie; he made *Ariſtotle* his Mayſter, ſent him great gifts, and (in meere loue to his ſon) builded a Cittie, which he had formerly deſtroyed, and erected alſo a Schoole (admired for coſt and curious worke manſhip, ſuch as no time before had afforded) wherein his ſonne might receiue inſtruction.

Antigonus, King of *Macedon*, knowing how needfull a thing Learning vvas, for his owne good gouernment: and beeing mightily prouoked by the continuall renowne of [k] *Zeno*, a ſingular Philoſopher, and Prince of the Stoickes; deſired earneſtly to enioy his company, which hee further laboured by Letters, and manie Embaſſies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes Laertius* reciteth one, in this manner following.

The manner of Princes gouernement in old time.

Plutar. Liuie Alexand. Aulus Gellius lib. 15. cap.

Some doe repute this citie to be Alexandria, ſo called after the name of Alexander.

[k] A man of great account in Athens, & Author of the Stoicke ſect.

The

¶ The Letter of King Antigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.

ANtigonus *a King, sendeth greeting to* Zeno *the Philosopher. I know very well, that in worldly goodes, fauours of Fortune, and the reputation of such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Neuertheless, I know withall, that in true felicitie, knowledge, discipline, studies and liberall Artes, thou reachest a higher pitch then I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that thou wouldest come and liue with me, which I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enioy thy company and conuersation. In the doing whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely shalt be maister of me, but shalt also be a teacher to all my Macedonians. For he that instructeth the King, making him to become vertuous and good: teacheth those vertues likewise to all his Subiects. To proue the trueth heereof, it is commonly seene, that such as the King is, such are his vassailes, and such as the Captaine, such his Souldiours. Farewell.*

A notable testimonie, of loue to learning, in so mightie a potentate.

Words beseeming a vertuous King.

These Letters being receiued by the venerable Philosopher; in regard of his deepe steppe into age, it was not possible for him to condiscend thereto, or (in person) to satisfie the Kings earnest request. But he sent him two of his Schollers, excelling the rest in knowledge & learning, by whom he was worthily taught and instructed.

What the philosopher himselfe could not doe, he did by his Schollers.

The learning of *Aristotle*, vnder whom *Alexander* was tutoured fiue whole yeares together, tooke such roote and efficacie in the Scholler; that he became so excellent a King, as no one in the world was able to compare with him. Being in the midst of his Armies, he would not giue ouer study, but euermore layd (with his Sword) on the pillow of his bed, the *Iliades* of *Homer*, and other bookes. And it appeared, that such was his loue to Learning, that he could as easily apprehend it, as he conquered kingdooms by force of Armes. *Plutarke*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Theophrastus* doe affirme, that *Alexander* had published certayne bookes of naturall Philosophy, whereof he had been an Author vnder *Aristotle*, in regard whereof, he wrote a Letter vnto him.

The Letter of great Alexander, to his Maister *Aristotle*.

TRuly Aristotle, *thou hast done ill in publishing those Bookes of speculatiue Philosophie, by thee composed. For, in thine owne iudgement, wherein can I possibly excell other men, when the Science wherein thou hast instructed me, commeth to be common to all men? I would haue thee to know, that I more couet to precede all men in Learning and knowledge, then in riches, pompe, power and dominion.*

A louing reprehension of his Maister, and declaring his affection to Learning.

Farewell.

When this was vnderstoode by *Aristotle*, to comfort and please so puissant a Prince, he commanded that his Bookes (formerly common) should be so obscured, that it was not possible to vnderstand them, but by his owne interpretation. *Pirrhus* that excellent Captaine, and king of the *Epirotes*, who maintained great warres against the *Romanes*, and diuerse times ouercame them; did exercise himselfe, not onely in the reading of the Sciences: but also composed sundry bookes, among which was his precepts of warre. As the like hath beene done lately in our time, by that famous man, *Guillaume du Bellay*, Lord of *Langey*.

Pirrhus king of the Epirotes, an excellent louer of learning, and a publisher of Bookes.

What shall we say of *Iulius Cæsar*, the first Emperour, and (without all comparison) the very best Captaine of all them that had the managing of war? We may truely say of him, that he was no lesse inclined to Learning, then to Armes. For he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee was a Souldier; and afterward as often as he had any leysure, he frequented the Academies of the Poets, and in walking, he would both reade and write. Vpon a time, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to saue himselfe from an imminent perill, he aduentured swimming, bearing the bookes which he had written in one of his hands; declaring thereby, that he affected them as dearely, as his owne life: hauing as much care to saue the one, as the other; and what his learning was, his Commentaries (yet remaining with vs) can sufficiently witnesse.

Iulius Cæsar the first Emperour, as famous for learning, as for armes. *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.*

Cæsar loued learning as dearely as his life.

The care of the Romanes for their children lerning

Not onely *Ceſar*, but all the *Romanes* alſo, do beare witneſſe of that which wee ſay, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Gouernors. For, the firſt thing which they vndertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well entrusted, and therefore prouided good ſchoolmaſters for them, which they chargeably ſent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent ſchollers, & ſoldiers. The great *Cenſor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Bookes written by him do plainely teſtifye: hee was a worthy Orator, Hiſtorian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, ſtyled of *Vtica*, though he was not of ſuch a ſharpe and ingenious ſpirite in apprehenſion of Sciences; yet notwithſtanding, hee kept company with moſt excellent Schoolemaſters; among whom was the Philoſopher * *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde ſo much to ſtudie, that *Cicero* ſayth, in his Booke *De Finibus*, he did nothing elſe but reade; yea, whenſoeuer he ſate in the Senate houſe, hee alwayes had ſome Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleaſed.

Cato Cenſorinus

Cato Vticenſis.

* A Philoſopher and Poet of *Sidon*, a City of Phœnicia, by the ſea ſide, not farre from Tyre. *Cicero in Lib. de Finib.*

Examples of ſoldiers affecting learning. *Scipio Africanus.*

Scipio Africanus, the victorious triumpher ouer *Hanniball*, was extreamely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ennius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himſelfe againe afreſh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Affrica*, had alwayes bookes with him in his Tents and Pauillions: in the time of warre, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howſoeuer it were) hee would haue *Silenus* and *Saſylus* (two lerned *Lacedæmonians*) with him, by whome he was well inſtructed in the Greek Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaſter, and kept company alſo with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expulſed out of his kingdome, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now ſerued the Philoſophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this anſwer, *It ſerueth mee to ſupport my preſent neceſsitie with patience.* *Themiſtocles*, a moſt excellent Captaine, declared himſelfe to be no leſſe diligent in learning, then hee was in Armes: his Maſter was [a] *Anaxagoras*, the *Mileſian*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all ſtudious and worthy Orators. *Mithridates*, in the warres which he had againſt the *Romanes*, for the ſpace of forty years together, notwithſtanding all the furious aſſaults, deſiſted not from his ſtudying, hauing euermore diuers ſchoolemaſters and Philoſophers with him.

Plato ſchoole maſter to Dionyſius the Tyrant.

A notable anſwer.

a A Philoſopher of noble blood, but more noble in vertue and wiſedome.

Octauius Auguſtus, limited to himſelfe certaine houres in the day, onely for ſtudy; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of ſtudying ſtill: hauing therefore diuers worthy Maſters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philoſopher *Aſperarius*, *Aſinius Pollio*, *Valerius*, *Meſſala*, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named [b] *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himſelf to ſtudy; & when the wars ceaſed, hee applyed all his diligence, in cheriſhing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Æmilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Perſia*, ouer & beſide his beeing a very learned man, endeauoured alſo that his children might bee the like; ſo that at his inſtant requeſt, the *Athenians* gaue him * *Metrodorus* to bee their Schoole-maſter. But wherefore do I take ſo much paines, in naming ſo many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Traiane*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Anthonie*, were al learned men, and compiled Bookes, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

The loue of Octauius Auguſtus to learning.

b A Nobleman of Rome, famous for learning, martiall proweſſe, and exceeding great riches.

c A Philoſopher, Scholler to Epicurus.

In briefe, if I erre not greatly in my iudgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing ſo much as by their learning. There are two only, of whom wee finde nothing remayning written, expreſſing whether they were lerned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highlie loued and fauoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credued, that ſurely himſelfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifeſtly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the ſurprizall of *Syracuſa*, that *Archimedes* ſhould not bee ſlayne.

No Captaine in elder times but they were famous for Learning.

Caius Marius and Marcus Marcellus.

And

And although he miscaried, notwithstanding his strict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great greefe of the said *Marcellus*.

The Authors admonishment to the Captaines of these dayes.

Let then the Captaines of these our dayes, say what they list, that learning is not so expedient for them (I meane such as thrust the stile of Captaines on themselues) coueting with their owne opinion, or rather obstinacy, to cloud and couer their dulnesse and ignorance. It is sufficient for vs, that wee see how highly our graue Predecessors esteemed Bookes and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vpartially set downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Robertus Valturinus*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be fed on, and eaten, without any danger.

THE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, sufficiently knowne to many: and although it bee little, yet notwithstanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking, it can kill a man. But as our Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vse: euen so this creature, with al his venome, serueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, especially for any paine in the throate. It is a thing very excellently good (by a secret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for liuing, it killeth, and dead, it healeth. Tiriacle, or Treacle, as we vse to terme it, is properly good against venome: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is necessarily required some part of this beast, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named Tiriacle, because that the worde *Therion* in Greeke, signifieth a Viper or venomous Beast. Some (and not vnfitting ly) doe giue another etymologye, and reason for this name. But before we report the benefits ensuing by the Viper, me thinkes, it were not amisse, to remember that which is said by *Pliny*, *Isidorus*, and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiueth, the Male putteth his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby shee receiueth such immeasurable delectation; that with her ouer-sharp teeth, she byteth off the head of the Male, becomming thereby widdowed, yet violent in assaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themselues within her body, according as the spawne of fishes doth: and of those Egges do Vipers ensue, at such time as she is to deliuer her young ones, yeelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now because they are so many in number, they which remaine behinde, hauing no power to attend their fit time, do teare the belly of their Damme, so that by her death, they enter into the world, and liue. If it be so, surely it is a matter very marualous: for it should seeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

Plin. in l.9. c.62. Isidor in lib 12. de Etimolog. Aelianus in lib. de animal.

The conception of the Female Viper and deliuery of her brood.

With this opinion of *Pliny*, do many other Authors consent; as *Plutarch* in his Treatise against Scoffers. Neuertheless, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teeming: with which opinion, I also rest resolued, because the other seemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I seene the experience thereof, or know any person that hath seene it. In like manner, *Philostratus* is flatly against it, in the life of *Apollo Thyaneus*, introducing *Apollo* himselfe, who reporteth, that hee had seene a Viper, that after she had fully yeelded all her young ones; licked them very louingly, and lined healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Aristotle*, who setteth them downe thus. *The Viper onely (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, because she first formeth them in her body of Egges, as the spawne of Fishes is: afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped vp in a tender thinne skin; which breaketh at the limitted time, and so affordeth the young ones liberty* (in regard whereof *Apuleius*, in his Apologie, calleth them *Ouiperes*, and not Vipers; as much to say, as engendered of Egges) *and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of its selfe) in the Dammes belly; they issue forth euery day one, to the number of twenty and more*: these are the very words of *Aristotle*. In another

Plut. in Treatise intitled Sur.

Philostratus in the Apol. Thyl.

Arist. in lib. 7. de animal. c.9.

His words concerning the Vipers deliuery of her young ones.

Apuleius in Apolog.

God made all things for the profitable vse of man.

Of the vertues of Tiriacle or Treacle, and how it hath name.

ther place, I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the teeming of Serpents, he saith: *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Egges.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones rearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or teeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

Aristot in lib. 1. de Animal. c. 12.

The Authors coniecture of this controuersed point.

But leauing these circumstances, I say that the viper, how dangerous soeuer it be, yeeldeth great helpe and succour to man. *Dioscorides* saith, that the flesh of a viper, being boyled or sodden, may safely be eaten: being very medicinable for the nerues, and for the sight. But in preparation to the eating thereof, the head and taile must be taken away: then being fleaed and well dressed, it is to be tempered with strong Annise-seedes. He saith also, that there is made of this flesh, a certaine kinde of Salt, or salt-powder, excellently auailing to procure a good appetite, being prepared in this manner. You must take a new earthen pot, and put the viper thereinto, vsed as formerly hath beene declared, then put Salt and stamped figges to it, with a competent quantity of hony, and the pot being well couered, let it boyle and bake a long while in an Ouen. Which being done, beate and reduce it into a powder: and whosoeuer afterward will make vse thereof with his other meate, shall finde it very pleasant and profitable for the stomacke.

Dioscor. in lib. 2. cap. 2.

How the flesh of the viper may be safely eaten.

A Salt or powder made of the viper to procure a good appetite

Paulus Aeginet. in lib. 2. cap. 34

Paulus Aeginetus saith also, that the flesh of a viper is singularly good against leaprousie and meazeldnesse; making therefore great esteeme of the Salt-powder fore-mentioned, and affirming with *Plinius*, that a certaine nation in India, eateth the flesh of the viper. *Dioscorides* auoucheth, that whosoeuer will eate the flesh of the viper, shall liue long time, and very healthfully. Against the byting of this Serpent, there are store of remedies, whereof *Theophrastus* maintaineth one, saying, *Whosoeuer is bitten thereby, mellodious sounds and songs doe greatly benefite him*, because Musique is very medicinable, as we haue already, and shall proue hereafter. *Galen* saith, that this beast eateth not any thing all the time of winter: but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whosoeuer then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

Plin. lib. 8. c. 38

Aristot. in lib. 8. de Animal. ca. 5.

Aristotle saith, that they containe themselues three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Prouinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venimous, because they doe feede on the Baulme tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort: for they will become drunk by drinking, and after they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

Aelianus in lib. de Animal. lo cap. 4.

Aristot. in lib. vbi supra.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.

THat which we haue sayd in our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, in his book of Ueniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Author, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Country of *Italie*, there is a kinde of Spider; which the Inhabitants doe call *Tarantula*. *P. Gyraldus* calleth it *Phalangium*, which at the beginning of Summer is so venimous, that whosoeuer is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly holpen, he looseth all

Petrus Gellius in lib. de Rom. 9. cap. 1.

P. Gyraldus in lib. 4. cap. 1.

* A kinde of Spider that hath three ioynts or knots, whose sting is perilous & deadly.

all sense and vnderstanding, and dyeth instantly. But if any one (being so bitten) chance to escape death: yet he remaineth insensible, and wholy voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Musique*.

The affirmation of good Authours as eye-witnesses.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, speaking as eye-witnesses, and hauing seene the proofe thereof, is thus. So soone (say they) as any one is bitten or enuenomed, the best helpe is, to bring instantly before him, such as vse to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Instruments, to play diuers Lessons, & sing many Songs: which Musique being heard by the party wounded, he will presently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of gestures and motions with his body, euen as if all his life time he had well inured himselfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill such time as the venome be dissipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to dance & leape about incessantly, and the Musitians (finding themselues wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended dancer, hauing vtterly lost all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Musitians no sooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himselfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as lustily as formerly hee had done, and so continued dancing still, til he found the harme asswaged, and himselfe entirely recouered. Hereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not beene thorowly cured by Musique in this manner; within some short while after, hearing the sound of Instruments, hee hath recouered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to ceasse, till his perfect & absolute healing, which (questionlesse) is admirable in nature.

Alexand. Alexand. in lib. 1. de Dier. Gen. cap. 17.

A strange and wonderfull working in nature, by the power of Musique.

* *Asclepiades* writeth, that the sound of Instruments, and voyces sweetly singing to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunaticks and mad men. We reade also, that * *Esmenea* the *Thebane*, healed many diseases and infirmities, only by his sweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophrastus* and *Aulus Gellius* say; that Musique appeaseth the paine of the Sciatica, and of the Gout. We likewise finde it recorded in the sacred Scripture, that *Dauid* (by Musique) eased *Saul* of the passiō, which the euill spirit wroght in him: so great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Musique. And if good consideration be made heereof, wee shall not account it strange, that infinite infirmities haue bene cured by the means of Musique. For it hath euidently beene seene, that there are diuers beasts and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in sleeping; according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Historians haue faithfully affirmed.

An excellent Physition of Prusa in Bithynia.

A Musitian of Thebes.

Theophrastus in lib. 8. c. 7. and Gellius in lib. 4. c. 13.

1 Sam. 16, 23.

Many infirmities cured by the meanes of Musique.

CHAP. XIX.

Of a strange medicine, whereby Faustine *of* Rome, *wife vnto the Emperour* Marcus Aurelius, *was cured of an infirmity of dishoneſt loue: and of many other remedies against that powerfull passion.*

CONcerning that affection, or imprisonment of the will, as we may iustly terme it, which ordinarily is stiled by the name of Loue; whether it be a powerfull passion, working wonderfull effects in the soule or no: there need no further question to bee made, but examination of such mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whose examples remaine notorious to vs. More especially, of very worthy and excellent persons, who haue suffered their wils to be so strangely transported thereby, that extremity of death hath ensued thereon. *Iulius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Faustine*, Daughter to *Antonius*, and Wife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became so excessiuely enamored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in desire to enioy his company, shee fell into such a consumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

Loue is the thraldome of the will.

Iulius Capitolinus in lib. 4. de Mem. cap. 3.

The Empresse extreme in affection to a Fencer.

This beeing vnderstood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee assembled a great number of Astrologers and Physitions, to finde some aduice and remedy for

Councell giuen by Aſtrologers and Phyſitions for a ſtrange remedy.

for this extraordinary folly. In the end, it was concluded, that the Fencer ſhould be put to death, and ſome of his blood bee ſecretly giuen to *Fauſtine* to drinke, and after ſhe had thus ignorantly drunke thereof, the Emperour her husband ſhould company with her in bed. This remedy wrought very wonderfully, for it quite tooke from her that fantaſticke affection, ſo that (neuer after) ſhee did ſo much as once remember him. And the Hiſtory ſaieth, that of this her companying with the Emperor, *Antoninus Commodus* was begotten, who became ſo cruell & bloody, that he reſembled rather the Fencer, of whoſe blood his Mother had drunke before his conception; then any iote of *Marcus Aurelius*, to whom he was Sonne indeed; in regard wherof, *Commodus* was a daily companion with the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, as *Eutropius* witneſſeth, in the life of the ſaid *Commodus*.

The conception of the bloody Emperour Antoninus Cõmodus.

Eutropius in vit. Commod.

Phyſitions among the *Greekes* and *Arabes*, do reckon this diſeaſe of Loue with the moſt greeuous infirmities of the body, and thereupon haue diſputed many remedies. * *Cdamus* the *Mileſian* (according as *Suidas* reporteth, in his Booke of Collections) wrote a Booke diſcourſing on perticular remedy, whereby vtterly to expell this dangerous ſickneſſe of loue: as *Ouid* alſo hath ſaide ſufficiently, in his remedies againſt loue. Wherefore among all other remedies, which Phyſitions haue adviſed againſt this infirmity, this is one; that the patient endangered, ſhould vndertake ſome great affaires, importing highly his owne honour and profite, onely to this end, that his ſpirit being buſie about diuerſity of things; hee may the better retire his imagination, from the party by whom he is offended. They do moreouer wiſh him, to ſhun and forſake all embracings, or ouer-kinde converſation with other women. *Pliny* ſayeth, that againſt this enflaming heate, it is very good to obſerue where a Mule hath tumbled or wallowed, and to gather the duſt of that ground, which muſt bee caſt vpon the amorous party, and powder his garments therewith, or elſe with the ſweate of a well heated Mule, as *Cardanus* alſo auoucheth, in his Booke of Subtilties.

* A worthy Writer of Miletum. *Suidas in lib. 3. de Collect. cap. 8.* *Ouid in Remed. Amor.*

Remedies adviſed againſt fond and fooliſh Loue.

Plin. in lib. 10. cap. 14.

Cardanus in lib. 3. de nat. ſub.

Phyſitions likewiſe haue taught the meanes, whereby may be obſerued, which perſon is beloued of the amorous party. And that is the ſelfe-ſame rule, whereby * *Eraſiſtratus*, Phyſition to king *Seleuchus*, vnderſtoode the loue that *Antiochus* did beare to Queene *Stratonica*, his ſtep-mother. For hee beeing ſicke, euen to the vtmoſt extremity, and affecting much rather to dye, then any way to diſcouer the cauſe of this diſeaſe, and that it proceeded from the loue he bare vnto his Fathers wife: Vpon a ſudden ſhee entred into the Chamber, euen as the Phyſition was the feeling the pulſe of his patient, which mooued ſo ſtrongly vppon the Queenes entrance, that *Eraſiſtratus* euidently gathered thereby, that not onely he was enamored of her, but alſo, that it was the maine cauſe of his deſperate diſeaſe. Hereupon, he practiſed how to acquaint the King therewith: which at length (by good and acceptable means) he did, that would require too long time heere to relate, becauſe the Hiſtory is ſufficiently knowne.

* An excellent Phyſition of the ſtock of Ariſtotle.

The extreme loue of Antiochus to Surronica his ſtepmother.

The caſe being likewiſe experimented by the Father himſelfe, and he perceiuing the danger wherein his Son was; thought good (although it went quite againſt his Sonnes intention, who deſired death, rather then to bee recouered by his Fathers loſſe) to depriue himſelfe of his Queene, and giue her vnto his ſickly Sonne. And to ſpeake vprightly, the age, beauty of the Lady, and equality for marriage, agreed much more conformably with the youthfull Sonne, then the ouer-aged Father. And this was the cauſe, that *Antiochus* liued healthfully and pleaſantly (for many yeares after) with his beſt beloued *Stratonica*; as the Hiſtory more at large declareth, being recorded by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Demetrius*. And this is the reaſon, why Phyſitions do aduiſe to taſte the pulſe of any amorous perſon, and to recount diuers names to him or her, among which, may be the name of the party affected: for ſo ſoone as that is once vnderſtood, the pulſe wil beate apace & ſtrongly, by which meanes, the party beloued is knowne. By diuers other ſignes, it may be perceiued, when any one is in loue, and to whom the affection tendeth: which ſigns I ceaſſe to ſpeake of, becauſe they are knowne to too many.

The king himſelfe make triall of the Phyſitions iudgement.

Plut. in vit. Demetr.

Why Phyſitions haue thought meet to feele the Pulſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian: and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and how Beasts haue many times affected both men and women.

Naturall loue is euer allowable.

FOR a man to loue a woman, and a woman a man, it is a matter conformable to nature, and worthy to be beleeued and embraced: but whē blinde-fold folly attaineth to such a head, as those things wherof I am instantly to speake; it may well appeare to be impossible, and no way deseruing any credite. Very learned and good Historiographers, haue written and recorded for truth, that in the City of *Athens* there liued a young man, descended of an honest parentage, of competent wealth, and sufficiently knowne; who hauing oftentimes earnestly obserued a Marble Statue, most curiously and ingeniously wrought, and erected in a publike place of *Athens*; became so extremely enamored thereof, as he had no power to absent himselfe frō the place where it was fixed, but would hugge and embrace it very affectionately, & alwayes when he was not by it, hee found himselfe very ill and sickly disposed. At length, this passion grew to such extremity, as hee ran to the Senate house, and there before the reuerend Senatours, he made very liberall offers of money, humbly entreating thē so much to fauour him, that hee might haue the Statue in his owne possession. This seemed no way pleasing to the Senate, neyther could their authority stretch so farre, as eyther to giue or sell a publike Statue. VVhen he perceiued his request to be denied, hee became much afflicted with greefe and anguish of minde, & repayring to the Statue, enriched the head thereof with a Crowne of gold, and the body with garments and iewels of vnualuable price. This being done, hee would stand amorously beholding it, and many times fall on his knees before it, offering all worship and adoration thereto: and so long he continued in this vnreproueable folly, till (being strictly commanded the contrary by the Senate) he slew himselfe before it with rage and anger.

The History of the young Athenian.

A strange kinde of doting loue, yet agreeing to such insolēce, that it came to the Senate.

Folly exceeding all comparison of beasts.

A desperate conclusion of a brain-sicke loue.

Doubtlesse, this was a case very admirable, and yet I must acquaint yee with another, much more strange & ridiculous, yet credibly auouched by so many good Authors, concerning the loue of King *Xerxes*; as it may well be said, that hee exceeded all men of the world in folly. He grew enamored of a Platane, or Plane-tree a Tree sufficiently knowne, except in some few parts; and he would kisse & embrace it with like affection, as if it had bin a beautifull woman.

The ridiculous loue of King Xerxes to a Tree.

If these acciendents haue happened among men endued with reason; what shall we say then of brute Beasts, that haue affected both men and women, and the same confirmed by great and famous Historians? As of *Glauce* so extremely affected by a Rāmme, that it would neuer bee from her: and Dolphines also haue bene very admirably affectionate towards mē. *Ælianus* reciteth in his Booke of Beasts, a matter well deseruing to be related. He saith, a Dolphine espying young children playing on the Sea-shore; one among all the rest, which seemed to him the most louely and beautifull, hee became so enamored of, that at euery time when the Dolphine saw him, hee would draw neere to the Banck, and shew himselfe vnto the childe, who (at the first) was much affrighted, and fled away from him. But afterward, by the perseuerance which the Dolphine vsed from day to day, expressing manifest signes of entire loue to the child; he grew the lesse timorous, and by the pastimes which the Dolphine continually made before him, hee waxed bold and hardy, and would venter into the water to him, not fearing to mount vpon his back, making a signe, and commanding (as it were) the Dolphine, to swim a great way into the Sea with him, and then (vppon a contrary signe or command, and when he was weary) to returne backe againe with him to land. In this pleasure and pastime, diuers dayes were spent, for the Dolphin euermore would be ready at the Bancke, when as the childe came to make vse of this delight.

Of brute Beasts enamored of men and women.

Ælianus in lib. 4. de animal. cap. 10.

The strange affection of a Dolphin to a childe.

The childe seemed to haue power & command ouer the Dolphine.

But one time, the most vnhappy of all other, the childe would needs put off his cloathes (as formerly hee had not done) because he purposed to swimme farre in-

There is seldome any delight, but it hath some danger attending on it.

to

to the Sea, and being not carefull in seating himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or how to sit for his safest holding on; it chaced, that one of the sharp-pointed finnes, which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for so are they tearmed by *Pliny*, and others) ran so far into the childes belly, & wounded him in such sort, that instantly he fell downe dead in the water. Which when the Dolphine perceiued, and the blood of the dead childe trickling downe his sides; he tooke vp his deare lou'd childe so well as he could, and returning backe to land suddenly, euen as if hee intended to reuenge this offence vppon himselfe; hee swam furiously on land out of the water, and presently dyed by the childe.

The childe slaine most vnhappily.

The death of the Dolphine.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pliny*, with many other examples of Dolphines, that haue declared great loue and kindnesse to men. Particularly hee reporteth one, in the time of the Emperour *Octauius*, that a Dolphine (in the very like manner) tooke delight in an infant, on the Sea-coast, neere to *Puteoli*, and whensoeuer this childe, beeing named *Simon* (for it is said, that Dolphines will suddenly runne to the very sound of that name) came to the shoare; the childe would mount vpon his backe, and be carried into the Sea, passing and returning alwaies safely to land. He saith moreouer, that the childe dying by sicknesse, & the Dolphine often comming to the vsuall meering place, & not finding the childe there, dyed with greefe and sorrow. The younger *Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth many meruailes of a Dolphine, in the 9. Booke of his Epistles: especially in that Epistle which beginneth, *Indici in materiam veram.*

Plinius lib. 12. cap. 14.

Another History of a Dolphines loue to a childe.

Plin secund. in 9. Lib. de Epist.

CHAP. XXI.

Of a man, that by receiuing a wound at his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time lined: With sundry other examples to the same purpose.

WEe haue formerly related, that Musique hath beene the meanes of curing some diseases, and no way to be reputed incredible: considering, that wee finde by other stranger meanes, very great infirmities haue likewise beene holpen. *Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him composed, declaring how men may deriue profite or benefite from their enemies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine enemy, named *Promotheus*, who hated him extremely, and sought all the meanes he could deuise to kill him. It fortuned, that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee chanced to wound an olde vlcer, that had long lyen in the flesh, couered ouer with skinne, a matter of great danger to his life, and (for which) all helpe was vtterly denyed him. Neuertheless, this wound prooued the onely meanes of his helpe, and safe deliuerance from the former dãger: for in thinking to kill him, and so to quench his malice, hee gaue him life and soundnesse of health. *Valerius* reciteth the very same history (among other noteworthy matters) in his Booke of miracles: but he affirmeth the mans name that was healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phereus.*

Plut. in tract. de benifit. aduer. cap. 7.

An enemy may sometime do a man good against his will.

Valer. Max. in lib. de Mirac.

Pliny writeth of another man, named *Phalereus*, who had an incurable disease, in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually flowing out at his mouth, caused by breaking a veine within his body. And finding himselfe in desperate condition of any curing; he entred suddenly into an Army, without any Armes for his defence, that being there slaine among the enemies, his hope and helpe might both finish together. It came to passe, that receiuing a dangerous wound vpon the breast, there issued forth such an abundance of blood from that hurt; that the fluxe (hauing formerly his vent at the mouth only) ceassed, and Chyrurgions afterward, with the aduice of skilfull Physitions, consolidating the broken veine, hee remained soundly healed of all harmes.

Plin. lib. 11. cap. 11.

Where helpe is least expected, there it soonest happeneth.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fabius*, that he hauing had a Feauer quartane for many yeares together; giuing battaile one day to the * *Allobroges*, now named *Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire which he had then to fight; quite expelled the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him afterward.

Macrob. in lib. 2. cap. 5.

* People of Sauoye and Dauphiny.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both saw, and

and well knew the man, who had receiued a wound in his thigh, whereof he became ſtarke lame, and voyde of all hope of any remedy, happening afterward into an vnexpected quarrell, he receiued an other wound vpon the ſame thigh, and iuſt in the place where the former chaunced. The Chirurgions in dreſſing this latter harme, did very well perceiue that the nerues which had beene cut before, beganne to ſtretch and reſtore themſelues in ſuch ſort, that being cured of this ſecond hurt, his thigh was ſoundly recouered, and hee went as vpright as euer hee did, and without the leaſt limping. So did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the ſonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Myſia*, who being wounded in his owne Countrey by *Achilles*, could not any way be cured, till eight yeres after, he was wounded agayne by the ſame *Achilles*, and in the ſelfe ſame part of his body, before *Troy*, then beſieged, and the ruſt of the ſame Speare that formerly had hurt him, prooued to be his onely help.

A matter teſtified on the Authors knowledge.

A king of Myſia, Hercules ſon by Auge.

CHAP. XXII.

Who vvas the firſt that planted the Vine: And vvho beganne to put vvater into vvine. To vvhom, and in vvhat maner the Romaines did prohibite Wine: With many other notable things tending to the ſame purpoſe.

IF all the fruites which the earth yeeldeth (I mean thoſe wherof liquor is made) there is none (in my iudgement) more profitable then good wine, prouided, that it be temperately taken. For this cauſe was it that * *Anacharſis* ſayd, *The Vine produceth three Grapes: The firſt of Pleaſure: The ſecond of Drunkenneſſe: And the third of Teares and Sadneſſe.* So that hee which paſſeth the firſt Cuppe, that is to ſay, a little, and moderatly receiued, proceedeth on to ſhame and danger.

Wine the profitableſt of all other liquors.

* A notable Philoſopher borne in Scythia, who ſolid the firſt Porraunbecke.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had any vnderſtanding of the ſacred Scriptures, doe name vs diuerſe inuenters of wine. *Diodorus Siculus*, in his fourth book attributeth the inuention of wine, and firſt planting of the Vine, to *Dionyſius* the ſonne of *Iupiter*, named *Bacchus*, and *Liber pater*, ſo ſtyled, for the liberty of wine. For this inuention a Temple was erected to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at *Rome*: where they celebrated his Feaſtes, which were called *Dionyſians*, or *Bacchanalians*, very diſhoneſt, and full of great lubricity. That the inuention came from theſe *Dionyſians*, *Virgill* giueth aſſurance, at the entrance into his ſecond booke of *Georgickes*. Howbeit, *Marcianus Capellus* ſaith, that *Dionyſius* only inſtructed the *Greeks*, in the manner of making wine. Others ſay, that *Icarius* father to *Erigone*, firſt taught the induſtry of making wine to the *Athenians*: and becomming afterwards drunke thereby, the people ſlew him. In *Italie*, they ſay, that *Saturne* did firſt plant the Vine there, and brought the yoong ſuckers and plants from the Iſle of *Candie* thither. And *Plutarke* writeth, that *Arrus Hetruſcus* brought Vines firſt into *France*. But the trueth of hiſtorie, is, that the firſt inuenter of wine, was *Noah*, and the firſt that made himſelfe drunke therewith: whereof are Authours (beſides that which is recorded in the ninth chapter of *Geneſis*) *Lactantius*, *Firmianus*, and *Ioſephus*. *Noah*, at his comming forth of the Arke, planted the Vine with his owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce of the raiſin, whereby he became drunke: and diſcouering his nakedneſſe in ſleeping, it happened to him by his ſonnes, according as we reade in the ſame chapter of *Geneſis*.

Diodorus Siculus in lib. 4 c. 1. Of the firſt inuéter of wine.

Vir. in Geor. l. 2. Marcian. Capel. in libr. 4. Tranſlated by the Gods into the ſigne in heauen, called *Virgo*.

Plutarc. in Moral. lib. 3. cap. 7

Gene. 9 21, 22. *Lactant. Firmian in 2. lib. de Inſtit diuin. Ioſephus in 1. libr. de Antiq.*

Afterwards, men attayning to know the ſauour of wine, did drinke it, at the firſt, wholly pure of it ſelfe, and without the commixtion of any water: for, as *Pliny* auoucheth, one named *Staſius* was the firſt that did put water into wine, to temperate and quallifie it. By the meanes of which aduice, great good and healthfulneſſe enſued to the world: becauſe, wine being ſo made moderate, procured verie good and excellent effects. In like manner *Plato*, alleadged by *Macrobius*, in his ſecond booke, ſayth: *Wine moderately taken, ſtrengtheneth the vnderſtanding of a man, augmenteth his force and vigour, maketh the heart chearefull and deliberate, and taketh away irkeſome thoughts, and all offen-*

Wine drunke at the firſt pure of it ſelf. *Plin. in l. 7 ca. 56* Who firſt mingled water with wine.

Macrobius in libro 2. cap. 16.

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Plin.lib.23 c.1. *fiue perturbations. Plinie* layth, *The vse of Wine, receiuing it temperately, multiplieth our forces, encreaseth bloud and colour in the face: The nerues are fortified by wine, sight strengthened, the stomacke made vigorous, and appetite awaked: It prouoketh vrine, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart sprightly, and serueth for many other good things.* Asclepiades the Physition, wrote a booke by it selfe, wholly concerning the vertues of wine. And

He of Prusa.

1.Tim.5.23. saint *Paul* writing to *Timothy*? counselleth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to strengthen his stomacke.

The vse of wine by Phisitions in many medicines. Physitions do make vse of wine in many medicines, because wine restoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it fayleth, gladdeth a melancholy disposition, dissipateth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge choller.

Plato in Sosrat. *Plato*, introducing *Socrates*, sayth thus in commending wine; *Like as moderate rains doe encrease our hearbs, and tempests and inundations of waters doe rent them vp and destroy them: Euen so, wine temperately taken, cheareth the spirites, and fortifieth the vertues of the body; whereas contrariwise, ouer-much, and intemperately receiued, destroyeth all.* Not so much as the very odour and smell of wine, but it is highly

The odour of wine commended by naturall philosophers. commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philosophers: because it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the spirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee must consider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderstood, when it is qualified and made temperate.

Wine denied to women and children. *Valer. Maxim. in libr.2. Plin.li.14. ca.8.* The ancient *Romanes* did wholly take away the vse of wine from women and children: as *Valerius* sayth, speaking of the customes and lawes of the *Romanes*. So that, as *Plinie* affirmeth, at such time as *Romulus* reigned in *Rome*, a husband slew his wife, because shee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occasion, *Romulus* pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be so odious in women, that

Fabius Pictor in lib.3 cap.9. *Fabius Pictor* reporteth, because a *Romane* woman had deceiued the Clarke of a celler, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein; her parents caused her to be starued to death. And hereupon grew the

The causing of parents kissing their childrens mouths. custome of fathers and mothers kissing their children on the mouthes; onely to perceiue therby, whether they had drunk wine or no. We finde it in good record, that *N. Domitius* being Iudge of *Rome*, he depriued a woman of her Dowry, because shee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. *Salomon*

Prou.31.4,5. in his Prouerbs sayth, *It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes strong drinke, lest he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction.* And yet we reade, that the Kings of *Ægypt* were permitted to drinke wine, so it were moderately, and in a certayne measure.

Vpon a time, *Romulus* beeing then King of *Rome*, and inuited to a bountifull banquet; he would drinke but very little wine, saying; *To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance. Auicen* saith; *In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an addition of fire to fire. Aristotle* expressely forbad the giuing of wine to children, and likewise to the Nurses that gaue them sucke. *Plato* by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he seemes in the first book, to admit a tolleration of wines, yet in the second he sayth; *A man ought to drink a litle, and well qualified.* This allowance stretcht not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and so to continue till hee were forty: but it must be alwayes doone in the presence of olde men, to the end that he might be reproued, when in the least manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demaunded, should be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy disposition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it must bee doone in a certayne measure too. It was his charge also, that seruants should drink no wine, neyther Iudges, Magistrates, or any that held any publique iurisdiction: and as for yong men that studyed, he aduised them, not to drinke any. *Auicen* alloweth *Platoes* law, in this poynt, as a rule for Phisicke: And thereto likewise *Galen* consenteth. *Alexander Aphrodiseus* sayth in his Problemes, *Hee which drinketh nothing but water onely, hath his sight and other sences more liuely, then he that drinketh wine.*

Now, as concerning in what fashion and maner, wine should be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuersities

The wonted Romulus king of Rome.

Auic.in lib.3.

Arist.in lib.3 Plato in lib.2 de Legibus. Platoes allowance for drinking wine according to the yeares of a man.

Iudges and Magistrates forbidden wine.

Auicen vbi sup.

Gal. in Prob.

Alexan. Aphr. in Probl.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

sities of opinions. *Hesiodus* the Greek Poet saith, That in one quarte of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. *Athenæus* sayth, that the auncient *Greekes* vsed to put fiue partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three parts of water, into one of wine, which is the rule of *Hesiodus*. Heere also is to be obserued, that the *Greekes* did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and *Theophrastus* assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. Moreouer, auncient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. *Eubulus* the *Greeke* Poet doth affirme, introducing *Bacchus*, to speake thus vnto the Sages: *I will neuer make more then three giftes of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for sleepe; the rest sauoureth of disorder and drunkennesse*. *Apuleius Paniasis*, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this maner to three seuerall daughters. *The first, to the Graces: The second, to Venus: And the third, to shame and danger*. *Iulius Cæsar* was very temperate in drinking wine: as *Suetonius* witnesseth by the testimonie of *Cato*, who was vtter enemie to *Cæsar*. *Demosthenes*, the excellent Oratour, was the like. And *Apollonius Thyaneus* of whom so many famous things are written, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.

In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. Saint *Iames* the lesser, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer eate any flesh; immitating Saint *Iohn* the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of Saint *Stephen*, King of *Portugall*. *Iosephus* in his Antiquities commending the holinesse of the *Essians*, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the Iewes, whereof the other two were *Phariſes* and *Saduces*) sayth: That the *Essians* did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle Saint *Hierome* reproued Priestes, that addicted themselues to drinke wine, telling them, That Saint *Paul* the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkennesse.

Such as are tearmed good drinkers, vse to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answere foure sences or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by sauour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neate and cleare colour: And to the eare, by a good report of the Countrey where it was made. Of this good wine men vse to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.

Foure seuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of many dammages and daungers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath beene held as a healthfull thing (by some Phisitions) to be drunke sometimes.

ALthough the liquor called Wine, be apt and wholesome for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances do arise, from the excessiue immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe superabound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our selues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meeter for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselues therewith. Heereto also may be added, that wine hath beene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their sences; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanely endaungered the saluation of their soules.

All creatures but man onlie doe well satisfie themselues with the drinking of water.

Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from shunning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best *French* language, these new appetites are titled by some;

New deuises daily inuented to procure appetites for drinking.

Concerning the mingling of water with wine. *Hesiodus in li. 3 Athenæus in l. 7*

Theophrastus in Trall. 9 sep. 5.

Wine giuen for three seuerall purposes.

Apuleius Paniasis.

Gell. li. 6. ca. 3.

Temperance commended in Christian religion.

Ioseph in lib. 8 Antiquit.

Hieron. in epi. 9

A spur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A shooing horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, so that a slice of a Gambone of Bacon, is held (in this case) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth passe ouer them, but the cup is knit with sound deuotion in drinking; sometimes taking fiue or sixe cups more then are necessary. *Pliny* saieth, there are some men, who will drinke before they be thirsty, and wine onely (among all other drinkes) hath this property, to cause it selfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He saith moreouer, that some do drinke in such sort as they iustly deserue; for it giues them (immediately) the due punishment to such sinne: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderstanding, so that they remaine as mē senseless. And hauing plaid it off lustily (as they vse to tearme it) for some quantity of time: it plaieth with them as the Cat doth with the Mouse, either kils them outright, or (at least) engendereth so many harmes and infirmities, as are much worse then death it selfe; as Gouts, Palsies in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a scarlet coulor, burning vp the Liuer, and fiering the face, beside diuers other such vndecent and scarse-grace-full qualities, no way fit to be vsed among mē indeed.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13.

The property of wine among all other drinkes. *Plin. in lib. vbi supra.*

The benefit of immoderate drinking

Cato said, *Drunkennesse is a voluntary folly.* And *Pliny* saith, *It confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames.* *Seneca*, writing to *Lucullus*, saieth: *Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and causeth men to become luxurious.* *Dyonisius Areopagita*, alleadging *Plato* to haue spoken the words, saith: *Drunkennesse is a liuely and merry Minstrill, and yet it makes our legges to faile vnder vs, giuing* (as wee vse to say in *France*) *a trip to our heeles, and laying vs along on the ground.* Saint *Paul* writing vnto the *Ephesians*, aduised them to shunne wine, because therein is luxury. And *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, among the imperfections of wine, saith; *It is a deceiuer, and whosoeuer drinketh excessiuely thereof, cannot conceale a secret faithfully.* Heereupon then arose the ancient Prouerbe; *That wine walketh without any shooes*; that is to say, It treadeth secretly, softly, and without any noyse, because no one should perceiue the power thereof, nor how it discouereth our secret and vicious qualities. To this purpose the Poet *Æschylus* saide: *A Glasse or Mirrour maketh knowne the gestures of the body, and wine serueth as a Glasse to the soule & heart of a man.* *Plato* likewise said: *Wine principally laieth open the manner and conditions of euery man.* We haue example thereof in *Noah* and *Lot*, for *Noah* being drunk with wine, discouered his parts of shame, whereby he became mocked and scorned. And against *Lot*, *Sodome* could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: these are the benefits ensuing by wine.

The words of Cato. *Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13.* *Seneca in epist. ad Lucul.*

Dyonis. Areopagit. in lib. 3. cap. 9.

Ephes. 5, 18.

Prou. 20, 1, 10

The words of the Poet Aeschylus.

Plato in lib. de Legib.

Gen. 9, 21. & Gen. 19, 33, 34.

Among the Lawes which *Solon* (one of the seuen graue Sages of *Greece*) gaue to the *Athenians*; it was especially ordayned, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, should be slaine. *Pittacus*, another of those wise men, ordayned, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, should bee doubly punished: once for the facte it selfe, and next for drunkennesse, which caused him to do it.

Solons law to the Athenians.

The law of Pittacus against drunkennesse.

Aristotle in his Problems, yeeldeth a reason, why such men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly disabled in the begetting of children: and likewise, why some drunkards are very pleasant in their drinke; and others terrible, some sad and weeping, others iocond and dancing.

Arist. in Prob.

Neuertheless, some Physitions (among whō are *Auicene* and *Rasis*) haue helde opinion, that it is a wholsome thing to be drunke sometimes: but the reasons which they giue in this case, doth not cōtent me any way, neyther doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I must needes confesse, that very great personages haue beene subiected to wine: whereas on the contrary, if they had stood cleare and free from it, their glory and renowne had bin farre greater.

Alexander the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, so that (as diuers good Historians do affirme) being ouercome with this fury; he slew one of his most intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue slaine himselfe. Beside, it is further alledged, that the cheefest cause of his murders and slaughters, was onely this poyson to all goodnesse.

Alexander being ouercome with wine, slew his dearest friend Clitus.

Marke

Marke Anthony one of the Romane Triumuiri.

Marke Anthony, who was one of the three cheefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to *Octauius* the Emperour: being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by *Octauius*, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour *Tiberius* was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinker, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was *Tiberius*, as a nick-name, they would often call him *Biberius*, and his ende was miserable.

Tiberius the great drinker called also Biberius.

Dionysius the younger.

Dionysius the younger, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become starke blinde. *Cleomedes*, King of the *Spartanes*, would needs pursue and imitate the *Scythians*, in excessiue drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensed, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher *Archesilaus* died in notorious drunkennesse.

Cleomedes King of Sparta.

Archesilaus the Philosopher.

Anacreon the Poet.

The Poet *Anacreon* was a very great drinker, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choaked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throate vnaduisedly.

The Emperor Bonosius, a great drinker, yet neuer drunke.

Flauius the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperor *Bonosus* was so addicted to wine, that *Aurelianus* said of him: *Hee was not borne to liue, but to drinke*. And heerein hee had an admirable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuertheless, his ende was answerable to his deseruing, for beeing vanquished by the Emperour *Probus*, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King *Antiochus*, who was conquered by the Romanes, vsed to drink so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes gouernment, to two of his choysest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman: when he came to fight against the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vtterly vanquished. *Athenæus* writeth, that *Aeschylus* the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunk, whervpon *Sophocles* said vnto him. *Aeschilus, those things which thou diuinest or writest, are done by chance, or at aduenture: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderst and them.*

King Antiochus the great drinker and sleeper.

The proofe of Sophocles to Aeschylus the Greeke Poet.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Certaine aduises and enstructions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appeare to bee three, to such as bee drunke.

SOme haue said (how certainely I know not) that there are diuers receits, wherby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those yrkesome effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

Pliny and *Solinus* do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion coullored veynes in it, and named *Dionise*, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect sauour and relliſh of wine; and whosoeuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkennesse; he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be vrged to vomite, and then giue him a morsell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vppe into the Head.

Plin in lib. 9. cap. 11. Iul. Solinus in lib. 5 cap. 7.

The iudgement of Physitions for the preuention of drunkennesse.

Drusus, Sonne to the Emperour *Tiberius*, had a Physition, who gaue him very

admirable physick, to preserue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could out-drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (vsually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate fiue or sixe bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did; he became as soon drunk as any other man. That these Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further; that eating a Raddish roote before hard drinking, auoideth drunkennesse. He saith also, that Coleworts eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being distempered with wine: and being eaten after drunkennesse, they remoue instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe-same power. Ther are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent; speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and, beeing drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such sort, as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heereto he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrhe in the wine; whosoeuer receyueth a draught of this potion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Assyria*.

Drusus, his Physition, whose physick kept him frō drunkennesse

Bitter Almonds an especiall helpe against drunkennesse.

Plin. in lib 12. cap. 14. The Raddish roote.

Saffron.

Plin. in lib. vbi supra. cap. eod.

Aristotle, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of Beasts, do yeeld a reason, why in drunkennesse, when a man looketh vpon any one thing, it appeares to him as if it were two, and albeit they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristotles*, who saith, that thorow excessiue heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the braine; the little nerues, called **Optici nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with such power, that the visiall vertue, and the spirits of sight (altering in their motion) do cause whatsoeuer drunken men gaze on, to stirre very strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplyed quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so sudden and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then remouing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: *The vapours of wine, which ascend vp into the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselues by this humidity; so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselues, the one higher, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselues foorth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to eyther eye by themselues.* In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the commō sense receyuing & apprehending two images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Auicenne* yeeldeth the selfesame example, as *Aristotle* did.

Arist. in Problem. part. 3. Auicene in lib. Animal. 6. cap. 9.

**The sinewes which conduct the vertue of seeing to the eyes.*

A proofe easie to be made by any one.

Auicen in lib. Animal. cap. 10. Of the vapors of wine mounting vp into the head of a drunken man

CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and measure, the rotundity or round compasse of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circkling round about.

VII well I know, that the subiect of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the beeses vnderstāding ther-of, som of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

Principles of the Mathematical Sciences

required to be well apprehended. Neuertheleſſe, I am the more willing to ſpeake ſomewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of ſuch mindes, as are enclined to the Science whereof it diſcourſeth. Wherefore concerning our preſent purpoſe, it is needfull to preſuppoſe, the firſt and cheefe Elements of ſuch a Science: which becauſe they are common, ſhal require the leſſe labor to proue them. The firſt is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatneſſe of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: becauſe God did diſpoſe them in ſuch manner, when he ſaid; *Let the dry land appeare*, for they both being vnited togither, made one body perfectly round. So likewiſe is it to bee vnderſtoode in all thoſe actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is alſo therein comprized: For, when a man ſayth, the earth hath ſo many degrees in roundneſſe, or it containeth ſo many degrees from one place to another; the ſea is therein as well vnderſtood as the land. So in like manner are conſidered the Eclipſes, heights and breadths, to hold one and the ſame certitude: and yet notwithſtanding, Mountaines, and Valleyes are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forreſts likewiſe, which the earth contayneth in it ſelfe; becauſe ſuch things are not woorthie of any account, with the greatneſſe of this wonderful bodie.

The chiefe Elemēts of the Mathemmatics

Genesis 1.9.

Actions attributed to the earth.

Eclipſes, heights, and breadthes, mountaines, valleyes, woods, and forrests.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is ſeated in the midſt of the circuite of Heauen, in ſuch manner, as the point & center of that round body, compoſed of Sea and Land, is likewiſe the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements. Ouer and beſide this definition, there is another, true and abſolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the ſtarry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are ſo little; that all theſe two Elements ſerue thereto but for a center, and is euen but as a ſmall point, in reſpect of his circumference. So that in whatſoeuer part thereof a man beſt liketh to helpe himſelfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Aſtrolabe; his labour forteth to the like effect, as if hee made the ſame for the center of the earth. For in whatſoeuer place of the earth we are (prouided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottome) we ſhall diſcouer the moity of heauen; which proceedeth by reaſon of the incomprehenſible diſtance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incompareable greatneſſe. That this muſt needs be true, it is moſt euident, that the verie leaſt Starre which we diſcerne in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuertheleſſe, it appeareth to vs but as a ſmall point, in regard of the heauens large ſpaciouſneſſe; by the leaſt of which things, a man may make proofe in ſufficient demonſtration, but it ſuffiſeth that experience hath apparantly ſhewne the ſame.

How the noſture of Land and Sea is ſeated.

The ſtarrie heauen or firmament.

Vſe of a Quadrant or Aſtrolabe to know in this caſe.

The leaſt Starr is greater thē all the earth, by euident proofe.

Ptolomy approueth it, in the 10. chapter of his firſt booke of Geography; *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his firſt Booke; *Geber*, in his ſecond Book; and *Iohn de Sacrobosco*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Spheare.

Ptolom in lib. 1 de Geograph. cap. 10. Alphra. Diff. 4. Cleomed. in l. 1 Geber in lib. 2. Io. de Sacrob. 1

This then being thus ſuppoſed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vvater and Land do make one round circkle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that theſe two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Which being ſo imagined, let vs lay two lines of equall greatneſſe, which may extend themſelues (in common) to the circumferences of al the two circles, according as *Euclides* enſtructeth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equall portions, each portion being iuſtly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to ſay, that if thoſe two lines paſſe on right in ſuch manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and ſo ſhall make as much of the leſſer, I vnderſtand and meane each eight part, in reſpect of each ones greatneſſe.

How this matter may bee eaſily imagined in the minde of man

Euclides in lib. 4. de Element.

Our elders in former times, in theyr manner of meaſuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threeſcore equall partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by conſequent, the roundneſſe of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuiſion in ſuch manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in reſpect of the whole heauen; the verie like ſhal be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, hauing regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as theſe portions or degrees, if you pleaſe ſo to terme them,

The aduice of our Foreſathers, for meaſuring of the world, by diuiſion of heauen.

them, are equal among themselues, so that some one may appeare to contayne the scope of miles; the like may be easily gathered, by multiplying what distance is contained in all the rest. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this obseruation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & stable. Therefore with an Astrolabe, or any other instrument proper therto, being in some apt vncouered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained aboue the Horizon, within the limite of the selfesame sight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the eleuation or height of the foresaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill such time (as with the selfesame instrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the first place, and therby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth frō that place whence they first parted, iust to that ground where they were arriued, considering, that they had paced by the respect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would measure that which this degree contayned, either by Stades, or thousands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained so many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: considering, that therein was to be obserued three hundred and threescore degrees, such and as great as the same were. This was the forme and manner by them obserued, and it may wel bee continued to these times, for measuring of the whole earth, as being the most certaine and infallible.

Concerning the nature of a degree, and how our Elders obserued the knowledg thereof, acording vnto the height of the Pole.

A measure of ground containing 125. paces, al after fiue feete to the pace.

An infallible rule for measuring by degrees.

The greatnes of each degree within it self, howmuch it containeth.

And yet neuertheleſſe we are to know, what greatneſſe each degree of the earth containeth in it selfe, and so (by consequent) how much it tendeth to in the rotundity, measuring it according vnto the whole greatnesse, answerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skilfull, and well studied therein. The most common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threescore, containeth fiue hundred Stades of ground, and euery Stade is valewed to six score and fiue paces by our Geometricians, and according to theyr Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree containes sixty two thousand and an halfe, which amount to sixtie two thousand Geometricall paces. *Ptolomy* auoucheth the same; as the like doeth *Martianus Capellus*, and the most part of the wisest ancient Cosmographers: beside, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

The knowledge of a Stade by Geometrical paces.

Ptolem. in lib. 2 de Geograph. Mar. Capella, in lib. 6. cap. 7.

Orontius Phineus holdeth the same iudgment, and sayeth, that this may easily bee experimented by trauailing from *Paris* to *Tholouse*. *Glareanus*, & *Anthony de Lebrix*, being both of them learned men, and diligent searchers into these matters: they do both affirme, that they haue made the like experience, holding the same for most certaine. Albeit *Eratosthenes*, and some other *Grecians* hold opinion, that all degrees had seauen hundred Stades: wherein (it may seeme) they were abused, by measuring their places ouershort. I say then, that each of their degrees, consisting of three hundred and sixty, far off from fiue hundred Stades: the whol three hundred and sixty, wil containe togither, twenty two thousand, and fiue hundred thousand paces, which do make an hundred and eighty thousand Stades. By the which account, the round compas of the whole earth, comprehending therein the whole machine of water, beeing, reduced to a thousand paces, will containe twentie two millions, and fiue hundred thousand paces. And if you would know how many French leagues or miles the whole Earth containeth, we must then allow vnto each League, the length of two Italian miles. Then, if we diuide twenty two thousand, fiue hundred paces in twaine, we shal find that the circuite of the earth, contayneth eleuen thousand, two hundred and fiftie Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide thē by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth, will containe fiue thousand, sixe hundred, and twentie fiue miles of Germanie; for four Italian miles, do make but one Germaine mile. Thus haue we discoursed on the earths dimension, according vnto the most common opinion receiued among men.

The opinion of some Grecians concerning degrees.

An estimate of the whole compasse of the earth by paces, and by French miles.

Diuision according to Germane miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the reason, why Snow (being couered with straw) doth preserue it selfe in his entire coldnesse, and warme water in his heate: considering, that two contrary effects are wrought by one and the selfesame thing: with some other secrets beside.

The works of Nature yeeld great benefite by their knowledge.

TO men of spirite, such as affect the contemplation of Natures workes, nothing can so lightly present it self, or appeare to bee of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yeild contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if it were demanded, vppon vvhat occasion, Snow (beeing couered with straw) conserueth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldnesse, and without melting, they hardly knew how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodiseus*, that excellent Peripatetian, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, beeing a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that couering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldnesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yeelding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, Snow being accompanied vvith his owne coldnesse, & defended against heat, which straw preserueth against the least entrance; it is thus conserued in his entyre condition for long time, euen as if it were not couered with straw at all.

Snow couerd with Strawe, keepeth his naturall coldnesse.

Alex. Aphrodis. in lib. 1. cap. 5.

Straw a thing without any quality at all, yet apprehendeth the quality of any thing therewith conioyned.

By the selfesame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it, for it being likewise couered with Strawe, the strawe immediately entertaineth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conserueth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to vnderstand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and beside our inward naturall heate, that which occasioneth our warmnesse in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the yeare; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how commeth it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coolenesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotle*) *Motion, or mooning, causeth our heate to be the greater?* For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warmnesse both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The Ayre is more hote in Sommer, then all the yeare else beside.

Aristot. in lib. 2. de anim. cap. 7.

The reason ensueth thus: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodyes, then there is in the ayre: as wel in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we are) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being still and neere vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conserueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is stirred, and freshly mooued, in comming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesser heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in vs. This is the answere of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*, vnto this question.

More heat in our bodyes in Sommer time then is in the Ayre.

How the quality in straw is alluded to our bodies.

Neuertheless, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that wherin we dwell; agitation or stirring in such an ayre will not prooue so good as our owne, because wee shall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places oftentimes we do. An argument in this case, may

Differences of the Ayre in heat, & harme thereby ensuing.

A contrary effect wrought by the same means to hot water, keeping it in his entire heate.

may bee framed by hotte water, that if a man put his hand raſhly thereinto, he can hardly ſuffer or endure it. Notwithſtanding, let him hold it firmely therein, and it yeeldeth then leſſe cauſe of paſſion then if he mooued it vp and downe. In regard, that the leſſer part of the water enuironeth the coole hand, whereby it cauſeth ſome ſmall temperature round about it: but being plunged and mooued about the water, it reneweth freſh heate, and at each time appropriateth new power to it ſelfe; for the more potent, muſt needes worke nouelly vppon that which is much weaker.

Example of a mans hand in hot water, for heate or temperature.

It may be likewiſe demanded, for what cauſe it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the moneth of Iuly, the Sun being then the furtheſt off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; conſidering we are then in the Solſtice of the Sunne, and more directly ſmitten with his beames? Heereunto anſwereth *Ariſtotle*, in his ſecond Booke of Meteors, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cauſe thereof, neyther is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes beeing neereſt to vs, then when hee hath longeſt time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as alſo in declining, hee cauſeth the greater heate, becauſe (in deſcending) he re-heateth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

Of heate in the months of Iune and Iuly

Ariſtot. in lib. 2. de Meteor. ca. 9

CHAP. XXVII.

Of ſodaine death hapning vnto diuers great Perſons, that haue thereto bene wiſhed or threatned, by ſuch as they haue vniuſtlie put to death before, and their deaths haue enſued to them in ſuch manner, & at ſuch times, as haue beene aſſigned vnto them: With the notable hiſtory of an Archbyſhop of Mentz *or* Magonce.

God neuer failed in the iuſt cauſe of wronged innocents, to lend his help, when al power in man hath fayled.

WHen all helpe in man hath ceaſed, concerning ſuch to whom great wrongs and iniuries haue bene done; yet the powerfull arme of God hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath not enſued ſo ſpeedily, or elſe ſo viſibly as they could haue wiſhed; yet GOD, who knoweth both how and when to be auenged on them that are the oppreſſors of innocents, hath wrought ſo graciouſlie for his own glory; that trecheries haue come to light in due and meete times, & mens falſe iudgements haue felt his ſeuere condemnation, and publikely enough for other mens forewarning. In this caſe wee could alleadge many memorable examples; but beeing loth to trouble you with ouer many, theſe few commendable Collections ſhall ſerue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongeſt the *Templers* (of whome wee haue ſpoken in our former Volume) who beeing (in the opinion of many) ſentenced to death verie vniuſtly; as the Officers led him towardes the place of execution, hee eſpyed Pope *Clement*, the fift of that name (by vvhoſe meanes he was condemned to death) looking out at a window; and by him ſtoode *Phillip le Bel*, then King of France. The Knight being an *Italian*, borne at *Naples*, beholding the Pope with an vndaunted countenance, with a lowde voyce ſpake thus vnto him.

The hiſtory of a Knight Templer, put to death vniuſtly.

Moſt cruell Clement, ſeeing that there is no Iudge in this world, before whome a poore innocent man may call in queſtion the vniuſt ſentence which thou haſt giuen againſt mee. I appeale from thee, a moſt vniuſt Iudge, to the vpright eſt Iudge of all other, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewiſe King Phillip *there by thee, to make your appearance, to anſwere the falſe iudgement of death which you haue giuen againſt me. This appearance of yours before the Tribunall ſeate of God, I do aſſigne to bee made within leſſe then a yeare, to do me right there, where I may ſafely haue my cauſe determined, without any auarice or paſſion at all, as here you both haue dealt with me.* The poore Knights deſire ſorted with his wordes, for about the ſame limited time, the Pope being pained with a great greeſe in his ſtomack, died; ſo did K. *Philip*: but howſoeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iuſt iudgement of God.

The Knights lateſt wordes to the Pope, and King of France, as he was ledde to death.

The iudgements of God on the K. and Pope.

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Caſtile*, who hauing cauſed two worthy Knightes to bee executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry ſpleen, then any warrant of iuſtice, being

The hiſtory of Ferdinand the 4. King of Caſtile, & his cruelty to the Knights.

being no way to bee disswaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earnest solicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunall of Iesus Christ, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the last of those thirty dayes, the King dyed.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. 8. cap 9. The like lot also befell to a Captain of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptista Fulgoso* maketh this report. This Captaine making a sally forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyst or smal Gally appertaining to them of *Cathelogna*; wherein there was another Captaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Geneways*. Notwithstanding, in regard of the malice which the *Geneways* bare to the *Cathelognians*, hee gaue command, that this Captaine thus taken prisoner, should forthwith be hanged. The Captaine, shedding many teares, humbly requested, that he might not so shamefully be put to death, considering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourse to the Diuine Iudge of al men, speaking thus to the cruell Captaine; *Seeing thou wilt needes execute on me this most vniust sentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iust auenger of iniuried innocents. And therefore I humbly desire, that (this instant day) thy soule may appeare with mine before him, to yeeld an account for the wrong thou hast done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Captaine also dyed, and doubtlesse went to render a reason for his most extreme cruelty.

I could alledge many examples more, aptly suted to this purpose; but for the strangest of all, I will relate what hapned at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally cost most deare vnto the whole Citty, according as it is briefely reported by *Gontier*, that renowned Poet, who wrot the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that name. *Conradus* also the Byshop, declareth the same in his history, among many things hapning in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the sixt his sonne; the History ensueth in this manner.

In the Citty of *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred and fifty, little more or lesse, ther liued an Arch Byshop, named *Henrie*, a man singular in all vertues. This Archbyshop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Pastor, as indeed hee was, did seuerely chastise publike sinnes and offences, because he was very iealous of Gods honour, and loue of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Heereuppon wicked and dissolute persons grewe hatefull against him, deuising many false and slanderous accusations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, imposing so many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnmeete for such a dignity.

Vertue neuer wanted malicious enimies

These matters thus vnderstoode by the Pope, who alwayes thought him to bee a iust and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to such a crowde of accusers as desired iustice; at last he aduertised the Arch-byshop of these foule accusations. The good reuerend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee most affected, and on whom hee had bestowed more especiall fauours, then on any man else beside. Hee was a Priest by profession, named *Arnolde*, aduanced vnto many great dignities, as being a man of rich spirite, eloquence, and abounding in the wealth of the world beside.

The Pope acquainteth the Archbyshop with his accusations.

Arnolde comming to *Rome*, beeing enstructed and pressed on by the diuell; concluded in his priuate thoughts, to depriue his Lord of so high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himselfe. Which that he might the better compas, hauing brought great summes of money thether with him, he suborned two wicked Cardinals, who, in sted of speaking in his Lords fauour, should enforce all matters more against him. For they affirmed, that they stoode more obliged to God and trueth, then to worldly respects or fauors of mē: and therefore maintained, that the Archbyshop was apparantly culpable of all the crimes inferred against him, and thereby iustly deserued depriuation. The Pope being thus abusiuely perswaded by theyr report, thought to haue sent two Priestes thether, to acquaint him with this information confirmed against him: but (indeede) he sent the two Cardinals confederated with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Processe, by them concluded for present execution.

The arriuall of Arnolde at Rome, and his wicked dealing against his Master.

The wickednesse of two corrupted Cardinalles.

They

The wronged Captaines words before his death.

The sodaine death of the Geneway Captaine the same day.

Gontierus in lib. de Vit. Fred. Imperat. Conrad. Epis. in hist. de Reb. diuers.

The history of Henry arch Bishoppe of Mentz in Germanie.

The perſecution of the Cardinalles with Arnold, againſt the Arch byſhop.

They were no ſooner arriued in *Germany*, but they ſummoned the Arch-Byſhop to come before them, wher his hearing was admitted in ſuch ſort, that ſentence was giuen againſt him, whereby he was depriued of his See and dignitie, and *Arnolde* aduanced into his place, who had ſold his Maſter, euen as *Iudas* did our bleſſed Sauiour. In pronouncing the iudgement, the Arch-Byſhop *Henry* then preſent, deliuered theſe wordes. *God knoweth, that I am moſt vniuſtly condemned: neuertheleſſe, I care not for making any appeale to the further cenſure of men: becauſe I am aſſured, that lyes ſhall bee better beleeued among you, then trueth can be in mee. Therefore I receiue this ſentence, as ſome iuſt puniſhment for my ſinnes, and yet doe appeale from your indirect doome, to the eternall iuſt Iudge Ieſus Chriſt: before whom I adiourne you three to appeare.*

The words of the Archbyſh. at his deprivation, before Arnolde and the Cardinals

Theſe words were no ſooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, ſaying; That if he pleaſed to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leyſure. This ſentence was giuen in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred, fifty ſix, which the depriued Archbyſhop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monaſtery, he ther remained the reſt of his life, yet without acception of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to paſſe vnpuniſhed, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Henrie* dyed in his Monaſtery in great holineſſe, and doubtleſſe attained the glorie long time deſired.

The ſcornfull anſwer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, ſaid: The Arch-Byſhoppe *Henry* is gone, and muſt not we in haſt follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) ſo wee made him promiſe; but let him tarry (whereſoeuer he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being ſodainly ſmitten by one of his ſeruants vpon the ſhoulder, fel downe ſo greeuouſly afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes iſſued out at his fundament, and inſtantly died. The other falling into phrenſie and madneſſe, did eate off his owne hands, and dyed very ſtrãgely. Now as concerning falſe *Arnolde*, hee exerciſed ſuch cruelties and ſeditions among the people, that he became ſo hated and deſpiſed of them all; as being one day beſiedged in a Monaſtery, hee vvas there ſlayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Cittie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that poſſibly could be deuiſed by them.

Scoffing ieſts by the two Cardinals, at deceaſed Henry.

The iuſtice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *Of the cruelty vvhich* Albouine, *King of* Lombardie, *vſed to his Queene & wife* Roſamond: *And by what meanes ſhe reuenged her ſelfe on him at length.*

The Longobardes now named Lombardes.

AMong thoſe warlike people, which yſſued out of *Germany*, and the Northerne partes, to deſcend into *Italy*; the *Longobards* are named, who for the ſpace of two hundred yeares & more, ſeized all thoſe Lands, which (til this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vntill ſuch time as *Charlemaigne* expelled them thence, according as in the Hiſtory is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpoſe. He ſaith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for ſomtime dwelt) to paſſe into *Italy*, they had one named *Albouine* their King: a man of great ſpirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conqueted in battayle *Cunimond*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwardes, cauſing his head to bee ſmitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vſed to drinke, and in triumph of his conqueſt and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his priſoner) a verie beautifull daughter to the fore-named King, called *Roſamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to ſubdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, ſixty two.

Paulus Diacon. in lib. de Geſt. Mandobard.

Cunimond K. of the Gyrpides conquered by Albouine, and his head made a drinking cup.

When he had conquered many townes and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Pauia*: where (ſince that time) the ſucceeding Kinges vſed to keepe their ſeate and continuall reſiding, as the very principall Citty of their Kingdome. Hauing

Pauia the ancient ſeate of Kings.

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reigned three yeares and three monethis, and being then at *Verona*; he appoynted a solemne feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceiued such griefe and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was conuerted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolue and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde*: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly she did, but he would not yeeld thereto, because he tooke it to be too horride a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and feating lest his intent would be discouered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compasse the height and pitch of her enterprise: she set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being aduertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, she deuised therby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secret resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; she found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vsing any one word whereby shee might be discouered; perceiuing opportunity so aptly to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou lyest (false traytour,) replyed the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Alboüine*, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is deareſt to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolued to kill the King: and for his better furtherance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the project in this manner.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chambery the Queene onely excepted, and he being a king of courage and high resolue, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which as this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vpon the Queenes issuing foorth: they entred, and for all their soft treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. When he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspition: fury, not feare made him take notice of them, but fought to defend himselfe with his weapon. Which failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene; and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as he could, till in the end they depriued him of life, yet neither noise heard, or any suspition of murther.

The maner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, Paradine and Hermigilde.

The valour of Alboüine against his murderers, euen in his death.

The king being thus dead, and all well carryed with a smoothe countenance: *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Pallace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately he did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombardes* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murthered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were preuented, for *Rosamond* and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Iewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluisinda* Daughter to King *Alboüine*, by his first wife. And for their safer security, they went to *Rauenna*, where then gouerned a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longinus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine* of *Constantinople*, by whom they were curteously entertained.

Hermigilde marrieth with Rosamond the Queene.

The slight of Rosamond & the murderers to Rauenna.

Not long after, *Longinus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enioy her in mariage, whereto he found her very tractable; councelled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then he would marry her. She that had lost all loue and

Rosamond desirous to aduance herselfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concludeth the death of Hermigilde.

feare of God, reſpect of womanhood, and dreadleſſe of the ſhame of men, coueting withal, to aduance her downefalne eſtate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoyſoned potion at his comming forth of his Bath, perſwading him, that it was moſt ſouereigne for his health; by which perſwaſion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflict his body, ſo as he plainly perceiued himſelfe to be poyſoned; drawing forth his ſword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Roſamond* to drinke vp all the reſt that remayned in the Cup, ſo that at one inſtant time they both were iuſtly requited for the death of *Albouine*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he cauſed the young Lady *Aluiſinda* to be ſeized on, and ſent her (with all her iewels and treaſure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Conſtantinople*, with *Paradine* alſo as a priſoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died moſt miſerably.

A treacherous womans wickednesse met withall, by her owne deuiſe againſt her husband.

Want of lawfull iſſue is the greateſt miſery of any kingdome.

Shame dare ſildome be ſeen in bright day-light.

The words of the Queene to the King, before ſhe would depart from his bed.

The coronation & birth of Iames, King of Arragon.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of a pleaſant, witty, and honeſt deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene vſed to her owne husband; whereby Iames, *King of* Arragon *was begotten, with other remembrances both of his birth and death.*

The Authors induction to the enſuing Hiſtory.

IVVell remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelonna*, who was the ſeauenth King of *Arragon*, had Madam *Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of Mount *Peſulin*, Nephew to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſhe being a very beautifull and vertuous Lady. All which notwithſtanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vſed ſuch ſlender teſtimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refuſed to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he ſtood obliged to doe. This ſtrange behauiour in the King, did much afflict and greeue the Queene, becauſe they had no childe to ſucceed in the Kingdome, the greateſt miſery (of all other) that can happen to a well ſeeled Eſtate. Heereupon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, (who (it may be) had formerly done ſeruice in the like affaires; ſhee compaſſed the meanes (vnder title of ſome one of the Kings cheefeſt fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourſes hauing paſſed betweene them, as in ſuch wanton ſeaſons are commonly required; the King perceiuing the day-light neere approching, in regard both of his owne honours ſafety and hers, made meanes to her for her ſpeedy departure, but ſhe taking hold of ſo good an occaſion, ſpake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none ſuch as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but be well aſſured, that this night you haue ſlept with your true Queene and VVife. Vſe what violence you ſhall pleaſe to mee, for I purpoſe not to leaue your bed, vntill ſome man, well deſeruing faith and credite, may be witneſſe of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin ſo gracious to me, that fruite (long deſired) may enſue by this aduenture; the world ſhal take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honeſt deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleaſed therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to teſtifie the truth, according to her deſire, and as (indeed) ſtood beſt with his honour. It ſo pleaſed God, that at fit and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that inſtant time conceiued with childe; at ſuch due ſeaſon as the cuſtome of women alloweth them for trauaile, ſhee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the firſt day of February, in the yeare one thouſand, one hundred, ninety ſixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother cauſed it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deſeruing memory) as they which carried the childe entred into the Church, the Prieſts began to ſing, *Te Deum laudamus*, *Wee praiſe thee O God*. Paſſing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewiſe thereinto, the Prieſts began to ſing the

The carrying of the childe to two ſeuerall Churches.

Pſalme

Pſalme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Iſrael*; *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael*; which gaue a great prognoſticating & vndoubted hope, of ſome excellent vertues to ſucceed in the childe.

A ſtrange manner of naming the Childe, by lighting of twelue Torches, tearmed the twelue Apoſtles.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, cauſed twelue Torches (of equall length and making) to be all lighted in one inſtant, the twelue Torches bearing the ſeueral names of the twelue Apoſtles. With this concluſion, that the name of the Torch which firſt fayled, or became extinguiſhed; the ſelfe-ſame name ſhould bee giuen to the childe, which happened to be that of S. *Iames*. Hereupon he was named *Iames*, becauſe it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apoſtle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuaſion vpon the *Moores*, being euermore very liberall to his Souldiers. Among other moſt notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Iſle of *Maiorica*, that then was in the *Moores* poſſeſſion, where hee fought many ſtout battailes. But after he had a long while beſiedged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewiſe other neighbouring Iſlands beſide. Then comming into his kingdome of the *Moores*, eſpecially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued ſtill the Conqueror, and neuer fayled in any of his attempts.

The vertuous qualities remaining in the Prince.

His winning the Iſle of Maiorica and the City of Carthage.

He had many children, as well ſonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he beſtowed great gifts and goodly eſtates. *Don Peter*, that afterwad was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewiſe *Don Iames*, King of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Archbiſhop of *Tolledo*. Madame *Tollant*, who was Queene of *Caſtile*; and Madame *Iſabell*, that was Queene of *France*; and Madame *Vrraqua*, who was married to *Don Emanuell*, Prince of *Caſtile*; and *Don Peter*, who eſpouſed the daughter vnto the King of *Naugrre*. He liued ſeuenty and two yeares, and dyed religiouſly, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greeuous diſeaſe, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpoſe, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would imploy the reſt of his dayes in the ſeruice of God. But weakneſſe encreaſing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the Citty of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of Auguſt.

The iſſue deſcending frō Iames King of Arragon, & their gracious good fortunes

King Iames became a Monke before his death.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of an ancient and memorable Cuſtome, obſerued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their puniſhment is to Theeues.

POpe *Pius* the ſecōd of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquiſitour for the truth of Hiſtories, as wee haue in many places formerly alledged, ſaieth in his deſcription of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is encloſed within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Auſtria*. Hee likewiſe relateth a cuſtome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obſerued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing ſome-what ſtrange, yet honeſt and very commendable. VVhich cuſtome is alſo confirmed by *A. Sabellicus*, in his tenth Decade: and by *Sebaſtian Munſter*, in his compoſed Coſmography, which is after this manner.

Aeneas Syluius in Coſmograph Mund lib. 5. cap 7.

A. Sabellicus in Dec. Hiſt. Sebaſt. Munſt. in Coſmogra.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and ſpacious plaine of olde ruined buildings, which ſeeme to bee the foundation of ſome former auncient Citty.

In which place alſo there is a great ſtone, and when obeyſance is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this preheminence in regard of his linage) hath order to ſeate himſelfe vpon that ſame ſtone. On his right hand

Preparation to the Princes election.

The manner of the Princes comming to his election.

ſtandeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth faſtened by a corde, and on his left hand ſtandeth a very leane and wretched Mare, tyed in like máner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be enſtalled, muſt make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horſe-backe, ryding in very formall order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and ſightly then all the reſt, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by eſpeciall priuiledge.

The Princes being at the Stone before him that muſt elect him.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howſoeuer ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepheards habite, commeth to the Stone wheron the poore man ſitteth, & as he perceiueth him to approch ſomewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that commeth towards him with ſuch glory and felicity? Anſwer is inſtantly made him, that it is the man, who commeth to bee created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out. Is he a iuſt Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iuſtice? Will hee preſerue the defence and ſafety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Chriſtian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Ieſus Chriſt? And all the company maketh anſwer, that he is ſuch a man, and will ſo continue. Then he beginneth againe, and maketh another demand. By what right or reaſon cometh he to diſpoſſeſſe me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which queſtion, the Earle that beareth the cheefeſt Standard replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forſake this place, threeſcore Ducates of gold ſhall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as alſo this Mare ſhall both be thine owne, beſide the rich Robe, which our King did laſt of all put off, ſhall alſo bee thine: moreouer, thou and thy family ſhal bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After theſe words, the Prince approcheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheeke, commanding him (in any caſe) to be a good Iuſticer: & ſo deſcending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

The ſeuerall queſtions of the poore husbandman.

The Earle that carrieth the cheefeſt Standard, his anſwer to the poore man.

The Prince created with a boxe on the eare.

Then the Prince diſmounting from his horſe, aſcendeth vp, and ſitteth vpon the ſtone, where drawing foorth his Sword, and turning to each ſide of the ſtone, ſtill flouriſhing the weapon round about him; hee maketh a ſolemne promiſe before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can ſpeake, that he will be a iuſt Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepheards bonnet) a ſmall quantity of water to drinke: and ſo deſcending from the ſtone, hee re-mounteth on horſebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mas. Which being finiſhed, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open fielde, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iuſtice ſpeake vnto him, to inſtruct him in the lawes of the Country: and theſe are the vſuall ceremonies, obſerued at the creation of euery Prince.

The Prince mounteth on the Stone.

The Princes promiſe before all the people.

The Prince changeth his humble garments.

There is another cuſtome in vſe among theſe people, for the puniſhment of theſts and robberies; which I hold to be vniuſt, and ouer-cruell, eſpecially to bee vſed among Chriſtians. For hauing but ſome note or apprehenſion onely, that ſuch a man ſtandeth in repute to be a theefe; they forthwith ſend him to execution, without any other proceeding againſt him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witneſſes with all care and diligence; when if it ſhall appeare by ſolemne inquiſition, that he proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they ſuffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peecemeale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obſequies and funerall, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the ſaluation of his ſoule.

A cruell ceremony, for the puniſhment of theeues & robbers, too barbarous among Chriſtians.

A poore recompence for the leſſe of a mans life and reputation.

With this ſeuerity doe they chaſtiſe theeues and robbers, neuertheleſſe, I read of ſome other Nations, that greatly haue ſupported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egiptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his Attick nights. And the *Lacedemians* likewiſe, who permitted their children to bee theeues, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandring abroad in the night ſeaſon, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithſtanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

Aul. Gellius Noct. Attic. lib.

Lawes

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the reſt; wherein he commanded, that euery kinde of theft ſhould bee puniſhed with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* ſaide, that hee had written that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The cuſtome which yet to this day is obſerued for hanging of theeues, was firſt of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Lodouicus Viues*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his Diſciplines.

Drato his ſeuere Law againſt all manner of theftes, and Solons mitigation thereof.

At what time the hanging of theeues was firſt ordained.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

In what part of the Zodiaque the Sunne and Moone, and likewiſe the other Planets were, at their firſt creating. Alſo of the beginning of yeares, and the courſe of times.

THE learned Philoſophers ſay, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreouer, ſuch is the zeale of their affection in this caſe, and the bent of humane vnderſtanding ſo full of ſtrange queſtionings, as they cannot content themſelues to know ſuch things as they may with ſome eaſe comprehend onely: but ouer and beſide, they are ſcrutinous and ſearching (through bold preſumption) to know ſuch cauſes as are very hard, and almoſt impoſſible. Nor hath this painefull deſire beene altogether fruitleſſe and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre ſhort of expectation: becauſe by contemplation and continuall ſtudy, they haue found out ſuch matters, as ſeemed before vtterly impoſſible and ſupernaturall, or that they ſhould any way be attayned vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens; the courſe of the Planets and other Starres, with their ſeuerall influences and power, and the like things beſide: among which is comprized my preſent intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purpoſed to diſcourſe on, to wit, how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to ſpeake better; when, or in what ſeaſon God created the world; when began the yeare and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at firſt, when hee began his courſe; & likewiſe the Moone with the other Starres and Planets.

Men are naturally deſirous to know all things whatſoeuer.

The benefit of contemplation and ſtudy high and difficult matters.

The Authors purpoſe in his Chapter.

Curious queſtions, & couetted to be knowne.

Ariſtotle did little care for theſe queſtions, and infinite other Philoſophers beſide, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleeue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But ſuch as haue declared themſelues not to be ignorant in theſe things, but verily beleeued the beginning of times, ſeeme to ſtand diuided betweene two opinions. There are ſome among them, who ſay, that in the inſtant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the firſt point of *Aries*, or the Ram.me, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time comming then to the eleuenth day of March. Others ſay, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the firſt point of *Libra*, or the Ballances, which is the other Equinoctiall of VVinter, commonly happening in theſe our dayes, on the thirteenth or foureteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egiptians*, *Arabes*, and *Greekes* likewiſe; according as *Lincolnienſis* reporteth, in a Treatiſe of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Vincentius* in his hiſtoricall Mirrour.

Ariſtotle and the other Philoſophers opinion of the world.

Two opinions concerning the Sun and Moone at the worlds creation.

Equinoctium vernale.

Equinoctium Autumnale.

1. Lincol. in Tract. Mund. Vincent. in Mir. Hiſtoriale.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reaſon for it, which (in my iudgment) is very weake, and of no force. For they ſay, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very beſt of their ſauour; becauſe it was moſt requiſite, that (at the beginning) the earth ſhould preſent it ſelfe in the height of perfection. To this purpoſe, they produce authority out of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid; *That God made all things perfect and compleate*. There are ſome others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greateſt day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entred into the ſigne of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Iulius Firmicus*, an

A reaſon alledged for the earths perfection at the beginning.

Deut. 32. 4.

The entrance of times and yeares.

must be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or fiue daies old. Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights shold illuminate the earth at one instant. I say moreouer, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourny; which else she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiaque. Heereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fifteenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affecteth most to be; & of this opiniō is *Macrobius*, in his first Book of *Scipios* dreame.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

Macrob. in lib. 1 de Somn. Scip.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuertheless, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should bee in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricanus* declareth in his Summary, entitled *Agricano*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expresly the same signs, yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in coniunction with the Sunne. *Gaultierus* the Monke, in his book of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmely this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they beeing in coniunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, beeing created according to the will of God; *It sufficeth* (saith *Augustine*) *that they were made, in beeing perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soeuer they be) are perfect.*

Iul. Firmic. in lib. 2. de creat. Mund.

Elpacus in Tract. Astrolog. Ioan. Agrican. in Sum. Agric. Macrob. in lib. de Som. Scip.

Gault. in lib. de Mund. cap. 5.

The Planets not then in coniunction with the Sun.

Aug. in Gen. cap. 6.

CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birdes, Flyes, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.

VVEe haue already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue enstructed men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preseruing themselues from harmes: now I am briefely to entreate, how their example may bee profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoeuer wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts; shall not onely thence deriue good enstructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men striue to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselues together in each kinde, and stand defensiue one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, perceiuing & obseruing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her prouision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes; noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Common-weales as haue no Prince, but enioy all things in common; may not they learne an example of liuing in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserue an order of peace & iustice among themselues? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what mansuetude and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

In the fifteen Chapter of the 7. Booke.

Concord and amity among brute beasts, examples to men.

Slothfulnesse and negligence reproued by the Ante.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against common weales that haue no Prince.

Of clemency and mansuetude.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and silliest of his Subiects?

Humility and lowlinesse of minde.

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camell, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder eyther from their first choyse. I finde written moreouer, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widdow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widdowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widdowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well neere) do lesson vs therin: for after the Female hath conceiued, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temprance in all vices; becausse they eate no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requireth.

Faithfull loue in mariage, enstructed by Pigeons and Turtle-Doues

Ambrosius Serm. de Nupt.

Continency taught (almost) by all kinde of Beasts.

Examples of Temperance.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly gouerned, the Peacoke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstructer can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requireth, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and assist them, the Storke plainly witnesseth; by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfulnesse, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefits, wee are notably taught by the meere behauiour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for the poorest bread they eate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or iniury done him; let him so carry himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth hony out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

For good order in behauiour.

For good and liberal houle keeping.

Duty in children towards their parents.

Sinne committed thorow feare and frailty.

Faithfulnesse, friendship, & good turnes receiued.

Benefit receiued without preiudice.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreouer, they will liue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men herein as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quite remoued from them, beeing endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth whatsoeuer is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstructed? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other mellodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couet not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallowes skilfull enstruction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? What better Astrologye, then that of the Ante, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called * *Vranoscopos*, that hauing but one eye, yet lookes continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meerely ignorant in these Artes?

Healthfull preseruation of life.

Absolute learning and vnderstanding.

Skill in Musique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologye.

Galen in lib. 4

* A Fish whose eye is alwayes directed vpward.

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caues in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Seres*, that enstructed the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do it;

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of Silke.

Making of cloth.

Catching of Birds.

Swimming in the water.

Rules for phisick, & knowledge in weather.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath else where bene handled; and yet notwithstãding we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their flesh is our best Foode: both beeing brought home to vs from far remote countreyes, and whatsoeuer is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth plyable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are sore laboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Our wearing garments and foode.

The cheefest support of our liues.

Examples concerning the soule.

Come wee now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man deriue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perswaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

All moral Parables grounded on beasts.

Beasts commended to vs in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuil manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doues; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of bruite beasts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritually affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beastes, and according vnto theyr properties. By Oxen (according to S. *Augustine*, writing on the second Chapter of S. *Iohn*) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holye Scriptures: for they till and plough vppe the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious word.

Reasonable men instructed by example of bruite beasts.

August. in lib. sup. Ioan. cap. 2.

Saint *Paule*, and *Salomon* in his Prouerbes doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Prouerb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Dogs. Saint *Gregorie* speakes it on the wordes of *Iob*: *Quorum non dignabar patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint *Gregorie*, inuiteth men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the immitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the wordes in *Leuiticus* seem his motiue thereto, Leuitic. chapt. 14. verse 12. *Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered.*

Gregor. in lib. 13. de Moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should immitate the Cocke; as grounding on the words of *Iob*, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaime (in the dimme darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepy sinnes, saying with S. *Paul, The night is past, and day approacheth.* And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee iust, and sinne not.* Phil. 1, 12.

Gregor. in Lib. vbi supra.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Ephes. 5. 9.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Doue, as *Salomon* declareth in his Canticles, saying. *Beholde, thou art faire my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doues.* And againe in another place: *O my Loue, O my Doue.* We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beastes. If I wold continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discourse on. But aboue all other, that of our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beast, as Saint *Iohn* speaketh in his Apocalypse, chapt. 7. verse 14. *The Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah hath beene victorious.* And *Dauid* sayeth in his Psalmes, *Rouze thee like a Lyon:* and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside, in S. *Mathew*, he tearmeth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not.*

The Church resembled to a Doue.

Cant. 3, 1.

Iesus Christ figured by a beast.

Psalme 21.

Matth. 23.

Seeing

Christs works compared to the properties in beasts.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow theyr nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very vilely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all other creatures, dayly peruerting and adulterating his works. So that there are some beasts, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that knowe what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet *Esay*: *The Oxe knoweth his Master, and the Asse his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not; neither will his people vnderstand him.*

Man more offensiue vnto God then all his other creatures.

Some men do giue worse examples to men, then brute beastes that do.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and vvant of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military affayres.

WE haue already declared, how *Bayan Chinsan*, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperor *Cublay*, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first arriuall, for conquering the great Prouince of *Mangy*, before all the rest would yeeld themselues tributary. One of them was vtterly ruined to the very foundation and worse vsed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said *Cublay*, which was aboue fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called *Cinguinguy*, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdome of *Mangy*, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

the eight pt. of the book in the 1 volume.

Cinguinguy second citie in the kingdome of Mangy.

Bayan Chinsan, pursuing his Conquests, was much withstood by a strong Castle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall constructure. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that preuayled with great aduantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountaine: and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwardes it prooued true indeed.

A strong Castle resisteth Bayans passage.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators, or scoutes vvere come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of *Cinguinguy*, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the Citty appeared, to knowe nothing of his comming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besiedging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good soldiars, all of them being christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and dayly yet doe) to possesse themselues of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all conuenient speede that might be.

Return of his scoutes from Cinguinguy.

The commād that Bayan gaue to his squadron of Christians.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arriued before the Citty, and lodged themselues on the Ditches side, before any in the Citty took notice therof. They made the scalado in so many seuerall places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or elsebe seene vpon the wals. At length, the besiedged (imagining the army that had thus engirt thē, was of far greater strength then it vvas indeed) being ouercome with feare, rendred themselues to the discretion & mercy of the assaylants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in seue-

The Christians arriuall before Cinguinguy

The men of Cinguinguy yeeld to the Christians.

ral

rall houses. And these indiscreete conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the Citty well furnished with victuals of all kindes, & whatsoeuer was needfull for the life of man, but (aboue all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselues good cheere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

The careless neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfet and drunkennesse.

Heereuppon the Inhabitants finding themselues deceiued, in yeelding to so smal a number of people, that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fairely befalne them; began to consult heereon with themselues, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants; that lodged the Soldiors in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his gueſt, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the midst of the Citty, saying: These are the renegadoes and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account; but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

The Army of Christians slaine in their drunkennesse, and shamefully vsed by the Inhabitants.

Bayan Chinsan hauing surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hanged, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiours, iourneying afterward on to *Cinguinguy*: but within lesse then two dayes iourney, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong siedge before the Citty. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open apparance of their power; but suddenly surprized their Citty. Moreouer, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deserued ouerthrow of such careless people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan, & tydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

A Parlee required before further proceeding, and answer returned by them of Cinguinguy.

Wine and gourmandizing more respected than manhood.

Bayan returned his answer bravely and succinctly, saying. His men were warriours, that had no other direction in this businesse, but command from his mouth onely, and he had beene well informed, that they tooke the Citty by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiues or mayds, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tollerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least iniury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes, wholly Christian, he neuer innouated any matter touching their Religion. Moreouer, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriours, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conuersation, then any other Religion whatsoeuer.

Bayan replyeth to the men of Cinguinguy.

The Christians detected in their profession, and whole kingdomes conquered, permitted to enioy the benefit of their religion.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doubtlesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute deny-all of pardon or fauour) he vowed to bee reuenged on the men of *Cinguinguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary manfuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Bayan denieth pardon or fauour, vowing death and bloody reuenge.

Hauing thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to bee mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the Citty, with-

In what manner Bayan destroyed the Citty of Cinguinguy.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were aboue 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselues pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-crie, to such as would giue the most mony for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Bengala*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittailes beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the cittie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, vntil it were intirely consumed.

Children sold at the Outcry, to who gaue most.

This Citty was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the cõmerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & faireſt works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of golde and siluer, as no other Citty in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and silke. In briefe, it was the second or third Citty (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkennes of *Nestorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Illium* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may bee seene to this day, whereat full many haue stoode amazed, it being scituated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displesure of God, and for the bloudy massacre of so many Christians.

The descripton of the situation of the City of Cinguinguy, and the commodities made therein.

Cinguinguy the second or third citty in al those parts.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *Fraunce*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the Catholiques, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, ouerthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie, whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the *Switzers* to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Hereupon the Protestants becomming insolent, and vtterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their rankes, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runawayes, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Swart-rutters* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monsieur de Guyse*, a most wise and valiant Captaine, hauing yet left him a band of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellowes with his troupes, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becomming sole maister of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their rankes, following the chase, and scraping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly ouercome them: did they not declare themselues very vnaduised, becomming guilty and well worthie of death? I am perswaded, that all good warriours are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vtterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equall in great Captaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

A view of som such disorders among our selues.

The fault of the Protestãts in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a verie worthie and tried warrior, ouerthrew the Protestants, and tooke the Prince of Cõde prisoner.

The Protestãt Army vtterly foyled.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the Citty of *Cinguinguy*, should haue disarmed the Cittizens, seazed the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the Citty, imprisoned the chiefest persons, expelled out of the Citty, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstayned from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereaueth a

What the Christians ought to haue done, vppon their victorie at Cinguinguy.

Wine most hurtful to any good Souldiour.

good Souldiour of manly iudgement, and maketh him merely brutish in behauiour.

CHAP. XXXVII.

¶ *Of the miserable ends, and other strange trauerses, endured by diuerse Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these times.*

The Authour shapeth his course in this argument after Petrarke.

ACcording to the imitation of *Petrarke*, I am desirous to describe the vnhappie ends, and other aduersities, happening vnto diuerse famous Christian Princes; as Kings, Emperours, Dukes, Popes, and other Prelates, liuing within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these dayes, some of them being familiarly knowne to vs; omitting such as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue set downe in their writings, because I would not be troublesome to the Reader, by repeating Histories else-where to be read; (and perhappes) knowne to him before. And if it come to passe, that any worthie person, constituted in some eminent dignitie, chaunce to feele the fickleneſse of Fortune, by such occasions as shall ensue in this Chapter; let him take comfort, and forsake all sadneſse; for it is no meane consolation to the miserable, to haue store of companions ranked with them in their disasters.

Aduice to persons of honor and eminence

George King of Bohemia *in Anno* 1466.

We will begin then with a king of *Bohemia* named *George*, who liued in the yere 1466, who was reputed to be a man of great wisedome, and was elected *(in sede vacante)* or *inter-regnum* after the death of *Ladislaus*, who died on the very day of his marriage, solemnized at *Prage*, the capitall cittie of his Kingdome, hauing taken in marriage Madame *Magdalen*, daughter to *Charles* the seauenth King of *Fraunce*. This *George* hauing obtayned the amitie of many in the Kingdome, and making himselfe much feared beyond many other; was installed King, and gaue his daughter in marriage, to *Mathias* King of *Hungarie*. In his elder yeres *Ferdinand* King of the *Romaines*, brother to *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, possessed himselfe of his Kingdome, he holding then but a small portion thereof, because hee was molested many yeares before, by the Kings of *Poland*, *Hungaria*, and some Emperours, by the solicitation of Pope *Paule*, the second; for sauouring of the *Hussites* Doctrine, in which cause he was so vehemently afflicted, that it shortened his dayes. He dyed much bemoaned; for in his youth, and while his body held the strongest vigour, hee performed many notable and worthie exploits in warres against the *Turkes*.

King George one of the Hussites religion.

Another Prince, some short while before, *Charles Bourgony*, Sonne vnto *Phillip*, one of the most potent and vndoubted Christian Princes, that was in those times, beeing in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred and two and twenty. Hee vnderstoode himselfe to be so rich and mightie, that hee pretended to create himselfe a King. But *Fredericke* the third of that name, beeing then Emperour, would not admit such an aduancement of his Countrey. His father left him great store of coyne, and many large reuenewes of diuerse Seigneuries: hauing lent foure hundred thousand crownes to *Charles* the seauenth, holding all the Townes and Countries, on, and about the riuer of *Somme*; as *Amiens*, *Abeuille*, Saint *Quintines*, and others beside. Hee held also (by way of mortgage) of *Sigismund*, Archduke of *Austria* in *Germany*, the lands to him belonging, both on this side, and beyond the Riuer of *Rheine*, and the Earledome of *Ferrat*, for three score and tenne thousand florins: whereby ensued, the Gouernour which he placed ouer those Lands, was the cause of diuerse mis-happes and ignominies, that followed vpon him very suddenly.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, sonne to Philip.

400000 duckats crownes lent to King Charles the seauenth.

Moreouer, hee was Lord of foureteene goodly Prouinces; as the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, the *French Court*, of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, *Henault*, *Artois*, *Namures*, *Gueldres*, *Luxembourg*, *Vtrecht*, and *Embourg*, all which Countries valewed well a large Kingdome.

The greatnes and riches of Charles duke of Burgogne, with the forefall lands that he was Lord of.

And in regarde of his pompe and wealth

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vndertake the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, beeing then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condiscend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* king of *England*, beeing expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Lewes the eleuenth imprisoned by duke Charles.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Nuz* (which is not farre from *Cologne*) for the space of a yeare, but all in vaine. Euery one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shal soone perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortuned, that this *Charls* had instituted as Gouernour ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thiefe and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagembach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhuse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knighthoode, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

The bold presumption of Charles duke of Burgogne.

Peter de Hagembach Count of Thierstene, Deputie to Duke Charles in Austria, degraded and beheaded.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were consigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basile*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Country, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagembach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Millaine*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Lausanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

The beginning of the Dukes downfall and misfortunes.

Thence hee went and besieged the Towne and Castle of *Granson*, soliciting them to yeeld themselues. They hauing humbly submitted themselues, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to bee drowned, in the neerest Lake adioyning to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Extingen* was the conducter) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artillerie and furniture for warre, which was, great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged; in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgognions*.

An Armie assembled by the Duke.

A most inhumane deed of the Duke.

The Duke chased from Granson, and his furniture for warre taken.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carryed along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessells both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valew and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greatest and clearest that those times affoorded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was solde for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly guilded, wherein he vsed to bathe himselfe, was solde for foure pounds. I cannot heere set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with vn-ualuable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on whereseoeuer hee went. To be briefe, the Reader would be wearied in rehearsall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greatest enemies made their triumph.

The Dukes moueables caried always with him in warre.

The great simplicitie of the Switzers, in making sale of the Dukes treasure.

Then falling into a long and greeuous sickenesse, at the length hee recouered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nancie* from *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

The Duke of *Bourgongne* being before *Morat*, the people of the Towne yſſued forth, and ſo beſet the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thouſand (according to *Faſciculus Temporum*) or twentie two thouſand, and ſeuen hundred (according to the *Mother of Hiſtories*) were ther ſlaine. The ſpoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewiſe recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

Faſcic. Temp. Mater Hiſtor.

Rene Duke of Lorraine.

A third time likewiſe, the Duke of *Bourgongne*, being not a little offended, that he ſhold be vanquiſhed by ſo mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with freſh forces, and beſiedged it againe with fourteene thouſand able fighting men, beſide ſome other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgongne* was diſcomfited, and all his army; but by no meanes could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perſwaded that hee was ſlaine: but hauing eſcaped from the field, hee had retyred himſelfe into Germanie, where he had vowed to liue in ſeuen years penitence.

A third battel vndertaken by the Duke of Bourgongn and loſt alſo.

The vanity of the Bourguignons concerning the Dukes death.

There were ſome *Bourguignons*, that made ſale of precious Stones, Horſes, and ſuch like things, to be paide againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Bruchelles*, in the Dioceſſe of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, immagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgongne*, becauſe he liued in the like eſtate of penance; which made verie many trauaile to ſee him, and beſtow very liberall almes on him. *Nauclerus* reporteth, that he ſaw the poore man begging in the ſame place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, ſeized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeuille*, *Monſtreul*, *Arras*, *Heſdin*, and the two *Bourgongnes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gaunt* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his eſtates very poorely, and marryed her as themſelues pleaſed; ſhe hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his beſt officers. Thus you ſee how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied vvith many misfortunes.

Nauclerus in lib. 7. cap. 10.

The vnfortunate end of ſo great a Duke.

Vladiſlaus, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. He conceiued ſuch glory by ſeeing himſelfe King of two ſuch mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himſelfe to be inuincible. Whereuppon, being deſirous to imploy his valour in warre againſt ſome enemie, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungares* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the firſt battayle hee gaue, he was quickely ſlayne, and hadde but a ſhort enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconſtancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was ſoon cut off, and all his ſuppoſed power vtterly quailed.

Vladiſlaus K. of Poland and Hungaria, & howe little a while hee enioyed both his kingdoms, thorough his owne folly.

The Emperor of the Eaſt, *Conſtantine Paleologus*, ſome fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladiſlaus*, in the other world. For *Conſtantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was beſiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſir-named the *Great*, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *Iohn Iuſtinian* of *Geneway*; *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and foure hundred Cannons, and the ſiedge continued threeſcore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murthered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carryed vppon a Launces point, and ſo conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his bodye was trodden vnto dirte with their feete. *Mahomet* alſo cauſed a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vppon it (in ſcornefull deriſion) theſe words: *This is the GOD of the Chriſtians*: commanding likewiſe, that euery one ſhould caſt dung and filthe vppon the fayre Image.

Conſtantine Paleologus, Emperour of the Eaſt.

The power of Mahomet before Conſtantinople.

The Empe-rors body tra-den vnder foote, and his head cut off.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Nobleſt Ladyes attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greateſt Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

The ſhame done vnto the Empreſſe, and her daughters.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes ſtanding) put to death likewiſe. VVhich I may by no meanes omit, becauſe it was the forenamed *Iohn Iuſtinian* the *Genoueſe*, a trayterous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Conſtantinople*, or be the meanes whereby hee ſhoulde ſurprize it. *Mahomet* kept promiſe with him; for hee conſtituted him a King for three dayes ſpace: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee ſmitten off. So ſayeth *Faſciculus Temporum*; and

The Treaſon of Iohn Iuſtinian, and his ſuſt requeſt being a King of three dayes ſtanding.

that

that theſe things happened in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

Of Charles the eight, K. of France.

I am ſure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of ſtate, the noble Kings of France vſe to take their reſt, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the inquity of our times hath beene ſuch, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a Iaxe. I ſpeake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdome, hauing beene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calbria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battailes in thoſe countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eeue, being the ſeuenth of Aprill, one thouſand foure hundred ninety eight, leading his Queene by the hand, *Anne* of *Bretaigne*, to ſee certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Caſtle of *Amboiſe*, entred into an olde, broken, vncouered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow againſt the vpper part of the doore, albeit himſelfe was but of lowe ſtature. Taking hold vpon ſome ſtayes for his recouery, neere vnto a noyſome place, where euery one that would (by cuſtome) vſed to let paſſe their vrine, and other vncleanneſſe of the body; he was contented to endure it, and ſtood there merrily diſcourſing with the Queene, and other noble perſons there preſent, iudging who deſerued beſt of them that played. Suddenly hee was ouercome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his ſtrength and motion in euery part of his body, he was depriued likewiſe of his ſpeech. This was perceiued by all there-about him, and how he lay vppon the ground, in ſuch a foule, ſtinking, and vnſeemely place; yet no one had the care, or ſubiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not aboue twenty paces off.

His conqueſt of Naples, Calabria and Apulia.

What fate hath ordayned to a man, cannot be auoyded.

Little care had of ſo famous a King, that in ſo great an extremity, to let him die in ſo ſtinking a place.

Hee languiſhed in this manner, for the ſpace of nine houres, and dyed there in that noyſome place. Is it not a matter deſeruing admiration, that ſo worthy a King ſhould dye in ſo vile a place, being in his owne houſe, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the ſweete ſmelling Floure-de-Luce, to expire and ende his dayes, not among hearbs or flowers of pleaſing ſauour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worſe?

And to ſhew yee, that great Princes are as ſubiect to dye in battailes, as the ſimpleſt Souldiours: *Iames*, King of *Scottes*, may ſerue as an example, for hee was ſlayne in the field, with twoo Biſhoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happned in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, *John d'Albret* king of *Nauarre*, loſt his Kingdome, which was ſeazed by *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, becauſe hee ſtoode accurſed by Pope *Iulius*, for aſſiſting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre againſt him; and aboue all, in the battaile of *Rauenna*, which vntill this preſent his Succeſſours neuer enioyed.

Iames the fourth, King of Scots, ſlain in battaile.

Iohn d'Albret King of Nauarre loſt his kingdome.

And *Lewes Sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Millaine*, was led priſoner into *Fraunce*, flying before the *French* to *Nauarra*, a Citty of his Dukedome; hee was confined to impriſonment, within the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and pouertie) hee finiſhed his dayes.

Lewes Sforza, Duke of Millaine, confined in priſon, where he dyed.

What ſhall wee ſay of King *Frances*, firſt of that name, the Father of Learning, whoſe wiſedome and magnanimitie, could not warrant him againſt the Ambuſcadoes of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembred? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatneſſe, and had beene his competitour in the Empire, oppoſing himſelfe againſt many of his deſſignes. Hee detayned him priſoner aboue a yeare; during which time, hee had a moſt yrkeſome diſeaſe, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grieuous conditions. As, to renounce and diſclayme a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdomes. Beſide, he gaue ſo great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as diſcharge of martiall affaires, and his ranſome withall, that his kingdome (for euer after) felt the ſmart thereof.

Frances the firſt, King of France, the patrone of learning.

The hard enforcements of King Francis.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconſtant Fortune; but Eccleſiaſticall perſons alſo, how-

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrologye, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the fist degree of the signe Leo*; which is the signe wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saieth, in discouering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

Iul. Firmicus in lib. 3. de creat. Mund.

The signe Leo the house of the Sunne.

But that which rellisheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heauens began to bee mooued; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. *Hierome*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Basile*, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the yeare, was in the Equinoctiall of our Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds begining to be in March, and others in Aprill: it may well bee endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as wee haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies firme or constant: for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the fiue and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heeretofore it was in Aprill.

The most probable opinion of all other.

S. *Hierome.* S. *Ambrose.* S. *Basile.*

The ful agreement of all together.

On what day was the passion of our blessed Sauiour.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that whē the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth * Nisan* (which is March with vs) *is the entrance to your yeare. Vincentius*, in the beginning of his historicall Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their yeare in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise helde by some of the Gentiles; as *Elpacius* in his Astrologicall Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleeued likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entred into the first point or degree of Aries*: and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therfore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the yeare, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the yeare: considering, that till then, there was neyther time nor yeare. And therefore the signe of Aries is reckoned (aboue all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelue signes.

Concerning the first Moneth of the yeare.

*Containing part of March and part of Aprill.

Vincent. in Mir. Hist. cap. 1.

Elpac. in Tract. astrolog.

Concerning the beginning of the yeare, of what Moneth and on what day.

Aries the first in order among the 12. signes.

Now, as when we come to iudge of the reuolution of yeares, and things to happē therin, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; euen so it is as easie to prooue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this signe, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may bee coniectured without any great labor, by our profe made in the sixt Chapter of the seuenth Book, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Sauiour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfesame at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousnesse made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctial of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that euen so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Of the time and day when as Christ suffered his Passion, compared with the day of the worlds creation.

Moreouer, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrologye, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entring into the degree of this signe, and making his reuolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnlookt on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiaque, because in what place else soeuer hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but beeing in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh along

At what time the Sunne illuminateth all the world together, with the cleare radiance of his beames.

A reason alledged of good consequence for the Sunnes first appearing.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes iourney. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting foorth on prograce, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should bee in the signe Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfe-same place, therefore there is some particular power in this signe.

Against such as maintaine the worlds beginning in the Equinoctiall of winter

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to bee in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weake. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripened towards the Northerne latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already prooued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flowers ouer all the earth, all things beeing thē in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to cleare all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane yeare, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ianuary: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Ianus*, coueting to haue their yeare beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the yeare doth not then begin.

At what time is the beginning of the Spring.

Of the Romane yeare, beginning the first day of Ianuary.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their yeare in March, according as *Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, *Ouid* in his *Fasts*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his immense goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northerne parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestriall Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperare, which was done for the consolation of their misery and nakednesse, and so they could not haue found it, if it had not beene Spring-time.

Marc. Varro in lib. 9 Macrob. in lib. Ouid in Fast.

The first season that Adā and Eue saw the world was the Spring time.

This matter being sufficiently prooued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in coniunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the fift Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to bee in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inconuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vrdge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in coniunction, encreasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quiet this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition of the Sun. And it seemeth, that this iudgement is the most receiued, as of S. *Augustine*, in the place before alledged, and *Rabanus* on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night*. Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moity of the world, because in that moity or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moity could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moity of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verefied apparantly, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Of the Moon said to be in coniunction with the Sun at her creation.

Aug. in Gen. cap. 5.

Others hold her to be in opposition.

The Authors iudgement in this case.

Rabanus in Exod. cap. 12.

Gen. 1, 16.

The seuerall Offices of the Sunne and Moone for night & day, to be both done at one instant.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in coniunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fifteene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before she could lend any light to the earth, and that must

Against the coniunction of the Moone with the Sun at that time.

hauing formerly made him beleeue, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worse. *Muley Mahumet* was one of the first that fled, shaping his course towards the riuer of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrops, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for K. *Sebastian*, after that all his men were slain, or (at least) put to flight; he was assayled on al sides (hauing but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Muley Mahumet flying from the fight was drowned in the Riuer of Arache.

King Sebastian slaine among his own Souldiors, but hardly known

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greeuous sickenesse, by eating a messe of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curded on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuertheless, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and prease into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer; he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side. Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three seuerall meanes: for *Muley Mahumet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* dyed by sickenesse. Their bodies also receiued diuersity of handling or vsage: for the body of *Mahumet* was flayed, & the skinne stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Cities in the kingdomes of *Fez* & *Marocco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcassarquibier*, without any Priest for the funerall obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, despoyling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Mahometanes*. The fore-said groome saued himself miraculously, for of the whol Christian Army, either Soldiors or other, there did not escape 200. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter, royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuennues, to diuers Priests of the *Mahometane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Abdelmelec fell deadly sicke some 8 dayes before the battaile, and dyed in his Litter in the midst of the fight.

Three Kings ended their liues in one day diuersly.

The death & buriall of three Kings bodies very strange as sildome the like hath beene heard of.

Not two hundred saued of all the Christian Army.

The royall buriall of Abdelmelec.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahumet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diuers; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To king *Sebastian*, *Philip* King of *Spain*, who was (a farre off) a kinesman to him, yet then the neerest that could bee found, because the other was neuer maried. Here we may apparantly perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessefull ending in the very greatest, or of highest aduancement in this world, as well as those of much meaner condition, & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Affrica*, in the kingdomes of *Marocco* and *Fez*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Moneth of August, and in the yeare 1578.

Of the successors to the seuerall Kings in their dominions, after their deaths.

God disposeth of all things, as himself best liketh.

I could heere alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarsely honorable or happy, and that within thirty yeare of this instant: but because I know, that these times do affoord some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a freer temper, but as void of pitty, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forbeare to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

The Author vnwilling to wade in tedious relations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That Princes are commonly such in their actions, manners, and pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.

THere neede no doubt to bee made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: *That the course of Nature shoulde sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes.* This is not onely to bee vnderstood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garmēts. This may easily be prooued; for *Alexander* the Great but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

Theodericke, K. of Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome.

The Courtiers of Alexander, and of K. Alphonsus.

Alphonsus King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, hauing a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, inforced to wry theyr neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carryed his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrrhus*.

Plutarch in vit. Pyr.

King *Frances*, the first of that name, vsed continually to weare his haire verie long, and (as it was saide) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and weare them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long locks to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwardes, diuers Noble and high descended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comelinesse, for holding some place of eminencie in the Commonwealth, & thenceforward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

Frances, King of France did weare long haire, and cutting it, his Courtiers fell to his fashiō

False locks & periwigs reiected.

Charles the fifte, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below, in shape of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Bourgongne*, with some other that were his subiects, hadde their beards after the selfesame fashion, which they tearmed to bee an Imperiall Beard. King *Charles* the ninth, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Mansfeld*, and Marquesse of *Baden* came to see him, because he should shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the Marquesses Bonnet from his head, and put on (insted thereof) his owne, which he commonly vsed to weare, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheese. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs weare Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were vsually sold in *Metz* for *thirty *Sols*, within three dayes after, could not bee bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (at so deare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they wold be in the Kings fashion.

Charles the 5 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. changeth Bonnets with the Marquesse.

*Ten French Sols, make an English shilling.

King *Henrie* the third, by reason hee had some Vlcers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their hayre gummed and bound vp in like maner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to weare womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courses and behauiour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuity as I can.

The kings fashion is a great matter.

Henrie the 3. King of France whose Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

The onely cause why men trauailed into Egypt frō so many parts of the world, and

The cauſe why ſo manie men trauailed into Egypt.

and from Greece more then any other country (as did many great and excellent Philoſophers, amongſt whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Countrey, named *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the onely louer of Learning, and ſeeker after ſuch men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his ſubiects addicted themſelues ſo ſtudiouſly, to ground their vnderſtanding in the moſt laudable Sciences, and that for ſuch long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue ſeene nothing, if he had not trauayled into Egypt. Whereuppon, it is ſayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderfull erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, beeing compared with the Ægyptians*. Heere we may obſerue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his ſubiectes, becauſe by his immitation they made themſelues vertuous, and giuen to all commendable qualities.

The example of a Learned King, is no meane motiue to his ſubiects to affect learning.

The words of Plato the great Philoſopher.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manſor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who gouerned in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred, & fiue. This King was ſuch a louer of learning, that he cauſed all Bookes written in Greeke, eyther concerning Philoſophie, Phyſicke, or Hiſtorie, to be tranſlated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colledges, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and profeſſors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be ſeen, in the Citties of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Treuiſſen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippona*, and elſe-where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his ſucceſſors, that afterwardes followed him, and the people themſelues (to this day) in thoſe *Affricane* countries, doe reliſh of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, addicting themſelues to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewiſe in Women, according as *Leo Affricanus* teſtifyeth, ſaying; *The Women of Lybia, in theſe our dayes, are very Learned and Studious, and aboue all things elſe, they are ſooner buſied in good Bookes: then medling with cloathes, Garments, or other Vtenſels belonging to houſhold.* And I dare boldly maintaine (with many other Learned men, well read in Hiſtories) that but for this King *Manſor*, and his *Arabian* ſucceſſors: Phyſicke had neuer beene halfe ſo fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to bee in theſe our dayes.

Manſor, Emperor of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

Great vertues in Manſor a louer of Learning, & a famous example to his ſucceſſors.

Leo Affrican. in Hiſt. de Temp. Of the women of Lybia.

Phyſick plentifully increaſed.

Garcias d'Horta, Phyſitian to the Viceroy of the *Indiaes*, who liued within leſſe then thirty yeares, ſayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricanes*; and found them to bee learned, as alſo notably skilfull in the Mathematikes. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall hiſtorie of *India*, that *Almanſor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greateſt Iſlandes of the *Moluccaes*; was one of the greateſt Aſtrologers in our times, and that the people are not ſo rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to bee. Before *Manſor*, none of them had euer ſeene the Bookes of *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the Grecian.

Garcias d'Horta in lib de diuerſ. Geſt.

Affrican and Arabian kings learned nowe in theſe daies

In the time of this King, *Manſor*, flouriſhed great ſtore of Learned men and Philoſophers: ſuch as were *Auerroes*, *Meſuus*, *Raſis*, *Rabbie Moſes*, and diuers others, whoſe workes (at this very day) are reade in our Vniuerſities, and Commented vpon, by diuerſe and ſundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but poſteritie (for euer) will reſt beholding to them.

What learned and worthy men flouriſhed in the daies of King Manſor.

The manner of founding Colledges, wherein to inſtruct poore youths in good Letters; Hoſpitalles, for the lodging of maymed, ſickely, and needie perſons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and proſperity of Chriſtian Princes; beganne firſt by Kinges and Emperours, and in their immitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinalles, and Byſhoppes, beſides other rich men (among the common people did the like. As *Charlemaigne*, *Lewes* the ninth, *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and diuers other: which is a moſt plaine and manifeſt Reaſon, that all Chriſtendome remaineth yet to this day, embelliſhed with ſo manie faire and rich Arch-byſhopprickes, Byſhopprickes, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hoſpitals.

Chriſtian Kings & Emperours firſt founded Colledges, Hoſpitals, Abbeyes & Monaſteries.

All Chriſtendome beautified with religious houſes.

King

Frances, King of France, first of that name, the father of learning.

King *Frances*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour; not meanely cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth. *Margret*, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poems, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Iane* her Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Nauarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladyes of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladyes well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affoordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the countrey prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of *England*, *Elizabeth*, was very skilfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the fayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the Mathematicks, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the meanes of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battailes, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the formost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiors to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnparaled exploits.

Of honorable and learned Ladies, besides two famous Queenes of Nauarre.

Learned Ladies in Italy.

Elizabeth the famous and learned Queene of England.

King Henry the fourth e- ter the first man in all battailes, &c.

Now on the contrary, if the Prince bee vicious, his Subiects wil sauour of the selfe same taste. As we reade of one named *Mithridates*, king of *Amasia*, who because he was a notorious drunkard, and accounted it as a vertue to drinke immeasurably: his people addicted themselues to that foule vice, so that the most part of them were full of diseases, as gouts, conuulsions, palsies, & alienation of vnderstanding. *Marke Anthony*, who tearmed himselfe Emperor of the East, so wallowed with his beloued *Cleopatra*, in the delights of *Egipt* (that thē degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so affected to drinking & drunkennesse, intermixing rich flowers and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drunke euery day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romanes*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octauius Augustus*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then deuise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

Ing Mithri- es a noto- es drunk- d, and his ple follow his exam .

Marke Anthony thorow his drunkennesse ouerthrew all the East.

A wonderfull neglect in so famous a Soldiour.

Darius also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euen like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, bardaching boyes, fidlers, vaulters, dancers, fooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Soldiours might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Ganimedes*, and cheefer men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkennesse, and became as people vtterly vnmeete for warre. Therefore both he and they were ouercome by *Alexanders* forces, with small trauaile, or losse on his side; because his men were sober, continent, and stout fighting Soldiors, as the king himselfe was. So the Persian Empire, and the Babylonian also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his subiects to imitate his example.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodnesse appeareth, vice the sooner preuaileth.

The cause of the downfall of Darius.

Princes

The Authors aduertisemẽt to Kings and Princes in these our times.

Princes then, and others, that are aduanced to gouerne ouer people, may be aduised by these examples and reasons formerly alledged, to addict their mindes and bodies to vertuous exercises, to speak discreetly, to be no blasphemers, to liue in all sobriety, and to declare modestie in their actions and apparrell: but aboue all the rest, not to swerue from vertue and true piety. For therein (doubtlesse) their people will follow them, and make theyr time of rule the more setled and assured: for where vice reigneth, rebellion (oftentimes) the sooner ensueth.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted and vsed in Rome: How many they were that triumphed: What a Triumph is: and that there are two sortes of Triumphes.

Two thinges that moue men to high matters.

TO speake morally, & as men should doe, there are principally two causes, which incite men to vndertake great matters, as well in peace as warre. The first is Honor and renowne; the second is profite and commoditie, Magnanimous, Noble and Heroicke spirits do chiefly couet the first; & base and vnworthy soules seeke for salary and hire. *Cicero* saith in his Oration which he made for * *Archias* the Poet: *We all are drawne to desire commendation, and they of greatest place and expectation, saile with full gale after honour and fame: coueting no other recompence, or greater guerdon for their Vertue, then glory onely.* The same *Cicero*, in another Oration made for the defence of *Milo*, saith; *Wise and valiant men do not so much labour in exercise of their vertue, for the receit of wages, as for the honor that ensueth thereby.*

*A Poet of Antioch, much loued of Tully and Lucullus.

A Romaine, much maintained by Tully.

The carefull consideration of the Romãs to honor men of merite, and how Rome came to bee Empresse of the world.

This being well considered by the *Romaines*, they (more then any other Nation) sought how to honour and illustrate (beside due recompence) such as stroue to do any notable or vertuous acte. So that in short time after, and proceeding on with the same determination; *Rome* affoorded the resort (more then any place beside) of no meane number of worthie men, excelling both in Armes and Gouernment, that by them shee attained to sway the Empire of the whole world. In regard whereof, for example and instruction to these instant times, as also to delight such as enquire after Antiquities: I thought it very conuenient, to supplye this place with some breefe declaration, of the manner obserued amongst the *Romaines*, in yeelding honour and renowne to such men, as had obtayned any victory for them.

Triumph, the greatest among all Honors, & what was signified by the word Triumph.

Now because among all honors whatsoeuer, Triumph was reputed to bee the very greatest; we will discourse thereon, according as we finde it set downe for our instruction. Triumph was a forme of entrance, or (as we may well say) a kinde of Welcome, which they vsed in Rome, to their Captaines and Generalles, with the verie greatest pompe and solemnitie that could bee expressed vnto men. And albeit Triumphs were much vsed among the Romaines, yet were they not the first inuenters of them. For *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny*, doth both say, that *Denis*, called *Dionyse* in Antiquitie, and named also *Pater Liber*, was the first that euer Triumphed in the worlde. It appeareth likewise, that the *Carthagenians* vsed to Triumph: for *Iustine* (among the other honours of *Hasdruball*) saith, that he Triumphed foure times.

Diod. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 10. Plin. lib. 7. cap.

Iustin. lib. 19.

Moreouer, wee reade of Triumphes among the Kings of Ægypt, and especially of King *Sosestris*. Neuertheless, to speake truely, Triumphes were neuer so solemnized in any other Nation, as they were among the Romaines: for vpon the day that any Captaine triumphed, the people of *Rome* ceased from all kinde of Workes whatsoeuer, and not any matter (concerning profite) was permitted to be done.

No Nation comparable to the Romanes for Triumphes.

The accesse of people from al neighbouring parts to behold a Triumph.

And to make this solemne Triumph the more compleate, the people of al places neere neighbouring thereto, came thicke and threefold thither to behold it. And all the Cittie, Temples, Streetes, Gates, and Windowes, were enriched & hung with clothes made of Gold, Siluer, Silke, Leafes and Flowers of sweete smelling sauour, beside all other magnificencies & costs that might expresse any signe of

of ioy. The Senate and all the Priests, with the whole Nobilitie of *Rome*, and generally the better sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably apparelled, to entertayne the Triumpher: who entred *Rome*, cloathed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden chariot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close shorne or shauen: and the Captayne or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went neareſt to the Charriot before anie other. The Souldiours of his owne Armie entred in due order, bearing branches of Laurell in their hands. Then followed before him, Charriots and Waggons filled full of armour, which hee had taken from the enemy: beside other waggons laden in like manner, with Plate of golde and siluer, money, iewells and other rich shapes or trophees, with such gifts and presents, as hee had receiued of Kings, or any other friends to *Rome*. Great Castles, Towers, and other Engines of wood, made artificially, representing conquered Cities and Fortresses, were likewise carryed before him: making liuely representation, as they marched along, of such battailes as had happened in the last warre, and so exactly to the life; that they were very dreadfull to the beholders. These things were so many in number, so mighty, and of such rare diuersitie, that the Triumph (sometimes) required the vse of three seuerall dayes, because all the representations might be the more amply noted and conceiued. The Triumph consisted of various inuentions, with many rare deuices, too long to be reported.

The Senate, Priests and Romaine nobilitie.

The maner of the Triumphers entring into Rome.

Prisoners.

His owne Souldiours.

Charriots of armour.

Charriots of riches.

Gifts and presents.

Conquered cities and forts exactly presented.

The triumph lasted three dayes sometimes.

Nor was this honour of Triumph, allowed and granted to euerie Captaine or Victor; but there were Lawes set downe, and notable occasions to be considered, before such fauour could be obtained. The Captaine that meant to demand it, came not at all into *Rome*: but abode at the **Vaticane*, and thither the Senate returned him answere, whether such grace might bee permitted him, or no. First of all, no chiefe, or commander of an Army might triumph; except hee had beene Consull, Proconsull, or Dictator; for Triumph was neuer granted to any of meaner condition. In regarde whereof, *Marcus Marcellus* had triumph denyed him, albeit he had worthily conquered *Siracusa*; and *Scipio* also, although he had subdued *Spaine*. For, it was necessarily required, that the battell must be great and notable against the enemie, and aboue fiue thousand men at the least slayne therein. Of these matters, *Valerius Maximus* is Author. We likewise reade, that *Cato*, and *L. Marius*, being Tribunes, made a Law, whereby they ordayned seuere punishment for any Captayne, that deliuered a false report of the number slayne in fight. Nor was it enough for a man to win the battell, how doubtfull & bloudy soeuer it were; but hee must subdue the whole Prouince or Country, & leaue it peacefully to his successor, bringing home his army braue & victoriously; which was the cause (sayth *Titus Liuius*) that Triumph was denyed to *Titus Manlius*, notwithstanding all his great victories in *Spaine*: for hee should haue compassed the acquisition of som new country, or entred into a new warre, & not defend that only which was formerly won. Vpon the same occasiō also, great *Quintus Fabius* triumphed not, though he had conquered them of *Campania*.

Triumph not allowed, but according to Lawes for the purpose.

* A hill whereon S. Peters church now standeth.

Such men as might lawfully triumph.

Marcus Marcellus and Scipio denied triumph.

Valer. Max l. 2.

Cato and L. Marius Tribunes.

Prouinces conquered and left in peace.

Titus Liuius in libr. 3. dec. 2.

Valer. Max l. 2.

It was obserued as a custome also, that on the day of Triumph, the Triumpher should inuite the Consulls to suppe with him; which they would refuse to doe, because (at this feast) no person should bee present, to whom greater honour might be done, then to the Triumpher. The Triumph alwayes ended in the Temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, where the spoiles (wonne from the enemy) were altogether offred, and deliuered vp to publike vse. And because the triumpher should not ouer-glory himselfe in these high honors and fauors done him: some say, that a slaue or bond-man was seated by him with permission, to ieast and scoffe at him all the day long, & to reproach him with such iniuries as seemed best to himselfe, as a plaine apparance, that such dignities depended but on transitory graces.

A custome obserued on the triumph day.

The spoyles deliuered to generall benefit.

Triall of the Triumphers patience.

Now, to make this triumphall honor the more intelligible; we will make rehersall of some one or two, especially that of *Paulus Æmilius*, that worthy and famous Captayne of Rome, who obtayned his triumph iustly; for vanquishing & taking

The honorable triumph of Paulus Aemilius.

Perſeus, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering and ruinating his kingdome, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembred by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our firſt remembrance, concerneth the people of Rome in generall, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very beſt ability of performance, and contending for places in houſes and windowes, where beſt they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in Rome were ſet wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapiſtry, greene boughes of Trees, beſide plenty of incenſe and ſweet ſmelling perfumes, and ſo were all the ſtreetes in like manner. Now becauſe in the Citty the concourſe of people was infinite, reſorting from ſo many ſeuerall places, in earneſt deſire to behold ſuch a ſolemne ſpectacle, there were certain men appointed with ſtaues in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs paſſage, and looke to the peoples ſafe ſeating, becauſe the matters prepared for this triumph grew ſo great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three ſeuerall dayes.

Plut. in vit. Paul Aem. l.

Concourſe of people to behold the Triumph.

Temples ſet open and perfumed.

Whiſtlers or Sticklers to make way for paſſage of the Triumph.

The firſt day was ſcarſely ſufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquiſhed Enſignes; as alſo for paſſage of the Statues, Coloſſes, Tables, and Images, for all theſe were conuayed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, VVaggons, and Thrones. On the ſecond day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what elſe belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the citty: which Armours being rich and gloriouſly glittering, were conueniently placed on beſt fighted carriages, meeteſt for their full and ample beholding. After theſe chariots and waggons, entred three thouſand men, carrying ſiluer mony (open to be ſeene) on great Plates and Veſſels of ſiluer, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Veſſels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The reſt that ſerued to make vp the ful number of three thouſand men, carried Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Baſons, Lauours, very curiouſly wrought in gold and ſiluer, beſide other veſſels of the ſame mettals, moſt rich and magnificent to behold: and the paſſage of theſe companies continued ſo long, that it required the ſecond dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The order for the firſt dayes paſſage.

The ſecond daye honour in larger māner.

Money carried on Plates and chargers.

Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Lauours, and Baſons of gold and ſiluer.

The third day being come, the breake of day no ſooner began, but in the firſt band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Fifes, Clarions, and Trumpets ſounding, not ſweet and delicately, but in ſuch ſtearne and vigorous manner, as if they were inſtantly to enter battail. After them were led ſix ſcore kine, all white, hauing their hornes richly guilded, and their bodies couered with coſtly cloathes: all theſe were helde as ſacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided thē, were braue gallant youths, ſumptuouſly apparelled for this ſeruice, and for the ſacrificing of them; and by theſe kine went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and ſiluer for the ſacrifice. Next vnto the kine, were rancked ſuch as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being ſeuenty ſeuen in number. And behinde them, followed they that holpe to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemillius* had cauſed to bee made, enriched with many ſumptuous and vnualuable precious ſtones. They which carried the chargers of money, were ſuch as had bin neereſt in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, eſpecially the forenamed *Perſeus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vſed to weare, his Crown, Scepter royal and rich Robe laid vpon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore king led as priſoners, with a great number of his cheefeſt Officers; as the Maſters or Gouernours of his houſhold, his Treaſurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expreſſed extraordinary ſignes of greefe, beholding themſelues brought into ſuch a ſeruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compaſſion.

The third & laſt dayes performance of the remainder of the Triumph.

Six ſcore white kine appointed for ſacrifice.

Children with Plates for the ſacrifice.

A Bolle or Cup of gold weighing ten Talents.

The conquered kings chariot and his Armes.

The kings children led priſoners.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but ſo yong in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderſtanding their misfortunes; whereby the people were ſo much the more incited to pitty their condition, & thought it vnbeſeeming, that affliction ſhould bee ſeene

Children are weake vnderſtanders of calamities.

The kings wo'full going in their triumph.

seene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearefully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was falne.

The golden Crownes of the Cities of Greece borne before him, and he following in triumphall manner.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselues with sorrow, to see his reuerend cheekes furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Cities of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemilius*, who followed the triumphantly, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, cloathed in purple tissue of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with other most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemilius* triumphed throgh *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoyles, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the Capitoll; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thankes to their Gods for the victory obtayned. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs: yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streets, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also beeing ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Buls.

No great difference in the Romane Triumphs.

A Law for the order of triumphing, and by merit.

Sports and Feasts were by free permission.

The manner how diuers were drawne in their triumphs.

Great *Pompey*, when hee triumphed for *Affrica*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Iulius Caesar* when hee made his triumphall entrance, had his chariot drawn by forty elephants. VVith the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flauius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Gothes*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young childe, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration *pro Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and sauage Beasts, as Lyons, Ounces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinocerots, Panthers, Dromi-daries, & other kindes of beasts, as did *Titus* & *Vespasian*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musique, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other the like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey* & *Caesar*; of the two Brethren *Scipioes*; and likewise of the Emperors, wherof *Blondus* speakes in his Book of Rome triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saieth, that there were 320 Triumphers in Rome; the last wherof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, Rome ran to her decadence.

Whence the forme of our Pageanes was at first deuised.

Some triumphs more singular then the rest.

In Rome there was yet another kinde of solemn welcom, which was somwhat lesse then triumphing, being called * *Ouatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Consull or Proconsull, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battaile, or had conquered people of slender esteeme; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions; then in sted of triumphing, this *Ouatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

* A small triumph of a Captaine, for a victory with out slaughter of men, or very few.

The Captaine entred Rome on horseback, in stead of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entered on foote, crowned with the leaues of Myrrhe, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) veneriall, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther,

Aul. Gellius in Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 6.

ſounded Trumpets, Drums, or any other inſtruments of warre; but Flutes & ſweet muſicall inſtruments, ſoft and delicate. Neuertheleſſe, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went foorth of the Citty to meete and receiue him, making a great feaſt for him, as alſo highly prayſing & commending him.

The firſt Ouation Triumphers, and that accepted thereof very gladly.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requeſted & accepted of this honor, and the firſt was *Poſthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquiſhed the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus*, for his victory at *Syracuſa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octauius Cæſar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cauſe why this ſmall triumph was ſo named, is deſcribed by *Pliny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denyed this kinde of triumph, and could by no meanes obtayne it: hee proceedeth to yeelde a reaſon, why this Ouatio was ſo tearmed. *The ſacrifice* (ſayeth he) *which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, which in the Latine tongue is called Ouis: but the other Triumphers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word Ouis, the reception and entertainment made vnto thē, was called Ouatio, or Oualis*. Some other ſay, that it took name by a certaine ſound in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or elſe *Oue*: but becauſe this is a matter of ſmall importance, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that ſuch a thing was named *Ouatio*, eyther of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 22.

How this kinde of triumph tooke name at the firſt, by variety of opinion

It was alſo permitted to the Triumphers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of reſort: alſo to build Arches and Collombs, named Triumphall, framed of Marble, and in or on thē, to inſculpt (moſt excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetuall memory. The veſtiges or footings of thē are (at this day) to be ſeene in Rome: and theſe things wer thus done, in imitatiō of Trophees, anciently vſed among the *Grecians*, helping themſelues thereby in manner following. In the ſame place, where the Captaine had obtayned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the greateſt therabout to be found, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunke was faſtened all the coat-armours of the vanquiſhed, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Tropæum* or *Trophæum*, after the greeke word *Tropi*; which ſignifieth a fleeting conuerſion, or retreated, becauſe (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or diſgracefull retreate, and ſo the *Romanes* afterward were glad to follow their faſhion.

A further permiſſion granted to Triumphers of erecting Statues, Pillars, &c.

Trophees among the Grecians, and in what manner.

Saluſt writeth, that *Pompey* hauing ouercome the *Spaniards*, planted his Trophees on the top of the *Pyrennean* Mountaines: and this courſe (by tract of time) was in ſuch eſteeme, that they grew to be made of ſtone. But this matter can approue it ſelfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vſe therof: for we reade, that *Saul* hauing vanquiſhed *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In breefe, the honour of triumph was eſteemed and affected, more then any other honour in *Rome*, ſo that for obtayning it, the Captaines would expoſe their liues to all trauaile and perill. Beſide, the Triumphers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies ſpoyles, and the gifts of their friends, and ſo much the rather haue I reported theſe things, becauſe Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captains and Soldiers to their merits. But in theſe decaying dayes, ſluggards, and ſuch as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better reſpected, then they that aduenture their liues and goods, both for ſeruice of their Prince, & profite of their natiue country.

Pompeyes Trophees on the top of the Pyrennean Mountaines.

1 Reg 15, 12.

Triumph was more coueted then any other honour in Rome.

CHAP. XLI.

Of ſuch names of immortall honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines had granted and giuen them, according to their ſeuerall victories.

OVer and beſide this high dignity of Triumphs, the Romane Captains had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & ſirnames, which were impoſed on them by the people and Prouinces, that had bin conquered and ouercome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; ſo did they immortalize their houſes of diſcent, by contrary names of glory

A further addition of honour to the Romane Generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable actions, which procured so many worthy and illustrious Families in the Citty of *Rome*.

Metellus and two more of his name, had their sirnames according to their conquests.

For our first entrance into this discourse, wee may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had ouercome King *Iugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*; was sirnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtayned against the king of *Macedon*, was sirnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Creete*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Latium*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fidena*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was sirnamed *Balearicus*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Baleares*, now tearmed *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

Martius Coriolanus and Sergius Fidenatus.

Metellus Balearicus.

Lucius Mummius was sirnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gaules* in subiection, was sirnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipioes*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Affrica* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because he conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the Romane Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, sonne to *Paulus Æmilius* (of whose triumph we haue already spoken) & Nephew adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise sirnamed *Affricanus*; because hee assayled and won the great and puissant citty of *Carthage*. Neuertheless, he receiued a greater honor and guerdon, to be sirnamed *Numantinus*, and he himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spaine* he destroyed *Numantia*, and vtterly ouerthrew the *Numantines*.

Mummius Achaicus.

Scipio Affricanus. Scipio Asiaticus.

Scipio Affricanus and Numantinus.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselues the sirnames of conquered places, speaking them expressely in their Letters missiue and other instruments; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Prouinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe *Arabicus*, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Asiaticus*: each man according to such victories as he had obtayned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Emperours sirnamed after conquered countries.

Moreouer, for other matters and reasons, the Romane Captaines were illustrated by especiall names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Marcus Manlius*, who for defending the Capitoll from the forces of the *French*, was sirnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Torquati* receyued that sirname, for taking a Chaine or Coller from the necke of an enemy, for a Coller or Chaine in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delayes & dissimulations, hee had held out *Hanniball* in warre, only for the defence of Rome; they sirnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporiser or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the Shield or Buckler of Rome, which redounded to his greater aduantage and honour.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Nouellus Torquatus & Manlius Torquatus.

Quintus Fabius Cunctator.

Marcus Marcellus, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceassing) he gaue to the enemy, was called, *The Sword of Hanniball*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somwhat cruel, was sirnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the sirname of Great giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of sirnames, granted to Captaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperors, which in these more moderne times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then bee giuen, but to a Captaine, Prætor, Consull, or Proconsull, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

Marcus Marcellus, The sword of Hanniball.

Sylla the Happy.

Pompey the Great.

Captains called Emperors and vpon what respect or desert.

With this so gracious and happy a sirname, was *Iulius Cæsar*, the Father of *Iulius Cæsar* honored, for the victory which

The Author speaketh now of Spirituall persons.

howsoeuer high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope *Iohn* was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was giuen in guard to *Lewes*, Count *Palatine*, deposed from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fiste of that name, seated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this *Iohn* was falne from his former degree.

Pope Iohn deposed and imprisoned.

The bishop of Liege, Brother vnto the Duke of Bourgongn, a lord both spirituall & temporal.

In the yeare 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgongne*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporall, and holding so great and rich a countrey, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great sort of his friendes and officers (among whome were ten Abbots and Protonotaries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

The butchering of an arch byshop, and 4. Cardinals.

At *Florence*, in the yeare 1448. the arch-Byshop of the saide place, being cloathed in his habiliments of Priest-hood, and saying Masse, was sodainely surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman; beside foure Cardinalles massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall persons beheaded.

Pope Clemēt taken prisoner, & Rome rauaged or pilled by greedy Soldiours.

And although Popes (as hath beene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselues in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came so to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seuen months space in his castle of S. *Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germaines*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greeuously pilled, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fift, a Catholike Emperour, in the yeare 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in medling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as puisant euery way as themselues.

The death of three Kings, all in one day

The memorable History of Muley Mahumet, & Abdelmelec, Kings in Barbarie.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdome of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demaunded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assayled three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne stil the best in foure fought battailes. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few frends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Battayles.

Abdelmelec expelled Muley Mahumet out of Fez & Marocco.

Sebastian K. of Portugall, offereth aide to Mahumet, & is denied.

Sebastian, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it; vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreouer, he had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are sixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about seauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnaccessable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole yeare, liuing in continuall feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should bee taken, or betrayed in his secret walkes.

The miserable estate and condition of Muley Mahumet.

Mahumet is enforced to request the ayd which he had formerly denied.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him, by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to descend

cend from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and sought for his safety in * *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouernour, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed horsemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

* An olde City of Mauritania, heeretofore called Tingi.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vppon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereuppon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage ouer the Seas, and two seuerall times had beene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but still he persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vessells in that Fleete, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene seene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portuguizes*, and thirty sixe Pieces of Ordenance for the fielde, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboue sixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

King Sebastian alwayes seeking opportunity to enter Affrica, and his pretence, for the aduancement of Christian Religion.

King Sebastian passed into Affrica against the opinion of all his friends.

The Army in full preparation for the field from Portugall.

Abdelmelec (wee may well perswade our selues) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threescore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty sixe Peeces of Ordenance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard he bare them much affection; not because he feared the *Portuguizes*, but as fore-seeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*; who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King* Sebastian *should bee more respective, then so vnaduisedly to runne vppon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christ endome can no way be eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The care of Abdelmelec, to encounter with his enemie.

How Abdelmelec did oftentimes commiserate the case of King Sebastian.

The repott and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelecs* valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeysance; and from euery Prouince they brought him goodly presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendshippe, and embraced him as their kinde well-willer; esteeming themselues happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians trauailed into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greeses and molestations should bee done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

The loue, riches, and seruice voluntarily offered to Abdelmelec by Christians and others.

Muley Mahumets oppressing the Christians.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselues for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained aboue two miles in spaciousnesse, so euen and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the Riuer of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the Riuer of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to bee acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hauing

How the two Armies came to encounter in the field.

The trechery of Mahumet with King Sebastian.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the *French* chaplets of floures: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had beene of the finest gold.

Corona Muralis giuen for first scaling the walles of a Citie or Castle.

As for the Murall Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and giuen to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a citty, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles; which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbattelled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Manlius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Digitus*; because that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

Corona Castrensis, as belonging to the Campe and Barriers ther of.

Corona Castrensis, siue Vallaris, was giuen to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Railes, or Listes of the enemies Campe, comming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Bastions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Corona Nauālis for boarding shippes at Sea.

Of the like mettall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Nauālis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at Sea) boarded and entred an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcus Varro* made no disdaine of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Octauius* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speak.

Other worthy rewards for of merit.

When any Souldier of *Rome*, were he noble or ignoble, had made any proofe of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combate: the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and siluer, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his frends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were reserued only for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the Romaine histories.

Suet. in vita Octa. Cæsar.

Suetonius writeth, that *Octauius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might beare Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtayned at Sea, against *Sextus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who deuised first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report. And heere it is well worth the remembring, that the Romanes were so valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewardes, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at * *Thrasymenus* and *Trobia*, where the Romaines were vanquished by *Hanniball*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Ciuica*, as also in the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battel, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a steele hand made him, in stead of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Battell* ech after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he receiued 23 wounds, & al in the fore part of his body.

The first deuiser of Collers, Chaines and other giftes.

Plin in lib 10. cap. 7. Iul Solinus in cap. 9. lib. 1.

* A Lake in Hetruria.

Marcus Sergius a valiant Romaine.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did euer deserue and attaine to so much as *Lucius Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we spake alittle before. Of him write *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in iewels and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained onely by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred *Rome* with 9. seueral Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of brokē Spears, shiuerd Lances, shafts of Iauelins, pikes without heads of steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chains; 83 of siluer: Of armors and furnitures for horses fitting war seruice, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had fiue and twenty: an hundred and fortie bracelets; eight Castrenses; three Murales, one Eliodionale, and I know not how many Nauall. In seuerall fought battailes, hee had taken fiue and fourtie wounds, all of them before vppon his bodie; and no more then one only behind, and thirty foure times he

45. wounds all before on his body, and but one only behind.

hee had disarmed and dispoyled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in sixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was sirnamed the *Romaine Achilles*: and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe auouch them.

The Romane Achilles Lucius Cicinnatus Ventatus.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publique iudgements, and sitting in the chaire of **Curules*, which was the seate of the *Ædiles* and *Prætor*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Somtimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriottes* and people. Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselues, euen as if they had beene Consulls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratulation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by thē in battels: and such things were tearmed *Manubiæ*, as much to say, as spoyles and booties taken from an enemy.

* The chiefe Chaire in the Councell-house.

Statues allowed to be erected by Captaines and Generalls, & their enemies Armies in Temples.

Manubiæ, the spoiles of enemies.

Furthermore, the *Romains* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had beene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enioy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers liuing. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Cities, Townes, and Prouinces conquered and subiected, where themselues pleased to make election. In this manner the Cittie of *Siuill* was made a Colony for *Rome* by *Cæsar*: which Colonies (according to the common *French* saying) may be tearmed a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In briefe, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequited, nor without some great priuiledge; for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

Respect of slaine Souldiers children, and men of long seruice, for their dwelling and abiding.

No good act left vnrecompenced by the Romaines.

I spare to speake of many other requitalls, which the *Romaines* vsed in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to bee moued by regard of honour and vertue, or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compelld to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselues to be slouthfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, beeing called thereto, and might by their owne indeuour haue had it; they were well and soundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like slaues; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

No want of doctrine and discipline among the Romaines.

Correction and vnishment for idle and negligent persons.

Titus Liuius writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appius Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge; forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Iulius Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also hee imposed vppon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shape my conclusion thus onelie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

Tit. Liuius in Dec. 9. lib. 4. c. 7

Iul. Frontinus in lib 7. cap. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

¶ *Of the reason wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleep is vicious and hurtfull.*

SLeep was naturally giuen to man for his conseruation; because there is not any naturall worke, but it hath neede of rest and repose. *Aristotle* sayth, *Euery creature that hath bloud, sleepeth:* and there he proueth by good reason, and likewise by experience, that fishes doe sleepe. Sleepe is a repose of all the sences, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) arise from the stomacke to the braine, by the coldnesse whereof, the hot vapours are temperated, and make the exteriour motions and sences sleepy: then retyring the vitall spirits to the heart, all the members become drowsie, and rest from their trauaile, vntill such time as the vitall spirit (which is the instrument whereby the soule frameth her operations, gouerning and commanding the whole body) doth recouer new forces, and ceassing or diminishing those vapours, man awaketh from sleepe, and then the sences and powers returne more freshly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Arist. in Anim. lib. 4. ca. 3.

What sleepe is said to be.

What sleepe worketh by his course in the body of man.

Concerning the occasions of sleepe, *Aristotle* discourseth at large in his Book of Sleepe and Vigilancie: and *Plutarke* declareth diuers opinions of the Philosophers, beside sundry naturalists. But although it is for the rest and health of the body, yet it must be taken moderately; *Because long sleepe* (saith *Aristotle*) *weakeneth the naturall and animall spirit, euen as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour:* for many things are necessarie, which neuertheless are hurtfull, if they be receiued excessiuely. Foode is both needefull and sauourie, and yet notwithstanding, if it exceede measure, it harmeth, and hath no relliſh at all. In like maner, moderate trauaile is wholesome; but vsed with extremity nothing is more damageable. And so I say of sleepe, that it should not be taken but vpon necessitie, for recreation and repose of the sences, the spirits and members of the body.

Aristot. in lib. de Som. & Vigil. Plutar. in Mor.

Too much sleepe is very dangerous.

All things are to be vsed with moderation and discretion.

Ouer-much Sleepe (as it ouer-loadeth the members and sences, making them slouthfull, and enfeebling them by idlenesse) so it ingendreth so many humidities in the bodie, that they make it sicke, and killeth it, because in the time of sleep, all the moistures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themselues to the exteriour partes, and then they make no euacuation of the superfluities and humidities thereof. Also, sleepe immeasurably vsed, not onely is prohibited by naturall Philosophers and Phisitions; but likewise it is reprooued by all wise men of vnderstanding. *Aristotle* sayth, *During the time of sleepe, there is no difference betweene the wise man and the foole.* And questionlesse, although a wise man had not any other occasion to make litle vse of sleepe, but for equalling himselfe with a sottish Ideot; yet hee should auoyd and shunne the excesse (though sleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholesome) in considering with his best cogitations, that he which sleepeth, is not liuing. And as *Plutarke* sayth in his Booke of the contention betweene fire & water: *The man that sleepeth hath no more strength or knowledge in his sleeping, then if hee were dead. Pliny* is of the same opinion, saying; *Sleep taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, considering, while we are in sleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether wee are liuing or no. Ouid*, and other Poets beside, with men of no mean learning, do call sleepe, *The similitude of death.*

Excessiue vse of sleepe both sickeneth and killeth the body.

Arist. lib. 1. [illegible]

Sleepe equalleth a wise man with a foole.

Plutar. in lib. cont. de Ig. & Arr.

Plin. li. 36. ca. 9.

Saint *Paul*, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* sayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are asleepe:* in speaking these words, hee plainely meaneth death. Then it followeth thus: *Such as sleepe in Iesus Christ, will God bring with him.* Sleepe likewise is the resemblance of negligence and slouthfulnesse, according to Saint *Gregorie*, who saith; *For a man to sleepe, is to keep himselfe and persuere in his sinnes.* If sleeping thus had not beene vnderstood to sinne, Saint *Paul* would neuer haue sayd so many times: *Awake yee iust, and sinne no more.* A man then may very

1. Thess. 4. 13. 14.

S. Gregor. in lib. 8. de Moralib.

2. Corinth. 7. 1.

very well ſhame, to ſpend the moſt part of his life ſleeping in his bed; for therein he ſinneth no leſſe then he that ſitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that theſe things ought not to be taken, but for the ſuſtentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the ſoule alſo; wherefore ſleepe is allowed for ſuſtenance, and not for voluptuouſneſſe.

Sleepe to be vſed for ſuſtenance, and not for voluptuouſneſſe.

Seeing then it ſhould bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderſtand, after what maner a man ſhould lie in his bed for Sleep, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade, that the moſt profitable kinde of ſleeping for any well diſpoſed perſon, is firſt to beginne ſleepe vpon his right ſide; and afterward (for the moſt part of the night) to turne and reſt vpon his left ſide; and in the ending of his ſleepe, to turne a while on the right ſide againe. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſtomacke of a man is ſeated in ſuch ſort, that the mouth thereof leaneth ſomewhat more to the right ſide then to the left; but the hollow heart or bottome thereof, declineth a little toward the left ſide. So that by lying down to ſleepe (for an houre or two) on the right ſide, the ſtomacke extendeth it ſelfe and reſteth vpon the liuer. And hence enſueth two eſpeciall commodities; the firſt, that the ſtomacke ordereth it ſelfe, and in that preparation, the foode deſcendeth downe the more eaſily: the ſecond, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refreſheth the liuer, and by that refreſhing, naturall heate taketh ſtrength in the ſtomacke, to beginne and cauſe digeſtion.

In what manner a man ſhould lie in his bed.

How the ſtomacke is placed in the bodie.

Two benefits by lying down and reſting on the right ſide.

After that theſe two good effects haue followed one another, then it ſhall be fitting to turne vpon the other ſide, becauſe by being ſo turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the ſtomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) ſo that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digeſtion. Neuertheleſſe, it is good in the morning, for a finall conſummation of that times ſleepe, to turne againe vpon the right ſide, to the end that the ſtomack may beginne to eaſe and diſcharge the liuer, and likewiſe to expell the ayre or ſuperfluitie of the paſſed digeſtion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer, and his ſtomacke not cold, but that theſe two members are ſound and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold ſtomacke, as many times it commeth ſo to paſſe, it is not good for him to ſleepe vpon the right ſide, becauſe the ſtomacke falling vpon the liuer, ſtraineth and preſſeth it in euery part; heating and enflaming it exceſſiuely, ſo that the vpper part of the ſtomacke continueth vncouered by the ſuperiour part, cooling and weakning it more and more; whereby the very greateſt heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the ſtomacke before, whence enſueth bad digeſtion, and conſequently a ſickly diſpoſition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold ſtomacke, and a hote liuer, it is not wholeſome for him to ſleep on his left ſide; becauſe the ſtomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digeſtion; and as for the liuer, lying ſo aloft vpon the ſuperior part, it is both diſcouered and diſcharged, and by that meanes refreſheth it ſelfe, and is not enflamed at all.

The benefit by turning vpon the left ſide.

The reaſon for turning againe on the right ſide to finiſh ſleepe.

Of an ouerhe ated liuer, and a colde ſtomacke, and what infirmities do attend thereon.

Of a cold ſtomacke and inflamed liuer.

There are ſome alſo, that make a cuſtome of ſleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digeſtion, becauſe it aſſembleth and retayneth naturall heate in the ſtomacall part, which is in the better diſpoſition for euacuating ſuperfluities. The contrary commeth to ſuch as ſleepe on their backe, with the face openly diſcouered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it ſelfe abroad, by which meanes digeſtion is weakened, and the ſuperfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and paſſages: but remaine in the breaſt and in the throat, which oftentimes cauſeth ſtuffings and ſuffocations, with Epilepſies and other infirmities.

Of ſuch as do ſleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of ſuch as ſleepe vpon their backe, and what enſueth thereon.

The wiſe therefore doe alſo councell and aduiſe, that a man ſhould not ſleepe too much ſtretcht out in his bed, becauſe thereby digeſtion is greatly weakned and impaired: for according to the Philoſophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is ſo much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnoſitie which couereth the ſtomacke, ioyneth the more cloſely to it, heating and ſtrengthening it better then before. Theſe rules whereof I haue ſpoken, are neceſſa-

Of ſleeping too much ſtretcht out in bed.

neceſſary for ſuch as bee dainty and delicate, and thoſe of weaker diſpoſition, but that be healthfull, luſty, and able, the beſt rule that they can obſerue, is to keepe the cuſtome which they haue bene moſt vſed to.

CHAP. XLIIII.

Of an ancient vſe and cuſtome in Spaine, *in making their account of times, by theſe words; Here de Cæſar: What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the vſe thereof was left.*

IN auncient times they had a cuſtome in *Caſtile*, when-ſoeuer they dated writings & inſtruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the words of *Here de Cæſar*, in ſuch ſort as we ſet downe the yeare of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the ſame ſtile was obſerued in Chronicles and Hiſtories, as hath bene obſerued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin ſeene and diſcourſed by many: yet few people haue vnderſtood the occaſion and originall of this vſe, neyther wherefore the word is tearmed *Here*.

Here de Cæſar obſerued as we do the yeare of our Lord God,

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reaſons rendred. The firſt, that this word *Here* was written with an aſpiration, and ſo haue I found it in ſome places of the Spaniſh Hiſtory; although in ſome other it is not ſo. But being ſo, we ſay, that it commeth of the Latine word *Herus*, which is as much to ſay, as Lord: and thereby it followeth, that *Here* may be vnderſtood for Lordſhip, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominion: and that *Here de Cæſar*, implyeth the Monarchy of *Cæſar*, that is to ſay, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderſtood of *Octauius*. Of this opinion is *Antonius Nebricenſis*, for in his vacabulary for the Spaniſh Language, he ſaith; *Here de Cæſar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæſar*.

The firſt reaſon concerning the word Here.

Here de Cæſar, the Monarchy of Cæſar.

Anton. Nebricenſis in Vocabular.

Aſtrologers in their accounts, and eſpecially king *Alphonſus* in his Tablets, nameth the beginning of reignes by the word *Here*: as that of *Philip*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that of *Cæſar*, and many other. And yet notwithſtanding, although this may ſeeme to bee a caſe cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty, wherein it is expedient to yeeld ſatisfaction. To wit, that as *Euſebius*, *Paulus Oroſius*, and diuers other writ, Chriſt was borne in the 42 yeare of the Empire of *Octauius*: if it be ſo, it appeareth that *Here* ſhould anticipate the 42 yeares of Chriſts Natiuity, in regard that it hath reſpect to the beginning of *Cæſars* Empire, according to due conſideration. Neuertheleſſe, it anticipateth but of thirty eight yeares, according to king *Alphonſus* his ſetting downe: wherefore the Text hath not fayled, for euermore *Here de Cæſar*, precedeth the birth of Chriſt thirty eight yeares.

The account of Aſtrologers.

A queſtion concerning the Nature of Chriſt.

I vnderſtand this to enſue from *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and all the reſt, who naming the birth of Chriſt, to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of the Empire of *Octauius*; begin their account of his Empire, at the firſt day of his entring Rome, ſoone after the death of his vnkle *Iulius Cæſar*, where he arriuing, was made Captaine with the Conſuls *Hirtius* & *Penſacus*, againſt *Mark Anthony*. In ſetting downe the account of time ſo, and not otherwiſe, the birth of Chriſt commeth iuſtly to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of his Empire: notwithſtãding, they that make their account by *Here*, leaue out foure yeares at the beginning. And it ſeemeth they had good reaſon ſo to doe, becauſe in thoſe 4 firſt yeares, *Octauius* held no commaund in Rome, neyther had the gouernement without reſiſtance: for at the entring of thoſe foure yeares, he had warre againſt *Marke Anthony*. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Conſulſhip perforce, in the place of *Hirtius*, he being dead at his comming.

The different of Writers at the ſetting downe their account.

The four firſt yeares Octauius had no commaund in Rome.

When theſe things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proſcription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall mẽ in *Rome*. Moreouer, he and *Marke Anthony* paſſed into *Greece*, in perſecution of the murderers of *Cæſar*, where they fought a battaile againſt *Brutus* and *Caſsius*: after whoſe death

The Triumuirate of Octauius, Marke Anthony and Lepidus, and their bloody proſcription.

death and discomfiture, he lost *Mark Anthony* in those Eastearne parts, and returned into *Italy*, where he opposed himselfe against *Lucius Antonius*, the brother vnto *Marke Anthony*, and besiedged him in *Perusia*, constraining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to *Rome*, to gouerne *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*: for *Lepidus* was in *Affrica*, and *Marke Anthony* in *Asia*; therefore his entrance and Seigneury, was foure years after his comming from *Greece*.

The Citty Perousæ in Hetruria.

In regard whereof, the account of *Here* and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of Christ: so that *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of *Octauius* his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine, he being his Vnkle. And this is prooued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of *Rome*: & our Lord was borne in the yeare seuen hundred, fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of *Octauius*. In like manner, according to *Eusebius*, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare of the worlds creation, fiue thousand, one hundred, fifty seuen: and our Lord (after the same *Eusebius*) was borne in the yeare fiue thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

When the account of Here and Monarchy iustly began, according to the proofe of Histories.

The death of Cæsar, according to Eusebius.

If wee come to account by Olympiades, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the second yeare of the 164 Olympiade; and Christ was borne in the third yeare of the 194. inclusiuely; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of *Octauius*, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity. Albeit his true empire began four yeares after the time when his *Here* had original, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the Romane Histories do approue. *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dion*, *Suetonius*, and more then all the rest, *Titus Liuius*, or to speake better, *Lucius Florus* saith, *That Octauius comming to* Rome, *when his Vnkle was slaine, was but eighteene yeares of age, and was Consull at nineteene. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished and gone; he returned victoriously to* Rome, *& Monarchised in the three and twenty of his age.* So that by this account, and likewise that of *Titus Liuius*, the empire of *Octauius* began foure yeares after the death of his Vnkle *Iulius Cæsar*, which agreeth with the account of *Here*, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Florus lib. 125

The Empire of Octauius began foure yeares after his Vnkles death.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this *Here*, by writing it with a dipthong Æ, without aspiration, and they say it is deriued of the Latine word *Aera*, for coine or money, *ex Aera conflata*, and that it had originall, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to *Octauius*, and called *Ære*, or the tribute of *Cæsar*, and not the empire of *Cæsar*, and that it was tearmed *Aera Aeræ*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coyne or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbred and counted the *Ære*. Saint *Isidore* is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Aera singulorum annorum constituta est a Cæsare Augusto, quando primo censu excogitato Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Aera, quod omnis orbis æs reddere professus est reipublicæ.* Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this manner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee auoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the Quinquennall yeares, where hee saieth: *Ad huc enim Consules, ad huc Aera non erant.* In like manner it seemeth, that *Ambrose Calepine*, in his Dictionary gaue this diction such originall, saying. *Astrologi quoque initium, à quo supputationes incipiant, Aeram vocant: dicta Aera ex eo, quod omnis orbis æs reddere professus est reipubli.*

The second reason concerning this Here, to come of Cæsars tribute mony.

Isidor in lib. 5. de Etimol. c. 36.

An account made from fiue yeares to fiue yeares.

Ambrosius Calepinus in Dictio.

Fryer *Alphonsus*, of the Order of S. *Dominick*, in his Euchiridion of times, hath these very words. *Another beginning came of accounting by the Ære of the same Octauius, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that euery one should be registred in the towne of his birth, to the end, they might giue*

Alphons. Fr. Dom. in Euchirid. Temp.

The name of Aera deriued from the tribute payed by them.

him (in signe of Seigneury or dominion) a kinde of money; and because this money was of mettall, the description thereof was named Aera. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by *Heres*, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, *Aera*.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsars Edict of taxation.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of *Cæsar* began not so long time before the Natiuity, as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the *Here*. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of S. *Luke*, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saieth *Exijt Edictum à Cæsare: There came out a decree from Augustus Cæsar*, and therfore the beginning accordeth not with that of *Here*. Wherevnto (in mine opinion) answer may bee made, that on the hither side of the East parts, to wit, those of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*, this Edict might be begun by the commandement of *Octauius*, when hee had beene enstalled Lord and Emperor peaceably in *Rome*, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in *Assyria* and *Iudea* it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the gouernment of *Mark Anthony*, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, nd there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned *France* and *Spaine*, and measurably impatronizing himselfe of the Prouinces, hee caused the Edict to be accordingly published. Wherfore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof S. *Luke* speaketh, and yet neuertheless, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that *Here* had receiued beginning before.

An answer to the former question.

The Edict could not so soone be knowne in remote parts as neerer home.

Venerable *Beda* sheweth this clearely, writing vpon the same chapter of S. *Luke*, expounding the words, *Vt describeretur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Signant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse harum, quæ totum orbem concluserint, quia pleraque iam parte terrarum leguntur fuisse descriptæ. It seemeth this description, to bee the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Cities and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe.* S. *Ambrose* affirmeth as much vpon the saide chapter of *Luke*, saying: *There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had beene registred downe.* *Lucius Florus*, in his abreuiation of 133. Bookes of *Titus Liuius*, writeth: *That Cæsar, soone after hee had vanquished* Marke Anthony, *imposed a tribute vpon al France, which was little lesse then thirty yeares before Christ was borne.*

Beda sup. 2 cap. S. Luc.

Ambros. sup. 2. cap. S. Luc.

Lucius Florus in Abre. Tit. Liuius.

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearming it by the name of *Here*, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty years before the Natiuity. This custome of accounting by *Heres* is very ancient, especially in *Spaine*, as also among the *Arabes* and *Sarrazines*, and I think that the *Gothes* afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the Romanes reigne endured. *Isidore*, in writing of the *Gothes*, and of this *Here*, approueth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in *Spaine*, as appeareth by the Spanish Chronicles, euen vntil *Iohn* the first, King of *Spaine* (who lost the battaile of *Aliubarata*, in the fift yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the *Here de Gæsar* should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of Christ; which was in the yeare 1383. and in the *Here de Cæsar*, 1421.

A finall conclusion of the two reasons.

Isidorus lib. vbi supra.

At what time Here de Cæsar ceased.

THE.

The End of the Fourth Booke.

OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

NObility, which many of the greater sorts of wits, with great proofe of vncorrupted verity, & much flowing Eloquence, haue gone about to deriue out of diuers foundations, is of three sorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Caelestiall*, which consists in *Religion*: Nobility *Philosophicall*, which is got by Morall vertues: and Nobility *Politicall*, whereof this present Treatise is. Out of the two first sorts of Nobility, no man can come Noble, except that he the same, be a good man also. But out of this third sort, a man, although he bee neuer so wicked and vngracious, may yet excell the rest of men, euen in the highest degree of Nobility: so as did *Caligula*, *Nero*, and such others like.

Nobility { *Celestiall* / *Philosophicall.* / Politicall.

This Treatise concerneth onely Politicall Nobility.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two sorts, viz. *Theologicall* and *Morall*: For why, Nobility is a thing honourable, and of it selfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commēdable, or praise-worthy. Of which thing, the seate and scituation of the *Temple of Honour* among the *Romanes*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way, but by the *Temple of vertue*.

The Temple of Honour among the Romanes.

But by the preposterous innouation and change of things, that Nobility which was proper onely to the good, gaue place, and in stead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the good, stept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it selfe, which some will haue to haue beene so called, as who should say, *Noscibilis*, *or remarkable, or for some vertue Notable*, began to be indifferently taken into both parts, good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot *nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in question of Politicall Nobility, are wee any more to haue recourse vnto the Diuines or Philosophers, and much lesse to the ancient Romane Constitutions (for the most part) discerning all thinges by Magistracies, Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the dispositions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who hauing the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a sort common together with God) after their maner, gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleasure and good liking, and so haue made the same hereditary. And heereof is it, that a stranger, made a Nobleman at Rome, or else-where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and so contrariwise also. VVherefore, they which examine Politicall Nobility, according to any other rule, then the custome of euery Nation, are vtterly out of the way. Yet in this so great diuersity of manners and customes of Nations in all places, the same Definition of Ciuill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod sit qualitas, siue Dignitas qua quis legitimè à Plebeia conditione eximitur &*

Politicall Nobility common as well to the bad as to the good.

In question of Politicall Nobility, we are not to haue recourse vnto Diuines, or Philosophers.

Barthol. Consuetudo ne vsquequaq; Regulæ est omnium Dignitatum origo, forma & Principium.

Politicall Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

per gradus erigitur. That it is a quality or dignity, wherby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and aboue the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kindes, viz. Nobility *Natiue*; that is to say, by birth: and *Datiue*, which is by the Princes guift. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nimrods*, I vtterly reiect it.

The definition of nobility

Two kindes of Nobility, viz. Datiue and Natiue.

But that these things may bee made more manifest, we will by certaine of the better Common-weales, euen vnto these our times, deriue the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authēticall and approued Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nobility of the first Age.

I Dare contrary vnto the common receiued opinion affirme, nobility *Datiue* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Natiue*, exāple being taken frō *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that cœlestiall Nobility he soone (alas, too too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Natiue*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therfore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preseruation of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first society of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Housholder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminence and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuertheless, was it altogether lawfull for the *Father of the family*, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euery one of their desarts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

Nobility which in Adā was first Datiue in him began to be Natiue.

A distinction of persons euen in the first society of men.

The prerogatiue of birth-right obserued.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselues, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently, the vncertainty and forgetfulnesse of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in: The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preseruation of themselues, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Citties; and out of Cities haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdomes. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the gouernment is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

The diuision of Families

Families to haue growne into Villages.

Villages into Cities.

Cities into Prouinces, & Prouinces into Kingdoms.

These things to haue thus beene in the *Iewes State and Common-weale*, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old *Testament*. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was giuen vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the gouernment of the church, and of the common-weale,

weale, *Seth* was made Gouernor, who thē held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Enoch*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahaleel*: vnto *Mahaleel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoc*: vnto *Canoc*, *Methusehel*, vnto *Methusehel*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the dispersing of his posterity happened. Which dispersion being made, euery one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family; which preheminence passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euery one of the Patriarkes to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the gouernment of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we reade in the fourth of Exodus, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of Exodus, the Lord commandeth seuenty of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which seuenty (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsel, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captains of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others of ten, who bare rule ouer ten, & determined of their lesser sutes and controuersies. Now that there were many Captaines of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers*, *the Heads of the Tribes*, *Princes*, *and Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 chiefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who somtimes were alone by thēselues chosen out for some especiall commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the gouernment of the common-weale, he himselfe in the first chapter of Deuteronomy thus plainly witnesseth. *And I spake vnto you the same season, saying; I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the starres of heauen in number, &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisedome and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said; that which thou hast saide, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I tooke the Captains (men of wisedome and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you, Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fifty, & ouer ten, & Officers among your Tribes, &c.* But wee enduced both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisedome & experience famous and well knowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people, and also for the better gouernment of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted onely of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbers of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those seauenty Iudges by the commandement of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto whō some men adde two moe, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euery one of the twelue Tribes.

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Datiue* as *Natiue* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publike Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same stock, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, eyther by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But let vs now from the *Iewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Gentiles*.

The first begotten were still Princes of their owne Families.

The Nobles or cheefe Persons of Israel.

Captaines of thousands.

Centurions.

Captaines of fifty.

Decurions, or Captaines of ten.

The Heads of the Fathers.

The Heads of the Tribes.

Princes.

The Heads of the Soldiers.

he had against the * *Samnites* & *Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* also was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Affrica*, against *Domitius*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, beeing Proconsull in the warre against the *Parthians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Iulius Cæsar*, before he was called to the Empire, was styled Emperour, by reason of his many victories. But if this Captaine had not suffered great resistances in his battailes, he had not beene worthy of that name, & yet notwithstanding he was reprehended, so that *Marke Anthony* murmured against him, and yet because he had taken a great City, on the further side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, he was content that they should call him Emperour. After *Iulius Cæsar* and his successours, inuesting themselues with the full Seigneury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and detestation among the people, they would bee named Emperours, which title hath continued euer since, & is the very greatest of all.

So then we see, that for such honors, the *Romanes* fayled not in their gratification, aswell to their strange frends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the homeborne sonnes of *Rome*. Because like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting against enemies; so were they as gracious and liberall to such as assisted them. So that in the same kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Prouince of *Asia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, because (by his testament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, because he had well serued and assisted the *Romanes*, in the war against *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Asia*. To king *Deiotarus* of *Galatia*, because hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre against *Mithridates*, the *Romans* gaue him the Prouince of the lesser *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Massinissa* of *Numidia* guerdoned, hauing beene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatsoeuer he had conquered in the kingdome of *Syphax*, who had assisted the *Carthagenians*.

Nor were these gifts and presents allowed to Captaines, and men of apparancie onely; but likewise to them of the meanest condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatiues, and great honours. The Consull *Marius*, knowing the well deseruing of two companies, that had fought valiantly against the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into *Italy* with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reproued for doing such a thing contrary to their Lawes, he made answer: *In the noise and clattering blowes of weapons, there is no voice of the Law heard.*

* Called also Sabelli, a people of the Mountaines betweene the Sabines and the Marsi in Italy.

Mark Anthony was offended at Cæsar.

The name of King hatefull in Rome.

Well deseruing strangers as much respected and rewarded, as the natiue sonnes of Rome.

Atalus King of Asia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deiotarus king of Galatia.

Massinissa king of Numidia.

Meane men respected by the Romanes as well as great. A worthy example of the Consul Marius.

CHAP. XLII.

Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries, which the Romanes *gaue to Soldiors. Also of punishing offenders, comprehending (in this case) an excellent form for warre, and good gouernment of a common-wealth.*

THE *Romans* were not carefull onely for honouring & gratifying their Captaines, but offered them (beside) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and sundry kindes, with Crownes & Iewels; as holding them in particular esteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the same sort were they respected and requited.

When a Captaine had obtained a victory in some notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken some Towne by force, or done any other singular enterprize; immediately after, they had a custome to make diligent inquisition, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and squadrons. Then mounting vpō the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obtayned: in generall they commended the whole Army, and especially extolled the band or squadron, that had fought with most man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publishing the worth of

Diuers kinds of recōpences vsed among the Romanes.

The manner of publishing the merit of their Armies vpon their open Theater.

of their vertue and courage, in no leſſe meaſure then they had deſerued: terming them friends and louers of their country, ſaying alſo, that the Common-wealth ſtood highly obliged to them. And this beeing done, they gaue then preſents of Gold and Siluer, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Iewels, as alſo very excellent armour for horſſes, made ſo curiouſly, & deliuered with ſuch deſences and prohibitions, as no man was ſuffered to vveare or haue the like, without he had deſerued it in the ſame manner. Hiſtories are full of theſe things, and particularly *Titus Liuius*, ſpeaking of the Conſul *Papyrius Cenſor*, ſaith; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions; and afterward to a ſquadron, he gaue very rich & coſtly Ornaments. As much hee ſaith of *Scipio*, being in *Spaine*, and other places.

Tit. Liu. in li. 10 & 30. Papir. Cenſor.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne *Obſidionalis*, the crowne *Triumphalis*, the crowne *Oualis*; *Corona Ciuica*, *Corona Muralis*, *Corona Nauālis*, and *Corona Caſtrenſis*. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of them all, and ſo doeth *Aulus Gellius*.

The ſeuerall crowns which the Romanes gaue.

Plin. in Lib. 16. & 22. Aul. Gellius in Lib. 5.

But that Crowne of greateſt excellency, and more eſteemed then all the reſt, was *Corona Obſidionalis*, which extended to the circkled or ſiedge of the Campe, and it was giuen onely, for hauing deliuered an army encloſed and beſiedged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was ſtrictly enuironed. So that by ſuch a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themſelues to bee deliuered from death, or mercileſſe impriſonment: for no other action whatſoeuer, was this honor & reſpect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other mettall, but of the graſſe and hearbes of the ſame field, where the enemie had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, becauſe when *Hannibal* vvas before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his beſiedging. *Æmilius Scipio*, was alſo crowned therewith in *Affrica*, for hauing deliuered the Conſull *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calphurnius* obtayned it alſo in *Sicily*, and ſo did the valiant *L. Cincinatus Dentatus*, and ſome other.

Corona Obſidionalis, & wherfore it was giuen, being the Crowne for raiſing a ſiege

Such as had the honor to be crowned with this Crowne.

Corona Ciuica, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had ſaued a Cittizen, when his life was in extreame perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was ſo much made account of, that ſometimes it fell to ſuch a mans Honour, who for ſauing one *Romane* cittizen, at his deliuerance ſlew two of his enemies. But becauſe he defended not and made good the place from future perill, doubt vvas made, whether he had deſerued this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuertheleſſe, Law was diſpenſed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, ſeeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and ſlaine two of his enemies in a place ſo perillous, which was not in his power ſtill to protect, although the Law imported ſo much. And albeit a man had deliuered a King, or a Captaine of confederates and friends, yet could he not haue his crowne to reward him, except he had deliuered a *Roman*: I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very ſame crown had beene giuen to one, who ſlewe the firſt enemie that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortreſſe, being defended by or for the *Romanes*.

Corona Ciuica, the Citizens Crown, giuen for ſauing a citizens life.

Law may ſom times bee diſpenſed withal on needefull occaſions.

Plin. in Li. c. 5. 7

This *Corona Ciuica*, was the moſt excellent, next vnto the Obſidionall, and might dayly be worne, and in all places. Likewiſe, he that deſerued this Crowne, was of ſuch account and eſteeme, as hee might ſit in the Theater, or at Feaſtes, where hee had alwayes his place neereſt vnto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would riſe vpon their feete, to do him honor.

The reputation & eſteeme of this citizen Crowne.

He ſtood alſo free and exempt from any Office or charge whatſoeuer, except his pleaſure was to accept it: and moreouer, for his ſake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were liuing) ſtood exempted alſo. Many *Romans* obtained to weare this Crowne, & eſpecially the moſt valiant *Cincinnatus Dentatus*, named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The ſecond *Capitolinus* had ſixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular diſpenſation, one of them was granted, becauſe he had defended *Rome* from the conſpiracy of *Catiline*. Theſe Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaues, and might

What Romans had the honor to wear this Crowne,

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the first Greeke Nobility.*

NOthing was euer more vnconstant thē the greek Common-weale, with perpetuall changes still floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as most are wont) will no further fetch, then from *Cecrops*. He first called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill society, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Cittizens of them into Souldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, and Shepheards. Euery Citty had Magistrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger resort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes against their Kings. They which inhabite the *Champaine* Country, were commanded by some few. The Mountiniers were gouerned by a popular estate, and they which dwelt by the Sea-coast, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators, and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, such men as were of greatest power in the Cities, to haue bene thrust out by *Theseus*, that hee himselfe might so alone raigne, yet diuided he the people into Senatours, Husbandmen, and Artificers: of whom hee would haue them of the first ranke, to excell the rest in dignity: them of the second sort, to excell the rest for necessary vse; & them of the third, to exceede the rest in multitude and number. But in the choise of the Senators, he had respect vnto their wealth, their learning, and especially their vertue, which things were required also in the person of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Neæra* sheweth, after the Common-weale set in order by *Theseus*, neuertheless by his hands stretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of thē which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he imposed the charge of bearing of Office, to consider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the Law and sacred rights: and when he was desirous more to encrease the Citty, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equall part of the Common-weale. VVherefore, in *Theseus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue. After the Kings, there was in the Citty a double *Democratie*, one which consisted in the power and gouernment of the richer sort of the Cittizens; and another, which rested in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the discord betwixt the common sort, and them of the richer sort of the people being appeased) after the slaughter of the *Cylonians*, restored vnto his country, the Democraticall or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of some few, being quite taken away. He deuised foure orders or degrees of Cittizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill fiue hundred of their measures (called *Modij*) hee placed in the first order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of those measures, hee placed in the second ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the rest in the fourth. And called the first of these *Modiales*, the second *Equites*, the third *Zeugitæ*, and the fourth *Thetæ*. All publike Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three first degrees, and they so hauing borne Office, were accoũted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publike Office or Magistracy communicated; & therfore that ranke was altogether base and vnnoble. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magistracies, euen vnto the baseſt and loweſt sort of the people also, as *Xenophon* in his Booke *concerning the Athenian Commonweal*, setteth it down for right and reason, that they, euen of the meaner and poorer sort, should indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Common-weale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the Citty, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Cittizens, hauing well deserued of the Commonweal, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweal, had solemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & registred amongst the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtayned,

enno-

The first diuision of the Grecian common-weale by Cecrops.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Noblemē, among the Greekes.

A new diuision of the Athenian people by *Theseus*.

After Theseus a double Democratie in the Athenian Common-weale.

Foure orders or degrees of Cittizens ordained by Solon.

1. Modiales, 2. Equites, 3. Zeugitæ, 4. Thetæ.

ennobled his Children also.

But the *Athenian* commonweal was not so lauish & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in auncient time the Romaine Common-weale sparing and curious in the bestowing thereof. Wherefore this the Romaine State and Common-weale shall affoord vnto vs greater store and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *Of the first Romaine Nobilitie.*

Romulus to draw strength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordayned an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*, whereunto the poore and base people out of Countries and places thereby by flockes resorting, gaue the first encrease vnto so great a citty. And out of this rabblement of people *Romulus* chose an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Iuuenall* the Satyricall Poet is in these verses noted.

Et tamen vt longè repetas, longèq; reuoluas
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis Asylo:
Maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

(name,
And though from far thou dost repeat thy pedegree &
Yet frō the base *Asylum* thou canst but deriue the same:
For he that was first Author of thy stocke and pedegre,
A Shepheard was, or else such one, I list not name to
(thee.

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers:* and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appoynted to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* discended. But afterward, the Common-weale being communicated also with the *Sabines*, he chose out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priscus* (or as some other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another *C.* called the *Senatours* of the meaner sort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, chose threescore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in stead of so many *Senators* slaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adlecti*, or men chosen: for after the kings driuē out, such as he saw to be wise, ancient, and of approued honesty, he alcribed into the *Senate*, as into the most graue & reuerend Counsell. After those first foundations of the Romaine Common-weale thus layed. Cittizens of *Rome* discended of the stocke of *Senators* (who before had borne the chiefe and greatest Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Censors*, or *Triumuirs*, created *Senators*, and afterward also of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Adlecti.

Wherefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled such as were thereof, there was neuer anie doubt; but concerning the order of Gentlemen, some there be, which make question. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the Romaine Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were discended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tacitus* calleth them *Illustres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* also calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Lesser Order and the Order of *Senators*, and of them that were discended of *Senatours*, the Greatest Order.

Ordo Equestes, or the order of gentlemen.

Many are also of opinion, Nobilitie to haue beene giuen amongest the Romaines, by the bestowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and most certayne it is, such gift of Rings to transferre the state and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were so giuen, without which free estate no Romaine was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vse of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifest. *Pliny* writeth it of long to haue beene the Badge or Cognisance of them which were about to goe Ambassadours vnto forraigne Nations, and the rest of the *Senators*, to haue beene without them: neyther was it the manner and fashion for anie other to vse them, then such as had for that cause publiquely receyued them. And such Golde rings they vsed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houses.

The golde ring.

But afterward, the custome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vsed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Liuius* in his ninth booke, in these words; The *Senate* to haue burnt with such rage, and disdayne, because *Cneius Flauius* a late freed man was made *Ædilis*, that many

Fathers, Senatours, Patricii.

ny of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue beene deceiued, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue beene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but not by the whole *Senate* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onelie; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselues *Patricij*; that is to say, discended of *Senators*, for that the dignity of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

The right of wearing of a Ring, to whō it belonged.

The dignitie of a Senator.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senate* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognisance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Iudges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greatest dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Pliny*) diuided the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward. But, Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the Iudges now giue vnto money: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the *Emperour*, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Iudges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Iudices* (or *Iudges*.) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publique horsses. But afterward, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (saith hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of Tauernes and Victualling houses) had complained in the *Senate*, euen Chapmen and Pedlers to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senate* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to wear a Ring, but vnto him who being free born, both by his father and grand-father by the Fathers side, was valued at 40. *Sestertices*. And by the Law *Fulvia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureteene orders or degrees. Heereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any so to doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Iulius Cæsar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his left hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue been thought in so doing, couertly to haue promised vnto euerie one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all Gentlemen indifferently to weare them; that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, Gentlemen and Iudges were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilest the Order of Gentlemen is seperated from the Free-bornemen, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them that were bond-men, and of seruile condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not wont in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaued themselues in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in auncient time a Priuiledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs euen from our birth to be freemen born, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, washeth away the staines of seruitude; yet so, as that the

Ingenuitie or freenesse of birth.

signe

signe thereof for euer remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto Gentry, commeth nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who beeing so restored vnto their bloud or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the cittizens of *Rome*, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therfore it is of *Pliny* called *ius Quiritum*; that is to say, *The right and Priuilege of the Quirites.*

The right of Statues or Images.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of *Images* or *Statues*, which was by the *Senate* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deserued some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of *Nobilitie*, as of the stocke and Family whereunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought *Nobilitie* also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and *Images*.

Plinie in his nine and thirtie Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in atrijs erant, quæ spectarentur, expressis vultus singulis disponebantur armarijs, vt essent Imagines quæ comitarentur gentilia funera, semperq; defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familiæ eius qui vnquam fuerat populus. Stemmata verò lineis discurrebant ad Imagines pictas. Tablina verò codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Auncestours, *Images* and *Statues* were in their Courts to be seene, liuely counterfaits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still Images, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpes; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted Images of them whose Armes they were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilest they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, Statues and Images to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any Nobilitie. Neyther, that all the Images, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of Images belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the Images of them, who with great prayse and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senate* obtayned that right and priuiledge.

Wherefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing Images, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chaire of Estate*, and, *to haue the preheminence to deliuer his minde and opinion first*: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had beene *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and such like: which the *Romain Lawes* would haue to discend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In briefe, he that had brought the right of hauing of Images into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne Image might be carried foorth at his owne Funerall, and the Funeralls of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the Images of his posterity, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onelie the Images of them who had gotten the like right. And these Images were kept at home in their houses, and were carried foorth at the Funeralls of them of theyr house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning Images and Statues, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the Images of their Auncestors, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne Images, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither Image of their owne, nor

Togæ Prætexta. Sellæ cerulis.

nor of their Auncestours, they were reputed as base and vnnoble. And yet they of the common sort of the people, hauing obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Iuory Chayre of Estate*) had also their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now wil I againe returne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common persons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny discended from the vulgar and common sort of people) so deuided he their Offices and vocations also. Vnto the *Patricii* or such as discended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberall professions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controuersies in Lawe, and the administration of all businesses belonging in publique vnto the cittie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, also the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other base trades and occupations (not beseeming free-men borne) he assigned vnto strangers, Marchandize, and seruile ministeries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The Romaines themselues, he would not haue to exercise any base trade, or laborious and painefull businesse; vnto whom hee forbad all vnhoneſt maner of gaine, for all such manner of gaining was thought vnseemely vnto such as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neyther in ancient time could one be chosen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expresse Law, to that end and purpose propounded to the people, which was the greatest office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Consull*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were discerned from them of the common sort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honestly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *Iewell* on their breasts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vsed Iuory Buckles, crooking horned wise, like vnto the *Moone*, which they say was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their posterity, should vnto their black shooes tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had beene designed and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contayned. But the Tablet they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, wherewith they of auncient time, are reported to haue also sealed their Letters: which Tablet free-borne boyes, and the sonnes of such as had serued on horse-backe, vsed to weare, together with the imbroidered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were seuenteene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a solemne feast hanged it vp vnto their household, or harthgods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or imbrodered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hoode past, this *Prætexta* being left off in the seuenteenth yeare, and sometime in the sixteenth, and fifteenth also, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was imbroidered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whose fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or some other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common sort of People*, in auncient time did weare no *Purple*. The garment of the *Tribune* of the *People*, and of them of the *Comminaltie*, was a cloake, such as they called *Sagi*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Cassocks*, *Mantles*, and *Cloakes with hoodes*. But in succeeding times, the Commoners indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of hearbs, and not with the right *Tyrian purple die*. Beside that, *the Patricii*, by the institution of *Romulus* had the *Auspicia* or offices of *Diuination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of Priesthood. But this ordinance (saith *Dionysius*) continued not long, for that al things were made common with them of the Comminalty. And lest any man should thinke the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the same; *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue selected out of the *Senate*, euery one of the most auncient sort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of those families which *Romulus* called *Maiorum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Maiorum Gentium*. But there is another thing where-

A Tablet
A litle Moone

Why the Romans vsed the Character of the Moone on their shooes.

The vse of the Prætexta, or imbroidered Gowne.

Sagum. Endromis. Cucullus.

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Comminaltie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the state of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Comminaltie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the Kings, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the kings driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were deerest vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the Souldiers with *Consulary* power, vntill that it was by the Law prouided, that the Censors should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the Senate. By and by after a substance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

A Senators substance.

Wherefore it is manifest, the *Romaine Nobilitie* to haue beene established in the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue beene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirmeth, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue beene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publike horse, altogether in the Cittie; othersome of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publike horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publique Horse-men, or Gentlemen, he created, as well out of them that were discended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Comminaltie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentlemans* substance was foure hundred thousand *Sestertices*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senators* sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yeres, he was but a *Roman Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Liuy* bringeth in *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani principis iuuentutis, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in patrum numerum Consules, inde Imperatores creant.* The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the Princes of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consulls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of *Rome*, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings, to haue inserted and put a middle and third Order into the People; and them to haue begunne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of People, or the Comminaltie; as if hee should haue saide, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue beene Commoners, but afterward to haue been men of better note & marke: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

A publique horse.

A Senators sonne, vntil he came to be of lawfull yeares accounted but a Gentleman of Rome.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilest that they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia*, *Nobilitas*, *Generosus*, *Nobilis*, *Ingenuus*, *Gentilis*; that is, *Honour of birth*, *Nobility*, *a Gentleman*, *a Noblemaan*, *a man free born*, *a Gentleman*, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in *Latine*, (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vse to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of *Birth*, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Natiue*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of stocke, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui à virtutibus, diuitijs, vel antiquis bonis descenderunt Eugenes sunt habendi:* Not the rich men only, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from Vertues, Riches, and good Auncestors, are

to

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

Eugenia or Nobilitie of birth.

Nobility of birth, which is called *Eugenia*, is of *Osorius* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maximæ virtutes extiterunt vitæ Communi salutares & commodæ*. The luster or dignity of stocke, wherin most great vertues haue flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common vse of mans life. Which *Osorius* affirmeth, to be as it were subiect to rottennesse, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court receiued. *Symon Symonæus* in these words reproueth *Osorius*, his name beeing concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquuntur qui aiunt quemadmodum summa Senectus mentis vini & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitatis splendorem mediocri vetustate augeri, extrema vero Senecta confici*. They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde; so also, the glory and luster of *Nobilitie* to be with moderate antiquitie encreased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more auncient that a Stocke or Family is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Simon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Eugenia*, or *Native Nobilitie*, and by decreeing that a long and continuate race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great vertues haue oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discents, doth make a true Noble *Stocke*, or *Eugenia*. And that the beginning of a S[illegible]e or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, lest in searching further, euen *Kings* themselues (as sayth *Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaues*, or *Slaues* from *Kings*.

Of this *Eugenia* or *Native Nobilitie*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobilitie* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenes*, or from *Nobiles* discended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so discended, although not so ancient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an *Esquire* of a most auncient Family. As *Agathocles*, of a Potter made a King. What was *Romulus*? What was *Tullus Hostilius*? And what was *Tarquinius Priscus*?

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romaines* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaues*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaues made Free-men (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men* borne, (whom they called *Ingenui*.) The *Libertini* were Cittizens of *Rome*, who were three wayes manumised or made free; that is to say, by *Will* or *Testament*, or in the open *Congregation* or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruile state and condition, the word *Francklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in vse, except you had rather it to haue beene vsed, for a *Free-borne-man*.

Of Free-men some were freemen made some were Free men borne.

A Franklin.

But they were called *Ingenui*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselues, neither their Auncestors had euer serued as Slaues. And their Ancestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Liuie*. *An vnquam fando audisti is Patricios primos esse factos non è Cœlo dimissos, sed qui patrem Cicere Auumque possint?* Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue beene first made, and not sent downe from Heauen, but such as could reckon vp their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

Ingenuitie or freedome of Birth.

Freedome of birth, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politicall Nobilitie*) was eyther *Native*, or *Datiue*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Datiue Freedome* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and at length onelie by Princes themselues, and that two maner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainely, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressely by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or moe names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called

Gentile,

The name Gentile is taken from the stocke or family a man commeth of.

Gentile, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance, somtime to becom proper to a stocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Family, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and faigned of the Pulse called *Cicer*, (or the *Cichpease*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his nose, who thereof was first so sirnamed: but that same name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Family, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their posterity. *Tully* in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles esse qui eodem inter se sunt nomine, qui ab Ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum Maiorum nemo seruitutem seruierit: qui Capite non sunt diminuti*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke and family) which are among themselues of the same name discended of Free-borne-men, none of whose Ancestors had serued as slaues, or had beene condemned to loose their liberty, state, or Country.

Who are to be accounted Gentiles, or of stocke and family.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke or family) were of necessity to bee discended from *Ingenui* or Free-borne-men; for that of Slaues, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of slaues made free, there is no stock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Family, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great esteeme & reuerence among the Romaines, and to them, to haue aboue all things desired to bee called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene discended from some good stocke or kindred. And that desire hath euen yet vnto this day possessed all *Italy*.

For among the *Venetians* they are called *Gentilhuomini*, who deriue their stock from the first Inhabitants of that Island; and which are themselues *Patricij*, or discended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentilhuomo*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* remoued to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new signification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentilitas* was of, amongst the auncient *Romaines*.

For it is false which some, & they learned also, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue beene proper onely vnto the *Patricii*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar sort of the people (as was *Ingenuity* it selfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Suetonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia (fuit etiam & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est in Regillis*. The *Claudian* stocke and family, of the order of the *Patricij*, (for there was another house of them also of the Comminalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferiour to the other) rise vp at *Regilli*. But they seeme to haue beene deceiued, by that which *Liuy* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an *hundred Senators*, which he called *Maiorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another *hundred* also, called *Minorum gẽtium* (or of the lesser families.) But this proueth not, that we must therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricij*, to haue had a stocke and family; neither did this so calling of them, *Maiorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but thẽselues among themselues only; for that, whereas they were all chosen of *Free-borne-Citizens* (and which had their stocke and family) yet such of thẽ as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricii* sooner into their stocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are also called *Gentiles*, who in likenes of name agree among themselues (although there be no kindred amongst them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Genitæ*, that is to say, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themselues in stocke or blood, but were of those sort of people, who, diuided into Wardes, grew into a certaine society and fellowship among themselues. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euerie Tribe was diuided into three Wardes, which made twelue VVardes. And euery VVarde was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kinreds. But againe to the purpose.

VVhy a stock or family among the *Romaines* is to be deriued from the *Grandfather*, neyther could consist but in two at the least (*viz*) the *grandfather* and the *father*: Some thinke the reason thereof to be, for that the *Latine* word *Gens* signifieth a multitude, which requireth mo then one: and yet *Gens* seemeth to be called, as

it were *Genus* (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. beeing taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Genus* signifieth a stocke and beginning; but *Gens* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stocks, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

Ingenuity, hath the grace thereof from Nature.

Ingennity, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which it still deriued from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientnesse of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the *Father*.

Which if it bee so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (wherof the common people no lesse vant and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobilty*: which deny him to bee a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble*; neither agree they with themselues, when they dare to affirme (but by vvhat authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to bee passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

Qui virit in folijs venit à radicibus humor:
Et patrum in natos abeunt cũ semine mores.

The beauty of the faireſt branch,
doth from the roote proceede:
And so the Fathers manners do
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

Est in Inuencis, est in equis, patrum
Virtus: negʒ imbellem feroces
Progenerant Aquilæ Columbam.

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,
the Syres worth we proue:
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,
the weake and fearfull Doue.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets verily went about to stirre vp Noble and couragious youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* whereof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Politicall*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kindes, but of men there is but one sort. VVherefore, as an Eagle bringeth not forth a Doue, so neyther doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankinde proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? For why, they are men aswell as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be born of a thrifty Father: a foole, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any noueltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begottē. *Iacob* also and *Esau*, were the twinnes of a most blessed father: of which two, God loued the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed ouer together with mans seede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is euer with labour and study begotten, but born neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were by a certaine fatall destinie) to bee borne of good Parents. It is also commonly saide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies sonnes*. VVhat should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobilitie* and *Ignobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vseth to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means Noblemen haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he shou'd degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In briefe, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends, giuing the good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

Adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes: Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

Doctrina sed vim promouet insitam;
Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

Instruction, helpes Dame Natures powres,
And teaching, strengths those mindes of ours.

By *Natures ingrafted or hidden power*, hee vnderstandeth certayne seedes of vertues, which by the goodnesse of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the seeds of Hearbs, according vnto the maner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobilitie, then can a man that hath beene well borne.

Wherefore poore Countrey-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beasts and cattell, seeme rather to be rude *Siluans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, striue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which proue *Politicall Nobilitie* not to bee a thing substantiall, but meere accidentall: for why, it may be both present and absent, without the corruption of the subiect whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a forcke) which wee reade to haue beene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricij*, who refusing their *Patriciat* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceiued, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phrase and speech, they vse not, for that *Native Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that meanes determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be deuised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the *Grandfather* ennobleth not his nephue by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, state, or country. Of which this ciuill institution, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable mean letteth & hindereth the extreams to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise thē it was long agoe with the ancient Romains, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Native* or *Datiue*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custom, to be immediatly by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, remoued into a richer ground, are green & florish with the same new moysture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deserued to be called *Native*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which be borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted **Ladies** and **Madames**.

Native Nobilitie is not necessarily to be deriued farther then frō the father.

Wherfore we conclude *Native nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that somtime it cānot be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man born of a noble father, is without all doubt by discent noble. But if anie man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenes* or nobly descended; I answere, the common sort of people most of al, do respect the same, but the *Iudiciall Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be bestowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requireth not only our great grandfathers grādfathers, but euen all the rest of our auncestours in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, *Rich*, profitable for the Common-weale, good mē, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most hardest:

hardest: Such a noble discended person, is a rare Bird, and yet some such there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Aristotles* opinion. *Eugenia*, verily (saith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenes*. Wherefore the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vsuall words, *Eupaterios* and *Eupatrides*, as who should say, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know these words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenes*.

It to be no hard thing to affirme, that Nobility may be deriued from the mother.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to discend from the father to the children; and what if I should say the same force to be in the Mothers nobilitie also? Surely, both reason and the opinions of Doctours, and ancient customes also, will be present for the defence of this cause. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almost the whole constitution of the Childe, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath also such shape (if we may beleeue Philosophers) as the Mother conceiueth, together with the seede. For first, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewise nourishment of and from the Mother, encreasing from the Mother; and in briefe, by the consent of all men, it, together with spirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, affections, Vertues and vices. And that such power is in the Mother, it is manifest by the precepts of Phisitians, who command Parents to be most carefull to what Nurses they put their children to be nursed. In briefe, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why should not the Mothers be so also? The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminish nor encrease Nobilitie, which is for it selfe to be desired. Nay, in tender women it seemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongst the causes for which the honour and dignitie of persons, is encreased or diminished, that is of others the lightest, which is drawne from the difference of the Sexe: *Vlpianus* reporteth, the sonnes of the women of the *Ilienses*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue beene assigned vnto the houses of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongest the *Xanthij*, the Sons were ingrafted into the stocke and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the stocke and kinred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The same thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they should take the name and credite of their stocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and *Noble*, that was borne of a free-born-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or base common person; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in some cases follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vnheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themselues, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility then their Fathers; as *Rainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Macrianus* or *Macrinus*, to haue beene by his Mother noble, his Father being but onely a valiant and martiall man. You may also with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this sentence: *Iam depulso Nerone, quisnam eligeretur inquirebant, & omnium ore Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia*. *Nero* being now deposed, great inquiry was made, who should bee chosen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers side of the *Iulian* Family. And from these, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius Papinius* disagree not, whose verses I haue thought good heere to set downe.

VIRG.

Genus huic materna superbum
Nobilitas dabat: incertum de Patre ferebat.

His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,
For by his fathers side he was, born but obscure & base.

OVID.

Est quoque per matrem Cylenonen addita nobis
Altera Nobilitas.

And by my Mother *Cylennie*,
Is doubled my Nobilitie.

IDEM.

Hinc fuit Euander, qui quamquam clarus vtroque,
Nobilior fuit, sanguine matris erat. (were

From hence did old *Euander* come, who though he noble
By both sides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did (appeare

PAPINIVS.

Sed quicquid patrio cessatum est sanguine, mater
Reddidit, obscuramque latus clarescere vndis
Conubio gauisa domus. ——
Stemmate materno felix, virtute paterna.

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood,
the Mothers did requite the same;
And the base house reioyced much,
by such a match to grow to fame.
By Mothers Stocke accounted blest.
And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to proue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Euerie thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents.* Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to bee holden for true.

And now concerning *Nobilitie Natiue* (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto *Nobility Datiue*, or to *Nobility* which commeth by gift.

CHAP. V.

¶ *The diuers beginnings of Nobilitie Datiue.*

BEeing about to search out the other kinde of *Politicall* or *Ciuill Nobilitie* (viz.) *Nobilitie Datiue*, and that euen from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to bee againe called vnto remembraunce. Their argument is first to be refuted, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof commeth it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same *Olde Testament*, out of which the question is risen, beeing of the like Authoritie and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And Cham seeing the priuities of his father, told it to his brethren, who vpon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Cloake cast vpon their shoulders couered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But Noah awaked, and knowing what his younger sonne had done vnto him, he cursed Cham, commaunding him to be a slaue of all slaues.* By this shamefull and vnworthie fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, seruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Iaphet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

The *Datiue Nobilitie*, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes raysed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuayled, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde, and for the preseruation of the publique tranquility, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might bee vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life, that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselues *Nobilitie*. For the olde Prouerbe preuailed with them: Vertue, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellers and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created *Kings* and *Princes*. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honourable Titles and Offices, ennobled both themselues and their posterity.

Necessitie the cause of Nobilitie.

Another cause also why *Nobility* began to be honoured, was the *Ignorance* & vnskilfulnesse of the *vulgar* and *Common sort of people*, who haue their sence, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discerne, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or sound. Wherefore, for the maintenance of the publike peace and tranquilitie, it was necessarie to make choice of *Princes* (that is to say, of Gouernours) men, for their vertue and wisedome, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

The ignorance of the vulgar and common sort.

with singular wisedome, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behauiour: such as were *Iupiter*, *Pallas*, *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisedome, vertue, and skill, obtayned not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskilfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

Wealth and riches.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the aboundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreame pouertie, enforced to hang vpon the richer sort, and giuing themselues altogether ouer into their power, reputed them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

Noble actes.

Nobilitie also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and couragious man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was aboue other men worthily honoured. Many also in ancient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobility*, and therefore of the people accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliah* the *Philistine*. Some,

Men immediately by God called vnto Nobilitie.

immediatly from God were elected and called vnto Nobilitie, as *Iosua*, *Gedeon*, *Iephta*, and the rest of the *Iudges* of *Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: othersome, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselues vtterly vnworthy of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs aboue all others to be accounted most noble.

Knowledge in martial affairs

Yea, no small part, but euen the greatest part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselues honor and glory by their skil in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their enemies; so as did *Horatius Cocles*, *Titus Manlius*, *Scipio Affricanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespatian*, *Domitian*, *Nerua*, *Trajan*, *Antonius*, *Seuerus*, *Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Countrey*; part of them *Benefactors*, but all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about; and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine solemne Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their deedes, as it were, in striuing-wise, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Magnanimity and wisedom

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisedome and courage, haue beene promoted to be great *Emperours*, *Cæsars*, *Dukes*, *Princes* and *Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius*, *Numa Pompilius*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Octauianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germaines*, *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Brittans*, the *Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdoms, *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Barons*, not then to haue bin in such sort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward sprung vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes* and *Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the *Emperour* and his successour. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*, *Lieutenant* of the Armie, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romanes*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperor, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other sixe kings succeeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horsemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the *Emperors*, as *Lucius Venestella*, *Pomponius Latus de Magistratibus Romanorum*: and also *Flauius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* doe, intreating of Martiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius Latus* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the Generall of an army, whom the *Germans* call Hertzogen *Tribunũ Celerum*. *Salust* in his Treatise concerning the *Conspiracie of Cateline*, hath called them *Dictatores*, & *Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators* & *Emperors*.

Beside that, Great Magistrates called

Præfecti

Præfecti Prætorio, were of ſo great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their ſentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperor, vnto the *Præfecti Prætorio*. For moſt wiſe, good, and iuſt men, by the Emperours choſen out, were created *Præfecti Prætorio*, vnto whō they were wont to commit almoſt the whole eſtate of the Common-weale. The Emperour *Seuerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Præfecti vrbis*, and *Præfecti Prætorio*, of all which, heere to ſpeake, were but needleſſe. For heere we ſpeake onely of the authority of the *Præfectus Prætorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and very eſſentiall Law it ſelfe: who were of power to thruſt Cittizens into exile, and to reſtore them vnto their eſtate againe. Whereby it is moſt euident, Princes and Gouernours of People to haue had the power and authority of the ſword, to puniſh the offenders, and to adminiſter Iuſtice: wherby they were afterward thoght to procure and get a great name of Nobility, both vnto themſelues, and to their poſterity: and right probable it is, the authority of Princes and Dukes to haue firſt riſen of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*: which Princes, at ſuch time as the Romane Emperours remoued out of *Germany* & *Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themſelues the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee ſee (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperors to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: ſo that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subiects (as doth the election of Kings) but is Datiuely, as of gift, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue beene ſubiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And ſo in the times of the Romans, the Roman Kings, their Dictators and Conſuls, & alſo their Emperors, were in the adminiſtration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horſemen and footmen.

But beſide theſe great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*, there were other publike offices and charges; ſome called *Ordinarij*, for that they kept orders in the army; and ſtood in the front of the battaile. Thoſe in the time of *Auguſtus*, were wont to be called *Auguſtales*: and of *Fl. Veſpatianus*, *Flauiales*: ſome called *Aquiliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their Enſignes, and otherſome called *Imaginarij*, bearing the enſigne of the common or generall Army of the people of Rome notable with the Letters, S.P.Q.R. that is to ſay, *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*: or the *Senate and people of Rome*, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Enſigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere proſecute all things in order, this Treatiſe ſhould without meaſure encreaſe. But now in this place wee onely goe about, ſlightly as it were to ſhew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, leaſt any man ſhould ſuſpect them to be but altogether things faigned, and vpon no reaſon grounded. Rehearſing theſe things in the mean time by the way, that when we ſhall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themſelues. For they who in ancient times were vnder kings and emperours appointed Gouernours ouer Regions and Countries, are now become hæreditary poſſeſſors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Miniſters or Seruants, are now become abſolute Nobles.

Beſide that, in the meane time it moſt plainly appeareth of that which is aforeſaid, that the kindred, ſtocke, and diſcent of the Nobility in former ages flouriſhed and became famous onely for vertue, noble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being ſet apart, wee are all foraſmuch as concerneth mans nature, the ſonnes of *Adam*. VVherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philoſophicall Nobility (whereunto our Anceſtors eſpecially addicted themſelues) to boaſt of Nobility by birth, without vertue, was but a vaine thing.

Namgenus & Proauos & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra duco.——————

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree,
and things we did not make,
VVe ſcarſe reckon them for our owne,
or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all men,

men, that forasmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, euery man would endeuour himselfe, of himselfe to become Noble. For they which otherwise vaunt and boast of Nobility, seeme onely honourers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, seeing that they be rather base persons, bearing themselues brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the most part quite out of order, so the fashion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgency do, and bring to passe.

PARERGON.

IT is sufficiently manifest, by that which is aforesaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle *Robert Glouer* was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongst the Gentiles: which Philosophers heeretofore, haue set forth to vs, as a wauering thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilst they in speaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of persons.

It were verily to be wished, that the ornaments of vertue should euery where be conferred and bestowed vpon none, but vpon such, as in whom vertue it selfe resteth: for that as the encreasing of honor, so the credite and reputation thereof also, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by industry. But seeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and those of such sort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themselues; it is from the rest of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theologicall and Philosophicall) by this only difference distinguished, that whilst they rest onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

In the prosecuting whereof, for that he finished not the same, I verily tooke it most greeuously: for many things seemed to me to be therin wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the peculiar forme of enabling of men, vsed in euery kingdome apart, and especially in this Empire and Island, as the very method and order of the worke seemed to me to make shew of. But forasmuch, as he in his life time perfected not these things: For,

——*Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem.*)

Vntimely death soone tooke away
Achilles, and clos'd him in clay.

Least *Venusses* head being onely by *Apelles* perfected, the body beeing not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, should lye neglected and vnregarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to supply that defect, with such thinges as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongst others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpse, shew what orders of Nobility are with vs also: what Rites and Ceremonies are vsed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of thē being before vnderstood, I might afterward with greater fruite, and fuller pleasure, come vnto the persons themselues, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble actes; and at length in a iust volume (if God shall see it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we shall compare these old and most ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee shall finde no signe or token of that auncient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you shall seeke for such as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men sent downe from heauen) you shall finde them no where but in Cities, exercising Vsury and Merchandize (trades vtterly forbidden the Romanes) at whom (although within their owne walles they be much regarded and esteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to scoffe & iest. Or else if it please you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Vrban*, who (forsooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Lewes* the 8. in *France*, a Senatour of *Rome*, when as he should rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. Indeede, it was a very ridiculous compari-

son

ſon of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now ſtãdeth.

VVherefore let vs ſee, and as breefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that Citty (which firſt built by Shepheards, at length became Miſtris of the whole world) began to decline from ſo great an Eſtate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles alſo.

After the tranſlating of the Romane empire by *Conſtantine* the Great, all that excellency of publike dignities, whereof it is expreſly and ſufficiently enough before ſpoken, ſeemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of ennobling of men to haue bin deuiſed. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the eaſt-empire, ſeeme to haue bene diuers from the weſt-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in ſunder, and ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, ſeeme to haue beene ſubiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reaſon of the neereneſſe of blood, or by inſtitution, and was of the *Latines* called (*Primus*) was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name ſaluted *Deſpotes*; that is to ſay, Lord: as he is at this day cald *Monſieur* among the *French men*. The later VVriters, were wont alſo to call him, the ſame man *Sebaſton*, according as the emperors had deuiſed honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebaſtocrator*, whom hee whom they called *Cæſar*, followed as fourth.

But whilſt the emperour *Baſilius*, was wont to be called *Sebaſtos*, & alſo *Cæſar*, he the ſame mãn, at one & the ſame time enioying all theſe titles, theſe dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, euen without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleaſure, beſtowed and diſpoſed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperour, was called *Cæſar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the VVeſt. But afterwards, *Sebaſtocrator* was the ſecond in honour, & *Cæſar* the third, at ſuch time as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Iſaacius* to be *Sebaſtocrator*: of whom *Zonoras* ſpeaketh more at large. And laſt of all *Alexius Paleologus* beeing *Deſpotes*, was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the ſame Emperor *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldeſt daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Deſpotes*, as hee which ſhould haue beene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

Protoſebaſtus had the firſt place & degree of honour from the emperour. And at length *Panhyperſebaſtus* begã to be the moſt ſtately and maieſticall name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, iquented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to gratifie *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparchus* was alſo a name of great honor, as who ſhould ſay, the cheefe of all the Prouinciall Preſidents. *Contoſtaulus* was Generall of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, ſerued in the Eaſt. Whereof he was called *The Great Contoſtaulus*: and otherwiſe *Comeſtabilus*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Contoſtabile*. *Drungarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in Greek, μέγας δοὺξ, for diffrence ſake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himſelfe, or the *Deſpotes*, or the *Sebaſtocrator*, or the *Cæſar*, or the *Panhyperſebaſtus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made ſubiect all the Drungars of their Fleete, their *Admirals*, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himſelfe, before whom they alſo appointed the emperors Statue on horſe-backe (which they called *Contus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had alſo their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logariaſtes*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controlleur*. And their *Protoſtator*, or *Marſhall* of their Army. Their *Primicerios* alſo and *Primauguſtos*, and many others of that ſort, I willingly paſſe ouer, leaſt in proſecuting of euery one, my diſcourſe ſhould grow too long and tedious. Theſe were all honorable dignities, and that for the moſt part not ſo

Protoſebaſtus Panhyperſebaſtus.

Eparchus.

Contoſtaulus.

Drungarius.

Mega-Dux.

Egemon.

The Great Logotheta. Logariaſtes. Protoſtrator.

Primicerios. Primauguſtos

ſo much for the neceſſity of their Offices or order, as ſo made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperor.

But whilſt it ſeemed ſo good vnto the Emperors, ſo to appoint the ſeate of the Empire at *Conſtantinople* (where al things now lye ſwallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the weſt bared of their Legions, and ſtrengthned onely with Fortes, vndefended and ſubiect vnto the inuaſions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vppon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the Eaſt Empire (at length) enſued alſo. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time gouerned by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Carthularij*, *Spatharij*, *Guſtaldi*, and *Capatani*. But at length, when *Narſes* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane Patricij*, was by *Iuſtinus* the Emperour, appointed Gouernour, he brought in them whom they called *Conſulares*, *Præſides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narſes*, prouoked with the iniuries and deſpightes of *Sophia* the Empreſſe (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobardes* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narſes* beeing dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romaine Patricij* alſo) by the ſame Emperour choſen Gouernor or *Exarchs* in his ſtead in *Italy*, for the repreſſing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narſes*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Conſtantine* the Emperor, who is reported to haue prouided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes ſhould be aſſigned to *Dukes*, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing lõg ſerued, were to be rewarded for their good ſeruice done and paſt.) And vnto this purpoſe tend the words of *Guicchiardine* himſelfe, which I haue thoght good hereunto alſo to adioyne.

By the tranſlation of the Empire vnto *Conſtantinople* (ſaith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman Byſhops*; for the authority of the Emperours, dayly more and more weakned and decreaſing in *Italy* (both by their continual abſence, as alſo for that they were ſtill buſied with warres in the eaſt) the people alſo by litle and litle reuolting from them, & the City of *Rome* it ſelfe, being at length oftẽtimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & ſacked; the authority of the Emperors began to decay and vaniſh away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length again driuen out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperors, the gouernment began againe to be managed by Greeke Magiſtrats (of whom he which commanded ouer the reſt, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his ſeate at *Rauenna*) who appointed Gouernours ouer the reſt of the Citties of *Italy*, which Gouernors they called Dukes. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchatſhip* of *Rauenna*, wherein al places were comprehended, which had not Dukes of theyr owne, but were vnder the commaund of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters enſued from the *Longobardes*: For they, a moſt fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, poſſeſſed the country called *Gallia Ciſalpina*, of whome it hath alſo taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added alſo vnto their Gouernment *Rauenna*, with all the *Hexarchatſhip* thereof, beſides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoletum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Gouernors to rule and commaund, whome they called Dukes, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their Dukes, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Cittie of *Rome*. And ſo it came to paſſe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to bee gouerned by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by ſuch as they called *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Princes*.

Dukes, Earles, Princes.

Theſe people, *Charles the Great*, ſon to *Pipin* King of *France*, by the *Romanes* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropoliticall Cittie of the *Inſubres*, & there ſlain *Deſiderius* (of a *Conſtable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and ſubdued, and was foorthwith by the generall conſent of all men choſen emperor of the VVeſt Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it ſelfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, ſo euen in the beginning therof he had a purpoſe to make it hæreditary, and made the *Great men*, & ſuch as were with *Honourable Titles* graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding only of the King, and of the Emperour: ſo that

The French Romane Empire.

that if by chance they ſhould fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without iſſue, hee then ordained thoſe their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inueſtitura*, or an *Inueſture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdome, he committed to be gouerned by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marchias*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Gouernours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum Comites*, (or *Counties* of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marqueſſes*. And them whom he ſet and placed in the Prouinces, for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Miſſi* (or *Men ſent*) or otherwiſe *Legati*: that is to ſay, The Emperours Legats or Lieutenants. But ſuch as the people afterward of themſelues created, for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and the gouernment of Citties, being two or moe in number, beeing choſen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Conſuls*. The *French Romane* Empire, with this ſucceſſe made by *Charles* the Great, was left vnto his poſterity almoſt hæreditary: which in ſhort time after alſo, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Groſſe (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles* the Great, & before, King of *Germany*) deuolued from the *French-men* vnto the *Germanes*. Vnto whom alſo (within a few yeares after) *Otto* the Great, king of *Germany*, and he Emperour, alſo ſucceeded; who following the ſteps of *Charles* the Great, gaue ſuch perfections vnto his beginnings, in beſtowing and diſpoſing of honours & dignities, as that he is not ſo much for his ſirname and noble actes, to bee compared with the moſt mighty emperours, as for his wholeſome Lawes, and heroicall Ordinances, of all poſterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining euery moſt valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalties ſuch of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull ſeruice (and theſe Royalties were all manner of dignities, lands, & gouernments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, beſtowed vpon ſuch as had of him well deſerued. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romanes* but the bare names of perſonall offices and charges) now receiued other cuſtomes: and a Duke (at firſt choſen for his vertues & noble acts) they now began ſo to call him of his Dukedome: as they did alſo a *Marqueſſe*, of his *Marquiſat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from ſome King, Marqueſſe, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Capitaine.*) But they which had ſuch command from *Capitaines*, were called *Valuaſores* (or *Valuaſours.*) And they which had it from theſe *Valuaſors*, were called *Valuaſini* (or *Valuaſines.*) Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, beeing far & wide diſperſed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the mãner and cuſtome of euery place & Country, who eyther themſelues, or their anceſtours liued, ſo graced with theſe, or ſuch like priuiledges.

And theſe be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the moſt approued Authors, concerning the titles of honors and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this moſt eſpecially worth the noting, that all the ſtreames of Nobility (but eſpecially the greateſt & cheefeſt of them) came and iſſued all out of the Campe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it ſhall not repent vs in diſtinct rankes, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And firſt to begin withall, They in Campes were called *Principes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, wee euery where make ſo great account) which ſerued in the firſt rankes, excelling others in ſtrẽgth and age; and which followed the Speare-men, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, ſo placed, as it were for a refuge & releeſe for them: to the end, that if in battaile the Speare-men ſhould be enforced to retire, they might in ſafety flye vnto thoſe *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approued and aſſured ſeruice. Whereof *Caſtra Principalia*, the *Principall Tents*, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall Port*, where thoſe *Principes* or *Principall* men were wont to lye with their bands; are ſo often read of in *Liuie*.

Inueſtiture.

Marqueſſes.

Lieutenants.

Conſuls.

The Empire deuolued frõ the French-men, vnto the Germanes.

Dukes. Earles. Marqueſſes.

A Capitaine.

Valuaſors

Valuaſines.

Princes.

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the emperors name gouerned the *Romane* affaires, were called *Principes Senatus*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a Kings, who amongst the ancient *Saxons* were called *Ethelings*, and with vs *Clytones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the places, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferiour vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

Dukes. *Duces* or Dukes tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ductores* or *Leaders*; for that they marching before, led their followers. Whereof we reade the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, *to leade Warre*; for *Gerere bellum*, to make warre. And so *Hij bellum assidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as Dukes or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vse such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military gouernment and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for things by them honourably and valiantly in the wars atchieued and performed, triumphall Ornaments were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were affigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

Marquesses. *Marquesses* were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and gouernment of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchio*, or a *Marques*: and they which receiued of thē Fees, were properly accounted the *Valuasars* of the king, or of the kingdome, as men standing with the Generals *Ad valuas Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdome. Other-some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchio* from *Marca* (a word of the *Celtes*) from whence they deriue the word *Marchare* in *French*, to ride: and the *Marcomanni* as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Counties or Earles. Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kindes, so of them amongst the ancient VVriters, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest wer *Comites Sacri Palitij*, or counties of the *Sacred Pallace*: *Archiatri* (or *Principoll Courtiers*) and *Comites stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Desiderius* from a *Constable*, by the *Longobards* chosen and appointed to be king of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles* the Great. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleete to *Corsica*.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or *Counties* of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romanes* would haue always two residing in the East, and were thereof sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or Counties of the east. And in breefe, there were Counties of Prouinces: such as were the Counties of *Spaine*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon*-Coasts in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustaldius* in *Italy*, and a County, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleeue a County in olde time to haue beene called *Comarchus*.

Vicounts. The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the County in the Camp committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsull* his Lieutenant or Deputy.

Barons. But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; For vnto the *Romans* as concerning their dignity, they were vtterly vnknowne: howbeit, that they affirme it to bee a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*. *Apud Patronem reliquosque Barones te in maxima gratia possuit*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your Patron, and the rest of the Barons.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word βαρυς, which signifieth *Graue*. But howsoeuer it commeth to passe, if credite be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Bracton*, the Barons were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *Robora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Baldus*, a Baron is defined to be a man hauing

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greateſt, middle, and loweſt correcting of offendors. But ſufficeth it now concerning theſe matters, to haue ſayde thus much, as purpoſing of the ſame, to ſpeake more at large heereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of thoſe ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reaſon as well of the Names as of the Dignities themſelues, may the better and more manifeſtly appeare.

The Empire decaying, the Nobilitie beganne to get both other cuſtome and Names.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the Turkes ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen ſo alſo was the empire of the *Weſt*, by the cunning and ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, rent in ſunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now ſcarcely declare. The maieſtie whereof, is yet by the Seauen Princes *Electors* (of the Germains called **Churfürſten**) vnto the Ornament of the Chriſtian world vpholden and maintayned. The Septemuirat of *Germany*, the Emperour *Otho* the third, and Pope *Gregorie* the fift, ordained in the yeare 960. Vnto whom afterwards the Emperour *Charles* the fourth engaged the reuenues of the *Empire* (hauing promiſed vnto euerie one of the *Electors*, an hundred thouſand crownes) that he would appoint *Wenceſlaus* his ſonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money beeing not payed, it came to paſſe, that the Patrimony of the *Romaine Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vſes and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cauſe was ſubiect to alienation) was priuately diſtributed and diuided amongſt them, vnto euery one of them a part, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almoſt brought to nothing, the Seauen Princes *Electors* of *Germanie*, keeping all vnto themſelues, and compelling the *Emperors* by oath, that they ſhould not reuoke the Lands and Pawnes before ingaged.

The Seauen Electors were firſt inſtituted in Germany about the yeare, 960.

And Kings, to whom it was a pleaſant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themſelues Monarchies.

But they which in moſt great Kingdoms hold the ſecond place, next to the Kings and the Kings ſons, are according to the forme of the *Emperors* army, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Archduke* is but one alone, belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*, by the emperor *Frederick* diuiſed, to grace his *nephew Phillip* withall, at ſuch time as he was to marry *Ioane* the heire of *Spaine*. An Archduke.

The name of *Vayuode*, is a title of dignity onely in *Tranſiluania*, and *Valachia*. And ſo alſo is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is alſo called a Duke. A Vayuode. A Doge.

And as in warres Counties or Earles were aſſigned vnto Dukes, ſo our Counties now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the Dukes. An Earle.

For a *Marqueſſe* at this day, is nothing elſe in his owne proper ſignification, then a *Countie* vpon the Frontiers & Borders: which in the Germaine tongue is more ſignificantly called a **Wartgraue**: with whome a *Countie* is called **Graf**. And whereof come thoſe honourable names of the **Pfaltzgraue**, **Landſgraue**, **Wartgraue**, **Rheingraue**, & **Burghgraue**: that is to ſay, *The Countie Palatine, the Countie of the Prouince, The Countie of the Borders, The County of Rhene, The County of the Caſtle or Garriſon*. And yet according to the diuers cuſtome of places, *Marqueſſes* in ſome places are preferred, and goe before *Counties* or *Earles*. A Marqueſſe.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very *etymology* of the name it ſelf hath taught vs. A Vicount.

Barons are alſo euery where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath alſo onely foure peculiar Great and principall *Lords*, whom they call *Vidames* (*viz.*) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbery*. So hath it pleaſed men according to the cuſtome of places, vnto new forms of Honours and Dignities, to giue olde names. But nothing is euery where, and in all places ſo ſincerely obſerued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuiſion of People, into Noble and Vnnoble, with a certain difference of the Vnnoble ſort among themſelues, as of the Nobler ſort among themſelues alſo. A Baron. Vidames. Noble and Vnnoble.

For ſuch with eaſie exerciſes get their liuings, ſuch as excell in wit in the knowledge of Martiall affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: theſe men, in theſe times, are as it were the Seminaries of *Nobility* (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*, among the Romans, the nurſery of the *Senators*.) The Seminary of nobility.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants discended. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Prouerb: *Ie suis Gentilhomme comme le Roy*, I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il foy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

All the vulgar people are base and vnnoble.

Al gentlemen are alike Noble.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And hereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named* Nobility I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdome: a *Duke*, of his *Dukedome*; an *Earle*, of his *Earledome*; and a *Baron*, of his *Baronny*: who may also be called *Maiores Nobiles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indiffrently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for tearme of life onely, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may bee called *Nobiles Innominati* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minores Nobiles*, that is to say; the lesser Nobility.

The differences of Nobility.

Nobility, the greater and the lesser.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they bee not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

In some places of Italy there be hereditary Knights.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discerne the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine iniury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee deriue our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobiles*) indifferently to comprehend all such as are aboue the common and vulgar sort of mē? Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble.*) By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

In many places also there are Esquires by birth.

What the latine word Nobilis signifieth with the Frenchmen and Englishmen.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilzhommes*, and in english, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neyther Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen, without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilzhommes simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these mē can shew moe Armes of their stocke, and deriue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperour himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine tearmed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselues, but yet in honor and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, are as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becommeth more famous and nobler then another.

Noblemen, how they are to be distinguished.

These things beeing thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our english Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth, is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Cittizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forsomuch as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther, I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheefe named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdome*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in briefe, by one name, *Great Estates, or Noblemen.*

Yet in so great conuersions of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Island from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time most

A Transition vnto the English Nobility

most grieuously afflicted: to write such a serious discourse, as to set downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noblemen, with the orders and degrees of honours, seemeth a thing most difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confesse the truth) seeing that I haue not well satisfied my selfe, I dare not with too much hasty confidence to affirme much, especially seeing that heere, as well as elsewhere, the Victors haue still especially endeuoured them-selues, not so much to oppresse the people by them subdued, as they haue done to innouate their customes, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is so by Nature ordered, that with the same fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are ouer-whelmed, euen the Nations themselues, and Noble Families fall, and come to vtter ruine also.

For first, the *Romanes* by subduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Iland, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romanes* about fiue hundred yeares more or lesse after, beeing againe transported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *English-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raised warre against their Hoasts, and thrust them quite out of their auncient Seates, and first of all others, gaue vnto the kingdome the name of *England*. And these people the *Danes* also for a space thrust out of the kingdome.

But at length, when as this kingdome began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confessour*, a most holy King, and last of the *English-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without issue, gaue occasion to the *Normanes* to passe ouer. VVho at length preuailing, (*Harold* who with-stood them beeing ouercome) and the *English-men* beeing thrust out of their ancient inheritance, began foorth-with to assigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow-souldiors, and also to bring in the *Normane* customes and fashions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the most auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *English-Saxon* Kings, concerning those Noble-Men which were Rulers ouer the Countries of *Chester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, whom we reade to haue beene indifferently also called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had also their *Heretoches*, and the Princes of their *Heretoches*. And *Edward*, the *King* and *Confessour* yet reigning, euen in the time next vnto the comming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Clytons*, *Patricij*, *Consuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalhers*, *Thayni*, *Theotthani*, *Ministers*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconstancy, of such their names and callings. For whom thou shalt reade to be called Counties, thou shalt else-where finde euen at one and the selfe-same time to be called *Dukes*. But the stile of *Clyto*, at first signified the Kings eldest Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were descended of the kings bloud.

The Titles of *Countie* and *Consult* signified the same thing, differing, but in that *Comes* (or a *County*) was so called a *Comitatu* (or of a *Shire* or *County*:) and a *Consull* of *Consulendo*, or of giuing of Councell. A *Stalher*, and *The Gouernor of the Kings house*, to haue beene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifest. The *Patricij* and *Thaini* were Noblemen of the better sort; and I could almost affirme them to haue beene equall vnto our Barons at this day. Ministers and Princes, who in old Charters are set as lowest witnesses, seeme to haue beene names of one and the same signification, and alike signifie Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnknowne. Neither seeme these honourable Titles to haue beene foorthwith together with the victory, by *William* the *Normane* changed. For these men whom King *Edward the Confessor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the yeare 1062: taketh to witnesse by the name of *Counties Palatine* (whom he but euen a little before had called Dukes) and by the names of Procurators, Chamberlaines, and Princes of his Court: the Normane himselfe, in the second yeare after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the same Abbey, doth by the same Stiles and Titles take to

witneſſe alſo.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himſelfe in ſafety, the *Counties* whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with *Counties* and Lands, began to be one from another, diſtinguiſhed, by the addition of the Title, of ſuch and ſuch a *Countie*. As witneſſe *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witneſſe *Hugh* Countie of *Cheſter*: witnes *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *Engliſh Saxons* by little and little, eyther dead without iſſue, or oppreſſed, or thruſt foorth into exile, and ſo liuing in other places, all things were ſo framed vnto the *Norman* maner, as that of our *Nobilitie* at this day, there is not any which can ſo much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of thoſe moſt ancient *Saxons*.

Theſe foundations of the auncient VVorthies and *Nobility* beeing layde by *William* the *Conqueroour*: and oftentimes afterwards by Succeſſours, according to the diuerſe occaſions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry* the third, and *Edward* the firſt, to ſhine foorth, who hauing now vanquiſhed the VVelch-men their Neighbours, and contending with the Scottes bordering vpon them, for Principalitie and Soueraignetie; entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which conſiſted of the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Comminaltie*) they themſelues in their Royall Maieſtie ſitting in Parliaments, appoynted vnto euery man a preheminence, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, eſpecially all the *Nobilitie* of our age, may ſeeme to deriue the diuerſe and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

A King. VVherefore a King, who may with vs bee alſo called a *Monarch*, hauing in himſelfe the ſupreame power, is of ſuch great Maieſtie, as that beſides GOD alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iuſtice ſeeking his chiefeſt praiſe and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to bee decreed and ſet downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) doth eyther make new Lawes, before conceiued by the three eſtates of the Kingdom, or elſe abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the ſacred ſolemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his ſubiects crowned, whom afterwards we with ſo great reuerence obſerue and honour, both in the time of peace, as alſo in the time of war, as that (forſomuch as hee himſelfe is the fountaine of all *Nobilitie*) he may for his onely pleaſure and good liking, bleſſe and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, Nobilitie, and Riches.

Amongſt the *Nobilitie* or Peeres of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himſelfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldeſt ſonne, or heire apparant of the Kingdome, and hath of long beene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Prince of Wales. The Kings ſonnes in auncient times, before the comming in of the Normans, were wont to be called *Ethilings*, that is to ſay, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the reſt, whom they in Latine called *Inclyti*, or *Noble*) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs, the ſame that the deſigned *Cæſars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who ſhould ſay, heires of the *Imperiall Maieſtie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which ſhall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* ſtile him that is to ſucceed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince*, or *Infant*.

The firſt that was by this name called after the coming in of the *Normans*, was *Edward*, the eldeſt ſon of King *Henry* the third, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquiſhed *Leolin*, was the firſt that vnited the Principalitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom alſo, *Iohn* the *Scot* earle of *Cheſter*, being dead without heyres male (other lands and reuenues being aſſigned vnto the ſiſters of the aforeſaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the ſame countie. The firſt Prince of Wales.

At length King *Edward* the third gaue vnto *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne (a moſt famous and renowned warriour) then

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornewall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwardes our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall *Charter*, with great solemnitie in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*, and *Earles* of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornewall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. Aboue which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowshippe of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seem to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equall, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with *Kings* and *Emperours* abroad. But of them we are else-where to speake.

A Duke. All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue beene Generalles and Leaders of Armies, or Gouernours of Countries, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the *Emperours*, to haue beene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in ancient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and conduct the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorised by the King, is become an hereditarie Title. Our Kings discended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselues were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of *Duke*, till *Edward* the Third; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the County of *Cornewall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditarie Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

arquesse. Next vnto Dukes in order follow *Marquesses*, who in ancient time were called *Gouernours* or *Wardens* of the borders or Marches: a Title vnto vs, before the time of King *Richard* the Second, vterly vnknowne, who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall *Charter* first created *Robert Vere* earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marques of *Dublin* the Metropoliticall Cittie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtayned the like Creations by Inheritance.

An Earle. Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an *Earle* amongst the Auncients, I haue else-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated of. *Earles* with vs, haue alwayes beene both of greatest authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie then either *Marquesses* or *Dukes*.

Neyther is it any let at all, but that an *Earle* may be called *Earle* of any County or place, from whence he receiueth no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in antient Charters, declared them in old time to haue beene Feed-men, and to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince wherof they were called *Earles*; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of *Earledomes*, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at al: vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certaine summe of money, to be yearely receiued out of the *Exchequer*, or his Customes: as wee will hereafter more at large declare.

A Vicount. Concerning the beginning of a *Vicount* with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deriue it; forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry* the sixt. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *Iohn de Bellomonte*, or *Beaumont*, a *Vicount*: Whereupon that which in ancient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the middest, betweene an *Earle* and a *Baron*; as wee doe a *Marquesse*; betweene a *Duke* and an *Earle*. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuestiture from the Kings themselues, with certain solemne ceremonies,

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

A Baron.

Now the laſt of all, aſwell in order as ſpecially in dignity, come foorth the Barons, whoſe conioyned power, compared with the reſt, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes beene the greateſt. Of whoſe beginning, yet truth it ſelfe doubtfully wauereth. *Lucas de Penna in L. fi. C. de mancipijs*, in his 16. booke ſayeth. *Quòd Reges cùm plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges poſſe fieri (quòd regnum diuidi nequeat) proſpicerent: ampla cuique donabant Caſtra cum iuriſdictione & Imperio, vnde Barones dicerentur*, id eſt, *filij alijs excelſiores*. For that Kings when they had many ſonnes, which they well ſaw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Caſtles, with iuriſdiction and command, whereof they ſhould be called *Barons* (that is to ſay) Their ſonnes, higher in degree then others. Otherſome will haue the word *Baro*, to haue beene deriued from the Greeke word Βαρυς, ſignifying grauity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with coniectures to contend, I deeme it not amiſſe, heereunto to ioyne the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine moſt learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, ſuppoſeth them in the beginning to haue beene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, diſperſedly roaming and ſtragling vp and downe without any certaine reſting places, after the empire was rent in ſunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and ſubiect to euery one of their iuriſdictions, eyther with a meere ſoueraignty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder ſome other common Prince.

Whereof, *Baldus* happily hath called a man of greateſt, middle, and meaneſt authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were ſo in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *Pares homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (ſpeaking more contractly) *parhommes*, and *parhuomini*, and thereof they might, ſaith he, bee called *Barons* and *Barons*: for with a more eaſie pronounciation, they in their words eaſily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this matter, he ioyneth thereunto the force of diuers Languages. For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the ſame ſence in ancient time, called *Thaini*, and at this day in engliſh, **Lordes**, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fitly call **Free-heren**, which with vs truely ſignifieth **Free Lordes**; that is to ſay, **Lords** hauing free iuriſdictions and territories. But from whence this very word **Lord** is ſprung (which is not ſo much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in generall) remaineth yet doubtfull.

Thaini.

A Lord.

Foraſmuch as we after our manner and faſhion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, and Vicounts, (and ſome of the greateſt Officers and Magiſtrates of the kingdome alſo, although they bee not Barons) after the manner of Barons, **Lordes**: ſome ſay it to be a primitiue & originall word of it ſelfe, ſprung out of the Saxon word *Hlaford*, which is interpreted **Lord**: Otherſome alſo, ſuſpect it to haue bene a deriuatiue word, and to haue bene firſt brought out of *Burgundy*: for it is manifeſt, the emperour *Probus* to haue ſent hither into *Brittaine* the *Burgundians*, whom he had ouercome in the yeare 282. Who hauing heere ſeated and ſetled themſelues, did vnto the *Romanes* right good ſeruice, if at any time rebellió did ariſe or was ſtirred vp againſt them. And in that place they commonly call it *Allodium*, which ſignifieth, *Free* and diſcharged from all homage and ſeruice: which manner of poſſeſſour or owner, is euen at this day called *Allodius*: whom we, reſting almoſt vpon the ſame reaſon, do in engliſh call, **A Lord**. Contrary vnto thoſe *Allodij* or Lords, are the *Leudes* or *Leudi*, as ſubiect vnto the *Allodij*, whereof perhaps the word **Laydes** is vſed amongſt the **Scots**, whom they with vs call alſo **Lords**.

Hlaford in the Saxon tongue, in English Lord.

A Layrde.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery mã gheſſe as he liſt: howſoeuer the names be deemed of, it is for the moſt part of all men granted, that **Free-heren** or **Lords** (call them whether you liſt) to haue in all places liued as Free-borne men, and of great eſteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the ſame, whom *Cæſar* calleth *Regulos* in *France*: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the moſt olde and ancient Barons, are reported

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time had hereditary Iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retaine a shew in our **Lords courts**, commonly called a **court Baron**: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogatiue of thē in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, and *Vicounts*, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies; Insomuch, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminence of his degree) yet holdeth he his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishoppes and Bishoppes (as it was in auncient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioyned vnto theyr bishopprickes; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke whosoeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dinasta* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbred either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suffrage in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shal see the eldest sonne or heyre of a *Duke*, *Marquesse*, or of an *Earle*, as well in wisedome and councell, as of yeeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to bee present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a VVritte of *Summons* (as they terme it) his Father yet being aliue, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his Barony, or if he bee the sonne of a Marquesse, or of an Earle, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparant, and into the inuestiture whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogatiue is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1575. by her *Writ of Summons*, so to call *William Poulet*, Baron *S. John of Basing*, at this day Marquesse of *Winchester*, (viz:) the eldest sonne of *John Poulet*, Marquesse of *Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongest the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of S. *John*, vntill that their heires male fayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogatiue onely, the age and towardlinesse of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

Henrie Stanley, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writ of Summons* called vnto Parliament, his father yet liuing, by the name of Baron *Strange* of *Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange* of *Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert* Lord *Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George* earle of *Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased: which places they could not by prescript forme of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that theyr Fathers then aliue, possessed both the dignities & reuennewes of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilest that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maiestie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminence & dignity designed; who so called and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwaies after to bee held and accounted Barons, and to be reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronage of *England*, nei-

nei-

For that vnto mē infamous the gate of honor, are no wher open, so things which are once granted vnto any man by the Prince, are not to bee again returned vnto his losse or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiected or degraded, except by chance their possessions were so far diminished, as that they were by no meanes able to maintayne so great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senatours, which had wasted or decayed their Senators substance were out of Senate remooued; euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to abstain from comming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not thereinto admitted, although that they for euer still retaine the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Named Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselues together, and seuerally apart, both in dignitie and preheminence distinguished, is out of the forme of their *Creations* or admissions to be better discerned: which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of Summons, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their *Creation*, (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writs*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuestiture, and the custome of their precedency; beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of *England* is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient shew of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, registred to be one of § counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martial prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, theyr manners, fortune, or wisedome hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings Writ of *Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie* the 6. brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*: which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

Letters of Summons, or Parliament Writs (as they call them) for *the promoting of any one, or of whomsoeuer*, vnto the Dignity of a *Baron* in ful *Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript* appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.

ELIZABETH, by the *Grace of God, Queene of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defendresse of the Faith, &c. Vnto her faithfull and wel-beloued* Henry Norris *of* Ricot *Knight, Greeting.* Forasmuch, ~~*as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell for certaine high and vrgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdome of England, and of the English Church, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citie of* VVestmonastery~~, *the eight day of May, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdome: Wee firmely enioyne & command you, vpon the Faith and Allegeance wherein you are vnto Vs bound, that the waight of the aforesaide businesses, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoeuer set apart, you be there personally present the day and place aforesaide, to conferre with Vs, & with our Prelates and Nobility aforesaide, concerning the aforesaid businesses, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue Vs, and honour the safegard & defence of Our Kingdome, and the Church aforesaid, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaid, in no wise faile you.*

Witnesse Our selfe, the day of in the yeare of Our reigne the fourteenth.

An-

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.

The Letters patents whereby Sir William Cecill Knight, was by Queene Elizabeth made Baron of Burghley.

ELIZABETH *by the Grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defendresse of the Faith, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Gouernours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoeuer, vnto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue and see the hight and tipe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For We thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as We call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their stocke famous, and for their wisedome renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall carefulnesse, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the gouernment of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruice, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councellor William Cicill, our principall Secretary, hath many waies done, as wel in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdome, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards Vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councell, but beside also, hath not ceassed daily to doe, in all other expeditions for our Kingdome in generall: and also the circumspection, courage, wisedome, dexterity, integrity, prouidence, care, and fidelity of him the saide William Cicill, towards Vs, our Crowne and Dignity.*

Know you therefore, that We of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesayde William Cicill, vnto the state, degree, dignity, and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the said William, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaid William, and the heyres male issuing of his body for euer. Willing, and by these presents for Vs, Our heyres and successors granting, that the aforesaid William, and his Heyres male aforesaide, may successiuely beare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may bee called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the sayde William and his heires male aforesaid, shall successiuely in all things, be holde for Barons of Burghley: and shall so be vsed and reputed, & that euery one of them shal be vsed, holden and reputed, as Barons. And that the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heires male also aforesaid, and euery one of them may as Barons, haue, hold, and possesse a seate place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councels, amongst other Barons, within our kingdome of England. And also the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, *haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuiledges, Prehemminences, and Immunities, of right, and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things; which other the Barons of our said Kingdome of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, vsed and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fine or fee, great or small, to bee therefore to our vse in any wise giuen paide, or made into our Hanapery of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premisses or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitane of all England, our welbeloued & faithful Councellor, Nicholas Bacon* knight, *Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our welbeloued Cosins and Councellors, William Marquesse of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Sussex, President of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwicke, Master of the Ordenance, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leycester, Master of our Horse,*

Horſe, Walter Vicount Hereford, Anthonie Vicount Mountague: And alſo the reuerend Fathers in Chriſt, Edwin byſhop of London, Nicholas byſhop of Worceſter, Edmund byſhop of Rocheſter, William byſhop of Cheſter: And alſo our wel-beloued and faithfull William Lord Lumley, Iames Lord Mountioy, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North. And our welbeloued & faithfull Councellors, Francis Knols, knight, Treaſurer of our houſhold, &c. Iames Croſts Knight, Maſter Controller of our houſhold, &c. Giuen vnder our hand, at *Weſtmonaſtery*, the 25. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her ſelfe, according to the aforeſaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.

The Rites and Ceremonies vſed in Creating Barons by Charter.

WIlliam *Cicill* Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought foorth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, was in the royall Palace at *Weſtmonaſtery*, in a great aſſembly of Courtiers, made Baron of *Burghley*. Firſt, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom *Garter* alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunſdon*, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followd *William Cecill* Knight, in the middeſt, betwixt *Edward* Baron *Clinton*, on the right hand, and *William Brooke* Baron *Cobham* on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of *Salutation* (which wee commonly call the *Preſence Chamber*) & making there obeyſance thrice, approached vnto her royall Maieſty; where *Garter* firſt deliuered the *Charter* to the Earle of *Suſſex*, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes houſe, who gaue the ſame vnto the Queene, and ſhe againe deliuered the ſame vnto *John Wolley* Eſquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*Inueſtiuimus*, or we haue inueſted) the Queen put vpon him the Barons *Cloake*; and the Charter being read, pronounced him the ſayde *William Cicill*, Baron of *Burghley*, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.

VVhich thing being done, the charter was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after moſt great thankes giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noiſe and ſound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the ſame maner that he came in.

After mid dinner, *Garter* with the reſt of the Queenes Heralds, comming neere vnto the Table, and hauing firſt altogether cryed alowd, *Largeſſe*; forthwith proclaimed the Queens ſtile in *Latine*, *French* and *Engliſh*, and ſo with-drawing themſelues a little farther off, and againe repeating *Largeſſe*, he repeated the ſtyle of the new Baron in theſe words: *Du treſnoble Seigneur Guliaulme Cicil Cheualier, Baron de Burghley*: and ſo hauing done their obeyſance, and altogether crying twice *Largeſſe*, they departed.

The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Reſcript or Writ.

THis (I ſay) is the manner of creating of the *Named Nobility*, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine, to ſhew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons choſen into the Parliaments: and in what ſort they being thether called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before ſhewed, and the forme of theyr Admiſſion, is this.

Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, & Henry Norreis Knights, were by writs, called to be preſent at the Parlement at *Weſtmonaſtery*, vpon Thurſday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of Q. *Elizabeth*, vpon which day, after that the Nobles were ſet on their ſeats, theſe three attending without, were by turnes in this maner brought in, and admitted into the vpper houſe. *Garter* K. at Armes, came before bare-headed, hauing on his royall coat, whom two of the laſt made Barons, attyred in their *Cloaks, robes*, and *Mantles* followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inueſted, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whome the Knight hauing made once or twice Obeyſance, deliuereth his *Writ of Sum-*

mons

mons to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thether: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courteſie welcomming him, diſm iſſeth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (*Garter* going before them) they ſhewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Clearke of the Parliament to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their ſeates placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are ſo accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the reſt of the Barons of the kingdome.

The habit wherein a Baron of England, is inueſted.

CHAP. VII.

The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.

The Copy of the L. Patents of K. Hentie the VI. creating Io. Beaumont, vicount of Beaumont.

HEnry, by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Lord of *Ireland*, &c. To all Arch-Byshops, Byshops, Abbots, Pryors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other his faithfull Subiects, vnto whome, &c. *Greeting*. Know you, that we, when as wee see it to beseeme our Maiestie, with principall honors to promote them, who with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, especially in such things which proceed from our meere Prerogatiue & gracious bounty; and them chiefely, whom the remembrance of their fathers and former Ancestors hath ennobled, and the merites of their owne vertues haue with manifest obedience and loyalty graced: that vertue so rewarded, may in it selfe be strengthened, and withall allure many vnto vertuous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the Noble discent of our most dearely beloued cosine *Iohn* Lord of *Beaumont*, & the good seruices which his Ancestors faithfully performed vnto our Progenitours, together with the most acceptable Offices which he euen from his infancy, hath hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and yet dayly performeth; as he desireth hereafter to continue the same, and to doe vs so much the more better honour: VVee of our especiall Grace, in this our present Parliament, giue vnto the aforesaid *Iohn* Lord of *Beaumont* our cosine, and the heires male of his bodie, the name of the *Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest him the saide *Iohn*, with the Armes of the *Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him in our Parliaments, Councels, and other assemblies, a place aboue all the other Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde, wee of our meere motion and bountie, haue giuen and graunted for vs and our heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the aforesaide *Iohn* and his heyres, together with the Name, Armes, and place aforesaide, twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vnto him, and to his heires male yssuing out of his owne body, out of the former issues and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne*, to bee paid by the hands of the Sheriffe of the sayde county for the time beeing, at the Tearmes of Easter and S. Michaell, by equall portions. To haue & to hold to him and his heires aforesaid, the Name, armes, place, and twenty Marks as aforesaide for euer; for that expresse mention, &c. VVitnesse our selfe at *Redding*, the twelfth of February, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the *Writ of our Priuate Seale.*

THere is so great a similitude and likenesse in the Rites and ceremonies in creating of a Vicount, vvith those which are vsed in the creating of a Baron, as that but chaunging such things as are of necessity to be changed, a man would thinke them almost the very same. But this difference there onely is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on his left (in case there want Vicounts) to conduct him, and is by halfe a gard vpon his shoulder aboue a Baron, as by the Picture following in the next Page appeareth.

The rites and ceremonies of creating a Vicount.

VICE-COMES

CHAP. XIII.

¶ *The Royall Charter for the creating of an Earle.*

The Copie of the Letters patents of Q. Elizabeth, creating Walter Deuereux earle of Essex.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defendresse of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular *Archbishops*, *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, *Vicounts*, *Bishops*, *Barons*, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine prouidence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heauenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholesomly rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoeuer is to their custody and gouernment by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eies of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needes confesse, no ciuill administration, or politicall gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preseruation of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees, broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the maner of men) by death afflicted or weakned, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increase, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues, and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preserued and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongest the rest to growe few; and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cosin *Walter Vicount Hereford*, *Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter*, *Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebells, raised of most wicked and vngracious men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, not onelie the cruell furie and rage of the Traytours and Rebells, was there in that place represled, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and so the state of our Kingdome before sore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily perfourmed, willing to promote him the sayde *Walter* vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the *Earle of Essex*: and for that the aforesaide *Walter* is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the *Bourchiers*, late *Earles of Essex*, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto *Henry Bourchier* late *Earle of Essex*. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said *Walter* to be *Earle of Essex*; and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the Earle of *Essex*: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be Earle of *Essex*. And vnto the same *Walter* haue imposed, giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the *Earle of Essex*; and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said *Walter*, in such the state, title, honour, and dignity of the Earle of *Essex*, *By the girting vnto him of a Sword, and the putting on of a Cap of Honour, and a Coronet of Gold*, do grace, inuest, and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, title, name, and honour of the *Earle of Essex* aforesaid, with all and singuler the præeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoeuer vnto the state of an *Earle* appertayning or belonging, vnto the aforesayd *Walter*, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, graunting for vs, our heires,

heires & ſucceſſors, that the ſaid *Walter*, and his heires male aforeſaid, ſhall the name, ſtate, degree, dignity, ſtile, and honor aforeſaid, ſucceſſiuely haue & beare: and ſhall by the name of the Earle of *Eſſex* aforeſayd, be called, and ſtiled, and euery one of them ſhall be called & ſtiled. And that the ſaid *Walter* and his heires aforeſayd, ſhall in all things ſucceſſiuely be holden, vſed, and reputed, and euery one of them ſhall be holden, vſed, and reputed, as Earles of *Eſſex*. And the ſaid *Walter* and his heires male, ſhall haue, hold, and poſſeſſe, and euery one of them ſhall haue, holde, and poſſeſſe a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Succeſſours within our Kingdome of *England*, among the other earles, as earle of *Eſſex*; and in ſuch ſort, as the aforeſayde *Henrie Bourchier*, late earle of *eſſex* had, held, and poſſeſſed the ſame.

And the ſaid *Walter* alſo, and his heires aforeſayd, ſhall enioy and vſe, and euerie one of them by the name of the earle of *eſſex*, ſhall enioy and vſe all & euery the rights, priuileges, præeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the ſtate of an Earle belonging: and which other earles in al things, orderly & of right, haue before theſe times, in better wiſe more honourably and quietly vſed and enioyed, or do at this preſent enioy and vſe.

And for becauſe, that as the height of State and Honour encreaſeth, ſo greater charges and burdens neceſſarily encreaſe alſo: and that hee the ſayd *Walter* and his heires aforeſayd, and euery one of them may the better, more ſeemely, and honorably maintaine & ſupport the aforeſaide ſtate of the earle of *Eſſex*, and the burdens lying vppon him the ſaid *Walter* and his heires: We therfore of our more aboundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, vnto the aforeſaid *Walter*, and his heires aforeſaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearely rent, to be yearely receiued, of the iſſues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and litle Cuſtome and Subſidie graunted vnto vs, or heereafter to be granted vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ariſing, growing, or comming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of *London*, by the hands of our Cuſtomers and Collectors, or the Cuſtomer and Collectors of our Heyres and Succeſſors there, for the time being, at the Tearmes of S. *Michael*, and *Eaſter*, by euen portions, to be euery year payed. By reaſon that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premiſes, or of any of thē, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before theſe times made vnto the aforeſaid *Walter* earle of *eſſex*, in theſe preſents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouiſion, Proclamation, or reſtriction to the contrary therof, before had, made, ſet forth, or prouided; or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer, in any thing notwithſtanding.

Theſe being VVitneſſes. Our faithfull Councellor, *Nicholas Bacon* knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our moſt wel-beloued Coſins, *Edward* earle of *Oxford*, Lord Chamberlaine of england, *Reinold* earle of *Kent*, *William* earle of *Worceſter*, knight of the moſt Noble order of the Garter, *Henry* earle of *Rutland*, *Thomas* earle of *Suſſex*, of our aforeſaid order of the Garter knight, and Preſident of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome of england: *Henry* earle of *Huntingdon*, of the aforeſaid Order, &c. *Ambroſe* earle of *Warwicke*, of the aforeſaide Order, &c. *Edward* earle of *Hertford*, *Robert* earle of *Leiceſter*, of the Order aforeſaid, &c. *Thomas* Vicount *Bindon*. And alſo the reuerend Fathers in Chriſt, *Edmund* Biſhop of *Sarum*, & *Edmund* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, our Almner, And alſo our wel-beloued and faithfull, *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham, Lord Chamberlaine of our Houſe, of the Order of the Garter aforeſaide, &c. *William* Lord of *Burghley*, our principall Secretary of the Order aforeſaid, &c. *Henry* Lord *Strange*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, of the order aforeſaid: *William* Lord *Sandes*, *Edward* Lord *Windſor*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, *John* Lord *Darcey* of *Chiche*, *Robert* Lord *North*, *Edmund* Lord *Chandos*, of the aforeſaide Order of the Garter, &c. *Thomas* Lord of *Buckhurſt*, *William* Lord *Deleware*, Barons, *Francis Knolles* knight, Treaſurer of our Houſe, *James Croſtes*, Knight, Controullor of our Houſe. And our well-beloued and faith-full

Henry Sidney Knight of the aforesayd Order, &c. and Lord *President* of our Councell in the Marches of *Wales*: *William Cordall* Knight, Maister of the Rolles of our Chancerie, and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Mannour of *Greenwich*, the fourth day of May, in the foureteenth yeare of our reigne. 1572.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.*

THe same *Walter Deuereux*, *Baron Ferrers of Chartley*, & *Vicount Hereford*, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple silke, and couered with a Roab of Estate, & a veluet Mantell of the same colour, and going in the middle betwixt the erle of *Sussex* on his right hand, and the earle of *Huntingdon* on his left, both of them in their Roabs was conducted from the Queens Chappell vnto the Queens presence. Next before him went the earle of *Leicester*, carrying a *Cap of Estate, and a Coronet of Gold*: & the earle of *Bedford* on the left hand, bearing before him a Sword, with the Hilts vpward. Before these also went *Garter*, the chiefe *K. of Armes* with the *Charter* alone, and before him al the rest of the *Heralds*, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the *Chamber of Presence*, after they had thrice made their most lowe obeisance, with some little space betwixt, they drew neare vnto the Queene then sitting in her Chaire of Estate, where the aforesaid *Walter* kneeled downe, the rest standing by. There the *Charter* was first deliuered vnto the Queene, who gaue it to *William Cicill*, *Baron of Burghley*, who deliuered the same vnto *William Cordell* Knight, Maister of the Rolles, to reade it aloude. Where at these words (in the *Charter*) *Gladio cinctum uriauimus*, the Queen put about his necke a Sword, hanging ouerthwart towards his left hand: and at the words *Cappæ & Circuli aurei*, she also put vpon his head a *Cap*, with a little Coronet. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the said *Walter* before *vicount Hereford*, now created erle of *Essex*, for him and his heires male, as in the Charter it selfe before set down more at large appeareth. These things being done, the same Master of the Rolles (instead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of *Oxford*, Great Chamberlaine of England: but he deliuered it vnto the Queene, who also gaue the same vnto the Earle of *Essex* to be kept. But he after great thanks, with greatest humility giuen, withdrew himselfe aside amongst the other Noblemen standing there by, expecting another, comming to be created earle. In like maner, & at the sãe time also, *Edward Baron of Clynton* and *Say*, and *Admirall of England*, was for himselfe and his heyres male, created earle of *Lincolne*.

These things altogether finished, they departed in the same order that they came in, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, whom the Heralds receiued. *Garter* went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of *Sussex* and *Huntingdon*. And being so attired in the Ornaments of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the same purpose. Where, after they had sit a space, at the comming in of the second course, *Garter* with the rest of the Heralds entring into the dyning Chamber, crying aloud, *Largesse*; he alone proclaimed the Queens stile, first in Latine, after in *Frẽch*, and thirdly in english: and hauing twice repeated the word *Largesse*, & withdrawing themselues a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the stile of these last created Earles, in french and english in these words.

Du treshault et Puisant Seigneur Gautier d'Euerux Counte de Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers d'Chartley, et Cheualieur du tresnoble ordre de la Iarretiere.

Of the most high and mighty Lord, *Walter of Euerux*, earle of *Essex*, *Vicount Hereford*, *Baron Ferrers of Chartley*, and Knight of the most honourable order of the Garter.

Du treshault et puisant Sir Edouarde Conte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d' Angleterre, et Cheualieur de tresnoble ordre de la Iarretiere.

Of the most high & puissant, Sir *Edward*, earle of *Lincoln*, *Baron of Clynton* & *Say*, great Admirall of England, & knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

The

The habit and attire wherein an Earle of England is inveſted.

CHAP. X.

¶ *The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marqueſſe.*

The Letters Patents whereby King Edward the 4. created Tho Grey Marques Dorſet.

EDward by the grace of God, King of *England* & of *France*, Lord of *Ireland*, &c. Vnto all *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Iuſtices*, *Sheriffes*, *Gouernours*, *Miniſters*, *Baliues*, and all his faithfull ſubiects; greeting. Know you, that foraſmuch as our Royall Maieſty, after moſt great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of *Almightie God* promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall ſeate: and leſt that ſo great glorie of our Name, ſhould euen in the verie riſing thereof, for want of Children, faile, it came moſt happily to paſſe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our beſt beloued wife, *Elizabeth*, Queene of *England*, of whom we haue raiſed certaine more ſtrong ſtayes of our future Royall Poſterity, that is to ſay, *Edward* our eldeſt Sonne, *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornewall*, and *Earle of Cheſter*; *Richard Duke of Shrewsbury* and of *Yorke*; with a notable encreaſe of other our Children alſo: which thing greatly both perſwadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greateſt thankes wee poſſibly can, vnto the moſt glorious and high GOD, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to proſecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the ſame our wife, hauing of vs beſt deſerued, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our firſt begotten Sonne aforeſayd, and the reſt of our beſt beloued Children, compaſſed about with the faithfull, truſty, and ſure ſtrength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more ſtrongly be defended; we will not paſſe ouer vnrewarded, *Thomas Grey* their Brother by the Mothers ſide; whoſe noble Stocke, exceeding towardlineſſe, worthy valour, but moſt of all, whoſe honourable vertues, we with the ſincere affection of loue embrace: for why it ſeemes a thing moſt certain, them being brought vp in naturall ſociety, and bound together with that ſweete remembrance, them to haue dwelt in the ſame dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common, and eſpecial loue amongſt themſelues for euer: and that they who in ſo ſtrait a degree of conſanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them ſhould bee of ſo ſmall dignity and reputation, as that for pouerty hee ſhould not be able honourably to ſerue his greater kinſman when he ought ſo to do: we thinke it not vnbeſeeming vs to prouide therefore, ſo as ſhall beſt ſeeme vs. And therefore we willing that the ſayde *Thomas* ſhould bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that ſo he may ſtand in better ſtead, and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meer motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the ſaid *Thomas*, to be *Marqueſſe Dorſet*: and alſo by theſe preſents vnto the ſaid *Thomas*, giue and grant, the ſtile, honor, ſtate, title and dignity of *Marqueſſe Dorſet*: and by the *Girding vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap of Honour*, do inueſt him of the ſtile, title, name and honour of Marqueſſe of the place aforeſaide; together with all the præeminences vnto the ſame honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the ſaid name, ſtile, honour, ſtate, title, and dignity of *Marqueſſe Dorſet*, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatſoeuer, vnto the ſtate of a Marqueſſe of our kingdome of *England*, as well in our Seſſions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwiſe howſoeuer it be vnto the ſame honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforeſayde *Thomas* and his heyres male iſſuing out of his body for euer. And alſo of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents do giue and graunt vnto the aforeſaid Marqueſſe towardes the ſupportation of the ſayde name, ſtile, honour, ſtate, title and dignitie, 35. pounds of lawfull money of *England*. To be had, leuied & receiued yerely vnto the ſayd Marqueſſe, and the ſame his heires aforeſaid, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the ſaid Marqueſſe and the ſame his heyres, *of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorſet*, by the hands of the Bourgeſſes of the ſaide Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. *Michaell*, and of *Eaſter*, by equall portions. And the other fifteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearely vnto the ſaide Marqueſſe, and his heyres aforeſaide, of all the Cuſtomes and Subſidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of eyther of thē, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the ſame, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of *Southampton*, by the hands of our Cuſtomers or Collectors, or of our heytes in the Port for the time being, at the aforeſaide Tearmes by equal portions. For becauſe that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valour of the premiſſes, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants vnto the ſaide *Thomas*, before theſe times by vs made, is not in theſe preſents made: or any ſtatute, acte, or ordinãce to the contrary, made, ſet forth, or ordayned: or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer notwithſtanding: and theſe things without any fee thereuppon, to our vſe in any wiſe to be payed. Theſe being Witneſſes: Our moſt famous firſt begotten Sonne, *Edward Prince of Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and of *Flint*. The moſt reuerend Fathers, *Thomas*, *Cardinall* and *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, & *George*, *Archbiſhop* of *Yorke*. Our moſt renowned Brethren, *George Duke of Clarence*, and *Richard Duke of Gloceſter*: and the right reuerend Fathers, *Thomas*, *Biſhop of Lincolne*, our Chancellor of England: and *Thomas Biſhoppe of Hereford*. Our wel-beloued Cooſins, *William Arundell*, *Henry Eſſex*, Treaſurers of England, and *Anthony Riuers* Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Eſquire *Iohn Ruſſell*, *Doctor of Law*, & keeper of our priuate Seale: And alſo our welbeloued and faithfull *Thomas Stanley*, & *William Haſtings*, Knights: with others. Giuen vnder our hand at *Weſtmonaſtery*, the XVIII. day of *Aprill*, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our priuate Seale, and of the Date of theſe preſents, before the Parliaments.

CHAP. XI.

¶ *The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchioneſſe.*

HENRY by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of *Ireland*: to all and ſingular Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Miniſters, and all Baliues, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that foraſmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regal dignity, with the greater State and Maieſty, conſiſteth in the multitude of perſons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdome is ſo much the more, with the more excellent honour ſtrengthened, by how much the moe noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or ſupport it. VVee therefore vnto the premiſſes directing our ſight, and willing to eſtabliſh our Royall Scepter with the encreaſe of Nobles, and eſpecially ſuch as are from Royall race deſcended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the preſence of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vppon this conſideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the ſhewes of her honeſty & goodneſſe, worthily to be commended. VVee by the conſent of the Nobility of our kingdome then preſent, make, create, and ennoble; and by theſe preſents make, create, and ennoble our Cooſin *Anne Rochford*, one of the Daughters of our wel-beloued Cooſin *Thomas*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and of *Ormond*: Keeper of our priuate Seale, to be Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*: and alſo by *The putting on of a Mantle, and the ſetting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head*, as the manner is, do really inueſt vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the reſt of the Honour, vnto the ſame belonging and annexed.

The Letters Patents whereby King Henry the eight

Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltſhire and of Ormond, with the Title of Marchioneſſe of Pembroke.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchioneſſe of *Penbroke* vnto the aforeſaide *Anne*, and the Heyres male yſſuing of her body for euer. And to the intent, that the ſayd *Anne* as beſeemeth the name of the Marchioneſſe of *Penbroke*, & the *Nobility* of her ſtate may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and ſupport the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this preſent Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the ſaid *Anne*, and her heires aforeſaid, thirty and fi e poundes yearely, to be receiued to her & her heirs aforeſaid, of the firme rents, iſſues, reuentions, obuentions, profites, and emoluments, of our County of *Penbroke* aforeſaid, ariſing and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Balyffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforeſaide whoſoeuer, at the Termes of Saint *Michael* the Archangell, and of Eaſter, by equall portions to bee payed. For that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforeſaide *Anne* in former times made, in theſe preſents appeareth not, or any ſtatute, act, ordinance or prouiſion to the contrary therof made, ſet forth, or prouided, or any other thing or matter whatſoeuer, in any thing notwithſtanding. Theſe being Witneſſes. The moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Ed.* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Step.* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* our Secretary, and *Iohn* Biſhoppe of *London*; And alſo our wel-beloued coſins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treaſurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle *Marſhall*: *Thomas* Earle of *Wilſhire*, Keeper of our priuate Seale: *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, our *Chamberlaine* of England: and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, ſteward of our houſe: *Thomas Audley* Knight, keeper of our great Seale: *William Sandes* of *Vine*, Knight; *Chamberlaine* of our Houſe: and *Walter Deuereux* of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William Fitz-Williams*, Treaſurer of our houſe: and *William Paulet*, controller of our houſe, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the firſt day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

The Rites and Ceremonies vſed in Creating of a Marchioneſſe.

THis *Anne* the daughter of *Tho:* Earle of *Wilſhire*, and of *Ormund*, vppon a Sunday, viz. the firſt day of Septem. 1532 in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eight, was at *Windſore* in this manner inueſted.

The King himſelfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, and other the *Great eſtates of the Kingdome*, together with the French Ambaſſador, and manie of the Priuy Counſell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Preſence*) and there ſate him downe in his chaire of *Eſtate*. Vnto the which place the aforeſaide *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble *Courtiers*, both men and women. The *Heralds* went formoſt, *Garter* K. of Heralds, firſt carrying the Kings Charter. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon hir left arme, carried a robe of eſtate of Crimſon Veluet, furred with Ermines, and in her right hand a *Coronet of Gold*. Her, the aforeſaide *Anne* followed, with her hayre looſe, and hanging down vpon hir ſhoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcot*) of Crimſon Veluet, lined with ermins alſo, with ſtraite ſleeues, going in the middeſt betwixt *Elizabeth*, Counteſſe of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Counteſſe of *Suſſex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But ſhe being brought towards the Kinges Royall Seate, thrice made her obeyſance, and comming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before deliuered vnto him, vnto the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at theſe words *Mantella inductionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchioneſſe the Robe of eſtate, deliuered him by the Lady *Marie*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put alſo vppon her head a Coronet of Gold. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz: the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchioneſſe, and to the heyres male yſſuing out of her body for euer. And another, for the receiuing of a thouſand poundes reuenew yearly, for the maintaining of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, ſhe gaue the King moſt humble thankes, and ſo hauing on her Robe of

Eſtate,

Eſtate, and a Coronet vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud ſoundi g, departed.

THE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marqueſſe*, altogether agree with thoſe vſed in creating of a *Duke* changing onely ſuch things as are of neceſſity to be changed, but that *Marqueſſes* haue a *Marqueſſe* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the reſt of the difference is out of the portraiture beneathe ſet, as followeth.

The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a MARQVES.

MARCHIO

CHAP. XIII.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.

The coppy of the letters patents of K Edward the 6. creating Edward Seymor, to be Duke of Somerſet.

EDVVARD by the grace of God, of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Miniſters, and to all Baliffes, and other his faithfull Subiects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to ſhew himſelfe bountifull and liberall, eſpecially vnto ſuch as haue of him well deſerued, & good ſeruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy ſeruices our moſt deare and well-beloued Vnkle *Edward*, earle of *Hertford* hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee ſhould promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for ſuch his great deſerts towards vs, but in ſome part with due deſerts againe requite him. Know you therefore, that wee of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforeſaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerſet*. And by theſe preſents, giue and grant vnto him the ſaide earle, the name, title, ſtate, ſtile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the D. of *Somerſet*: and him of that name, with the title, ſtate, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honors to the ſame belonging & annexed; by *The girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of Gold vpon his head: and the deliuering vnto him of a golden Verge*, do really inueſt. To haue and to hold the name, ſtile, ſtate, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerſet* to our aforeſaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the ſame *Anne* hereafter to be begotten. And if it ſhall happen the ſaide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or hereafter to bee begotten of his body, and the body of the ſaide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the ſaid Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife ſhall deceaſe or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Eſquire, the ſaide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the firſt wife, of him the ſaid Duke deceaſed, ſhall be Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſhall beare, haue, hold, and enioy vnto him the aforeſaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male from the body of him, the ſame *Edward* lawfully deſcended, the name, ſtate, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerſet*, with all the honours vnto the ſaid Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And alſo by the *Girting vnto him of a ſword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold vpon his head, and by the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, ſhall be thereof really inueſted. And if it ſhall happen the aforeſaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he ſhall heereafter marry, ſhall bee Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſhall beare, haue, and enioy the ſame, vnto him & his heires male, lawfully begotten. And alſo the ſtate, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerſet*, with all the honours vnto the ſaid Duke appertaining & annexed. And alſo by the *Girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting of a Cap and Coronet vpon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge vnto him*, ſhall therein be royally inueſted. And that the ſame Duke and his heyres aforeſaide, may according to the decency of the ſaid name of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Nobility of his and their eſtate, more honourably beare themſelues. And that the ſame Edward and his heyres aforeſaid, if they ſhal chance to be Dukes of *Somerſet*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the ſtate and honour of the aforeſaide name of the Duke of *Somerſet*: and for want of ſuch iſſue, that then the heires male of the body of the ſaide Duke hereafter to bee begotten of the body of any wife, which he ſhal hereafter marry, may in like maner more honorably beare the ſtate and honour of the aforeſayd name of the *Duke of Somerſet*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our preſent

Charter,

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the aforeſaid duke of *Somerſet*, a certaine annuall rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of *England*, iſſuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwiſe called *Crokhorne*, *Stokegerſey*, *Wikefitzpane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerſet*, being late parcel of the poſſeſſions of *Henrie* late *Marqueſſe of Exceter*, which came vnto the hands of the late moſt noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our moſt renowned father, by reaſon of the attaindor of the ſaid Marques, of high treaſon attainted, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforeſayd yearely rent of fortie pound, vnto the aforeſaid duke of *Somerſet*, and his heires aforeſaid, at the Feaſts of the bleſſed virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Michaell* the Archangel, by equall portions, to bee yearely payed by the hands of the Receiuers, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomſoeuer, Occupiers of our Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforeſayd, or of any of them, being parcell of them. And after that, for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the aforeſaide *Edward*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of ſuch iſſue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heires male of the ſaid Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he ſhall heereafter marry. And that theſe our Letters Patents, or the Inrolement of them, vpon the onely ſhewing of the ſame, or of the enrolement of them, ſhall be yearely, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation* and *Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Miniſters, Receiuers, and other our Officers, their heires and ſucceſſours whatſoeuer for the time being, a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this part, for the deliuery and payment of the ſaid yerely rent of forty pounds, vnto the aforeſaid Duke and his heires aforeſaid. And for defect of ſuch iſſue, vnto the ſaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the heires of the ſayde Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he ſhall hereafter marry. And if it ſhall happen the ſaid yerely rent of forty pound, or any part or parcell thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforeſaide Feaſts, in which it ought to be paied as is aforeſaid: then we grant for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the ſayde Duke, and his heires aforeſaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of ſuch iſſue, vn to the ſaide *Edward Seymour*, and his heires aforeſaid: and for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the aforeſaid heires of the ſaid Duke, whom he ſhall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee ſhall heereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforeſaide Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euerie the aforeſaide Lands and Tenements, or any parcell of the ſaide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to diſtraine, & the diſtreſſes there ſo by them, or any of them taken, to driue, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detaine, vntill the aforeſaid yearely rent of forty pound, together with the arrerages (if any there ſhall be thereof) ſhall vnto the aforeſaid duke and his heires aforeſaid, or vnto the ſaid *Edward* or his heires aforeſaide: or the heires of the ſaide Duke, or ſome one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, or the aſſignes of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours. And for that expreſſe mention, &c. Theſe being VVitneſſes. The moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitane of all *England*; and our well-beloued and faithfull Councellour, *William Poulet* Knight, Lord *Saint-John*, Great Maiſter of our houſe, &c. *John Ruſſell* Knight, Lord *Ruſſell* Keeper of our priuie Seale: and alſo our moſt well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Giuen vnder our hand at the Tower of *London*, the ſixteenth day of February.

The firſt of Edward the ſixt by the King himſelfe.

¶ *The*

CHAP. XIIII.

The manner of Creating of a Duke.

IN the yeare one thousand fiue hũdred forty seuen, the xvii. of the Moneth of Februarie, and in the first yeare of the Reign of *Edward* the sixt of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. *Edward Seymour*, the aforesaid Earle of *Hertford* the kings Vnkle, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created D. of *Somerset*. He himselfe being apparelled in an inner Robe of honour, the Heralds went before him in their Heralds coates, the chiefe of whom, *Garter* following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of *Shrewsbury* and of *Oxford*, going together, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of *Oxford* on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of *Hertford* himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the Duke of *Suffolke*, and the Marquesse of *Dorchester*: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the *Chamber of Salutation* (which they commonly call *The Presence Chamber*) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chayre of Estate: where foorth-with the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, *Garter* king of Heralds, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron *Paget*, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when hee came vnto the words *inuestiuimus*, (or we we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*Gladio cinctu rauimus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words (*cappæ & circuli aurei impositionem*) the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vppon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes (*virgæ aureæ traditionem*) the King himselfe gaue into his hand, *A verge of gold*: which done, the Secretary read the rest, euen vnto the end of the Charter: wherein he pronounced him the saide earle of *Hertford*. to bee Duke of *Somerset*: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to bee kept: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maiestie for so great an honour and dignity receiued, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

The habite and attire of a Duke.

CHAP. XV.

The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.

The Copy of the letters patents of king Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Son Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouernors, Ministers, and to all our Baliues, and faithfull Subiects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminence, like as beams from the Sun, so do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affoording light frō light, feele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminences, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the encrease of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloued Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gratious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour preuent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VVherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdome, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Earle of Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in gouerning rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland vpon his head*, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principalitie of *Wales*, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaide, vnto him and his heyres the Kings of England aforesaide, for euer. These being witnesses. The reuerend Fathers, *John*, *Cardinall* and *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our *Chancellor*, and *William Arch-bishop* of *Yorke*, Primat of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cosins, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel-beloued Cosins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *Iohn* Earle of *Wilshire*, and our beloued and faithfull *Raffe Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William Paulconbridge*, and *Iohn Stourton* Knights. Dated at our Pallace of VVestminster, the XV. day of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, XXXII.

By the King himselfe, and his Councell.

CHAP. XVI.

Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.

FIrst, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about XVIII. elnes, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermins*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about XIIII. elnes of Veluet, of like Coulor, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they cal them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himſelfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the ſame veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermines*, with Laces and a Button, and Taſſels on the crowne ther-of made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his gouernment.

A Ring of gold alſo to bee put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he declareth his mariage made with *Equity* and *Iuſtice*.

All theſe things were almoſt with Royall ſumptuouſneſſe prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue beene created Prince of Wales, but preuented by his Fathers death, hee was crowned King, ſixt of that Name: yet the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inueſting of the Prince into the Principality of Wales, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.

PRINCEPS WALLIAE

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Crowning of the King.

Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely vpon their good liking, & mere motion (as they vse to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, *wee haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselues, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be saide.*

NOthing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holie Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities, of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a *King* was the *Dictatorship*; in the third place, followed the power which the *Generall* of their Armies had, whom they called *Imperator*. Hee that great *Iulius Cæsar*; when after the victory of *Pharsalia*, had beene oftentimes by his army saluted *Imperator*, yet for all that, vsed he not the name of *Imperator*, but *Dictator*. For why, the name of a King, after the time of *Tarquinius*, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the *Parthians*, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the *Sybils*, the *Parthians* not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The *Dictators* most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin equall vnto the power of a King. This was (as *Varro* witnesseth) chaunged into a great Magistrate, whom they called *Magistrum Ciuium* (or *Master of the Citizens*) which manner of Gouernour of a Citie, the Germaines vsed to call, **Burgue Wetstre.**

The name of *Imperator* or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiestie, then any of the rest; and yet at length so fell, as that the Maiesty and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained only by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue beene proper in ancient time to bee annointed, viz. vnto the Kings of *Ierusalem*, of *England*, of *France*, and of *Sicily*.

The French writers report, the *French Kings* within the bounds of theyr owne kingdom, to be styled *Imperatores* or *Emperors*. *Chassaneus* also affirmeth, the king of *England*, to bee in *England*, a Monarke. And if the name of *Christianissimi*, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French kings, and the name of *Catholici* or *Catholique* vnto the kings of *Spaine*, the kinges of *England* haue also a style whereof to reioyce, as (viz:) not in Title, onely to be styled *Fidei Christianæ & Catholicæ Defensores*, or *Defenders of the Christian and Catholique Faith*, but euen vvith vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknoledged the great *Champions* and *Protectors* of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to striue. But, seeing that the kings of England for their royall dignity, giue God the thankes onely; and that it is onely by the grace of God (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the suffrages of the people, vvith the requisite forme and ceremonies of *Coronation*, *Consecration*, and *Inunction*. Which being of ancient time (the kingdome sore shaken with *Danish* wars) ofte kept at *Kingston* vppon *Thames*, is now vsually holden and made at *Westmonastery*, a city ioyning vnto the city of *London*, in forme following.

The

The ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England.

INprimis. The King to be newly crowned, the day before his Coronation, ſhall be brought forth in royall Robes, and ſhall ride from the Tower of London, to his Pallace of Weſtminſter with his head vncouered, being accompanied on horſebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of London, and other his ſeruants.

The ſeate of Eſtate.

Item. Let there be prouided againſt the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at Weſtminſter, a Chaire of Eſtate, fittingly prouided with hangings of ſilke and embrodery, with Cuſhions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

The Scaffold.

Item. Let it be prouided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at Weſtminſter, with ſteps on eyther ſide: let it be orderly ſuted with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewiſe on the floore.

The Royall Throne.

Item. Let it bee prouided, that vpon the ſaid Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to ſit: Let it bee accordingly ſuted with rich furniture, and Cuſhions of cloth of gold.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter.

Item. It is to be obſerued, that the Abbot of VVeſtminſter for the time beeing, by the ſpace of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, ſhall inſtruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as alſo to prepare their conſciences, before the receiuing of the *Sacred vnction.* And if the Abbot be dead, ſicke, or abſent in ſome remote Country, or lawfully hindred; thē ſhall one of the Monks of the ſaide Monaſtery (nominated by the Couent of the ſame Church) ſupply the office of the ſaid Abbot in this caſe.

Of the Kirtle and Surcoate.

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, ſhall be placed in the foreſaid Chaire of eſtate, in the foreſaid Hall (but beeing firſt bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet ſhall be prepared for him, open on the breaſt, betweene the ſhoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee faſtened together with loops of ſiluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be cloathed with other royall Robes, and let him bee ſhod with Sandals.

Proceſsion.

Item. Let a ſolemne Proceſſion be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of VVeſt: from the fore-ſaide Church to the Kings ſeate, in the fore-ſaid Hall. In which proceſſion, there ſhall be arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates. Then the King ſhall deſcend, and follow the Proceſſion into the Church at VVeſtminſter, and he ſhall goe vpon blew cloth ſpread vpon the ground, from the foreſaid Chaire to the Stage (or ſeege) erected in the foreſaide Church. And in the ſaid proceſſion ſhall be ſung ſuch like Hymnes, as are accuſtomed to bee ſung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

The Croſſe, &c.

Item. The Croſſe, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (enſignes of honour) ſhall be borne in the proceſſion, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of Weſtminſter into the Pallace, and there ſhall they be ſurrendred to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

The Barons of the fiue Ports.

Item. The Barons of the fiue Ports ſhall carry a rich Canopy vpon ſiluered ſtaues ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-ſaide proceſſion vnto the ſaide Church.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter.

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke ſupplying his place) ought alwayes to be neere about the King and Queene to giue enſtructions.

The Arch-biſhop ought to demand the good liking of the people.

After the King hath a little repoſed himſelfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-biſhoppe of Canterbury, ſhall goe vnto the foure ſquares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king: Meane while the king ſhal ſtand vp in his Throne, and turne himſelfe vnto the foure ſquares, in like manner, as the Archbiſhoppe ſpeaketh vnto the people. And after the ſaid demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* ſhall be ſung.

The Orffertory of the King.

The anthem being ended, the king ſhal deſcend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Biſhops leading him: wherupon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who ſaid; *Non apparebis vacuus in conſpectu Dei tui.*

The King proſtrateth himſelfe.

The Offering being finiſhed, the king boweth himſelfe vpon the Pauement, before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and ſutable cuſhions of veluet, vntill the Arch-Biſhop hath ſaide ouer him the Prayer, *Deus fidelium, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

The King taketh his Oath.

The Sermon being ended, the king approcheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the ſacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator ſpiritus*, be ſolemnly ſung. VVhich being begun, the King ſhal proſtrate himſelfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly ſung ouer him. Which being finiſhed, let the king ariſe and ſit in his chaire, therein repoſing himſelfe a while.

The annointing of the King.

After this, let the King ariſe from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there ſhall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while ſinging; *Vnxerunt Salomonem*; with the prayer following. Then let him be annointed in fiue places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his breaſt, betweene his ſhoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy-oyle, in forme of a croſſe; and afterwards making the ſigne of the croſſe vpon his head with the Chriſme, the faſtenings and Mantle beeing firſt opened. Item, after the foreſaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloaths (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the annointing, be cloſed again by the Abbot of Weſtminſter, or his Deputy.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhall take off the Kings Cap.

After the annointing of the kings head, let it bee couered with a linnen Cap, becauſe of holy vnction, and ſo let it remain vntill the eight day after the vnction: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Weſtminſter or his Deputy, ſhall come vnto the king, and take off the aforeſaid linnen Cap, and ſhall waſh & mundifie the kings head. After the ſaid waſhing, the Abbot of VVeſtminſter, or his aſſignes, ſhall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a *Sindon* faſhioned after the *Dalmatian* faſhion, with hoſe and ſandals: and then let theſe royall Robes bee ſacred by the arch-Biſhop: as *Patet in Libro.*

The King ſhall be cloathed with a Mantle by the Abbot.

Theſe Offices being finiſhed, the aforeſaide king ſhall be arrayed by the Abbot of VVeſtminſter, or his aſſignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, wouen with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legge.

The ſetting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-biſhop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Biſhiop.

Of the Sword.

After this, let the Royall Sword bee bleſſed, and the ſaid King ſhall receiue it from the Biſhop, and ſhall gird himſelfe with the ſaid ſword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee cloathed with a Royall

Royall cloake.

The offering of the Sword.

After this, let the King offer the saide Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthieſt earle then preſent is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the ſayde Altar.

The receiuing of the Scepter.

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloues, & after that the Scepter, with the Croſſe in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being bleſſed, he ſhall kiſſe the Biſhops, by whom (as alſo by the reſidue of the Nobility) he ſhall bee honourably conducted to his Royall ſeate, the Quier ſinging, *Te Deum laudamus.*

The Prelates, and the reſidue ſhall make their homage.

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord King: and then let Maſſe begin. Item, whileſt *Gloria in excelſis* is ſinging, the King ſhall be cenſed by a Deacon; and at *Credo*, he ſhall kiſſe the Booke.

The offering of Bread and Wine.

Whileſt the Offertorie is ſinging, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and VVine: and after that let him alſo offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King ſhall a little bow downe his head, whileſt the Archbiſhoppe doth bleſſe him with two Oriſons, which being finiſhed, let the King be brought back to his Throne or eſtate.

The kiſſing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.

The kiſſe of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King diſcend from his Eſtate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſhall miniſter vnto him wine out of a ſtone Chalice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King ſhall returne to his eſtate.

Maſſe being finiſhed, let the King diſcend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Nobility go before him to the Shrine of Saint *Edward*, where the King ſhall be arrayed with other Roabes; all which ſhall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint *Edward.*

The taking off the Roabes.

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of *Oxenford*, ſhall vnclothe the king of the foreſaid Roabes in a with-drawing place neare to the Shrine: which Roabs, as they are particularly taken from the King, ſo ſhall they be laid vpon the ſaid Altar by the Abbot.

Another Crowne.

The King attired in other honourable apparrell, ſhall approach vnto the Altar of Saint *Edward*, where the Archbiſhop ſhall put another Crowne vpon his head.

The King returneth to the Pallace.

The ſaid King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the ſcaffold, then ſhall he diſcend thorow the midſt of the Quier, by the ſame way as hee came into the Church, the foreſayd earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

The deliuery of the Scepter.

Dinner beeing ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter ſhall bee deliuered to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the ſaid church of *Weſtminſter.*

¶ *The Coronation of the Queene.*

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Proceſſion ſhall be celebrated: and if ſhe be crowned with the king, then ought ſhe to be annoynted vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her breaſt: and if ſhe be crowned alone, then ought ſhee to be annoynted vpon the Crowne onely croſſe-wayes with the Chriſme.

The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* ſhall demaund the King, ſaying: *Pleaſeth it you*

to

to confirme and obserue the Lawes and Customes of ancient times, granted from God by iust and deuout Kings vnto the English Nation, by Oath vnto the said people, especially the Lawes, Customes and Liberties, granted vnto the Cleargy and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King answering that he will performe and obserue all the premisses. Then shall the Archbishop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he shal sweare, thus saying; *Thou shalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Cleargie, and people, firme peace, and vnitie in God, according to thy power:* He shall answer, I will performe it.

Art thou pleased to cause to bee administred in all thy iudgements indifferent and vpright Iustice, and to vse discretion with mercie and veritie. He shall answer, I will doe it.

Art thou pleased, that our vpright lawes and customes be obserued: and doest thou promise, that those shall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength. He shall answere, I grant and promise.

The petition of the Bishops.

The Admonition of the Bishops vnto the King followeth; and must be read by one, (viz.) by the Bishop of *Lincolne: Lord King, wee desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonicall Priuiledges, with equitie and iustice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euerie Bishop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him.* Hee shall answer thus

The Kings answer.

With a willing and deuout heart, I promise vnto you, and I pardon euerie one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonicall priuiledges, minister equitie and iustice, and will defend them by Gods fauour, as farre as I am able; euen as a King ought with vprightnes to do, vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.

The Oath of homage made vnto the King.

I become your man liege of life and limbe, and troth, and yearely honour to you shall beare anenst all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.

Item, that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, shall first make his fealtie, then the Bishops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *A briefe Description of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the sixt, King of England: according to the aunciens manner, vsed in the Consecration of the Kings of England.*

HEnrie the eight, the most inuincible K. of *England*, beeing dead, who departed out of this life at *Westminster*, the 28. day of *Ianuary*, 1546 and 38. of his reigne. *Edward Seymour*, erle of *Hertford*, King *Edward* his Vncle, accompanyed with most of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to *Enfield* (in the Countie of *Middlesex*) vnto *Edward*, now at length (by right of succession vnto his Father *Henry*) King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the last of *Ianuary*, he with the great applause of the Citie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the Tower of *London*.

The same day the Heralds from an high Stage set vp in the middest of *Westminster* hall (with a great sound of Trumpets) out of a Royall *Charter*, sealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforesaid king *Henry* the eight, and the Inauguration of K. *Edward* the sixt to come. Which *Charter* was dated the 31 day of *Ianuarie*, and the first yeare of King *Edward*.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of *February*, it was through the most famous places of the Citty of *London*, by the Heralds proclamed and notified, that whosoeuer they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices; should vnto the Kings Commissioners therefore appoynted, in the *White* hall,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient custome of the kingdome, should determine vnto euerie man their rights and seruices, against the twentith of the same moneth, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thursday (which was the first day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome assembled into the Chamber of Presence (as they call it) euery one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duety vnto the King, sitting in his Royall Seate, kissing his hand, and saying; *Long liue the Kings Maiesty.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himselfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vppon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of *Hertford* his Vncle, was by common suffrages chosen Tutor of his person, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approoued, and that the erle refused not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward:* and, *God saue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble-men meeting together in the Starre-chamber, there bound themselues by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place also the Maister of the *Rolles*, and the chiefe Officers of the *Chancerie*, were sworne truely and sincerely to enrole the VVill and Testament of the aforesaid King *Heurie* the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accustomed maner made a knight, who by and by after with the same Ceremonies created the Maior of *London*, and certayne others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commissioners hauing well considered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both sides, gaue sentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation; of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter said.

The VVednesday following, was wholly bestowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King *Heurie* the eight. VVhich done, they entred into consultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And first of all, for the greater solemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of *Hertford* was graced with the Title of the Duke of *Somerset*. At which time others also, with other honourable Titles, were with great solemnity honored also.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter assembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order sate (as of right he should, highest) and with ioyned voices, chose the Marquesse *Dorset*, the earle of *Darbie*, and others, into the fellowship of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz) the 19 day of February, the king with a most magnificent pompe, went through the middest of the Citty, from the Tower of *London*, vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euerie side thundering.

And in this order they went.

FIrst, all the Kings Messengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of lesser note, or Gentlemen by two and two together also.

The Sergeants of the forraine embassadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyse sounding on both sides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings person (whom we call *Esquiers* for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Batchellours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The yonger sonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horses.

The Senators or Aldermen of *London*.

The Clearks of the Councell.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the sacred Records, commonly called, the Master of the Rolls.

The Knights of the Bath.

The

The kings Councellours.
Knights Bannerets.
Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.
The sonnes of vicounts.
The yonger Sonnes of earles and Marquesses.
Barons.
Earles eldest Sonnes.
Vicounts.
Bishops.
Marquesses eldest sonnes.
Dukes yonger sonnes.
Earles.
Dukes eldest sonnes.
Marquesses.
Dukes.
The Controller or Censor of the Kings house; and the Venetian Ambassador.
The Treasurer of the Kings house; and one of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.
The kings Almner; and another of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.
The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.
The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambassadors of *Scotland*.
The keeper of the private Seale, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.
The gouernour of the Pallace, or great Maister of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.
The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambassador.
The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambassador.
Two noble Courtiers representing the dukedoms of *Normandy* & *Aquitaine*, attired in Purple roabes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks cast crosse of purple veluet, furred with Mineuer.
Garter king of Armes, in his Heralds coate, and the Maior of the Cittie of London, carrying the Mace of his Mairalty.
The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both sides.
The Constable of *England*, who for that time was the Marquesse *Dorset*, carried the Sword: on whose right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, supplying the place of earle Marshall.
The Duke of *Somerset* Protectour of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.
The King himselfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by sixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vshers went with white Staues.
Next after came the master of the Horse, with a royall Palfrey richly furnished.
After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hench-men) bare headed, and mounted vppon great Horses, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.
Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.
The gentlemen Pentioners, with their Polonian Partisans, guarded on both sides from those Courtiers which represented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, euen to the Guard.
Then came the Captaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.
The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen shut vp the troope, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Maisters.
In this order they came thorough the middest of the Citty vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerse shewes euery where set foorth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie sake purposely omit.
Vpon Sunday, the twentiethday of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Westminster*, where first in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himselfe in a Roabe of Purple veluet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermins. His inner Gowne was of the same kind of veluet, furred with Mineuer, and fringed round about with Gold. These were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head hee did weare a Cappe of blacke Veluet. The Noble-men in like manner also being attired in their Roabs of honor, attended vppon the Kings Maiestie; from thence to the Marble Chaire set in

in Westminster Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in S. *Peters* Church at Westminster. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almner all couered with blew Cloth.

And in this order they set forward.

¶ All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also.

The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.

The chiefe Porter or Vsher alone.

Three Crosses.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their *Pontificalibus*.

The Chancellor of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouernour of the Wardrope, with the Duke *Philip*.

The Controllor of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of Scotland.

The Treasurer of the Kings house, with another Ambassador of Scotland.

The Almner, with the Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Peter*, with another Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Paget*, with the Emperors Ambassadour.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the Citty of London.

The Earle of *Rutland* carrying Saint *Edwards* Spurres, and with him the Earle of *Huntingdon*, carrying S. *Edwards* Staffe.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of S. *Iohn*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortayna* was carried in the middest betwixt the other two, by the earl of *Darby*.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabberd vndrawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Dorset*, with the Royall Scepter.

At length the Kings Maiesty went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the fiue Ports (by an ancient right) did beare; supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and Baron *Seymour* of *Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.

The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euery one of them according to his place and ancientnesse: whom the Gentlemen Pentioners, the Captaine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselues did follow.

The King in this order beeing brought to Saint *Peters* Church, was placed in the Chaire of Saint *Edward* the King, in the middest of a Throne, seuen steppes high. This Throne was erected neere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a little, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the foure sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to bee crowned, consecrated, and annointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God saue the King: And euer liue his Maiesty.*

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and afterward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Arch-Bishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium, &c.* And afterward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus &c.* and said other Praiers ouer the King: two other Bishops beginning the Letany, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throane: and from thence was brought to a retyring place (commonly called a *Trauerse*) where hauing put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of *England* apparrelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vppon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the elbowes, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The *Chancellour* in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings generall pardon.

The King brought back againe out of the *Trauerse* vnto the throane, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Arch-bishop with formall praiers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwixt his shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oile and chrisme annoynted; the Quire in the meane time singing the Antheme: *Vnxerunt Salomonem, &c.*

After this annoynting (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the archbishop closed, who put vpon his hands a payre of Linnen Gloues, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlayne,) and so brought backe vnto the *Trauerse*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuested.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Svvord wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with fiue pound in mony redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint *Edward* the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of *England*.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vppon his head: the Quier also singing *Te Deum laudamus, &c.* The Archbishop put a Ring vppon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Iewells bedecked with Bracelets, and other most rich and most precious Iewells.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* deliuered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop deliuered vnto him Saint *Edward* the Kings little Staffe.

The Earle of *Rutland* offered vnto him a paire of golden Spurres.

The Duke of *Suffolke* gaue vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of *Oxford* deliuered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparrelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, beeing brought vnto the Throane, hee sate downe in the Chaire of S. *Edward* the King. Where first the Duke of *Sommerset* Protector of *England*, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of *England*: whom the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie* followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stoode about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come nie) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with lowde voyces together; Long liue EDWARD the sixt our King.

Diuine seruice at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the patten of S. *Edwards* Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Cruse or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then hauing bowed downe his head, the Archbishop sayde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Throane, there kissed the Paxe being offered him.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the

Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, deliuered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staued a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the varietie of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe ouer.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of *Oxford* & *Huntingdon* held water vnto the King, which the Earle of *Huntingdon* before tasted.

The Earle of *Rutland* held the Towell.

The Marquesse of *Northampton* was the Caruer, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of *Sussex* was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse *Dorset* at that time Constable of England, with a little siluer staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of *Arundel* with the rod of the Marshalship, mounted vpon trapped horses, al in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Foure swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraine Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maior of the Citty of London, the Barons of the fiue Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed *Dimock*) a knight in compleate Armour, mounted vppon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who euen at the first, with a proud gate went vnto the King, and with great reuerence made to him his lowe obeysance. Afterward praunсing his carriering Horse, by a trumpet sounding foure times in the Hall, challenged to combate him whosoeuer he were, that should deny *Edward* the sixt of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. And so often he cast downe his Gantlet vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald deliuered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, *Garter* king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, hauing made thrice obeysance before the King, all aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings stile, in *Latine*, *French*, and *English*, in this sort: *Largesse, of the most Soueraigne, and most inuincible Prince and King, Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ, in Earth supreame head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter.* Which same stile, when he had in *Latine* and *French*, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying out aloud, *Largesse*, so departed.

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maior of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gaue a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Ypocras*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maior, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights, and in appointing of Iustings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of musique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set foorth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw eyther the same, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, with the wonderfull happinesse of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfulnesse of the people on euery side.

CHAP. XIX.

The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King Iames, *and our Soueraigne Lady Q.* Anne *his Wife, the 25. of Iuly, 1603.*

¶ The Coppy heereof was deliuered to his Maiesty, by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who faithfully obserued the forme, set downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at Westminster.

THE King and Queen came from Westminster bridge, to the West doore of the Minster Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Antheme.

They passe along thorow the body of the Church, and so vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their seuerall Seeges Royall.

The King shewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgment of their allegiance to his Maiesty, by the Archbishop: which they do by acclamations.

The second Antheme is sung.

The King and Queene descend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewise offereth.

A Prayer is saide by the Archbishop.

A Sermon by the Bishop of *Winchester.*

After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbishop to take his Oath.

The Oath ministred by the Archbishop, and taken by the King, there is sung, *Come Holy Ghost, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbishop: when that is done, *Letany* is saide or sung by two Bishops.

The Archbishop beginneth the Ceremony of the annointing, with the thanksgiuing, *Lift vp your hearts, &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are so to bee made, as the places to bee annoynted, may (by the vndoing of certain loops) be made open.

The Archbishop annointeth his Maiesty.

Vpon the { Palmes. / Breast. / Betweene the Shoulders. / Bending of both Armes. / Crowne of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier meane while singing the Anthem.

Prayer made by the Archbishop.

The Inuestiture.

Then is the King inuested with the Robes of King *Edward* the *Confessor*, by the Abbot of Westminster.

{ With the Tunicke. / Close Pall. / Tuisni Hosen. / Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maiesty by the Archbishop and Bishops, and after girt about him by a Peere.

After, the Armill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of Westminster.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maiesty to bee crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward* the Confessor.

The fourth Antheme.

A Ring to be put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the K. putteth on the Linnen Gloues, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his sword, there offereth it.

Which sword so offred, the cheefe Peere is to redeeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it so drawne by his Maiesty all the solemnity.

A Rod with the Doue to bee borne in his left hand.

A Prayer or blessing is pronounced by the Archbishop.

Then the King graciously vouchsafeth to receiue to his kisse the Arch-bishop or Bishops that were assisting to his Coronation.

The Inthronizing.

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all solemnity, the Quier singing, *We praise thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Arch-bishop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, ſo ſitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promiſing for euer to ſupport it.

The Queenes annointing.

¶ The ſolemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing beeing performed, the Arch-biſhop leaueth the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while repoſed her ſelfe in her Chaire beneathe, ariſeth and commeth to the ſteps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

A Prayer ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

The queene ariſeth from her prayer, the cheefeſt Lady taketh off the Coronet firſt, and after openeth her breaſt.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbiſhop firſt powred the annointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annointed her on the breaſt.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, cloſeth the queenes Robe at her breaſt, and after putteth on her head a linnen coyfe.

The Queenes Crowning.

That done, the Archbiſhop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop taking the Corwne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, ſaith a prayer.

The prayer done, he ſets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee ſaith a prayer.

The deliuery of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.

After the prayer, the Archbiſhop deliuered firſt the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Iuory with the Doue into her left hand, both which being done, he ſaith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariſeth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Biſhops vp to the Stages, and paſſing by the King in his Throne, ſhee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maieſtatem* (*vt decet adorando.*)

Which hauing done, ſhe is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and ſome-what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbiſhop beginneth the Communion.

Whereas after the { Collects. / Epiſtle. / Goſpell. } read by the Archbi.

The Nycen Creede.

Offertory is ſung by the Quier.

Whilſt the Offertory is ſinging, the king and queene deſcend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; firſt of Bread and Wine: ſecondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewiſe.

After which, the Archbiſhop pronounceth the bleſſing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Arch-Biſhop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbiſhop hath communicated himſelfe, and thoſe which aſſiſted him, the king and queene come vnto the ſteps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbiſhop miniſtreth the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne aboue the Stages.

There they ſtay till the Communion bee ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

They withdraw themſelues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edwards* Robes wherewith hee was inueſted.

Hee is arraied with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Arch-Biſhop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to weare. The King taketh S. *Edwards* ſcepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is ſet in order, and they returne the ſame way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Weſtminſter, to be kept there among the reſidue of the *Regalia*.

REGIA MAIESTAS

Hitherto I haue described what manner of men the named Noble-men haue beene with vs. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I haue set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselues, we haue declared. Here now a great field is opened vnto me to speake of the right of the precedence of the Nobilitie, and of their Priuiledges; but forasmuch as they rest rather vpon Custome, then vpon positiue Lawes, I haue of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but so farre as the Statutes of the Kingdome may be my warrant and safety.

CHAP. XX.

A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirty yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Counsell.

Forsomuch, as in all great Counsels and Congregations of men, hauing Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and conuenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and fitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may vse the same without displeasure or let of the Counsell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth vnto his prerogatiue Royall, to giue such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellers, and other his Subiects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisedome, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as hereafter followeth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of (except onely the Kings children) shall at any time hereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the other, whether the Kings Maiesty be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiesty is iustly and lawfully Supreame Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of *England*, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, and Lord Priuie Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and for the godly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord *Cromwell*, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which hereafter shall haue the saide Office of the graunt of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden hereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber, and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sitteth on, and aboue the same Archbishop and his successors, and shall haue voice in euery Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the sayd Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*: and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of *London*; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of *Duresme*; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of *Winchester*; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, shall sit and bee placed on the same side after their anciencies, as it hath beene accustomed.

And

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and hereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councell, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heeretofore beene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordayned and enacted by the Authority aforesaide, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councell, and the Lord Priuy Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or aboue, shall sit and bee placed aswell in this present Parliament, as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboue all Dukes, except onely such as shal happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priuie Seale, in manner following: that is to say, euery one of them shall sit and be placed aboue all other Personages beeing of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fift; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixt.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboue all Barons, not hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and bee placed aboue all other Bishops, not hauing any of the Offices aboue remembred.

And it is also ordayned and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and bee placed after their Anciency, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time hereafter shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Priuy Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no interest to giue any assent or dissent in the saide house, that then in euery such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the sackes, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forme, or vpon the vppermost sacke, the one of them aboue the other, in order as is aboue rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaide, that in all trials of treasons by Peers of this Realme, if any of the Peeres that shall be called hereafter to bee tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and bee placed according to their Offices, aboue all the other Peeres that shall bee called to such trials, in manner and forme as is aboue mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Councell, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and bee placed in such order and fashion, as is aboue rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

CHAP.

The Parliamentary Pompe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ (Viz.) *The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene Elizabeth, in the xxvij. yeare of her reigne.*

VPon Sunday (the xxij. day of Nouember) in the Chamber of Presence (as they doe tearme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and so all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maiestie, the next day to be holden at *Westminster*, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royall house called Saint *Iames*, neare vnto *Westminster*. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Counsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chappel: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the comming foorth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Roabe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horselitter, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on euery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two litle pillers of Siluer supported: vpon the top whereof, stoode on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillers at her feete, stoode a Lyon and a Dragon glistering with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throane) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Siluer (as they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queene had placed herselfe: the rest by two and two in this order set forward.

First went the *Mandataries* or Messengers of the Kings Court.
Afterward the Gentlemen of lesse note.
Squiers.
Squiers of the body.
The Clarkes of the Chancerie.
The Clarkes of the Signet.
The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.
The Clarkes of the Counsell.
The Maisters of the Chancerie.
The Knights Bachelours.
Knights Bannerets.
Trumpets heere and there sounding.
Seruants or Sergeants at Law.
The Kings Sergeant in an vnlined purple Gowne or Hood.
Him followed *Iohn Popham* the kings Atturney, with *Thomas Egerton* the Solicitor.
Two Heralds.
The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call *Barons* of the Exchequer.
The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,
Edmund Anderson chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.
Christopher Wray, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & *Gilbert Gerard* Maister of the Rolles, Knights both: but this man ridde in a Veluet Gowne; but [illegible] the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoodes of Skarlet, lined with a white furre called Miniuer.
The yonger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignities.
The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber.
Knights of the Bath.
The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility.
Knights of the Priuy Counsell.
Knights of the order of the *George*, or of the *Garter*.
Francis Walsingham knight, principall Secretary.
Francis Knolles Treasurer of the Queens house; together with *Iames Crofts*, Controuller of the Queenes house, both Knights.

Edward

Edward Norris, the third Sonne of Baron *Norris*, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, shut vp this ranke.

Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

Barons.

Henry Baron *Norris of Rycot.*
Henry Baron *Chency* of *Tuddington.*
Henry Baron *Compton.*
William Cecill Baron of *Burghley.* But he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.
William West, Baron *de la Ware.*
Thomas Sackuile Baron of *Buckhurst.*
John, Baron S. *Iohn* of *Bletesho.*
Henry Cary Baron of *Hunsdon.* He was absent because he was Gouernor of *Barwicke.*
Giles Bruges Baron *Chandos.*
Roger Baron *North* of *Carthelage.*
Charles Baron *Howard* of *Effingham.* He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.
Thomas Baron *Darcy* of *Chiche.*
Thomas Baron *Paget.*
Edmund Baron *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick.*
Charles Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham.*
Robert Baron *Rich* of *Leze.*
Philip Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton.*
William Baron *Eure* of *Witton.*
Henry Baron *Cromwell* of *Vlcombe.*
Lewes Baron *Mordant* of *Turuey.*
Thomas Baron *Burgh* of *Gainsburgh.*
Henry Baron *Wentworth* of *Netlested.*
Fredericke Baron *Windesor* of *Bradenham*
William Baron *Vaux* of *Harroden.*
William Baron *Sandes* of *Vine.*
John Baron *Darcy* of *Menill.*
Cuthert Baron *Ogle* of *Bothall.*
William Baron *Montioy.*
John Baron *Sturton.*
John Baron *Lumley.*
Edward Baron *Dudley.*
Henry Baron *Scroope of Bolton.* He was absent, for that he was Gouernor of *Carlile.*
Arthur Baron *Gray* of *Wilton.*
Edward Baron *Stafford*, of *Stafford.*
William Brooke Baron of *Cobham.*
Gregorie Fynes, Baron *Dacres* of *Herstmonceaux.*
Edward Parker Baron *Morley.*
Henry Baron *Barkley.*
Peregrine Bertie Bar. *Willoughby* of *Eresby.*
Edward Baron *Zouch* of *Haringworth.*
George Touchet Baron *Audley.*
Henry Nenill Baron of *Abergauenny.*

Two Heralds going before the Bishops.

The Bishop of *Glocester.*
The Bishop of S. *Asaphe.*
Bishop of *Chester.*
Bishop of *Carlile.*
Bishop of *Peterborow.*
Bishop of *Landaffe.*
Bishop of *Hereford.*
Bishop of *Cicester.*
Bishop of *Lietchfield.*
Bishop of *Bath.*
Bishop of *Rochester.*
Bishop of *Worcester.*
Bishop of S. *Dauids.*
Bishop of *Bangor.*
Bishop of *Lincolne.*
Bishop of *Sarisbury.*
Bishop of *Norwich.*
Bishop of *Exceter.*
Bishop of *Ely.*
Bishop of *Winchester.* Prelate of the Garter.
Bishop of *Durham.*
Bishop of *London*, Chancellor to the Bishop of *Canterbury.*

These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, and *Winchester*, by force of Acte of Parliament, made the xxxi. yeare of King *Henry* the viii. goe next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the rest take their places, according to the ancientnesse of their elections. Euery Bishops Gown was made of Scarlet cloth, made after the fashion of Barons, and hoods of the same, lined with *Minever*, & hanging downe behinde them.

Henry Vicount *Howard* of *Bindon.*
Anthony Browne Vicount *Montacute.*

Two Heralds After whom the Earls followed.

Edward Earle of *Lincolne.* The Admirall was sicke.
Robert Earle of *Sussex*, was absent, because he was vnder age.
Robert Earle of *Leicester*, went in another place, for that he was for this turne Steward of the Queenes House.
Edward Earle of *Hertford.*
Henry Earle of *Penbroke.*
Francis Earle of *Bedford.*
Henry Earle of *Southampton.*
Ambrose Earle of *Warwicke.*
William Earle of *Bathe.*
Henry Earle of *Huntingdon*, was absent, because he was President of *Yorke.*
Henry Earle of *Sussex.*
George Earle of *Cumberland.*

Edward

Edward Earle of *Rutland*.
William Earle of *Worceſter* ſupplied the place of the Marſhall, being abſent.
Henry Erle of *Kent*, went in another place becauſe he carried the Sword.
George Earle of *Shrewsbury*, was abſent being ſicke.
Henry Earle of *Northumberland*, Then priſoner in the tower of *London*.
Edward Earle of *Oxford*, went in another place, becauſe he was high *Chamberlaine* of *England*.
Phillip Earle of *Arundell*.

An Herald or King of Armes.

William Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*: Hee in another place carried the *Cap roiall*.

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whoſe parliament roabes (a thing worth the noting) dirfered nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their ſhoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Roabes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vſe the ſame that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furre, ſet as fringes or edgings on their ſhoulders: for that there they al ſit by reaſon of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

Thomas Bromley Knight Chancellour of *England*; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of *England*, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himſelfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

Iohn Whitgift alſo, Arch-biſhoppe of *Canterbury*: with *Edwin Sands* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* followed next after them.

Clarencieux King of Armes.

Two Sergeants at Armes with ſiluer ſcepters, which we call Maces, gilt.

Garter chiefe King at Armes, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman Vſher on his right hand.

The Marques of *Wincheſter* did beare the *Cap royall*, vpon whoſe left hand the Earle of *Worceſter* carried the Rod of the Marſhalſhip of *England*, in ſteed of *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, then earle Marſhal, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere preſent, for that he was ſicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the ſword, on whoſe right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of England, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Seneſchall*, or Steward of the queenes houſe.

The queenes Maieſty carried in a chaire as we haue before ſaid. She her ſelfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermines*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet alſo, more ſtraighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the ſame furre.

Foure Quiries of the Stable (whom in *French* they call *Eſquiries*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pentioners with their *Partiſans*.

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Maſter of the Horſe (inſtead of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who at this time ſupplyed the place of the Steward) leading a ſpare horſe of ſtate: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes houſe, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After theſe followed alſo *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Knight Vice-Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of S. *Peters* Church at Weſtminſter, where the Biſhop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almner, and Doctor *Goodman* Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was ſet a Forme, furniſhed with Carpets and Cuſhions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of S. *Edward*, which ſhe layde vpon the Cuſhion before her: and hauing receiued a little Booke of the Deane, vnto her ſelfe ſoftly prayed. Afterward ſhee came into the Church, vnder a ſtately Canopy of Cloth of Siluer, which ſixe Knights ſupported.

The Marchioneſſe of *Northampton*, and the counteſſe of *Oxford* bare vp the traine: Baron *Howard* of *Effingham* being Chamberlaine ſupporting her: *Chriſtopher Hatton Vice-Chamberlaine* going on the other ſide, but not ſupporting her. But foraſmuch

forasmuch as the Queenes roabes made of rich silke and Ermins, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Penbrooke* on the left, held them vp from her shoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer, went the singing men and Quiristers, singing of Psalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retyring place (commonly called the *Trauerse*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Trauerse*, but the Bishops sate themselues downe beneath the Pulpit, on the north side of the Quier.

The Archbishop of *Canterburie*, after a psalme sung, made a sermon, the sword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The sermon with a psalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the south gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confessor. In which place, shee restored it vnto the Deane of *Westminster*, of whom shee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whilest the Queenes Maiesty was hearing diuine seruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leicester* (for that time Steward of the Queenes house) went vnto the Lower *Parliament* house, to be there present at the answer of the Rescripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the Writtes) before sent foorth for the sommoning of the knights of the shires, and for the Burgesses of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper *Parliament* house.

The Queene being come thither, first retired her selfe into her owne priuie Chamber, where resting her selfe a litle, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themselues in the vpper house: and at length the Queene her selfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marshalship of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, shee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome sitting downe about her.

In the middest of the vpper house lie great Sackes of cloth filled with woosl: vpon the vppermost whereof sitteth the Chancellour; and vpon those which lie towards the sides of the house, sit the Maister of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the *Iudges*, the *Barons of the Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aswell Ciuilians as Common Lawyers. Vpon the lowest of all, sitteth the Clarke of the *Parliament* house, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, resting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was set, and that they of the neather house (*videlicet*) the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgesses of the Citties were let in, the commaunded the Lord Chancellour, standing on the right hand by her, to make his Oration: who turning himselfe vnto the Nobilitie, and the rest there present, declared vnto them, in her Maiesties name, that this assembly of *Parliament* to be for three causes called (viz.) For the glorie of Almighty God, and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preseruation of her royall Maiestie, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Which after that hee had aloude and most eloquently at large declared, turning his speech vnto the Knights and Burgesses, standing on an heape together below: he willed them to make choyse of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him so chosen, to the Lords of the Priuy Counsell, from whom they should expect what the *Queens* pleasure and answer was concerning him so chosen, to be afterward presented.

When the Chancellor had ended his speech, the Clarke of the *Parliament* rising vp, in French, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to vnderstand of the affaires aswell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *Fraunce*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, and to heare and examine the requests and petitions of them of the Ilands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour prorogued the *Parliament*, the *Queene* discending from her Throane, and retiring into her Priuie Chamber, there put off her parliament robes; which when

when the Barons had in like manner alſo done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marſhalſhip carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein ſhee from thence was downe the Riuer carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall:*) through which ſhe paſſed into the Parke, where ſhe mounting vpon a moſt couragious Horſe; the Nobility, States, and moſt honourable men and women attending her, ſhee happily returned vnto her Pallace of S. *Iames*, from whence ſhe before came.

Vpon Thurſeday following, the day appointed for the preſenting of the Prolocutour, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall houſe of S. *Iames*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when ſhe had in her Chamber put on her *Parliament* roabes, ſhe went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cappe and the Rodde of the Marſhalſhip, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord *Chamberlaine* going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treaſurer*, *Garter*, the vſhers, & the Sergeants at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were ſet downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treaſurour* of *England* on the left hand, ſtood beſide the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeſſes of the Citties being admitted in, brought in their moſt learned Lawyer (viz.) *Iohn Puckering*, who ſtanding at the barre, and hauing thrice made moſt lowe obeiſance, ſayd what he might, to ſhew himſelfe vnfit to vndertake ſo great a burthen, requeſting moſt earneſtly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made anſwer; That ſhee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that ſhe ratified the ſame.

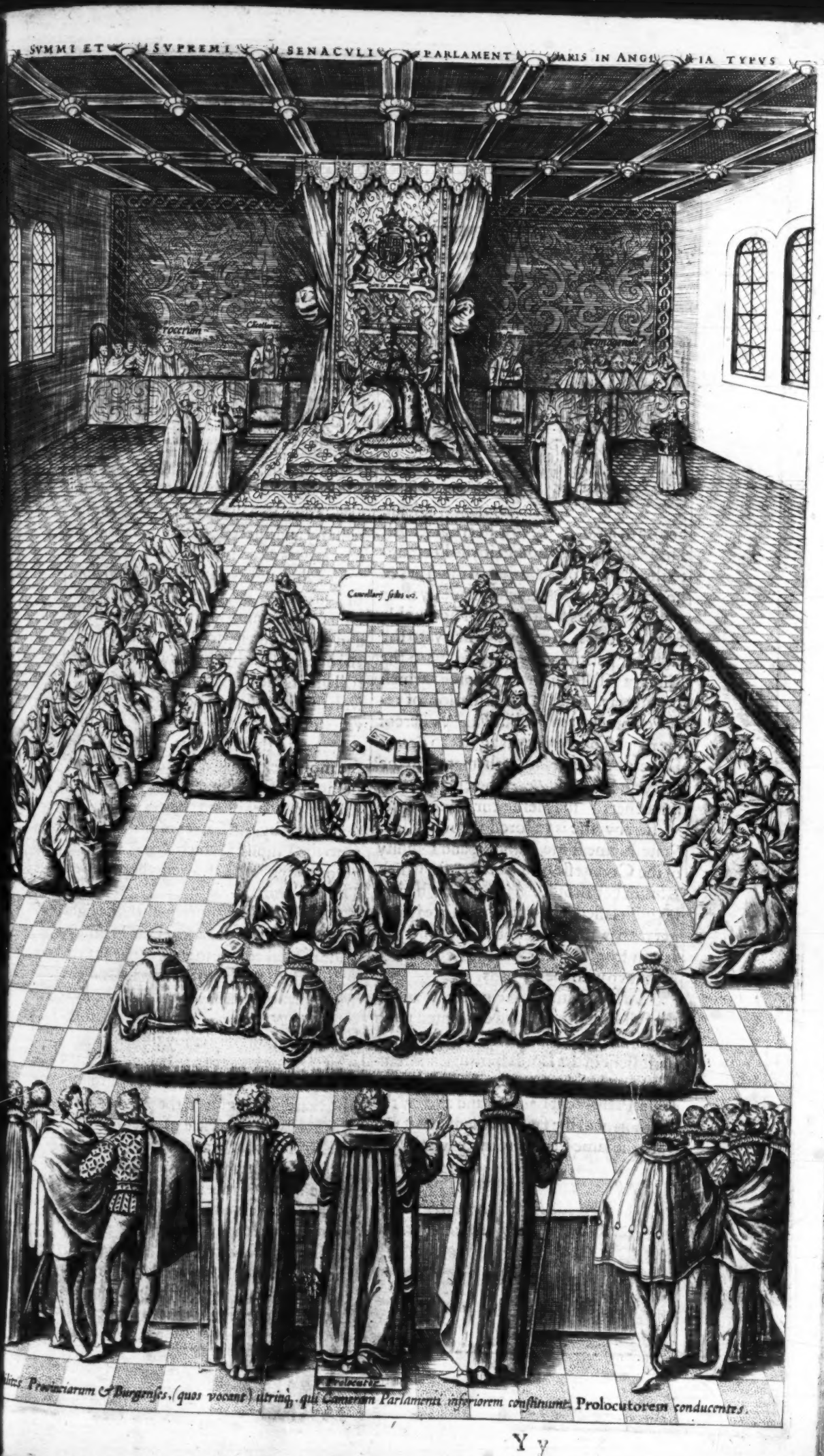
Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himſelfe to another manner of ſpeach, wherein hee particularly rehearſed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the moſt wiſe gouernement of her royall Maieſtie he declared her ſingular vertues, her very naturall and motherly care ouer her Subiects: But eſpecially in that ſhe had then called together the Eſtates of the Kingdome, there to conſult and conſider of the moſt weightieſt affaires of the Common-weale, earneſtly admoniſhing the Biſhops to prouide for the Eccleſiaſticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the reſt to bee careſull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the concluſion of his ſpeach, he moſt humbly requeſted, that the auncient Rights and Priuiledges of the Lower houſe of the Burgeſſes, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their ſpeach and minds, and of being free from Arreſts, as well themſelues as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vntouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderſtoode, they ſhould happen to offend, he requeſted leaue aſwell for himſelfe as for the reſt, to haue acceſſe vnto her royall Maieſtie.

His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellor*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in ſome poynts, by her inſtructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leaue he had requeſted.

Which things being ſo on both ſides diſpatched, the *Queene* roſe and retired herſelfe into her priuate Chamber, put off her Parliament roabes, and ſo attended vppon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the Weſt ſide of the Parliament houſe, mounted into her chaire of Eſtate, a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) ſhee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of Saint *Iames*, from whence ſhe before came.

¶ *The maner of ſitting in the Vpper houſe of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, moſt truly and liuely deſcribed.*

CHAP.



...lites Provinciarum & Burgenſes, (quos vocant) utrinq; qui Cameram Parlamenti inferiorem conſtituunt. Prolocutorem conducentes.

CHAP. XXII.

The manner of restoring of renewed Nobilitie before lost.

THE maners and formes of creating of Noblemen, with their Rites and Ceremonies, by *Charters* and *Rescripts*, or Writs of summons, wee haue before described. Now heere at length I haue thought it good, to ioyne heereunto the manner of restoring of dignities & honours before lost. Such as haue by their owne or others fault, lost their honorable stiles and titles, are wont to bee vnto the same by petitions, exhibited vnto the Kings in full Parliament restored: which I would say, to be a confirmation of renewed or restored Nobility. Whereof the request of *Margret*, daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, in Parliament, in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight, (to omit others) may serue for an example. Whereby she is restored vnto the Stile, State, Name, Title, Honour, and Dignity of the Countesse of *Sarisbury*, frō which *Edward* her Brother Earle therof, had by his guilt fallen. The Petition it selfe is longer then is necessary to be heere inserted. It is in English extant in the Records, & is shut vp with these words.

Which petition beeing read, and to the full vnderstood, and consented vnto by our said Lord the King, by the aduice and assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and of the Cominalty in the aforesaide Parliament being: and also by the Authority of the same Parliament, it was vnto the same Petition thus answered.

Soit faict come il est desire.
Be it done according as it is requested.

CHAP. XXIII.

Customes.

I Haue said *Politicall Nobility*, still subiect vnto the dispositions of Princes, and change of time; to rest alwayes vpon the customes of Nations.

For first of all, it is manifest, dignities which were but the bare names of personal Offices, to haue at length become hereditary and successory: and yet with diuers Lawes circumscribed.

For although women in *Germany* born of Dukes, Earles, or Barons, are according to the manner of the Empire styled and called Dutchesses, Countesses, and Baronesses; yet by the Law of the Imperiall grant, the Principalities themselues, with the Fees thereto belonging, descend vnto the Males onely, who fayling, they reuert vnto the Emperor. Which thing, the most great Dukedome *Carinthia*, proueth to be so. For *Ericus* the last Duke beeing dead without heires male, the dukedome by the Lawes returned againe vnto the Empire: which *Lewes* the Emperour afterward bestowed vppon *Albert* Duke of *Austria*.

Sigismund the Emperor also, the right line of the dukes of *Saxony* being extinct, gaue the dukedome in the yeare 1423. vnto the Marquesses of *Misnia*; and the Marquisat of *Brandenburg*, vnto the *Burgraues* of *Noriburge*: whose successors euen now at this day enioy the same.

The same we reade to haue been done in *Italy*: For *Wenceslaus* the Emperour in the yeare 1490. graced the *Vice-county* of *Millaine* with the Title of a Dukedome: but so as that for want of heires male, it should together with that Dignitie, bee made a part of the *Imperiall* patrimony. And in the remembrance of our Grandfathers, we reade of certayne (aswell at *Naples* as else-where,) to haue beene by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth created; but yet alwayes with that common Lawe of Reuersion, that so soone as the last

last of the male discent should dye, they should be made Imperiall dignities. Yet heere by the way we must remember, that the Emperors did not at all times doe all things according to the vttermost of the greatnesse of their power; but sometime by a new beneficiary or bountifull couenant, being requested so to doe, suffered those titles of honours to descend vnto the daughters (no heires male remaining) mittigating the extremity of the law, by wise mens interpretations thereof, regard being still had, eyther of the Commonweale, or of some former agreement, or of the time present.

In *France*, *Rennatus Choppinus*, disputing of the Royall *Demaine*, maketh a distinction of dignities. For he affirmeth all Military and masculine dignities, by the Law *Salique* to be annexed vnto the *Fees Royall*, neyther by any meanes, by meere Law, to come vnto the Women, although that the heyres male faile; except by speciall and expresse words it bee before otherwise prouided: which hee saith, himselfe to haue seene and read. Yet in the meane time he affirmeth, priuate *Principalities* not to be denied to women: which hee manifesteth by the example of the County of *Armiñack* by a womans right deuolued vnto the King of *Nauarre*, as by many others also.

And to mee, now writing and running ouer some few things concerning our owne affaires, it fortuned a certaine most ancient writing to come vnto my hands, taken out of the ancient *Saxon Lawes*, and lent me by *William Lambert*, a great admirer of reuerend antiquity, and a most earnest restorer thereof. Which writing, although that both in tongue and character it meerely sound *Saxon* like, yet seemeth it in some things, to sauour of the *Danish* maters, as also of the ancient lawes eyther of the *Britons* themselues, or of the *Saxons*, shaken and rent in sunder, vnder the rule and gouernment of the *Danes*.

But the writing it selfe written in the *Saxon* tongue, translated into English, word for word, & into Latine, according vnto the true sense and meaning thereof, here following is contained.

hiꝛpeſ hꝑilum on Engla lagum ꝥ leod ⁊ lagum ꝓop beȝepinꝺum, And ꝥa

It was sometime in the English Lawes, that the people and lawes were in reputation. And then

Tempus erat olim cum Anglicis, *legibus & populo ſuus vbique conſtabat honor. Qui ex*

ꝓꝛon leod pitan peopꝺȝcipeꝛꝑꝑnꝺa, ælc be hiꝛmæꝺe. Eoꝛl ⁊ Ceoꝛl Ðegn ⁊

were the wiſeſt of the people worſhip-worthy, each in his degree. Eorle and Thorle, Theyn and

populo prudẽtiſſimi erant, in honore fuerunt ſuo quiſq; ordine. Comes & Colonus. Thaynus &

{opulentus / ignobiles.}

Ðeoden ⁊ And ȝif Ceoꝛl ȝeþeah ꝥ he heꝛde ꝼullice ꝼif hiꝺa aȝenes lande, Cifican ⁊

Vnderthеyn. And if a Thorle ſo thriued that he had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church &

Sub-thaynus. Quòd ſi Colonus ita rẽ feciſſet vt habuerit plenè quinq; hidas propria terræ ædẽ

ſacram

Cyꝛenan, belhuꝛ ⁊ buꝛhȝat ꝼetl ⁊ ꝼunde pno te on Cyninȝes healle, ꝥonne ꝥæt he

a Kitchen, a Belhouſe and a gate, a ſeate and a ſeuerall office in the Kings Hall, then was he

Coquinam, Campanile, & Portam, locum itẽ et peculiare munus in Regius Aula, tunc erat de-

ꝥannon ꝓoꝛ Ðegen ꝺihteꝛpeoꝛðe ⁊ And ȝif Ðegn ȝeþeah ꝥ he ꝼenge Cyninȝe

thenceforth the Theynes right worthy. And if a Theyne ſo thriued that he ſerued the King

inceps pari cum Thayno dignitate. Si verò Thaynus ita proiectus erat vt Regi ſeruierit, ⁊

⁊ hiſ þaþ ſtepne þaþ on hiſ hiſede, ȝiſ he ſonne heſde Ðegn ðe him ſiliȝde
and on his meſſage or iourney rode in his houſhold. if he then had a Theyne that him followed
& nuncius eius eſſet & equitauerit in familiâ, ſi tunc etiã Thaynum ſibi famulantẽ habuerit,

ðe to Cyneſ uſ þan Fif hida haſde ⁊ on Cyneſ ſetl hiſ hlaford ðenode ⁊
whoe to the Kings expedition fiue Hydes had, and in the Kinges Pallace his Lord ſerued, and
qui ad Regum expeditionem 5. hydas habuerit, eiuſq; in Regia aula Domino ſeruierit, terque

ðriſa mið hiſ ærende ȝeforan to Cyninge he moſte ſiððan mið hiſ foran ðe hiſ hlaford
thrice with his errande had gone to the King, he might afterward with his fore Oath his Lordes
eius nuncius ad Regem venerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini perſonã ſuſtinere poterat

arplian aſ inirlican neodan⁊ And ſiſ Ðegn ȝeðeah ſ he peande to Eorle ſonne þær he
part play at any nede. And if a Theyne ſo thriued that he became an Earle, then was he thence-
ſi opus ſuiſſet. Quòd ſi Thaynus ita euectus erat vt Comes euaſerit pari erat deinceps

ſiðð an Eorle nihteſſeorðe. And ȝiſ Maſſere ȝeðeah ſ he ſefde ſpiðe oreſ
forth an Earles right worthy. And if a Marchant ſo thriued, that hee paſſed thrice ouer the
Comite dignitate. Et ſi Mercator ita rem feciſſit, vt tèr vaſtum mare ſua peritiâ

ſið Sæ he hiſ agenum cnaſte, he þæſſonne ſiððan Ðegne ſiȝteſſeorðe⁊ And ȝiſ leor-
wide Sea of his owne Craft, he was thenceforth the Theynes right worthy. And if a Schol-
traiccerit, pari tunc erat cum Thayno dignitate. Quod ſi Literarum ſtudioſus litte-

ner ȝeðeah ſuſlare ſ he hadhefde ⁊ henode Xpe, he þæſ ſonne ſiððan mæde
ler ſo thriued through learning, that he had degree and ſerued Chriſt, he was thenceforth of dignity
ris progreſſum feciſſet, vt ordines habuerit & Chriſto inſeruierit, erat deinde venerandum

⁊ ruinde ſra micelre ȳrðe ſra hæfde to ȝebyrede, butan he forforhte ſ he þæſ had no
and peace ſo much worthy as thereto belonged, vnleſſe he forfeited ſo that he the vſe of his de-
& immunis quantùm ad locum eius ſpectabat, niſi ita excidiſſet vt ſuo munere vti non

te notian ne moſte⁊
gree ne might.
potuiſſet.

Theſe

These ruines or rubbidges of antiquity, make shew of a perpetuity of Nobility, euen from the beginning of this Iland, but times are changed, and we in them also. For King *Edward* the *Confessor*, last of the *Saxon* blood, comming out of *Normandy*, bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the *Thaynes* from that time began to grow out of vse; so that at this day men remember not so much as the names of them. And at length, that name of Baronage began to be both in dignity and power so magnificent aboue the rest, as that in the name of the Baronage of England, all the Nobility of the Land seemed to be comprehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it were) fetcht from long exile, and againe renewed by King *Edward* the third. And Marquesses & Vicounts, were altogether newly brought in by King *Richard* the second, and King *Henry* the sixt.

The name of a Baron from whence and when it came into England.

But our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, together with the Crowne of the Kingdome, granted an hereditary & successory perpetuity vnto honourable titles, such I meane as are the Titles of Earldomes and Baronies) without any difference of sex at all. Which thing I thoght good to make manifest, by the examples of the more ancient times. In the reckoning vp whereof, that I may the better acquit and discharge my selfe; in the very entrance of my speech, there be 3 things, whereof I would haue the Reader by the way, to be especially forewarned. First, concerning the disposition and inclination of our Kings, in the creating of the nobility. Secondly, of the custome of transferring of honours and dignities by Families. And thirdly, of the force of time, & the change and alteration of things. For why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe in their kingdome beare the absolute rule and sway) are with vs efficient causes of all *Politicall Nobility*. The Titles of *Named Nobility*, by our custome, haue this naturall and common together with the Crowne it selfe, that the heyres male fayling, they deuolue vnto the Women, except in the first Charters it be expresse words otherwise prouided; and yet so, as that regard is alwayes to bee had of the time, which is euery where wont to beare sway in the formality of things.

Three things are to be which beare rule in all things viz. the Law, Custome, and Necessity.

In this manner *William* the first, King and Conqueror, *Harold* being ouercome, hauing obtained the Soueraignty, according to his pleasure bestowed dignities & honors vpon his companions and others, *(viz.)* some of them so annexed and conioyned vnto the Fees themselues, as that euen yet at this day, the possessors therof may seeme to be ennobled, euen with the possession of the places onely. As our Bishops at this day, as also certaine ecclesiastical Abbots and Priors; who by reason of the Baronies ioyned vnto their Bishoppricks, enioy the titles and preheminence of Barons in the highest assemblies of the kingdome in Parliament. Other some of the dignities and honors, he gaue and granted also, together with the lands and fees themselues. As he gaue to *Hugh Lupus* his kinsman and a *Norman*, the earldome of *Chester*. *Ad Conquirendum & tenendum sibi & hæredibus, adeo liberè per gladium sicut ipse Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam.* To conquer and hold it to him and his heyres, as freely by the Sword, as the King himselfe helde England by the Crowne. With the Earledome of *Richmond* hee graced *Alanus Rufus*, his Nephew, and then Earle of *Britaine* in *France* and his heyres: *Ita liberè & honorificè ut eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenuerat*: so freely and honorably as Earle *Edwin* had before holden the same. And the Earledome of *Arundel*, which *Harold* possessed, he granted with a fee vnto *Roger* of *Montgomery*. The first two of which honors (the heyres male fayling) by women estsoones passed into other Families, but the latter Earledome, *Robert* the Sonne of *Roger* beeing attainted of treason, returned vnto King *Henry* the first, who gaue the same in dowry vnto Queene *Adeliza* his Wife.

The succeeding Kings more sparingly, bestowed such dignities to bee holden of them in Fee, granting only for the better and more honourable maintenance of their stocke and honour, the third part of the Pleas of the County (as they tearme it) which they in their Charters called *Tertium Denarium*, or the third penny. So that hee which receiued the third penny of any Prouince, he the same man by the same ancient Law of succession, was called Earle of the same Prouince: and so by custome the women, the heyres male fayling.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonnes, had many women his heires, howſoeuer order was, either by couenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and poſſeſſions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it ſelfe indiuiſable, was ſtill left to be diſpoſed of, according to the Kings pleaſure. Who in beſtowing thereof, for the moſt part reſpected the prerogatiue of birth.

By which right, King *Henry* the third, after the death of *Iohn* the *Scot*, dead without iſſue (other lands and reuennues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Siſters) vnited the Earldome of *Cheſter*, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is alſo manifeſt in the Earledome of *Arundell*: which (after *Robert* of *Belliſme*, Sonne to the aforeſaid *Roger* of *Montgomery*, driuen out by *Henry* the firſt) King *Henry* the ſecond beſtowed vpon *William* of *Albinie*, Queene *Adeliza* his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of *Suſſex*, whereof he created him Earle. But *Hugh* the great, Nephew of this *William* the firſt, beeing dead without iſſue, all the inheritance of the Earledome was diuided among his foure Siſters. Whoſe dignity and honour for all that, together with the Caſtle of *Arundel*, was by *Edward* the firſt, at length giuen to *Richard Fitz-Alan* (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to *Iohn Fitz-Alan* and *Iſabell*, the ſecond of the aforeſaid Siſters.

Now let vs paſſe from *Henry* the third, vnto *Edward* the firſt his Sonne. When as for a time a great diſſention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) *Gilbert* of *Clare* Earle of *Hertford* and of *Gloceſter*: *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, earle of *Hereford* and *Suſſex*, and Conſtable of England, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marſhall of the kingdome, and that all thoſe Noble-men, at length had loſt their Earledomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters receiued the ſame againe in this manner.

The firſt of them, receiued the ſame vnto himſelfe & *Ioane* the ſame kings daughter his ſecond wife, for tearme of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters by his firſt wife being excluded.) This *Ioane* (called *Ioane* of *Acon*) bare vnto her husband *Gilbert*, a Sonne called alſo *Gilbert*; but ſhee the ſecond time, ſecretly married vnto one *Radulph*, of *Mont Hermeri* (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made alſo the ſame *Radulph* Earle ſo long as ſhee liued. But ſhe at length being dead, *Gilbert* her ſonne, by the aforeſaid *Gilbert*, ſucceeded againe into the Earledome, *Radulph* his Father in Law being yet aliue. In the very ſame manner he reſtored the Earledoms and Office of Conſtableſhip vnto the aforeſaid *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, vnto whom alſo he gaue in marriage *Elizabeth*, another of his Daughters, widdow to *Iohn* Earle of *Holland*: and vnto the third, he reſtored the Earledome of *Norfolke*, and the office of the *Mareſcall*, with a yearely encreaſe of a thouſand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, fayling, both of them ſhould returne againe vnto the King. At length, this *Roger* dyed without iſſue, in the xxxv. yeare of him the ſaid *Edward* the firſt viz. in the laſt yeare of his reigne: and King *Edward* his Son, the ſecond of that name, both by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earledome and the Marſhalſhip vnto *Thomas* of *Brotherton* his Brother, and his heyres male.

Theſe things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to ſhew, how according to the diuers diſpoſitions of Princes, & chãges of times, it hath by little and little varried in the firſt beſtowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknowne, made by King *Edward* the firſt himſelfe, ſeemeth afterward to haue beene of no ſmall weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne ſurname, then of their poſterity, it was thought vnto him good, & ſo decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I ſay, which I would in Latine call *Gentilitium Municipale*, & which the Lawyers commonly call *Ius Talliatum*, and *Talliabile*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off ſucceſſions before generall, and reſtraineth them vnto the particular heyres of Families: which ſeemeth alſo to haue giuen an occaſion of change in the giuing and beſtowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begunne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters prouided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or discend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to proue; for why, the thing it selfe proueth the same. But the force and efficacie of this Lawe of *Entaile*, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earledome of *Oxford* (*Robert* Earle of *Oxford* and Duke of *Ireland*, being condēned of treason) by that Law came to *Albericus Vere* vncle to *Robert*, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earledome also, and obtayned the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earledomes of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*, ioyned together in the family of *Fitz-Alan*. For *Edmund Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, married the onely sister and heire of Earle *Richard*, and of her begot *Richard*, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this *Richard*, the sonne of *Edmund*, and his heires male by *Alenor* of *Lancaster* (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell* were entailed in the one and twentith yeare of *Edward* the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle *Iohn* his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the encrease of the Earledome of *Surrey*, he was called Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*. Of *Alenor Richard* begot a sonne, called *Richard*, at length Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey* also: and *Iohn Fitz-Alan* his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called *Baron Maltreuers*. This *Richard* had *Thomas*, his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Coheires (viz.) *Elizabeth*, *Ioane*, *Margaret*, and *Alice*, who diuided the Earledome of *Surrey* amongst them. Howbeit the dignity therof was granted to *Iohn Mowbray* duke of *Suffolke*, begotten of *Elizabeth* the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earledome of *Arundell* also. But *Iohn Baron* of *Maltreuers*, Nephew to the first *Iohn Fitz-Alan*, and Baron of *Maltreuers*, by his sonne *Iohn* opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that castle and demaine of *Arundell*, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of *Entaile*.

For *Thomas* the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore-said, he alleaged the demaine of the Castle not to belong vnto the Sisters, but to discend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was neerest of kinne vnto the sayd Earle *Thomas*: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more fitly to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obtayne, yet *Iohn* his sonne, a most famous warriour, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleauenth yeare of King *Henry* the sixt. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was, the yeare after, rewarded with the dukedome of *Thuranis* in *Fraunce*. And this *Iohn*, both Earle and Duke, being dead, *Humphrey* his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the earledome of *Arundell* entailed vnto *William* his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Rescripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to *Heary Bromflet*, wherein it was prouided him, that same *Henry* and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Vesey*) women, the heires male failing, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarred, but that they might be accounted, and by name stiled honourable, with the præeminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance

ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, euen without the poſſeſſion of thoſe places, from whence the names of ſuch dignities and honours may ſeeme firſt to haue riſen. For Fees and locall poſſeſſions, circumſcribed by the Lawe, are tranſlated and carried from one family to an other, and vſually enrich their Lords and owners the poſſeſſours thereof: but yet of themſelues, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Datiue or Natiue. By Examples to manifeſt theſe things were but needeleſſe; for why, all the moſt auncient Baronies, and the more auncient ſort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my ſide, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man ſtudious of theſe things, by chaunce meeting with ſome things of other nature, ſhall more curiouſly diſpute againſt theſe matters, vnto him I would oppoſe, eyther the force of time, or the careleſneſſe and lacke of looking vnto. But, Cuſtomes are ſtill like themſelues, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue ſuch ſupereminent, and vndeterminate prerogatiue, as that they may ſeeme ſometimes to haue of fauour graunted, ſome things beſide the Lawes; yet ſhall it not appeare them requeſted, to haue done, or yet ſuffered any thing to bee done, contrarie vnto the Cuſtomes of Stockes and Families. So they ſometime not regarding the ſolemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their beckes (that I may ſo ſay) ſuffered dignities and honours to bee transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundeuill*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and of *Lincolne* to bee ſeene. For the Earledome of *Cheſter*, he permitted after the manner, to diſcend to *Iohn* the Scot his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldeſt of his Siſters. But the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto conſenting) hee yet aliue deliuered vnto *Hawiſia* another of his Siſters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the ſeuenteenth yeare of the reigne of King *Henrie* the third, in theſe words following.

RAnulphus Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men preſent, and to come, which ſhall ſee this preſent Writing, greeting. I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue giuen and graunted, and by this my preſent writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawiſia* of *Quincy*, my moſt deare Siſter, the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, ſo that ſhe may thereof be Counteſſe. To haue and to hold the ſame of my Lord the King of *England*, and his heires, vnto the ſaide *Hawiſia* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appurnances, and liberties vnto the aforeſaide Earledome belonging. And that this preſent Writing may ſtand in force for euer, I haue thought it good to firme and ſtrengthen the ſame, by the ſetting to of my Seale. Theſe being witneſſes.

Hawiſa with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Counteſſe of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, preſently gaue the ſame to *Iohn Lacie* her ſonne in lawe. So alſo I may not paſſe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the firſt of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many yeares after the death of *Iſabell de Fortibus* (whoſe ſole heire hee was) quietly poſſeſſed the lands and Fees of the earledome of *Deuſhire*, without eyther the Title or Inueſtiture of an Earle, and that at length contention aroſe betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vſed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters ſupplicatorie vnto the King, then buſied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued anſwer; That taking vnto himſelfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee ſhould cauſe himſelfe, from that time forward, to bee named and called Earle of *Deuſhire*, in theſe words.

THe King to his welbeloued and faithfull, *Hugh* of *Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councell, haue of long beene ſued for the repayment of eighteene pounds, ſixe ſhillings and eight pence, of the yearely Fee of the Earledome of *Deuſhire*, which *Iſabell de Fortibus*, late Counteſſe of *Deuſhire*, whoſe heire you are, and the heires of her the ſaid Counteſſe, and yours, Earles of *Deuſhire*, yearely

yearely receiued by the hands of the Sheriffes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaide Countesse, as her heire for a certaine time receiued: And for that they haue beene from you detained, because you haue in no wise named and stiled your selfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treasuror, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made into our Chancerie, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforesaid Countesses, and the inheritance of her Predecessours, and yours, the Earles of *Denshire*; vnto you discended by hereditary right, and that you at this present hold the same inheritance; willing in this part to prouide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the equitie of our Kingdome, as for your honour: will and commaund you, in requesting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from henceforth cause your selfe to be called Earle of *Denshire*, knowing that wee will make the aforesaide Fee to bee yearely payed vnto you, as it hath beene wont to bee payed vnto the Earles of *Denshire* your Predecessours. Witnesse the King at *New-castle* vppon *Tine*, the two and twentith day of February, & in the ninth yeare of our reigne.

Last of all, we haue seene this same not long since, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the most auncient right of the Earledome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himselfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely consenting thereunto, and approuing the same; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being thereunto ioyned.

Hitherto it seemeth also to appertaine, that our most auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuersitie of the places) where they for the most part chose to dwell, to to bee called by diuerse Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Cornewall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Bristow*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Bristow*.

Robert of *Ferrars* the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normandie*, and of *Derbie* in *England*, sometime wrote himselfe Earle of *Tutbury*, a Castle (videlicet) in the Borders of *Stafford-shire* built by his Progenitours. *Baldwine* and *Richard* of *Riuers*, were sometime called Earles of *Exceter*, and sometimes Lords of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the same places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denshire*. *William* also of *Albinise*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Sussex*, the first of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt king *Stephen* and king *Henrie* the second, set himselfe thereto a Witnes, by the name of *William* Earle of *Cicester*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde heereunto also if you please, the Earle of *Penbrooke* to haue beene called the Earle of *Strigulia*, of the Castle of *Strigulia*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hereford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Penbrooke*.

These things (I say) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not so. For such is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth still in new. So vnto Earles, whom we said in ancient time to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the Prouince whereof they were earles, to maintaine their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine summe of mony is at this day yerely payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enioy the Titles of such places, as wherein they haue not any iurisdiction, administration, or profite at all. Barons also, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were chosen by their *Sestertia*; were in like manner wont to bee esteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and possessed thirteene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to bee accounted among the Barons) are now, more sildome times chosen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large possessions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and still retaine, the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterward sold or alienated to some other common person.

In briefe, our kings royall maiesty is alwayes like it selfe, constant, and the same; which hauing regard to the vertue, stock, wealth,

wealth, and ſubſtance of any man (whereby hee may with his Councellor ſeruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and beſtow Dignities and Honours, ſometime chuſing moe Barons then one, out of one & the ſame family, the cuſtome of the ſucceſſion of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing ſtill kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as we ſee, *Edward* the ſixt wiſely to haue done in the familie of the *Willoughbies*; which family (that for breuitie ſake I ſhould not reckon vp moe) beſide the moſt ancient Barony of the *Willoughbies* of *Eresly*, brought foorth another Barony alſo of *Parham*. Wherefore wee acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thankes, referre all the degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without cauſe, ſeeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwaies ſo had Kings themſelues, Authours, Patrons, Gouernours, and Defendours thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Poſſeſſions, ſubiect to Couenants or agreements, are ſtill toſſed and turmoyled with the ſtormes of the Iudiciall Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onelie vnto the Kings themſelues beholden, and reſteth vpon heroicall orders and inſtitutions, proper and familiar vnto it ſelfe. So that

Per titulos numerentur aui, ſempérq; renata
Nobilitate virèt, & prolem fata ſequantur:
Continuum propriâ ſeruantia lege tenorem.

By Titles great, mens Auncestors
were knowne ſtill as they came,
And ſo their owne poſteritie,
do ſtill enioy the ſame;
And flouriſh long without decay,
with euerlaſting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of ſutes concerning their Honours, and for the giuing vnto euery man that which of right belongeth vnto his Farme and Dignitie, haue their Tribunall or proper Martiall Court, which they are wont to call, The Court of *Chiualry*: whereof, when wee ſhall come vnto the Order of Knight-hood, wee ſhall ſay ſomewhat more.

The Court of Chiualrie.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Noblemen of the leſſer ſort.

THe named Noblemen which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excelling, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declared, and in painting of it foorth, propoſed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes alſo they are created, and with what orders of ſucceſſions they after our manner liue, I haue in few wordes briefely ſhewed. Now if I had vnto theſe alſo ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well ſeeme to haue ended this Treatiſe, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of thoſe whom wee call *Noble-men of the leſſer ſort*, or Vnnamed: but the earneſt and continual calling vpon of certaine of my friends, ouercame mee. Wherefore, ſeeing that it is neyther altogether ſtrange from our purpoſe, and may be done without ſtraining of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requeſts of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioyne heereunto theſe few things heereafter following:

Three degrees or rankes of Noblemen or Gentlemen of the leſſer ſort.

The Noblemen therefore of the leſſer ſort, are in three ſorts or rankes diuidedly comprehended.

The firſt ranke or order, is of Knights: The ſecond is of Eſquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gentlemen.

Thoſe whom the Frenchmen ſimplie call *Gentilzhommes*, and wee in Engliſh Gentlemen, wee thus diſtinguiſh into three ſorts:

Plaine Gentlemen, without anie other addition.

Firſt, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Auncestors, is by bloud a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his ſonnes.

Third-

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Office or function which hee beareth, hee onely for himselfe, is in common estimation accounted a Gentleman; although he had a common person to his Father, and leaue his Sonnes common persons also.

Esquiers. An Esquire, who sometime is also called *Scutifer*, or a *Shield-bearer*, and in ancient time *Homo ad Arma* (or a Man at Armes) in French *Escuire*, and in English a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto a Knight: as hee who in ancient time following a Knight, by his side bare his Armes, as a most faithfull Fellow-souldier with him. From whence perhaps, they whom wee at this day in our Kings houses, account Squires for the bodie, seeme to haue taken their beginning. But that which at first was by institution a militarie Office, is now become a degree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the younger sonnes of Barons, and of other Noble-men, and their first begotten Sonnes also; who together with their being first borne, make the dignitie of Esquireship successorie, so long as their issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most auncient) is of them, which are borne the eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their eldest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of auncient time graced with Armes belonging vnto their Stocke and Family, are the first begotten and chiefe of their house and stocke. And these by a certayne prerogatiue of being the eldest or first born, goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen of the same Family aside discended, and are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the common-weale, and the Kings house. For they which beare publique Offices in the Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in reputation made Esquires. Such as are the Iudges, the Kings Atturney, and Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and other Officers of like sort belonging vnto the Exchequer.

Vnto these also wee may especially ioyne, if not preferre, such as proceede Doctors of Diuinitie, or otherwise in other professions in the Vniuersities. For Doctorship is a Title of Dignitie more noble, then they which are Gentlemen but by their stocke onely: vnto whom also after our manner, in the Kings Commissions concerning the publike affaires, so much præeminence is giuen, as that they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Apparitors, commonly called Sergeants at Armes, Heralds, and all seruing in the Kings Court, whom for the præeminence of their Offices, we also call Sergeants, are made Esquiers with chaines, (viz.) with a Collar made of Siluer and blacke S S put about their neckes by the Kings themselues.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*) are with vs called either Knights Bannerets, Knights of the Bath, or Knights Batchellors. Knights.

Other there be of the Garter also, but of another sort, then that they are to be comprehended in a kind, to be compared with these as in due place is to be shewed.

¶ *Banneret* is a degree of Honour, esteemed the last amongest the greatest (I meane *Nobilium maiorum*) or the first with those of the second ranke. Three formes of creations I haue obserued, as sometimes vnder the Royall Standerd displayed: the person hauing the lower end of his Pennon cut off into a square (such as Barons vse) receiueth that Honour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned *William de la Poole* by Patten, *Vt statum & honorem teneret & continueret Banneretti*, *To him and to his heires*: Or as *Nicholaus de Grey* was declared, by Writ of King *Edward* the second, to be, *De familia Regis tanquam Bannerettus*; thereby meaning, both Precedencie and Sallary accordingly. Bannerets. Sir Rob. Cott. Rot. Fran. 13. Ed. 3. Ex comm. Gunderob. 9 Ed. 2.

The two other Knight-hoods *Batchellors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference betweene them, that to the one from electiue grace of the Soueraigne (to attend himselfe or Quene in their inaugurations, or his Childrens creations) there is annexed a Ministeriall duetie to their knightly dignities; the other, nothing being left but their bare Stile and proper Merite; and therefore they are eyther in the Record, mentioned by none o-

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Ingulphus & roi Landenſis Kal. Clauſ. 2. Hen. 2

ther name then *Milites ſimplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as alſo peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiouſly both in ſtory and record.) But they by iniury of times, and promiſcuous admiſſions (which ſomewhat declined their reputation) had beene fully loſt, had not the other preſerued the memory and vſe of ſuch venerable order.

As for right of precedency betweene theſe two; or whether ſuch temporall ſeruice enlarged to the one more then the other, inueſteth a perpetuall priority or no, I leaue it to the diſcuſſion of thoſe, to whom in due of place, and depth of Iudgment, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vppon their knees receiue that Dignity (which is not but together with life loſt, or taken away) of the King or his Lieutenant generall; hauing regard eyther to his ſtocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his actes done at home or abroad; lightly ſtriking him that is ſo to be created, vpon the ſhoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince ſpeaking theſe words in *French*; *Soyes bon Cheualier d'oreſenauant au nom de Dieu:* (Bee from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are ſo made Knights, hauing kiſſed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their liues, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) diſtinguiſhed from other men; *Sir Iohn Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it ſelfe ſo ſound, apparant, & ful of honor, as that it euery where beſeemeth moſt great Dukes and Earles: and which euen Kings themſelues haue not diſdained kindly to thanke one another for. For ſo we reade our King *Henry* the ſecond of that name, to haue made *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in *France*, for his good ſeruice at *Tholouſe*, in the yeare 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14. years old, to haue receiued the order of knighthood in England, in the yeare 1212. *Hugh Vere* reſtored vnto the Earledome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry* of *Lacy* alſo in the right of his Wife, and by the reſignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, receiued the third penny of his Earledome from the time he was made knight, about ten yeares more or leſſe before hee was created Earle. Beſide that, the ancient Regiſter of the Church of *Abingdon* thus reporteth.

Richard Earle of *Cheſter*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farritius* the Abbot, and the Counteſſe his Mother, earneſtly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, whatſoeuer was done concerning the Land of *Wimondiſleie*, and with his writing ſtrengthened the ſame. Which writing, he appointed to bee ſealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted, all the Letters by him any whether directed, were cloſed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cauſe it is, that it is noted, the writing to be ſigned rather with the ſeale of the Counteſſe, then of the Earle himſelf. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Ceſtriæ, & Ermentrudis Comitiſſa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ermentrudis* the Counteſſe, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly, &c.*

This ſame thing doe alſo the ancient formes of the Parliament writs teſtifie. For it is manifeſt, Kings haue beene wont to ſummon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Ioanni Marchioni de Monteacuto Cheualier* (vnto *Iohn Marqueſſe* of *Montacute* Knight: And *Henricus vi. Henrico Viceconiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the vi. vnto *Henry Vicount Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward* 4. &c. Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of vſe in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in ſummoning of the olde, it is ſtill right ſeriouſly obſerued: as *Gulielmo Brooke de Cobham Cheualier* (vnto *William Brooke* of *Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecill de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecill* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, & of *Burghley*: ſo that a man would almoſt ſay, the order of knights to bee the Seminary of the Baronage of England.

I let paſſe in the meane time, with how great ſolemnity of the kingdome, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and beſtow this Military honour and dignity vppon their

their eldeſt Sonnes, (*viz.*) the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luſter and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarks among themſelues, in beſtowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue diſmiſſed one anothers Subiects & Ambaſſadours, graced with this Dignitie. I liſt onely heereunto to ioyne an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certayne nameleſſe writer; *Anno* (ſaith he) 1316. *Dominus Richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynſham die tranſlationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris in præſentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Mauritius de Barkley ſuper pedem dextrum poſuit vnum calcar: & Dominus Bartholomeus de Badeliſmer (Baro vterque) ſuppoſuit aliud ſuper pedem ſiniſtrum in Aula, & hoc facto, receſcit cum honore.* In the yeare 1316. Lord *Richard* of *Rodney*, was made Knight at *Keynſham*, vpon the day of the tranſlation of Saint *Thomas* the Martyr, in the preſence of *Amaricus* Earle of *Penbrooke*, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord *Maurice* of *Barkley* put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord *Bartholomew* of *Badeliſmer* (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the maner of the time, we liue after another faſhion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminence thereof aboue other dignities and honours, I can ſcarſe reſolue my ſelfe, but that this name of olde ſhould ſeeme to make ſhew vnto me of ſome (I wot not what) magnificent and maieſticall things contayned in the ſame, and more excellent then Nobility it ſelfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Throanes, ſitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement ſeate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the deſciding of ſutes concerning honours, and for the preſeruation vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

rall tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*, that is to ſay, the Martiall or Militarie Court, and commonly, the Court of Chiualrie: the forme whereof with vs is this. The appoynted place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Conſtable of the Kingdome, and the Marſhall of *England* ſit as Iudges, where any Plaintife, either in caſe of dignities or of Armes, or of any other ſute or controuerſie concerning Nobility and Honour, may ſue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Conſtable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Court or Iudgement ſeate, was on this ſort:

Curia Militaris. The court of Cheualrie

Iehan filz du Roy Conſtable d'Angleterre, &c.

IOhn the Kings Sonne, Conſtable of *England*, and Warden of the Eaſt-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued Cozin, Sir *Raſe Neuile*, Earle of *Weſtmerland*, and Marſhall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you, that you cauſe to come and appeare before vs at *Weſtminſter*, the ninth day of May next comming, before *Mounſieur Edward Haſtings*, to anſwere to *Mounſieur Reynold* Lord of *Grey*, and of *Rutheyn*, concerning that which he ſhall then charge him with in our court of Cheualry, concerning the full vſing and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord *Grey* ſaith, and as it ſhall be more fully declared at the ſame day; and further to doe and receiue that which the Lawe and the cuſtome of our ſaid Court ſhall in this part require. Returning before vs at the aforeſaid day with this our Precept, al that you ſhall therein haue done. Giuen at *Weſtminſter* vnder the Seale of our Office, the firſt day of May, in the reigne of my moſt dread Lord and Father King *Henry* the fourth, after the Conqueſt, the eight.

Iehan filz, frere, e Vncle an Roys, Duc de Bedford, &c.

IOhn, Sonne, Brother, and Vncle to Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Anion*, Earl of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Conſtable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued Cozin, *Iohn* duke of *Northfolke*, Marſhall of *England*, greeting. We command and

charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs or our Lieutenant at *Westminster*, vpon the 15. of S. *Hilarie* next comming, *William Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answeare before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chiualrie, to *Robert Eland* of the County of *Lincolne* esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Arms, as hauing set and put to the Seale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vs at the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Giuen vnder the Seale of our Office, the 23. day of Nouember, in the sixeteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witnesses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitiue Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Seale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprouidedly done, or vnaduisedly in the sute ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawful for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpright life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adiudged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold* Baron *Gray* of *Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintife, against *Robert Grosuenour* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent iudgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Auncestours, that so many yeares filled vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Registers of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselues acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearely pensions from the Kings. and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, immunities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokesmen for themselues) I might seeme to haue spoken vnaduisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Feriales*, or as Messengers of the publique faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors stil resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euerie where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fauour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader. Heraldes

The

The Collegiate ſociety of Heraldes, conſiſteth of xiij perſons, (viz:) of

- Three Kinges, which of their offices are called
  - Garter, who goeth firſt, as cheefe Ringleader of thē all: not ſo much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was firſt created by King *Henry* the fift) as for the ſuper-eminence of the Order of the Garter.
  - *Clarentius.* — Both of thē ordained by K. Edward the 3. and are called Prouinciall kings of Armes.
  - *Norroy.* — Both of thē ordained by K. Edward the 3. and are called Prouinciall kings of Armes.
- Sixe Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called,
  - *Somerſet.*
  - *Cheſter.*
  - *Windeſor.*
  - *Richemond.*
  - *Lancaſter.*
  - *Yorke.*
- Foure Purſuiuantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners and followers, vnto whom other Names are giuen alſo, (viz)
  - *Rougedragon.*
  - *Portcullis.*
  - *Blew-mantell*
  - *Rouge croix.*

ALl thoſe by the names of *Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Purſuiuants*, are by the Kings themſelues immediatelie, or by the Conſtable of the kingdome, or the Marſhall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearely ſtipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to conſult and meete together, about Armes and Authenticall Monuments, and helping and profiting vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike houſe in London, the cheefe Citty of the Kingdome: where (beſides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminences of their degrees and functions, one from another diſtinguiſhed.

Are set to preserue the dignity and reputation of their society, and gouerne the rest, as for example.

Garter King of Armes, for the supereminent Dignity of the Garter, is of thē the cheefe; whose peculiar Office it is, with all dutifull seruice to attend vppon the Knights of that order. To aduertise them which are chosen of their new election, to call them to bee enstalled at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be hanged vp vpon their seates. At their burials, to haue a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Wherfore, (beside the yearely wages giuen him by the Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a Salary double to the rest. In euery new Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Marquesse, Earle, Vicount, Baron, or Knight, to be into this order enstauled, hee challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto euery **new Baron**, called vnto the Parliament, the place **wherein he** is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth other things concerning their order.

For some of them.

Clarentius, who is King of Armes of al the East, West, & South Prouinces of *England*, on this side of the Riuer of *Trent*.

Norroy, who is also acknowledged for king of Arms throgh the north part of the kingdom, beyond the Riuer of *Trent*.

These two haue by charter power to visit the Noblemens Families, to set downe their Pedegrees, to distinguish their armes, & in the open Market-place, to reproue such as falsely take vpon thē Nobility or Gentry. And to order euery Mans Exequies & Funerals, according to their Dignity, & to appoint vnto them their Armes or Ensignes, &c. And in all things gouern the *Heralds* as well as *Garter*.

Other some are pointed to obey (viz.)

Heralds and Pursuiuants

Who in all things endeuor themselues for the defence of their society, or to their own lawfull profite in priuate, and willingly depend of the commandements of the kings

And these onely are the Kings Heralds, **with vs so** called, for that they receiue wages of the kings, and with publike seruice, serue all the Nobility of the kingdome.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of this Land, in ancient time had their Heralds peculiar vnto themselues. For *Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pursuiuant, liued at the commaund of the Prince of Wales, and serued him. *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of *Penbroke*, had the Herald *Penbroke* his houshold Seruant.

Richard also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing now obtayned the kingdome, wold needs haue his Herald *Glocester*, to bee called King of Armes for all Wales. *Charles Brandon*

Brandon Duke of *Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marleon* the Purſuiuant, his Seruants. The Marqueſſe of *Dorceſter*, kept *Groby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Eſperance* the Purſuiuant. *Arthur Plantaginet Vicount L'iſle*, took vnto himſelfe *L'iſle* the Purſuiuant: and Baron *Haſtaings*, *Haſting* the Purſuiuant. Theſe it pleaſed me to haue out of many others rehearſed, who ſerued Noblemen in their peculiar and domeſticall ſeruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Maſter, ſo theſe forenamed Heralds liued not with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breefely touch all things, for the beautifying and ſetting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the Heralds leaue) let it bee lawfull for mee to ioyne heereunto and inſert ſome few things cõcerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar ſort, and to be among themſelues by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more ſparingly beſtowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon ſuch, as had with their good ſeruice deſerued them.

But ſuch kinde of Armes ſeeme not to haue taken beginning, but of ſuch military rewards, as were wont to be giuen vnto well deſeruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romanes*, alwayes moſt ſtriued for the obtayning of honor and glory, for the nouriſhing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to ſtirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flouriſhed Military guifts, *Tropheis*, *Triumphall Arches*, *Letters Laureat*, *&c.* In time of peace, at home were ſhewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and ſuch like. Things indeed wiſely at firſt deuiſed, and afterward ſo together with the Empire encreaſed, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Creſts, euery mã had deſerued; what manner of trappings, Speares, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: theſe they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beare in their Targets and Bucklers, or ſet vpon their Helmets; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruitor did hang them vp in their houſes; and thoſe Ornaments they by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of ſucceſſion, to deliuer ouer vnto their poſterity: and heereof thoſe armes of Families, heere and there diſpiercedly by the Nobility, vſed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it pleaſe you ſo to thinke) of the *Germanes* called Weapen, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Arma*, for that with them the enemies were repulſed.

Theſe things the ancient *Roman Coynes* declare, and the credible ancient *Romaine* Writers; the vſe whereof ſo at length preuailed in kingdomes, that as names diſtinguiſhed men from men, euen ſo Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: firſt granted by Kings themſelues, but afterward by the Heralds (Kings of Armes) by a Royall tranſmiſſiue power granted vnto them, they euery where eſpecially ſeruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue theſe things. And therefore the name and office of the Heralds was euery where notable, and well beſeeming an honeſt man; whom they of ancient time were wont to call the *Feſterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I, carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen againſt my will landed vpon our Heralds, whom (I know not by what deſtiny) euery man ſigheth and mourneth to ſee them working their owne deſtruction. Although indeed it be not ſo much to be maruailed at, ſeeing that the cauſe is right manifeſt (for lawfull bee it for mee to ſay the truth, which the thing it ſelfe ſpeketh) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chiualry*, wherof I but now ſpake. For why, Nobility it ſelfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impared, the Heralds themſelues therewith languiſh alſo.

And yet for all that, heroycall truth wãteth not her Patrones, euen amongſt the moſt Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were baniſhed, and almoſt a ſtranger in her owne houſe, hath together with the Muſes, her moſt louing, kinde and earneſt Patrones, and who were not euen vnto my ſelfe alſo wanting in the perfecting of theſe my endeuors & purpoſes.

These are the Orders and Degrees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Vnnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselues diuided, and what honour they owe one of them vnto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receiue heere in briefe.

1 THE Kings Maiesty.
2 The Prince of *Wales*.
3 Dukes descended of the Royall blood.
4 Dukes not descended of Royall blood.
5 Dukes eldest Sonnes descended of the Royall blood.
6 Marquesses.
7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
8 Earles.
9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
11 Dukes second Sonnes.
12 Vicounts.
13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
15 Barons.
16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
17 Earles second Sonnes.
18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
19 Knights Bannarets.
20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
21 Barons second Sonnes.
22 Knights Batchellors.
23 Esquires for the body.
24 Knights Bannarets eldest Sonnes.
25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
26 Esquires.
27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councell, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneathe Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to bee regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Familes, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the cheefer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to bee heere set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of yonger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftētimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it vseth to happen in *Named Nobility* (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

Now at last let vs passe vnto Knights of the Order of the Garter.

WE said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyn the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and somtime them of the lesser Nobility also, being mē for their vertue and valour, both in peace and warre aboue others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost euen vnto Kings themselues & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with fiue and twenty most famous Knights, is seene that (I may so say) with vndefiled Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefely as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordayned.*

EDward the third, the most inuincible King of *England* and of *France*, a Prince principally endowed with al maner of piety, magnanimitie, and wisedome, in the xxiij. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes ouer the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almightie God, whereunto he (as beseemed a deuout King referred al things) in his Castle at *Windsor*, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the *Blew Garter* (but commonly called the *Garter*) and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and fiue and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martial prowesse and birth, most famous, and most chosen Chieftaines solemnely sworne, and binding themselues together with a bond of mutuall and perpetuall friendship, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowship, refuse not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it selfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, set with precious stones, which we call a Garter: the speciall Cognisance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writtē: *Hony.Soit.Qui.Mal.Y-Pense.* All these Knights once yearely attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of *Aprill*, a day dedicated to Saint *George*. The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the most great preheminence of their Order, are with most great solemnity chosen and enstauled at *Windsor*, and the Statutes vnder which these Fellowes and Companions liue, seeing they can in iust Volumes be scarse contained, cannot heere in few words be expressed. Wherefore I list onely to rehearse the names of them, which from the beginning, or together with king *Edward* himselfe, were the Founders thereof, or else haue by our Kings from time to time, for some their vertue aboue others, bene still chosen to be Fellowes of that most honorable Order, in stead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

Edward *the third King of* England *and of* France, *&c. Supreame or Gouernour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the fiue and twenty first Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.*

HEnry Duke of Lancaster.
Peter Captaine Bouche.
William Monte-acute, Earle of Salisburie.
John, Lord of the Iland, otherwise called *Lisle*.
John Beauchampe, knight.
Hugh Courtney, knight.
John Grey of Codnor, knight.
Miles Stapleton, knight.
Hugh Wrothesley, knight.
John Chandos, knight Bannaret.
Otho Holland, knight.
Sanchio Dampredicourt, knight.
Edward Prince of Wales, King *Edward* his eldest Sonne.
Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwicke.
Raffe Stafford, Earle of Stafford.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of March.
Bartholmew of Burgherst, knight.
John, Lord Mohun, Baron.
Thomas Holland, knight.
Richard Fitz-Simon, knight.
Thomas Wale, knight.
Neele Lorenge, knight.
Iames Audeley, knight.
Henry Esme, knight.
Walter Pauley, knight.

¶ *The Founders of this Order being dead, these following were in the time of Edward the third chosen, and being elected into the places of the dead, supplied their roomes.*

RIchard, surnamed *Burdeaux*, eldest sonne of the Prince of Wales, who was also King of England, after *Edward* the

the third his grand-father, and was ſecond of that name.

Lionell, ſurnamed of *Antwerp*, the ſon of King *Edward*, Duke of Clarence, and Earle of Vlſter.

John, ſurnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth ſon of King *Edward*, firſt duke of Richmond, and after of Lancaſter.

Edmund of *Langley*, fift Sonne of king *Edward*, firſt Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *Yorke*.

John of *Montford*, ſurnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

Humfrey of *Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*.

William of *Bohun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

John Haſtings, Earle of *Penbroke*.

Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Richard Fitz-Allan, Earle of *Arundell*.

Robert Vfford, Earle of *Suffolke*.

Hugh Stafford Earle of *Stafford*.

Ingelram of *Coucy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

Guiſcard of *Engoleſme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

Edward Baron *Spencer*.

William Baron *Latimer*.

Reynold Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

John Baron *Neuill* of *Raby*.

Raffe Baron *Baſſet* of *Drayton*.

Gualter Manny, Knight Bannaret.

Thomas Vfford, Knight.

Thomas Felton, Knight.

Francis Van Halle, Knight.

Alan Baxhull, Knight.

Richard Pembruge, Knight.

Thomas Vtreight, Knight.

Thomas Banneſter, Knight.

Richard la Vache, Knight.

Guy of *Brianne*, Knight.

Richard, the ſecond of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. *Soueraigne of the Order of the Garter, & they which by him were choſen into that Order.*

THomas of *Woodſtocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſixt ſonne to King *Edward* the third.

Henry of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hereford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaſter*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

William, Duke of *Gelderland*.

William, ſurnamed of *Henault*, was firſt Earle of *Oſtreuant*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

Thomas Holland, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

Iohn Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Exceter*.

Thomas Mowbray, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marſhall of England.

Edward, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *Yorke*.

Michaell de la Poole, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of England.

William Scroope, Earle of *Wilſhire*, & Treaſurer of England.

William of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Bergauenny*.

Iohn Beamont, Baron.

William Willoughby, Baron.

Richard Grey, Baron.

Nicholas Sarnesfeld, Knight.

Philip de la Vache, Knight.

Robert Knolles, Knight.

Guy of *Brianne*, Knight.

Simon Burley, Knight.

Iohn D'Euerux, Knight.

Brian Stapleton, Knight.

Richard Burley, Knight.

Peter Courtney, Knight.

Iohn Burley, Knight.

Iohn Bourchier, Knight.

Thomas Grandſon, Knight.

Lewes Clifford, Knight.

Robert Dunſtanill, Knight.

Robert of *Namur*, Knight.

Henry the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the Garter: and they which in his Reigne were choſen into the places vacant.

HENRY Prince of *Wales*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himſelfe King, fift of that name.

Thomas of *Lancaſter*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his ſecond Sonne.

Iohn Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

Humfrey Duke of *Gloceſter*, fourth Sonne of

of king *Henry*,
Thomas Beauford, Duke of *Exceter*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*.
Robert, County *Palatine*, Duke of *Bauaria*.
John Beaufort, Earle of *Somerset*, Brother to *Thomas* Duke of *Exceter*.
Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Edmund Stafford, Earle of *Stafford*.
Edmund Holland, Earle of *Kent*.
Rafe Neuil, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Gilbert Lord *Talbot*, Baron.
Gilbert Lord *Roos*, Baron.
Thomas Lord *Morley*, Baron.
Edward Lord *Powis*, Baron.
John Lord *Louel*, Baron.
Hugh Lord *Burnel*, Baron.
John Cornwell Knight, afterward Baron *Fanhope*.
William of *Arundel*, Knight.
John Stanley Knight, Steward of the Kings house.
Robert Vmfreuill, Knight.
Thomas Rampston Knight, Constable of the Tower of London.
Thomas Erpingham, Knight.
John Sulbie, Knight.
Sanctius of *Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the fift of that name, king *of England, and of France, &c. Chiefe of the order of the Garter, and the Knights whom he graced with the Garter, in stead of them that were dead.*

Sigismund King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Marquesse of *Madenburge*, and Emperor elect.
John King of *Portugall*.
Christian King of *Denmark*.
Philip Duke of *Burgundy*.
John Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and afterward Duke of *Exceter*.
William de la Poole, first Earle, afterward Marquesse, and at length Duke of *Suffolke*.
John Mowbray, Earle Marshall, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas Montacute, Earle of *Salisbury*.
Richard Vere Earle of *Oxford*.
Richard Beauchampe, Earle of *Warwicke*.
Thomas, Baron *Camoys*.
Iohn, Baron *Clifford*.
Robert, Baron *Willoughby*.
William Philip, Baron *Bardolfe*.
Henry, Baron *Fitz-hugh*.
Lewes, Robsart Baron *Bourchier*.
Hugh Stafford, Baron *Bourchier*.
Walter, Baron *Hungerford*.
Simon Felbridge, Knight.
John Grey of *Eyton*, Knight.
John Dabrigecourt, Knight.
Iohn Robsart, Knight.
Frank van Clux, a *German* knight
William Harington, Knight.
Iohn Blount, Knight.

Henrie the sixt of that name, K: *of England and France, &c. chiefe of the Order of the Garter, and the Knights of the Garter by him made.*

Albert, Duke of *Austria*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and afterward Emperor.
Fredericke, Duke of *Austria*, Emperour, & *Albertus* his Brother.
Edward, King of *Portingall*.
Alphonsus, King of *Aragon*, *Naples*, & *Sicilie*.
Casimire, King of *Polonia*.
Edward, Prince of Wales, King *Henry* his eldest Sonne.
Peter, Duke of *Conimbria*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.
Henry, Duke of *Visontium*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.
Duke of *Brunswicke*.
Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.
John Beaufort, Earle, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.
Edmund Beaufort, Earle *Moriton*, afterward Marquesse, and at last Duke of *Somerset*.
Iasper Earle of *Penbroke*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.
John Mowbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.
Humfrey, Earle of *Stafford*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.
Gaston de Foix, *Capitaine de la Bouche*, earle of *Longeuile*.
John de Foix, Earle of *Candalia*.
Aluarus D'almada Earle of *Auerence*.
John Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Richard Neuill, Earle of *Salisbury*.
Richard Neuill, Earle of *Warwicke*.
John Baron *Talbot*, afterward Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

Iohn

John Baron *Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, his Sonne.
Iames Butler, Earle of *Wilſhire* and *Ormond*.
William Neuill, Lord *Fauconbridge*, afterward Earle of *Kent*.
Richard Wooduill, Earle *Riuers*.
Henry Vicount *Bourchier*, and afterward Earle of *Eſſex*.
John Beamont, Vicount *Beamont*.
John Sutton, Baron *Dudley*.
Thomas, Baron *Scales*.
John, Baron *Grey* of *Ruthin*.
Rafe, Baron *Butler* of *Sudely*.
Lionell, Baron *Welles*.
John, Baron *Bourchier* of *Berners*.
Thomas, Baron *Stanley*.
William, Baron *Bonuill*.
John, Baron *Wenlocke*.
John, Baron *Beauchamp* of *Pawik*.
Thomas, Baron *Hoo*.
John Ratcliff, Kinght.
John Faſtolf, Knight.
Thomas Kiriell, Knight.
Edward Hall, Knight.

Edward, fourth of that name, K. of *England* and *France*, *&c.* Supreame Gouernor of the Order of the Garter, choſe theſe Knights, into the vacant places of them that were dead.

FErdinand, King of *Sicily* and of *Naples*, King *Alfonſus* his baſe ſonne.
John, King of *Portingall*.
Edward, Prince of *Wales*.
Charles, Duke of *Burgundy*.
Francis Sforſia, Duke of *Millan*.
Fredericke, Duke of *Vrbin*.
Hercules, Duke of *Ferrara*.
Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings ſonne.
Richard, Duke of *Glocester*, who afterward vſurped the Kingdome.
John Mowbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.
John, Baron *Howard*, afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.
John de la Poole, Duke of *Suffolke*.
Henry Stafford, Duke of *Buckingham*.
John Neuill, Marqueſſe *Mont-acute*,
Thomas Grey, Marqueſſe *Dorſet*.
Iames Douglas, Earle *Douglas* in *Scotland*.
William Fitz-Allan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Thomas, Baron *Maltrauers*, the ſonne of *William*, and afterward Earle of *Arundell*.
Anthony Wooduille, Baron *Scales*, afterward Earle *Riuers*.
William, Baron *Herbert*, afterward created Earle of *Penbroke*.
John Stafford, Earle of *Wilſhire*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
John Tiptoſt, Earle of *Worceſter*.
Galliard Duras, Lord *Duras*.
John, Baron *Scroope* of *Bolton*.
Walter Deuerux, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*.
Gualtier Blount, Baron of *Montioy*.
William, Baron *Haſtings*, the Kings Chãberlaine.
John Aſtley, Knight.
William Chamberlaine, Knight.
William Parre, Knight.
Robert Haricourt.
Thomas Mont-gomery, Knight.

Edward, the fift of that name, king King of *England* and *France*, *&c.* Supreame Gouernour of the Order of the Garter, vnder whom was no election of new Knights of that order. For as hee had all the places filled with Knights by his Father, whileſt hee yet liued, euen ſo he left them. Excepting onely the ſeates of the Prince, and of *John* King of Portingall.

Richard, the third of that name, King of *England* and of *France*, *&c.* Cheeſe of the Order of the Garter, & the Fellowes choſen into that Order, during the time of his Reigne.

THomas *Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, and Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas, Baron *Stanley*, afterward Earle of *Derby*.
Francis, Vicount *Louell*.
John Conyers, Knight.
Richard Radcliff, Knight.
Thomas Burgh, Knight.
Richard Tunſtall, Knight.

Henry,

Henry, the seuenth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, chiefe of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

Maximillian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father *Frederick* Emperor then liuing.
John, King of *Portingall*.
John, King of *Denmarke*.
Philip, King of *Castile*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Son to *Maximillian* the Emperor.
Alphonsius, Duke of *Calabria* and *Naples*, King of *Sicilia* and *Ierusalem*.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, the Kings eldest Sonne.
Henry, Duke of *Yorke*, & Prince of *Wales*, his Brother *Arthur* being dead, and he the same, afterward King of England.
Vbald, Earle of *Montferat*, and Duke of *Vrbin*, and of *Pesseran*.
Edward Stafford, Duke of *Buckingham*.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse *Dorset*.
John Vere, Earle of *Oxford*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.
Henry Bourchier, Earle of *Essex*.
Richard Grey, Earle of *Kent*.
Edward Courtney, Earle of *Denshire*.
Henry, Baron *Stafford*, afterward Earle of *Wilshire*.
Edmund de la Poole, Earle of *Suffolke*.
Charles Somerset, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of *Worcester*.
Gerard Fitz-gerald, Earle of *Kildare*.
John Welles, Vicount *Welles*.
George Stanley, Baron *Strange*.
William Stanley, the Kings Chamberlaine.
John, Baron *Dynham*.
Robert Willoughby, Baron *Brooke*, Steward of the Kings house.
Giles D'Aubeny.
Edward Poynings Knight.
Edward Wideuill, Knight.
Gilbert Talbot, Knight.
John Cheney, Knight.
Richard Guilford, Knight.
Thomas Louell, Knight.
Thomas Brandon, Knight.
Reynold Bray, Knight.
Ryce Ap Thomas, a Welchman.
John Sauage, Knight.
Richard Poole, Knight.

Henry, the eight of that name, K. of England, France, and Ireland: Supreame Gouernor of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & ascribed these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

Charles the Emperor, fift of that name, king of *Spaine*.
Ferdinand, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Brother to *Charles* the Emperor.
Francis the French king, first of that name.
Emanuell, King of *Portingall*.
James, the fift of that name, king of *Scots*.
Henry the Kings Sonne, otherwise called *Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*.
Iulian de Medices, brother to *Leo*, the tenth Bishop of *Rome*.
Edward Seymour, Earle of *Hertford*, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.
Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, and at length Duke of *Norfolke*.
Charles Brandon, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of *Suffolke*.
John Sutton, alias *Dudley*, Vicount *L'Isle*, who was afterward Earle of *Warwicke*, & at length Duke of *Northumberland*.
Annas, Duke *Mont-morency*.
Henry Courtney, Earle of *Denshire*, and afterward Marquesse of *Excester*.
William Parre of *Kendall*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*, & at length Marquesse of *Northampton*.
William Paulet, Baron S. *John* of *Basing*, afterward created Earle of *Wilshire*, & at last Marquesse of *Winchester*.
Henry Earle of *Surrey*, Sonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas Bullen, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount *Rochfort*, and at length Earle of *Wilshire* and *Ormond*.
William Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
John Vere, Earle of *Oxford*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
Rafe Neuill, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Francis Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

Philip of *Chabot*, Earle of *New-blanch*, Admirall of *France*.
Thomas Manners, Baron *Roos*, who was afterward Earle of *Rutland*.
Robert Ratcliff, Vicount *Fitz-Walter*, afterward Earle of *Sussex*.
Henry Clifford, Earle of *Cumberland*.
William Fitz-Williams, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of *Southampton*.
Thomas, Baron *Cromwell*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*.
John, Baron *Russell*, afterward Earle of *Bedford*.
Thomas, Baron *Wriothesley*, who was afterward created Earle of *Southampton*.
Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount *Lisle*, King *Edward* the fourth, his base Sonne.
Walter Denerux, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and afterward created Vicount *Hereford*.
Edward Howard, Admirall of England, in *Brittaine Amorica*.
George Neuill, Baron of *Abergeueny*.
Thomas West, Baron *de la Ware*.
Thomas, Baron *Dacres* of *Gillesand*.
Thomas, Baron *Darcy* of the North.
Edward Sutton, Baron *Dudley*.
William Blount, Baron *Montioy*.
Edward Stanley, Baron *Monteagle*.
William, Baron *Sands*.
Henry, Baron *Marney*.
Thomas, Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, and Chancellor of England.
John Gage, Knight, Controller of the kings house.
Henry Guilford, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.
Nicholas Carew, Knight, Master of the Horsse.
Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horsse.
Thomas Cheney, Knight, Warden of the Cinque-Ports.
Richard Wingfield, Knight, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*.
Anthony Wingfield, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Captaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.
Anthony Saint-Leger, Knight, Deputy of *Ireland*.
John Wallop, Knight, Captaine of *Guynes* in *France*.

Edward the sixt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supreame Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Henry the second, king of *France*.
Henry Grey, Marquesse *Dorset*, after Duke of *Suffolke*.
Henry Neuill, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Edward Stanley, Earle of *Darby*.
Francis Hastings, Earle of *Huntington*.
William Herbert, Earle of *Pembroke*.
Thomas Seymour, Baron of *Sudely*.
Thomas West, Baron *de la Ware*.
George Brooke, Baron of *Cobham*.
Edward Baron *Clinton*, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of *Lincolne*.
William Paget, Baron of *Beaudsert*.
Thomas Darcy, Baron of *Chiche*.
Andrew Sutton, (alias *Dudley*,) Knight.

Mary, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supreame Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights beeing dead, were preferred into their places.

Philip, King of *Spaine*, husband to the Queene.
Emanuell Philebert, Duke of *Sauoy*.
Henry Radcliff, Sonne of *Henry* Earle of *Sussex*.
Anthony Browne, Vicount *Mount-acute*.
William Howard, Baron of *Effingham*.
William Grey, Baron of Wilton.
Edward Hastings, Master of the Horsse, after Baron *Hastings* of *Loughborow*, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.
Robert Rochester, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

Elizabeth of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supreame Lady of the most noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

Maximillian

Maximillian the Emperor, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*. 1568.
Charles the ninth, King of *France*. 1564
Henry the third, King of *France*. 1584
Fredericke, King of *Denmarke*.
Adolph, Duke of *Holsatia*. } 1560
Iohn Cassimere, Count-Palatine of *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bauaria*. 1579
Francis Montismorency, Duke. 1572
Thomas Howard, Duke of *Norfolke*.
Fredericke, Duke of *Wittenberge*. } 1559.
William Parre, Marques of *Northampton*
Thomas Percie, Earle of *Northumberland*. 1563
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*. 1561
Henry Stanley, Earle of *Darby*. 1574
William Summerset, Earle of *Worcester*. 1570
Henry Manners, Earle of *Rutland*. 1559
Henry Hastings, Earle of *Huntington*. 1570
Ambrose Sutton (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Warwicke*. 1563
Francis Russell, Earle of *Bedford*. 1564
Henry Herbert, Earle of *Penbroke*. 1574
Robert Sutton (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Leicester*. 1559
Walter Deuereux, Earle of *Essex*. 1572
Edward Manners, Earle of *Rutland*. 1584
Henry Radcliffe, Earle of *Sussex*. 1586
Robert Deuereux, Earle of *Essex*. 1588.
Gilbert Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.
George Clifford, Earle of *Cumberland*. } 1592
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
Edward Summerset, Earle of *Worcester*. } 1593.
Robert Radcliff, Earle of *Sussex*. 1599
William Stanley, Earle of *Darby*. 1601
Arthur Grey, Baron of *Milton*. 1572
Charles Howard, Baron of *Effingham*, and Admirall of England, 1575. after Earle of *Nottingham*.
Edmund Burges, Baron *Chandoys*. 1572
Henry Cary, Baron of *Hunsdon*. 1561
William Cecill, Baron of *Burghley*.
William Brooke, Baron of *Cobham*. } 1584
Henry Scroope, Baron of *Bolton*.
Thomas Sackuill, Baron of *Buckhurst*, after Earle of *Dorset*, and Lord High-Treasurer of England. 1597
Thomas, Baron *de Burgh*. 1593.
Edmund, Baron *Sheffeild*. 1593
Thomas Howard, Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, 1597 after Earle of *Suffolke*, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maiesty, also Lord high-Treasurer of England.
George Cary, Baron *de Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine to Queene *Elizabeth*. 1497
Charles Blount, Baron *Montioy*, 1597. after Earle of *Deuonshire*.
Henry Brooke, Baron *Cobham*. 1597
Thomas Cecill, Baron of *Burghly*. 1601
Henry Sidney, Knight, President of the Marches of *Wales*.
Christopher Hatton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England. } 1588.
Francis Knolles, Knight, Treasurer of the Queens house. 1593.
Henry Lea, Knight, Keeper of the Armory. 1597

Iames the first, of Great Brittaine, *France, and Ireland, Supreame Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the saide Order.*

Christiern, fourth of that name, King of *Denmarke*.
Henry, eldest Son to King *Iames*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chester*. } 1603.
Charles Duke of *Yorke*, second Son to the Kings Maiesty, after Prince of Great Britaine. 1611.
Fredericke, Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. } 1613
Graue Morris, after Prince of *Orenge*.
Lewes, Duke of *Lennox*, Earle of *Richmond*.
Henry Wriothesly, Earle of *Southampton*.
Iohn Ereskin, Earle of *Mar*.
William Herbert, Earle of *Penbroke*, after Lord Chamberlaine vnto the Kings Maiesty. } 1603.
Fredericke, Duke of *Wittenberge*, installed but elected in the yeare, 1597. 1604.
Vlricke, Duke of *Alsatia*.
Henry Howard, Earle of *Northampton*. } 1605.
Robert Cecill, Earle of *Salisbury*, after Lord high-Treasurer of England. } 1606.
Thomas Howard, Viscount *Bindon*.
George Hume, Earle of *Dunbarre*.
Philip Herbert, Earle of *Montgomery*. } 1608.
Philip Howard, Earle of *Arundell*.
Robert Carre, Viscount *Rochester*, after Earle of *Somerset*. } 1611.
Thomas Ereskin, Viscount *Fenton*.
William Baron *Knolles de grayes*, Treasuror of the Kings house, after Viscount *Wallingford*. } 1615
Francis, Earle of *Rutland*.
George Villers, after Viscount *Villers*, Earl and Marquesse of *Buckingham*.
Robert Sidney, Viscount *Lyle*, after Earle of *Leicester*. } 1616

Commilitonum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.

Ornamentum tibiale [vulgo Garterus] gemmis & literis maiusculis aureis HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE *ornatum; quamvis Ordinis sit Symbolum peculiare, vestibus coopertum, ob oculos demonstrari nequivit.*

THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.

THus haue I at last concluded this Treatise of *Nobilitie Politicke*, *Datiue*, and *Natiue*, as breefely as I could, and the greatnesse & dignity of the subiect would permit. First, generally; as applyed to the Customes of Countries, whereto the same is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vse among our selues. Wherein, if seeking to adorne the magnificence of so stately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of style, as it selfe doth deserue, I seeme to haue failed, I must plead for my selfe, as a plaine meaning man, that sometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vndertooke to carue an Image, representing the Deity and greatnesse of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuse the weakenesse of his wit, and expiate withall, the horror of his worke, but pious simplicity. Euen such is my case; For I willingly confesse, that being doubtfull of my selfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howsoeuer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skill, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occasion, to stir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hewd-worke, and Whetston-like at least, to set and sharpen others.

If now by the sight and view heereof, (such as it is) any like to take the paines from the sheathe, to the blade; from the shape, to the substance; & from the shaddow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now succeeding, aswell of all the Persons, as their atchieuements of honour, marriages, alliances, and descents, that euer this Monarchy hath inuested & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Politicall Nobility*, from the Earles vpward. (*Vice-Comtes* and *Barons* make a Volume of themselues) digested into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not so perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer so? (Without pride be it spoken) of extraordinary study, care, and industry. Wherein, if onely for the publike, I haue thus employed my life, and done my best endeauour, *To ascribes ouc hegegxthesetai*. Let no mã take occasion to taxe me of double diligence, much lesse of affectation, selfe-loue, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue spent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittaine. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuising with my selfe, I aymed withall, in secret to redeeme so faire a subiect (subsisting euery where on speciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandring *Ideas* of discoursing Philosophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Customes, that others else-where desirous of the like, I might seeme rather to giue, then to stay their good example.

It remaines then now, to make good my first diuision into Celestiall, Morall, and Politicall Nobility, that I lay downe

the dignity of each by themselues, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Essences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittaine (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Patterne, and best ordered of all others.

Hæret profectiò semen introrsum veri, & quod exitatur venisse ante Doctrinam. Nam, surrogati si mentem recta censemus. Ni mersus alo vitæ et somes corde? Boet. lib. 1. 3.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordayned, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, we see and feele daily, some steppes as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

Est Deus in Nobis agitante calescimus Illo.

Piety. That (diuine intelligence) by heauenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holinesse of soule, and religious obseruation.

Probity. This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne *Eudochyst*, Datiuely; so

Grace. *Ex Ingenuis fiunt Eugeneia Eugenes*, from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leades them on in the

Eugeneia. Eugenes. selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as

Ingenuitie. godlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infusion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected aboue their fellowes, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yeelding matter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraine grace & fauour, Datiuely: Euen so, where grace becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that,

Generosity. as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from

Christianity. Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, for inbred ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from ciuility infusiuely;

Ciuility. so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectiuely al worthily ennobled in their seuerall kindes and places: whereby the meanest Subiect being thus made happy, becomes aswell *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French sound *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying; *Foy* de Gentilhomme. And, Me voicy Gentilhomme aussy bien que le Roy.* Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, wher *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meanest Gentleman, aswell as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. beeing titles of preheminence, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celerity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For,

"*Est aliquid clarus Magnorũ splendor Auorũ*
"*Illud posteritas æmula calcar habet.*

Glory. Honour. And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to bee aduanced by the eye of Soueraigne Maiesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble;

Noble Armes. Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Whereby (this) stands distinguished frõ the other (two.)

Glorious. For the first, from religious impuration, being hid frõ the world, makes Christians only gloriousby faith, with God in heauẽ.

Honorable. The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

Ennobled. And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes subiects rise ennobled respectiuely abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vppon earth, or ennobled at the least, receiue it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose infusiue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, beeing religiously taught

* The reason perhaps why in England our Noblemen, from the Baron vpward, in points of honour, are put to no other oathes, then by laying their hands on their breast, protest vpon their honors

Nobility, or Gentility.

(taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heauenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortall, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore; being meere positiue with Kings, within their kingdomes, and Orphant-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such seuerall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Who at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renowne, from the foot-stoole, aduanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbes and floods, with time againe decline.

Fame.

These kindes of Nobility thus seuerally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at oddes within themselues, that their Natures and their Essences admit no reconcilement, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

Nobility Theologicall

For the first, being celestiall, and meerly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to bee presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who striues to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique-Religion; without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, auailes vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, aymes at this happinesse, but obtaines it neuer.

...ity Phi-...rall.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes so cleare and enlightened from aboue, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselues thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still ayming at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-wealth. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers so magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Nobility Politicall.

Now, these also at length being noted by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God-Almighty rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Datiuely, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Natiue of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs thereunto; wee admire more Nobility Datiue, being truely deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Natiue, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes withall illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. *Nam Genus & Proauos, & Quæ non fecimus Ipsi: vix ea nostra voco.* For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, be more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euery way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Grecians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugeneia* and *genaion* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

Honorable. Generous.

Eugeneia. Genaion.

This then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded: whereof, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegoricall *Ideas*, and immaginary shaddowes, the substance whereof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-wealth, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councellors placed next vnto themselues, whereof this rude Treatise containes the truest patterne that the world affoords; namely, The *Nobility* of this *Monarchy* of *Great-Brittaine*. And therein as *Initar Omnium* and *Modell* of the rest, the most *Honourably-Noble* Order of knights of the *Garter*: there

The Epitomy or Modell of al three kinds of Nobility, in one Order of the knights of the Garter.

there being nothing found recorded, for Religion, in shew more beseeming a christian; for Vertue more Heroicall; nor for Policy, more assured, then this Religiously most Honourable and most Noble Society. For whereas all other of like institution, by growing ouer-vulgar, are become the lesse esteemed; or prouing else but idle, are at all hands neglected: onely This is still so well supplyed with the Flower of true Nobility, that euer fresh and springing, by yearely shewes and lusters, it dismisseth the beholders with greater admiration, then the best words of my Pen are able to vtter.

For heere, all behold Maiesty her selfe, betweene Greatnesse and Decorum, descend from her Throne, to walke & talke kindely with her owne Nobility: and Nobility it selfe betweene Honour and Reuerence, ascending on the Seate of her own Soueraigne Maiesty.

Heere the Religion of our Church, the Wisedome of our State, and the Nobility of our Court, admiring Kingly Maiesty, meete all in one together.

And heere our King with his Prince, our Prince with his Peeres, and our Peeres with their Worthies, meete and march together in one Bond of Loue, in one Order of Chiualry, for mutuall defence both of Church and Common-wealth, amazing the beholders with the stately sight and view of one personall Maiesty, in one fellowship of Honour, and one body of vnstained and true Nobility.

Heere therefore to conclude, as the fittest place to end this weake and slender Treatise. If that which hath beene saide, deserues to be regarded (as Truth sayes it should) why do the Soueraignes and Monarchs of the world, then wrong themselues in their Greatnesse and Authority, giuing way to proud violence, and prophane intrusion, wherby Popes haue put downe Emperors, & Cardinals presume to compare themselues with Kings? For whereas they alone by speciall Commission and Preheminence of place, and Vncommunicable power, and Prerogatiue of Grace, are made the Moderators of the vertuous endeuours, and onely Creators of all Titles of Honour, belonging to their Subiects, they suffer Nobility to be tied, as it were against her owne Nature, to Fees, Houses, Castles, Cities, and Lands, senceleſse and transitory, that neyther infuse Religion, nor administer Iustice, nor encrease eyther in their prophane Possessors, nor make vulgar Tenants more honest, or more noble. For *Ornanda potius est Dignitate Domus quam ex Domo Dignitas vtcunq; querenda, neq; a Domo Dominus sed a Domino Domus est vbiuis honestanda.*

And thus hauing ended in the best sort I could, if I were to yeeld a reason of all that I haue done, in a word, it should bee thus: The glory of God, and my Countries honour, to whom all stand indebted in all that we are, or can bee of our selues. Allegiance & Seruice to my Soueraigne, and his Nobility, and affection by Alliance, to the memory of mine Vncle and deceassed Friend, were the Motiues only moued mee to take this worke in hand.

Hauing therefore now both offered vp, and thus paide all my vowes: mine *Enthousiasme* compels mee to salute his blessed *Genius*, that by louing of Nobility, so hartily & so well, thus happily made happy, liues ennobled now in Heauen.

Quod tua prima fides visa est tentasse, nec vltra
In Patriæ complexe decus fera Fata sinebant:
Ecce Opus exegi, nostrorum pignus Amorum,
Quod neq; Liuor edax queat aut abolere vetustas.
Quam vis illa dies quæ tam tibi corporis umbram
Abstulit, incerti speciem mihi differat æui:
Parte tamen meliore tui, super alta perennis
Astra feraz.
Quaque patet domitis Britannis potentia Terris,
Ducta per ora virum, perque omnia sæcula viues,
Si quid habet grati Genetrosa propago virorum.

What thou didst once attempt, our Countries worth to show,
But couldst not bring to passe, the Fates so staide thy hand;
Loe here, I haue performd that (All) our loue may know,
Which enuy shall not eate, nor withering age withstand.

And though the day be past, that hath thy Soule remou'd
From hence; and bodies mortall shape be parted cleane away,
And threats the like to me: yet that I euer lou'd,
(I meane thy better part) I hope, I shall againe enioy.

And now, as far as Brittish power, by Fame it selfe is rais'd,
Or taming Sword, or by the helpe of any learned Pen;
Thy name shall liue, and Thou be future ages prais'd,
If Honour dwell in Noble blood, or Honestly with Men.

All

All Nobility politicall, is deriued, and beſt knowne by the cauſes.

- *Efficient*, as without which it hath no Being, namely, ſoueraigne *Endoeby*, or Grace and Fauor, without which, as it could not ſubſiſt, ſo is it not loſt, but onlie by *Leſe-Maieſtie*, high-Treaſon. Therefore, from the ſoueraigne, as from the fountaine, it is deriued both Datiue & Natiue, and is beſtowed, either
  - For, and during life only
  - Or made
  - Hereditarie, & ſucceſsiue

  Regula Iuris. For, as to infamie & baſeneſſe, the Gates of dignitie are neuer ſet open: ſo Honor once beſtowed by ſoueraigne grace, is not to be detracted to the Parties ſhame.

- *Materiall*, or the Subiect, wherof ſoueraigns create nobilitie, to wit,
  - Vertue, that of herſelf is conſpicuouſly noted, either
    - *Militarily*, or,
    - *Ciuilly*.

    Which albeit they become diminiſhed and ſpent, yet is not Nobilitie withall loſt or extinct, that of her Nature is Hereditarie.
  - Fortune, or habilitie tr ſuſtaine Nobilitie, Namely,
    - Fees, or Inheritance of Landes and Goods.

- *Formall*, as how men beecome lawfully dignified according to rites and ceremonies, and peculiar cuſtõs of Countries, either
  - Immediately by the Soueraigne,
  - Or,
  - Mediately by Commiſſion

  In *England* nobility is diſtinguiſhed into
  - Greater, caled Nobles Titulary by Letters patents, or writs of ſomn õs to the Parliament, viz.
    - The Prince of Wales.
    - Dukes.
    - Marqueſſes.
    - Earles.
    - Vice-Counts.
    - Barons.
  - Leſſe made by Commiſsion, or without Letters patents.
    - Knights.
      - Banneret.
      - Bath.
      - Batcheller.
    - Eſquires.
    - Gentlemen.

- *Finall*, to what end, to wit, Seruice done, and to be done, to the King, and Commonweale.

NOBILITY *politicall, is a Dignitie beſtowed by Soueraigne Grace, vpon Perſons of Vertue or ability, for life, or for euer, whereby a Man exempted and raiſed by Degrees, becomes lawfully preferred aboue the vulgar People, the better to doe ſeruice to the King and Commonwealth.*

Eſt, aliquid clarus Magnorum ſplendor Auorum,
Illud Poſteritas æmula calcar habet.

The

THE SIXT BOOKE.

OF THE GOVERNEMENT and Administration of Iustice, obserued in the *Common-wealth of Gennes or* Geneway.

CHAP. I.

THe people of *Liguria* are contained betwixt the Riuers of **Varus* & **Macra*, along the Sea-coast, & the downefall of the *Apennines*. Of all which country, the city *Gennes* or *Geneway* (most noble for antiqnity and power) hath (for the larger part of time) held the rule and Soueraignty, becauſe both for buildings, as alſo in nobilitie of actions, and in reſpect of valiant men, it hath euermore beene very notable among all the reſt of former times. This Cittie gracing the South with hearbs, beauteous lookes, is moſt prowdly built vpon the Sea-coaſt, and hath her backe vpon the North, at the foote of a mountaine: euen as if ſhe were deſcended downe the mount, and come to repoſe her ſelfe vppon a Plaine, the mountaine remaining on her backe part to defend the citie from the furious North. It is not altogether plaine nor mountainous, but participateth both of the one and other giring about the compaſſe of ſixe miles, ſo faire and goodly as can be deſired.

* A Riuer which diuides Narbone frō Liguria.
*A riuer running out of Apennin us, & parting Liguria from Hetruria.

The ſituation of the cittie of Geneway.

And becauſe concerning her Antiquitie, we can not deliuer any thing certaine (in regarde ſome doe maintaine, that it was built by *Genoua* or *Iuno*, the daughter of *Saturne*; others, by *Genuinus*, the companion of *Phaeton*; and ſome by *Ianus*, who was ſaid to be *Noah*) it ſhall be ſufficient therefore to ſay, that it was accounted a citty two hundred and ninetie yeares before the comming of *Chriſt* on the earth, as manifeſtly appeareth (ſetting aſide *Titus Liuius* in the Decade of his eight Booke) by a Table of Braſſe, found (no long time ſince) in the Valley of *Pozzeuera*, and placed in the Church of Saint *Laurence*: whereon is engrauen in auncient Letters, That in the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Cecilius*, and of *Quintus Manilius*, Iudges were ſent from the Senate of *Rome*, to diſcide the variance betweene the *Vitturi*, and the people of *Geneway*, concerning the neare neighbouring valley. And becauſe as well the ſententiall execution, as the gaole deliuerie of priſoners, which were in reſpect of that ſtrife maintained, was to ſucceede and follow in *Geneway*: therefore we may heereby comprehend, that the City (vntill that time) conſiſted vpon ſome other conſiderations.

Concerning the antiquitie of Geneway, and by whom it was firſt founded.

A braſſe table found in the vale of Pozzeuena.

Now,

Geneway possessed diuers countries in the East part in former times.

Now, this so noble Cittie, in former times held a great estate, and was possessed of many Countries in the East parts: and now it is very powerfull by Sea in all respects, sometimes seruing the the Duke of *Millaine*, sometimes the king of *France*, euer being traueled with much busines, either in regard of being an illustrous and famous Cittie, or because it is the passage, and (euen as it were) the gate for going from the mountaines into *Italy*. Whereupon some conceiue and are perswaded, that it was called *Ianua*, as a Gate for *Italie*, and not *Ianua* of *Ianus*, who was old father *Noah*. But let it be in maner howsoeuer, the men of this nation are industrious, euermore attentiue to merchandize, whereby they attaine vnto great wealth, and as with other people it fareth, euen so amongest them, there is alwayes great plenty of money, because no one priuate man, but very many more beside, haue made passage of fiue hundred thousand ducats, euen after the best valuation.

The people of this nation addicted to merchandize greatly.

And yet these men so great and wealthie, beeing molested by some parcialities, which diuers times haue endangered *Italie*, are now, and so haue beene for no small time, ready with their weapons in hand, expulsing now one familie, and soone after another, from the State; and now the Nobles gaining superioritie, afterward the popular sort; one side fauoring the *Alorni*, another the *Fregosi*, and at length reduced (by the benefit of prince *Andrea Doria*) to the present libertie which they now enioy. For *Geneway* being in the power of the *French*, and *Doria* departing from seruice to the King of *France*, to whom hee was Admirall, at one and the selfe same time, deliuered both himselfe and Countrey from seruilitie to the King of *Fraunce*, and questionlesse with vnconquerable corage. For he might haue impatronised and possessed himselfe of the whole State, beeing entreated and euen (as it were) constrained by his friends, that he would vouchsafe to take the commaund of them: but he rather affected (setting aside all ambition) to restore them to their former freedome, with so much glory to him in future ages, as so rare an example in him did iustly merit: whereto (perhaps) hee might be the rather incited, by the enuie he bare to *Christopher Columbus*, because, if he opened to modern people the other part of the world, which had for so many yeares beene shut vp from all other: so this other (with wel gouerned thoughts) spurning at all appetite of dominion, might open to his owne Citizens (with their libertie) the State so long lockt vp, by the discord of their owne opinions. Wherefore, deseruedly the *Geneweyes* erected a Statue to his perpetuall glorie, and the memorable renowne of his immortall actions: as for his immense gift by his worthy industrie, was done to *Columbus*, by the Princes of *Spaine*.

Andrea Doria Admirall to the King of France, and deliuerer of Geneway frō French thraldome.

Andrea Doria enuious of the honour of Christopher Columbus, in the restoring of his Countries libertie.

A Statue erected in honor of Andrea Doria.

Geneway thus receiuing *in anno* 1528. her nouell reformation; entred vpon the same forme of gouernement which it now maintaineth. A description was then made, and therein set downe all the Families of account, as well noble as popular, appearing as descended of sixe houses in *Geneway*: and the reckoning grew so, that in *Geneway* there were found 28. Families. All the rest remaining out of this account, and yet were of some consideration, but not deriued from those sixe houses: were aggregated and written downe in the aforesaide number of twentie eight families, by the title of Nobilitie, excluding the remainder of the people and Plebeians. And notwithstanding this entrance thus made, there was an addition to the number of these Nobles, of tenne persons in like sort ennobled, either for their riches or vertue, and these were made choice of euerie yeare, applying their paines still frō hand to hand.

An obseruation made concerning the best Families in Geneway, deriued of six and amounting to eight and twentie.

The noblemen more added to the former number of eight and twentie.

With all this prouidence, they could not yet so well preuaile, but in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred seauenty and foure, a new tumult arose in the Common-wealth, and as in the wonted ciuile dissentions: so a diuision happened that yeare, betweene two factions, termed olde and new. The principall occasion which moued this contention, was, that the olde side, being not contented to haue the greater part of authoritie in the Common-wealth; did mortally hate the new side, abhorring & disdaining (albeit that the new side, both for auncient Nobility, and true vertuous merit, were equall to them in al respects) to ioyne in kindred with them. This was infinitely

A new tumult betweene two factions, olde & new in the Common-wealth.

Matheo Senarega a man of great account among the Geneways, striuing to asswage this perturbation.

infinitely displeasing to *Matthæo Senarega*, a Citizen of most eminent authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellour, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had beene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & priuate Councell; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diuersitie of interests and priuate respects, should haue life in one and the same City: shewing also by liuely reasons, how auaileable it was to euery man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should conuerse and like mutually together.

There are none so violēt as wilfull aged men, when they are grouded on an obstinate opiniō.

But the words and euident reasons of *Senarego*, failing of sufficient efficacie, puffed vp the olde side with greater obstinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking so farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did greatly enuie, that the authoritie of *Senarega* should pearch to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacie of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuertheless, *Senarega* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisedome, mooued especially (as the fame went) by a generous disdaine, wrought in such sort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excluding (well-neare) all the olde, constrayning them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

The new faction preuailed by generall voice against the olde, by the meanes of Senarega.

These words would much haue stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarega*, fore-seeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publique good of all (beeing most iustly to be affected) before any priuate respect whatsoeuer, had not brideled the head-strong course of intended hostilitie. Wherefore hee wrought so painfully with the *Geneweyes* themselues, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, and especially with Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, all fauoring him with their helpfull assistance, as the tumults in the Citty were quieted, and after some few desperate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blasted, wherein both the faithfulnesse of *Senarega*, and his admirable wisedome euidently appeared. Hee being appointed (by vniuersall consent) Ambassadour to *Rome*, with infinite prouidence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discreetely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not onely threatned danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all *Italy* with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the Pope (by his Breues) deliuered most honourable testimonie, writing the actions of *Senarega* to the * *Doye*, as also to the Procurators of the Commonwealth of *Geneway*.

All stirres and tempestuous tumults calmly ouer-blowing by the diligent endeauours of Senarega.

* A Title belonging onely to the Dukes of Venice and Geneway.

The great Councell.

A Councell consisting of 400. persons, and what authoritie they haue.

FRom the whole bodie of the before-recited Families, is congregated a Councel of foure hundred persons yerely, who together with the Duke and the Gouernours, haue the charge of the Common-wealth in their power. This Councell maketh election of the Duke, and of the eight Gouernours, (because the Gouernours are the iust number of eight) and haue care of the State for two yeares continuance. They mannage matters of importance, and concerning generall good, as also for the conseruation of the Seignorie: and these Gouernours (with the Duke) are properly called the *Signoria*. But and if they are at any time to handle some occasions, which are not so important and weightie, but of meaner consideration: The *Signoria* haue a lesser Councell in readie seruice, consisting of an hundred men of the Nobilitie, elected by the *Signoria* by lotterie, and out of the maine bodie of the foresayd foure hundred.

The Signoria or dominion of Geneway.

A lesser councell of a hundred Nobilemen.

The Duke.

The most eminent Office in the Common-wealth, and his authoritie endureth but 2 yeares.

THe head or chiefe of the Common-wealth is the Duke, because he hath the Title and Honour which appertaine vnto him: and it is an auncient degree in the Citty, whereto by varietie of times, diuers persons haue attained, but not by any course of Lawe. He continueth for two yeares, and in all that time of his authoritie,

thority, he dwelleth in the publique Pallace, hauing fiue hundred high *Germaines* as his Guard, repreſenting heerein the forme of an abſolute Soueraignetie. At the beginning of the aſſumption of his magiſtracie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole conſiſtence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Veluet or crimſon Sattin, and ſometime purple. His authoritie is very important, becauſe hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cauſe he wil in Councel and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whoſoeuer would record any Lawe to the Common-wealth, or elſe propound a motion of ſome important matter, he muſt break it to the duke, and paſſe it by his meanes.

Wherein the Dukes authoritie conſiſts aboue all other.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus: The third day of the moneth of Ianuary, the Senate doth aſſemble with the leſſer Councell, without the perſon of the paſſed Duke; becauſe hee hauing ended his Office of two yeares, returneth the firſt day of Ianuary home to his own houſe as a priuate perſon, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time. The leſſer Councell with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballot) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who ſo ſoone as they are choſen, are called into the Pallace, and there ſhut vppe in a place by themſelues, and there, together with thoſe Senatours, who eyther in regard of age, or by contumacie of the Families are not capable of the dukedome: they elect eighteene men amongſt themſelues, one for a Familie; and thoſe eighteene, together with the ſame Senatours, do elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and beeing lockt vp with the aforeſayde Senatours, they proceede by ballotting them that are to bee propounded to the Councell to be Duke. But heere you muſt know, that they may propound no more to the great Councell, but foure perſons onelie, and in the election of that number, it is neceſſarie, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts among themſelues, with the part of the aforeſaide Senatours. This being agreed between them, before they come forth of the Conſiſtorie, they elect another eight and twenty, one for each Family, who returne together with them, from ballotting the aforeſaid foure. And they riſe from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approoued) one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Councell meete together, and they propound the names of the foure men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the foure that hath the moſt ballots, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this diſcourſe, in that honourable degree of Duke, was choſen the moſt curteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptiſta Caluo*, ſometime a Iudge, a moſt worthy man, for goodneſſe of life, and practiſe in the worlds occaſions.

In what manner the Duke is elected on Ian the 3. day

Ballotting is a kind of choiſe by Bullets, or ſmall balles, which eache man puts in on his behalf, whō he would haue in nomination.

Paulo Baptiſta Caluo, elected duke of Geneway.

Of the eight Gouernours.

THere ſit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight Gouernors, as his councellers, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signoria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All theſe together cannot deliberate on any thing, wherein the intereſt of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important buſines; but they call for the ayde of the Great Councell. Theſe Gouernors are elected by two at a time, at ſixe and ſixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

Councellers ſitting on the Bench with the Duke.

The leſſer Councell and the Duke being aſſembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who beeing choſen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound ſometimes twelue, ſometimes foureteene men to the great Councell; who (by ballotting) do make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obſerue the ſame order in electing the ſecond, to wit, the leſſer Councell do elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the reſt as hath beene ſaid. Euery one of the eight Gouernors ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Atturney for two yeares ſpace: ſo that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that ſtand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth; and all theſe come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight Gouernors, deliberate-

The manner how the gouernours are choſen by the Duke and leſſer Councell.

8. Procurators alwayes aſſiſting the Common-wealth.

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Gouernours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

Of the Procorators or Proctors.

The Proctors come to the highest dignitie of al.

COncerning these Proctors, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue beene Gouernours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse; being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

Of the Potestate or Proctor.

The Potestate is an Officer chosen abroad and not of the citty.

AL the forenamed Magistrats, do onlie attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a forraine Potestate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happening; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senate. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him, whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscall or Atturney generall: and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all processe and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Potestate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Ciuile causes, onely executiue.

Two Iudges more as his assistants.

Of the extraordinarie Office.

Seauen men termed Extraordinarie Officers, & what their charge is.

THere is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common-wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and prorouging of variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betweene Parents and Parents, and betweene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betweene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of sixe months, and is of much dignitie.

Of the fiue supreme Sindicators.

Such as trie and arraigne the Officers of highest eminenci: for their offences

THere is also a Magistracie, wherein are fiue men, called supreame Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Gouernors also, after the expiration of their charge: and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrates of the Commonwealth, to punish both the Duke and Gouernours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Gouernours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreame Sindicators, That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Gouernors, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Gouernonrs haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which beeing past, and they found in errour, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Pattent assigned them of their innocencie, whereby they are after called to be Proctours; because they cannot enter as Proctours, except they haue the Pattent from those Supreame men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth elected for one of these Supreame Scindicators, the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councell, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

The Duke and Gouernours haue eight dayes for their triall.

Of the Rota.

Other Doctors, being strangers, appointed to censure in ciuile causes.

BEcause wee haue formerly spoken of criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning ciuile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of fiue doctours,

tors, forraignes or ſtrangers, at euery 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. Theſe men attend vpon Ciuile cauſes onely, and dwell in the Dukes pallace: Al ſuch matters as they cenſure on, are guided by ordinarie courſe of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Proceſſe and ſuite, according to the iudiciarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient maner.

Of the Cenſors.

Care for tradeſmen & ſuch as deale in all profeſſions.

NOw, as concerning Arts, Trades and Myſteries, Cenſors are appoynted to that charge. Theſe men do prouide, that buyers, ſellers, and all ſuch as traffick in handi-crafts, ſhall haue meaſures, weights, and all things elſe to them belonging, iuſt, and according to the auncient Lawes. And here we are to obſerue, that euery Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Conſulles, which make election of Artiſts amongſt them. Theſe Conſulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongſt theſe Conſulls, ſuch as deale in ſilks, may command much ouer their men: ſo that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to baniſh them, and perforce ſend them to the Gallies, or to giue other caſtigations to delinquents.

Conſalls the chiefe men of euery trade.

Of forty Captaines.

The militarie guarde & defence of the Cittie, and their ready preparation at all times and occaſions.

IN the Cittie of *Geneway* there are forty Captaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed euery yeare. Theſe men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, ſo that they make (in all) foure thouſand perſons, and the Common-wealth is ſerued by them at all occaſions. For they make a guarde in time of the leaſt ſuſpition; and when the *Signoria* is abroad, theſe fortie Captaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on ſo great Lords. Moreouer, all men in the Citty, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are regiſtred downe, from the age of twentie, to threeſcore, and are reduced vnder the gouernment of thoſe Captains, who (with them) ſtand alwayes obliged to be readily armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient cuſtome ordained.

Of the Generall.

Auguſtino Spinola Generall of the Geneway forces.

THe Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appoynted for Armes, to ſerue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this inſtant it enioyeth (well deſerning ſuch a degree, and to the ſatisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleaſing to the whole hoaſt of Souldiers, and vniuerſall liking of the people) the Lord *Auguſtino Spinola*, a moſt honourable and valiant Gentleman of that Citty, full of incomparable bountie and knowledge, not onely in the occaſions of Armes, but for all mannagements of the world beſide.

Of the Office of Saint George.

At what time the Office of Saint George begaune.

THe Office and Magiſtracie of Saint *George*, moſt noble among all the reſt in the Cittie, was ordained in the yeare, 1407. It is now (by length of time) the conſeruation of that Common-wealth, which, in thoſe yonger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, ſitting the qualitie of ſuch a Country: yet notwithſtanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehenſiue iudgement, to find out the way, and forme ſome means for procuring of moneys, that might ariſe to common vſe: whereupon, they that liued in thoſe auncienter yeares, and gouerned the publique occaſions, tooke vp moneys of particular perſons, ſome by conſtraint, others with much willingnes. And true it is, that in this money matter, ſuch priuate perſons as diſburſed any ſummes, the publique vſe payed them, tenne, nine, eight and ſeauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not ſuffer any endammaging, by ſuch ſeruice as they did for publique benefit.

Prouiſion for money alwayes in bank for the cities vſe.

Proceeding in this courſe, it made men willing, ready and cautelous, in ſeeking ſecurity for their moneys, dayly put into the publique Banque, by felling to ſome (as for example) the power and iuriſdiction of toll for meates; to others, the impoſts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And theſe contracts made both in publique and particular, was tearmed among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common ſort, or in generall.

Great ſtockes of coine ariſing out of meane and poore beginning.

The beginning of trading and Societies in Geneway, onely by the Banquers that lent out monies to vse.

And it was ordained, that whosoeuer disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vsance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint *Paule*, and others of their profession, by dealing in Salt, and diuers other beside, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Citizens, hauing care for iust payments, and the dues of the profites, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publiquely or priuately. Hereupon, the number of dealers dayly encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Gouernours and Ouer-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the *Signoria*, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vnited into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint *George*.

Eight gouernors or Ouerseers of the Banquer, both for lending and allowances.

Beeing thus ordained, they were also appoynted to bee gouerned by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who prouided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their summes, and receiue in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the eminencie in the Office of Saint *George*. And in regard they perceyued, that this Office gouerned these matters with wisedome and iustice, businesse dayly encreasing, and the number of places supplyed by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interessed with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the *Signoria* of *Geneway*, and afterward of many Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the Citty: So that the Office of Saint *George*, although it depended on the common people, as also the *Signoria* of *Geneway*: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seigneurie of the Cittie, were sworne to conserue the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint *George*, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally) things take original of weake beginnings, and so in processe of time attayne to perfection: euen so did this magisteriall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

The daily increasing of the Office of Saint George.

First, in answering the profites to all Banquers, they are not so determinate nor certayne, as at the originall: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especiall care, and according to the fruitfulnesse of tolles and taxations, beside diuers other benefites, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neately qualified, concerning mens consciences.

The beginning of any affaires must helpe it selfe by the forces of times, and so attaine to true integrity.

Moreouer, this place hath obtayned Seigneury and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euerie way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submission of the people to gouernement.

Two Communities in Geneway, and how they are gouerned.

And whosoeuer doeth consider the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Cittie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is gouerned by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the Citty; the lesser is gouerned by Saint *George* onely, as concerning the occasions before remembred, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

A note well worth the obseruation.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee tearmed Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesser is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Cittizens. And certainely, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discourssed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

Of

Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.

The manner of electing the new Protectors of Saint George.

CONcerning this Office of S. *George*, there are eight men appoynted to gouerne it, who are called Protectours. They continue for a yeare, and are elected euery six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain sums, after this manner. Among the whole number of Citty Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a surney among al those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balotting, who being shut vp in a roome by themselues: they may not sunder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, sixeteene ballots doe confirme the election.

Another Office called of foure and forte, being chosen out of a thousand.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of Saint *George*, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seuen yeres, the Office so encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interests of some creditors arose so great, and other moneys in diuerse manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the gaines should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vtilitie of the Office of Saint *George*, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And so eight Cittizens were chosen; of which two are changed yearely: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such ouer-plusses as do arise yearely, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

An addition of eight Cittizens more to the Office.

This Office hath vnder protection the Isle of *Corsica*, and many other Cities and important places: and thence ensueth the expences layd out for their conseruation.

An Isle in the Sea Ligustum.

CHAP. II.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.

IT is not to bee doubted, but by the singular councell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankinde, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetuall historie concerning the creation of things, was giuen to men.

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recitall to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almightie GOD approoued the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the raysing vp of the dead and others.

Democritus dreaming of a former world, & of innumerable worlds

Now, albeit wee receiue the auncient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of trueth besides; for, the auncient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The auncient historie of the Church.

The Propheticall Historie then is the truest, and the most auncient of all other; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onelie to let vs know the beginning of mankinde: but much more to notifie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certainety of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the testifications so oftentimes rendred to other by that doctrine, what the gouernement of the Church hath beene; for it

The propheticall Historie the truest and most ancient.

was preserued in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vppon raging and tempestuous billowes, what the battailes of the Church haue beene, and the exercises of Faith.

The great blessings of God vpon his Church.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certayne seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academie, for more then sixeteene hundred yeares in a commodious place; betweene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiusted, which are witnesses of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoueries.

Concerning the historie of latter times.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times; yet notwithstanding, our Lord was carefull to haue the latter Historie knowne, which hath beene declared partly by *Iosephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enioy a continuall Historie of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued succesſe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Prophetical histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marie*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall Historie. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to vnderstand when the Doctrine was reuealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thankes to God, for bestowing on men the continued Historie of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: wherein hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

Propheticall historie reached to the time of Cyrus King of Persia

The Church after many stormes happily deliuered

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of soueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

The first Familie being *the Posteritie of* Iesus.

CHAP. III.

A Catalogue of the High-Priests; or soueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Seraia and his sonne Iosedech.

Seraia and Iosedech.

BOth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile.

I suah sonne to Iosedech.

Iosuah or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Iosedech*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabell*, fiue hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirty yeares. Afterward, in regarde that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Assuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historie of *Iudith*, which others (neuertheless) holde to be more ancient.

Darius sonne of Hystaspes, or Assuerus

The

The sonne of Iesus was Ioachim.

Ioachim the sonne of Iesus or Iosuah.

IOachim helde the Priest-hoode eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeres after his death. Hee liued vnder *Long hand*, and *Darius* the Bastard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ahashuerus*, who was also named *Mnemon*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hester*, and the memorie of *Phurim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

Eliasib the son of Ioachim.

Eliasib was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hoode one and twentie yeares, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Iadua or Ioiada sonne to Eliasib.

Iudas or *Ioiada* sonne to him, was hie-Priest foure and twenty yeares; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Mnemon*,

John and Iesus sonne of Iadua.

John and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of giftes) into the fauour of *Vogeses*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Heere was the beginning of the tuills in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*.

Vogeses entreth with an Armie into Ierusalem, & prophaneth the Temple

John hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Vogeses* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Armie into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pilled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to soyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeares together, proceeding therein so farre, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sunne, for euery beast that they sacrificed. *John* held the high-Priest-hood foure and twenty yeares, euen vnto the death of *Ochus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Arsanes*.

His Sonnes were Iaddus and Manasses.

Iaddus and Manasses sons to Iohn.

Manasses following the example of *Iesus*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sannabalat* the *Chuttean*, sent *Satrapè* by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicossa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was repulsed from the Sacerdotall Office, with diuerse others for the same cause. Beeing bereft of the Priesthoode, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obtayned leaue of *Alexander* the Great; builded a new Temple vppon an high mountayne in *Samaria* called *Garizim*, shaping it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee caused his sonne *Manasses* to preside.

A new Temple built on mount Gerizim in Samaria.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselues to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grewe to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courses and theeueries on either side.

Great strifes and contentions betweene the two Temples.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeares after, the Temple on this Mount of *Garizim* was destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, by *Iohn Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

Iaddus administred the hie-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeares, vnder *Arsanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. He depriued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood; because (contrary to the Law of Almightie God) they had married with strange women. While *Alexander* the Great besieged the Cittie of *Tyre*, hee demaunded aide and tribute of this *Iaddus*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Whereto he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

Iaddus depriued his brother Manasses of the Priesthood.

The answer of Iaddus to Alexander the great, concerning aide and tribute.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, becauſe that the Iewiſh Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Perſia*, almoſt euer ſince their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angrie at ſuch an anſwere; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ieruſalem* with his Armies, intending to ſubiugate the Iewes by ſtrength of Armes.

Iaddus meetes Alexander with all ſubmiſsion.

But *Iaddus* beeing thereof admoniſhed in a dreame, tooke his Prieſtlie garments, and went to meete him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Prieſt, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demaunded what ſhould mooue him to reuerence an enemie, that came with ſubmiſſiue entreatie vnto him: hee replyed: *At the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Aſia. a man was preſented to mee in my ſleepe, in the ſame or like habite as the High Prieſt weares, who perſwaded mee to vndertake the expedition of Aſia, and gaue mee good hope of proſperous ſucceſſe.*

Alexanders repetition of his dreame.

When hee was entred the Cittie, he was ſo farre from offering the leaſt taſte of an enemy, that, after hee had ſacrificed, he adorned the Temple with magnificent giftes, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vſe the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the ſeauenth yeare, wherein the fields were not ſowne.

The ſonnes of Iaddus were Onias and Manaſſes.

Manaſſes Nephew to Eleazar.

COncerning *Manaſſes*, wee reade not any thing, but that hee ſucceeded next to his Nephew *Eleazar*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Gallinicus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being diſpleaſed at the Iewes in deſpight of the Temple, and ſeruices there performed, they put to fire and ſword the whole territory of *Ieruſalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout ſome controuerſie.

A Catalogue of the High Prieſts Onias called the Ancient.

The crueltie of Ptolomie againſt the Iewes.

IN this mans time, *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Lagus*, deſiring to make the people of the Iewes become tributarie; as hee entred vpon a Sabaoth day into the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the Iewes not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vſed great cruelty againſt the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* ſome thouſands, as captiues and hoſtages.

The Sonnes of Onias were Simon and Eleazar.

Simon ſurnamed Iuſtus was gracious to his nation.

Simon was named *Iuſtus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Iewes enioyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Succeſſours of *Alexander* the great, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the reſt, fought in *Aſia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

Eleazar ſucceeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the ſecond, being as yet a childe. In his time, *Ptolomie Philadelphus* enfranchiſed aboue an hundred thouſand Iewiſh ſlaues, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Perſia*, partly by his father *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagus*.

An hundred thouſand Iewes kept in ſlauery ſet at libertie by Ptolomie Philadelphus.

Moreouer, he ſent Ambaſſadors with magnificent Preſents to *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, requeſting to haue threeſcore and twelue Iewes, that could tranſlate the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. Which being done, hee ſent them backe agayne with great giftes, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Preſents of eſpeciall value. His vnckle *Manaſſes* ſucceeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to ſome: for the Greeke word ſignifieth vncle both by father and mother.

The 3 ſonnes of Simon, and a daughter alſo.

Simon had three ſonnes; *Tobias*, whom *Philo* and Saint *Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Mattathias*; *Ioſeph*, that pacified *Ptolomie*. And *Annas Hyrcanus*, the laſt Prince of the Iewiſh people, of the Linage of *Iuda*, and houſe of *Dauid*: who ſlew himſelfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Prieſts drew vnto themſelues the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high Prieſt

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *Dauid*.

Onias being left a childe by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Manasses* in the High-Priest-hood. By his auarice he offended *Ptolomy*, King of *Egipt*, and raised him in rage against the *Iewes*, because hee refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the high-Priests were wont to pay their reuennues yearely to the Kings of *Egipt*, for their Cittizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelue thousand crownes of the Sunne. But *Ioseph* afterward appeased *Ptolomy*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *Dauid*.

King Ptolomy enraged against the Iewes about the tribute-money.

Onias succeeded his sonne Simon.

Philo saith, that he was sirnamed *Iustus*. Vnder him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Book called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) obtayned the Priest-hood, which *Iosephus* testifieth apparantly. The Sonnes of *Simon*, were,

Ioseph in Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16

Onias. Iesus, otherwise called Iason. Onias, also called Menelaus.

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Machabees*, for his piety and iustice, and is saide, that hee was a friend to *Seleuchus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuennues of the Realme of *Syria*. But afterward, another man, called *Simon*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias* the high-Priest; reported to King *Seleuchus*, that there was an infinite masse of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applyed to their own priuate vses. And this was the cause, that the king wold no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliodorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entered (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, he was smitten downe, & very neere dead, yet recouered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Onias commended for piety and iustice.

Heliodorus sent to seize the wealth of treasure the temple.

Afterward, the discord so encreased betweene the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Traitor *Simon*; that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*: which made *Onias* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleucus*, and gaue way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Onias* could get thether, *Seleuchus* was dead, and *Iason*, Brother to *Onias*, had obtayned by bribes and gifts to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceassed King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Onias* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a free place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thether by deceitfull meanes, was also slaine by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the request of *Menelaus*, whō *Iason* hauing expulsed, possessed himselfe of the high-Priests Office, as hereafter shall be declared.

Iason getteth the High-Priests Office from his Brother Onias.

The murder of great Onias.

The Sonne of this Onias the Great, was Onias.

Onias beeing left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripenesse of yeares; standing in feare of *Alcimus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egipt* to *Ptolomy Philometor*, accompanied with some of his fellow cittizens. There *Ptolomy* gaue him permission, to builde a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in resemblance of that at *Ierusalem*; which was called *Onion*, fiue great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayro*. For in regard that *Ptolomy* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, & stood in need of his neighbours succors, he was perswaded by *Onias* to build a Temple, as if by that meanes, all the people of the *Iewes* would league with the Kings of *Egipt*, & take their part. About 230. yeares after this Temple was built, at the same time as the Citty and Temple of *Ierusalem* were ruined; it was also despoyled of all her Iewels, and shut vp by Edict from *Vespasian* the Emperor.

Onias flyeth into Egypt, to Ptolomy Philometor.

The building of a new temple in Egipt.

The Sonnes of this Onias, dwelling in Egipt, were Helchias and Ananias.

These two Brethren, beeing Colonels of the *Egiptians* Army, ayded valiantly *Cleopatra*; so that her Sonne *Lathurus* being excluded, she obtayned the kingdom. But

The two brethren Commanders of the Egyptians Army.

But after that *Ptolomy* had recollected his forces, and passing into *Egipt* through *Iudea*; *Helchias* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, wee reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egipt*.

Iesus, named *Iason* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleuchus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and successor to *Seleuchus*, the high-priesthood, for fiue hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vulgarly; promising him beside as an ouer-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annuall tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted, and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people vsed to meete in the Temple. He receiued and magnificently entertained *Antiochus Epiphanes* with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King: and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garrisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intollerable seruitude which afterward followed.

The High-Priests Office bought for 500. Talents.

The entertainment of king Antiochus into Ierusalem.

Iason hauing enioyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*: but now hee prooued to be payed with coyne of the same stampe, as before he had done to his brother *Onias*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* set him quite beside the Priesthood. And *Iason* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, with-drew into the land of the *Ammonits*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntil a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entring *Egipt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the Citty, where being fauoured by the inhabitants, for the rapines and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*; he slew many of *Antiochus* his faction, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garrisons kept in the Forts.

Iason is iustly requited for treachery to his brother Onias.

Iason soone encouraged, and as quickly daunted againe.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egipt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired among the *Ammonites*, of whom he could not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was neere at hand with his army. Expulsed also (for the same reason) by *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, out of his marches, and hauing no accesse into *Egipt*, & lastly, forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed very poorely in banishment.

The miseries and wretched end of Iason.

Onias, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Maccabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon* the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon*, of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we saide before in speaking of *Onias*) beeing sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iason*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affayres; did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers: that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and fourscore thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iason* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iason*, and conferred on him in his stead.

2 Macchab. cap. 2. 3.

Menelaus his cunning insinuating with the King and Courtiers.

This dignity thus obtayned, he pursued the same impieties as *Iason* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entring into his gouernment, to make himselfe the surer of so ill-gotten honour; he slew *Onias*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirmes, who being exiled, kept close in a franchised place neere *Daphné*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to bee murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Cæloſyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Menelaus more wicked then his Brother Iason.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he solde many vessels of gold, which he had couertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowne, great mutinies were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and conuinced by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to *Tyre*. But by the meanes of a Courtier, named

Menelaus sacriledgiously ribbeth the Temple, and yet carieth it away by corruption.

Ptolomy

Ptolomy (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolued and the King pacified, preuailing withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators: and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Cittizens.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Heauens, hoasts or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egipt*, purposing to vsurpe the Country by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometor* (his Nephew) was yet but young: *Iason* rushed into the Citty with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, ouer-comming a great number of the Inhabitants, that tooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garrisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

Prodigious signes seene in the ayre, foretelling lamentable euents that followed.

Antiochus enforced to depart from Egipt, cometh before Ierusalem.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged thereto by the rigorous command of the Romanes, and deliuered by *Popilius*; left *Egipt*, comming thence in a raging madnes, fearing a further reuolt of the Iewish Nation. Hauing brought his Army before the Citty, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselues. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the Citty without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garisons ran vp and downe in the Citty, and put to the Sword many Cittizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare eyther age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourescore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousands ledde away captiues, and sold for slaues.

pitifull slaughter of men in the Citty, & many sold into slauery.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entred into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which he caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure, as much to say, as eleuen Tuns of gold of our monie: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widdowes and orphanes, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had planted strong Garisons in the Citty (whereof *Philip* of *Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a reuolt of the *Iewes*, he sent the Colonell *Appolonius* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expressed no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the Citty, attending for the Sabboth day, and then giuing the determined signall, hee slew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came foorth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the Citty, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoyling, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet rampairing the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The Citty of Dauid*, and planting there a potent Garison.

Menelaus restored to the High-Priesthood againe, by Antiochus and Garisons planted in the Citty.

The Citty of Dauid in Ierusalem.

This was a preparatiue, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne (perforce) the *Iewes* from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vttermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leauing them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This discomfiture made by *Appolonius* in *Ierusalem*; soone after the King sent thether *Atheneus*, another of his Colonels, with an especiall Edict, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in euery kingdome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressely to the *Iewes*, the vse of circumcision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise planted Garrisons aswell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to inflict cruell punishment on al them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edict. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshipped in the Sanctuary, euen in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and many paillardizes and whoredomes committed with-

The Iewes left naked of all meanes whereby to vse resistance, or help themselues.

A cruell Edict sent out by Antiochus against the Iewes.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreouer, by the same Edict Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should bee found; yea, and seuere inquisition made for it euery Moneth.

The Citizens of Ierusalem durst make no opposition in their owne defence.

As thus the Cittizens of *Ierusalem* were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, not daring to vse force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excessiue tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the soueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behauiorss vsed among Pagans in *Ierusalem*, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approuing and assisting all his enterprizes; in which respect, many that made vertuous profession of the Law giuen by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiors of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great number,) forsaking the City, and leauing all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselues in Caues and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonea* withdrew (accõpanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women.

In the second Booke of the *Macchabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edict. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streetes of the Citty, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they helde fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, iudgement may be made, aswell of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet reserued, by meanes of the *Asmoneans*, raised vp by God, to represse the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as heereafter shall be declared.

The Asmoneans raised by God to represse Antiochus.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these inflictions vpon the people; retayned still the title of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Iudas Macchabeus* tooke (by power) the Citty and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the *Syrians*, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, hauing seized on *Ierusalem*, concluded peace with *Iudas Macchabeus*, and by the perswasion of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into *Syria*, as the firebrand of all the warre, and of the ouerthrowing of the *Syrian* Armies by the *Asmoneans*, and there he was also slaine; after he had held the high-Priesthood twelue yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aarons* posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zorobabell* had returned from *Babilon* into *Iudea*. This *Alcimus* presided foure years, and then dyed of a sudden sickenesse, two yeares after the death of *Iudas Macchabeus*.

Menelaus taken and led Captiue into Syria.

The last high-Priest of Aarons posterity

Alcimus succeeded in the high priesthood.

Alcimus being dead, the Temple and the people was seauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Ionathas* encreased, who was the Brother of *Iudas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116. yeares.

The High-Priesthood translated to the family of the Asmoneans.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Asmoneans, being the second Family.

As much to say, as them of the posterity of Simon, *to whom the principality, as well of the High-Priesthood, as also of the Iewish people being transferred, it continued from the time of* Antiochus *the Noble, vntill the Reigne of* Herod.

Simon. Iohn. Mattathias.

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Ioarib* of *Ierusalem*, dwelling in the Village of

The first opposition of the high Priest against King Antiochus.

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Iewes* to transgresse their Law, and to deale in those behauiours vsed among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and fiue yeare of the kingdome of *Syria*, an hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and fiue yeares before the birth of Christ. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Iew*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the presence of the Cittizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word giuen by God, thē the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods and liued in the Deserts, frō whence many returning daily; hee leuied a great Army, by whose helpe he deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the seruice and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

Mattathias slew a Iew for sacrificing a forbidden Beast on a Pagan Altar.

Mattathias fleeth the people from the Idolatries of Antiochus.

But this valiant man, deepely stept in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this banished wandring troope, and after he had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law giuen by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutuall reuerence, dyed peaceably, in the yeare 146. of the Kingdome of *Syria*; 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before Christ was borne.

The death of the reuerend old man Mattathias.

Mattathias had fiue Sonnes.
Iudas, *Ionathas*, *Simon*, *Iohn*, and *Eleazar*.

Eleazar firnamed Amran or Anaran.

Eleazar, otherwise called *Amran* or *Anaran*, a very hardy young man, after he had performed many valiant deeds; in the fift yeare after his Fathers death, going to finde out *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Iudas*; he saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatnesse & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him ouer-boldly, and slaying many Soldiours euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Eleazar*.

Eleazar slain by an Elephant falling vpon him.

Iohn, firnamed *Gaddis*, after the death of his brother *Iudas*, was sent by *Ionathas* and *Simon* his other brethren into *Arabia*, with the Iewels & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Nabatheans*: but the *Ammorites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him, tooke also the spoyles away from him and his traine.

Iohn slaine by the Ammorites.

Iudas, was firnamed also *Macchabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Maccabai*, wherof each letter signifieth a word, taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*, in these expresse words: *MEC AMOCHA BAILEM IEHOVA?* That is to say: *Who is like vnto thee (O Lord) among the Gods?* *Iudas* vsing this sentence for his Motto or deuice, and making one phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee firnamed *Macchabeus*. His father being neere his death, appointed him the cheefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoeuer, then renounce the doctrine giuen them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, he ouercame the Army of *Apolonius*, and made vse of his Sword in all the battailes he fought afterward with a smal band of men; he vanquished the Army of *Saron*, Gouernour of *Syria*, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeare, made *Iudas Macchabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the *Greekes* reigne, *Antiochus* went into *Persia* with his Army, and left in the kingdome of *Syria* *Lysias*, as Regent and Gouernor to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Iewes*. For the execution of which command, *Lysias* sent into *Palestine*, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolomy*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* his Colonels, who entred hostilly with their Armies into *Iudea*, and encamped before the Village of *Emaus*. *Iudas* perceiuing perill, led his Army into *Maspha*, a place (long agoe) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

The name of Macchabeus. Exod. 15. 11.

Vtiamocha Baelim Iehoua.

Iudas made Leader of the people.

The valiant actes of Iudas Macchabeus.

Lysias made Gouernour of young Antiochus Eupator.

There

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

There he publikely commanded a fast, giuing charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that so small a handfull of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselues against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he remoued his Campe, and went directly to confront the hoast of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploite, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to steale vpon the *Iewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeature, and perceiuing the smoake of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Iewes*; fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so silly a power of people, enforced the huge hoasts of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

The wonderfull successe of of Iudas against Gods enemies.

Lysias hauing intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Macchabees*. And the yeare following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himselfe in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with threescore thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & fiue thousand horse, inuaded *Iudea*, by passing thorow *Idumea*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudea*, *Iudas Macchabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number encreased, of them that detested *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publikely the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

Lysias commeth with a mighty Army against the Macchabees.

Lysias perceiuing how couragiously the *Iewes* fought, as men that meerely despised death, breaking furiously through his rankes, his men beginning to turne their backes, and fiue thousand of them hewen in peeces; ralliered together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Wherein he was preuented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulsed frō besiedging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in ill order by *Babylon*, and beeing informed (by the way) what bad successe his Armies had sustained in *Iudea*: he fell first into a greeuous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his intestines were smitten with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently prouoked against the *Iewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy iourney to *Iudea*; there to race their Cities, especially *Ierusalem*, and vtterly to extirpate the Iewish Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way; the Chariot (wherein he lay sicke) was ouerturned, and his body so bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent; that his blood souer-boyled, his entrailes putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yeelding forth a most loathsome and intollerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne the 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the Citty of *Ierusalem*.

The great & horrible iudgment of God declared in the death of Antiochus the Noble.

Judas encounteth the great Army of Lysias.

Iudas Macchabeus, much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where he cleansed the Temple, formerly defiled and prophaned by the seruice of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Nativity, 162. the 25. day of the Moneth of *Chisleu*, that is to say, Nouember; the very same day, that (three yeares before) it had beene robbed & prohaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Idumeans*.

The returne of Iudas to Ierusalem, & his purifying the Temple.

Hauing done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assayled by the *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, and other, who laboured to ouerthrow the power of the Iewish Nation, which began to exalt it selfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Macchabees*, repelled those insulting Nations worthily, diuiding their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vsing their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laide siedge before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrisons made many courses; killing such

Iudas went daily with his Armour on.

Antiochus repulsed at his besiedging Persepolis.

such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Cittizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being vrged by *Menelaus*, to send him aide, for reliefe of them that were besieged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudea* by *Lysias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse, and besieged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* beeing aduertised of the Kings comming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meet the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom he made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who folowed after *Lysias*) to play vpon aduantages.

Antiochus Eupator giueth aide to Menelaus.

Antiochus layeth a very dangerous siedge to Ierusalem.

So long lasted this sharpe besieging, vntill the King, being certified of *Phillips* coming, who, vnder colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, sought to possesse himselfe (as the fame went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offred peace to them that were besieged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) instituting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Ioachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

Menelaus led away captiue by king Antiochus into Syria.

CHAP. V.

Antiochus and Lysias are put to death by Demetrius; the wicked behauiour of Alcimus the high-Priest; the death of Iudas, and the succession of his brother Ionathas.

IN the 151. yeare of the Greekes, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus Eupator*, and his Gouernour *Lysias*. Now *Alcimus*, coueting to retaine still the dignitie of the High-priesthood, conferred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lysias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there accused all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbers of the peace of *Iudea*, & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseate *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Citizens, & leauing strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returnd back into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intollerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vndertooke the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that tooke part with *Alcimus*. Whereuppon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminall accusation against *Iudas*.

The greedie desire of Alcimus for stil enioying the Priesthood.

Bacchides entreth Ierusalem with his Armie.

Iudas vndertaketh to reuenge the outrage of Alcimus.

Nicanor then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas*, vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discouered, he entred into open armes; and being fought withall by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatned all the sacrificing Priests with death and vtter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* aliue to his hands. But *Iudas* hauing reinforced his Armie, encountred againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*, in which battaile he slew the captaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being aboue 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the moneth *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnely obserued, in regard of such a notable victorie.

Iudas fights with Nicanor in plaine battaile.

Nicanor slain by Iudas in the second battell.

After these successefull aduentures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the Iewes for this his great ouerthrow; deuised to strengthē his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romanes*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

Iudas craueth ayd and fauor of the Romanes.

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, hereafter to molest and afflict the *Iewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitfull) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more discommodious to the *Iewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them the more sleepy and negligent, and also was more offensiue to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the yeare following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Iudea*. There *Iudas* met them with two thousand men onely, and although the most part of thē slipt away, and forsooke his company, eyther thorow wearinesse of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the practises of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he ventred on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiors, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with thē al, in the sixt yeare after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Natiuity of Christ, 158. yeares.

Bacchides & Alcimus sent with an Army into Iudea.

The valiant death of Iudas Macchabeus.

The yeare following, which was the 153. of the *Grecians* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient sacrificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retreate the aduersaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palsy, and therein surrendred vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before; and this was in the fourth yeare of his Priesthood.

Alcimus striken with a sudden palsie dyed.

Ionathas the second Sonne of Mattathias.

Ionathas followed next in degree to his brother Iudas

Ionathas, or *Ionathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Iudas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Macchabeus*, while the *Iewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the Pagans) grew to be more emboldened, and sought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Iudas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to bee cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during these continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most vnderstanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Ionathas*, entreating him to vndertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Ionathas* consenting to thē, soone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiors into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortefied some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Iewes* by sallies & courses. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Iewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Grecians* reigne.

Ionathas vnderta'eth the cause against Bacchides.

In the yeare, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Iewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Iudas*: but the ambushes being reuealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethessen*. Nenertheless, perceiuing the Towne to be well munited, and the *Iewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resolued to defend themselues valiantly: he made peace with *Ionathas*, and the captiues beeing surrendred on eyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Iudea* had some time of repose and quietnesse.

Bacchides made a peace with Ionathas.

The yeare 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vsurped by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Ionathas*; sent Ambassadours to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Besides, he solemnly inuited him to the mariage, which hee had purposed in the Citty of *Ptolomais*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolomy Philometor*. *Ionathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enioying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmatiō in the high-Priesthood, as also the principality of *Iudea*, for the people (after the deceasse of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Ambassadors sent to Ionathas by Alexander the Noble.

Ionathas obtayned the High-Priests Office, and the Principality of Iudea.

By

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High-Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth yeare of the principality of *Ionathas*; of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene saide; and before the birth of Christ, 150. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolomy* had caught the kingdome of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicanor*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, & then *Ionathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuertheless, by gifts and offrings he preuailed so well at last, as vpon the auouching of his grace towards him, hee recouered a great part of *Iudea*, & wonne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortefied the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romaines*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolomais*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to release him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother *Simon* made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuertheless, the most cruell Tyrant murdred both the Father and his sonnes. Hauing done this abhominable deed, and thinking no way to be resisted in his wicked courses; by treachery he slew *Antiochus*, sirnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdome, hee had euicted *Demetrius Nicanor* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Ionathas* held the principality of the Iewish people eighteene yeares, and was the first administratour of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

Ionathas accepted into the fauour of Demetrius Nicanor.

Ionathas take prisoner and afterward slaine with his two Sons.

Triphon maketh himselfe King of Syria.

Simon the third Sonne of Mattathias.

Simon succeeded his Brother *Ionathas*, in the yeare of the *Greeks*, 170. & before the Natiuity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Iudas* and *Ionathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giuē by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernement, he surprized some Forts from the *Grecians*, among which was that of *Ierusalem*, which till that time had beene held by the *Syrian* Garisons, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He famished them in such sort, that they were constrained to yeelde themselues, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the yeare, 171. Vnder him, *Iudea* began to respire and breathe a while, which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had bin terribly shaken and wasted with continuall warres. The fields began again to recouer their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builded; and those prophaned with Idols, to be neately cleansed: In briefe, the voyce of heauenly doctrine began againe to bee heard and deliuered in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third yeare of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, and by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Simon elected Duke and High-Priest by the people

The gouernment of Simon

Iudea began to recouer breathing & quietnesse.

Simon renewed alliance with the Romanes.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicanor*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vsurped the Kingdome of *Syria*: labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprize. But hauing conquered the Kingdome of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the yeare, 174. he falsified the former alliance, & redemanded diuers Townes and Citties in *Iudea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Ierusalem*, and a great summe of money beside; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demanded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Cendebeus* was sent into *Iudea* with an Army, whom *John Hyrcanus* and *Iudas*, Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was wasting the champain Country: and hauing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Iudea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Antiochus Soter reuiueth warre against Triphon.

Antiochus breaketh his amity plighted to Simon, and vrgeth vniust demands.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now auncient) returned, visiting & ordayning the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Iudea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Iudas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinesman *Ptolomy*, the Sonne of *Abobus*, whom he had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Iericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, whereto (most traiterously) he had inuited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

Simon groweth ancient in yeares.

Simon murdred at a banquet by his Sonne in law.

Foure Asmoneans, the Father and his three sonnes.

Thus foure *Asmoneans*, namely, the Father *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes (each after other) fighting valiantly three and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law giuen by God, against the persecuters of his people, ended their liues. And although they could not so compasse the matter, as to cleanse *Iudea* wholly of Pagan Idolatries, because many among the people were (openly) Epicures, and many mightily deiected, by seeing the woful calamities of the people, and others inueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did willingly renounce the first receiued doctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the impieties of the Paganes: yet notwithstanding, they preuailed so well by their power, that the writings of the Prophets were preserued, the seruice ordained by God, not abolished, nor the Iewish pollicy any way dissipated. All which ensued by the singular goodnesse of God, to the end, that the pollicy and ministry appointed by him (in some good measure still maintained) should continue to the time of Christ, that men might know, when & how the Messias was to be sent. The principality and high-Priesthood continued (sometime) in the Family of the *Asmoneans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Iudas* and *Ionathas* had not left any issue of theirs.

Iudea not wholly recouered from Paganisme, & the reason why.

The writings of the Prophets safely preserued among so many persecutions.

Iudas and Ionathas left not any issue

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the imprisonment of Simons *two Sonnes and their Mother, by their cruell Vnckle* Ptolomie; *and lastly, their lamentable death. The valiant actes of* Iohn Hyrcanus, *Sonne to* Simon. *The destruction of* Samaria, *&c.*

The Sonnes of *Simon*, were
Iohn Hyrcanus. Iudas. Mattathias his successour.
A Daughter, maried to Ptolomy, *the sonne of Abobus, Gouernour of* Iericho; *who murdered his Father, as also his Wife & two of his Children.*

Iudas and Mattathias.

The gouernment of Iericho giuen to Ptolomy by Simon.

HAuing accompanied their Father, going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy* their Sonne in law, to whom he had formerly spoken, to giue him the gouernement of *Iericho*: they were imprisoned with their Mother, by their Vnckle *Ptolomy*, who before had slaine their Father at a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besiedged a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrant caused them there to bee pittifully dismembred, as also their Mother; vntill such time as *Hyrcanus*, moued with compassion, & not able to endure the torturing of his brethren and Mother, raised the siedge, albeit his captiued Mother, still vrged him earnestly, to maintaine the assault.

The two sons of Simon and their Mother cruelly tormented.

Iohn Hyrcanus.

In the life time of his Father, hee discomfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*, which was conducted by *Cendebeus*. Next after the death of his Father, and the taking of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly escaping from the ambushes of the murderer *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his Fathers death, and besiedging the Towne whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being ouercome with pitty, by seeing the torments which his Mother & Brethren suffered, at euery time when hee gaue the assault, considering also, that the seuenth yeare of rest was neere at hand; he retreated his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter* made warre vpon him, so that he was shut vp within the Citty of *Ierusalem*, which *Antiochus* besiedged in seuen places all at one time: being pressed with famine, hee yeelded vp the City, vpon condition, that he would beate down the Fortefications of the Citty, deliuer hostages, & fiue hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of Gold.

The Army of Antiochus Soter vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

Iohn Hyrcanus besieged in Ierusalem, and the City yeelded vpon agreement.

But as he was in want of money, or accidentally seeking for some by vrgent necessity, or admonished so to doe by a dreame: he opened the Sepulcher of *Dauid*, wherein he found three thousand Talents of Gold, which amounteth to 18. Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but also entred into amity with him, so that he entertained him into the Citty with his Army, and being well prouided of mony, he was the first (of the Iewes) that had strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With whom he accompanied King *Antiochus*, he going in warre against the *Parthians*; and yet his company was but slenderly beneficiall to the King. For although by the valiancy

Three thousand Talents of Gold found in King Dauids grane.

Hyrcanus ayded Antiochus against the Parthians

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he ouerthrew a part of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after, when *Arsaces*, King of the *Parthians*, came with a new Army, & he should then haue met and ioyned with him: Religion hindered *Hyrcanus* and the *Iewes* from going to the fight, because it was then the Feast of *Pentecost*. By which meanes, *Antiochus* being destitute of the *Iewes* helpe, was slaine, with a great number of his people.

The Feast of Pentecost hindred Hyrcanus from the battaile.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus* began to make small account of the Kings of *Syria*; as being men, that (by ciuill warres) had broken the forces of their kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back his hoast from *Asia*, he tooke many Cities and Townes in the kingdome of *Syria*, which had in former times appertained to *Iudea*. He razed also the Temple of *Garizim* in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannabalat* the *Cuthean*, (as hath before bin remembred) two hundred yeares after it had bin builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to *Iaddus*, in the time of *Alexander* the great. He compelled also the *Idumeans* (after he had giuen them many chastenings) to receiue circumcision, and other ceremonies of the *Iewes*. And to strengthen himselfe the more against the Kings of *Syria*, whō he thought not fit to make any more surprizing of Citties; hee renewed alliance (by Ambassadours) with the *Romanes*, in the fourteenth yeare of his principality, and the 191. of the kingdome of *Syria*: *Cneus Domitius Barbarossa*, and *Caius Flaminius* being Consuls, an hundred and 19. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

The Temple of Garizim in Samaria razed.

The Idumeans receiue circumcision.

Alliance made with the Romanes.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had bene restored to his Kingdome by *Arsaces*, and as quickly againe repulsed from it by *Alexander Zebena*, when he prepared himselfe to make warre on the *Iewes*: so *Hyrcanus*, allying himselfe with *Alexander* the victorious, had sustained as little ioy thereof, if an admirable accident had not corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gryphus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to recouer his Fathers kingdome, slew *Alexander* in battraile, and (after that victory) purposed to inuade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend to his enemy. But hearing of another preparation of warre against himselfe, by his brother *Antiochus Cyzacenus*; he was glad to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while the two bretheren did wel-fauouredly contend with one another (a long time) for the kingdome of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and *Iudea* remained in quietnes, during which time, *Hyrcanus* well fortefied himselfe by strong Castles newly builded, re-enforcing al his most commodious munitions, collecting vp great summes of money, & prouiding other necessary matters, to exploit his warre affaires.

Hyrcanus maketh alliance with Alexander the victorious.

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus for the kingdome of Syria.

Finally, hee laide siedge to the most strong Citty of *Samaria*, and left there his two Sonnes *Antigonus* and *Aristobulus* to continue it, while himselfe attended to the administration of more important Oeconomica laffaires. Hereupon, the *Samaritaines* called to succour them *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; who repulsed the sonnes to *Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as to * *Scythopolis*. Againe, the two brethren brought their Army before *Samaria*, and againe *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (being requested) entred into *Iudea*, pilling and spoyling whereseuer he came. But being repulsed, hee gaue the charge of his Army to two of his Captaines; one of them being slaine by the *Iewes*, and the other corrupted with money, surrendred (by treason) *Scythopolis*, and the other neighboring Citties. So the Citty of *Samaria*, hauing endured (in great misery) a whole yeares siedge, was at the last forced and quite destroyed. Such was the ending of this most mighty Citty, which (for a long time) had paragond it selfe equall with *Ierusalem*; but about an hundred yeares after, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who named it *Sebasta*, in the honour of *Augustus Caesar*.

Samaria beseidged by Hyrcanus and his forces.

* A Citty of Syria, neere to Iudea, called also Decapolis.

The Citty of Samaria razed and destroyed to the ground.

CHAP. VII.

How the rest and prosperity of Iudea, begat sundry Sects among the people, especially of the Pharisies, Sadduces, &c. The diuersity of their opinions: and a breefe narration of the Doctrine, in vse among the first Fathers.

THE Country of *Iudea*, being thus reduced to repose & quietnes, & by the paines of *Hyrcanus*; her prosperity procured enuy & distaste, aswel toward her own people, as (more especially) to the Pharisies. For factions grew thē in great esteem among the meaner people, by simulation of sanctity,

Of the Sect of the Pharisies and their dissembled holinesse.

sanctity, and great swarmes of deuised traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoeuer they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime beene a curious fauourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisies did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Eleazar* the Pharisie, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the *Sadduces*, who sharply reproued the traditions of the Pharisies, and in hate and spight to the Pharisies sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions, which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, aswell of the Pharisies, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great mutinies among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Hyrcanus a fauourer of the Pharisies, leaneth afterward to the Sadduces.

Hyrcanus & his Sonnes hated of the Pharisies and vulgar people

Now, because mention is here made of these two Sects, both of the Pharisies and Sadduces, whereof more will be spoken in the following Histories, as likewise is in sacred Writ: I thinke it not amisse to make some addition, of matters found in authenticall writings, concerning the variance and difference betweene them. For in speaking of their originall, we can but follow coniectures onely: except this infallible certainty, that both the one and other Sect were newly forged, by leauing the ancient and pure doctrine of the Prophets. This firme rule ought euermore to be held in the Church, that there is one sole true doctrine, of the diuine essence & will, made manifest of God by certaine and vndoubted testimonies, and was giuen to the first Fathers and Prophets: but much more enlightened afterward, by the voyce of the Sonne of God, our Lord Iesus Christ, dead, and raysed vp againe for vs, as also by the voice of the Apostles. And no opinions ought to be embraced, contrary to that first Prophetical doctrine and voyce of Gods owne Sonne: because many sayings of the Prophets do witnesse this rule to be true. As *Esay* condemneth those Doctors, which propose (as the doctrine of God) opinions forged in their owne braines, and such as neuer were giuen of God. Being armed then, and well warned by this rule, wee may the better iudge of these Sects.

The difference betweene the Sects of the Pharisies and Sadduces.

Testimonies of Gods will giuen to our first Fathers.

Esay 29.24.

But in making this recitall, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infirmity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because euen then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorely impayred, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Phœnitians*, and that then (with so small pollicy) discipline could scarsely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine bee kept in good concord: such horrible furies being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Gouernours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The Sadduces acquitted themselues of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publikely, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisies were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding, they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of hereafter.

The poore & small beginning of the Church in the few Tribes of Israel, and continuance thereof in many troubles.

Concerning the opinions of the Sadduces.

The Pharisies more modest then the Sadduces.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which still retayned the light of his doctrine: and yet, was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errours should not onely bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctours? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (euen in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne auarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisies & Sadduces, who declared sufficiently, the very like euils crept into the Church, euen as apparantly then, as those of other times. It is therefore very necessary, to haue one certaine rule, in listening to the voyce Euangelicall,

God always had his true Church, retaining still the light of his Doctrine.

The errors of elder times very apparant to be discerned.

uangelicall, according as Saint *Paul* ſaid: *If any man preach any other Goſpell to you, let him be accurſed.*

Galath 1.9.

Furthermore, conſideration is to bee had, of the time of that firſt Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonne of GOD, and the Apoſtles: and next, of ſuch perſwaſions as haue crept into the Church, ſome whereof haue beene confirmed by the ſuperſtition of men vnlearned, others haue beene voluntarily receiued, as ſeruing the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchin. Acknowledging then, and bewayling the harmes of the Church; let vs ſeeke after the ſprings or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truely call vpon God, who hath alwayes preſerued ſome part of mankinde, where his true knowledge might ſhine, to bee the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, becauſe mankinde was not created in vaine. But before I diſcourſe on the originall of Sects, and Diuiſions of the Church, it is needfull firſt to ſay ſomewhat, concerning the firſt true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankinde, hath beene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath iſſued many, who (as ſeditious) haue ſcattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

The time of the firſt doctrine, and ſuperſtitions ſince encreaſing.

The harmes and euills of the Church ought much to be moaned

Of the firſt true Church or Schoole.

Mankind was not borne by accidentall chance, neither created without cauſe: but it pleaſed God, that he ſhould haue a reaſonable nature, embeliſhed with a bodie, wherein the knowledge of him might ſhine, and to whom he might communicate his wiſedome and goodneſs, & that hee ſhould enioy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expreſſed his wiſedome and goodneſſe, by creating the great workemanſhip of the world: yet notwithſtanding, his goodnes made it ſelfe much more apparant, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he ſent from his ſecret ſeate, that infinite mercie for their recouery, by giuing them the promiſed Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderſtood, hee would haue men to heare the ſound of that ſweete voice: *The Seede of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents head.* Such as receiued graciouſly this conſolation, were receiued of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus firſt of all, the Church was created, and the Schoole inſtituted, wherein our firſt Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and puniſhments to enſue; the trecheries of the diuell; the cauſes of death and all humaine miſeries; the promiſe of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iuſt anger of God was to bee appeaſed. Alſo, how ſinne was to be defaced, eternall life reſtored, the difference of good and euill works, and that ſuch a difference being imprinted in the ſoules of men, was truely the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; ſo to ſhine in the ſpirites of men, that it might bee a teſtimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to bee adored: admoniſhing likewiſe, that hee would iudge the actions of men, becauſe conſcience would elſe exerciſe a burdenous iudgement in vs.

The reaſon why God created mankind

The firſt creation of the Church by God, enſtructed to our firſt Parents, and ſo to their poſteritie.

There they were taught the diffrence betweene this naturall knowledge, and the other of higher qualitie; the pronounced promiſe of the ſecret boſome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede; the future iudgement of all mankinde: and that ſuch as (by faith in that Seede) attayned to beleeue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourſe to him, ſtriuing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, ſhould liue eternally in the moſt ſweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promiſed Seed to come, running furiouſly on the bridle of their wicked deſires; were like vnto diuells, enemies to God, and after death ſhould liue in horrible torments, whereof they diſcerned ſome reſemblance in this life, by the terrours of ſuch, whoſe bodies were adiudged to terrible puniſhments.

The diffrence between heauenly knowledge, & that which is naturall.

The deſpiſers of God and the promiſed Seede.

Thoſe firſt Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beaſts, to ſignifie, that (after death) they ſhould bee deneſted of their corrupted bodies, and put vppon them (as the garment or roabe of the Lambe) that is to ſay, the promiſed Seede, which was to be ſacrificed, that all mankind might be ſaued by him. They taught the will of God to bee ſuch, that by this meanes it ſhould bee ſought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifeſt: and that our mindes leaning

The great grace and mercie of god to man after his fall.

Geneſ 3.15.

The clothing of our firſt Fathers in the skins of beaſts had a further relation.

ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand, that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promises, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assembly, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

One sole and certaine assembly instituted by God to bee his Church.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This maner of behauiour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posteritie.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voice to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should bee honest assemblies; and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Castle on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices which you see, are the chaines and linckes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise so graciously giuen vnto vs.

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Hauing enstructed their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reuested with humaine flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and only Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleeuers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindleth in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this meanes they taught to know the only true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heauen and earth, of Angels, and of mankinde; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one only eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his Image, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his Incarnation.

The first meanes of knowing the blessed Trinitie according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

Moreouer, in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certayne lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduenture, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workeman. They taught beside, the course of the yeare to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterward. And because men might cõprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councell and Prouidence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants, to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also enstructing, that oftentimes Innocents are holpen of God by admirable meanes, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

Other doctrines instructed by the fathers concerning policie.

The course of the yeare, and the knowledge of Plants.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitiue Church, the narration of *Moses* sufficiently declares, in *Genes.* And it is not to be doubted, that the wisedom of the golden Age, before the Floud, was much greater then that after the Floud, whē nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Floud, might forget or misprise true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euermore reserued som company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renued & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Againe, when after the Floud, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extincted in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

The wisedom of the golden Age before the Floud.

God euermore continued the inuocating vpon his name.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preserued and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Noah*. Afterward, when this pollicie became to be so well ordayned among the people

people of *Israel*: all the Colledges of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrificers and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vncorrupted doctrine.

The ten Tribs cut off by the kings of Iuda, and yet the truth of Doctrine still encreasing.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Iuda*: then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) followed. And yet neuertheleſſe, God raiſed in the diſmembred part of *Iudaes* Kingdomes, *Elias*, *Eliſeus*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge: which was the reaſon that the Prophets had great troupes of Auditours, in regarde that *Elias*, *Eliſeus*, and the reſt had deliuered (from hand to hand) their ſacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Eſay*, and they that followed after. This cuſtome did alwayes continue in this people, and eſpecially in the Temple, where the ſacrificing Prieſts gaue the interpretations, or elſe-where among the Doctours, and ſuch as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets.

Cauſes, how the truth of doctrine grew to contempt and haſtar-dizing.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babilon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Prieſts beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Iuda*, and ſought to make themſelues great and powerfull, the ſtudy of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Iudea* was ſpoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were loſt, the companies of Students, and their Maiſters ſcattered, and and diſcipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the ſtudies became to bee wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes ſome of the Colledge of the high-Prieſts, and of the people, kept ſome ſparks of the true doctrine liuing among them: as *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whoſe youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithſtanding, many audacious Expoſitions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

ſome remaine of Gods truth at all times remaining.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to ſome men of the beſt iudgement, and likewiſe to other, that tranſfigured the doctrine of the Church into Philoſophie. By ſucceſſion of times, as this new Philoſophie was moſt pleaſing, and many earneſtly fauouring it: the Schooles began to be ſo much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profeſſion or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Phariſie, aſmuch to ſay as an Expounder, as nowadayes the title of Doctour, is the name of a moſt honeſt Office and Profeſſion: for many learned men doe conceiue the Phariſie to be named, rather for Interpretation or Expoſition, then by ſeparation or diuiſion.

The name of Phariſie is an Expoſitour.

Ioſephus reporteth ſome of their opinions, but they are better to bee vnderſtoode in the Euanglicall Hiſtorie, and what their principall errours were. For, although they carried themſelues as interpreters of the Prophets: they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moſes*, but alſo of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Hiſtories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credite and integritie. Neuertheleſſe, they helde falſe opinions concerning the vſe of the Lawe, and transferred the promiſes of the *Meſſias* Kingdome, to politicall vſe. They helde exteriour Diſcipline, for Iuſtice ſatisfying to the Lawe, and denyed that wicked affections were ſinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or luſtfull deſires: prouided that they proceeded not to outward offence. Theſe corruptions are expreſſely reprooued in Saint *Matthew*, where it is ſaid; *Whoſoeuer looketh on a woman, to luſt after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*. And although that many vnlearned men in the Church, read theſe Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoickes, who painted the Ideaes of the vertues, to the end that men ſhould ſtriue to come nere to them (which is impoſſible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The errours of the Scribes and Phariſies, and in what manner they held them.

Math. 5. 28.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad deſires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly ſounded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee ſhould confeſſe our owne guiltineſſe, and make our recourſe to the Sonne of God. The Philoſophie of the *Phariſies*, obſcured this ancient Propheticall

No man in this life time can be free from corrupt and vnlawfull affections.

ticall doctrine, as it had beene in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

The Pharisies celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

In like manner, the other part of heauenly doctrine, to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisies knew and celebrated the magnificēt Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Iacob*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a politicall kingdome. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like vnto an other *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vse the whole Empire of the world, the people beeing subiected vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeres without feare of warres, seruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

The carnall opinions of the Pharisies, concerning the Messias and his Kingdome.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners; of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet neuertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

After that the Pharisie had corrupted the words of the Lawe, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinnes were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Lawe. This perswasion brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mistes of darkenesse had some apparance of wisedome and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes represended of the Prophets.

Sinnes to be pardoned by ceremonies and killing of beasts ordained in the Lawe.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued, touching the manner of perfourming them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisies would locke vp and let loose the ceremonies of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell deuices, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. Saint *Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucratiue tradition is reproued: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to norish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adayes it is maintained, that a number of slouthfull idle Monkes, should rather enioy great reuenewes, then any thing spared for the relieue of poore Schollers.

Questions cōcerning the acting & performing of deuised ceremonies.

Matth. 15.4.5

The tradition of the Sabbaoth was also in great vse, as *Hierome* alledgeth: for *Alziba* and *Hilletus*, both *Rabines*, do say, a Sabaoth dayes iourney is but two halfe miles. Beside, in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of gouerning the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good, iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to bee created, the heauens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitiue and Prophetticall doctrine concerning the Sonne of GOD and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *Dauid*, *Esay*, *Micheas* and *Daniel*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

Tradition for a Sabbaoth daies iourney a halfe mile, appoynted by the Pharisies.

The Pharisies allowed but one Person onely in the Godhead.

Moreouer, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Lawe: surpassing all other in goodnesse, with a most goodly pollicie, ordayned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordayned pollicie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God gouerned the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasings and diminishings of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Cities; because they knew their euents to agree with the prophecies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Esay* and *Daniell*; adding

Of the Lawe of Moses, and what they gathered thereof.

Particular matters taught by the Pharisies

ding withall, that they knew that their Citie *Ierusalem* had beene diuinely builded.

The Pharisies maintained the freedome of mans will

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane councelles; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as also the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in such sort, that they held a man might satisfie the diuine Lawe, and be iust by his diligence, meriting all goodnesse both present and heauenly. And contrariwise, that such as offended the diuine Lawe by exteriour transgressions, should be punished both in this life and the other. For

They allowed also the resurrection of the dead.

their opinion was (that the soule separated from the bodie) should liue, and that there should bee a resurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iust, and send into euerlasting punishments, such as had soiled themselues with execrable vices. And yet they held withall, that he would punish many crimes by present calamities, adding also; that some might be defaced by sacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or lessened.

The true vse of the Lawe vtterly abolished by them.

Now, although this doctrine was very passable in appearance; yet notwithstanding, they abolished the true vse of the Law, and with the benefites of the *Messias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, eyther they confirmed trust in mens owne iustice, or left their consciences in pittifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouerthrowne, fled from God, and trembling against him; neyther durst approach neare him, nor call vppon him truly

Relation of many disciplines for ceremonies.

For the more sure maintaining these their disciplines, they had instituted many exercises; the most part whereof serued rather for ostentation, then any restraint to their owne bad desires. The maner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, inter-wouen with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vsed to wash themselues, hauing at the entring into their houses holy-water, wherewith they sprinckled themselues. They obserued choice of meates in their fasts, muttering long prayers to themselues, which Saint *Matthew* calleth Battologie, much babbling.

Ceremonies vsed by the Pharisies.

Their sacrifices and apparance of pietie, attracted greatly the familiarity of women, which was the cause that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the auncient custome of diuorces implied, that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledge of the cause, and the instruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate, and seperation might not be graunted for light causes and disturbances; but by good reasons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

Women familiarly allured to their sacrifices.

The auncient manner for graunting the bill of diuorce.

But the Pharises (vtterly disannulling this auncient custome) made diuorces vpon their priuate authority, either without cause, or for causes of no moment: so that the lawe of diuorce serued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this instant with the Turkes, it is in vse.

The law of diuorce serued to the betraying of mens wiues.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fittest, without any reasonable cause, and contrary to the nature of mariage, which God himselfe instituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the aliance of an inseparable company when hee saide: *They shall be both one flesh*; that is to say, a male and female shal be ioyned together inseparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moses* did not permit diuorce without cause; but rendred a reason whereby separation might be allowed, to wit, *if any vilenesse were found in her*. And the ancient *Atticke* custome intended, that no diuorce should be granted, without knowledge of the cause. Since when, by succession of times, the bands of discipline haue been let loose, by the encrease of lewdnes and incontinencie: so that the auncient *Atticke* custome became quite changed. And so in the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of aliance in mariage, grew greatly extenuated. For shee could not be saide to be a true wife, whom the husband might cast off at all times, and whensoeuer such giddines intoxicated his braine, and without anie wighty cause. This vniust custome of the *Pharises* was the cause of that question in S. *Mathew*, where mention is made concerning the alliance of marriage, and the first institution therof repeated: also by a

God first instituted of marriage. Genesis 2.24.

Moses lawe for diuorce. Deut. 24.1.

The Atticke custome concerning diuorce.

The latter times of the Iewes much negligent in marriage cases.

Matth. 19.6,7.

seuere

The vniuſt cuſtome of the Phariſees.

ſeuere declaration, light and triuiall ſeparations of mariage, vſed both among the people of the Iewes, and Pagans likewiſe, are forbidden and condemned.

Vices frequēt and common to ſuperſtitious natures in al ages and nations.

It hath beene common to all ſuperſtitious natures, in all ages and nations, to peruert the order of precedent actions; yea, & in ſuch ſort, that they grow to be very difficult and rigorous exacters, of multitudes of their owne deuiſed ceremonies: being (in the *interim* time) very careleſſe for the neceſſary ſeruices of life, whereof the Decalogue giueth cōmands, and letting looſe the bridle to infinit lewd affections. And many of them appeare meerely as Iugglers, ſuch as are deſcribed in our Satyres, who (by counterfeited grauitie) diſguiſe great vices, whereof is ſaid; *That they ſhew themſelues to be wiſe men, and yet liue in diſſolution.*

Iugling tricks of the Phariſees.

Moſt of the Phariſees were of one molde. Execrable errours held by the Phariſees.

And although among the *Phariſies*, ſome were more modeſt then others, as *Gamaliel*; ſome alſo vnderſtanding the doctrine more purely, renouncing errors, as *Nichodemus*: yet notwithſtanding, the moſt part of them were of this coyne or ſtampe. They had execrable errors (concerning the Diuinitie) engrauen in their ſpirits, and touching the political Empire of the *Meſſias*. They vnderſtood nothing of the promiſe for remiſſion of ſins, nor of the true Inuocation. They had a falſe opinion of the *Moiſaical* ceremonies, and of their owne. Moreouer, they added other enorme vices to theſe; as to eſteeme wel of themſelues, for they reputed themſelues to be wiſe, iuſt, princes and pillers of Gods Church; preferring themſelues before al modeſt and religious people indeed, becauſe they affected to haue their carriage more ſeene and obſerued, themſelues to bee more honoured and feared, then any other. Neuertheleſſe, they were in continuall debates and variances, aſwell among themſelues, as the Citizens, feaſting together for pride, ambition, enuy, contempt, hatred, euill ſpeaking and venimous iniuries. So that through their priuate couetouſnes, they moued not only many domeſticall tumults, but aymed at the yoake of ſtrangers; for they were skilfull in thoſe artes (wel knowne among themſelues) in ſeeking to compaſſe a tyrannicall power.

Their pride in opinion of themſelues, and their actions, excelling all, and none good enough to be equall with them.

First of all, they ſtrengthened themſelues by the fauors of neighboring kings, of high Courts, mighty men, and planting factions among the people; forgetting to imitate the ancient ſaying; *If the Serpent doe not eate a Serpent, hee will neuer become a Dragon*. And either by calumnies, or other like means, they oppreſſed all ſuch, as (in emulation) were hinderers to their power. Aboue all, they were very ſpleenatiue againſt the profeſſors of true doctrine, carefully ſeeking all occaſions whereby to ſpoile them: as it is ſaid, they ſlew *Zachary* the Father to *Iohn Baptiſt*.

What maners and practiſes were in obſeruation amongſt the Phariſees.

Now although (as I haue formerly ſaid) that among the *Phariſes*, ſome were more modeſt then other, & ſome (being thereto admoniſhed) forſooke their errours, and embraced the true doctrine: yet notwithſtanding, the following Hiſtories of the Iewiſh people, and the Euangelicall narrations doe teſtifie, that the opinions and behauiour of this troupe, and all ſuch as made profeſſion of this Sect, partaking with them in their rites and ceremonies, were none other then as I haue heere ſet downe.

The foloing hiſtories wil make more apparant proofe of theſe people.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ *Concerning the originall of the other Sect, tearmed Sadduces, contrary in nature to the Phariſies, and what cuſtomes were obſerued among them.*

From whence the Sadduces had their originall.

IHaue beene the larger in diſcourſing on the *Phariſes*, in regarde that this Sect dazled or deceiued mens ſight, by an apparance of farre greater ſuperſtition, then that of the *Sadduces*, and going beyond them in authoritie. Now I ſhall (in briefe) ſay ſomwhat of the *Sadduces*, in ſo much, as this Sect receiued no originall from ſuperſtition; but rather from contempt of God, ſauouring to be Epicurian.

Foraſmuch as the *Phariſies* charged men with numberleſſe ceremonies, that neither their bodies or conſcienees could bear any more; like to ſome other in theſe later times, whoſe lawes and impoſitions haue growne beyond all meaſure, that many

In what manner the Sadducees began to inſinuate themſelues.

ſired (with teares) to be diſburdned: ſo ſtarted vp other profane people, who, without any true iudgement, looſing the bands of all reſtriction (by an *Epicurian* audacioufnes) inſtituted another Sect contrary to that of the *Phariſes*, naming themſelues *Sadduces*. For, to cary ſome eſteem before the people, they tooke this honorable title, deliuered from Iuſtice: For *Zaddikim* ſignifies Iuſtnes, & this name was oppoſite to that of the *Phariſes*, who were tearmed Interpreters, and diſputed on many things. Now it was a matter more notable and glorious, for men to be ſtiled Iuſt, and doers of the Law, then Interpreters and Diſputers. Others deduce the name from *Sedak*, a *Chaldean* word, which ſignifies to part or diuide. Bicauſe they vnderſtood the *Sadduces* to be termed (according as we ſpeake) Schiſmatickes, diuided from ſentence with the reſt of the church; but I gueſſe that their aduerſaries forged that Etymologie.

The Sadducees name held to bee more glorious then that of the Phariſes.

It is no great matter, whence the appellation came, let vs rather conſider the deed it ſelfe, & be terrified withall, in thinking on ſo horrible an example. Wherein plainly appeared the power of the diuell, forraging in this company, which bare the name of the church of God; conſidering, that (euen then) in people very well conditioned, among whom diſcipline was eaſily entertaind, becauſe their extendure was ſo ſmal, & where there were no ſtrangers to intermeddle; many durſt (by publike authority) propound moſt execrable errors, and erect, euen in the midſt of the Church, a Schoole like that of *Epicurus*. Let vs conſider on this alſo, that after theſe Churches were ſpread abroad farre & wide, many mighty errors were ſowne in & by them; as namely the confuſion of the Empire, and the conuerſation of Pagans, among whom they liued. Wherefore, let vs not flatter our ſelues, by a vain aſſurance of the name of the Church, as if that all had bin, or were without ſinne.

The diuells mightie power in theſe vnſeeded times.

Errors ariſing frō theſe diſſenting churches, by means of the Sect.

And although it is not poſſible to report all the mad prankes of the *Sadduces*, without great griefe and anguiſh; yet notwithſtanding, it is neceſſary the Hiſtorie ſhould be written. For, it plainly appeareth, that ſome profane Iewes brought a monſtrous audacioufnes into *Iudea*, and ſuch wicked opinions as they had learned of Pagans, meerely Epicurians, by haunting to them familiarly; for they carried no meane reſemblance with them. The Sect of the *Sadduces* retained the name of God, for feare leſt it ſhould appeare, that they would diſſipare the pollicie, which was ſingularly maintained by the bands of Religion. But they endeuoured to efface out of mens vnderſtanding, the true inuocation vpon God, and the true feare of him.

Monſtrous opinions brought into Iudea by certain profane Iewes.

They maintained, that mens ſoules being ſundred from their bodies, ſhould neuer reſt, and that men ſhould reuiue no more after death: neyther that any other iudgement was to be expected, wherein the iuſt were to be diſcerned from the vniuſt. The names of eternall life, & of hell, were to this Sect as meere fables and terrours to affright young children. And becauſe they would make their intention knowne, that it was to eaſe the mindes of men, from the burden of Phariſaicall traditions, and to teach liberty: they feigned, to recall men back to the writings of *Moſes*, and therefore alleadged his ſaying, where it is forbidden to adde to the Law. By this meanes they fruſtrated all the writings of the *Phariſes*, with all their interpretations and traditions: the releaſe and diſcharge whereof was pleaſing, and affected by many, becauſe that the number of them was well-neare infinite.

Furious and moſt mōſtrous blaſphemies held & maintained by the Sadduces.

All the Phariſes writings made voyde and of none account.

From thence, and there framing their beginning, they went on further vnder the ſame colour, & reiected all the Bookes of the Prophets (the bookes of *Moſes* onely excepted) auouching, that he neuer meant or ſpake, but of this preſent life onely. To maintaine the forme and order of their Commonwealth, they ſayd; That the law ought to be obeyd, & ſacrifices to be performed, becauſe God puniſhed great offences in this life. Contrariwiſe, for good actions and obedience, he gaue peace & abundance of goods: confirming al their fancies by the words of *Moſes*, where hee ſpeakes both of bleſſings and curſings.

All the Books of all the prophets reiected by the Sadducees, only the books of Moſes excepted.

The breuitie of this Doctrine, agreed and contented light headed ſpirits highly; and prophane perſons were not a litle delighted with theſe opinions: which were confirmed by the iudgement of ſenſe only, becauſe euery man thought that an intollerable burthen, and hardly gaue credite to thoſe Articles, which were out of his preſent ſight & comprehenſion. And

The Sadducees doctrine confirmed by the iudgemēt of ſenſe only

therefore this Sect (how wicked soeuer it were) wanted not store of followers.

A refutation of the grosse and abhominable errours of the Sadduces Sect.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of politicall societie, and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life, lest the companies of men should be consumed, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable councell best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked; as *Abell*, the children of *Israell* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Ieremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remayneth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For, seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Ieremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much dissented from his præscience; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denyed any other iudgement to remaine after death; did cut off the diuine and iust prouidence, from a great part of mankind, and especially from such as haue excelled in righteousnesse.

The Sadduces denyed any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The sacrificing Priest of the *Sadduces*, beeing at the Altare, conceiued, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth;) because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed throghout *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that suruiued, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Cittizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and prouidence to God, if instantly hee shewe not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remayneth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens soules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Prouidence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

The reason why the people of Israel were condemned by the Sadduces.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolues and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were reserued; so (no doubt) but God will stil continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her against all miseries whatsoeuer.

Matters left by the Author to the Readers discreete consideration

CHAP. IX.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the Pharises and Sadduces, who termed themselues by the name of Essæans: their originall, Religion and maner of life.

IT ordinarily happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselues into actiue motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Æolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled euery where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that politicall order commeth to bee once troubled and dis-ioynted; many diuisions must needes follow after. Many Sects exalted themselues, during these debates betweene the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detesting the prophane doctrine, and Ethnicke licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they set before mens eies (as a cloude of dissimulation) dreadfull seueritie, and and some seuere ceremonies; beganne to

Sects and diuisions being once in facte do beget many more to follow.

Distaste in some at both Pharises and Sadduces.

to diuide themselues from both one and other.

Essæans, workers, or reprouers of other mẽ, in regard of their owne excellencie.

And these Seperatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselues, called *Essæans, Workers*; by which title, they gaue mẽ to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherin they would seem more excellent then they: namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes: but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commaunded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths; *Euery word without work, is meerely vaine and vnprofitable.*

No mention made of the Essæans in the Ecclesiasticall historie.

There is no mention made of them in the Ecclesiasticall history, either becausse they had not inuẽted any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the Sacrificers: or in regard they dwelt at th'end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltida*, as in a retiremẽt, & neuer intermedled with the gouernment of affairs, shunning the contentions of the *Pharisies* and *Sadduces*. Their maner of life was like to that of the Monkes; for, either they were not maried, or if they were, they abstaind from their wiues; hauing their goods in cõmon, doing such businesses as were inioyned thẽ. They sought not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digd and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the natute of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animalls, learning their remedies, and exercising Phisicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

The maner how they liued far from the fashion of other men.

Vertuous and charitable qualities exercised by the Essæans.

Moreouer, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselues, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse sauors, coming either frõ wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was very commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when phisicke ought to be ministred. In briefe, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithful Phisition appeared in the most of them.

The Art of Physicke is meet and profitable to be learned by yong people.

And as it is a good thing, that youth should be enstructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of phisick, and to accustome their tender spirites to discipline, & the vnderstanding of virtue: euen so in the assembly of the *Essæans*, the very skilfullest were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many throghout *Iudea*. For al modest men, & such as shunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissentiõs, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctours of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so tempestuous in the Common-wealth, by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnnecessary contentions.

The doctrine and life of the Essæans aimd onely at two especial ends

The *Essæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fift houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Auncients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the gouernment of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thoght profitable for peace and tranquilitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

Concerning their meetings and assemblies.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publike & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & praier, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and prayer, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stoode with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Euening came, was spent in

What times they repu ed most conuenient for meditation and prayer.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in euery thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had beene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

The exercises after receiuing sustenance.

Now, although the order of their behauiour and actions were wisely gouerned, and many (in their Colledges) liued modestly; yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne couetous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in the neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was excommunicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint *Mathew*, Because there might no question be vrged, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne auncient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

Discipline ecclesiastical ordayned for such as offend against the lawes of their colleges.

Matth. 18.17.

This pollicie of the *Essæans*, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Gouernors, bodily labors, temperance, and modest maners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. *Iosephus* commended the College of the *Essæans*, comparing them to the Schoole of *Pythagoras*. *Pliny* also makes mention of them in very honorable maner, terming them *Essæneans*, as (since then) diuers other did; for there he speaketh of no other people, but onely the *Essæans*. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake *Asphaltida*, on the west side, not farre from the Citty of *Iericho*, where were the gardens of Balme. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of *Pliny*, and by *Iosephus*, it appeareth, that the colledge of the *Essæans* continued to the time of *Vespasian*: besides, *Iosephus* reporteth, that they carried themselues very valiantly in warre.

The principall parts of the doctrine taught by the Essæans.

Iosephin Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 9. Plin. in l. 5. c. 2.

The habitation of the Essæans.

Now wil we returne to *Hyrcanus*, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leauing 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. things; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the soueraigne Sacrificer: adding thereto, that he was beleeued to haue the spirit of Prophecie, & knowlege in things to come, by the gift of god.

The Authors returne to the former Historie.

CHAP. X.

Hauing briefly discourſed on the 3. ſeuerall Sects, of the Phariſes, Sadduces, and Eſſæans: we go backe againe where we formerly left, to ſpeake of Hyrcanus and his Sonnes.

IOhn *Hyrcanus* had fiue sonnes, *Aristobulus* the first, *Antigonus* the second; a graue yong man, who in his life time, accompanyed with his brother *Aristobulus*: expulsed *Antiochus Cyzicenus* out of *Iudea*, and tooke *Samaria*. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in *Galilee*, he went vp to *Ierusalem*, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of Tabernacles. His brother growing suspitious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troups; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

The valiant actes of Antigonus.

Antigonus slaine by his brothers meanes.

Alexander the third, called *Iamnes* also, had two sons, namely, *Hyrcanus* the first, *Aristobulus* the secõd, *Absolon* the fourth; being of a most milde and peaceable spirit, liued by himselfe priuately. A daughter of his was married to his cosin *Aristobulus*. The fift sonne of *Hyrcanus* is not named at all, and yet was slayne by his brother *Alexander*: because that (after the death of *Aristobulus*) he affected the kingdome.

The fift sonne of Hyrcanus slaine.

Aristobulus, after the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, being the first that changed the Principalitie into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother *Antigonus*, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she demaunded

Aristobulus crowned himself king of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principalitie, which *Hyrcanus* had left vnto her on his death-bed.

Antigonus the second son of Hyrcanus slaine.

Afterward, he caused his brother *Antigonus* to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde warriour, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from *Galilee*; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdome.

A strange iudgement of God iustly shewed vpon Aristobulus, & his despaire.

Immediately, beeing highly distasted by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grieuous paine in his entrails, and hauing cast vp a great quantitie of bloud by vomiting, the Page that carried the Bason from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of murdred *Antigonus*, and there he spilt the cast blood of *Aristobulus*: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iust vengeance; in excessiue torments both of soule and body, yeelded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdome of *Iudea*, and constrained the *Itureans* to vndergoe Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called *Philellin*, because hee vsed greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

People of Syria Caeles neere Arabia, very expert in shooting.

Alexander, called also Iannes.

HIs father *Hyrcanus* neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was foretolde him in his sleepe, that his riches and principalitie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offended, commaunded, that hee should be nursed in *Galilee*, like to a simple priuate person.

A prediction giuen to Hyrcanus in his sleepe.

After the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by *Aristobulus*. But *Aristobulus* dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne, by the means of *Alexandra*, wife to *Aristobulus*, to whom he had promised marriage.

Alexander attaineth to the Crowne.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised nouelties; and entertained the other (named *Absolon*) honorably, because he was of a peaceful spirit. Then taking order for publike affaires, hee besieged the cittie of *Ptolomais* round about. The cittizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from *Syria*, in regard of the ciuile warre, which made mighty hauocke there; called from *Cyprus* *Ptolomie Lathurus*, expulsed by his mother *Cleopatra*. He coming to them with 3000 men, *Alexander* retired his army into his countrey, and dispatched a messenger secretly into *Egypt*, desiring ayde of *Cleopatra* against her son *Lathurus*. Publikely he capitulated aliance with *Lathurus*, promising him 24 tuns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant *Zoilus*, who vsurped *Doris* and *Caesarea*, he would render those Seignories to the Iewes.

An Ile in the sea Carpathium, betweene Cilicia and Syria.

A country of Greece, neere the gulfe Meleacus.

But *Ptolomie* [illegible] aduertised of *Alexanders* secret machinations, breaking all alliances, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army, where *Alexander* mette him with his forces well appointed, and after a rude encounter, *Alexander* was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. *Lathurus* not a litle glorying in this victory, made mightie waste in *Iudea*, sacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in euery village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Iews. Very soone after, *Cleopatra* chased this Tyrant out of *Iudea*, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, the he would further insult vpon *Egypt*. *Alexander* went to visite her at the siege which she maintained before **Ptolomais*, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

The great cruelties of Lathurus against the vanquished Iewes in Iudea.

Much about this time, while *Lathurus* returned to *Cyprus*, and *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, *Alexander* tooke *Gadera*, *Anathunta* and *Anthedon*, and hauing held a long siege before *Gaza*, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of *Lysimachus*, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanely, he raced it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him but drew them from foorth the Temple of *Apollo* (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were ouertaken with a domesticall sedition: for, in the Feast of Tabernacles, hee was iniuried by the people, as vnworthy of the Priesthoode, because hee was borne of a slaue: And hardely it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

Tolomira by the red Sea.

Cities of Decapolis in Syria.

The barbarous butcheries of Alexander the High priest.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Alexander hardly escaped killing, & bloodily reuenged it on the people.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the *Iewes* vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entring vpon the vnarmed people, slew about sixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Persia* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, compelling them to pay him tribute.

The Moabites & Galaadites conquered.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountred with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, he escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad successe, the Pharisies (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the Iewish people likewise in mislike of him, with whom he warred (very hardly) sixe whole yeares. For the *Iewes* that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troopes as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee reigned: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Soldiors lay slaine in the field, & he had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, notwithstanding his instant calamity, some of the *Iewes* were hartened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and beeing assisted with some sixe thousand men, he made a smal recouery of his former losse.

The Iewes entred into ciuill warre gainst Alexander.

Alexander findeth helpe in his heauy extremity.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiuing the reuolt of the *Iewes*) retired his hoast home into his kingdome: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the *Iewes* (who were coniured against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by little and little, aswell through industry, as by vertue. And after he had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shutte vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Bethom*, which he enforced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For he tooke eight hundred of the principal *Iewes*, causing them all to be crucified, while he sate banquetting at a Table with his Concubines, and in the presence of al his inuited guests, hauing formerly commaunded their wiues and children to be miserably murdred. The rest (affrighted by this cruell example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

The most part of the Iewes in Armes still against Alexander.

Eight hūdred cheefe Iewes crucified by Alexander, while he banqueted with his Concubines.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continued more then sixe yeares; and wherein, aboue fifty thousand *Iewes* were slaine. After these domesticke troubles, by continuall courses hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen succour and retreate to the seditious *Iewes*, winning from them many Townes and Cities. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to abstaine (all this while) from trauaile and war, dyed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergesenians*, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdomes gouernment to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the Pharisies, whom he and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

Sixe yeares ciuill war cost the liues of more then fifty thousand Iewes.

Alexander died in war, besiedging a Castle.

He left two Sons: Hyrcanus & Aristobulus.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak heereafter; because first of all, we are to say some-what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

Alexandra, wife to Alexander Iannes.

After shee had instituted in the High-Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a priuate life: she succeeded in the kingdome after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the Pharisies, to whom she gaue authority, to reuocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had abolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the Pharisies administred the whole Regiment of the Kingdome at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vndertooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefest Councellors to the deceassed King *Alexander*, whō they suspected to haue incited him against the Pharisies Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alexander* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aristobulus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court)

Hyrcanus, eldest sonne to Alexander created high-Priest.

A woman reigneth ouer the Iewes.

Alexanders friends goe with Aristobulus to Rome

to

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

Tygranes king of Parthia vsurpeth ouer Syria.

At this time, *Tygranes* King of the *Parthians*, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*; because the *Syrian* Kings had consumed all their strength and power by domesticke warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the Citty of *Ptolomais*: whereof (neuertheless) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberall bounty of gifts. After the taking of *Ptolomais*, *Tygranes* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucullus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Aristobulus a great enemy to the Sect of the Pharisies.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sickneſſe, her Son *Aristobulus*, taking in ill part the dominion of the *Pharisies*: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got possession of the principall Cities in *Iudea*. In this feare of the Pharisies, and no great assurance of *Aristobulus*, who (neuertheless) approched neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth yeare of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But because she had encreased the power of the Pharisies; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

The death of Alexandra.

The sonnes of Alexander Iamnes, and of Alexandra, were (as hath bene said)

Hyrcanus the second.

Aristobulus the second.

War between the two Brethren, Aristobulus conquereth both kingdom and Priesthood.

Hyrcanus the second, naturally peacefull, and a louer of quietneſſe, was enstalled by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceassed Father. And moreouer, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he obtayned the kingdome. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobulus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the Fortresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdome and High-Priesthood beeing quitted to his Brother. For some time he endured these conditions, but beeing afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Idumean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobulus*; hee was induced to flye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Aretas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberall promises, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdome of *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus his flight into Arabia.

Aretas inuadeth Iudea to restore Hyrcanus.

Aretas inuading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobulus* at the encounter; ouercame him, and taking the Citty of *Ierusalem*, held him so long besiedged in the Temple, vntill by the command of *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army into *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proued to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranes*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High-Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the prouidence and seruices of *Antipater*; released *Aristobulus* vnder certaine conditions. Neuertheless, *Aristobulus* meaning nothing but meere mockery to all commands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem*: *Pompey* (in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defenced, where were slaine of the *Iewes*, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendred tributary to the *Romaines*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* hauing walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdome. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobulus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes. *Alexander* (who neuertheles escaped by the way) and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters likewise.

The two brethren pleade their cause before Pompey.

Iudea and Ierusalem made tributary to the Romans.

Ioseph. in Ant. Iud. lib. 3. cap. 7

Aristobulus led prisoner to Rome by Pompey.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the soueraigne Priesthood, about foure yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scaurus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when he besiedged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, he fel into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* only by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater*; as with *Gabinius*, *Crassus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Caesar* himselfe, to whō he sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindred in the war of *Egipt*. And because *Antipater* had caried himself valiantly, *Caesar* confirmd the high-Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*: & appointed *Antipater* to be

Hyrcanus in good fauor with many of the Romane Lieutenants.

Antipater protector of all Iudea.

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vse now adayes to speake) Protector of all *Iudea*. At the same time also, *Cæsar* permitted to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifications of the Citty of *Ierusalem*, which had beene beaten downe by *Pompey*.

Antipater poisoned by Malachus a Iew.

After that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine by the conspirators, a powerfull Iew, named *Malachus*, being offended at the encreasing greatnesse of *Antipater* the Idumean, and that the whole administration of affaires should be in his hand; surprized his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*, beeing destitute of so wise and valiant a Gouernour, fell to very miserable condition. For *Malachus*, tempesting his thoughts with mounting hopes, to become sole maister and commander; was slaine euen in the entrance to his enterprises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to whom (though he was as yet very yong) his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*. On the other side, the brother of *Malachus*, desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, theeued in the manner of an enemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son to *Aristobulus*, escaping from the prisons of *Rome*: leuying men of arms, made him selfe maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

Malachus slaine by Herode Antipaters sonne.

Antigonus escaped the Roman prisons.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of a thousand talents, which value sixe tuns of golde, and of fiue hundred most noble women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of *Persia*, to enter with a maine army into *Iudea*, to ouerthrow *Herode* and his brother *Phaselus*, whom *Anthonie* (one of the three Monarches) had before made Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. Which beeing done, they should perforce render the kingdom of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobulus*. *Pacorus* thinking it best, that *Herode* should bee surprized rather by subtiltie, then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on before with some bands of men, to get possession of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane while) would follow with his Armie by Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomais*, where he had ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete him with a passable Army. Many gaue kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running affectionately to him, and promising their ayde against *Herode*. Neuertheless, *Herode* and his brother found themselues the stronger in many encounters, not only within the Citty, but also without the walles.

Herode and Phaselus Tetrarches in Iudea.

Determination for the armies meeting

Finally, *Antigonus* distrusting his forces, called *Pacorus* into the Citty, vnder pretence, that (as an Arbitratour) hee should compound the difference for the Principalitie, which was betweene him and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tollerable: but his purpose was indeede, to surprize *Herode* vnprouided. Moreouer, hee laboured with his vnckle *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus*, worming it so into their heads, to go in embassie to *Barzaphernes* (remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and to preuaile so farre with him by rich presents, that he should retreite his power into *Syria*. To which councell *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to *Herode*) yeelding, without suspect of ill; were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the matter was in monopolizing) contrary to the right of Nations, and deliuered as captiues to *Antigonus*.

Antigonus practiseth by cunning to compas that which he aimed at.

Hyrcanus and Phaselus taken prisoners

Herode being formerly aduertised of these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* & *Pacorus*; went foorth of the Citty in the night season, with all his family, some friends, and 800. women, rich and excellent in beautie, and left the persons and their goods in custody of *Massada*, a well defenced Citty of *Idumea*: which being done, he went thorow *Egypt* to *Rome*, euen in the worst time of all the world.

Herode escapeth, and goeth secretly to Rome.

Phaselus, brother to *Herode*, doubting the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was without armes, and bound; ranne his head (with great violence) diuers times against the wall, and by that meanes slew himselfe.

Phaselus desperately kills himselfe.

Antigonus, not contented with the dispoyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priesthoode, caused him beside to become deformed, by cutting off his eares, fearing lest he should afterward attain to the Priesthood againe. For it was not lawfull, that any gelded man, or defectiue in any limbe or member of body, should administer in sacrificing. Moreouer, distrusting that he had not sufficiently enough prouided for his owne security; hee deliuered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*, to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as possibly they could.

The cruelty of one brother to another.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the notice of the barbarous vnciuile people, and they singularly displeased for the women,

The spoyle & hauocke of the barbarous multitude, & Hyrcanus led away captiue.

The spoile & hauock of the barbarous multitude, & Hyrcanus led away captiue.

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had promised to them; pilled and spoyled the citty, and the pallace royall. And yet not satisfied with this booty, robbed many places about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any thing behinde them. And after they had ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem*: they withdrew their armed troups home into their owne countrey, leading *Hyrcanus* (the soueraigne Sacrificer) along with them captiue.

Hyrcanus deliuered by K. Phraates, and sent into Babylon.

It was not long after, that *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the nobilitie whereof he was descended; did set him at libertie, and sent him into *Babylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes inhabiting there, where, for about fiue yeares he was in great honor. But hauing heard, that not onely *Herode* obtained the kingdome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Cæsar*; but also, that he was conioined to him in affinitie, because hee had taken in marriage his Niece *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexander*: he thought on returning him backe againe, promising him mountaines and meruailes, for the goodwill of *Herode*.

Herode worketh with the King of Parthia, for the return of Hyrcanus into Iudea.

About this time it fortuned, that *Herode*, desirous to beget vnto him the courage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repealed him backe by Lettets and Ambassadors, and foorthwith sent great Presents to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the ransome for his captiuity. Whereupon, *Hyrcanus* thinking there would not be any further question of deferring; contrary to the councell of al the Iews which were in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly to stay there, as fearing that which followed after) returned into *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus honourably entertained by Herode.

Herode wellcomed him very magnificently, and (for some time) vsed him honourably; euen to the appealing of his father, and often conferring with him on the very principall affaires. Notwithstanding, he would not surrender to him the principality of the high-Priesthood, for the defect of his eares: but, instead of *Antigonus* (slaine before) substituted a certaine man, named *Ananelus*, come from *Babylon*, to enioy the Priesthood. Soone after, he gaue manifest signes of his deadly hatred, against all the posterity of the *Asmoneans*. As, when (by a close ambush) he slew *Aristobulus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*, and his most dearely affected wife *Mariana*, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

The cruel and bloody murdering of the Asmoneans by Herode.

Finally, after the ouerthrow of *Marke Antony*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom *Herode* had beene companion, and sent him succors diuers times in war; as some sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of *Augustus*, being Conquerour, and of his aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*, but especially fearing the people (who loued him not) should mutiny by this occasion, & transferre the kingdom of their Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remained of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*) began to lay snares and close contriuings against the life of the miserable old man. For, he imposed a false crime vpon him, that hee would haue vsurped the Kingdome: and to make it probable, he composed counterfeited Letters; whereupon he being condemned by sentence of the great Consistory, was executed, albeit he was aboue 80. yeares olde. All his life time was troublesome vnto him, being agitated with infinit accidents of fortune, yet he (naturally) affecting quietnes, and a meane estate. Only heerein reprehensible, that he was too facile, in listening to such as prouoked him on to the attempting of fond nouelties.

Hyrcanus only left of the noble Asmoneans family.

Herod caused Hyrcanus to be most wrõg fully put to death.

Aristobulus the second.

BRother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus* the second, and sonne of *Alexander*: As young a man as he was, and of hote and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for nine yeares space, he left to his Mother the administration of the Kingdome, which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to hir; contenting himselfe with a priuate life. But at the length, his mother being detayned by a long sickenesse, and very dangerous, and he (not a little offended) that all matters were guided according to the fancie of the Pharises; by stealth made his recourse into the citty, and conferred with the friends to his deceassed father, who had the keeping of the Castles. Being ayded by them in bountifull maner, he gathered an army; by whose assistance, hee possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring places about *Ierusalem*.

Aristobulus had a gallant, youthfull and hote disposed nature.

His strengthning himselfe by his fathers friends.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon this his preparatiue for warre; *Hyrcanus*, who all the life time of his mother as Queene, had held the High-priest-hood: being

being the eldeſt ſon, made himſelfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *Iericho*, with an army ordred in good equipage. But being left of his people, who reuolted to *Ariſtobulus*, vnder hope and perſwaſion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to ſhield himſelfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for ſome time beſieged by his brother, and finally deliuered, vpon condition, that he ſhould leaue the Kingdome and High-prieſthoode to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himſelfe.

Hyrcanus is ouercome by Ariſtobulus in battell.

Some while after, hee conueyed himſelfe couertly into *Arabia*, by the perſwaſion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Ariſtobulus* knowing the comming of *Arctas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, went foorth to meete them: and beeing vanquiſhed in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Ieruſalem*, where hee was (for a time) beſieged by the enemies, that cloſely followed his footing, vntill ſuch time, as hauing promiſed 300. talents to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he preuailed thereby ſo well; that *Scaurus* ſending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the ſiege was raiſed; and *Ariſtobulus*, deſirous to be reuenged, aſſembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*, of whom he ſlew ſixe thouſand in one fight.

The hope of Hyrcanus to recouer the Kingdome againe from his brother Ariſtobulus.

Seaurus raiſeth the ſiege which was laid to Ieruſalem.

While theſe things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the Eaſt parts, came to *Damas*, where *Ariſtobulus* ſent him a magnificent Preſent, accuſing his brother *Hyrcanus* very ſtrongly to be a perturber of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren ſhould be perſonally preſent, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderſtanding the difference betweene them, was more inclined to the caſe of *Hyrcanus*; as well for the equitie of his cauſe, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuertheleſſe, he ſuffered *Ariſtobulus* to depart, vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* beeing highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army which he had brought againſt the *Arabian* * *Nabathæans*. And becauſe *Ariſtobulus* had againe mocked *Gabenius*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furniſhing him (according to promiſe) concerning the deliuering of certaine ſummes of money: *Pompey* beeing much incenſed by the diſloyalty of *Ariſtobulus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Ieruſalem*, and becauſe the Iews would not yeeld themſelues, he tooke the Cittie by force, ayded by the councell of *Hyrcanus*, on the faſting day of the third month before *Pentecoſt*; and in the yeare when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conſpiracie of *Cataline* in *Rome*.

The coming of Pompey to Damas.

Pompey entred into Iudea with his Armie.

* People of Arabia Felix betweene the Perſian Sea and the red Sea.

Ieruſalem ſurpriſed by Pompey and his power.

In the ſurprizall of the Citty two and twenty thouſand Iewes were ſlaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to ſee ſuch things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderſtanding that there were great ſummes of Golde and gold money in the Treaſury, and twelue tuns of ſiluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the high-prieſthood, and cauſed the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motiues to the rebellion of *Ariſtobulus*. Afterward, he demoliſhed the walles of *Ieruſalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Alſo he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Cities and Townes of the *Aſmoneans*, which were take before from the Kings of *Syria*: reſtoring alſo ſuch to libertie, as in times paſt had liued in freedome. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iews within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

The Sanctuarie polluted and profaned by the Romaines.

The Cities and Townes of the Aſmoneans adiudged to the empire of the Romane people.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Scaurus*, taking *Ariſtobulus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two ſonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceiued his keepers) eſcaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the ſeruitude of the Iewiſh nation, who were thus enthralled to the power of the *Romaines*. The diſcord of two brethren gaue the firſt occaſion of this calamitie: three-

Iudea brought into ſlauery by the diſcord of 2. brethren.

three score yeares before the natiuitie of Christ; foure yeares before that *Aristobulus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrcanus* deiected from the seate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Iakin*, father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the same yeare that *Ierusalem* was surprized.

The infringement of heauen inflicted vpon Pompey

I thought it fit also, to insert heere the sad issue and successe of *Pompey*, considering, that it seemed to be done diuinely, that hee should be murdered face to face the place which hee had profaned, aswell by effusion of bloud, as by foolish audaciousnesse. For, foureteene yeares after the taking of *Ierusalem*, being vanquished by *Cæsar* in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, and thinking to saue himselfe by flying to the Sonne of *Ptolomie* the Fleutster, whom he had recommended to the Romaine Senate, when he was chased and banished out of his Kingdome neare to * *Pelusium*, coming foorth of a small Barke, and aged about three score yeares; he was slaine by the command of King *Ptolomy*, in the presence of his wife *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgill* wrote these verses on his death:

A towne on the edge of Egypt.

The death of Pompey.

A great Trunck lying vpon the Sea shore,
A bodie without head; a head lying
Farre from the shoulders.

Pelusium is distant from *Ierusalem*, a little more then thirtie *Germaine* miles, but iust confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Seauen yeares after the surprizing of *Ierusalem*, *Aristobulus*, being escaped from imprisonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*, where againe he fortified the Fort of *Alexandrion*, which *Gabinius* had destroyed. Many Iewes (affecting nouelties) ranne to him, so that being accompanied with eight thousand chosen men; hee dared to encounter with the *Romaines*, which *Gabinius* (then Proconsull for *Syria*) conducted, who, but a little before, constrained *Alexander*, the other sonne of *Aristobulus* (thinking to possesse himselfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp those Fortresses, and to craue peace. But *Aristobulus*, sustaining the worst in a sharpe fight, retired with two bands of men, into the most strong towne of *Macheron*, scituated on the Lake *Asphaltida*, somewhat a little lower then the place where *Iordaine* entreth into it. In which towne Saint *Iohn Baptist*, beeing a long while imprisoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romaines* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobulus* taken, was led to *Gabinius*, wounded as he was; and so the second time sent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

The first of Alexandrion newly fortyfied.

Macheron the place where Iohn the Baptist was put to death.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinius*, attended by his Gendarmery, reseated *Ptolomie* the Fleutster in his Kingdome, he being expulsed thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exploite he was assisted by *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the Idumean. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempests, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*: but *Gabinius* ouercame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chased him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing massacred ten thousand Iewes.

Ptolomie the Fleutster restored to his Kingdome by Gabinius

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Prouince, gouerning all matters quietly, according to the testimony of *Iosephus*. And hauing repayred many Townes, which had beene much spoyled in the preceedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Crassus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre against the *Parthians*, arriued there in *Syria*, in the yeare after his second Consulship, one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Christ.

Iosephus Ant. Iud. lib. 9. c. 15

Marc. Crassus receiueth charge of the armie.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great masse of money locked vp in the Temple of the Iewes, went to *Ierusalem*, and was admitted to the most secret place of the Temple; from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promise) he carryed away more then ten thousand talents, that is to say, three score tunnes of golde; beside a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Iosephus* expoundeth it) seuen hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to fiue Quintalles and more then an halfe of our weight. *Eleazar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Crassus* very willingly, because he had promised and protested by oathe, that hee would not touch any treasure of the Temple, no more then *Pompey* had done tenne yeares before.

Crassus breaketh his faith plighted to Eleazas guardian of the Temple.

Now, concerning this auaritious Proconsull, soone after, he dearely payed for his wilfull periury and sacrilege; beeing miserably

The iustice of heauen on Crassus for his periury & sacriledge.

miserably slaine by the *Parthians*, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardly yong man, and wel-neare thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassius* was then threescore yeares of age.

Pitholaus a Iew raiseth tumults on the behalfe of Aristobulus.

In the meane while, one *Pitholaus*, a very powerfull Iew, and friend to *Aristobulus* the captiue; after his second surprizall, beganne to raise tumults in *Iudea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassius*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he ransacked the Cities of *Iudea* for want of mony: he was perswaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces against *Pitholaus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Iudea* for some time.

Cassius takes Pitholaus prisoner.

Fiue yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and *Cæsar* comming to *Rome* (forsaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Iudea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburied, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Iudea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Aristobulus poysoned and buried in the Sepulchre of kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobulus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing been twise taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteene yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and seditious spirit, for, being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Iudea* with his brother *Hyrcanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which proued the ruine of all his nation.

The seditious spirit of Aristobulus.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrcanus* the second his first sonne, soueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cosin *Alexander*: a woman wise, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobulus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alexandra*. First married to *Philippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomie* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Philippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, against *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wife.

Alexander the second.

Surprized with his father *Aristobulus* by *Pompey*; before he arriued at *Rome*, deceiued his guardes, and escaped. Fiue yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee inuaded *Iudea*, expulsed his vncle *Hyrcanus* from *Ierusalem*, repayred the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinius*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, hauing fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the Citty of *Alexandrion*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chiefest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexanders* mother (who always condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne against the *Romaines*) shee obtayned pardon for *Alexander*. Neuertheless, *Gabinius* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobulus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobulus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regarde that that valiant woman, had euermore take good part with the *Romaines*.

Alexander escaped from his keepers before hee came to Rome.

The expiloits of Gabinius Syria.

The kindnes of Gabinius for the sonnes of Aristobulus.

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinius*, but *Alexander*, being returned into *Iudea*, returned bad recompence to *Gabinius*, and the Senate, for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinius* to be hindred in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already beene said) being fauored with thirty thousand men: againe he stroue to subiugate *Iudea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about fiue yeares after.

The ill requitall of Alexander to Gabinius and the Romaine Senate.

Gabinius being returned into *Iudea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, he vnited the forces of the *Romaine* Armie, giuing

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*, wherein ten thousand *Iewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in route. *Alexander* striuing to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and his father *Aristobulus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprise, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romanes* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed against the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: whereuppon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few moneths after the death of his father *Aristobulus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuity of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin sayd.

Treacherie and disloyalty lies in wait for fit opportunity.

Alexander accused of cruelitie before Scipio, & beheaded.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrcanus* the second.

Alexanders children.

Aristobulus the third,
And
Mariana, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexanders* children, because I am desirous first to relate somwhat, concerning the actions & fortuns of his brother *Antigonus*.

Antigonus, the last sonne to *Aristobulus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinius*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Iudea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinseman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romanes*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Iulius Cæsar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spaine*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, aswell of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobulus*, as also of his brother *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

Antigonus was twise sent prisoner to Rome.

Antigonus complay neth to Iulius Cæsar against the gouernements of Antigonus.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who beeing but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had (neuertheless) vsurped the kingdome of the *Iewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrcanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principalitie from the Iewish: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transferre it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the onely man left, to whom the lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, beeing spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the Iewish principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

The allegations interred against Antipater by Antigonus.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cæsar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrcanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes beene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Iudea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobulus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauors he had euer extended to the *Romane* Captaines. *Cæsar* beeing thereto mooued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priesthoode to *Hyrcanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity, he constituted him Tutor of all *Iudea*.

Antipater accuseth Aristobulus and his sons before Cæsar.

Antigonus dismissed from Cæsar without any successe.

Antigonus much displeased with this refusall, returned to his kinseman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Iulius Cæsar* was murdered by the Conspiratours. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was forraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre against *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

Antigonus inuaded Iudea agayne with freſh forces.

neighbouring kings, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerfull and ſtrong, repelled and gaue him ſharpe repulſe, after the fighting of a battell with him.

An office for gouerning the fourth part of the Realme.

Some yeares after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreaſed the power of *Herode*, hauing ordayned him (with his brother *Phaſelus*) Tetrarches of all *Iudea*: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of *Iudea* ſhould bee deuolued vnto ſtrangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a yong man of a fiery temper, named *Lyſanias*, his kinſman and hoſte; into whoſe hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore beene ſayd) *Alexandra*, the Siſter of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon theſe concluſions, another occaſion (very apt and opportune) offered it ſelfe, becauſe (as then) the *Parthians* inſulted ouer the Prouince of *Syria*, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*. *Lyſanias* hauing ſent great preſents to them, and a thouſand Talents promiſed by *Antigonus*, as alſo fiue hundred women, excelling in nobility and beauty; they were heereby incited, to reſeate *Antigonus* in poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome.

New deuiſes and machinations of Antigonus to compaſſe his intent.

What cannot gold and women procure?

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expreſſed the ſtratagem of the barbarous people, to ſurprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſelus* (being Ambaſſadours) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, ſending him alſo captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more ſafely enioy the High-prieſthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by ſuch wicked cunning and practiſes, could not keepe firme, or laſt any long while. For ſoone after, *Herode* going to *Rome*, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his flight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and diſloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In briefe, hee ſped ſo well in his purpoſe, that inſtead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all *Iudea*, by conſent of *Auguſtus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of *Rome*. And although ſome *Romane* Captaines, being ſent with Legions into *Syria*, had charge to expulſe *Antigonus*, and put *Herod* in poſſeſſion of the Iewiſh kingdome: yet notwithſtanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into *Iudea*.

Authoritie gotten by vniuſt meanes muſt needes in ioy the leſſe continuance.

Antigonus bribes the Romaine Captaines.

At length, *Anthony* vndertaking warre againſt the *Parthians*, *Soſius* was ſent into *Iudea* with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, beſieged ſome few moneths the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the ſeuenth yeare after the death of *Cæſar*, or of the Empire of *Octauius Auguſtus*, and the ſelfe ſame day that *Pompey* (ſeauen yeares before) had taken it.

Soſius ſent with an armie to reſeate Herode as King of Iudea.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either ſide) ſlew and murdered one another, without ſparing eyther age or ſexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the ſight of ſuch a ſlaughter among the Cittizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Soſius* the *Romane* Captaine, crauing pardon for his offences, and deſiring (aboue all elſe) that hee would remit the common people, who were no warriours, and to ſpare the Temple. But the prowd Conquerour, making a mockerie of the ſuppliant King, called him oftentimes (in deriſion) *Antigonas*, and after ſent him captiue into *Syria* to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

Antigonus yeeldeth himſelfe to Soſius who ſent him captiue into Syria.

Herode being poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertiſed, that *Anthony* purpoſed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to *Rome*. And fearing withall, that in due conſideration of his nobilitie, or in compaſſion of his miſerie, *Auguſtus* and the Senate would free him from impriſonment, and ſend him backe agayne into *Iudea*: with much ado, he obtaind of *Anthony*, by many reaſons alleadged, and great gifts beſtowed, that *Antigonus* was ſlaine.

Herode ſuſpicious of the re-aduancement of Antigonus, worketh his death.

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all other, was, that *Iudea* would neuer be peaceable, ſo long as *Antigonus* liued. Conſidering, that many *Iewes* were ſo diſpleaſed by being ſubiects to him; as it was not poſſible, by horrible and extreameſt torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in ſeditions and mutinies, where ſuch a Commaunder as *Antigonus* ſhould beare rule,

The reaſons that procured the death of Antigonus.

rule, against the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the last King of the *Asmoneans*, was slaine by the *Romains* in *Antioche*; after that *Herode* had expulsed him, and led away his vncle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtayned about fiue yeares the kingdome of *Iudea*, by helpe of the *Parthians*: twelue yeares after the death of his father *Aristobulus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares also before the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ our Sauior.

Antigonus was the last king of the Asmondans.

Afterward, the Principalitie of the Iewish people, taken from the Sacerdotall Familie of the *Asmoneans*, and especially, from the nation of the *Iewes*: fell into the hand of *Herode* the soune of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, and of his sonnes, and sonnes sonnes. So that from the first yeare of *Iudas Macchabeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the warlike troupes, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ierusalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire masle, but only one daughter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had these children.

The Sacerdotall Familie of the Asmoneans ended.

{ *Aristobulus* the the third
{ *Mariana*.

Obserue the computation of the yeares.

This *Aristobulus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was beheaded at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*. Afterward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-priesthood by this occasiō.

Aristobulus attaineth to enioy the hie-priesthood.

Herode beeing fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not establish in the hie-priesthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his banishment in *Babylon*: as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denyed imperfect or dismembered people, to minister in the holy Temple, and such a one was the eare-lesse *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soueraigne Sacrificer; another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was lately come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daughter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *Herode* made none account of her father, nor of her sonne *Aristobulus*, but had conferred the high-priesthood vpon a strange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to incite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-priesthood might be conferred vpon her sonne *Aristobulus*.

Ananelus a new made Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Herode hauing intelligence hereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, whereby he was charged to send him *Aristobulus*; fearing lest *Anthony* (although a wicked minded man) wold be inueigled with the beautie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Priesthoode, but likewise of some portion in the kingdom; made a modest denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Aristobulus* should be sent out of *Iudea*, it would be the occasion of many mutinies to arise in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Neuertheless, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Mariana*, who he sawe trauelled so earnestly on the behalfe of *Aristobulus*, and to the end, they should compasse no more contriuings, with working new cases to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: of his owne goodwill, hee deposed *Ananelus* from the High-priesthood, and inuested therein *Aristobulus*: Notwithstanding, being highly offended against his mother *Alexandra*, for working such close and vnder-hand practises: he gaue order, that shee should be arrested, and more warily attended within the Pallace, because (hereafter) she should not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Herodes cunning denyall to Marke Anthony, for not sending Aristobulus to him.

Shee beeing a Lady of great resolue, scorned this suspition and distrust in the King, holding it most dishonourable in him, to be so watchfully kept and obserued: by a faythfull and secret Messenger, signified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her sonne *Aristobulus*, should be sent to her in *Egypt*.

Alexandra kept with watch and warde.

To compasse her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had caused two Coffins and Beeres to bee prepared, such as the dead are vsed to bee carried vpon into buriall: wherein shee and her sonne should bee carried to the Sea side; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for transporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

The subtile deuice of Alexandra, to escape from the custodie of Herode.

Alexandra imparted this deuice of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whome shee knew to bee farre out of fauour with *Herode*: because hee stoode suspected as one consenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *Herode*, who formerly had beene poysoned; and therefore shee made no doubt, but

Sabbion would bee the more sure and secret, in furthering of her escape from thence.

Sabbion proued falle, and betrayed Alexandra to Herode.

But hee considering, that now hee had an apt occasion thrust euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued suspition of poysoning, and make good proofe of his loyaltie to the King; declared the whole intent and purpose vnto him, and how it was to be perfourmed.

Especiall Spies and Guardes were appoynted, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but most of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, should be transported away, and in such artificiall order euery thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both surprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and seuere threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no small affliction of *Alexandra* and *Aristobulus*, to be so treacherously preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiseration, hee promised his free and gracious pardon for this offence, prouided, that (afterward) they should not practise any such attempt againe.

No miserie more, then to finde treason where trust is faithfully reposed.

This clemencie hee then vsed, fearing lest if he should haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the displeasure of *Cleopatra*, who was consenting to the manner of their escape. And yet hee would gladly haue punished this feminine boldnesse in her, but (aboue all) faine he would haue *Aristobulus* dispatched out of the way: because hee was the High-priest, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall discent, and many singuler graces in him.

Aristobulus highly pleaseth the people in the feast of Tabernacls by euerything that he did or said.

In the proiecting of these his wicked deuices, it chaunced to be the Feast of Tabernacles, when *Aristobulus*, beeing richly adorned in his Priestly garments, performed the office of soueraigne Sacrificer, with such extraordinarie grauitie and decencie: that both in respect of his age, stature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleasing in euery eie, so that the people standing about him, showted out aloude with ioy, applauding euery gesture, and any thing that hee did or said, with clapping their hands, expressing the fauour and inclination of all the people to *Aristobulus*, and what desire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the present estate of the Kingdome, therein plainely appeared.

Herode conspireth the death of Aristobulus.

Herode ill digesting this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increase daily more and more; began to seeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compasse the death of *Aristobulus*. And it came to passe, that the Feast being ended, *Alexandra* feasted him in the citie of *Iericho*, as hoping to qualifie all displeasure in the King. *Herod* there shewed him selfe so chearefull and gracious to the women, as possibly might be, and (aboue all) to the youthfull Lord,) so that the whole day was spent in sports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Aristobulus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had somewhat extraordinarily heated himselfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, thereto appoynted by the King; prouoked *Aristobulus*, to coole his sweating by swimming in a fish-pond neare adioyning.

Outward shewes are not at all times to be trusted for honest meaning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way suspitious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto soone perswaded. And as he came swimming neere to the banckes side: they threw water on him in iesting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at last he was quite stifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himselfe alone) seemed not to thinke on any such matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towardes him: one while he grieued, another while raged, threatning the guard with death, for being so ouer-bold with him. Before the Mother and Sister of *Aristobulus*, he presented himselfe in most wofull maner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a most magnificent funerall for him, and whereat there wanted no cost and pompe. By this hellish fraude in *Herode*, was *Aristobulus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-priesthood, which *Herod* restored *Ananelus* againe vnto, *Hyrcanus* the second, yet liuing, who remayned the onely masle of the *Asmonean* race, and

Herodes cunning trechery in procuring the vnsuspected death of Aristobulus.

Pompe and cost do many times couer monstrous & horride actions.

The last masle childe of the Asmonean race.

was

was not fit to administer the Priesthoode, as hath alredy beene declared.

Mariana.

Mariana wife to King Herode, and his other wife Doris put away.

Sister to this *Aristobulus*, daughter to the second *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of the second *Hyrcanus*, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. *Herode* espoused her, after he was declared King by the *Romanes*, a little before the surprizing of *Ierusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*: hee hauing repudiated his wife *Doris* of *Idumea*, by whome hee had a sonne named *Antipater*. This diuorce was the cause, that *Mariana* was continually in the dislike of *Cipris*, mother to the King, of his sister *Salome*, and of some other women beside. Herselfe also (afterward) encreased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being issued and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

Reasons alledged why Mariana did not affect king Herode, nor his mother and sister

It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldome in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea* from her father *Alexander*, and put to death her vncle *Antigonus*, and had also (by treason) murthered her brother *Aristobulus* the third, a worthy innocent yoong Prince: Adding withall, that he had executed her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, a good olde man, imposing vppon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdained amiable conuersation with him, who had giuen her so many occasions of extreame affliction; considering also, that the eares of this yoong Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull iniuries and complaints, which her Mother *Alexandra* continually made against the house of *Antipater*.

Mariana molested with many complaints.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall heereafter more at large relate in the life of *Herod.*) And *Salome* the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspition; adding moreouer, an intent of impoysoning him. Wherein she taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon *Herodes* intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by *Herode* before his friends, and slayne by the sentence of them. Shee left fiue children liuing, which shee had by *Herode*, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two *Agrippaes*, to whom the Royall power in *Iudea* remayned, vntill the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

Mariana suspected by Herode, and accused of adultery.

The death of Mariana.

All the other race of *Herode*, which he had by nine other wiues, and in great number, fayled, as shall be declared in their due places.

Herodes issue by nine wiues vtterly failed

Almost all the whole family of the *Asmoneans*, beeing thus expressed, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of *Antipater*: but *Alexandra* yet resteth of the *Asmoneans*, who was daughter to the second *Hyrcanus*, and wife to the second *Alexander*. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of *Herode*: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to descipher heere summarily, the wofull misaduentures of this Ladie: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, she seemeth to me the most vnfortunate, as well by accident, as thorow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.

Alexandra remained of the race of the Asmoneans, and most vnfortunate.

Iamnes.

Hyrcanus 2. *Aristobulus.*

Alexandra. *Alexander* 2. *Antigonus.*

Aristobulus 3. *Mariana.*

The kingdom and High priesthood taken from her father.

FIrst of all, this *Alexandra* beeing but a young maid, saw, after the death of *Alexandra* her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the deceasse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father *Hyrcanus*, by his brother *Aristobulus*, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cosin *Alexander*; and the Cittie of *Ierusalem* beeing surprized by *Pompey*: she saw the pitifull fortune of her father, most vnhappily performed, to the

great harme of the country and her selfe, being accomplished with horrible massacres, foule prophanation of the Temple, slaughter of infinite Citizens, besides robberies of their goods. Moreouer, the destruction of the Cittie walles, insupportable exactions, with a perpetuall yoake of most seuere dominion of the *Romaines*: beside the captiuity and transport of her vnckle *Aristobulus*, her husband *Alexander*, and her cosin *Antigonus*, to be led villainously (in derision) through the Citie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were causes of no meane griefe to *Alexandra*.

The diuers aduersities & calamities happening to Alexandra.

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her husband *Alexander* by the way, who came to make new tumults in *Iudea*: but being ouerthrowne in many encounters, and beside despoyled of all enabling forces: she sawe him againe sent captiue to *Rome* by *Gabinius*, with his father *Aristobulus*, and his brother *Antigonus*.

A second subiection of Alexander to the slauerie of the Romaines

Againe, shee sawe him sent into *Iudea*, where growing as tempestuous and troublesome as before: he was agayne chased out of the Countries limits, wandering from thence as a poore vagabond and banished man. At length, she heard that (by the commaund of *Pompey*) he was shamefully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a little before) his father *Aristobulus*, after a long detention of his person, being (with great difficulty) deliuered from imprisonment, was poysoned.

His expulsion out of Iudea like a poore exile, and shamefull execution.

Next, shee saw the Cittie of *Ierusalem* taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her father *Hyrcanus* (by fraude and deceite in *Aristobulus*) apprehended, his ears cut off, and led away into the enemies land. She, in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got forth by night with her Mother, the wife, the sister of *Herode*, and many other Ladies, hauing her son with her, aged a dosen yeares, and her daughter little more then he: but both exposed to infinite iniuries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of great wrongs to their tender yeares, the barbarous people spoyling and rauishing all whersoeuer they came.

Hard and wofull extremities for a Ladie to suffer and endure.

From thence she was sent (with the other Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the Citty of *Massada* in *Idumea*, in great feare and danger of *Antigonus*, then reigning: where shee remayned about two yeares, vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtained the title of King by the *Romaines*) returned into *Iudea*; and finding there his power to be strongest, deliuered her and the rest from imprisonment.

Her imprison ment with other Ladies in Indumea.

A third time also she saw the Citty of *Ierusalem* taken, ransacked, and filled with murders, by the Souldiors of *Herode* and *Sosius*: her cosin *Antigonus* led prisoner to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to execution.

Ierusalem surprized a third time.

Alexandra sawe and felt all these extremities, before the Kingdome of *Herode* could be confirmed: which beeing once effected, she likewise beganne to breathe, seeming fully acquitted from all calamities. Nay, which is more, she might haue setled hir estate in the height of happines, if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes fauours, as they showred themselues in plentifull manner vpon her.

The gifts of fortune should haue some vse made of them

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced his first wife *Doris*, and defeated his sonne *Antipater*, from all hope of succeeding after him; hauing married *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most singularly affected, as wel for her beautie, as many other graces of spirit wherewith she was plentifully endowed. Hereupon ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being called to the Court, was worthily respected, and had great credite with the King and all other. Her Father *Hyrcanus* also (already returned from exile) was reuoked home into his countrey: to him *Herode*, and the rest (by the Kings example) yeelded great honour, as vnto their Father.

The great fauours and honour done to Alexandra in the Court.

But *Alexandra* ouerthrew all this happines, by her vehement ambition, fiercenesse and impatience; so that (at length) she became to be enueloped with mighty calamities, and was the cause of her owne death. For, taking in high displeasure, that *Ananelus* was authorized with the High-priesthood, without any regard of her sonne *Aristobulus*, to whom it appertained by hereditarie right: she grew to machinate many dangerous matters, to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the Priesthood, procuring (by the meanes of *Cleopatra*) to incense *Marke Anthonie* against *Herode*. Which being discouered, she yet attayned the felicitie, that her son was made soueraigne Sacrificer: but her selfe was not in so noble estate as before, because shee was heedefully guarded, as one

Alexandra ouerthrew all her faire fortunes, & caused her owne vntimely death.

Aristobulus aduanced to the hie-priesthoode.

one dangerouſly enclined, and much ſuſpected by the king.

Her ſecret practiſe of flight to Cleopatra, and diſcouerie.

She, not able to endure this intollerable rigor of the King, being ſhut vp from the vſe of her libertie; practiſed ſecretly to eſcape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin ſaid, and being taken with her ſonne in the very act, wel vnderſtood, that ſhe was then runne into the vnrecouerable hatred of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame ſorrow ſhe ſuffered, to ſee her ſonne *Ariſtobulus* ſo treacherouſly murthered, might well haue admoniſhed her: that it much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie by Patience, then roughly to wraſtle with a Kings courage, naturally addicted to wickedneſſe.

She accuſed Herod before Marke Anthonie for hir ſons murder.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into danger, by accuſing him before *Anthony*, for the murdering of her ſonne: ſhe won nothing thereby, but much more contempt and hatred in the King. Inſomuch, that her daughter (otherwiſe choicely cheriſhed by the King) found his affection to wexe coole; but not without cauſe and ſuſpition, in regarde of her Mothers cunning contriuings. Adding withall, that her father *Hyrcanus* was not ſo much honoured, neither reſpected by the king, as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexandra* tooke occaſion, to incite her father againſt *Herode*, aduiſing him to flie to *Maluchus*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then, when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the King was in great danger, ſtanding then in no meane feare, becauſe *Auguſtus* was Conquerour. For the wily woman did thinke, that if ſhe could procure diſpleaſure in *Auguſtus* againſt *Herode*, for his friendſhip to *Marke Anthonie*; the Scepter would be taken from the *Idumean*, and reſtored to the true heires of the houſe of the *Aſmoneans*.

She councelled her father to flight from Herode.

Auguſtus conqueror in the day at Actium

This vnhappy councell being diſcouered, by the meanes of intercepted letters; was the cauſe of putting to death the good olde *Hyrcanus*, aged foure ſcore yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the very depth of ſorrowes. Neuertheleſſe, her ſtomak ſtroken with ſo many wounds; and, euen hardned (as it were) againſt all grieuances whatſoeuer, was ſcarcely ſenſible of any of theſe oppreſſions; after the loſſe of ſo many neare kinred, diſpatched by diuers kindes of ſtrange and vnworthy deaths. Among whom, her husband *Alexander*, and *Antigonus* his brother were beheaded. Her vnckle *Ariſtobulus*, who was likewiſe her father in law, was poiſoned: her onely ſonne *Ariſtobulus* trayterouſly drowned, by the procurement of *Herode*. Her father *Hyrcanus* (ſo neare to his graue) diſpatched by an ignominious infliction.

Hyrcanus put to death, being aged. 80 yeares.

The kinred Alexandra put to death in diuers manners.

Her onely daughter *Mariana* remayned, who beeing married to the King, might ſomewhat comfort her in theſe extremities. But this violent woman, ſwelling in hatred againſt the King, declared herſelfe moſt ſtrangely troubleſome vnto her husband, by continuall reproaching the *Idumean* houſe, and complayning of the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, after ſhe became to be ſuſpected of adulterie; and a falſe crime impoſed on her, that ſhe practiſed to poiſon her husband: *Herode* was the eaſier wonne to her death, albeit he loued her intirely, and ſhe had borne him fiue children.

Mariana moſt iniurious againſt the king her huſband.

Now, notwithſtanding ſo great calamitie, in the miſerable & vnworthie death of her daughter; *Alexandra* could not yet be conquered, neyther vnderſtand, how many incumbrances her attempts turned by misfortunes to her and hers; yea, to many other that truely pitied her indiſcretion. Nor could ſhe be admoniſhed, moderately to beare precedent and preſent miſhaps (whereof continually ſhee gaue the occaſion) but rather prouoked nouell extreamities, by her impatience and peeuiſh folly: for, after the execution of *Mariana*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipater*, and formerly diuorced: ſix yeares after was recalled to the Court, and her wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber, and it appeared, that her ſonne *Antipater* was now become accepted, and entertained by the King, in hope of ſucceeding after him, and the ſonnes of *Mariana* excluded quite.

A woman of an vndaunted and vnconquerable courage.

Herode recalled home to Court his former diuorced wife Doris.

Alexandra perceiuing, that ſhe onely remayned of the *Aſmonean* royall family, and that ſhe was to take care of hir daughters children: affected rather to runne into extreamity, then after ſuch frequent cauſes of griefe, to liue in the deſpite and contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipater*, who was to reigne after his father, and to ſee the ſame *Antipater*, borne of *Doris* the *Idumean*, and not noble (euen when *Herode* liued but in priuate condition) to be preferred

Such yrkeſom and offenſiue ſights as Alex and a was not able to indure

preferred the sons of *Mariana*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to consider on some apt opportunitie, to exploit a certaine desseigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to hir soule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieued extraordinarily for his wifes execution) was sicke; euen to death, in the citty of *Samaria*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrisons to reuolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these beeing reduced to partake with her, it would be a very easie way for her to enioy the Kingdome.

She laboured the kings garrisons to reuolt from him

Alexandra exhorted those warrelike bands by faithful messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death:) to possesse themselues of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should inuade the kingdome, and to preserue the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariana*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legittimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiors, hauing duely considered on the matter among themselues: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-aduised councell of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously enclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very seuerely) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspition of, beeing any way affected to the kingdome: as he witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

Her endeuors for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herode verie iealous of any that affected his kingdome

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by reuealing the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: poasted to *Samaria*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regarde of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his disease: and therefore (wholly ouercome with rage and choller) hee sent instant commaund to *Ierusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspirator against his life; and it was accordingly performed.

Th'enterprise of Alexandra was disclosed to the King, and she put to death.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragicall maner; for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, she daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discreet and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad councellers) more then needed. She had out-gone the compasse of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but onely what remained in the heires of *Mariana*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

The follies & errours too much ruling in Alexandra, which shortned her daies

Let this Discourse suffice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heauen. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vnnecessarie matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domesticke discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Iudas Macchabeus*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteene yeares.

Concerning the noble Familie of the Asmoneans.

The whole possession of the Iewish kingdome giuen ouer to strangers.

CHAP. XI.

A briefe entrance into the description of the posteritie of Antipater, holding the principalitie of Iudea, but not the High-priesthoode.

NOw wee should come to describe the third Family, that cõtained the posterity of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (indifferent-

differently) held the principalitie of *Iudea*, but not the soueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee administred by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

The High-priesthood not to be administred by strangers.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeed were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, enstalled by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, eyther by fauour or rewards.

The High-priesthoode graunted by fauour or rewards.

It is no easie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the soueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the soueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of Romaine Captaynes and Princes.

A taxation laid vpon Iosephus the historiã, for not fully nũbring the soueraign Sacrificers.

Iosephus also was not very carefull, curiously to number the soueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the Iewish nation; there had beene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued litle more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and sixe yeares.

The first family of Iesus the sonne of Iosedech, and how long they held the High-priesthood.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fifteene soueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*; are found three hundred eightie and sixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplicitie of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

The reason for such a multitude of High-priests.

The third Family.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Posteritie of Antipater the Idumean of Ascalon, transferring the High-priesthoode (at their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the Asmoneans, and held the principalitie of the Iewish people, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem, vnder the reigne of Vespasian.

IDumea is the vtmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towardes the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Esau*, (brother to *Iacob*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy seruices commaunded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

A description of the situation of Idumea.

The Idumeans descended of Esau brother to Iacob.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

Dauid first made the Idumeans tributarie.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they reuolted agayne vnder *Ioram* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdomes. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former seruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Cities from the *Iewes*; which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them agayne, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the Idumeans.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon* the *Asmonean*, hauing ouercome them in a very difficult warre: constrayned them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

The Idumeans vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

them to vndergoe Circumcision. Heerehence it ensued, that they trafficked the more freely with the *Iewes*; so that they were called to their warres, and to the Courts of the Iewish kings.

Antipater father to King Herode.

Antipater came of this *Idumean* nation, whose sonne, named *Herode* hauing afterward obtained the Iewish kingdome, and fearing to vse himselfe with them as a stranger: would be esteemed a Iew, because (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had receiued Circumcision vnder *Iohn Hyrcanus*. *Iosephus* thus recordeth this family.

Antipas the Father

The issue of Antipater the father.

Cephalion slaine in warre by Aristobulus 2.	Antipater the familiar of Hyrcanus Tutour of all Iudea.	Cypris an Idumean woman.

These children came of Antipater.

Antipaters issue.

Phaselus gouernour of Ierusalem.	Herode King of Iudea.	Sosippus gouernor of Idumea.	Pheroras Tetrarch.	Salome a daughter.

Antipater gouernour of Idumea.

Antipas the *Ascalonite*, father to *Antipater*, was appointed Gouernour of his Countrey of *Idumea*, by *Alexander Iannes*, and beside afterward enioying it still (sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*; he gathered great store of wealth, and obtained the principall authority in that Region.

Anaipater.

The reason why Antipater laboured to keepe himselfe in fauour with Hyrcanus

Succeeded in the gouernment of *Idumea*, after his deceassed father, during which time, he not only wonne the hearts of his owne nation, augmenting and confirming his wealth, by aliance with neighboring Kings, and Cities; but also strongly insinuated himselfe into good grace with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many acceptable seruices. For he being instituted Soueraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus* would (in time) aduaunce him to higher degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that the mother being dead, hee should come to inioy the kingdom by hereditary right. Wherefore, *Antipaoer* was very diligent towards him in all kindes of courtesies, making no account at all of the yoonger brother: which made him wonderfully hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after in open apparance. For, their mother being dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell, & afterward held besieged in the temple: he was at length constrained, to dismisse himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-Priesthood. And then (by slowe and politike degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from the gouernement of *Idumea*, for his so many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

Antipater deposed from the gouernement of Iudea

This iniurie more and more enflamed the hatred of *Antipater* against *Aristobulus*, and because hee could not reuenge himselfe by power: hee incited the greateſt Lords of the Iewes against King *Aristobulus* by secret accusations. Aboue all, he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee beeing of his owne nature, modest and temperate) one while terrifying him with strange feares, another while chearing his hopes, with vndoubted comming to his Crowne againe. He told him that his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man meerely vile by complexion) sought all occasions, either by close contriuings, or open violence, to preuaile against his life: for his more secure enioying of the kingdome, whereto hee had aspired by such wickednesse. Hee auouched, to haue certayne knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Aristobulus* by euident signes: either because they were truely so indeede, or for the more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his brother. Moreouer, he shewed the meanes and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might regayne the Kingdome belonging to him, to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted not) could satisfie their desires.

The cunning dealings of Antipater with deceiued Hyrcanus.

Inclination for flight to Aretas king of Arabia.

Hyrcanus was at last wonne by these speeches, being formerly wounded with the wrongs which his brother had offred him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*, and some other, who not a little despised the dominion of *Aristobulus*; he secretly went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There humbling himselfe before the King, hee desired assistance of him against his wicked and cruell brother, who not only had depriued him of the High-priesthoode, (contrary to all right and equitie) which hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in his mothers life time; and not onely also bereft him of the kingdome, which by the

Hyrcanus goeth with Antipater in secret manner to Aretas, and maketh his complaint to him.

lawe

law of Nations belonged to him, as being the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily trappes and traines for his life. Whereupon he promised, that if hee should be restored to his Kingdome; he would surrender to him ten Citties, which his father *Alexander Iannes* had taken from the Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable recompences beside.

King Aretas inuaded Iudea with fiftie thousand men

Aretas, more moued by the perswasions of *Antipater*, then all the praiers and promises of *Hyrcanus*, inuaded *Iudea* with fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encountring with him, was vanquished, chiefly by the valiancie of *Antipater*: and beeing abandoned of his souldiers, the most part yeelded themselues to *Hyrcanus*. *Aristobulus* got closely into the Citie, and there (with some of the Sacrificers and Cittizens) kept within the fortresse of the temple, being prouided of all things necessarie to endure besieging. But yet before this extremitie, he had sent an ambassage (in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, abiding then in *Syria*, intreating succour of him against the *Arabes*: promising him foure hundred Talents, that is, two hundred and fortie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Aristobulus required succour of Scaurus against the Arabes.

Aretas pursuing *Aristobulus* with his Armie, entred into the Citie, to lay his siege before the Temple; the Cittizens yeelding themselues to *Hyrcanus*, and the Cittie also. But some Iewes foreseeing, that this debate betweene the brethren, about possession of the kingdome, would cause the ruine of the whole country; left there their goods, and fledde into *Egypt*. Other of the Cittizens ioyned with the *Arabes*, besieging the munition, and pressed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrowly; yea, much more nearely then the enemie, vsing deceits and subtilties with their crueltie. For they drew out of the secret Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man, named *Onias*, who in an extreme drought and dread of sterilitie, made his prayers to God, desiring raine in that needefull season: and would haue compelled him, to curse and damne the besieged to the diuell, because they would not yeelde themselues. But hee (on the contrary) made his prayers aloude to God, that he would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or Priests besieged against the people, nor the people besieging against the Priests, for which cause the Iewes stoned him.

Diuers Iewes forsake their goods, & flee into Egypt.

Onias a holie man, extreme wronged of the Iewes & stoned.

And when the feast of Easter was come, when there was neede of many beasts for Sacrifices; the Priests required, that such store might be deliuered them, as was necessarily to be vsed in such solemne Sacrifices, agreeing to paya thousand drachmes for each beast; that is to say, an hundred crownes of the Sunne. But after that the Iewes had receiued so great a summe from the Priests: they descended from the walles, and would not performe a iote of that which they had promised, but mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were ouer credulous in beleeuing them.

Falle and fraudfull dealing in the Iewes with the sacrificing Priests.

But the Lord God being offended with this wickednes, and taking vengeance for their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe winde on the Corne then almost ripe, which being vtterly spoyled, the famine was so great, that a bushell of wheate was solde eleuen times more deare, then vsually it was wont to be: to wit, at eleauen drachmaes, whereas before (in euerie yeare) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The iustice of heauen on the Iewes for their wickednes.

The besieged beginning to feele the want of foode, and that nothing hindred them from yeelding, but onely to heare an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the Priests, to endure all difficulties of the siege:) it fortuned (very successefully for them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadours to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw his Army out of *Iudea*, except hee meant to prooue the displeasure of the *Romaine* people. *Aretas* obeyed this commaund, and so much the rather, because his army was in great distresse for foode. By which meanes, (without doing any thing else) *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater* returned backe to *Arabia* with the King.

Ambassadors sent frō Scaurus to King Aretas.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Armenia* into *Syria*, whereupon, *Antipater* procured many of the most potent Iewes, to accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrcanus*, went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the cause of *Hyrcanus* against *Aristobulus*, and entred into such respect with *Pompey*; that after the surprizing of the Cittie, *Hyrcanus* was restored to the High-priesthood, but not to the Kingdome. And from thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to grow great, gouerning (well neare) all

Antipater procured Aristobulus to be accused before Pompey

occasi-

occasions whatsoeuer, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a louer of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Captaines, in all such seruices as possibly he could do for them: that he insinuated farre into their friendship, causing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificēt gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks and profite for them.

The cunning insinuations of Antipater with the Roman captains.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish *Scaurus* with all kinde of munition, when he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, being sent in embassage by the same *Scaurus* to the king *Aretas*: hee procured peace, in regarde of his auncient amitie with the King, and perswaded *Scaurus* to bring his Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued of the King three hundred Talents, as much to say, as an hundred and foure-score thousand crowns of the Sunne. Afterward, he assisted *Gabinius* against *Alexander*, sonne to *Aristobulus*, but especially in the restitution of King *Ptolomey* the Fleutster: where he made passage for *Gabinius*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egipt* by *Idumea*.

Antipater procured peace betwixt Scaurus and Aretas, king of the Arabians.

By the like subtile and cunning means, he qualified rich *Crassus*, and his General *Cassius*, being remoued from the *Parthian* warre; fearing lest any thing should bee attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was accused to the *Romaine* Captaines, as well by the sonnes of *Aristobulus*, as by diuerse powerfull Iewes, that were of the same faction.

Rich Crassus, and his generall Cassius.

But, for the more sure establishing of his power, hee ayded *Iulius Cæsar* more then all the rest, to whom he performed faithfull seruice in the *Alexandrian* warre, in bringing him three thousand Iewes, & procuring the *Arabes*, *Idumeans*, and *Iews* dwelling in *Egipt*, to be his companions in that warre. And when *Mithridates* of *Pergamum* (who went with a great Armie of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Cæsar*) was repulsed in *Egipt*: *Antipater* (*Damieta* being subdued) brought helpe to *Cæsar*, and saued him by the way; when he was compelled (in an encounter) to giue place to the enemy, his men being ready prepared for flight.

The actions of Antipater in Egypt, and his faithfull seruice to Iulius Cæsar.

For these deserts (the *Alexandrian* war being ended) *Iulius Cæsar* confirmed the High-priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permitting him to builde vp the Citty walles agayne: Moreouer, he appoynted *Antipater* to be Tutour of all *Iudea*, and sent him into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a *Romaine* Bourgesse, and perpetuall immunities beside.

Antipater made a Romaine Bourgesse by Iulius Cæsar.

Antipater seeing himselfe exalted to such dignitie, deuised also how to aduāce his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phaselus* (being the eldest) he appointed him to be gouernour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring places about it: in regarde of the negligence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*, and he as yet but yoong: yet he gaue the charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them very commendably performd their seuerall offices, which causēd their father to bee much more esteemed generally, and wun the fauour of many powerfull persons, by both his owne, and his sonnes liberalitie.

Antipater exalteth his sons to seuerall dignities.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Iews grew iealous and suspitious of *Antipater*, seeing him (purposly) to maintaine the remissenesse of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the exaltation of his owne sonnes: abusing also his riches and reuenues, to bestow great fauors and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this respect, some of the best aduised Iewes, and of the better sort, feared not to reprehend *Hyrcanus* publiquely, for his neglect and slouthfulnesse, in referring the totall administration of all things, onely to *Antipater* and his sonnes, who were scarcely started out of childhood. Hauing already gathered such heaps of wealth and cheuisance, onely to curry fauour with the *Romaines*, that they were become dreadfull to the whole nation. They bad him to be well aduised, whereto tended this power in the *Idumeans*, shewing him withall, that he dealt vniustly and indiscreetly, hauing so many Iewes, excelling in valour and expertnesse of armes: to reiect them from managing publike affaires, reposing his whole trust in the defence of a stranger, who intended no profit to the Iewish nation, but only how to leaue the kingdome of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Diuers Iews began to be suspitious of Antipater.

Hyrcanus reprehended by some of the best Iewes for his great negligence.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding, he could not forget, what benefits he had receiued by him, and what loyalty he had declared towards him, hauing alwayes kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he

feared

feared *Aristobulus*, and his sonnes, against whom he thought he stood in need of a powerfull defender, which made him answere; that he could not dismisse *Antipater* from gouerning the generall affaires, in regard he had receiued his authoritie from the *Romaines*; who he might by no meanes offend, without both hazarding himselfe, and the whole Country to vnauoidable dangers.

Hyrcanus fearefull of Aristobulus and his sons.

When the accusers of *Antipater* perceiued, they could worke nothing on the slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they began to cõsider on some subtile means, whereby they might put *Antipater* to death. And one of them being named *Malichus*, excelling all the rest in wealth, wisedome, and corage, sought how to intrap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambushes prepared. But *Antipater* getting intelligence thereof, withdrew himselfe beyond *Iordane*, where he leuied an Army, by aide from King *Aretas* his deare frend, with full deliberation to reuenge this iniury. Neuertheless, he was appeased by *Hyrcanus*, because *Malichus* purged himselfe by oath, that he neuer intended any treason against him.

Conspiracie how to compasse the death of Antipater, by Malichus a rich Iew.

This hapned immediatly after that the Conspirators had slayne *Iulius Cæsar* in the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author and chiefe in the coniuration) was come into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*: where he villainously ransacked the Cities and Townes, onely to get money, so that he sold the Magistrates of some places, with their whole families, and pillaged foure great citties in *Iudea*, selling all the Citizens for slaues: because they had made refusall, to giue such a large summe as this insatiable beast demanded. As he asked of the Iews seuen hundred talents, (which summe amounted to foure tunnes of gold of our coyne, and twenty thousand Crownes of the Sunne:) *Antipater* gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of his Sons, and partly of the most powerfull *Iewes*; so that the whole summe being suddenly payd in: *Antipaters* sonnes were the better welcomed among the *Romans*. And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (euen then) made promise of the kingdom of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & aboue the summe whereto the taxation mounted, carryed store of gold to the campe in *Syria*) when he had ended the war against *Marke Anthony* and *Octauius*. But for the present he commanded the Prouince of *Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

The horrible rapines of Cassius in Iudea, to possesse himselfe of money.

Malichus well obseruing, that the power of *Antipater* so mightily encreasing, was not (by any patient meanes) to be indured; practised & dealt with the Taster or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, by great gifts and summes of money: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poysoned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, & held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater* murdred, in the yere following the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a man very excellent, wise, and prouident. Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least) it was not doone in any despight of him: although *Antipater* by the means of *Pompey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne Priesthood, and afterward (for the space of 22. yeares) alwayes kept and defended him against the violence of his enemies.

Antipater being at supper with Hyrcanus the High-priest, was poysoned by his Taster.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*, that (to satisfie the couetous desires of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude in vrging money from him, he being an old man, sparing by nature, and the more gripple in holding, in regarde of his age. For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no great distaste in the murdering of his Benefactor. Because many times it comes to passe, that some men, hauing receiued good benefites for a large length of time, and yet growing (at length) to be displeased: they forget all good deseruings past, and resting not so contented, proceed to diuers dangerous practises against them. Of such ingrateful men, *Philip Melanæthon*, my worthy master, & good father, wrote certaine Verses to this effect:

Some reasons whereby Hyrcanus might be offended with Antipater.

> Some men there are, if thou transport their states
> With pompe to *Rome*, and plant'st them in the gate ti
> Such fauour they require not with due grace,
> But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Philip Melancthons verses on ingratitude.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly for this his fooliish ingratitude, because (the yeare following) *Antigonus* compassed the meanes to bring the *Parthians* into *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, & led into a strange land by the enemy: well found (but ouer-late) what defence he had lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

Hyrcanus payd dearely for his ingratitude to Antipater.

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to *Malichus*, and other *Boute-feux*, against so deare a friend as *Antipater* had alwayes bin to him.

CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into *discourse, concerning the race* and Posteritie of Antipater, for *the better clearing of some obscure* doubts in diuers Authors, and *full satisfaction of the Reader.*

Of the Sonnes of Antipater.

Phaselus the eldest.

The worthie performance of Phaselus in his charge.

HEe being constituted by his Father, to be Gouernor of *Ierusalem*, and the round neighbouring places, to assist *Hyrcanus* (careleſſe, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission most commendably for sixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appeased (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in *Ierusalem*, in regard that a certayne man, named *Fœlix*, driuen by *Cassius* into *Ierusalem* with Souldiours, being corrupted with mony from diuerse *Iewes*; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this *Fœlix* was vanquished by *Phaselus*, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward released vpon certayne conditions.

Fœlix Laboured to confound Ierusalem.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see *Malichus* (the murderer of his father *Antipater*) punished for his wickednesse: who labouring to inuade the Principality of *Iudea*, was slayne by the Souldiours of *Cassius*, and by the industrious meanes of *Herode*.

The death of seditious Malichus.

Cassius being conquerd, *Marke Anthony* came into *Syria*, and made *Phaselus* & *Herode* Tetrarches of *Iudea*: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alleadged by the *Iewes* against them. But *Phaselus* enioyed not that dignity any long while; for the yeare following the death of his father, the Citty beeing surprised by the *Parthians* and *Antigonus*: he was (by subtilty) taken with *Hyrcanus*, and slew himselfe remayning prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the second *Hyrcanus*.

Phaselus and Herod made Tetrarchs of Iudea by Marke Anthony.

Phaselus left a sonne named

Herode King.

Mariana the *Asmonean.*

Phaselus, to whom *Salome*, daughter to *Herode* and *Mariana* was married, by whom he had these children.

Antipater, of whom we reade nothing.

Herode and *Alexander*, both dying young children.

Alexandra, married to a *Iew* of *Cyprus*, beeing barren.

Cypris, afterward marryed to king *Agryppa.*

Iosippus the third Sonne of *Antipater.*

Concerning the brethren of Phaselus.

Herode commeth next after *Phaselus*, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and esteeme.

Iosippus (called by some *Gisippus*) the third sonne of *Antipater*, was appoynted Gouernour of *Idumea* by his father, who had obtained the Principalitie of *Iudea*. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother *Herode*, they being driuen into exile by *Antigonus* and the *Parthians*: withdrawing them into the City of *Massada*, against the sayd King *Antigonus*, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

Iosippus defended his brothers cause and his friends.

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italie*) deliuered him and them; and was afterward proclaymed King by *Octauius Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Iosippus take & beheaded through his owne wilful negligence.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the City of *Samosata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately forraging for Corne, with sixe fiftie bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountaines neare to *Iericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

His head being smitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Iosippus* also, to whom his vncle *Herode* gaue in marriage, *Olimpia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Mariana*, afterwards marryed to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalais*.

Pheroras bought his brothers head of Antigonus.

Antipater

Iosippus President of *Idumea*.	*Herode* King of *Iudea*.	*Mathaca* a Samaritane his wife.

Iosippus, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobulus*, King of *Chalcis*.

Pheroras, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Iosippus* was slain; being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus Cæsar* made him Tetrarche, and vsed him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother. For, hauing procured him, to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herod*, and left two sonnes, to whom *Augustus* marryed two daughters of deceassed *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*; endowing each with fiue and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, marryed to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*.

Pheroras assisted his brother in warre against Antigonus.

He sought the death of his brother Herode.

Salome, daughter of Antipater, Sister to Herode King of Iudea.

IN her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Iosippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herod*, was slaine by the Kings commaund, because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward she was married to *Costabarus*, Gouernor of *Idumea*, from whom she seperated her selfe by diuorce, contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permitted Husbands to leaue their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leaue their Husbands. Neuertheless, *Salome* vsed this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Costabarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despight of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexas*, although she was almost madde in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Syleus*, an vtter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

Her first husband slaine by Herodes commaund.

Salome seperated hirselfe from her husband.

Salome thwarted in her third mariage

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming firebrand of domesticke discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly ouercome with hatred against *Mariana* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) she ceassed not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poysoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearely affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: beganne to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne heerein with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be aduanced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

Salome a firebrand of confusion in the Court of king Herode her brother.

She preuayled so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poysons, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Alexander & Aristobulus both executed.

were strangled by their fathers commaund.

Antipater disgraced by her meanes, and brought to his death.

Moreouer, by her secret and subtile reports, she wrung *Antipater* into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had beene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof he had falsly accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of *Mariana*, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers commaund) dispatched also.

The bountie of Herode to his sister at his death.

Shee, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother *Herode*; who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Cities, to wit, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselis*; beside two millions and an halfe of siluer coine, which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

The royall castle of Ascalon given to Salome.

Moreouer, she being familiar (by Letters) with *Liuia*, wife to *Augustus* (whom *Iosephus* continually calleth *Iulia*) the said *Augustus* gaue her the Castle royall in the City of *Ascalon*. And she receiued annually out of the fore-named Cities, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie sixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The death of Salome, and what issue she left.

Hauing liued twelue yeares after the death of her brother *Herode*; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of *Augustus* out of this life, and left (by her testament) to *Liuia*, wife to *Augustus*, those Cities which she formerly held. She left a sonne named *Antipater*, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called *Berenice*, of whom came these children following.

Castabarus President of Idumea. ~ *Salome sister to King Herode.*

Cypris daughter to king Herode by Mariana the Asmonean. — *Antipater espoused her, albeit she was his cousine.*

Berinice married to her cousine Aristobulus. — *Aristobulus Son to king Herod by the Asmonean.*

Cypris. — *Alexas son in law to Salome, sister to Herod, by the 3. husband.*

Agrippa King of Iudea. — *Herode King of Chalcis.* — *Aristobulus.* — *Herodias mentioned in the gospell.* — *Mariana.*

Cypris. — *Agrippa* The second, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, after his Vnckle *Herode*.

Herode, the second sonne of *Antipater*, whom some doe call the Great, was the first King of *Iudea*, being of a contrary Nation.

Ezechias the Iew and his complices vanquished & slayne by Herode in his yong dayes.

Herode being as yet but young, was ordayned President of *Galilee*, by his father *Antipater*, soone after *Iulius Cæsar* had finished the warres in *Egypt*. He gaue immediate probation of his industry and valour, hauing destroyed and slaine *Ezechias* the *Iew*, and a troop of theeues that wasted *Syria*: for the which being highly commended by the *Syrians*, hee found great grace and fauor with *Sextus Cæsar*, who then gouerned the Prouince of *Syria*. It fortuned, that by the instigation of them that enuyed *Antipater*, *Hyrcanus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his will) gaue personall summons to *Herode*, in regarde of the *Iewes* by him taken and slayne in *Syria*: without listening to the sentence of soueraign Iudgement, which then was tearmed *Sanhedrin*, of the *Greek* word *Synedrion*, as I conceiue, and consisted of seauenty and two Iudges, who were called the seuentie Ancients. *Philo* writeth, that before the kingdome of *Herode*, the Iudges of that Councell were chosen out of the posteritie of *Dauid* only. *Herode* hauing aduertisement (by Letters)

Herode summoned to personall appearance by Hyrcanus.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem* on the day of Assignation, accompanied with a reasonable guard, and recommended by *Sextus Cæsar*.

Hyrcanus perceiuing, that the Iudges were heauily incensed by the aduersaries of *Antipater*, and that they would not faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner: desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*, he secretly admonished *Herode*, to withdraw himselfe out of the citty, before he were condemned by the *Iewes* sentence; and thereupon conuaied to punishment. The yong man returned backe into *Syria*, very impatiently bearing the iniurie, which he conceiued to be doone him by the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Cæsar* the treacherie of the Cittizens, and hauing receiued from him part of the *Romaine* Army, and the regiment of the lower *Syria:* hee resolued to reuenge the wrong which the Councell had offred him: So, going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Army, hee could hardly be with-held by his father, and his brother *Phaselus*; who met him by the way, and made him to retreate his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not remooue his mallice, which still he continued against the Consistorie: and which he vtterly quailed and ouerthrew, after his coming to the Crowne.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius* his Souldiours; he procured *Malichus* to be slaine, beeing the murtherer of his father *Antipater*. Which beeing done, once more hee expelled out of *Iudea Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, whom he ouercame in warre, albeit he had recouered part of *Iudea*.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were vanquished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke Anthony* was come into *Syria*; Ambassadours went from the *Iewes* to meete him at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and *Herode* to him, because the lawfull heires of the kingdome were expulsed, and they (by force) holde the whole gouernement of *Iudea*. *Herod* also met them there, wel furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts, to bestow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom he was entertained most benignely, for the loue he had borne to his father *Antipater*, when being Lieutenant to *Gabinius*, hee was still in warre, during the peace of *Syria* and *Iudea*. Wherefore, howsoeuer he listened to the *Iewes* accusations; yet he ordained *Phaselus* and his brother *Herode* Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. And because the *Iews* ceassed not to send Embassie vpon Embassie, and continually in great number, amounting to a thousand men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished them with imprisonment. And because they neuer would giue ouer, but daily intreated, that (by no meanes) they might be subiected to *Herode*; hee caused some of them to be put to death.

Hyrcanus descended to *Anthony* in *Syria* (already conioyned with *Herode* in affinitie, to whom hee had giuen his younger sister *Mariana*, daughter of *Alexander* and *Alexandra:*) who was honourably entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed in the possession of the High-priesthood: and obtained those cities and persons (reduced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be deliuered and enfranchised; and that the rapined goodes should be restored to their first owners.

The yeare following, *Pacorus* hauing subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promises) brought *Antigonus* backe againe to *Ierusalem*, as hath formerly beene sayde. Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother *Phaselus* and *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer were detained prisoners, contrary to the lawes of Nations, knowing also, that the *Iewes* were affected to *Antigonus*, fearing both his enemies and the Cittizens) he departed foorth secretly in the dead time of the night, with his Mother *Cypris*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Salome*, his affianced *Mariana*, his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred other women, beside a great company of friends, and (with much adoe) got to safetie into *Ilumea*. For his mother was sore wounded by the way, by reason of the Waggons ouerthrow vpon her: so that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought to haue slaine himselfe, because he was ouer-closely pursued by the barbarous people, whom (neuertheless) hee valiantly droue backe, and quite ouercame.

There he left al his company, and such goodes as they carried with them, in a strong Cittie named *Massada*, vnder the charge and protection of his brother *Iosippus*: and went very secretly (attended but with a few Souldiours) to king *Aretas*, relying vpon the loue and friendship

The kindnes of Hyrcanus, in shielding him from the Iudges sentence.

Herod goeth with an army against Ierusalem, but is reuerted by his father & brother.

Herod reuenged the death of his father.

Brutus and Cassius foiled at Philippi. Herode bribeth Anthony against the Ambassadors.

Anthony, imprisoned and put to death the Iews Ambassadours.

Hyrcanus goeth to Anthony in Syria, & is kindly welcomed of him.

Herod saueth himselfe by flight in the night and a great company with him.

Herode leaueth his company in Massada, and goeth secretly to King Aretas in Arabia.

which was betweene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entring into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the yeare, and shaped his course directly for *Rome*; where being arriued, he acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne slight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom he had expressed kindnesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

The arriuall of Herode at Rome with Marke Anthony.

Anthony reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate: remembring the perpetual deuotion & loyaltie of his father *Antipater*, towards the Captaines and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Iulius Cæsar*. In briefe, they preuailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdome of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seauenth day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house, going in the middle betweene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Caluinius*, and *Asinius Pollio*, Consulles, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, euen all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were perfourmed. And this beeing the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthonie*: foure yeares after the death of *Iulius Cæsar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty seuen before the birth of our Sauiour Christ.

The grace & fauour that Herod found with the Romane Senate.

Antigonus declared enimy to Rome, and Herod proclaimed King of Iudea.

Herode being returned into *Indea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of foure yeares: because that the *Romaine* Captaines (as *Ventidius*, *Silo* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in ful possession of the kingdome) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deferring, and neuer earnestly assisted *Herode*. Besides, many *Iewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The Romain captains corrupted by golde from Antigonus, still hindered Herode.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne was wonderfully difficile, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and softly, steppe by steppe; he ouercame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Herod ouercame all his hinderances whatsoeuer.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macheras*; but *Herode* perceiuing him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captains, he vndertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samosata*. And (by the way) sped very successefully, against diuers theeues that hindered his passages.

Herode goeth against Antigonus besieging Samosata.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemie, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyaltie of some Captaines, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the commaund from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commaunded *Sosius* (one of his faithfull Captaines) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the Citty of *Samosata* was surrendred.

Marke Anthony meets with Herode, and vsed him very honorably.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disaduantage; was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiers of *Antigonus*, neare to *Iericho*. Also, the *Galileans* reuolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, he so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortresse of *Ierusalem*.

Herodes brother Iosippus slaine, and Galilee reuolted from him.

Herode brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after he had raised his munitions, and builded diuerse engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Captaines and iournied into *Samaria*, to espouse *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the yongest sonne of *Hyrcanus* the second, who (foure yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

Herode goes to Samaria to marry with Mariana.

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had inuaded the Countrey.

Sosius ioynes his forces with Herods army.

In the meane while, *Sosius* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioyned his armie with the other belonging to *Herod*; whose nuptialls being ended, and he returned to *Ierusalem*: the two Captaines beganne to assaile the Cittie manfully in diuers places. The besieged *Iewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, hauing embraced an imaginary hope; they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continually vsed to say, that they fought for freedome of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Religion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe besieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was surprized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (seuen and twenty yeares before) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath beene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Canidius Gallus* being then Consulls.

A foolish hope and perswasion in the Iews for their deliuerance.

Ierusalem conquered by Herode and Sosius.

The *Romaine* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pittilesse slaughter, not onely of the armed *Iewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sosius*, humbly desired pardon: but he was iniuriously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthonie* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

Antigonus sent to Antioche, & there slaine by Herodes instigation.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romaines*, from entring into the most secret place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. Moreouer, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezeled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublesome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

The furie of Souldiers is very easily induced to robberie and sacrilege.

CHAP. XIIII.

How Herode, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Gouernement of the Kingdome of Iudea.

At what time the reigne of King Herode beganne.

After that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Asmoneans*) slaine: *Herode* enioyed the Kingdome of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuity of Christ. Hauing taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioyned themselues with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and wasted all his goods, as also those of his kinred and friends, in gifts and charges of the warre; by an especiall Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Iewells of gold and siluer to the kings castell, and all such money as they had beside. He appoynted likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to buriall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any precious thing whatsoeuer.

Herods cruell exaction for money vpon the people.

At this time happened a famine, in regarde of the seuenth yeare of rest, wherein it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very miserable, being fallen into woful seruitude; whereof the better sort of people, as *Simeon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheared vp their drouping spirites, by hope of the *Messias* his comming, who should saue them. And they perceiued it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

A great famine among the people.

Hope of the comming of the Messias, a great consolation to the faithfull.

Herode standing in feare of the displeased people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, repealed

Hyrcanus recalled from banishment by Herode, & highly honored.

repealed (by his letters) from banishment *Hyrcanus* the second, who liued then in *Babylon*, because he had maried the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the king of *Parthia*, for the ransome of his captiuitie. When he was come to *Ierusalem*; hee did not make him soueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigonus* in the High-priesthood) another *Iew* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananelus*, a matter greatly offensiue to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee deposed *Ananelus*, and placed in his stead *Aristobulus*, brother to his wife *Mariana*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a yeare after, rendering the High-priest-hoode to the sayd *Ananelus* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden gifties, then any vaine and vnaudible excuses.

Ananelus deposed, and Aristobulus made high-priest.

The warre at * *Actium* being now on foote, as *Augustus* and *Anthony* prepared themselues, to contend who should remaine the master: *Herode* conueyed himselfe to *Anthony*, and voluntarily made him offer, of whatsoeuer he could doe against *Augustus*, hauing forces in readines for him. But *Anthony* made him answere, that he had not any neede of such succour; giuing him charge (by the perswasion of *Cleopatra*) to make warre on the *Arabes*, who would not pay the annuall pension of two hundred Talents, whereof, he had made promise to *Cleopatra*. At the very entrance into this war, he ouerthrew the *Arabes* in one day: but Fortune afterward changing her fauour, hee lost (well-neare) all his armie, and was taken likewise in the field.

* Towne and Promontorie of Epire, where Augustus, after hee had conquered Anthony and Cleopatra built the citie Nicopolis.

Fortune both fauourable and aduerse to Herode.

Beside this calamity of the *Iewes*, a sudden Earthquake happened, which slew aboue ten thousand persons in *Iudea*: euen when the Armies by Sea of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, encountred together at *Actium*, in the seuenth yeare of *Herods* reigne. Hee hauing (so well as he could) vnited his forces together againe; repulsed the *Arabes*, and compelled them to returne home into their countrey: which otherwise had conuerted to the *Iewes* heauier calamitie, because they (encouraged by their wofull miseries) put all to fire and sword throughout *Iudea*. And this earthquake, as also the inrodes of the enemie were followed by a dreadfull pestilence: which made lamentable spoyle and hauocke, both in the fields and cities, and likewise in the Kings campe.

An earthquake, which killed many people in Iudea.

One miserie following in the necke of another.

After these apparent and publique calamities, meeting together in such grieuous manner; *Herode* fell into a great personall danger. For, after the day at *Actium*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefest friend to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying thereupon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay, for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour; and the people well perceiued his feare, because hee knew not how to determine of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the people (vnable to endure this dominion of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spirits, vnder hope of some sudden nouelty, and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode* was. Aboue all the rest, his mother in law *Alexandra* (imagining the time to be now come, wherein shee might reuenge the death of her sonne, and retreate the kingdome againe to her own family) solicited very strong and firmely her father *Hyrcanus* (now very aged and decrepite, and one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in regarde of his many iniuries; to flie into *Arabia*, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill entreated by *Augustus*; he might the easier inuade the kingdome, beeing assisted by the *Arabes*.

Herode lost Mark Anthony his best friend.

Herode in great feare of Augustus.

The proceeding of Alexandra against her sonne in law Herode.

Dositheus, a most disloyall seruant, deliuered the Letters (intended for this purpose, and sent by him to the King of *Arabia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to bee more fully informed in the fact, sent *Dositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and after hee had receyued answere from the King, concerning the Letters sent vnto him: he caused *Hyrcanus* to be condemned, by the sentence of Iustice as a traytour, and so put to death. Some others write, that *Herod*, fearing the peril wherein hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom he was deadly hated) might easily be moued by such an occasion, to transferre the Kingdome to *Hyrcanus*, who onely remayned of the *Asmoneans* race: imposed a false crime

All her hope frustrated by Dositheus an vnfaithfull seruant.

Hyrcanus condemned and executed as a traytour, by the cunning treachery of Herod.

crime vpon him, and preuayled so well by counterfeited letters, that the good olde man was condemned to death.

This being done, hee sent his mother, his sister, their other kinred, and all their attendants, as also his brother *Pheroras*, to a strong munited Cittie in *Idumea*, called *Massada*. But withdrew his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Mariana* (who hee thought could not well agree with the other women) to another Fort, named *Alexandrion*; giuing the charge of them to *Iosippus*, Generall for the finances of the kingdome, and to *Soemus* his most certaine and singular friends. And this trust also he imposed on them, that if *Augustus* offered any ill to him: they should kill the two women instantly, and conserue (so much as in them possibly lay) the kingdome for his sonnes, vntill they were come to age, by the assistance of his brother *Pheroras*.

Alexandra and Mariana sent to the fort Alexandrion, and his intent for the

These matters being thus ordered and appoynted, he trauelled on to *Augustus*, who then heard all Ambassadours in the Isle of *Rhodes*, where, leauing off his diademe and kingly roabes, keeping all the rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his cause and the Emperours clemencie; he confessed, that hee had beene a friend to *Marke Anthony*, and would haue sent him succour, if he had required it; but that he was diuinely withdrawne from his company (in how miserable condition soeuer) by the warre which hee then made vpon the *Arabes*. Wherein he had sustained so many losses and misfortunes, that he was sufficiently punished for his friendship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he had done vnto him. But if now it pleased *Augustus* to experiment his faithfulnesse; hee would make it apparent vnto him, by as true seruices.

The coming of Herode to Augustus, and the voluntary confession he made before him.

Augustus tooke such delight in the magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that hee embraced him amiably, restoring him to his Crowne, and assuring him, to expect as many kinde beneuolences from him, as euer hee had receiued by *Marke Anthony*.

what gracious and honorable manner Augustus vsed Herode.

Herode finding *Augustus* so gracious, tooke courage from the former despayre wherein hee was, assuring now the possession of his Kingdome the more firmely to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his abilitie in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his friends and the Army. Hee bare the Emperour company beside, at his sayling into *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*: hee receyued him with entertainement more then royall, hauing borrowed all necessarie prouision, throughout all the parts of *Iudea*.

Herods bountie to Augustus, farre beyond his power & ability.

Augustus finding so many great respects, meerely flowing from *Herode*; restored that part of *Iudea* to him, which *Anthonie* had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Cities on the Sea-coastes, whereby the wealth of his kingdome was greatly augmented.

Augustus enlarged the power and authoritie of Herode.

Herode hauing mette with all this happinesse and felicitie abroad, at his returne home into *Iudea*, found all things there very bitter and troublesome, by priuate and domesticke hatreds. For, his wife *Mariana* had already gotten intelligence (two seuerall times) by the Guardes, that they had charge to kill her and her mother; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or *Augustus* now in this doubtfull time, disposed otherwise then well of him. Whereupon, at their meeting, *Mariana* by no meanes would come neare him, notwithstanding all the flatteries or signes of ardent loue hee shewed to her: reproouing him for such cruell commaunds, and plainely telling him, that they were no testimonies of a true husband. *Herode* entred into suspition, that it was not possible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it must be by *Iosippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*, wherefore he grew very chollericke, and studied how to taxe and punish her for adultery. And yet such was the power of his loue, that he could not credite all that he suspected, neyther exercise any cruelty against so faire a woman, of great Nobilitie, endowed with all graces belonging to a body of such singularitie.

Mariana informed of Herodes intention by the Guardes.

Herodes suspition of his secrets disclosing, and practising against his wife.

At length, his sister *Salome* remooued all these hinderances in him, and prouoked him on to an execrable execution; for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire in him of suspition, namely, in the matter of adulterie, adding withall, an intent of poyson prepared for him, which shee approoued to the King, by testimonie of his owne Taster or Cup-bearer, whome she had wonne thereto by liberall gifts of money.

Deadly is the malice of one woman to an other.

Mariana the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heauily afterward.

money. Hereupon, the King grew outragiously inteensed against her; and hauing caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends; commaunded her to be immediatly executed, although she had beene the mother to him of fiue children. But soone after hee repented his vnaduised rashnesse, and so extreamely desired his wifes company agayne; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shunning all societie whatsoeuer. And, vnder colour of riding on hunting, hee would secretly steale into Caues and Dennes in the forrest, as hoping there to finde some asswaging of his sorrow; and being vnable to withstand the extremitie of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

A grieuous pestilence in Iudea, King Herode himselfe lying deadly sicke in Samaria.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in *Iudea*, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were perswaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himselfe lay extreamly sick in *Samaria*, where euery one was in mightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) stroue by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Cittie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being reuealed, *Herode* gaue order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recouered, but yet carryed himselfe most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sickenesse (howeuer shaddowed) encreased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all vilenesse and tyrannie.

The death of Alexandra.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

When he perceiued, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, onely the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes receiued by the *Iewes*. For, in the Cittie of *Ierusalem* it selfe, he builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were perfourmed foule and dissolute playes, huntings, and combates of Fencers, according to the maner of the Pagans. He instituted also (at euery fiue yeares end) a Ioust and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, proposing there publiquely the *Cæsars* Images, and the Victories obtayned by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vn-vsuall things, prohibited by the Lawes of God, and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring meanes whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiuely, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandrion*, *Herodion*, *Hyrcanion*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places.

Theaters erected in Ierusalem for lewd and dissolute sportes.

Fortifications of Herode, standing in feare of his life.

He builded also newly (or else magnificently repayred) diuerse Cities and Townes, which he stiled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cæsarea*: and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Ierusalem*, which he called *Sebasta*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayred *Athedon*, which he called *Agrippion*, of *Agrippa*, the kinseman to *Cæsar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capharsalania*. Also *Phaselida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Iericho*: and *Herodion*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

Cities and towns newly builded or repaired by Herode.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortalitie of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which he distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessiue buildings; hee employed all his vessells of golde and siluer, and all his Iewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credite, by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

A wonderful famine, together with the pestilence of men & beasts

Herode spent all his Plate and Iewels for buying corne to feed the people.

In the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* comming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chalcis* to *Herode*; adding also thereto * *Drachonitis*, and * *Batanea*. Moreouer, he gaue him power, in this his long sickenesse, to appoynt and leaue which

* A region of Syria beyond Libanus and the Lake Tiberias.

* A place neare to Damasco.

which of his sonnes he pleased, to be his heire and successour. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Augustus*, which hee builded in *Panaada*, neare to the sourses that feede the riuer *Iordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, estranged agayne the multitude of the *Iewes* from him; and therefore to please them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithstanding, as he could not containe some of them, crying out incessantly, that it was intolerable, to erect temples to mortall men in *Iudea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: so hee sought to restraine other by violent torments, sending Spies and Picke-thankes into publique and priuate Assemblies, who reported vnto the King whatsoeuer was spoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himselfe (sickely as hee was) in a common habite or disguise, would often walke abroade in the night time, listening in such companies as conferred together, to know what they said, concerning the present estate of the kingdome.

A Temple dedicated to Augustus.

Spies and Intelligencers appointed to sift the people what speeches were vsed of him.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee stroue to binde them fast to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting some by large and goodly promises, to giue him their oath of Allegeance and Loyaltie: others hee constrained by feare of torments, putting some to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refused to sweare. Onelie the *Pharises* stoode excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their sanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuertheless, he condemned them in great fines and amercements, which were payed by the wife of *Pheroras*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted also the *Essians* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of liuing most holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; beeing singular in fore-telling things to come.

The oath of obedience & fidelitie exacted by Herode of his subiects.

The Pharises excepted fr the Oath.

The Essians also discharged of the oathe.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, beeing desirous to vnite his subiects to him by farre greater benefites, and to abolish the remembrance of his precedent excesses: hee vndertooke to builde the Temple of *Ierusalem* most magnificently, the former building (if heerein wee may beleeue *Iosephus*) beeing vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued fiue hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatnesse, sumptuousnesse and cunning, was finished in eight yeares, and dedicated with great solemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, seauen yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ.

The Temple of Ierusalem newly builded by King Herode.

Afterward, the Disciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Christ fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-score yeares; it was vtterly ruined by the *Romanes*, from the top to the bottome.

Matth. 24.1. Marke 13.1 Luke 21.5.

The building of the Temple being ended, he would needs be carried to *Rome*, to salute the Emperour *Augustus*: From thence hee brought with him his sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom he had by his murdered *Mariana*, and had sent them tenne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the house of *Asinius Pollio*. And the reason of his bringing them thence into *Iudea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to succeede him in the kingdome. And first of all, he bestowed wiues on them; giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archalaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Aristobulus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his sister *Salome*.

Herode is carried to Rome to see the emperour.

Asinius Pollio a noble Romaine.

The matiages of Herodes two sonnes.

These yoong Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and some other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they should come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by little and little, to kindle hatred in *Herode* against them, deliuering aspersions abroade; that they disdayned their fathers company, bicause he had put their mother to death.

They that haue once dealt in blod, are alwayes suspitious of themselues.

Herode growing into health, by weake degrees, and these wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinseman to *Augustus*) was arriued in *Asia*, and *Herode* iourneying to meete him, quickely perswaded him to visite *Iudea*. Hauing giuen him there most honourable entertainement, and shewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

Agrippa kinsman to Augustus came into Asia.

king great haſte in going thither. The winter being ouer-paſt, *Herode* followed him, when he croſſed to *Pontus* his armie by ſea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning ſoon after to his owne home, hee found all in diſorder, by domeſticke hatreds purpoſely prepared. For his ſiſter *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accuſed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* (beeing the ſonnes of *Mariana*) affirming, that they had openly complayned on the vniuſt death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heereto they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any diſſimulation; they had prepared a traine for their auncient father: truſting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendſhip of the *Romaines* on the other ſide, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightieſt in the Court of *Auguſtus*.

False accuſations impoſed on Alexander and Ariſtobulus, by Salome and Pheroras.

Herod enduring continually any thing, much rather then the leaſt ſuſpition of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at theſe allegations, appoynted ſome of his intimate friends, to be preſent at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his ſonnes, to be the better aſſured of their words & attempts: When (perchaunce) the yoong Lords (neither proiecting or ſuſpecting any ill) might vtter ſome one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by croſſe language in the vrgers) purpoſly deliuered forth, to draw ſomewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this ſerued the turne ſufficiently, for *Herode* to credite, that whatſoeuer his ſiſter had reported, was true. Firſt of all therefore, he reprehended them very ſeuerely; next, to induce their better modeſty and reuerence to their father, by feare and iealouſie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully reſpect his ſonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when ſhe liued a perſon of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his ſucceſſour in the kingdome.

Herode layes traines to entrap his innocent ſonnes vpon the treacherous ſpeeches of his brother and ſiſter.

A man willing to credit lies is ſoone perſwaded of their truth in any thing to his owne aduantage.

This did more vehemently diſtaſte the yoong Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father, as alſo of their owne vnhappineſſe and ill vſage; all which behauiour in them, was imparted to their father by the afore-ſayd intelligencing ſpies. Beſide, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betweene her and her huſband) to diſcloſe what ſecrets paſſed betweene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which ſhe made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, onely by hir vile additions, and falſifications, incenſing him ſtill ſo extreamely againſt them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accuſed them of treaſon before *Auguſtus*.

A mother worketh a daughter againſt the life of her owne husband.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made ſatisfaction to *Auguſtus* and ſome other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude beeing met together, he declared before them the cauſe of his iourney, and to what happie ſucceſſe it had ſorted. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Auguſtus*) *Antipater* was next to ſucceede after his death, as being his eldeſt ſonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* ſhould enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long diſcourſe, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orations.

Auguſtus reconciled the ſons to their father.

From this time forward, *Antipater* inſiſted the more audaciouſly, in whetting the fathers ſpleene againſt his brethren, by falſe, forged and crafty calumniations; beſide diuers other reports of nouelties, meerely deuiſed for the purpoſe. He being highly diſpleaſed, that they ſhould haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extreamely, that their credite held more ſpecially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers ſake of whome they came. In briefe, he neuer ceaſſed, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had perſwaded his father, that his two ſonnes *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, were growne prowde vpon their reconciliation, and practiſed (inſtantly) to poſſeſſe themſelues of the Kingdome. *Herode* beeing further informed of thoſe accuſations, by ſuch as were employed for the purpoſe; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

Antipater ſubtilly worketh maliciouſly againſt his 2. brethren, as hating that they ſhould liue.

Herod putteth to death many friends of his owne, and of his ſonnes vpon falſe reports.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee approoued againſt them, but onely youthfull and vnaduiſed complaints, of exceſſiue cruelty in their father; and his ouereaſie facilitie, in lending eare to falſe reports, only through the deteſtable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his linage.

The two brethren accuſed againe by letters to Auguſtus.

Herode impatient at ſo many ſuſpitions, and fiered hourely with the diuells of his houſe; *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters ſent to *Auguſtus*, he flatly accuſed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* of treaſon. Now, becauſe *Auguſtus* had giuen him permiſſion, to puniſh his ſonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accuſed them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Gouernours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Cittizens his friends there preſent, whom he had cauſed to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Cittie of *Syria*. After that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he ſent them to be ſtrangled in *Sebaſta*: where likewiſe were executed three hundred perſons more, who were ſaid to giue conſent, to an imaginarie flight impoſed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Ariſtobulus* at his death left three ſonnes and twoo daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two ſonnes by *Glaphyra*, beſides ſome daughters, whereof we will ſpeake in their due place and time.

Herode murdered his two ſonnes & 300 perſons beſide.

The iſſue of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, becauſe all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, diſdaines, ſuſpitions and treaſons: ſo that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and ſome other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Auguſtus*, for better ſtrengthening himſelfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to paſſe that *Pheroras* dyed, whoſe wife was accuſed before *Herode* by ſome of her owne friends, to haue poyſoned her husband. *Herode* making inquiſition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treaſons of his ſonne *Antipater* plainely appeared.

Antipater conſpired the death of his father.

Pheroras poiſoned by his wife.

Heereupon, the King being extreamly enraged, ſpared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not ſo much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kinred to him, if hee could ſuſpect them in the very leaſt manner. And as hee ſtroue to informe himſelfe, by all his beſt and diligent meanes, ſo much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, ſo that (conſequently) he beeame worſe then miſerable.

Herod torturerth his courtiers cruelly.

Onely his Siſter *Salome*, was faithfull to him, who compaſſed the meanes by craftie Spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conſpiratours, which ſhee ſtill reuealing to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to diſtruſt them that were moſt familiar with him, by forged tales and faithleſſe ſuſpitions. So that *Herode* accuſed *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyſon readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was ſlayne by *Arminius Cheruſchus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and beeing conuicted of the ſinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept priſoner, vntill by Letters and Ambaſſadours, hee vnderſtoode the will and pleaſure of *Auguſtus*, concerning his puniſhment.

Salome only conſtant to her brother Herode.

Antipater taken with poyſon prepared for his father.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as beeing conſenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongſt whome were diuerſe innocents, wrongfully accuſed by malicious enemies, and meerely ſwallowed vp in *Herodes* furie, as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Mallice will hardly want matter to worke on.

Soone after, beeing about the age of ſeauentie yeares, quaſht and confounded with domeſticke calamities: his former ſickneſſe grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his ſubiects. For now hee was verily perſwaded, that the Iewes reioyced as much at his homebred miſeries, as they did at the extreamitie of his diſeaſe. Wherefore hee deuiſed very cruell puniſhments, for matters of ſilly or ſmall offence: for hee burned aliue fortie yoong Schollers, of the very chiefeſt houſes in *Iudea*, with two Maiſters that were excellent men: becauſe (being mooued with iuſt griefe, to ſee the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (ſomewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herods ſickneſſe encreaſed vpon him

The cruel tyranny of Herod in his laſt ſickneſſe.

Forty ſcholers and their maiſters burned aliue.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Ceſar*; a thing very coſtly and magnificent, but contrary to the cuſtomes of the Iewiſh nation. The monſtrous crueltie inflicted vpon theſe yoong men, was the cauſe of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Sanhedrin the auncient Iudges of Iudea ſlayne.

Hee exerciſed alſo other great cruelties, amongſt which, *Philo* the Iew recordeth, that in the thirtieth yeare of his tyrannicall reigne, he ſlew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Iudges of the houſe of *Dauid*, and ſubſtituted other (newly conuerted to Iudaiſme, or skilfull in the Lawe) in their ſtead. Moreouer, he ſlew the husband of his ſiſter *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Iuda*, and a Sonne, which hee himſelfe begate of a woman of the ſame Tribe; becauſe hee had ſayd, that Chriſt our Sauiour was already borne, who was promiſed in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the houſe of *Dauid*.

The husband of Salome ſlaine.

Alſo Saint *Matthew* the Euangeliſt, in the ſecond chapter and ſixeteenth verſe, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertiſed by the wiſe men of *Perſia*, that the *Meßias* was borne; hee gaue ſtrict commaund, that all the maſle Children ſhould bee murdered, in the Towne of *Bethlehem*, and all the villages round about.

The murdering of the yoong infants in Bethlehem and other places.

Macrobius is a witneſſe of this moſt inhumane act, who recounteth (among the witty conceits of *Auguſtus*) that hearing report of the Infants ſlaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, cauſed by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne ſonne, being alſo ſlayne among them, hee ſayd: *That he had much rather be Herodes Hogge, then his Sonne.*

A witty ſaying of Auguſtus.

Moreouer, feeling his entrailes to rot and putrifie, his bloud and fleſh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, deſpayring of liuing any longer: by Edict, he aſſembled the chiefeſt of the *Iews*, ſuch as excelled the reſt in wiſedome, wealth and authoritie; cauſing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

A moſt horrible intention in King Herode.

Beeing there arriued vpon his commaund, they were ſhut vppe in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purpoſed to conferre with them before his death, of ſome important matter concerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his ſiſter *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that ſo ſoone as hee had giuen vp the Ghoſt: they ſhould diſpatch the liues of the mightieſt Iewes by the Archers of his Guarde, coueting by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongeſt the Iewes, who elſe would reioyce at theyr Kings miſerable end.

A commaund more then barbarous, & ill beſeeming the houre of death.

Beſides, that they ſhould thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome for his ſonnes, when they of greateſt power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promiſe to the King, for the execution of his bloudy will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let looſe all the Iewes, without offering them the leaſt iniury, accounting it to be neyther ſafe for them, nor the children of *Herod*, to obey ſuch a barbarous and inhumane iniunction.

The Iewes releaſed without any harm done to them

A little before his death, the Ambaſſadours which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Auguſtus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now ſomewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne ſhould be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him ſtill in bands.

Herode receiued letters from Auguſtus before his death.

It fortuned, that *Herod* (liuing in ſuch horrible and extreame torments, with ſtincking putrifaction of his body:) ſodainly caught a knife, and ſought for the fitteſt place to ridde himſelfe out of thoſe paines.

Herod intended deſperatly to kill himſelfe.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinſemen, and other ſeruants (beeing by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himſelfe: whereuppon, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had beene dead. *Antipater* being priſoner, and vnderſtanding, why theſe cries came thus from euery place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promiſes he made to them.

Antipater ſeeketh to corrupt his keepers.

But he that had the eſpeciall charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went

to

to see whether he was dead or no: reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly mooued him vnto.

Antipater secretly slaine in prison.

Herode mightily offended at these tydings, commaunded, that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which beeing done, himselfe liued but fiue dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sickenesse, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died: hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprizall of *Ierusalem*; and seauen and thirtie yeares after the *Romaines* had proclaimed him King. A man equally cuell to all men: from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent place of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship: very happy abroade, vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

The shamefull and ignominious death of Herode.

Three special aduersaries with whom hee had to deale principally.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmoneans*, which hee stroue vtterly to extirpate by all his policies. Secondly, against the Iewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger: and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoake of seruitude. The third aduersarie; more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne housholde people. For, as hee slew one part of them (beeing no way guilty or offensiue towardes him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspitions, still to support his greedie desire of rule: so did he punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vntill such time, as beeing more broken and battered by his domesticke encumbrances, then by extreamitie of age; he payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Iew writeth, that hee reigned sixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirty yeares tyrannically.

A Tyrant is alwayes suspitious, & hardly trusteth any man but himselfe.

In the three and thirtie yeare of his reigne (as it is auouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the World: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Sauiour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethlehem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angelles admonition, hee was with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwardes, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

The natiuitie of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ in Bethlehem

The testament of Herode changed by himself three seueral times.

Herode altered his Will three seuerall times: The first chaunge was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris*: but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whome hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succeede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Iosephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Aristobulus*, sonne of *Mariana* the *Asmonean*.

Ioseph in Ant. Iud. li. 3. ca. 10

After the death of *Pheroras*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discouered, and the King beeing informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destinated successour (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked councell with *Antipater*: hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer comming to the Crowne.

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers testament, & their mothers excluded the Court.

Beside, he expulsed the two mothers, *Doris* and *Mariana*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

The second alteration of his Will.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipas*, and hee to succeede after his death, beeing borne of *Marthaca* a *Samaritane*. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Phillip*, who were elder in yeares then hee: because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of of his friends had falsely accused them b Letters, in the time of their studyin *Rome*.

By the same Testament, he left a t sand Talents to *Augustus*, which an teth to three score tunnes of Gold *Liuia* the wife of *Augustus*, and children and enfranchised friends o *gustus*, hee gaue fiue hundred T that is to say, thirtie tunnes of g

Last of all, after that (a lit

his death) hee had cauſed *Antipater* to bee ſlayne, for diuerſe conſpiracies againſt his father and brethren: he grew into good liking of his two elder ſonnes, which was the reaſon of altering his will the third time, leauing the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; prouided alſo, that it might bee as pleaſing to *Auguſtus*.

The third and laſt alteration of his teſtament.

In ſtead of King, hee made *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, that is to ſay, of the Region ſcituate beyond *Iordane*.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Phillip* Tetrarch of *Gallonitida*, *Traconitis*, *Batanea* and *Paneada*. To his Siſter *Salome* (who amongſt all his kinred) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpefull in all his aduerſities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaſelida*, with fiftie thouſand Crownes beſides.

Herode Antipas and Phillip made both Tetrarches.

Hee aſſigned great reuenews to his other ſonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had ſent to *Auguſtus* and other at *Rome*. But *Auguſtus* (afterwards) diſtributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kinred; retayning nothing to himſelfe, but onely certayne coſtly veſſells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

Herods bountie in his legacies to Auguſtus and other.

CHAP. XV.

A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues, as alſo the order of their ſeuerall ſucceſſions.

I Thought it verie neceſſarie, heere to ſet downe the order and ſucceſſion of *Herodes* children; becauſe it doth giue great light to the Euangelicall ſtorie, in regarde that the Deſcription made by *Ioſephus*, is ſomewhat diſ[ſ]. Eſpecially in *Herodias*, whom [h]e ſayth, to be ſometime married, not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euangeliſt Saint *Mark*, in the ſixteenth chapter and ſeauenteenth verſe of his Goſpell auoucheth, but to *Herod*, ſonne to the daughter of *Simon* the High-prieſt, who ſoone after was aduaunced, and ioyned with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, that ſlew Saint *John Baptiſt*.

He ſayth beſides, that the dauncing daughter of *Herodias*, was married to *Phillip*: But the authoritie of the Euangeliſts ought to be of greater weight with vs, then to that of *Ioſephus*, who in this Genealogie of *Herode*, ſpeaketh things very contrary, which is not much to bee maruelled at, in a Familie of ſo great extendure. For King *Herode*, according to the auncient manner of the Kings of *Iudea*, had many wiues together, in all being tenne, two whereof were barren.

The genealogie of Herod very great

Doris his firſt wife.

Her he married in priuate condition, taking her from a place of ſlender repute, her father beeing as then liuing. Of her hee begate *Antipater*; whom hee diſ-inherited, his mother *Doris* beeing diuorced, after he was matried to *Mariana* the *Aſmonean*: nor would hee permit her to be preſent in *Ieruſalem*, but onely at three famous ſolemnities.

Antipater the ſonne of Doris the firſt wife of Herod.

But after that *Mariana* was put to death, hee receiued *Doris* agayne into his Court, and gaue her admittance to his bedde, re-calling home the ſonne alſo: beeing fully reſolued, to haue left him heyre to the Kingdome, if hee had not beene the cauſe of his owne ruine and death, by wicked machinations, contriued againſt his father and brethren; beſide, hee brought his owne mother into the diſlike of his father.

Doris receiued into grace againe and her ſonne repealed.

Antipater tooke to wife the daughter of *Antigonus*, the laſt King of the *Aſmoneans*, by whom hee had alſo *Antipater*, to whom was married the daughter of *Pheroras* his great vnckle. Afterward hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his brother *Ariſtobulus*, whom he cauſed to be murdered.

Antipater had a ſonne named Antipater alſo.

By

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, he had many heires, thus following in order.

Mariana,

Glaphyra, daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*; *Alexander*, slaine by his father.

The issue to Herode by Mariana, and their matches in marriage.

Herode,

Aristobulus, slaine by his father, left fiue children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.

Salome was married to *Phaselus*, sonne of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose children we haue spoken before.

Cypris was married to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

Alexander,

Tygranes, who was sent by *Nero* King into *Armenia*.

Tygranes was King of *Armenia*, and afterward accused at *Rome*, dyed without issue.

The names of Aristobulus his children, by Berenice.

Aristobulus, strangled by the commaund of his father *Herode*.

Berenice his wife, daughter of *Salome*, sister to King *Herode*.

The issue of Aristobulus, and his wife Berenice.

Agrippa the first King of *Iudea*.

Herode the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Aristobulus, to whom was espoused *Iotapata*, daughter to the king of the *Emesians*, by whom hee had *Iotapata*, a deafe daughter.

Herodias, who left her husband, and had a daughter *Salome*; who for the reward of her goodly dauncing, required, and had the head of Saint *Iohn Baptist*.

Mariana, affianced first to *Antipater* the sonne of *Antipater*: but afterward *Antipater*, sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her to wife.

Mariana daughter to *Simeon* the soueraigne Sacrificer, the third wife to *Herode*, of whom came.

Herode the second, who had a daughter named *Salome*, married sometime to his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and afterward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode* king of *Chalcis*.

Herodias his wife, yoongest daughter of *Great Herode*, and also the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father.

HErode affecting this *Mariana* for her rare beauty, who was the daughter to a silly sacrificing Priest, he perceiuing that he could no otherwise enioy her, but by lawfull marriage; made her father *Simeon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by deposing *Iesus*, the successour to *Ananelus*.

Mariana the daughter to Simeon, aduanced to the High priesthoode.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second, whom he had instituted (in his first Will) second heire after *Antipater* his eldest sonne. But growing offended (afterward) for some fault in his mother: hee altered his Will, and depriued him of all hope of succeeding.

Herod the second depriued from succeeding in the kingdom.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Herode* the second (who alwayes afterward liued priuately) tooke to wife *Herodias*, the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father; who afterward was exalted by his brother *Herod Antipas*, contrary to all right and reason. But (as I haue already said) this Genealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with Saint *Marke*, who ruleth it in this maner.

Iosephus reproued in his Genealogie.

Herode the second, borne of the High-priests daughter, liued without publique charge.

The Genealogie according to the description of Saint Marke.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, married with the brother to her husband.

Herode Antipas, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

Phillip the Tetrarch, who died without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to both, each after other, and engendred by the last;

Herode, *Agrippa*, *Aristobulus*; of whom I finde nothing at all recorded.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Marthaca*, or *Malthaca*, a Samaritane; of whom were borne,

Archelaus, who by the last Testament of his father, was ordayned to be his successour. But by *Augustus* he was instituted to be * *Ethnarche*.

The issue of Herode by his fourth wife.

Herode the third, called also *Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the rauisher of *Herodias*, and murderer of Saint *Iohn Baptist*: he was called also, the *Fox for Christ*.

Olympia, married to *Ioſippus*, ſonne of *Ioſippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Poſteritie following:

Mariana, eſpouſed to *Herod* the fourth, King of *Chalcis*, and had a ſonne named *Ariſtobulus*, who (by *Nero*) was inſtituted Gouernor of *Armenia* the leſſer. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The iſſue of Herod by his fiſt wife.

The fift wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Ieruſalem*, whoſe children were

Phillip, who (by the laſt Teſtament of his father) was appoynted Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*.

Herode, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Hiſtorie.

Ioſeph. in Antiquit. Iud. libr. 17 cap. 10.

But, conſidering that *Ioſephus* ſaith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make ſome doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himſelfe in the numbring of *Herodes* children; as in the ſecond Chapter of the ſame Booke. And that of the ſame mother *Marthaca*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, iſſued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Ioſephus* attributeth two ſonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (neuertheleſſe) he maketh not any mention in his Hiſtorie.

Ioſephus foūd contradictory to himſelfe.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* ſhould bee placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, becauſe he nameth *Herode* alſo: ſome (not very skilfull) haue attributed two ſonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I ſhould ſay, that *Iulius* and *Cæſar* had beene two Conſulls. Aſſuredly, this coniecture ſeemeth to be confirmed, becauſe *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdomes affaires to *Phillip*, as to his neareſt and deareſt brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had beene his germaine brother by the ſame mother. But this ſhewes it ſelfe much more euidently, in regard that *Ioſephus*, in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapters of the ſame ſeuenteenth Booke, ſaith: That *Archelaus* iourneying to *Rome*, tooke along with him his mother *Marthaca*, who dyed there, before the ſuite (concerning the ſucceſſion) was deſcided; and that (ſoone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewiſe was accompanied with his mother. It muſt needes follow then neceſſarily, that they had diuerſitie of mothers. Wherefore it ſomewhat amazeth mee, that *Ioſephus* repeateth in the Hiſtorie of the Iewes warres, to haue ſpoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

The iourney of Archelaus to Rome, after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

Antipas and his mother went alſo to Rome.

The ſixt wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a ſonne named *Phaſelus*, of whom *Ioſephus* writeth nothing.

Pallas, Phædra and Elpis with their iſſue by Herod

The ſeauenth wife was *Phædra*, who had by *Herod* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eight wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Auguſtus* married the two ſonnes of *Pheroras*, to theſe two ſiſters, *Roxana* and *Salomè*, beeing but yoong when their father died. To whome (beſide the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dowrie, two hundred thouſand peeces of ſiluer mony: which ſumme, if *Ioſephus* doe vnderſtand *Drachmaes* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to fiue and twentie thouſand crownes of the Sunne.

The bountie of Auguſtus to the marriages of Roxana and Salome.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Ioſephus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Couſine germane, vnnamed alſo.

By theſe two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

All this ſo great linage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare vtterly) within the ſpace of ſeuenty yeares, the moſt part of them liuing in priuate manner. Such as attained to gouernement of affaires, and ſucceeded in ſome ſmall portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three ſonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two yonger ſonnes; the firſt *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalcis*; *Agrippa* the laſt, in whoſe reigne was the Iewiſh warre, and the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*. I will ſpeake briefly of them all in order.

A great race vtterly expiring in a ſmall compaſſe of yeares.

Of them that ſucceeded in gouernement.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus; and the plea of him and his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of Gouernment.

A commotion or mutiny, rising in the citie.

BY the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) *Archelaus* was appointed successor with royall power; prouided, that *Augustus* would be so pleased. But scarsly was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the Citty, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the yong schollers that wer burned aliue, about beating down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, mooving the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom *Herode* had established in the ending of his dayes: *Archelaus* sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdomes affayres to his brother *Phillip*, and tooke his iourney to *Rome*, accompanied with his mother *Marthaca*, and some other friends, to require of *Augustus* the full establishment of his Fathers VVill.

A bloodie slaughter of the people made by Archelaus.

Herode Antipas goeth after his brother Archelaus to Rome, to pleade his Title to the crowne.

By the suggestion of their Aunt *Salome*, *Herode Antipas* followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdome before *Augustus*. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, then any due to *Archelaus*; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heyre to the Royall dignity; when his father *Herode* was sound both in bodie and memory. And such a Will so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last so neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapeable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadours were sent from the people of *Iudea* to *Rome*, to entreate, that they might no longer bee gouerned by a King: but rather that *Iudea* (being reduced to the form of a Prouince) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if needes they must haue a King, and of *Herodes* posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected *Herode Antipas*, then *Archelaus*, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwardes expect in him.

A request made by the Iewes, to bee no longer gouerned by a King.

While this sute was thus in hearing, and *Augustus* consulted thereon, vvith some of his most intimate friends; greeuous tumults chanced to be moued; first, by *Sabinus*, Procurator for *Cæsar* in *Ierusalem*, and afterward in diuers other places of *Iudea*. For some people (of no worth) emboldned by the Kings absence; hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselues, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments, During which time, *Iudea* was wonderfully wasted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of *Quintillius Varus*, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vppe aboue two thousand, such as were cheefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

Seditions and tumults happning in Ierusalem, and other places of Iudea.

These troubles being certified by Letters to *Rome* by *Varus*, caused *Augustus* (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of *Herode* to *Iudea* againe. But he had diuided the whole kingdome of *Herode* into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to *Archelaus*, whom he named Ethnarche, which dignity he affoorded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (neuertheless) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreouer, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to *Herode Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Perea*; the reuennewes whereof amounted to two hundred Talents, that is fixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*, which containd *Idumæa*, *Iudea*, and *Samaria*, valewed fixe hundred Talents in reuennewes.

Herodes sons sent backe to Iudea againe, and the kingdome diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

Arche-

The cruel behauior of Archelaus to his subiects after his returne among them.

Archelaus being come backe into *Iudea*, enflamed with hatred against his subiects (by whose accusation, hee had not only lost his Kingly authority, but almost the halfe part of his gouernment) began to carry himselfe cruelly towardes them, and (for small or no causes at all) did put to death such persons, as hee imagined had desired the alteration of the State. Moreouer, he highly soyled his reputation, with marriage prohibited by the laws of God. For, at his returne from *Rome*, as he passed thorow *Cappadocia*, to visite his kinsman king *Archelaus*; hee found there *Glaphyra* (widdowed the second time) who had bene first married to *Alexander* that was put to death by his Father *Herod* with his brother *Aristobulus*. After his death, her Father in law *Herode*, sent her (with her dowry) vnto her owne father, where she was remarried to *Iuba* King of the *Numidians*; who being likewise dead, she came and liued with hir father again. *Archelaus* (inueigled with her beautie) tooke her to wife, notwithstanding shee had bene married to his brother *Alexander*, diuorcing his owne wife, named *Mariana*. This *Glaphyra* died a little before *Archelaus* was sent into exile, beeing affrighted with a dreame; wherein she seemed to see the ghost of her first husband, reprooving her for this wicked marriage with his brother.

Archelaus fell in loue with his brothers wife Glaphyra, & married her, contrarie to the Lawe of God.

The death of Glephyra, affrighted by a fearful dream

Finally, as he ceased not from committing extraordinary cruelties, so he chanced to be accused at *Rome*, by some of the principall Iewes: after he had nine yeares held the principality, from the death of his Father *Herode*. Whereupon, *Augustus* summoned him to his appearance; & after he had bene conuinced by sufficient Witnesses, hee was sent into *Daulphine*, where he died, without leauing any children that were knowne. His goods were confiscated to the Romaine Emperour, and the Countries of his Ethnarchie were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine Gouernors: as by *Coponius*, *Marcus*, and *Annius Rufus*, who gouerned the Countreyes (each of them) two years, euen vntill the death of *Augustus*, whose successor *Tiberius*, sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Iudea*. Eleuen yeares after, he sent *Pontius Pilate* also, who behaued himselfe cruelly in *Iudea*: and (amongst other notorious matters) he condemned our Lord & Sauiour Iesus Christ to be hanged vpon a Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Gouernment, and the eighteenth of the Emperor *Tyberius*.

Archelaus sent for to Rome, his cõuiction and death.

Pontius Pilat sent gouernor into Iudea.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Phillip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how he gouerned in his Tetrarchie.

KIng *Herod*, by his last Wil and Testament, leste his sonne *Phillip* Tetrarche of *Traconitis*, & of the neighbouring Regions beyond *Iordane*; euen from the Sea of *Tyberias* or *Genezareth*, to the springs of *Iordane*, and the foot of Mount *Libanus*. He gouerned this his Tetrarchy the space of seuen and thirty yeeres (with great commendation for iustice and modesty) which hee also beautified with many goodly Buildinges: For in *Paneada*, neere to the sourses of *Iordane* (where sometime his Father *Herod* had erected and dedicated a Temple to *Augustus*) he builded a Cittie, which he called *Cesarea* of *Philippi*: and another vpon the lake of *Genezareth*, named *Bethsaida*, which encreasing and growing into great wealth, he called it *Iuliada*, after the name of the wife to *Augustus*.

The large extendure of Philips Tetrarchie.

The building of Cæsarea of Philippi and Bethsaida by Philip Iuliada.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Phillip* tooke in marriage *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, whereas Saint *Marke* the Euangelist, in his sixt chapter and the seauenteenth verse writeth, That the Mother *Herodias* was espoused vnto *Phillip*: and afterward being carried away, was conioyned with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20. yeare of *Tyberius* the Emperor, that is to say, two yeeres after Christ was crucified, rose from the dead againe, and the Gospell was spread abroad by the Apostles, from forth *Iudea* to Neighbouring Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed (by *Tyberius*) to the Prouince of *Syria*.

At what time Philip the Tetrarch died.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, brother to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria and Perea, &c.

THis *Herode Antipas*, by the second Will was instituted successor to his Father. But the Testament being altred, he was ordained Tetrarche, and had (for his partage) *Samaria* and *Perea*, which is a most fertile Region beyond *Iordane*, betweene the Lakes of *Tyberias* and *Asphaltida*. Neuertheless, being not contented with his Fathers gift, and trusting to the precedent Will; hee contended at *Rome* with his Brother before *Augustus*, touching the possession of the kingdome. All which notwithstanding, hee obtained nothing else but the Tetrarchie left him by his father, & then againe confirmed to him. He took first to wife the daughter of *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, liuing with him more then fifteene yeares. But afterward, being called to *Rome*, passing along by *Phillip* the Tetrarche, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) by *Herode* the second, borne of the daughter to the high Priest: beeing enamoured on *Herodias*, daughter to his brother *Aristobulus*, hee contracted marriage with her, promising to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Being returned from *Italy*, he tooke away from his Brother, *Herodias* and her daughter *Salome*; whereat the daughter of *Aretas* finding her selfe offended (secretly disguised) fled to her father in *Arabia*; whereupon ensued a lamentable war. For *Aretas*, purposing to reuenge this vniust diuorce of his daughter, sent a potent Army against *Herode*; which did vtterly ouerthrow all his Forces, notwithstanding their strength and multitude in number.

This *Herode Antipas*, detained S. *Iohn Baptist* sometime prisoner in the strong-defenced City of *Macheron* (situated on the Marches of *Perea* and *Arabia*, neere to the lake *Asphaltida*:) because he hadde boldly reprooued him for this incestuous marriage; where the Adultresse found the meanes (afterward) to haue his head smitten off. The same *Herode* laboured subtilty to entrap Christ, as he was teaching in *Galilee*; and afterward, when *Pilate* sent him prisoner to him, hee sent him backe againe opprobriously, because (at his request) Christ would not worke any miracle before him.

He likewise embellished his Tetrarchy with faire buildinges; for (to his great charges) he builded *Sephorim*, a Cittie of *Galilee*, which he caused to bee called *Antocratorida*. He called another *Iuliada*, by the name of *Augustus* wife, which before was named *Betharanta*. After the death of *Augustus*, because he had beene a kinde friend to *Tyberius*; he builded a new Citty in honour of him, neere to the Lake of *Genazereeh*, which he commanded to be called *Tyberias*. But because the place was prophaned by great heapes of dead bodies there buried, so that (by *Moyses* Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there, he allured some (by diuers commodities and immunities) to builde there, making habitations for poore people; compelling the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with their families) in this new City.

In the second yeare of the Empire of *Caius Caligula*, when *Agrippa* the Brother of *Herodias* returned from *Rome* into *Iudea*, adorned (against all attempters) with the royall dignity: *Herode*, by the continuall iniuries of his wife, was enforced to vndertake a iourny to *Rome*, to entreate the royall dignity of the Emperour. For this woman (burning with ambition) said it was vnsufferable, that her Brother *Agrippa* (being but a while before poore & beggerly, and so farre indebted, that hee was made seruile to his Creditors) should now triumph with a Kingly Crowne; surmounting his Vnckle in power and dignity, he hauing beene to him as a nursing Father, and adiudged (by the second testament) worthy of the kingdome.

Antipas, prouoked by the incessant instigations of this arrogant woman, went vnto *Rome* with her; desiring of the Emperor *Caius*, to enioy the name and dignity Royall: beside, by manie grieuous accusations, he practised to make *Agrippa* hatefull to the Emperor. But *Agrippa* (aduertised of his Vnckles voyage and intent) preuented him, and sent letters before him by an intimate friend: wherein he

Samaria and Perea a most plentiful country.

Cities that were builded by Antipas his Tetrarche.

The new citie of Tiberias.

The first wife of Herod Antipas.

Antipas falles in loue with Herodias, & contracted marriage with her.

Agrippa the Brother of Herodias, highly respected by the Emperor, and allowed royal dignity.

Herodias and her daughter carried away by Antipas.

Antipas accused his Wiues Brother Agrippa before the Emperour Caius Caligula.

Iohn Bapt. kept in prison by Antipas, for reproouing his incestuous marriage, and is beheaded

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was consenting in the conspiracie of *Seianus*, against *Tiberius*, and that now (hauing close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some noueltie intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be coniectured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of three-score and tenne thousand able fighting men.

Agrippa preuented his brothers accusations to the Emperor.

Caligula, incensed by this report from his friends, demaunded of *Herode*, what prouision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Whereto hee aunswered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions* in *France*, and there kept in perpetuall exile. Moreouer, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in proprietie to his sister *Herodias*, whom he reputed innocent, and for her hee would haue all to be intirely reserued, if she would returne into *Iudea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberalitie, replied: That presently she could not make any vse of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flowring prosperity, and tasted thereof very royally.

Herod intrapped in his own answere, and sent into perpetuall banishment at Lions in Fraunce.

The subtile answer of Herodias to the Emperour.

Thus spake this subtile woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperour would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*, and that shee should not vndergoe the selfe-same censure, considering his suppoſall of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeased at her haughtie stomacke) commaunded; that being despoyled of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listening (ouer-lightly) to the perswasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enioyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deserued iustly this heauie penaltie; because, beeing ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably admonished in the greatnesse of their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man Saint *Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

The innocent death S. Iohn Baptist iustly reuenged.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of Saint *Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white), as vnwilling to endure his presence. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principalitie of *Iudea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a yonger sonne of another sonne *Aristobulus* and *Mariana* an *Asmonean*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue heere set downe the Ancestors and Posteritie.

Translation of the principality of Iudea.

Mariana, an *Asmonean*.
Cypris, daughter of *Salome*, sister to *Aristobulus*.
Agrippa the second, King of *Chalcis*.
Drusus dyed in his youth.

The line fel whence the diſcent cam, failing in the ſonnes of Herod the great.

Herode the Great.

Salome his sister.
Berenice his wife
Aristobulus. *Herodias*. *Mariana*.

Aristobulus slayne by his father.
Agrippa the first King of all *Iudea*.
Herod, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.
Berenice, married to his vnckle *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, who being dead, she remayned with *Polemon* king of *Sicily*.
Mariana ioyned with *Archelaus Helchias*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, she wedded *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, by whō she had *Agrippina*.
Drusilla most faire, being but yoong, sixe yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphanes*, sonne of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagena*. But he making refusall to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Haziazeus*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, Gouernour of *Iudea* (by power of Promises) made hir to leaue hir husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom she had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife. at the burning of the Mountaine *Vesevus*: which made an inestimable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lauoro*, otherwise called the *Great Campania*.

* Comagena is part of Syria, about Cilicia westward. Eusebius.

* Mount di Somma in Campania neere Naples, out of the top whereof flame fire & smoke.

Saint

Saint *Paul* maketh mention of this *Druſilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the foure and twentieth verſe, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *The life of Agrippa, the firſt man of that name, coming to be King of Iudea.*

He is alſo called Herod, in Acts 12.1.

ALitle before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was ſent to *Rome*, and there nouriſhed with *Druſus*, the ſonne of *Tyberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthonia* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regarde of his mother *Berenice*; whom ſhe loued as if ſhe had beene her ſiſter.

Agrippa was educated at Rome with the emperors ſonne.

Being come to age, he retired into *Iudea*, after the death of *Druſus*: becauſe *Tyberius* expelled from his court, al them that had beene friends to his deceaſſed ſonne; as fearing leſt the ſight of them, ſhould bee the renewing of his ſorrow. But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, whereinto he had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherfore he wandred abroad for (ſome times) with his wife *Cypris*, beggerly, poore, and vtterly abandoned of his friends; ſo that at length, ſhame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to ſhorten his life. But his wife *Cypris* making humble ſupplications to *Herodias*, the ſiſter of her husband: ſhe preuailed ſo farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a houſe for him in the citty of *Tiberias*, and aſsigned him there a yearely reuenew. Not long had *Agrippa* enioyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for ſome wordes ſpoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reproued him angerly, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that he liued by his bounty.

The great pouertie and diſtreſſe of Agrippa & his wife Cypris.

Agrippa grieuing at this reproach, forſooke this fauour afforded by *Herode*: and borrowing ſome ſmall ſtore of money, of one that reſpected him, but at extreame intereſt; once more hee intended to viſite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to ſalute *Tyberius* in the Iſle of *Capreæ*, where he found gracious entertainement for a few dayes: vntill ſome Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Iudea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiuers of the Emperor. Beſide, that he had formerly made many eſcapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vſing nothing but ſubtile and coſening ſhifts.

Herodias is a meanes to relieue their miſery.

Miſerie ſooner meeteth with enemies then friends.

Tyberius much offended at theſe tydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoyde his Court, vntill hee had made full ſatisfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the meanes of Madame *Antonia*. Wherewith *Tyberius* was ſo well pleaſed, that hee appoynted him the guardian of his twinne ſonne *Tyberius*. But a little before the death of *Tyberius*, once again he fell into his diſfauour. For, beeing at ſupper one night, with *Caius*, the yoong adopted ſonne of *Tyberius*, among other ſpeeches paſſing at the Table; *Agrippa* wiſhed, that olde *Tyberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* ſhould enioy the Empire.

The ſtrange and variable condition of Agrippaes fortune.

This wiſh comming to the eares of *Tyberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in cloſe priſon, and there ſo kept, vntill ſuch time as *Tyberius* deceaſſed. *Caius*, well aſſiſted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and hauing releaſed *Agrippa* out of priſon; adorned him with the habits beſeeming a King, ſubiecting alſo thoſe countries to him, which *Philip* the Tetrarch, and *Lyſanias* formerly had commaunded. Moreouer, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in priſon. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperor *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Iudea*, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdome.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and readuancement of Agrippa.

Agrippa forſakes Herod, to take his fortune elſewhere.

The returne of Agrippa to poſſeſſe his kingdome.

Thus you ſee, that hee who (before) was not onely deſpiſed, in regard of his neceſſitie and great debts, but alſo durſt not abide in any place, for the importunitie of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all ſuch as ſawe him in that wofull miſerie) raiſed to the magnificence royall; which

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulsed him, while he liued in priuate estate and extreame pouerty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Galilee* and *Berea*; with all the cheuisance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatour, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherfore, after he dad taken order for his kingdomes affaires, hee tooke his iourney towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauors done to him by *Caius*.

Honors heaped more and more vppon Agrippa by the Emperor.

Agrippa maketh a iourny to Rome.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Cittizens of *Alexandria*, and the *Iews* dwelling in the same Cittie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadours were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongest whom was *Philo* the Iew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the Iewes were sharpely accused by a *Greeke* named *Appian*, for many faults, and especially, for obstinate contempt of the Imperiall dignitie: because in all parts of those Cities where the Iewes dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vppe, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

Philo the Iew sent Ambassadour for the Iewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Iewes.

Caligula being very furiously mooued with this complaint, repulsed the Iewish Ambassadours, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Gouernour into *Iudea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperors Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, if not by consent of the Iewes, yet in despight of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

A commaund to erect the Emperors statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius, willing to obey this cõmand, yet knowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolomais*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the Iewes (by Ambassadours and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperors commaund; desiring the people, that he might rather perfourme it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The Iews, not a litle affrighted at these news, came from a great number of Townes and Cities, into the fields before *Ptolomais*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a commaund, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Petronius goeth with a powerfull army to Ptolomais, to execut the Emperours commaund.

What importance passed betweene the Iewes and Petronius.

Contrariwise, *Petronus* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiffenecked opiniõ, should procure the countries deuastation by fire and sword; alledging stil vnto them, the sterne commands of the Emperour, how gracious hee had beene towards him, and (being angerly mooued) would admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approoning his speeches by examples, of diuers tormented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperors charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselues, that neuer any refused to fulfill his command, but was extreamely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenture his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Petronius perswaded the people to stand in feare of the Emperours strict commaund.

Heereupon the multitude resolued to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creatour of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselues against the Emperours will, beeing full of impietie. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed, that he stoode in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commaunds.

Arguments alleaged to Petronius by the Iewish multitude.

Petronius, amased at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was dispersed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; pansed a while vpon it. For, hee had beene particularly admonished by *Aristobulus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Iudea*, with earnest imprecatious, not to soyle himselfe

himselfe, with the innocent bloud of so great a multitude, by the wicked commaund of the Emperours; becauſe in ſo doing, hee ſhould brand the Romaine Empire, with ſo infamous a note of cruelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, deſtroying a whole Nation, for refuſing to ſuffer the Image of a ſinfull man, to be aduaunced in their moſt holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderſtanding or good iudgement) did euer couet before: but contrariewiſe, many, to whom ſuch an offer had beene made, did holde it in no meane deteſtation.

The Iewes held in high eſteeme their auncient ceremonies and traditions.

They further aduiſed him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderſtand the peremptorie reſolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies giuen them by Almighty God, calming his diſpleaſure ſo well as hee could, from proceeding in ſo cruell a ſentence. But if it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, that the humour of the Gouernour might not bee altered: yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did pleaſe) to proceede in Armes.

Petronius deſiring to conſider in theſe matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a little further: went with his Army to *Tybertas*, where an infinite number of Iewes met him, inceſſantly entreating him, that their ſacred Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? anſwered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weake your ſtrength is, to contend againſt ſo mighty a Monarch? Wee reſiſt not by Armes ſo great a power (cryed out the Iewes) but humbly lay downe our liues at *Cæſars* foote: rather then, againſt the Lawe of our God, we will ſee the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holieſt place of our Temple. Which words were no ſooner ſpoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, proſtrating their neckes to any that would ſmite them.

The conference betweene Petronius and the Iewes at Tyberias.

Petronius perceiuing them ſo reſolued and inuincible, that they rather would die, then ſuffer their Temple to be violated; conſidering alſo, that already (for the ſpace of fortie dayes) they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although it was the onely apt time to ſowe their ſeede: after he had conſulted with ſome of his friends, hee coucluded, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before he would make any publication therof, he meant to preſſe thoſe people ſomwhat further. So, cauſing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed Iewes to meete at *Tiberias*, and to feare them in moſt dreadfull manner; he engirt them on all ſides with warrelike troupes, and his horſſemen ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous commaund of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like caſe; the daunger wherein he and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commaunded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: becauſe ſuch fayled not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commaunded by him.

A further trial vrged by Petronius vpon the people in warlike manner.

But when the Iewes cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commaund, then of any mortall mans whatſoeuer, to trample them vnder his horſes feete, or ſlice them in peeces with their Swords, that ſo all the Iewes being extirpated, he might vſe the Temple at his owne pleaſure: *Petronius*, entirely mooued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commaunding ſilence by a Trumpet, thus he ſpake.

The answer of the people to Petronius.

¶ *The Oration made by Petronius, to the Iewes aſſembled at Tyberias.*

SEeing you are ſo reſolute, that you deſire rather to die, then violate the Law giuen you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will ſoyle your Temple; for which I ſee you endeuour ſo much. Nor will I doe ſeruice to the Emperour my Maiſter, in a matter ſo monſtrous and inhumane: but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchaſe my life, by the innocent bloud of ſo great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for ſo many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee commaund me to Rome, and condemne mee

The honourable diſpoſition & great piety in Petronius.

A noble reſolution in ſo powerfull a Commander.

to death, I will gladly endure it: knowing, that by my death, a people liuing in great daunger, may yet preserue their Religion to themselues. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterprise for your safetie, may haue a good issue for vs all.

The Iewes interpretation concerning a showre of raine.

When the Iewes had heard this Oration, as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wishing to him all felicitie. And sodainely, vpon the Assemblies seperation, there fell a mightie showre of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were so cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Iewes interpreted to bee a signe of their happinesse.

King Agrippa feasteth the Emperor, and maketh intercession for the Iewes.

While matters proceeded thus In *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnderstoode the troubles in his kingdome, and the occasion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feast for the Emperour, consisting of all the delicates that possibly could be deuised. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in such liberall expences, but that hee intended some especiall suite to him: wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke spirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, protesting, that he should not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* resolued the Emperour, that he desired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craued pardon for the Iewish people, if, in feare to be punished by God; they had not receiued his Statue into their Temple of *Ierusalem*.

Agrippa winneth pardon for the people of the Iewes.

Caius accounting it a shame and disgrace to him, if heerein he should refuse his friends request: wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his commaund. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, so to let it rest: but if the people would not voluntarily suffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters sent from *Petronius*, concerning the stowte resolution of the Iewish Nation: which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly displeased with his Captaine, for not performing what hee had enioyned him.

The Emperor soone changed from his promise made to Agrippa, & wrathfully incensed against Petronius.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be massacred with most horrible torments: hee should make choice of what kinde of death himselfe pleased, as a punishment for the contempt of his commaund.

It came to passe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ship which carried these cruell Letters, was greatly tarded by boysterous tempests: so that an other shippe (bringing the newes of *Caligulaes* death) arriued there in *Iudea* before it. Fearefull indeede was his death, but well worthy such a monster, who shortly after hee had written these terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was massacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conspiratours. Whereuppon *Petronius*, beeing infourmed of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feare, receiued the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainely perceyued, that almighty GOD had miraculously preserued his life, for the good hee had doone to the Iewish Nation.

Caius Caligula, his wife & daughter murdred altogether, and his cruelty intended to Petronius, miraculously preuented.

About the same time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperour by the Souldiours: who, because hee had beene both councelled and assisted by *Agrippa*, at such time as hee remayned in *Rome*: he confirmed vnto him (by publique Edict) the Kingdome of *Iudea* giuen him by *Caligula*, adding also *Samaria*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly possessed.

Claudius made Emperor, & Agrippa confirmed by him in his kingdome, with other additions besides.

Moreouer, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias*, called *Abella*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred also on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

Agrippa beeing in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the first yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and ascending vp to *Ierusalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good successe. There hee made a sollemne great feast, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaine of golde which *Caligula* had giuen him in memory of his miseries, and diuine deliuerance.

*A Towne in Campania in Italy, now called Bella.

The Chaine of gold hanged vp in the Temple.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the Cittie

Cittie of *Ieruſalem*, and with ſuch ſufficient furniture, that *Claudius* (fearing a reuolt in the Iewes, vnder truſt in ſuch a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finiſh the work hee had begunne. Hee was alſo moſt liberall towards his ſubiects, and (aboue all) a ſuperſtitious obſeruer of the traditions, receiued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apoſtles to valew them of no reckoning, to winne the good liking of the ſacrificing Prieſts, and fauour of the vulgare people: Hee executed ſome of the Diſciples of our Sauiour Chriſt, and namely *Iames* the brother to *Iohn*, they beeing the ſonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee alſo cauſed Saint *Peter* to bee put in priſon, during the dayes of vnleauened Bread, to bring him foorth to the people after the Feaſt. But the Euangeliſt Saint *Luke* amply declareth, that Saint *Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee alſo declareth, the miſerable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Agrippa a ſuperſtitious obſeruer of ancient traditions.

Saint Iames put to death, and S. Peter in priſon.

Luke 17. v. Luke 12. 23.

Now, concerning the deſcription of *Ioſephus*, ſpeaking of his death: it agrees with the Hiſtorie of Saint *Luke* in this manner, After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the ſpace of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Caſarea*, where hee celebrated the Feaſt with a great company of the Iewes; cauſing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The deſcription of Ioſephus concerning the miſerable death of Herod Agrippa.

The ſecond day of the Feaſt, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of ſiluer, tiſſued, and made moſt ſumptuous and artificiall: whereon when the bright beames of the Sunne did caſt their radiance, it cauſed ſuch a luſtre by their reuerberation; that all eies were dazeled with the ſplendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that ſome of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he ſpake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God, craning mercy of him, becauſe (vntill then) they had feared him but as a man onely; but now they plainly perceiued, that he farre excelled all humane nature.

His firſt pompous entrance into the theater to ſpeake to the people.

As the King gloried in theſe flattering clamours, no way reproouing them for ſuch impious behauiour: hee was ſodainely ſmitten with a moſt grieuous paine in his entrailes, ſo that very hardly hee could bee carryed to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible torments, his life expired the fift day: beeing iuſtly puniſhed for the cruelty, which hee had exerciſed againſt the members of the true Church of Chriſt, whereas otherwiſe, he was very benigne and gracious towardes all men, eſpecially to ſtrangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about ſeauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Philip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*; and the twelfth yeare after the reſurrection of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus.

The terrible & iuſt iudgement of God vpon King Agrippa.

The yeares of Agrippaes reigning.

His poſteritie hath already beene related, whereof *Agrippa*, beeing his eldeſt Sonne, and of the age of ſeuen years when his Father dyed, albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly deſired, that hee ſhould haue beene ſucceſſour in his Fathers kingdome: yet ſome other preuayled ſo farre with him, that all the Regions (ſubiected before to his Father;) were againe reduced into the forme of a Prouince; and the firſt Gouernour ſent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuſpius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuſpius*.

Agrippaes ſonne ſucceeded not his father in the kingdome.

Cuſpius Fadus.

CHAP. XX.

¶ *Of Herode, the fourth King of Chalcis, youngeſt ſonne to Herode the Great, brother to the firſt Agrippa.*

IHaue heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better diſcerning from other; who led a priuate kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (mooued by the interceſſion of his brother *Agrippa*) beſtowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the firſt yeare of his Empire, which he enioyed the ſpace of eight yeares, ſurviuing onely fiue yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

Claudius made Herod king of Chalcis, in the firſt yeare of his Empire.

A debate or contention for keeping the ornaments of the high-Priests.

After the death of his brother, *Cuspius Fadus* beeing sent into *Iudea*, stroue to haue the custodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transferre the Sacrificers to Romaine Gouernours: whereupon, *Herode* transported himselfe to *Rome*, at request made to him by the Iewes, whose cause he maintained there so well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-priest, should be kept in the custody of the Hie-priest. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he should haue the charge and care of the money, consecrated to the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Hauing power also, to depose the High-priest, for some causes of importance, and to substitute an other more sufficient. A Graunt which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; because the Priests sought by power of mony, who should haue that soueraigne dignitie.

The liberall graunt of Claudius to Herode.

Theudas the Sorcerer his abusing the people, and put to death by Cuspius Fadus.

Cuspius Fadus gouerned the Countrie of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Theudas*, abused in such sort the vulgare people by his enchauntments: that hee brought them to *Iordane*, promising to make them passe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided riuer. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horse-men, and hauing put him to death, scattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gamaliell* maketh mention of this *Theudas*, in the fift chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles.

Act. 5.36.

A great famine in Iudea, foretolde by Agabus. Acts 11.28.

Tyberius Alexander was sent by *Claudius*, to succeede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the eleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles; and which was about the sixt or seuenth yeare of *Claudius*: which extreamitie was somewhat asswaged, by the liberalitie of *Helena*, Queene of the *Adiabanes*, who caused great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and figges from *Cyprus*. Also the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia* gathered much mony, which they sent to succour the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

* A people liuing beyond Armenia.

Actes 11.29.

The death of Herode king of Chalcis the 4. of that name.

Herode, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wiues, each after other; the first was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the yoongest daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom he had *Aristobulus*. Afterward, he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two sonnes. And this was his issue or posteritie, which was reputed quite consumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the Iewes.

Aristobulus. slaine by his Father *Herod* the Great.

Agrippa the first.

The issue of Herod the 4.

Mariana, daughter of *Olympia*.
Herode, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.
Berenice, daughter of *Agrippa* the first, who had by her vncle,

Berenicina, *Hyrcanus*.

Of these we reade nothing.

Agrippa the last.

Salome, daughter of *Herodias*, first maried to *Phillip* the Terrarch.
Aristobulus, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernement of the Lesser *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,

Herode *Agrippa* *Aristobulus*.

Iosephus maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ *Of Agrippa the last, Sonne to the youngest sonne of Herod the Great, the last King in any part of Iudea.*

Agrippa hindred from immediate succeeding after his father.

HIs *Agrippa*, being aged seuenteen years, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and succeeded not immediately after his father, because of some enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderances: who alleaged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne so great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people so rebellious. But indeede, their pretence was, to enrich themselues by gouerning the Countrey.

Fiue

Agrippa made King of Chalcis, and enabled with his vnkles power.

Fiue yeares after his fathers death, his vnckle *Herode* beeing dead alſo: *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him alſo the ſame power his vnckle had, to keepe the treaſure of the Temple of *Ieruſalem*, and to create the High-prieſts. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vſe: for (in a ſhort time) he depoſed diuers, and ſubſtituted other at his pleaſure.

Cumanus next gouernor in Iudea to Tyberius Alexander.

At ſuch time as *Agrippa* beganne his reigne, *Cumanus* was ſent into *Iudea*, to ſucceed *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the country, which already ſauored of the ſucceeding ruine. For, at Eaſter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldier of the band, which (according to cuſtom) kept a garriſon about the Temple; vnreuerently ſhewed his baſe backe-part to the people, they being dutifully buſied in the ſeruice of God.

The vnreuerend behauiour of an inſolent Souldiour to the people.

The Iewes not a little mooued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter ſpeeches againſt the Gouernour *Cumanus*, becauſe hee did not puniſh this wicked act of the Souldiour.

Cumanus taking in diſdayne their bold words, and fearing ſome violence by the mutinous multitude: ſodainely (but very ſecretly) ſommoned his armed Legiens and horſemen together, who diſcouering themſelues before they could be ſuſpected; made ſuch an affright among the vnarmed popularity, that they fled away ſo confuſedly crowding, that more then twenty thouſand men and women, were trodden and cruſhed to death in the Streetes and other places, to the great and grieuous lamentation of all the people.

A moſt cruell and bloodie act of Cumanus, whereby 20000. loſt their liues.

Another tumult alſo followed ſoone after, the iſſue whereof was not yet ſo pitifull. For ſome theeuing Iewes, had (vpon the highway) ſhrewdly beaten and wounded one *Stephen*, a ſeruant to the Emperour *Claudius*, ſtripping him out of all that he had about him.

A Booke of Moſes & the Prophets wrong abuſed by a wicked Souldier.

Cumanus heereat highly offended, and not finding them that had done the deed; tooke all the neighbouring parts, where the fault was committed. Which being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke in his booty, which containd the writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets; made a publike ſhew thereof in deriſion, & after tore it to peeces, in preſence of the chiefeſt Iewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the Iews ranne (by troups) to *Cæſarea* (where then was the ordinary abiding of the Romaine Gouernors) and required, that iuſtice might be inflicted vpon him for this wicked act: whom if *Cumanus* (by the perſwaſion of ſome) had not beheaded, to ſatisfie the enraged peoples anger; this tumult could not haue beene appeaſed, without very great effuſion of blood.

Diuers Galileans ſlain by the Samaritãs

Afterward, ſome of the *Galileans* aſcending vppe to *Ieruſalem* to the Feaſt, were ſlaine by the *Samaritanes*; which was the cauſe of many murthers committed on both ſides. For, eyther part beeing encouraged to reuenge, ranne into freſh iniuries, by way of robberies, putting to fire and ſword all they met withall. But, becauſe *Cumanus* (corrupted with money) did not repreſſe thoſe theeueries done by neighbour on neighbour. *Quarreus*, Preſident of *Syria*, was called thither by the contrary ſide; who (hauing receiued information of the fact, and executed the authours of the mutinies) ſent *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to render a reaſon for the Prouince committed to his charge. He being conuicted of auarice and crueltie, was ſent into exile by *Claudius*, & in his place, was appointed gouernor of *Iudea* and *Samaria*, *Claudius Fælix*, brother to *Pallas*, who (long time before) was ſent into *Paleſtine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Cumanus ſent to Rome by Quarreus, after whom ſucceeded Felix.

Almoſt at the ſame time, that is to ſay, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Claudius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Phillip* (being deſtitute of a Gouernor) which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*; giuing him alſo *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of *Lyſanias*. Then he gaue to his vnckle paternall *Ariſtobulus* (brother to the firſt *Agrippa*, and *Herode* of *Chalcis*) the kingdome of *Chalcis*.

The liberall bountie of the Emperor Claudius to K. Agrippa.

After theſe affayres thus paſſed ouer, the condition and eſtate of the Iews grew worſe and worſe; and now beganne the gouernement of *Fælix*, who beeing reproued by *Ionathas* the High-prieſt, for his rapines and other wicked actions by him perfourmed, and yet not daring to depoſe him from the Sacerdotall dignitie, becauſe hee ſtoode in feare of the people: ſubborned diuerſe Ruffians, who

Ionathas the high-Prieſt, reproued the rapines of Felix, and was ſecretly murdered.

(entring into *Ieruſalem* at the feaſt with the multitude) ſlew ſo ſecretly the High-Prieſt *Ionathas*, and others marked for the ſame purpoſe with him; as very eaſily they were concealed in the troupes.

Mens liues bought and ſold as ruffins pleaſed, without any puniſhment.

This attempt ſpeeding ſo well as the Ruffians could deſire, fell out to bee the occaſion, that (at euery feaſt) they made a market or merchandiſe, of killing the honeſteſt of the people: ſometimes being hired there-to by other, ſometimes out of their owne ſpleene and mallice. So that euery man ſtoode in feare, becauſe no one knew how to ſecure himſelfe; audacious boldeneſſe dreading no puniſhment, in regard of the Gouernors careleſſe negligence.

The miſerable affliſtiõs of the Iewes, no way to be redreſſed.

Troups of theeues ranne euery where making ſpoile, though many were apprehended by *Fælix*, and executed: yet wickedneſſe had taken ſuch deep roote, onely through neglect in the precedent Gouernours, as it could no way be holpen; no, not by the greateſt ſeuerity of iuſtice. And the worſt of all was, that theſe theeueries were maintayned by the High-prieſts authoritie: amongſt whom, ſuch as were beſt ſtored with money, kept bands of deſperate villaines about them, by whoſe meanes they oppreſſed ſuch as they pleaſed, laying cloſe ambuſhes to kill and murder them.

Paul impriſoned, pleadeth before Fœlix and Druſilla. Actes 24.24.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apoſtle was taken in *Ieruſalem*, and being led thence to *Cæſarea*: pleaded his cauſe before *Fælix* and *Druſilla*, as S. *Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Fælix* called for him diuers times, and heard him anſwere for himſelfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himſelfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in priſon; at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to pleaſe the Iewes.

The death of Claudius and reigne of Nero.

Claudius died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his gouernment) encreaſed the authoritie of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Citties of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iuliada*. Forthwith he ſent *Portius Feſtus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Fælix*, whom they of *Cæſarea* followed, and accuſed him of cruelty, rapines and other vniuſt dealing; but he eſcaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So ſoone as

Portius Feſtus ſent to gouern Iudea

Portius Feſtus was arriued in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Cæſarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accuſers: and as he intended to ſend *Paul* to *Ieruſalem*, he (fearing the ambuſhes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Actes 25. 11. Paul appeald to anſwere before Cæſar.

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Cæſarea* with his ſiſter *Berenice*, onely to ſalute the new gouernor: which ſiſter (after the death of her husband *Herode* of *Chalcis*) liued ſo familiarly with her brother, that there was great ſuſpition of inceſtuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cauſe, and (in a wel couched oration) ſo approued his innocencie; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Cæſar*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was ſent (with other priſoners) to *Rome*, in the firſt yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is auouched.

Paul pleades before Feſtus Agrippa and Berenice.

Agrippa returning to *Ieruſalem*, offended the Prieſts very grieuouſly, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and ſomewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence diſcerne, whatſoeuer the Prieſts did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the ſacrifices and diuine Seruice. The Prieſts holding this action vnlawfull, erected a wall (on the Temple ſide) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from ſeeing the Temple, but alſo a great part of the City. The King inſiſted, that the wall ſhould be beaten downe; but the Prieſts ſo preuailed (by means made to *Poppea* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

A contraſtion betweene Agrippa & the ſacrificing Prieſts about a building.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, depoſed *Ioſeph* the ſoueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saduces Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Feſtus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Albinus* his ſucceſſour ſtaying ſomewhat long ere he came) tooke occaſion to exerciſe crueltie againſt many worthy perſons; eſpecially againſt *Iames* the ſonne of *Ioſeph*, brother to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ieruſalem*) excelling in innocencie of life and piety, who was throwne down headlong from the higheſt wall of the temple; and (by command of the ſaid *Ananias*) ouerwhelmd with ſtones, about threeſcore yeares after the birth of Chriſt.

Ioſeph the high-Prieſt depoſed, and Ananias eſtalled.

Ananias cauſed Iames to be murdered.

For

For this wicked deed, he was accuſed before *Agrippa*, who feared the Romane Gouernour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and alſo ſtoode in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was diſmiſſed from his Office, exerciſed by him but three moneths onely. And yet he ceaſed not to commit great cruelties, againſt them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theeues (kept at his charges) of whom he made vſe to murther his enemies priuily. Beſide, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to ſteal the Tythes therein encloſed: which beeing often done without any puniſhment, was the cauſe of ſtaruing to death manie of the poore Prieſts.

Ananias diſmiſſed from his Office by Agrippa.

Albinus being ouercome with inſatiable couetouſneſſe, cared for nothing elſe but onely to get wealth together, by any vile meanes whatſoeuer: wherefore, ſuch of the Prieſts as gaue him Gold, hee winked at all their wickedneſſe, and permitted Theeues to doe what they liſted, if their kindred or friendes would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in ſhort time, all *Iudea* was full of Theeues, all things turned topſie turuy, no Iuſtice exerciſed in any place: and there was no acte ſo horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

The greedy & inſatiable couetouſnes of Albinus the Gouernour.

Geſtius Florus was ſent as ſucceſſor to this Horſe-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by infinit other wicked courſes; ſo that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couertly, nor after the cunning manner of his predeceſſour: but by open violence, ſcorning, ſtealing, rudely taking, and doing whatſoeuer hee pleaſed; for will onely was a Law to him. And ſurely it ſeemed, that he was meerly ſent by deſtiny to the Iewes, ſo to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all deſire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theeues, and the people growne deſperately deſirous of warre; had a hope of ſome other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Romaine rule, and (inſottiſh zeale) were perſwaded to recouer their liberty.

Florus a more wicked gouernor then Albinus, ſent as a moſt plague and vtter ruin of the Iewes.

In breefe, the time was come, which Chriſt and the Prophets had foretolde, concerning the deſtruction of the whole Prieſthood, and policy ordained by *Moſes* and diuine authority: conſidering, that the Meſſias had already beene ſent, for the loue of whome, both the Prieſthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preſerued. Wherefore, vnder *Geſtius Florus*, threeſcore yeeres after the Natiuity of Chriſt, fiue and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and riſen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the ſeuenteenth of this *Agrippa* now in queſtion; and three yeares before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero*: the warre began to waxe tempeſtuous, becauſe the Iewes reuolted from the Romane Empire, and entred into mutiny againſt *Ceſar*.

The time fore prophecied for the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, now fully come to paſſe

Florus could eaſily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourith and feede the flame newly kindled, by prouoking the Iewes dayly more and more, ſtill adding iniury vppon iniury: vntill the fire flewe foorth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the deſtruction of all *Iudea*.

Florus a bloody deſirer of the vtter ruin of the Iewiſh Nation.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very ſeriouſly, to ſtay the Iews from this furious deſire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquility, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtayned on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had ſome iuſt cauſes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came ſo ſhort of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity; as (very hardly) he eſcaped theyr violence. Perceiuing then the Nation ſo enraged for fight, & (like men blindfolded) throwing themſelues impetuouſly into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprize, and ſent ayde to *Veſpaſian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-ſtrong courſe of thoſe Rebelles, foreſeeing already in his ſoule, the ſad ruine of all the Iewiſh people.

Agrippa labored to reconcile the Iewes to the Romãs.

Heere I could weaue vp the fagge-end of this Hiſtory, with report of the Iewiſh warre, which *Ioſephus* and other authors haue deſcribed; but that my heart will not ſerue me, to diſcourſe thoſe ſtraunge & miſerable ouerthrows, which (in their pitileſſe euents) did exceede humane beleefe. For no Hiſtory is found of any nation whatſoeuer, that was ſo long time

The lamentable horror of the warre betweene the Iewes and the Romaines.

ſhut

The Iewes reuolted in the 12. yeare of Nero the emperor.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormented, and finally (wholy confounded, with numberlesse calamities) almost altogether quite raced out, and destroyed. For after that the Iewes were reuolted in the twelfth yeare (as is affirmed) of *Nero*, the army of the Romanes neuer ceased for six whole yeeres together, cruelly to rauage the countrey of *Iudea*, because from time to time, the Iewes (by their inuincible obstinacy) prouoked the victorious soldiers to such tyrannies, as the like were neuer heard of.

The miserable estate of Ierusalem, six whole yeares together.

But though I spare to relate the deuastation of the whole countrey: who can conceiue (with true iudgement) but the miseries of the Citty *Ierusalem* it selfe? Which, before it beheld the *Romane* enemy, for the space of sixe whole yeers, felt (within it selfe) farre more cruell domesticke aduersaries: as beeing diuided and torne in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and Seditions of Theeues, fighting amongst themselues (when they had none else to quarrell withall) for rapines, murthers, and other mischeefs, euery Faction thinking to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie vnto it selfe, and surmounting one another in number, and manner of nouel villanies and extremity.

Bands of partiality and factions in Ierusalem.

Furie grew on to such horrid perfection, that if any Man or woman were esteemed holy, religious, and modest: these were arguments sufficient, to yeild a pregnant reason for their death; and the goodes of the richest Cittizens, must bee brought foorth, and layde before their doores, while the Factious fought who should enioy them. To kill people of meane or simple condition, was but to ridde them out of the turbulent crowdes, for they were esteemed but as a charge to the Citty, and hindered the way when the siedge should beginne: for this they accounted their wisest course, and best meanes, to abide a long lingering siedge.

The richest Citizens in most wofull perplexity.

If any man durst but speake a word, or expresse by any apparant signe, that hee disliked the present License vnto all Villanies, it was presently termed Treason, and flatte conspiracy with the Romaines; yea, it was a sinne deseruing terrible punishment. And as great an offence it was, to mourne or lament for Parents or Friends, being slaine or murthered in these vprores.

Such matters as they accounted in their madnes to be Treason & conspiring with the Romanes.

To prophane the verie holyest part of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers, and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting in defence of the Temple, and for the Religion of the countrey. To beare away violently the riches out of the Temples Treasurie, and to waste them in all Villanie and abhominable excesse: this was tearmed, borrowing money, wherewith to defend the seruice ordayned by GOD. And vpon paine of death, no man durst flye, or get him gone, from these horrible, diuellish, and dangerous courses.

Calamities of the Iewes such, as seldom any nation was euer subiect to.

Moreouer, such as dwelt in the Citie, beheld (beside these publike miseries) their owne bodies, their wiues, children, and goods, exposed to the violent & vnbridled attempts of those merciless Villaines. In breefe, there could not be thought or deuised any iniury or opprobrious behauiour, which the miserable Iewes might feare or expect from the Enemy, but they first made triall thereof vpon themselues, vsing no resistance at all against it. Wherefore, the coming of the enemies army was no way dreadful vnto them, but rather gladly desired; and euen but as a tolleration, or rather a recreation (when the City was sharply assayled) the seditious factions were enforced to ioyne their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and to breach awhile, from their owne domesticke theeueries and warres.

Men forward to vse any violence vpon themselues.

The last six moneths of this warre, after that the Citty was round engirt with enemies, and themselues had pilled, polled, and miserably spoyled all that they could by their intestine robberies: they began to feele a famine in the heighth of extremity, which was accompanied likewise with so greeuous a Pestilence, that in the time of the siedge, aboue eleauen hundred thousand mē died by the plague and famine. During this war also, great multitudes wer daily murdred within the wals, by the mutinous and rebellious factionists: & in the assaults, surprizals, and sacking of the city, many millions of people lost their liues. Also in the war time, there were taken 97000. persons, who were partly sold as slaues, and partly distributed to rounde neighbouring great Cities, there to bee giuen and deuoured by wilde beasts, in publique Playes, and

Pestilence & famine in all extremitie, whereof there died, 1100000.

Ninety seuen thousand sold as slaues, and deuoured by bruite beasts.

and fantaſticke ſpectacles. Some other were compelled to fight as Fencers in the Theaters, with the like fury as hoſtile enemies: and ſome were ſent into *Morea* (by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell betweene the *Ægæum* and *Ionian* ſeas.

The vtter extermination of the Iewiſh people, for their contemning Ieſus Chriſt.

By theſe pittifull examples of Gods heauy wrath, againſt the contemners of his Sonne Chriſt, and the doctrine Euangelicall; almoſt all this nation was vtterly exterminated. Hapning by the Diuine permiſſion, that at the Feaſt of vnleauened bread, when the Iewes were wont to meete at *Ieruſalem*, from the fartheſt parts of all *Iudea*; the Citty ſhould be thus beſiedged, and all the deſperate Robbers, Theeues, & Ruffians, diſperſed throughout the whole Regions, ſhould (euen then) be retyred to *Ieruſalem*) to ſhelter themſelues in her fortifications.

After that *Veſpaſian* (for about the ſpace of fiue yeares) had firſt of all ſubdued well-neere all *Iudea*, conquering many ſtrongly munited Citties, yea, deſtroying and burning them, onely through the wilfull obſtinacie of the inhabitants; in the laſt halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Army to the Citty of *Ieruſalem*, and there planted his ſiedge, in the ſecond yeare of the Emperor his Father; and the ſiedge continued for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, which *Ioſephus* tearmeth by *Macedonian* names.

The names of the 6. months wherein Ieruſalem was beſiedged.

Xantiqua.	which in our Language are thus called:	Aprill.
Artemiſion.		May.
Dention.		Iune.
Panemon,		Iuly.
Loion.		Auguſt.
Gorpiaion.		September

CHAP. XXII.

A breeſe Collection, of the principall Accidents which happened in the time of the ſiedge.

The begining of the ſiedge.

THe fourth day of the firſt moneth, *Xantiqua* (which is Aprill with vs) the Citie of *Ieruſalem* was beſiedged, neere to the feaſt of Eaſter.

The two and twentith day after, *Titus* eſſaying (in vaine) to haue it yeilded, raiſed his Bulwarkes, and prepared his Engines to batter the City.

Preparation for battery.

The ſeuenth day of *Artemiſion*, which is May, *Bazetha* (that is to ſay, the new city, the firſt wall being taken) which was a part of the Citty beyond the Temple towards *Biſa*, newly annexed, and enuironed with walles by the firſt *Agrippa*) was ſeized on by the Romanes.

The taking of the firſt wall by the Romãs

The twelfth day of the ſaid month, the ſecond wall was taken, and yet the ſame day it was recouered againe.

The ſixteenth day, the Romanes hauing taken the other wal again the ſecond time, enioyed the baſe or lower part of the City, which the Iewes called *Acra*, & was ſeated beneath on a little hill.

The 2. wall, & nether part of the city taken

The one and twenty day, two parts of the Citty were loſt, when the Iewes (being graciouſly entreated by *Titus*) diſdained to embrace peace. Then the Souldiers began to mount their ſcaladoes, neere to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to the third wall, where their Enſignes and Bulwarkes being raiſed in twelue dayes, they were againe as quickely burned by the Iewes.

Two parts of the City loſt.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the which anſwereth to that of Iune, the Romanes were ſeriouſly buſied, in engirting the whole Citty with a Wall, to hinder the bringing of victualles to the Iewes, and alſo to bereaue them from all meanes of flight.

A wall built round about the City.

The firſt day of *Panemon*, which referreth it ſelfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking compaſſion on the people, whom he knew to dye by the extremity of the Famine and Peſtilence, onely through the obſtinacie of ſome among them; being deſirous to deliuer them without long delay, he erected new Terraſſes vp aloft, and began to batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie difficult to be ſurprized. This *Antonia*, was a moſt magnificent building, and very ſtrongly munited nere to the Temple, foure ſquare in forme, and carrying the greatneſſe of a very large Caſtle. *Herod* the Great had builded it, in fauour of the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gaue it the name of *Marke Anthony* the Trimuuire. Within that goodly Monument, the Ornaments belonging to the High-Prieſtes were continually kept.

Battery playing on Antonia the thirde wall.

Herode the Great builded this Antonia.

The

The Antonia wonne.

The ſixt day, the *Antonia* was wonne, becauſe the walls fell downe of thēſelues, on that ſide where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get foorth of the Cittie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The ſurprizing and burning of the Temple.

The eight day of *Loion*, which is the moneth of Auguſt, after that the Iewes had beene many times exhorted, to deſire peace of ſo gracious a Conquerour; after they had repulſed his often Ambaſſages by baſe iniuries, and wicked abuſes: the Temple was forcibly taken, beeing a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edict of *Titus*) it was ſet on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very ſame day, when as (ſix hundred, threeſcore, and nineteen yeares before paſt) it was burned by *Nabuchodonoſor*, Collonell of the *Chaldeans*.

The batterie of the City of Dauid.

The twentith day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *Dauid*) begunne: after that the Iewes (once more admoniſhed to lay downe Armes) refuſed peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The hie town taken.

The ſeuenth day of *Gorpiaion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortreſſe whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

All the Cittie burnt.

The eight day, all the City of *Ieruſalem*, (pilled & ranſacked before) was conuerted all into aſhes.

The Natiuity of Domitian celebrated by Titus, with the death of 3000. Iewes.

The foure and twentith day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Cæſarea* (a Cittie on the Sea-coaſt) had Playes there of ſundry kindes: wherin were brought forth three thouſand Iewes captiues; ſome of them being deuoured by beaſts, the reſt killing one another, fencing and fighting each againſt another.

Titus honoured his fathers birth day.

The ſeuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*; where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Veſpaſian*; & where (in ſports & paſtimes preſented before the Romans and Grecians) a great nūber of captiue Iewes, were ſome trodden to death, others hackt, hewed, and torne in peeces.

The cheefe reaſon why the Author made the collection of theſe hiſtories

I haue collected this ſmall diſcourſe, concerning the wofull conſummation of this Citty, which ſometime was the principall ſeate of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrine: from the eight yeare of King *Dauids* reigne, vntill the finall deſtruction, being eleuen hundred, thirtie and ſeuen yeares. The due Obſeruation whereof, may ſerue to teſtify the mighty anger of God, againſt the deſpiſers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exampling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppreſſing the true Doctrine, or to darken & obſcure it by falſe interpretations, or (vtterly contemning it) by wandering into euery wickednesſe.

His returne backe to the former hiſtory of King Agrippa.

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath beene ſayde) deteſting the furious madneſſe of his Nation, and euidently fore-ſeeing their wofull ruine) ſent ayde to *Veſpaſian*, making Warre againſt the Iewes, and by that means partly ſaued his owne Countries, from the lamentable ſpoile happening in this warre.

The death of Nero, and ſucceſſion of Galba.

Nero being dead, and *Galba* choſen Emperour, he proiected a iourney to *Rome*, with *Titus* the ſonne of *Veſpaſian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdome by the new made Emperor. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compaſſe what was intended: but receyued tydings neere vnto *Achaia*, of *Galbaes* death: which was the reaſon, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his courſe for *Rome*.

Agrippaes intended iourney to Rome.

But *Italy* beeing embraced with ciuill warre, becauſe *Otho* (ſucceſſor to *Galba*) being ſlaine, and *Vitellius* preſuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very haſtily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he aſſiſted *Veſpaſian* to bee ſaluted Emperor by his ſoldiers, and ſafely to conduct a well prouided Armie towardes *Italy*, with purpoſe to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*.

Vitellius contending, Veſpaſian is ſaluted Emperor.

So he left his ſonne *Titus* (with ſome legions) to beate down the Iewes, eſpecially them of *Ieruſalem*, as hath bin ſaid before.

How long Agrippa reigned and when hee dyed.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the poſterity of *Herode* the Great: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, ſaith; That he reigned ſeuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philoes* account) in the threeſcore and eighteenth yeare of Chriſt, the ſeauenth of *Veſpaſian*, and the fift yeare after the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*.

Agripine, ſon and ſucceſſor to K. Agrippa.

Philo further ſaith, that this *Agrippa* had a ſonne, named *Agripine*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of *Traiane* the Emperor, which yeare *Philo*, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubtes, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolue, and for what cause.

The naturall illumination of ancient Philosophers.

THE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the gifte of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified al their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancie) by other propositions meerly naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolue three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neyther could yeelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first doubt a naturall desire in man neuer to dye.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feele any paine or greeuance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or needo of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this proposition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man ensued thence, whereof they coueted to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtterly confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second doubt, a libidinous and sensuall desire in man to the flesh.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturally in like manner, that euery man felt in himselfe a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lusting desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Moreouer, many couet after riches and pompe, seeking to winne them courageously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeed.

The 3. doubt, the peruersion of Natures order in the body of man.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all inferiour things being gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestial bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the mouing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefest of al, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruerted; for he being composed of a soule and a body; the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soule which is the very noblest part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth it to the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the Apostle saide; *That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnat to the law of his thoughts, and attracted him to sin.*

The soule is the most noble part of all other in man.

The Philosophers that were before the comming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and sundry errors. Wherefore *Anagoras* saide: *This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reioyned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, euen as in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world.* In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the Diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

The opinion and saying of Anaxagoras, concerning the discordace of things in the Chaos.

Others saide: *That this proceeded from the celestiall constellations, vnder the which man is engendred, and receiueth birth.* For *Aristotle* durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yeeld a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying; *Sensuality is naturally enclined to euil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometime be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues.* And in another place he saith, *That the felicitie*

The iudgement of some other Philosophers, and Aristotle himselfe.

licity which is atcheeued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By conſequence then thoſe morall vertues, in whoſe operation the happineſſe of man doth conſiſt; muſt be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

The Manichees maintained a man to haue two ſoules.

Contrarywiſe, the Manichees, deſirous to render a reaſon for this peruerſe diſorder, ſaide: *That there were two ſoules in man, the one good, made of the ſubſtance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the ſubſtance of the Prince of darkeneſſe, and theſe do cauſe this continuall combate in man.*

Origens conceit of this irregularitie in man.

Origen afterward ſaide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conſerued in Heauen which ſinned againſt God: & therefore (as a puniſhment) they were diſpoſed into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence enſued this controuerſie in man.*

Aug. in Lib. 1. De duab. enim. Et in lib. 1. de Nat. boni.

All theſe deteſtable opinions wer confuted by Saint *Auguſtine*, writing againſt the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reaſons, hee prooueth the occaſion of the ſubuerſion of this order; and that becauſe they had no vnderſtanding in the ſacred Scriptures, they vtterly loſt that light. For in them is declared to vs, the full reſolution of theſe doubts, and there may plainly be diſcerned, that theſe two propoſitions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did any thing voide of purpoſe, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) ſhould not deſire to dye, but to leade a happie kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; not becauſe he hath this deſire giuen him in vaine, for it is truely naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect therof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

Both the propoſitions approued to be good and true

God created man immortall, and not to dye.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortall, in ſuch ſort, as effectually (according to the very ſoundeſt opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be ſubiected to any miſerie, if hee had obſerued his commaundement. But hauing tranſgreſſed, hee ought iuſtly to ſuffer death, and the miſeries of the world; therefore, becauſe hè obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the ſinne of diſobedience (as the Apoſtle ſaid) death came into the world. Hereby it appeareth thē, that death was not (at the firſt) natural to our prime father, neither ſucceſſiuely enſuing to vs, but accidentall; beecauſe it was not the intention of God.

Death not natural to our firſt father, nor ſucceſſiue to vs.

The 1. doubt reſolued.

Thus come wee then to reſolue this doubt, that deſire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is giuen to vs by nature, and not in vaine: becauſe the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our diſobedience, the deſire ſtil remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the ſelfeſame reaſon is the ſecond doubt anſwered: for of our ſelues, by carnall obſcœnity, and gluttinous gourmandize, we purchaſe death, and make way to this diſorder.

Anſwer to the ſecond.

Reſolution to the third.

In like manner, the third is reſolued by *Adams* ſinne committed, whereby he loſt the originall righteouſneſſe vvhich God had giuen him; which ſerued him as a bridle to moderate himſelfe by iuſt order, and ſo this harmony fell into confuſion. For the ſoule, which ought to gouern the body, as beeing the thing moſt noble and excellent; came afterward to bee gouerned by the ſenſe, and by the bodye. And ſo wee ſee euidently, that this ſubuerſion is no way naturall, but accidentall.

The confuſion of the firſt concording harmony.

By this meanes then, the propoſition remaineth firme & true, that thoſe things moſt worthy and moſt noble, ought to gouerne them of leſſe noble and inferior quality: which fayleth not, neyther can, as well wee may obſerue in the celeſtiall bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwiſe, it is by accident of the faulte, deſeruing this and worſe, but not by Nature.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of ſuch Ceremonies as were vſed by the Romaines, before they moued any warre.

Ceremonies for times both of peace and warre.

SVch as haue reade the ſacred Ceremonies, and Religious obſeruationswhich were vſed by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attemptes and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wondermemt at all of the great Victories by

by them obtained, against ſo many furious people, and moſt potent nations. On the contrary alſo, they maruell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to contemne thoſe Ceremonies and religion. For we may obſerue by infinit hiſtories, full of examples, that ſo long as they were beſt obedient to religion; their Common-weales proſpered ſo much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then ſucceſſiuely. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it ſeemed (neuertheles) that by certaine meanes of terreſtriall retribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were then zelous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far ſtronger reaſon) bee good obſeruers of the true faith, if it had bin reuealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it euident, that heauen neuer left them, without ſome apparance of good proſperity, & fortunate ſucceſſe in their temporall affaires.

Contempt of religious Ceremonies, ouerthrew the Roman Empire.

Many & ſundry ceremonies among the olde Romanes.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obſerued in times of warre or peace, were many and diuers: wherein I muſt needs be ſilent, becauſe the relating of them all, would require more time thē I am alowed; and it might offend to ſpeak of ſome, and not of other. My intent therfore is, to make relation of fiue only, and eſpecially by them obſerued, before war was mooued againſt any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wander, in attempting war inconſiderately, & making no conſultation firſt to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill ſucceſſe happeneth to them by no other occaſion, they liuing in Religion ſo farre inferiour to Ethnickes and Idolaters.

Inſtruction for our modern Princes in attempting warre.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of ſome Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by ſome barbarous Prince to their countries, or to anie of their confederates: they ſent ambaſſadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderſtand, that they would know, in what maner the wrong receiued ſhould be repaired, with refraining from offering the like afterward; wherein finding obſtinacy then war was intimated. The Senate hauing created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to inuocate the Gods with their prayers: for the Romans neuer went forth to ſhed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Prieſts had firſt wept, and made their ſolemne prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate beeing aſſembled, went to the temple of Iupiter, wher they ſwore a moſt ſolemn oath. *That at all times when the enemy* (againſt whom the inſtant warre was publiſhed) *would require a new confederation with them, or deſire pardon for the offence paſt; clemency ſhould neuer be denied him.* This being don, the Conſul elected for the enterprize, went to the Capitole, and there made a ſolemne vow, to ſuch a one of the Gods in whom he repoſed cōfidence, to offer ſome ſingular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the war. And were the offering of neuer ſo great value, yet the people ſtoode obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the Eagle, being the ancient enſigne of the Romans, was brought forth into *Campus Martius*; which they did, to let the people vnderſtand, that in *Rome* ther might no feaſts be celebrated, ſo long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in war: & ſo bringing out the enſignes, deliuered them to their ſeueral Captains. But firſt, a Prætor mounted on the gate ealled *Salaria*, cauſing a Trumpet there to ſound, while the ſoldiers receiued their pay. Wherby may be gathered, that they ſtird not their armies at any time, till they had firſt appeaſed and honored their Gods, and likewiſe made their oriſons for the proſperitie of their Captains, and vertuous cariage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Conſuls (appointed for war) in cōquering any Prouince or city, made not euident teſtimony, aſwell of their vertue as valor, they were greeuouſly puniſhed by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only ſhall ſerue my turn: the one for vſing vertue in his campe; the other, for due puniſhment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorious) ſoiled his reputation in baſe manner. *Fabritius*, being encamped with his army of Romanes before *Fidena*, a ſchoolmaſter of the Citie came forth with the Sonnes of diuers principall Cittizens, as intending to gratifie

The Senates going to the temple of Iupiter, & their Oath there taken.

The Conſuls vow made in the Capitole.

The Enſigne of the Eagle, deliuered to the Conſull in Campus Martius.

The other enſigns giuen to their captains

The honorable act of Fabritius vpon a diſloyall and trecherous ſchoolmaſter.

tifie the Conſull with them, and ſo preſented them vnto him. The Conſull (albeit hee might haue detayned them, and and thereby haue made himſelfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refuſed to accept them: but ſtripping the Schoolemaiſter naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and ſo ſent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke ſuch preuayling power in the ſoules of the Cittizens; that they yeelded themſelues inſtantly to the *Romaines*.

The Conſuls of Rome make warre againſt the Sarmates and Lucius Pius was appointed for the expediti6.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Conſulles, againſt the *Sarmates*, and other people inhabiting by the Mountaine *Caucaſus*, which (according to Coſmographers) deuiding *Aſia* in the middeſt, terminateth *Syria* on the one ſide, and finiſheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Conſull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre againſt them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betweene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times banketted them, perceiuing that they were lickerouſly affected to wine, becauſe it was a rarity among them; at laſt he made them a bountifull feaſt, wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yeelded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres ſo concluding, & the Conſull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not only was denied him by the Senate, but alſo his forme of victory ſo abhorred by thē, that publikely they did put him to death, and for his greater defamation, engraued an Epitaph on his Tombe, ſpeaking in this manner.

Wine brought that to paſſe, which warre had not the power to doe.

The Epitaph appointed by the Romaines, to be engrauen on the Tombe of Lucius Pius.

An Epitaph fit for a quaffing Conqueror.

Here lyeth the Conſull Lucius Pius; who, not by Armes in the fielde, but by carrowſing at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the Sarmates.

And yet the Senate, not ſatisfied with this his diſgrace, cauſed publikely to bee proclaimed thoroughout *Rome*, that all (whatſoeuer) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, ſhold be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*, that they denyed any Conqueſt of them; but referred them vnto their former priuiledge and liberty.

The end of the ſixt Booke.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

¶ *Of the Gouernement and Administration of Iustice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.*

LVca is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscanes*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

Strabo lib 5.

Concerning the Country Lunigiana.

But because we are to discourse of our times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this Citty do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castrucio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there beeing a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vsed the Arte of making silke togedher, deriuing great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloth of golde and siluer, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very curteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperity commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Lucan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure, because they haue no medling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a cittie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

The situation, compasse, and number of the people, & their chiefest trading in Silkes.

The working of Cloth of golde & siluer.

The Language sweete and delicate.

The Councell.

HEr maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consistes of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councellors do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth. It is compounded of three kindes of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councel, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are inuited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Cittizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three seuerall degrees of Councellors.

The Signoria.

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vse to tearme *Terzieri*: The one is of S. *Saluadore*, the second of S. *Pauline*, and the third of S. *Martine*. The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzieri*, that is, for euery *Terziero* they create three men, which are nine in ful number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terziero* of S. *Sauiour*; next from that of Saint *Pauline*; and the third time from that of Saint *Martine*: and the *Terzieri* being once so gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

Three diuisions of S. Sauiour, S. Pauline, and S. Martine.

Some hold this Office to be the cheefe Standerd-bearer.

for election to S. *Saviour*, and ſo ſucceſſiuely (each after other) according to the foreſaid order.

Elders, Conſorts, or Companions.

By theſe men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* liuing abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are choſen, whō they tearme *Aſſortitori*, one for each *Terziero*. Theſe, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out ſuch as they think fitteſt, after that the Councell haue made choyſe of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Aſſortitori* ſit in Councell ſeparately in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which beeing not compleate, they reballot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither ſuch as are ſubrogated, nor the other ballotted, are publiſhed to the Councel; but onely are made knowne to the *Aſſortitori*. And becauſe no fraud or deceit may enſu by the *Aſſortitori*, two principall choſen Fryars are as their aſſiſtants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Frances*.

Acount made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the Aſſortitori in bringing the elected perſons to the Magiſtrates.

Theſe *Aſſortitori* haue Authoritie, to bring the men elected to the Magiſtrates, at ſuch time as they think fitting in ſeueral months: and this deputation done by the *Aſſortitori* (who are the prime men of *Luca*:) it is kept by them in ſecret, & they are ſworne not to reueale it. The *Aſſortitori* created, then they create the Seignory, who cannot bee vanquiſhed, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, althogh the foreſaid Ballots are to be ſeen by none but onely by the *Aſſortitori*. The charge of the Seignory is to hear (freely) matters of iuſtice and puniſhment, being alwaies preſent in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capitall penalty: the publike purſe payeth their expences.

Their abiding in the Palace.

By this forenamed body of ten, one other officer is choſen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make neere vnto them, his gouernment laſting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commād all the other; yea, and the *Gonfaloniere*, & is Patron in euery buſines. And although the ſupplications which com to the Signory, are preſented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not preſent them to the colledge of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithſtanding he cānot diſpoſe of them without the authoritie of the Signiory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the ſupplications to the Signorie, & there they paſſe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwardes in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto ſtraungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone al things, but conclude nothing.

The power of the Comandatore.

Of Supplications preſented to the Comendatore.

The extent of the Signiories power.

The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. Theſe men haue authority, onely in matters offenſiue to the maieſty of the Commonwealth, being abſolute in that caſe, & are aboue the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they muſt tender the cauſe vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that ſeeking iudiciouſly into the matter, they accompliſh it, & afterward render a reaſon for it to the Councel, when they haue done it: either, becauſe they coulde not congregate the Councell in the inſtant, or in regarde the cauſe neceſſarily required, to haue ſuch ſodaine expedition.

Three Secretaries, and the import of their authoritie.

The Councell of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is compoſed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. Theſe men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the caſe cannot be eaſily deliberated: they meet together, and diſcourſe on the cauſe propounded to the Councell; and after they haue diſcuſſed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

18. Citizens in this Office of Colloquie, & their charg.

The Councell of ſixe.

Theſe ſix men (being of ſound reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common imployment. They prouide and command all things, which paſſe in mony accounts, and are as Gouernors of the rents and reuennewes. They haue alſo a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all theſe are likewiſe choſen by the greater Councell.

As Cuſtomers or Receyuers of rents & reuennues for generall vſe.

The Rota.

In many Cities of *Italy*, this office is ordinary, conſiſting of three forraine Doctors, within the compaſſe of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Poteſtata*; the

The Doctors liuing out of the Cities iuriſdiction.

They change their places & offices by turnes,

the second is Iudge of malefactors; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their seuerall changes, and euery sixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestate, beeing first iudge of malefactors; and his Office of Potestate beeing past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestate, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuil occasions, as it comes to his turn.

Manner of the Potestates power.

If the Potestate haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but form the Processe, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestate; and then in such a case, the Potestate entreth into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestate may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

The Marchants Court.

Nine Officers and a forrain Iudge.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieroes*. They haue a forraine Doctour for their Iudge, being their Assistant. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

Officers for the Cities store of corn

The Office for Store.

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the Terzieroes. These men are the prouiders of Corne, that the Citty may continually be furnished therwith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still beeing made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

Commissaries for occasions of warre and their prouisiõ

Six Commissioners.

And becaus̃e thoroughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesses, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these sixe Commissaries haue authoritie to muster and make ready bãds of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough theyr power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

For Health.

Presidents appointed for wholsome dyet, and cleane keeping the Citie.

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleanesse may be sent out of the Citty, and men imploying all diligence, to conserue the people from being offended by any pestifferous accident, or whatsoeuer annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

The Councell for disobedience.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

And becaus̃e in euery Citty, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but practising to liue viciously, addicting themselues to lewde courses, and are meerely opposite to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order, therefore the men of *Luca* haue a Councel, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policied Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondencie with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspitious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten years, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

The Office for Lodgings.

A good and prouident care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the Citty, and what businesses they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the Citty, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchãce some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, becaus̃e the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselues good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindely entertained, their Lodginges orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

The Guard.

The Signorie electeth an hundred Soldiours, liuing within fifty miles compasse, to bee as a Guarde for the Pallace,

and out of this hundred are choſen Captaines and Collonels. Theſe men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Walles in the night time: wheras otherwiſe, the guard for the wals conſiſteth of Cittizens artificers, ſuch as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates ſtand men of the country, and each gate alſo hath two Cittizens Commiſſaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & ſo continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who ſtayeth there til Euening, when the gates are ſhutte in againe.

Citizens are the watch and guard for the walles.

Two citizens Commiſſaries & their charg

CHAP. II.

What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aſpect.

Beauty of body is no meane bleſsing in a Prince.

ONE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maieſtie of a Prince to bee moſt venerable (ſpeaking of exteriour graces) is beautie of body: which we ſee to be accompanied with ſingular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wiſedome and knowledge.

The ſaying of Pythagoras, concerning a crooked body

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body, there can neuer dwell a right ſoule* (becauſe we haue ſeene in an ill ſhaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is moſt frequent and ordinary, is to ſee the contrary. And if an honourable aſpect and repreſentation, ſerued to no other end in a Prince, but to encreaſe his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if ſome ſignes of vertue and bountie doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminiſhed by ill ſhape and deformity. For *Cicero* ſayeth; *The habitude of vertue is of ſuch efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is poſſeſſed therewith.* Euen ſo, Maieſtie in the perſon of a Prince, hath a veneration meerely in it ſelfe, which attracteth the heartes of his ſubiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expreſſe fantaſie, that a Prince ought to bee vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

Cicer. in Tuſcul. Lib. 3. cap. 7.

This reaſon (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capeable of a good ſpirit, to bring any great attempt to ſucceſſfull end; but onely ſuch a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable preſence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the Iſle of *Meroe* on *Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are ſaid to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vſe to elect as their Prince, him whome they know to be the ſtrongeſt, and of far goodlier preſence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous, ought to be preferred before him of goodly perſon, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeit.

Diuiſ. Aretog. in vit. Princ. c. 17.

The opinion of diuers barbarous nations.

Macrob. in Somn. Lib. 3. cap. 9.

Affection rather fauoreth comelineſs, then deformity.

Demetrius, the ſonne of *Antigonus*, was of ſuch a goodly and honourable repreſentation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durſt attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a ſweete complexion, and terror mixed together, yet ioyned with ſuch manſuetude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was meerely borne, to be affected, feared, and reuereneed altogether. VVee reade of *Marius* (who had ſo many Triumphs) that he was of ſuch a venerable aſpect, as beeing priſoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was ſent by him to murther him. Who entering into the priſon, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a verie graue and dreadfull aſpect; he became ſo diſmayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the priſon open, and (by that means) was the cauſe of preſeruing his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane ſtature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deerely affected Friend *Epheſtion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie deſirous to ſalute *Alexander*) offered her courteſies to *Epheſtion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, ſeeing him to bee ſo goodly a man of perſon; ſhe verily thought, that (of neceſſity) hee muſt be *Alexander*.

The excellent feature of Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus.

The countenance of Marius ſaued his life in great perill.

Epheſtion honoured inſtead of Alexander, onely by his comely perſonage.

Hiſto-

Historics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authoritie, onely by their sightly appearance: wherewith also their innated vertues being combind, did inestimable benefite to their seuerall Countries and Common-weales. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene despised for their lowe stature, and other defects of honourable presence, euen to the peril of their liues, whereof I purpose to produce two examples onely.

The benefit of manly apparance to Countries & Common-weales.

Philopœmenes, Duke of the *Achaians*, and much renowned, was of so lowe stature, mis-shapen presence, and deformed countenance, that when he attyred himselfe in mechanicke habite (as oftentimes he vsed to doe) he seemed rather to bee of vile and vulgare place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore reforted very often to *Megara*. It so chaunced on a certaine day, that this desire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: so that hee arriued at the house of a Cittizen neare adioyning, who was a singular friend of his, and had lately before beene marryed. He had but one seruant in his company; because the rest hee had sent to other places, and being come to his friends house, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking foorth at their window, demaunded what they would haue; when the seruant replyed, That *Philopœmenes*, Duke of the *Achaians* came to haue entertainment there.

Example of deformity in Philopœmen Governor of the Achayans

A Citty of Achaia on the borders of Attica.

A pleasant history of Philopœmens hunting.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of such worth, and so much vnexpected, should come on such a sodaine thither, and (hauing neuer seene the Duke) reputing these to be but two of his seruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, because they were thus alone: without returning any other answer, came and opened the dore to them. When they were entred into the house, she sent one of her seruants to aduertise her husband speedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopœmenes* & the other with him, to sit downe in the meane time, while she bestirred her selfe to prepare supper. About the house trots she and her maid, her thoughts much busied and molested, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finishing any, though she had but little time of allowance. At last, looking on *Philopœmenes*, who sate muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make shew of (whereat (happily) she more smiled, then at his deformitie) she, somewhat roundly (like a nimble stirring huswife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, because her other seruants were else-where imploied, and that supper might be made readie in due time, against the coming of his Lord and maister.

The Citizens wife supposed Philopœmen to be some meane sightly person, then he appeared in her eye.

This doubtlesse she wold not haue done, but that she tooke him for some meane seruant.

Heereupon, he tooke a hatchet which she gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchin: hauing formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, lest the woman should discerne any scruple of the deceit. While hee stoode stoutly to this employment; home came the master of the house, who knowing *Philopœmenes*, and wondering to see him so homely busied; did him humble reuerence, saying; *My Lord, this is no office for you to vndergoe*. Whereto (smiling) hee replyed: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penaltie due to my deformitie.*

Philopomen cleaueth wood for the Kitchen, to make ready supper.

A free confession of his own deformitie.

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike*, a verywise and discreet Prince; but of stature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocritie, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement; yet it appeared plainely in him, that it was not correspondent to his other members. Besides, hee vsually wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Cittizen, then any way taken to be a King.

Another History of king Ferdinand, called the little King of Spaine.

The King trauailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with Queene *Isabell*, and beeing there louingly expected; by occasion of weather, hee arriued at a hauen towne on the Sea coast (called * *Puteoli*) with his onely Gally, the rest beeing much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably receiued by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in such a place. While the Pallace was furnishing, and prouision for his diet preparing; hee walked alone by himselfe in a Hall, where

* A Towne in Campania, eight miles from Naples

where (very ſoone after) a poore blunt fiſherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fiſh, wherewith he intended to preſent the King. The Fiſherman, not knowing him, deſired to vnderſtand where the King was: he preſently anſwered him; I am he. The Fiſherman brake foorth into loude laughter, imagining that hee had meerely mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himſelfe to be hee. But the Fiſherman, diſcerning in him no maieſticall reſemblance, either for his perſon or habite, and no attendants about him fitting for a King; returned backe, and carryed away the fiſh with him. Hereat the King could not choſe but ſmile, and ſome of his eſpeciall Lords and Fauourites immediately entring (after they had ſaluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee ſpake vnto them. *Lordes, did yee not meete a Fiſherman going foorth? If you doe not goe and giue him aſſurance, that I am your King, wee ſhall looſe the beſt Fiſh that euer I ſaw.* Inſtantly the Fiſherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he ſo much neglected) to bee ſo duetifully reuerenced by ſuch worthy perſons; he beganne to conceiue in his ſoule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly preſented the fiſh vnto him.

The conference betweene a blunt Fiſherman and the King.

The Fiſherman would not credite outward apparance.

The Kings pleaſant words to his Lords.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happned to him, and by the ſame occaſion of miſ-cenſuring his perſon. For, at another time, the ſame King being at *Barcellona*, going in Proceſſion with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that ſollemnity: hee was ſodainely ſet vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him ſo mightie a ſtroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had beene ſufficient to ſmite off his head; but that the blow was rebated by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and ſuſpected that hee had ſome other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confeſſe nothing elſe, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in meere hatred he bare to the King. Hereupon he was demaunded, what occaſion ſhould ſo prouoke him to hate the King? He anſwered; Truely nothing elſe, but becauſe his countenance did not pleaſe him, for, it appeared ſo vngracious vnto him, that if they did ſet him at libertie, yet he would kil him, whatſoeuer came of it. Queſtionleſſe, it was a ſtrange caſe, that a man ſhould ſo deſperately endanger his owne life, becauſe a King was not formed to his liking.

Another Hiſtory concerning the ſame king, but in a more diſtaſtefull manner.

The King in danger of life by his deformity.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the inhumane actions, and monſtrous cruelties of Ariſtotimus the tyrant; a ſubiect well beſeeming a Tragedy.*

Riſtotimus, vnder the fauors, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vſurped ouer the * *Eleuſians*, exercising his power ſo intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or crueltie, whereby he might afflict the miſerable Cittizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel diſpoſition, the counſell of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdome, but alſo the gardance of his owne perſon. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Cittizen, deſerueth to be recorded for a moſt eſpeciall example.

* Eleuſis a Citty in Attica neere Athens, where Ceres had a Temple.

Tyrants are commonly gouerned by barbarous perſons.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & ſingular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a ſoldier called *Lucius* (an eſpeciall fauourite to the Tyrant) became ſo extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he ſent to her father, commãding him to ſend him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at ſo fawcie a commaund, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing alſo what might happen to him and her mother; laboured by perſwaſions, that his daughter ſhould go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by meere inſtinct of her noble education; fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very ſtrictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expoſe her to ſuch monſtrous diſhonour, but rather to ſee her dead before his face, then deliuer her to ſuch ſhame and indignitie.

The lamentable Hiſtory of Philodamus and his faire daughter Mica.

The vertuous entreaties of Mica to her Father.

The

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, sate downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung griefe in three sad parts, which admitted no leisure for a finall resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fast holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heauy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces; the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing foorth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermost cruelty.

Lucius goeth himselfe to the house of Philodamus, where (in most inhuman manner) he beateth Mica.

On their knees fell the mournefull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pitty on the Virgine, and their age. But seeing they could not preuayle with this mercilesse barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee wexing extreamely displeased, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgine, as thus she embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty mooued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distasted the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearefully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tirant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

Lucius desperately killeth faire Mica, which procured death to some, and banishment to other.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their fardells, some prouiding wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appoynted for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggons and horsses loaden with their children and goods; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (standing ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggons and horsses, laden with their goods and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yoong children bruised in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driuing them on before them, (like heards of cattell) beating them with staues towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisond them and their children together.

The monstrous and cruell acte of Aristotimus, vpon poore women and children.

This horrible cruelty did highly displease the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pitty their wiues: tooke sixeteene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionisius*, and, attyring them in their religious habites: they tooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands, and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stoode as a guarde about the Tyrant, being mooued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affoording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope aymed; hee gaue very disdainefull lookes vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the staues of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine beside, because they had presumed so boldely to enter into his presence.

A Procession of sixteene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vsed by the Soldiours about Aristotimus.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellanicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and crueltie inflicted

Hellanicus a Noble Cittizen, practiseth reuenge vpon the Tyrant.

on

on his Countrey: determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men togither as they could possibly procure; entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselues, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

* A Region in Greece, betweene Acarnan and Phocis.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuelish spirit, coueting to compasse whatsoeuer he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means) commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadours, that they should desist from their present enterprise: otherwise, hee would instantly massacre al their children, and cause them to be beaten starke naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which intensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commaunded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stoode stedfastly looking vppon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should returne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Aristotimus being in feare goeth to his women prisoners, and cruelly threateneth them.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megestena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefest of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not rise to giue him any reuerence, neyther suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as she did. She hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting stil vpon the ground, and returning no signe at all of reuerence, she spake thus.

Megestena, wife to the Noble Lord Thimoleon, chiefe among all the women

¶ *The answer of Megestena to the Tyrant Aristotimus.*

ARistotimus, if there remained in thee any wisedome, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women, to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldst send their wiues to them, with better speeches and more woorthy consideration, then thou hast vsed toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou deceiuest thine owne iudgement, for, wee will not suffer them to be agayne ouerreached by thee; neyther doe thou imagine them to bee so foolish, as to shield their children from death, or preuent the losse of their poore wiues liues, they will forbeare to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedome of their Countrey. For, the losse of vs & their children is not so yrkesome to them, as the gladsome satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Countrey from outrage and cruelty.

The proud folly of the Tyrant wisely reproued by a discreete woman.

Longer would *Megestena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (beeing vnable to bridle his rage) commanded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilest the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne; the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. *Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloudy crueltie of a Tyrant.* These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outragious choller in him; that (drawing foorth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefest familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman, to the amazement of the Tyrant.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who practised with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extreamity of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayne: plainely telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill beseeming the dignitie of a Prince, to soile his hand with the bloud of a woman.

Chilon one of the Confederates with Hellanicus, deliuer his Country from tyranny.

Within a while after, there hapned a strange

A strange prodegy prefiguring the death of Aristotimus.

strange prodigie, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whileſt the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was ſeene to houer ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great ſtone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyſe in the fall; and giuing a fearefull loud ſhoute, the Eagle vaniſhed from the ſight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confuſed murmure of ſuch as had ſeene it, and not a little diſmaied when it was reported to him; ſent for a cunning Soothſayer, in whome hee repoſed no meane confidence, to vnderſtand what the meaning heereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing elſe, but that *Iupiter* had an eſpeciall care of him, and ſent his Eagle ſo to expreſſe it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whom he durſt repoſe his truſt, becauſe he knew their hatred to *Ariſtotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that ſome ſodayne and ſtrange kinde of death, ſhould (in a ſhort while) happen to the Tyrant.

A Wizzard relateth the intent of the Prodigy.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following; becauſe the verie ſame night, *Hellanicus* ſleeping in his bed, ſeemed to ſee one of his ſonnes, that before had beene ſlaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloude to him, ſaying; *Deare father, Why doe you ſleepe thus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you ſhall not be made Prince of the Cittie?* *Hellanicus* confirmed by this Viſion, went earely the next morning to finde his vowed friends, haſtening them to execute the deed determined. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Ariſtotimus* had receiued tydings, that *Craterus* was comming to aſſiſt him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already ſet foorth from **Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, ſo that ſeeming now free from all feare; he walked abroad to take the aire, ſome ſmall diſtance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, not attending for any more, although they came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obſeruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterpriſe, and without giuing any ſignall to the reſt of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, ſpeaking aloude; *What ſtay yee for, valiant Gentlemen? Why make yee not now the goodlieſt ſpectacle that euer yet was ſeene?*

A vision ſeene by Hellanicus in his ſleepe, to haſten the death of Ariſtotimus.

A Citty beſeene the bones Oſſa and Olympus, where Iupiter had a Temple

Chilon was the firſt that drew his weapon, and killing one that came laſt from the Pallace, who offered to ſteppe in the tyrants defence; *Areſtotimus* eſpied *Thraſibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom he moſt truſted) drawing their weapons likewiſe vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to eſcape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Iupiter*, where he was ſlaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open ſtreet, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie.* The women were the firſt, that (making way through the throngs) came thither, who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Countrey. In the meane while, multitudes flocked to the Pallace, where the wife of *Ariſtotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deale with hir) ſhutting her Chamber doores about her; there with her Chaine ſhee ſtrangled her ſelfe.

Ariſtotimus the Tyrant ſlaine by his owne followers in the Temple of Iupiter.

The Tyrants wife ſtrangleth herſelfe with her chaine of gold

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautifull daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage, who hauing heard of their fathers death, had lockt themſelues vp cloſe in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue ſlaine them. But *Megeſtena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, ſtoode in their defence, ſaying: That it were an euill deed, and iuſtly deſeruing blame, to kill them: conſidering, they had not learnd ſo much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exerciſe cruelty vpon themſelues. By theſe ſpeeches the people were appeaſed, and a decree was ſet downe, that they ſhould make election of their death, and performe it on themſelues with their owne hands, if they had the heart to doe it.

Aſpaſia and Hillaria, the daughters of Ariſtotimus.

So beeing ſent into their Chamber, *Aſpaſia* the eldeſt ſiſter expreſſing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any ſigne elſe, that ſhe ſtood in feare of death; looſed her girdle, and faſtening it about a timber-beame, reſolued ſo there to hang her ſelfe, exhorting her ſiſter (with manly courage) to perfourme the like

The valiant reſolution of two ſiſters in their death.

vpon

vpon her selfe; *Hillaria* the yonger daughter, taking her sister by the hand, desired her to permit, that shee might die first. Whereto shee replyed in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to liue like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; so farre be it from mee now, to refuse thee in thy lateſt request: howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to see thee die.* No sooner were these words spoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, strangled her selfe therewith immediately. When shee was dead, *Aspasia* kneeling by her body; and loosing her girdle from about her necke, turning herselfe to *Megestena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no shame after death; with the selfe-same constancie of corage, she ended her life likewise.

The words of Aspasia to her sister Hillaria, before her death.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ The reason why men cannot know and vnderstand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.

FIue principall causes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerse things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himselfe to be wise indeede.

Fiue impediments to a mans knowledge.

The first is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter most certayne, that if he did know that; he would labor no lesse to obtaine it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (because they best agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines consists in them. But in this case it fareth with him, as with a kings son in his child-hood. For, if it be demãded of him, whether he doth more affect the succession in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cheries, or some other fruites, presented instantly to him: questionlesse, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cherries, then the kingdome, because he finds them sutable to his yong desires, as hauing both sight and knowledge of them in taste and apprehension.

1 Ignorance in the cause why he was created.

A Kings Son cares more for an Apple or a Cherry, in his childe-hood, then his Fathers kingdome.

Euen so it happeneth to a man; for if it were demaunded of him, whether he best liked to make choice of, Riches or Wisedom: his election would stand on wealth and power, being meerely ignorant, that Wisedome onely is the chiefest wealth, and that the Wise man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wisedome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weakenes, and vtter depriuation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a bestiall possession, an abundance of presumption, and a kind of sottish substance. Whereas on the contrary, a wise man hath alwayes sufficient for himselfe, & others beside; hauing in him that truly abounding treasure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him. And all this ensueth to a man, because he is ignorant in his true end.

There can be no greater treasure or wealth in the world then wisedome.

The second cause, is the vse of corporall delectations, voluntary and sensible, which ouerwhelme and drowne, not only the senses of the body, but also those of the spirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapped vppe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appertaineth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdome; but hauing committed adultery with some blacke deformed slaue, looseth the right of her succession thereby.

2. The vse of bodily delights & pleasures, which are the ouerthrowers both of body and soule.

The third cause ensueth by the indisposition of such matter, as many times maketh a man vncapable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often so to passe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vtterly disagreeable, and causeth him to receiue a bad complexiõ. As in some of the Easterne parts, and of *Affrica*, where men are borne so beastly, by reason of the heates extreamity; that they are not capable of any reason. And contrariwise, some places in the northern parts are so colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred; such as the *Gothes* and *Ostregothes*: some whereof feede on humane flesh. And these people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a stone fastened to her foote, to keepe her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, causing her to soare aboue the cloudes.

3. The indisposition or vnaptnesse of the Country where a man is borne, by two extremities of heate or colde.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences. For, although a man doe plainely discerne, that the desire of his soule is to seeke attentiuely, as coueting to know the truth of high and deepe causes: yet notwithstanding, he findes them so hard

4. Difficulty truely vnderstanding the Sciences.

to

to be vnderſtoode that he retreates, and quite giueth ouer his enterpriſe. Wherein he reſembleth his owne eye, which fixing reſpectiuely to beholde the Sunne: the ſplendour thereof prooueth ſo piercing, that it ecclipſeth and troubleth ſo his ſight, as he is not able to endure it.

The laſt and ſtrangeſt of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath beene inſtructed, and eſpecially when his deſire hath laſted of ſome long continuance thereto. For then, Cuſtome conuerteth it ſelfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a ſetled feare in the mans ſoule, and a ſingular loue to thoſe things embraced, hating all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almoſt) is ſwallowed vp in this errour. Do we not obſerue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reaſon: doe vtterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and ſo the Iewes in like manner? Wee ſee alſo, that countrey people, by being inured and accuſtomed to field-dwelling, do liue groſely, diſdayning conuerſation with Courtiers, or ſuch as inhabite ciuile Cities. From whence inſued the Prouerbe; *Vnluckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad valley*. For, by vſe and conuerſation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholdes a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our ſelues do deſpiſe them of another countrey (except ſight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through ſome bad and abuſiue relations of them. This errour hath alſo preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vſe beare ſo high a priuiledge, that bee they neuer ſo bad; yet they deſpiſe the contrary, be they neuer ſo good.

Finally, this affection to continued vſe, and deteſtation of ſuch things as we know not; extendeth it ſelfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell thoſe hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if poſſibly wee can) know the veritie and trueth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, conſiſteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that heereafter: imitating the good huſbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the beſt aduantage, doth firſt roote vp the thornes and weeds, becauſe his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Phyſitian would giue a ſicke man health, he firſt purgeth his ſtomacke from all corrupt humors; becauſe in matter ill diſpoſed, the former cannot induct it ſelfe. Let vs then contend againſt all theſe impediments; for the reaſonable man, that will not yeelde to reaſon, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will ſayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are depriued of their proper ends.

Compariſons aptly anſwering to the purpoſe.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Of diuers Accidents (monſtrous in nature) which ſerued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and auncient times.*

IN precedent times, whē by permiſſion of the true GOD, ſundry Oracles, which were ſpirits of illuſion & falſhoode, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue anſwere to Idolaters: many prodigious ſights were ſeene in the Ayre and on the earth.

Oracles of lyes & groſſe illuſions.

And becauſe that in theſe latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and trueth of faith) none ſuch are now to be ſeene: it is a matter of ſome difficultie, to credite what learned Authors haue written, concerning thoſe which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no diſtruſt at all; for they hauing written Hiſtories of warres, and other occaſions happening in thoſe dayes: by inſerting the memorie of prodigious Accidents, we ought not to make any ſcrupulous doubt of them; but rather to reſt perſwaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vſed the like iuſtice in the other; eſpecially, when they are likewiſe confirmed by many and ſundry other Authours.

Graue Authors of great and venerable credite, deſerue not to be diſtruſted in their writings.

5. An affection to ſome eſpecial things conceiued in the time of a mans youth, and ſo continuing.

Country education contemneth Courtly or Citty qualities.

Cuſtom both in men and women breedeth a ſecond nature.

The true felicity in this world and the other to come

Amongſt other Prodigies in the *Romaines* dayes, the moſt notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Martius*, and *Iulius Sextius*, Conſulls: where two mountaines aroſe out of their proper places, and mette together ſo impetuouſly, that hurling a great flame and ſmoake vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onelie deſtroying villages which were betweene them, but alſo killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open ſight of many trauellers, and likewiſe of a great company of Romane Knights.

Plin in l.9.c.14

Two great Mountaines met together, and did much harme to Townes, Men and Cattell.

Pliny, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewiſe relateth in the ſame place, ſaying, that in his time, and vnder the ſame Empire of *Nero*, *Veſſus Marcellus*, a Romaine Knight, whome the Emperour had ſent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of *Naples:* had (there in the maritine territorie) two fieldes, each diſtant from the other, the one beeing a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickely planted with Oliue trees.

Plin in l,9.c.15

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, theſe two fieldes chaunged into each others place: for the Oliues field was tranſported where the meadow ſtoode, and the meadow into the Oliue plottes place; and this was conceyued to be doone by an Earthquake. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but alſo is auouched in the Chronicles of manie learned men, as alſo in the Booke of the Mountaines warre.

Two diſtant Fields remoued ſtrangely into each others place, by reaſon of an Earthquake.

And although hee cannot be induced to credite, that men may be metamorphoſed into Woolues; yet neuertheleſſe hee declareth, that *Euanthes*, an Authour of no meane authoritie among the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to haue written, that in *Areadia* there is a great ſtanding Poole, whereto men are brought at certayne times to paſſe thorow it: and as they fincke into the ſand, they are inſtantly transfourmed into the ſhape of Woolues; and hauing continued ſo for the ſpace and tearme of nine yeares: they doe recouer their former formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pictor* in his ſecond booke and in the ninth chapter; who addeth alſo, that *Scopas*, who wrote the *Olympiades*, ſpeaketh of one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the bowelles of a young Boy, which they of *Arabia* had ſacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and preſently hee was transfourmed into a Woolfe, in which forme he continued the ſpace of tenne yeares, and afterwardes recouering the ſhape of man agayne, he wonne the victorie for Luteplaying at the Mount of *Olympus*. Saint *Auguſtine* in his fourteenth booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, and the third chapter ſaith, that *Varro* alſo recordeth the ſame. In mine opinion theſe transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabolicall Artes.

Men metamorphoſed into Wolues *Euanthes in lib. 2.cap.5.*

Fabius Pictor in lib.2.cap.9. Scopas in Olymp.3.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei.l.14.cap.3.

Now, concerning theſe things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondred at, becauſe he ſetteth downe many matters, reputed vtterly impoſſible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himſelfe will not credite the like things, or of leſſe impoſſibilitie, and which haue beene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as conſider well the Scriptures, need not meruaile at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the ſeuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verſe, That the Rods of the Nations were (not in apparance, but in effect, by ſecret charmes) turned into Serpents. Now, which thing is more eaſie, to change a Rodde into a Serpent, or the true body of a man (I doe not ſay his ſpirit) transformed into a beaſt. The opinion of Saint *Auguſtine* is heerein auaileable, where hee ſayth; A certayne man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young Mare. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, ſaid: *I ſee a young Maid, but no Mare:* for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, ſhe had recouered her former ſhape againe. Wherefore we may iudge, that ſome things are ſhewne to men, which are not indeede; and ſuch a thing may be apparant, and yet not exiſtent.

Plin.in libris ſupra.

The ſorceresrods conuerted into Serpents. Exod.7,11.

Auguſt.in ciuit. Dei.lib.14.c.3

But returne wee now againe to our Auguries. It hath beene obſerued diuers times, that in the opening of a beaſt, that no heart hath beene found in him: as it happened at the firſt time, when *Cæſar* the Dictatour ſate in his golden Chaire, and then it was diſputed among the Auruſpices, if a beaſt were to be found without a heart.

No hart found in a Beaſt being imbowelled before Cæſar.

Plinie

Plinie in his foureteenth booke and the seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Cicero* in his Diuinations, that *Caius Marius*, offering Sacrifice at *Vtica:* euen in the same manner, there was not any heart found in the beast. But it might be then well obserued, that it chaunced not thus by nature: but rather was rightly to bee presumed, that false spirits did thus delude and abuse the people, taking away the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time, knowing well thereby what was to happen after.

Plin. lib.14. c.7. Cicero in lib. de Diuinat.cap.9

Oftentimes likewise hath beene obserued, that two hearts haue beene found in one beast. For, wee reade that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hannibal:* the first day he found no heart in the beast he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleaged, that in *Paphlagonia*, the Partrige hath two hearts: so likewise saith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosophers) in naturall things, as *Aulus Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* sayth, that in * *Bisaltia*, each Hare hath two Liuers. And in some places (as in *Euboa*) the beastes haue no gaules.

Two harts haue bene found in one beast.

* A Country in the North part of the lesser Asia, by the sea side, aboue Galatia *Aul.Gellius in lib.16.cap 11.*

* A free country of Macedonia by the Riuer Strymon.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogges, which are there called *Rubettes*, haue two liuers, the one venemous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Antes make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

Aul.Gellius in lib. vbi supra.

Wee reade, that on the day when *Pyrrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne bloud vpon the ground.

The same yeare, when *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Publius Aelius*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Consulls, Wheate was seene to growe vppon trees.

Aristander in his Prodig.c.3. Cneus Epidius in Commment. cap.19.

Aristander (a learned *Greeke* Author) declareth in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the Romaine, in his Commentaries) that some Trees haue beene changed into another kinde of Trees.

We reade also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard in the Ayre, like vnto the sounding of Trumpets, and clashing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were seene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other the like Prodigies, whereof Saint *Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Cittie of God.

CHAP. VI.

¶ *Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Armie in the night season.*

Whosoeuer shall reade auncient Histories, needeth not wonder at some things, happening in those times, or else related by such as haue seene them: for sometimes it hath beene obserued, that either the same accident, or else but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the admirable Accidents, which I haue read in auncient or moderne Histories: I finde that to be very singuler, and well deseruing memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Affrica*.

Accidents hapning in diuers places of little difference each from other.

This *Agathocles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (beeing but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Potter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Isle of *Sicilie*. Hauing had long warre against the Carthagenians, and seeing himselfe besieged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerfull Armie of *Lybians:* hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Cittie to the guarde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readily prepared; by the helpe of a cunning stratageme, hee gote foorth at a narrow port, with about seauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to land on the shoares of *Affrica*. Hauing gote there in pay sixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and besieged *Carthage*, bringing the Citie into such distresse, that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Agathocles the sonne of a poore Potter, came to be a singular Soldiour and a King.

Carthage besiedged by Agathocles.

Many battailes were fought betweene

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; becauſe the time ſo fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troups of horſe to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beſide their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the Citty, being vnable to equall the cauallerie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall againſt *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmiſhes paſſing betweene them, vppon a day, *Agathocles* would needs aſſault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, deſired nothing more then preſent fight) but the enemy being very ſtrõgly planted, would not iſſue foorth, though they were very hotely ſet vpon in their Fort; knowing the neceſſitie of *Agathocles*, and the deſperate condition of his men.

A freſh ſupply from Lybia, came to the Carthagenians.

Continuing the aſſault ſtill, to his owne diſaduantage, he payed the penaltie due to his boldeneſſe: for the enemy repulſed him with great loſſe of his Souldiers; one part of them beeing ſloyne, and the other within compaſſe of the enemies power. The night preuenting the battailes concluſion; I am to tell yee an example of wonder, which ſtrangely followed thereupon, in this manner. The *Carthaginians*, after their victorie, ſacrificing vnto their Gods, in ſigne of their thankefulneſſe (with a cruell ſuperſtition) a great number of their priſoners, both *Greeks* and *Italians*; brought ſuch a quantitie of wood to burne the bodies, that the fire grew ſo impetuous: as it not only conſumed the ſacrificing Tent, but alſo the Pauillion of their Captayne and Generall, beſides infinite other, being a lamentable ſpectacle to all that beheld it. For, through the extreamity of this accident, a mighty tumult grew among them, prouing to occaſion the death of many; for ſome, labouting to quench the fire, fell into it, and ſo periſhed; others ſtriuing to eſcape from it, crowded one another to death in the throngs.

Agathocles maintained the aſſault ſtill to his owne loſſe.

A bloody and cruel manner of ſacrificing obſerued among the Carthagenians.

In this night of horrour and confuſion, one nouell accident drew on an other: for, in the Campe of *Agathocles*, there was found about fiue thouſand *Lybians* newly arriued, in whom hee durſt repoſe no truſt; for they intending to paſſe on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were miſſ-led, onely thorow the darkeneſſe of the night. On ſtill they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*; who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-aſſembled againe for a freſh aſſault; and hoping to finde them in diſorder (as indeede they were, through the foes violence) rayſed ſodainely ſuch a ſtrange noyſe themſelues, that the whole Camp fell to flight, and was vtterly broken, ſo that few or none remained, but all were diſperſed, ſome running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the Citty, to ſaue themſelues.

The coming of a freſh company of Lybians, cauſed a ſtrange accident in this confuſion

The Cittizens hearing this noyſe of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to aſſault the Cittie:) were ſo confounded with feare and amazment, that they left the Citty without any defence, ſeeking how they might beſt ſecure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had receiued but the leaſt intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the aſſault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet ſatisfied with blinde-folde confuſion, cauſed the fiue thouſand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the diſordred Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a freſh onſet of the enemie; fled, ſome one way, ſome another, and fel into ſuch a madding fury among themſelues, that thinking their owne people (ſtill as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they ſlew one another very cruelly, the obſcurity of the night not permitting them to ſee their owne errour. So that, through this inaduertence or inconſideration, fiue thouſand were ſlaine among the *Grecians*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, flying and fighting in this confuſed maner. By which meanes, fiue thouſand men (erroniouſly miſ-ledde) againſt their willes, brake three hoaſts or Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

A ſtrange confuſion happening likewiſe among the Cittizens at Carthage.

Another accident in the Campe of Agathocles, among themſelues.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

¶ *How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combat between man and man.*

LIke as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards an other; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongest great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselues in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise bee termined or discided. But now it is grown to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to vndertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth expresly forbidde it: and it is encreased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to bee feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

In elder times the combate was honourably granted.

The Law expressly forbiddeth combate to Christian Princes.

The Duell or Combate, is denied to a Christian man, to doe it, to graunt it, and to see it, by reason both diuine and humane, as well Canonicall as Ciuile. It is prohibited by diuine reason, according to this argument. Euery acte whereby God may be tempted, is prohibited to a Christian by the commaundement of God: For, it is written; *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. That GOD is tempted by the Duell or Combate, I proove it in this manner: To make triall of things, which cannot be reduced to an end by naturall meanes, but onely by the Hand of Heauen: such attempting is to tempt God. As it happeneth in cases of purgation, where it is most notorious and euident, that (by naturall course or disposition) the strongest, actiue, and most powerfull person euer vanquisheth the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be ouercome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculously.

The combate is denied to a Christian in action sufferance, & fight

Things not effected by naturall meanes is tempting God.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the trueth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needes bee so, when the weaker man conquereth the stronger, beeing (as it were) directly against nature.

Miracles only appertaine to the power of God.

I proove it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeth also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an especiall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

Murder may happen by combate.

I yet proue it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeth euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of al vertues, and vtterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kil his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

The acte of combate killeth Charity.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonicall Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer aloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the proofe is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradicteth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man; because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equity among men willeth, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

Combate contrary to the common law, and law of men, and naturall equity.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turneth vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Naturall equity is for the conseruation of mankinde, and combate is for his destruction.

men kill one another, and men are of greateſt price in the world. Moreouer, euery acte which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reaſon, becauſe it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man ſhall deſire profit or honour, by the preiudice and hinderance of another. The ſecond is, that no man ſhall wiſh that to another, which he would not haue done to himſelfe. The acte of Combate contradicteth them both, becauſe hee which commeth ſo prepared into the field, coueteth his owne glorie, by the ſhame and harme of him againſt whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour; and wiſheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himſelfe; for, he would vanquiſh and kill him.

The two main precepts of naturall equity, are broken by the acte combate.

It is alſo forbidden by Ciuile reaſon, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibiteth euery acte, whereby Iuſtice may bee denyed to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the caſe of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary; for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remayneth aliue, ſo that by this meanes, Iuſtice can not take her due place.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ *Of ſtrange and admirable properties in the Aſſe.*

AMongſt all the properties in beaſts, thoſe of the Aſſe are moſt to be admired; for hee is ſo meeke and domeſticke, as that *Iſidore* doth ſay, *He taketh his name of ſeating*; for, in elder times, men mounted on ſuch beaſts backs, to ſaue themſelues ſecurely. Or elſe it cometh of the Greeke diction *Aſinos*, compoſed of *A*, which is a Greek diction priuatiue, ſignifying *Sine*, *Without*, and *Cinos*, which ſignifieth *Senſus*, *Wit* or *Senſe*: ſo that coupling theſe two vocables together, ſignifieth, without Wit or Senſes. Heereupon it is ſaid, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: becauſe hauing a weake brayne, hee is (by inſtinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timorous alſo to enter water, how ſhallow ſoeuer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

Iſidor in lib Anim. 3. cap. 8.

A definition of the Aſſes name.

Fearefulneſſe in the Aſſe to paſſe ouer a Bridge.

This creature is ſlouthfull and melancholy, becauſe he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reaſon of his great frugalitie, he cannot liue in colde Countries, and if by aduenture he doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generatiue action, neyther can he there ingender. Hee beareth beſt vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or ſhoulders: for, being melancholie, his bones behinde are the more ſtrong and dry, for there is the ſigne of melancholy, and there is his skinne ſo thicke and hard, that though he be beaten with great ſtaues, he cannot be killed without much paines. Alſo, becauſe he conſiſteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly diſciplinable, and fatneth very little. *Albertus Magnus* ſayth, That by the ſelfe-ſame reaſon, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aſide, and in regarde of his heads weightineſſe, a thicke and viſcuous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe ſwowning. He eateth little, and the more he watcheth, ſo much the more he drinketh beyond other beaſts.

The Aſſe ſlouthfull and melancholy.

The ability of his bearing burdens.

Albert. Magn. in lib. 4. de Anim.

In regarde of his great coldeneſſe and drieneſſe, hee can not ſtirre to ingender, at ſuch times as other beaſts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or elſe vnder the Equinoctiall; but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almoſt to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his groſſe humiditie beeing depreſſed and diminiſhed; he is prouoked to the acte with ſuch fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and eſpecially when he is yong. The thicknesſe of his skinne, is cauſed (as we haue ſayd) by his groſſe humours; and he that mendeth his ſhoes with leather, of that part of the skinne, where the Aſſe hath longeſt borne his burdens, can not weare it out at all, but it will long time endure, paſſing ouer ſtony or craggy wayes, and will at the laſt growe to ſuch hardneſſe, as the feete can not ſuffer it: *Albertus Magnus* ſpeaketh thereof by proofe.

The Aſſe ingendreth not when other beaſts do.

The benefit of the Aſſes skin in wearing it in ſhoes.

From

The milke of the shee-Asse Physical for a consumption.

From this drinesse it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Asse is subtile, that it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumptiõ. Moreouer, the purity of this milkes whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderously faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Poppæa*, Cnocubine to *Nero*, often vsed to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Asse. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where he smelleth that another Asse hath staled before.

Plin. in l. 8. c. 12

Small birdes are enemies to the Asse: but the rauen most of all.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they builde their nests: and with his crying noise, makes them fall vnto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Rauen is his naturall enemie, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinne; hee mounteth thereon, and pittifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Rauen aboue all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow concauity of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hardnesse of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eies, he chaseth them away with his ears stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearying him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

What defence the Asse hath, to saue his eies from the Rauen.

The curiosity of the Asse in drinking.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that deseruing meruaile, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be giuen him as is pure and clear. *Pliny* saith beside, that he will hardly bee constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his loade. The shee-Asse so intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreadeth not to passe through fire to find it.

Plin. l. 8. c. 43

Aristotle saith, that the shee-Asse will remaine so long time from conceyuing, vntill the graines of Barley, steepte in the blood of a Mulet, bee giuen her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboue tenne. Now, in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendred by an Asse and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Asse-foale is nourished with Mares milk all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterate) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, norishing the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Asse; they habite afterwardes willingly with shee-Asses. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Asse hath yet vse of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Asse. And so it fareth with the shee-Asse, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

Aristot. in lib. de Gener. Anim. l. 2. cap. 3.

The Mule that is bred of an Asse and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Aristotle*) is, that the seede of the Asse (as we haue already said) being cõld, & that ioyning with the seed of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendred is so cold, as it cãnot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* saith, that diuers times they haue yong ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturallie, but rather as a thing prodigious.

Plin. in l. 8. c. 44

Aristotle granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot bee reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* saith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue yong. *Aristotle* further saith, that the Asse fatneth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeeth with Kine. The Foale of the she-Asse, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but fiue paces behind hir, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but stayes and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Asse hath a natural custome, when she is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, ỳ she doth so in regard of the weakenes of the Foales sight.

The short memory of the Asse foale

Albert. Mag. in lib. 4. cap. 7.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liuer of an Asse being boyled, and afterward roasted the same day, is verie soueraigne for the falling sickenesse, prouided, that it be often vsed: the like power hath his hoofes, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three

Ducates

Ducates, and euery day an ounce. An emplaister made of the same powder, dissolueth the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

For an Impostume.

Moreouer, the hooues so beaten into powder, and applyed vnto an Impostume, quickely breaketh it. The Vrine of an Asse, is very availeable for the Disease of the Reines, caused by grosse humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaister, restraineth the Flux of blood, and smoking any house with the Lunges of an Asse, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

A present remedy for bleeding at the nose.

Againe, his dung steeped in Vinegar, and applied to the nose in a cloth, ceaseth the extreme bleeding: making also an emplaister thereof, and binding it to the forhead, it hath the same vertue. *Pliny* also saith, that both the Milke and bloud of an Asse, are very effectuall against the biting of a Scorpion.

Plin. in Lib. c. 44

His Vrine, applyed with Spickenard, encreaseth and conserueth haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very soueraigne against poyson. *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much despised creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

CHAP. IX.

Of the singular vertue and constancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honest policy, for the deliuerance of her Country.

An honorable Gentleman of Cyprus, and a worthy Souldiour.

THE vertue and constancie of the Noble Lady *Aretaphila* the *Cyrenean*, deserueth to be remembred in all Ages. She was the Daughter of *Aglator*, and wife to *Fedimo*, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthiest men in the whole countrey: and in those times she was no lesse endued with singular beauty, then admired wisedome and eloquence in her speaking. It came to passe, that *Nicoreon* vsurping the gouernment by tiranies, condemned many worthy Cittizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee caused *Melnapius* (the Priest of *Apollo*) to bee slaine, to make vsurpation of his Priestly Office.

Nicoreon a tirannical vsurper of the supreme authority.

Afterward, hauing treacherously put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*; constrainedly, and whether she would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride against his people, & day by day encreasing his cruelty, hee furiously put a great number to death. And because they were to be buried without the Citty, he was enstructed by some of his picke-thankes, that many counterfeyted themselues to be dead, for their safer escaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of souldiers kept the gates, vvith long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red hotte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodyes carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

A hard extremity that many were put to, for escaping from tyranny.

These cruelties, were greatly displeasing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who greeued to see her Countrey thus oppressed; and to such a height grewe her compassion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, she resolued to make aduenture of her owne life, to free her country from so bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & bestowed infinite fauours on her, onely to please her: yet could shee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was vtterly lost, for euer freeing themselues from his tiranny: she only grew the stronger in her confidence, that shee should compasse the meanes of his death.

Aretaphila pitying the oppression of her Country, hazardeth her owne life to deliuer it.

Heerein she was still the more encouraged, by remembring the vndaunted resolue of the *Thebane* * *Pheraa*, so much renowned thorough the world, coueting to imitate her example. But because shee had not the benefite of assisting Friends, as *Pheraa* had; she concluded her enterprize alone by her selfe, purposing to kill the Tyrant by poyson. By which meanes she ranne into great dangers (as you shall reade heereafter) in regard she failed many times of her attempting; and beeing surprized at the last; all dissimulations were

* An honorable Ladie of Thebes, that deliuered her country from cruell oppression.

were not sufficient, but shee was conuinced by most euident arguments.

The Tyrants mother hasteneth the death of Aretaphila

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the tyrant (beeing a Woman of fierie temper, and one that heauily hated *Aretaphila*) laboured him by earnest perswasions, to put her to death with grieuous torments: but the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards hir, and her owne couragious spirit, in answering the accusations of her enemies; occasioned the delaying of her death. Neuertheless, after much clamor and constraint, she being conuinced by apparant testimonies, and no longer able to denie, but that she had prepared a breuage for him: In the presence of the Iudges, with an vndanted and cheerefull countenance, thus she spake.

The Speech of Aretaphila, *in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull enemies.*

Her witty insinuation to cover what she had closely intended.

MY Lord and Husband, I freely confesse, that a drinke was prepared by mee to giue thee; yet farre from so much as thought, that poyson, or any harmefull thing should therein be compounded: but onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to bee enuied by so many Ladies, inregarde of the kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exalting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde any capacity in them of compassing the like; fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they would not spare their vttermost endeuour, to kil that louing kindnesse in thee towards me, and quench the intire affection so long continued: I made that Breuage purposely, to preserue the heate of Loue in full power, and rather vrge it to a higher reach, then suffer it to quaile in the least degree. If therefore heerein I haue offended, Reason (me thinkes) should free mee from punishment; inregard that spotlesse loue (to confound that foul fiend hatred) thereto procured me. Neuertheless, if I shall bee saide to merite chastisement; it cannot vrge death, as to an hatefull impoysoner: but rather such an amiable and fauouring affliction, as such a wife may be thought worthy of, who will not spare to practise any enchanting Potions on her Husband, to continue his Loue in correspondencie, equall vnto hers.

Such was her constant carriage in this answer, and appearing of so sound truth in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means he would permit shee should bee put to death. Onely, through their diuelish & violent vrging, he suffered her to be further tryed by Racks and Tortures, as hoping (that way) to extort confession. *Caluia* causing the extreamest tortures to be prepared, stoode by, while they were inflicted on her, euen according to the measure of her monstrous cruelty; and so many violences was done to the poor Lady, that *Caluia* her selfe, grewe wearie with the very sight of them. So that *Aretaphila*, not confessing any thing more then she had done, was deliuered from further tormenting, and adiudged innocent by *Nicoreon*; repenting that hee had permitted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his loue now growing to farre greater extremity towards her, made him labour by al amorous blandishments, and gifts of extraordinary valew, to reconcile fauour, & qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her. And she, being a wise and sprightly minded Lady, had her owne discretion so much at command, that she could seeme as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet carrying an inward vnconquerable remembrance of her Countreyes Oppressions, and her owne extreame wrongs, waiting but time and meanes for iust reuendge, which offered it selfe to her in this manner.

Nicoreon admitteth further tryall by tortures, but wil not let her dye.

Cruelty conquered by mild, patient, and constant sufferance.

An incomparable discretion in Aretaphila.

She had (by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong daughter, of admirable beauty and vertuous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and *Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*; youthfull, gallant, and somewhat dissolute in affection to women, which made her the more diligent, to procure liking in him towards her daughter, and easily she preuailed therein, by the help of amorous enticing drinkes, and other deuices, wherin she wanted no furtherance of her cunning Physitian. Beside, the witty instructions shee had giuen her daughter, for her carriage in the company of *Leander*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affection, in such violent manner; that (in all hast) he entreated his Brother to graunt his

Miraguarda, daughter to Aretaphila, & Leander brother to Nicoreon.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickely gaue consent, prouided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* therto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some fewe faint and modest doubts) because it was the onely mark she aimed at, to compasse that which she further intended.

The marriage the onely meanes to be reuenged on the Tyrant.

Leander, being married to his beloued *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly simpathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her louely embracings, nor shee contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocall fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could craue nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) aduised him to the killing of her brother. And so sutable were her witty remonstrances to his yeilding soule (alledging the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requitall of so blessed a benefit, the people could not choose but elect him their King, by whom they enioyed theyr long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the deede, the Cittizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselues, as therto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

The perswasions of Miraguarda to Leander for killing his Brother.

So preuailing were these perswasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreon*, perceiuing that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilles*, his familiar & very faithful friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdome. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsels; the world might plainely perceiue, that hee was rather a murtherer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedome, because he gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe somewhat more respectiuely, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

Leander is won to murther his Brother, assisted therein by his faithful friend Dannilles.

Aretaphila perceiuing, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny; concluded to compasse it by his death likewise. Heereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a warlike Prince, and a Natiue of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuersing with *Leander*, told him, that his Captaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Wartiours that came with *Anabius*, and therefore it wold proue disaduantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiectes, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vsage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherfore she aduised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betweene them, promising, to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance vvith *Anabius*.

Another attempt of Aretaphila for the deliuerance of her countrey.

Leander liked well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praied her to proceed therein; whereuppon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* shold come forth to confer with him: he either should kil him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance therof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and faint-harted effiminacy, (shee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* comming on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous stay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntil he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery word; still made him to walke on alõg with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcily to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of mony was sent him.

Aretaphila contriueth a meeting betweene Leander & Anabius.

Tyrants are fearfull vnto themselues.

Aretaphila deliuered Leander prisoner to Anabius.

Afterward, she returned backe to the Cittie,

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Countrey from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabius*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluia* burned. All the Citizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled them selues on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) she had saued her Countrey; enforcing her to vndergoe the Gouernment, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill she had reduced the estate to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entred a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

The death of Leander and Caluia his Mother.

Aretaphila made Princesse of the Countrey.

CHAP. X.

Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.

BEtweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, a verie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battaile, the *Lacedemonians* being foyled and discomfited by the *Athenians:* the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining therto, they sent (as Ambassador) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to thē, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Oration, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of *Athens* back to thē, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

ted Cælius Rhodeginus in his military discourses. lib. 3. cap. 9.

ore obtay-d then they ired or ex-cted.

The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.

WEE call the Goddes to Witnesse, that in the late passed battell betweene vs, Wee more greeued to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demaund by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot falne both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoeuer is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

The euents of warre are vncertaine to either side.

What heauen hath ordained, is not to bee disappointed.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreemēt may be concluded betweene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senate of *Athens* neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely condiscend to perpetuall peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: whetein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassadour, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely askes it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senate (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you Lacedemonians, loyall peace, deli-

Good wordes do oftē more then weapons can doe.

deliuering you from all suspition of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirite against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise foolish Captaines, and how to be commanded by discreete Philosophers.

The occasion of the war betweene the two States.

Well wot yee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes seated on the bankes of the Riuer *Milina*. By this letter we tell ye, and sweare thereto also by the immortall Gods, that wee freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambassador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their schoole, then a whole Prouince for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuity in vs, to change townes and territories, to bee gouerned by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of auncient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conserue it; for the Physicke that preserueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

A worthy estimation of Learning and learned men.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselues to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace soonest obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heereto aduise yee without cause; for, in leauing the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydlenesse to encrease among the people: it engendreth seditions and ciuill Warres, onely to make men murther one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie pratlers; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeares, hee should not dare to speake a word; because it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wiseman.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and immagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athens*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntil our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee ceasse, praying both your and our immortall Goddes, to preserue you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

A conuenient law for euerie Christian kingdome.

CHAP. XI.

The true Module and Patterne of Gouernement, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communitie among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.

THE forme of a Cõmonwealth obserued amongst Bees, meethinkes is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may bee verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Gouernement. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deriuation from the Greeke, which signifieth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feete, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

The derivation of the Latine word Apis from the Greeke.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hiliscus Tatius* was verie inquisitiue, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the sounder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent.

Hiliscus Tatius a diligent searcher into the properties of Bees.

And

Aristomachus wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities

And *Aristomachus* likewise, for the space of forty yeeres (without attending to any other exercise) gaue himselfe wholly to the same labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

A kinde of religious reuerence obserued in Bees, before comming forth of their hiues.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is, that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they wil yssue forth of their Hiues, they bow downe their heads forwarde in such humble manner, as if they were deuoutly at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not vndertake, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeuours to his gracious goodnesse, that they be begunne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the foode they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficiall both for others and themselues; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by vertuous meanes) to performe good actions in their life time, auaileable both for themselues and others; considering, it is a duty required in men, and for vvhich they are born, not to labor for themselues, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

Men are not born for themselues, but for their countrie also.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers house. As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Common-wealth) euery man should rest contented with his owne, without couetting or vsurping ought from any other.

No more but one king in euery hiue for order of Gouernment.

Euery Hiue hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe shun noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one cheefe Commander in one Common-wealth, by whō all the rest may be well gouerned: & that we should shunne the smoake of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Common-wealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should flie from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, foode, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutuall loue and charity which ought to be among Cittizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in o-

Mutuall loue and charity among the people, is no meane happinesse.

thers distresses. for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

A worthy president of continēcy in life.

These creatures liue without lubricitie, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Common-wealth, without lusting after adulteries: but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie wherof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

Ambros. in Lib. de Cena Dom. cap 9.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obseruance, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Saint *Ambrose* saieth thus: *They will not flye abroad, vntill they first see, vvhether he will flye foorth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding foode, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to bee assisted and imitated in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

In what manner the Bees elect & make choise of their king.

They endeuour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in apparance) is most Noble, as also the mildest; not vsing his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Aduising vs heereby, to elect such for our Gouernors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discreete, wise, and debonnaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humaine and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of bloode, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselues by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdaine, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are

A note for such as are highly aduanced.

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

admoniſhed, to be faithfull and louing to our Prince or Magiſtrate, and fearefull to offend, euen to death it ſelfe.

No idlenes amongſt the Bees, but all imployed in ſeuerall offices, & all for general benefit.

No Bee is ſlothful or idle in the Hiue; for ſome flye forth to combate againſt other in open field: others watch to ſeeke for foode; others contemplate times, to foreſee when ſtormes and raines will enſue; others compoſe the hony Combes; others lay aſide the waxe by it ſelfe, and thereof others make little Lodgets, caries and rounds, in very ſtraunge and wonderfull order. Neuertheleſſe, in ſo many and ſundry offices, no one intrudes into anothers buſineſſe, or dare make any ſtealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on hearbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for generall good of the Commonwealth. Herein we haue a notable inſtruction, to abhor & baniſh out of our Cities, ſlothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not liue by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through ſuch deboſhment & negligence in men, all ſuch vices ariſe in Cities, as doe corrupt good manners, and ouerthrow order: for euery one ſhold liue vpon his owne endeuour, without vſurping ought of others; and what he hath ſuperfluous, is for generall aide of the Common-wealth, and to be miniſtred to others neceſſities.

A good admonition for Cities & incorporate townes to auoyd ydle liuers.

The weapons of defence for themſelues, & offending enemies to their State.

Nature hath giuen them ſtings to defend themſelues, and offend ſuch as dare aſſaile them, or preſume into their citty or hiue: and although they are not of any great corpulence, yet notwithſtãding they haue vnconquerable corage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the ſuperficies of their hiues, to the end, ỳ no beaſt or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the paſſage or iſſue be ouer large, they labor diligently to reſtrain and make it leſſe. By which example men are admoniſhed, to bee ſtout and couragious for defence of their countrie, and wiſely to foreſee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealth, that may infect, corrupt, or poyſon it.

How they are naturally addicted in their diet and feeding, and what leaues and flowers doe moſt delight them.

By naturall inſtinct, they are enclined, that each one ſtaies on the firſt flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, vntill he haue taken his refection and noriſhment: whereof he wil diſcharge himſelfe, before he ſeekes out any other. And much they frequent the leaues and flowers of the Oliue tree, making there ſom long abiding: ſeruing vs as an example, what ſobriety wee ſhould vſe in the courſe of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more ſauoury and temperate; whereas contrary-wiſe, when they feed on bitter herbs or flowers it is far leſſe ſweet: notwithſtanding, it is thinner, very mundificatiue, profitable for the opilations of the Liuer, and good for the dropſie, as alſo to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Remedies for diuers diſeaſes.

Such as haue made triall by experience of theſe creatures, doe iuſtifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time ỳ he liueth ſo ſickly, the females are ſeparated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerſe together again: which declareth, what pitty and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men ſhold gladly ſupport and ſuffer for one another. The ſting of the female is ſharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no ſtings at all. Hereby we may vnderſtand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & ofttimes cauſe very great inconueniences: in which reſpect, they ſhould be kept ſhort & temperated, that their lauiſh liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The beſt Bee is litle, round, cloſely plump bending in the midſt, and leaſt hairy. Som feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and husbanded places: the firſt whereof, are much leſſe then the other, as alſo more ſtrong and robuſt, to endure labor. Beſide, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aſpect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in ſome ſmal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their ſtrength and abilitie? For, ſuch people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continuall exerciſes of mind and body; are moſt profitable members for the Common-wealth. Cloſely they ply their worke in their hiues, & feed on the ſuperabundance of their Combes, knowing by meere inſtinct of nature, that if they ſhold not do ſo, & gine vigilant attendance; Spiders wold get into the hiue, & there kil thẽ. When they haue but ſmal ſtore of hony, the moſt of them keepes the entrance, ỳ it may not be taken from them vntill they are better prouided. A worthy

When the K. of Bees is ſick, & cannot flye.

A good aduertiſement for Women.

Of mountain Bees, differing from other. *Plin. lib. 10. c. 18.*

Who are the fitteſt members for the Common-wealth.

preſi-

The danger of hatred and contention.

prefident to men, to baniſh all ſuperfluous things out of their Common-wealth, leaſt by the meanes of them, the venome of hatred may be bred among thē, which may procure the death of one another. And when dearth or ſcarſitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preſerue ſuch ſtore as they haue; that it may not bee elſwhere tranſported, & ſo publike calamity enſue thereon.

The idle Drones that make no hony

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continuall war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealth. Signifying to vs, that ſlothful perſons ſhould be excluded from other mens company: and ſuch as ſeeke to feed by others ſweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attēded round with a great company of Bees, and if it ſo happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewiſe haue their King with them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choiſe of, and him they elect as their king. This exceſſe hapneth very ſildom, & is one of the two imperfections which theſe creatures haue in their gouernment: beſide, it is neceſſarie, that in euery kind there ſhould be ſome vice. If they chance to ſting hard, they put foorth the whole length of their ſting; whereon themſelues die withall, becauſe their bowels iſſue out thereby.

A notable imperfection in the gouernement of Bees, worthy obſeruation.

Their Kings and Gouernors ſting but ſildome, although they are thereto prouoked; for ſome ſay, that they haue no ſting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithſtanding, he is well aſſured that they ſting not: Neither care they that the king ſhould be ſo armed, prouided, that he bee of good gouernment, valiant, & maieſticall: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleanlines of theſe creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noiſom ſauour; & therfore when they returne to their Cittie or Caſtle (for ſuch they account their Hiue to be) they diſcharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad ſmelles) they become ſickly, and ſo ſoone as any one of them dyeth, the reſt hurle him out of the Hiue. They grow ſicke alſo thorow idlenes, and therefore they will not ſuffer any to bee ſlothfull amongſt them: and the ſmell of boiled fiſh, ſuch as Creuiſes, Lobſters, and Crab-fiſh is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & neatly, free from a vicious life, carefully reſpecting both their ſoules and bodies.

Plin. l.10. c.18

Vertues well ſuting with the maieſty of a Prince.

The neate cleanlineſſe of Bees, exampling men to puritie of life.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, ſtiffe and boyſterous, the hiues ought to be carefully couered. Warme places they affect in winter, as other creatures do, and in Summer; freſh aires are moſt fitting for them. It is very neceſſary to vſe diligence, when the hony is taken from thē: becauſe, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewiſe be left then is conuenient, they will bee the leſſe diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reaſonable quantity muſt remain, according to the number whereof they conſiſt. What worthier example to men can there be then this? declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately meaſured; becauſe ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyet, do but deſtroy famous families, abounding in al ſuperfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and ſparing in prouiſion needfully required. For as by the firſt children and ſeruants may become careleſſe and negligent; ſo by the latter, they may grow wretched and deſperate.

Their delight in winter and ſummer.

A caueate for taking the hony from them

As lauiſh prodigality is not to bee vſed, ſo penurious niggardiſe deſerueth reproofe

Another diligent care is required in thē that make vſe of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great ſwarming noiſe in the hiue, it is a ſignificatiō that they wold be gone and leaue the hiue: but then if the hiue be gently ſprinkled ouer with ſweete wine, they will not ſtir abroad. Such as keepe them may eaſily take note heereof, becauſe (ordinarily) they make no other noiſe then when they are flying: Wherein we are inſtructed, that by ſweet language and kind behauiour, we may qualify ſterne anger in diſcontented brethren.

A note foretelling when Bees would forſake their hiue.

Ariſtotle further ſaith, he did wel obſerue it by experience, that their feet before are ſhorter then them behind; which is ſo giuen them by nature, for their eaſier riſing from the ground. He ſaith moreouer, that when the hony corrupteth in the hiue, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

Ariſtot. in Lib. Anim. 4. Cap. 14

Wormes that weaue ſpiders webbes in the hiue.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they wexe ſicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and reſpectiue of themſelues, that the ſweet daies and proſperity in the world, doe not ſo corrupt their ſoules, as to beget the baneful worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyſte times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reaſon of the humidity: and contrariwiſe they decreaſe in the times of drought, thorow want of moiſture. Alſo in Winter, their ſtrength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, ſnowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth theyr fruitefulneſſe, and therefore they keepe cloſely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beans begin to ſprout, they come abroad to labour: and the firſt worke they doe at home, is to builde their dwelling houſes, next to engender, & then to yeeld hony.

Reaſons of their multiplying & decreaſing.

Three rampiers of defence to guard their hony combes

They make three ſeuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their guarde and ſtrength; the firſt cruſt (being vtmoſt) they make bitter; the ſecond (within) ſomewhat ſweeter; and the third, thickeſt of al, becauſe it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good inſtruction for men, how to ſhape their building in this worlde, to vſe diligence in their prouiſion, ſo ſoone as they can, eſpecially of things neceſſary; then to marry, for encreaſe of children, and ſtill to keepe employment in naturall exerciſes.

Their flight abroad, & hinderance from returning home at night

When they flye foorth vpon ſome vrgent occaſions, and are preuented by night, ſo that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation; they ſleepe topſie turuy, the vpſide downe, becauſe cold miſts, fogs and raines ſhould not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houſes, or execution of their other enterprizes and affaires.

The Sentinell to awake thē in the morning.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noiſe at break of day, by which ſound they all awake; and turning themſelues on their feete, they make a noiſe againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull ſigne of ioy: but then, vppon another ſound from the ſame Sentinelles, they are all ſilent, as attending what inſtant charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well prouided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnſeaſonable times will enſue, which they foreſee by flying abroad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occaſions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by anie meanes boudge from home.

A wonderfull order naturally obſerued among them, the young laboring for the elder.

They haue (beſide) a maruellous order among them; namely, that the youngeſt Bees flye abroad, and bring home the foode; the elder ſort biding at home, to dreſſe and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the yong ones arriue, laden with hearbes and flowers laboriouſly; ſome of the aged ſort do meet them at the entrance, and help to eaſe them of their burthen. Moreouer, ſuch as come ſo home ouer-charged, ſeeke the ſweeteſt aires to paſſe thorow, and where they are calmeſt: as fearing, leaſt rude winds ſhould make them let fal what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vppe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and ſuch as can bring home no lading, are woont to carrie little ſtones or grauell, that by the weight of them, they may the better reſiſt impetuous windes.

A notable admonition for the better ſupporting of the Commonwealth.

By this precedent example, yong men are admoniſhed, that they ought to ſtirre and labour in the Commonwealth; & the more aged, to preſerue the fruits of their paines. Yong men alſo, that do buſy their braines in the bluſterings of ambition; ſhould take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, eſteeming themſelues to bee no more then men: conſidering vprightly in their ſoules, that whatſoeuer benefit enſueth by their paines to the Commonwealth, they ſtand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouer-weene, or ſtriue to outgo or be aboue other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may moſt aduance the good of the Commonwealth.

The King powerfully defended by his Corps du Guard: & flying abroade with his army.

While thus theſe poore creatures are laboring abroad, their Ki. abides at home, hauing a ſtrong court of guard about him wel armed with their ſtings, for the defēce of his perſon. He goeth abroad but very ſildom, and when it is his pleaſure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whē he wil haue his army abroad to any expedition, three daies before, loud ſummons is giuen for orderly preparatiō. If any troop of them ſwerue from following him, they find their error, by ſmelling to the ground where the King hath paſt, & ſo purſue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army looseth it selfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. *Pliny* also reporteth, that whē their king dieth, they are so full of anguish and sorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouision: so that if he be not taken away dead from before thē, they will also dye with greese and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if strifes & variances happen among vs, they should not last of any continuance: also howe the death of our Prince should be irkesom to vs, because little benefit cometh by changing Gouernors. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may bee deriued from the Bees Common-wealth, not vterly vnnecessary for our imitation.

Plin. in lib. 11. cap. 17.

Kingdoms fil. dome gain by change of Princes.

CHAP. XII.

How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is, to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to future life.

LIke as God, who hath created vs without our selues, wil not saue vs without our selues: euen so hath he giuen the ground-worke of all meanes for our saluation, which is Faith, with hope of all those blessings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promised, concerning the life to come, which also hee hath reuealed by his owne sonne, and are not to bee obtained without beleefe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to speake more properly, Faith in man is so weake, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he answeres, he beleeues it: But yet notwithstanding (saith he) it is a matter of no meane meruaile, that of so many men as haue dyed, not so much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the secrets of that other life.

The absolute foundation of eternall life in the worlde to come.

The very greatest signe of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earnest desire, to wish from God a reuelation of the life to come. For seeing that faith consisteth in beleefe, and to hope in such things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and so the singulare meanes of saluation should be taken from vs I say moreouer, that by such manner of reuelation, not onely should faith bee destroyed, but also it would bee an occasion in vs, whereby to runne into great error against God, as wee may easily prooue by this argument.

The chief fault of incredulity in man.

Admit the case, that our father, mother, or brother were raised, and returned again into this world, euen in the same flesh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit them, to be the very same persons, they did eate, drinke, & conuerse with vs (as our blessed Sauior of the world did with his Apostles, to auoide all scruple of doubt, that they were not shadowes or phantasmaes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would listen, and verily beleeue whatsoeuer they said to bee true. If this were so, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a soul, and we beleeue him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we shal shew our selues rather to beleeue a man, naturally a Lyar; then God, who is the soueraigne truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what punishment for the wicked.

An argument to approue the infallibility of the matter alledged of reuelations by the deade.

God onely is true, & al men lyars.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he wil confesse it a greeuous sinne, if hee should lend faith to a reuelation, desired by a retched man, to beleeue the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couet that which may redound to his own damnation; considering, what God hath bestowed vpon him, and also what is denied for his saluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this conclusion, so much the more it belongeth to a Christian, whom our Sauior hath taught to beleeue, whatsoeuer hee hath reuealed in the Scripture. And saith in the Parable of the Glutton, that to know heauenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to instruct vs sufficiently.

The creature ought not to beleeued, but the Creator onely.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seuen seuerall Ambassadors, to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.

KIng *Ptolomy* being at *Antioche*, Ambassadors from the *Romaines*, *Carthagenians*, *Sicilians*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, & *Sicyonians*, came thither vpon seuerall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to bee moued concerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and prouided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereuppon, King *Ptolomy*, being desirous to be resolued in the truth, commanded each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes, whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The argumẽt moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resolution therein.

The Ambassador for the *Romanes* first began, and answered in this maner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerend respect; wee are obedient to our Gouernours; and greeuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

For the Romaines.

He for *Carthage* next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of *Carthage*, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanickes labour for vs; and our Philosophers enstruct vs.

Carthage.

He for the *Sicilians*, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed, and all liue equally together.

Sicily.

Hee for the *Rhodians*, saide. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest; and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

Rhodes.

The *Athenian* Ambassador saide. In our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Gouernors ignorant.

Athens.

He for the *Lacedemonians*, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equall; nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idleneſse, because all labour.

Sparta or Lacedemon.

In our common-wealth (said the Ambassadour for the *Sicyonians*) wee permit none to voyage foorth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Physitians, who may kil our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarelling causes.

Sicyonia.

When King *Ptolomy* had heard all the seuen Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customs, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their seuerall countries, very ioyful and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciously in iudgement.

The answere of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the seruice whereof, were fiue hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbesse to a great Lord.

IN *Corinth*, the principall City of *Achaia*, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, sirnamed *Herien*; who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the middest of the City, in the maner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse *Venus*. In this abhominable Temple, were more then 500. yong Ladies & Gentlewomen of *Asia*, whom their fathers there offred to the Goddesse *Venus*, and to her seruice: so that such of them as were most wan-

*A part of Greece, containing Attica, Boetia, Megaris, Aetholia, and Phocis.

ton

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, and reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as shee best liked, and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and vertuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

A wicked custome obserued in this detestable Temple.

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must gaine or winne her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might so doe. Moreouer, that beside her husband, she might haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Wanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widdow, might offer in this Temple, but onely virgines. And such as were so vnhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a she diuell in this hellish sanctuarie; and, of a chaste virgin, a shamelesse and lasciuious strumpet.

No married wiues or widdowes might offer in this Temple, but Virgins onely

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading, writing, singing, playing on instruments, and dancing. Wherby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to bee seene there.

Exercises too good for so lewd a kinde of life.

The like Temples are (at this day to be seene) in the *Portugall Indiaes*, in the Prouinces of *Iappan*, where there are aboue eight hundred Monasteries, the least of which hath more then thirtie Nunnes in it, called there *Bonzes*; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

Monasteries of lewd Nuns in Iappan, and their abhominable qualities

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these *Bonzes* doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe: but if conception can not be preuented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceiued. They enstruct yong maydens in reading, and such is the sottishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their deceassed parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not trauaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may tearme them Religious) leade their liues as lewdly and dissolutely, wherof themselues make no other concealement, but that all commers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde welcome. Which ensueth by ouer-much libertie & ydlenesse, or else, by being placed there by their parents, contrary to their owne liking. But the good and vertuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongest these debosshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest, they regarde not who knowes their loosenesse, and may well say of themselues, as an Abbesse did, of whom *Nicholas Boyerius* maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

Monasteries of Nuns neerer home, liuing as lewdly

Nicholas Boyerus in lt. de Decis. Dist. 17.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monasterie, passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordayned; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbesse. Truely Madame, me thinkes, that in stead of fourty Nunnes, fortie Priests had beene better appoynted, and twenty Nunnes onelie had beene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appointed, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

The conference betweene a Prince & the Lady Abbesse

CHAP. XV.

¶ *Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and vpon what occasion it came.*

THe most renowned Oracle long since in *Asia*, was that of *Apollo* in the Isle of *Delphos*, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especiall matters, because

* A Citty and People of Beotia, by Parnassus.

because more aunſweres were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the firſt, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which iſſued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was ſeated a yoong Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gaue aunſwere to all things demaunded of her. This winde was the diuell, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a ſhe-Goat deſcending downe into that caue or ditch, became ſuddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, daunſing, skipping and leaping for ioy; as the like had neuer bin ſeene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beganne to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beſide made proofe in the ſame maner; ſo that whoſoeuer would know what was to enſue, muſt put his head into the entrance of the caue.

In what manner anſwer was giuen before the Temples erection.

But in the end, this could not be doone without daunger, and loſſe of many perſons: whereupon a Temple was erected to *Apollo* the Diuiner, and the Prieſt named *Pythia*, who made choice of a Virgine, to be placed on the *Tripos*: whereof *Lactantius* the Grammarian ſpeaketh thus, interpreting this Verſe of *Achilles Statius*, in his firſt Booke of his *Thebays*.

The reaſon for building the Temple.

Salue priſca fides Tripodam.

Tripos (ſaith he) *ſpecies eſt lauri tribus radicibus, Apollini conſecrata, propter vim diuinationis.* *Iamblichus*, in his booke of the *Aegyptian* Myſteries, ſaith; *Sybilla, in Delphis duobus modis ſuſcipiebat Deum, vel per ſpiritum quendam tamen igneúmque, qui erumpebat alicubi ex ore antri cuiuſdam, vel ſedem in adyto ſuper ſedem aneam, habentem tres aut quatuor pedes, & Deo dicatam.* The Virgine that was the Organe of *Apollo*, ſitting on the *Tripos*, held a Rod in her hand, and was crowned with a greene Chaplet of Laurell.

Lactant. Grammat. in Achil. Stat. lib Thebayd.

Iamblic. in Lib. Egipt. Miſt. cap. 5.

Many other Oracles there were in diuers other places. *Liber* was the Oracle of the *Sicilians*; *Ceres*, that of the *Rhodians*; *Diana*, of the *Epheſians*; *Berecinthia*, of the *Romaines*; *Belus*, of the *Paleſtines*; *Iuno*, of the *Numidians*; *Venus*, of the *Thebans* and *Cypriots*; and many others, in whom poore abuſed Idolaters repoſed all their confidence, rendring to them their Vowes and Sacrifices, albeit vtterly in vaine. For, the anſwers of theſe Oracles, were nothing elſe but ydle imaginations, and meere fables proceeding from the diuell, the father of lies. And by good right were ſuch abuſes and ſuperſtitions condemned; by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *Dauid*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who deteſted ſuch Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, ſiluer, ſtone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

* One of the names giuen to Bacchus. Cibele, mother of the Gods.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ *What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.*

AN auncient cuſtome (good and commendable) hath euermore beene, not onelie on the behalfe of Chriſtians, but alſo amongſt the *Ethnickes*: in acknowledging the benefite they receiued from God; not by wordes alone, but alſo by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation ſo barbarous, but hath confeſſed his God, by ſome outward ſigne. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that ſo often as they met together (as *Varro* reporteth.) *Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required haſtie diligence: yet the firſt thing that they propounded to themſelues (before deciſion of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.*

Pagans and Chriſtians haue bin carefull of Religion in all times.

Marcus Varro in lib. 1. de lingua cap. 8.

At all times, and whenſoeuer the Romaine Conſulls or Emperours ſhould go forth to warre, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had firſt ſacrificed to their gods, ſaying; *All felicitie and proſperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* ſaith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the auncient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordayned: *That no man ſhould be ſo bolde to ſeeke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to ſerue the Gods diligently.* Nor do I alledge theſe examples, as intending to confirme my ſaying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs bluſh with ſhame, by ſeeing, how farre they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

Ammianus Marcellin lib. 21. cap. 5.

Mar. Aurel. in Hiſtor. Princ.

A law made by Licurgus

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde, that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

The admirable pitty of the Ladies & Matrones of Rome.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

Examples of the children of God.

But leaue we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the auncient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoeuer they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankefulnesse to Almighty God, for benefites receiued. *Noah*, after hee came foorth of the Arke, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to drowne the world agayne. Genes. 8, 20, 21.

Gen. 31, 54. Good *Iaacob*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thankes to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God.

Exod. 15, 22. The children of *Israel*, beeing afflicted in the wildernesse, sayd: *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice vnto our God.*

1 Esdras 4, 53. We reade in *Esdras*, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies.

Exod. 5, 6, 7. In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices, whereby God pardoned offences committed. Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd: Dan. 3, 38. *In these times, there is heere neyther Prince, Gouernour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our First-fruites on before thee: Receiue therefore vs, with our soules broken, and our spirites cast downe.* Dan. 3, 39, 40. *Elias* also, lamented grieuously, because the Altares were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almightie God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

Leuit. 10, 2. *Aarons* sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they obserued not the Lawe ordayned for the Sacrifices.

Dan. 5, 2. King *Balthasar*, prophaning the vessels of gold and siluer, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wiues & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant.

3 Reg. 22, 35. *Achab*, hauing prophaned the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*; but afterwardes, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe.

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

The Records of Histories doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransackt, & spoyled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward he was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably ouercome. The sonne of *Darius* was so prowde and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*: but so great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of * *Trinacria*, reproued him greatly, because he had beaten downe a moity of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and morter, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true: but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore, if thou would haue peace with the Romaines; (hauing scandalized Rome, and grieued the Senate) that thou shouldest take as much of thy house, to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deale higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happie, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possesse part of thine.*

* The Isle of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many wars which they haue had together: complayned to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answere thus:

The Oracle of Iupiter answering the Athenians.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exteriour pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth eare to the prayers of the humble, and reproueth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint *Peter.*

1 Peter 5,5.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the seate of the soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie conjecture of the Platonists.*

Variety of coniectures diuersly deliuered.

PLato and *Democritus* say, *That the seate of the Soule is in the head. Straton* the Philosopher mitteth it; *Betweene the eyebrowes. Erastratus* within the skinne or filme of the Braine. *Heraclitus* placeth it, *in the outward agitation. Moschion* giues it place, *throughout all the bodie. Xenocrates, in the crowne of the head. Parmenides, Epicurus*; the *Stoickes* and *Aegyptians, lodge it wholly in the heart*: as the like doth *Orpheus. Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, thought it to be *in the eares. Empedocles, in the heape or pile of the blood. Philo* the Iew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawe, saith thus. *The reasonable faculdie or part of the soule, is in the head; the irascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groine, or lower part of the belly.*

Philo Iudaic. in lib. Alleger. leg. cap. 9.

Opinion of Christians.

But we Christians, hold it to be in the *heart*, whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations. Saint *Augustine* in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed throughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in euery part thereof. Verily it is* (sayth he also) *that it yeeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else, by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.*

Aug. in lib. ver. vit. cap. 33.

The opinion of the Platonists concerning the signs Cancer and Capricorne.

The *Platonists* say, *That the Soule descendeth by Cancer, and mounteth againe by Capricorne*, and I thinke, that from hence they ground this coniecture. *Because Cancer is the house of the Moone*, the vertue whereof gouerneth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuifieth the body; And *Capricorne* is the house of *Saturne*, which presideth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *How men ought to shunne and auoyde Curiositie; And what penalties and punishments were appoynted by our Auncients, for curious people.*

THE *Athenians* had a Lawe, which was well obserued among them, whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie soeuer he were) that hee should not dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arriued in their Cittie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he sought for; vnder penaltie for him that demaunded such questions, to be well whipt with roddes, and banished his Countrey. The end, for which our graue Auncients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiositie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to prie into other mens affaires, and be regardlesse of their owne.

The Athenians Law against curious Questionists.

Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and *Pliny* doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend *Marcus Portius* the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at *Rome*; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Commonwealth, or else fained such demaunds as required necessary answere. *Plato*, writing of *Dionysius* the *Syracusan*, speaketh thus; *The curious man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe. For, hee will quickely besturre his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.*

The great wisedome of Marcus Portius the Romaine.

Plato in libde Legib. 3. cap. 5.

A King of *Sparta* requested *Pindarus* to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto *Pindarus* thus replyed; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reproue an other; nor more dif-*

The answer of the Poet Pindarus.

ficult

ficult, then to endure reprehension in himselfe.

Penethes a famous Philosopher of Thebes, his saying.

Penethes, who among the *Thebanes* was a Philosopher much renowned, could neuer be numbred among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philosopher, for the space of thirtie yeares, in the Academies of *Thebes*; being blamed by some, because hee did not reprehend the sinnes which hee sawe committed, answered: *When I know that I haue no sinne in my selfe, then will I beginne to reproue sinne in other.*

The answer of Plato to Dyonisius the Tyrant.

Plato departing from *Sicilie*, for his returne to *Greece*, and taking his leaue of *Dionysius*, the King spake thus vnto him. After thou commest among the Philosophers of *Greece*: O how ill wilt thou speak of me, and of my tyranny? *Plato* answered; Doubt not (*Dionysius*) what I shall speake of thee in the hearing of Philosophers: for their manners are so vertuous, and themselues so imployed in their studies; that they haue no time to heare idle talke. Moreouer he sayd; Know, O *Dionysius*, if thou beest ignorant, that such is the height of our Philosophie, as to perswade and councell men. Then euery one should iudge himselfe, and not to busie his brains, to defame or reproue the liues of other.

A good aduice if it were well obserued

King Lysimachus conferring with the Poet Philippides.

Philippides, who was the first inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king *Lysimachus*; the King conuersing with him vpon a day, sayd; What dost thou desire of me (O *Philippides*) and I will freely graunt it thee, whatsoeuer thou requirest? The greatest grace (quoth *Philippides*, that thou canst giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy secrets. O wise and worthy answere! read by many, and vnderstoode of few: For, if this Philosopher would not know the secrets of a King, much lesse would hee vnderstand them of his neighbours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occasioned by the sinnes, either of the Princes, or of the People, or of both.*

IF wee consider the three diuerse Conquests of *England*, since it receyued the Christian faith, and the state thereof at the same time, together with the iudgement and testimony of the graueſt Authors that haue written thereof; we shall easily see, that the same haue proceeded of no other cause, but by the sinnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmitie of man is such, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Iustice to punish in Common-wealths (by reason whereof, we see, that in all Countries, the people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne person, with misaduentures, sickenesse, losse of goods, death of children, and such like, but also generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the subuersion of Common-wealths neuer chanceth, but for some great excesse of sinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and sweete corrections. Such being the longanimitie and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the soares of his seruants, by lenetiues and fomentations, rather then by cauterisings and incisions, or by cutting off the infected mēber, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

The causes of the three cōquests of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great excesse of sinne in Prince, people, or both.

This course (we see) hee held with his owne people, for, though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, innasions of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) he euer restored them to tranquilitie, plentie and peace, vntill they prooued so incorrigible, that the Prophet *Ieremi* in the second chapter, and the thirtieth verse, lamented, in the person of God, that all his Fatherly corrections were lost vppon them, saying: *Frustra percussi filios vestros*: I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine. And againe, the aforesayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verse, saith to Almightie God; *Percussisti eos, &c.* Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not beene sorie; thou hast consumed them, and they haue refused to receiue correction. As who would say, there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almightie God

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the course hee held with the Britaines.

gaue

gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies; firſt, the tenne Tribes in *Samaria*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the ſeuenteenth chapter and eighteene verſe, which were all taken with their King *Hoſea*, and tranſlated into *Syria*. And afterward alſo, the other two Tribes in *Iuda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchadonoſor* king of *Babylon*, where they remayned three ſcore and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards reſtored to their Countrey, and their Temple reedified; yet at length they were (for their extreame ingratitude, and peruerſe obſtinacie) vtterly ruinated.

The patience which God vſed towards the Britaines before their Conqueſt.

The like proceeding Almighty God vſed with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they receyued the Chriſtian Faith; for he chaſtiſed them, ſometimes with dearth and famine, ſometimes with peſtilence, and other-whiles with incurſions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongeſt themſelues: ſo long as the ſame ſufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their ſinfull liues, as ſometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and auncient *Guildas* called, the *Sage*, doe teſtifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driuen by famine, and partly by inuaſion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Country, or to hide themſelues in the Mountaines, Woods, and Caues; craued helpe and ſuccour of the Romaines, writing vnto them that lamentable Epiſtle, whereof *Guildas* maketh mention; in the which they ſayd: Our barbarous enemies doe driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea doth driue vs backe to them agayne: ſo that of two kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to ſay, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or elſe be drowned. Thus wrote they to the Romaines.

The miſerable ſtate of the Britains inuaded by the Picts and Scots.

Guildas de excidio Britan.

But being not ſuccoured by them, by reaſon of their great warres at the ſame time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourſe to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vppon his helpe (as the foreſayd Authors haue reported) and ſo (with his aſſiſtance) aſſayled their enemies out of the Caues and Woods where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouerthrowes, but alſo droue them out of the Countrey; and ſhortly after had ſuch plenty of corne, fruite, and all kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene ſeene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moſes* noted and lamented in the children of *Iſrael*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verſe; *Incraſſatus eſt dilectus* (ſayeth hee) *& recalcitrauit*: The beloued people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to ſay, (as hee expoundeth it euen preſently after) *Incraſſatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem ſuum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forſooke their God and Creator; ſo fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

The Britains deſtitute of humane help, had recourſe to the diuine, and obtained it.

Beda Eccleſ. Hiſt lib. 1. c. 14. Guildas de excid. Britan.

For, they prooued ſo vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the aforeſaid Authors doe affirme) they fell into the extreamitie of all miſchiefe and wickedneſſe. *Non ſolum ſeculares viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but alſo the Eccleſiaſticall; giuing themſelues wholly to drunkenneſſe, to animoſitie and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of trueth, loue of lies, and all vice. Whereupon our Lord ſcourged them with ſuch a peſtilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow aliue (as theſe Authors teſtifie) to burie the dead.

Deut. 31, 13.

Ibid. The Britaines by proſperity became inſolent and vngratefull to God.

Beda Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 14.

The vices & ſinnes of the Britaines.

Idem Ibid.

And when that ſufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo poſt* (ſaith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccatricem vltio diri ſceleris ſecuta eſt*. Shortly after, a ſharper puniſhment of ſuch deteſtable wickedneſſe followed vpon that ſinneſull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scots* beganne againe to make ſuch irruptions vppon them, that (not being able to withſtand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to aſſiſt them. *Quod Domini nutu* (ſaith *Beda*) *diſpoſitum eſſe conſtat, &c.* Which it is manifeſt was done by Gods diſpoſition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due puniſhment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themſelues with their enemies, and picking quarrells againſt them, deſtroyed all the Countrey with fire and ſword, burning vp houſes, villages, and townes, and killing all ſortes of people: inſomuch, that many fledde into forraine Countries, and others hid themſelues amongſt the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iuſt iudgement of Almightie God vpon them, they called to him

New inuaſions of the Britaines by the Picts and Scots.

Idem Ibid.

The Britains called in the Saxons for their defence, which (by Gods iuſtice) turned to their ouerthrow in the end.

Idem, cap. 15. Idem, cap 16

him for mercie. *Vnanimo conſenſu auxilium cœleſte precante*; Crauing helpe from Heauen with vniforme conſent, wherewith Gods mercie was mooued to giue them *Ambroſius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuerſe notable victories, by his meanes. And eſpecially at *Blackamore* in Yorkeſhire (for ſo was called *Mons Badonicus*, as ſaith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made ſuch great ſlaughter of them: as that (for ſome certayne yeares) they did not further moleſt them.

For, beeing (as *Guildas* in his booke *De Excid. Britann.* reporteth) mindefull of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their ſinnes: all ſorts of men ſpirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their ſubiects, did euerie one their duetie in his vocation. *At illis* (ſaith *Guildas*) *decedentibus, &c.* But they being dead, and another Age ſucceding, ignorant of the miſeries paſt, and corrupted with preſent eaſe and pleaſure; All trueth and iuſtice was ſo ſubuerted: that there appeared not ſo much as anie ſight thereof, in all the aforeſaid ſtates of men; *Exceptis paucis, & valdè paucis*, Excepting a few, and thoſe very few. For, the kings (ſaith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges moſt wicked and corrupt; the Prieſts negligent of their duetie. *Rarò ſacrificantes, & nunquampuro corde inter altaria ſtantes*; Seldome ſacrificing, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, ſimoniacall, laſciuious; and all ſortes of Lay men loaden with wickedneſſe, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, ſwearing, periuries, blaſphemies, and all kindes of iniquitie.

The relapſe of the Britaines into their former vices.

The vices of the Cleargie and Laytie in Britaine.

And now to ſhew ſome particularities of this, and how iuſtly the vengeance of Almightie GOD was powred out vppon the whole Kingdome: The ſame Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of ſome of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Conſtantius*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglaſus* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie, ſacrilegious murthers, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible inceſts, breach of vowes, of religion and chaſtitie; yea, and two of them with beaſtly Sodomie.

The horrible ſinnes of the Princes of Britaine, before the conqueſt thereof by the Saxons.

For the which enormities, and the generall corruption and wickedneſſe of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth, or rather propheſieth vnto them, vtter ruine and deſtruction; which (ſhortly after) worthily fell vppon them, as the *Britiſh* Chronicles by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Hiſtorie and the fifteenth chapter, alſo acknowledgeth: For hee ſayth, That King *Cadwallader* (who was the laſt of the *Brittaines* race) vſed theſe wordes, as hee fledde by Sea into *Fraunce*, with the reliques of the *Britaine* nation; *Væ nobis peccatoribus ob immania ſcelera noſtra, &c.* Woe bee to vs ſinners, for our grieuous ſins, wherewith we neuer ceaſed to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therfore now the puniſhment of God falles vpon vs, which roots vs out of our natiue ſoile. Thus ſaid K. *Cadwallader*, and more to that purpoſe.

King Cadwallader flying in to France, acknowledged Gods iuſtice vpon himſelfe and his people for their ſins.

Afterward hapned the inuaſion of the *Danes*, who firſt by piracies, & after by open wars, cruelly infeſted & troubled the realme at ſundry times, for the ſpace of almoſt 200. yeares. But the good king *Alured*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuerſity of *Oxenford*, recouered all formerly loſt, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except ſuch as were content to become Chriſtians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer mooued warre. And they of the Eaſterne parts, ſtirring afterward againſt his ſonne, called *Edward*, were by him vtterly ouerthrowne; as alſo the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occaſion, were ſubdewed by his Grandchilde *Adelſtane*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which ſo remained and flouriſhed without further infeſtation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the ſucceſſors of *Adelſtane*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Eldred* (who ſucceeded one another) and the two ſons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and proſperous reigne) called *Honor & delicia Anglorum*, The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingulphus* tearmeth him, *Honor & Roſa Regum*: The Honour and Roſe of Kings.

The conqueſt of the Engliſh by the Danes.

King Alured expelld al the Danes that would not become Chriſtians. Poli. Virg. hiſt. lib. 5. Ingulph. hiſt. Angl.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Eccleſiaſticall Orders flouriſhed, learned and vertuous men were highly eſteemed, all ciuill and forraine warres ceaſed, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

The mercie of God to the poſteritie of the good king Alured, to the 4. generation. Guil. Malmeſ. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ingulph. hiſt. Anglorum.

ing no leſſe powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne paſſed, wherein hee built not a Monaſterie, or elſe did ſome great and notable good to his Countrey: And ſuch were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countries adioyning, to ſee, and be acquainted with him.

The Danes returned againe into England, and conquered it. *Polyd. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 7.*

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, ſhortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his ſonne *Etheldred*; and not onely moleſted it with incurſions (as they were wont) but alſo conquered and poſſeſſed it for a time: it may well be preſumed, that they were but the inſtruments of Gods iuſtice therein; and that this conqueſt made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the ſinnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and laſtly, of their ſonne *Etheldred*, in whoſe time the Country was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet he did an acte in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and poſteritie payed the penaltie.

Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Anglic. lib 6. What the offence was of King Edgar, and Alfreda his wife.

This I ſay, for that after the death of *Elfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in loue with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her conſent) he cauſed to be killed, to the end he might marrie her. How grieuous this ſinne was in the ſight of Almightie GOD, and how iuſtly puniſhed in his poſteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *Dauid*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathſheba*, procured the death of *Vrias* her huſband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the ſecond booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verſe ten, told him from Almightie God; that the ſword ſhould neuer depart from his houſe; and that his ſonne in the Cradle, ſhould die therefore. Beſide, Almightie God permitted (for puniſhment of that ſinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died moſt vnfortunately. For *Ammon*, hauing deflowred his ſiſter *Thamar*, was killed by his brother *Abſolon*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and laſtly, *Abſolon* rebelling and fighting againſt his owne father King *Dauid*, was miſerably ſlaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no marnell, that the like ſinne of King *Edgar*, was alſo ſeuerely puniſhed in his children.

2 Reg 12,10

2 Reg 13,29
3 Reg. 2,25.
2 Reg. 18,9.

To this purpoſe, it is to be noted, that his marriage prooued moſt vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded therof, and the whole Realme (as ſhall be declared hereafter) but alſo to king *Edward*, his ſonne by his former wife, who ſhortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his ſtepmother, for the aduauncement of her ſonne *Eltheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the ſeueritie of Gods Iuſtice in puniſhing ſinne, ſeeing the ſayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not eſcape the temporall puniſhment, due to his Fathers offence.

Polyd Virg. lib. 6. in fine.

The ſeueritie of Gods Iuſtice in puniſhing ſinne.

But to proceede, ſuch was the common opinion of the innocencie and holineſſe of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the ſinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of moſt men at that time was (as *William* of *Malmesburie* witneſſeth) that the Conqueſt of *England* by the *Danes*, was a puniſhment of God for the ſame; which wel may be ſo preſumed, eſpecially, if we adde thereunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already ſpoken) but alſo of his brother *Etheldred*, for whoſe cauſe hee was murthered; and in whoſe time that Conqueſt hapned. For it may be thought moſt conſonant to the Iuſtice of Almightie God, that *Etheldred* (being the ſonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the curſed marriage; yea, and withall, moſt wicked of himſelfe) ſhould beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents ſinnes: As partly was fore-tolde at his coronation, by *Dunſtane* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſaying: *That for his Mothers ſin in the murder of King Edward, both hee and his children ſhould bee ſeuerely puniſhed, and his Kingdome transferred to ſtrangers.*

Guliel. Malmſ. de geſtis Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9

Dunſtane fore-told the conqueſt of England. *Polyd. Virg. lib. 7. Ingulphus Hiſt. Ang.*

And if wee doe conſider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we ſhall find them to be the very ſame, which the Scriptures affirme to bee the cauſe of the tranſlation of Kingdoms from one nation to another; whereof *Eccleſiaſticus* ſaith: *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur, &c.* Kingdomes are transferred from one nation to another, becauſe of iniuſtice, iniuries, calumniations and diuers deceits. In which kinde of ſinnes

Eccleſ. 10,8. The offences of King Etheldred, in whoſe time the Danes conquered England.

sinnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for he had his eares so open, and shewed such fauour to all kind of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgill* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, beeing also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolution. And therefore *William* of *Malmesburie* writeth of him briefely thus: *Eius vitæ cursus sævus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*: The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the middest, and shamefull in the end.

Polyd. Virg. l. 7.

Guliel. Malms. de gest. Reg lib. 2. cap. 16.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearely tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flie into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sweno* their King, who exercised all kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as he liued. Which was not past fiue yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recouered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest *Canutus* sonne to *Sweno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Norway*.

King Etheldred expelled out of England by Sweno King of the Danes, who reigned there fiue yeares.

King Etheldred after the death of Sweno, recouered England againe, & vsed his former cruelty and impiety.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had beene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifredus* and *Morgandus*, two of the noblest of them) were falsly accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being mooued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countreymen, as also to recouer the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword; whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

Idem. Ibid.

Canutus, son to Sweno inuaded England.

And although his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (after diuers conflicts, and a combate fought hand to hand with *Canutus*) possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the sodaine death of *Edmond*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was easing himselfe; and so he remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Edmond Ironside, Son to king Ethaldred.

Canutus king of England.

Herein neuertheless it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almightie God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppresse it. And therfore, after he had somewhat satisfied the seueritie of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the fiue yeares cruell reigne of *Sweno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sweno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deseruing well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plentie. Of whom I can not forbeare (this occasion beeing offered) to expresse and declare heere (by the way) a notable acte, which I wish all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

The mercy of God towards the English, in turning their conquests to their comfort

The great vertue and piety of king Canutus.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southhampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (aboue measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commaunding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmitie, he went to the very Sea side, and sitting downe, said to the waues (as the tide was coming in,) *I commaund yee, that you touch not my feete*. And beeing presently after well washed with a waue that came in vppon him; hee arose, and turning himselfe to his noblemen, said vnto them:

Polyd. Virg. Angl. Hist. 7. in fine.

A memorable acte of King Canutus.

Henricus Huntind. Hist. Angl. li. 6.

Loe my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and Lord of Land and Sea; though I cannot command one of these little waues: Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commaundeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose will and prouidence all things were gouerned. And hauing thus saide, hee returned to *Winchester*, and tooke the Crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Though this may seeme a digression from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as also that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of *England*, to giue them such a King, by whose pietie their Conquest turned to comfort. And this his mercie appeared much more afterward, when it pleased his diuine Maiestie so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of *Canutus*, and his two sonnes *Haraldus* and *Hardicanutus*, or (as *Polydore* calles him) *Cunuaus*, which two reigned but sixe yeares: the Crowne returned agayne to English blood; yea, and to so excellent a Prince, as was King *Edward* the *Confessour*, who reigned in all tranquility, peace and felicitie aboue three and twenty yeares.

Guliel. Malms. de gest. Reg lib. 2. cap. 12. Polyd. Virgil. l. 8. Ingulphus Hist. Hen. Huntind. lib. 6. Roger Houed. Annal par. 1.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeres among the English, yet a little before the comming of the *Normans*, the same was vtterly destroyed and decayed. For (sayth *William* of *Malmesbury*, who liued in the same age) *the Priests were so vnlearned, that they could scant pronounce truely, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine seruice.* And such was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was helde for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themselues to gluttony and lasciuiousnesse; there was no respect of Religion, nor care of Iustice: insomuch that the common people serued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who spoyled and ransacked them at their pleasure. It was a common custome when men had got their maid-seruants with childe, eyther to send them to the Stewes, or to sell them for Slaues. Drunkennesse, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the same, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth *William* of *Malmesburie* in substance.

Guliel Malmes. Hist. Angl. lib. 3. de Wilbel. 1.

The enormous sinnes of the Clergy Nobility, and people of England, at the time of the conquest thereof by the Normans.

Also holy King *Edward* himselfe, declaring a Vision which happened to him, sayd, *That the Magistrates, as well spirituall as temporall, were no better then ministers of the diuell; that God was euery where dishonoured, lawes contemned, truth trodden vnder foote, pitty and mercy banished, crueltie helde for a pastime and entertainement. And therefore* (layd he) *the wickednesse of the English is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment thereof is shortly to follow.*

Alred. in vita Edwardi. King Edwards words at his death, concerning the sinnes of the English, & the Conquest to follow in punishment thereof.

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yeare after, when *William* Duke of *Normandie*, called the *Conquerour*, came into *England*, whom God made the instrument and minister of his Iustice, to chastise them. For, beeing admitted and crowned King (presently after the bloody battell, wherein king *Haralde* and twentie thousand men were slaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all estates: hee spoyled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the *Normans*. He oppressed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impositions; he depriued Citties, Bishoppricks and Monasteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great summes of mony. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houses, not onely such mony as they had in store, but also the holy vessells, dedicated to Gods seruice. He abolished the olde Lawes, and ordayned new, causing them to be written in the *Norman* tongue, which the English vnderstood not: whervpon there grew great confusion in the exercise thereof in all sortes of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile; and many men wrongfully lost their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniustice.

Polyd. Virgil. 8. in fine. Idem lib. 9. in tutum.

The tyranny of William the Conqueror vpon all estates.

Olde Lawes abolished, and new ordained in the Norman tongue.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to spoyle the English of their wealth, but also depriued them of their pleasures, taking from very many Noble men and Gentlemen

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chases for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forrests. Insomuch, that (as *Polydore Virgill* reporteth) to make the Chase, which now is called *New Forrest*, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt *Salisbury* and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuers of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him: he tooke occasion thereuppon, to vse all kinde of seueritie and crueltie, not only vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countries and Prouinces, which hee so spoyled and ransacked, that they lay waste for some yeares after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayme at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the *English*.

The English dispoyled of their wealth and pleasures. *Polyd. Virg. l. 9.*

The extreme cruelty of William the Conqueror.

Whereto if we adde the frequent wars in *England* in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subiects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that *England* had not one yeare, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeares of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather encreased for thirteene yeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne *William Rufus*, who farre exceeded his father in cruelnie, auarice, oppression of his Subiects, and contempt of God and man: by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was so sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chaunce with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to *England*, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall euidently see, how true the prophecy of holy king *Edward* proued, when he said; *That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Cleargie and People.*

The English had not one day of ease, during the reigne of William Conquerour.

The cruelty and auarice of King William Rufus, sonne to the Conqueror *Polyd. Virg. l. 10.*

The Prophecie of King Edward the Confessor.

Heere then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the People; the last was (as good King *Edward* testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. Whereby we may see the simpathy in the body politike, no lesse then in the naturall body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motiue to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues, but also by punishing and reforming their Subiects, lest negligence in eyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

The conclusion of this Chapter, conterning the conquests of England, and the cause thereof.

An admonition to Princes & Magistrats.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell of Gaza, fought betweene Synanbasha, Generall for Selym the great Turke; And Gazelles, Lieutenant of Tomumbeyo, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.

AFter the death of *Campson*, *Selym* intending to inuade *Egypt*, sent before (from *Damasco*) his Generall *Synanbasha* into *Iudea*, with fifteene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebusiers, selected out of the Ianizaries and Asappes, only to suruey that Region, and to open a passage way to *Gaza*; which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent *Arabes*. The city is seated on the sea-coast, and in the confines of *Egypt*, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as iourney to the remotest *Egypt*, and to the Citty of *Cayro*. The people of *Gaza*, being destitute of warlike garrisons of souldiers, to stead them in extremitie of armes, entertained *Synanbasha* at the very first view, although in craftie and dissembling maner, giuing him many thankefull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the *Mamalukes* intollerable slauerie; in requitall of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to *Selym* and his successors for euer.

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

The situation of the Citty of Gaza.

Synanbasha deceitfully welcommed by the Cittizens of Gaza

Now, while *Synanbasha* lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the Citty, in expectation of *Selyms* comming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey, that should allow them passage into

Ægypt; endeuouring beſide, to compaſſe friendſhip with the *Arabian* Commaunders, and ſubborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to vndermine the counſels of the *Mamalukes* and *Tomumbeyo*, whome (vpon *Campſons* death) they hadde made choiſe of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (beeing naturally extreame enemies of the preſent Turkiſh Armie) gaue *Tomumbeyo* intelligence of *Synanbaſhaes* comming; aduertiſing him withall, that this power of Turkes might eaſily be oppreſſed and deſtroyed, before *Selim* could arriue with his ſupplies: onely by ſending a ſtrong power of *Mamalukes*, vnder conduct of ſome skilfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious aduantage, proiected in this maner. A time (in the dead of night) beeing concluded on, betweene themſelues and the Cittizens, the *Mamalukes* ſhould make a ſodaine inuaſion on the ſleeping Turks, and they likewiſe (at the ſame inſtant) would yſſue forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauoidable ſpoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

Intelligence ſent by the men of Gaza, to the new Sultane Tomumbeyo.

This aduiſe is allowed and embraced, betweene *Tomumbeyo* and the *Mamalukes*; and *Gazelles* ſent with ſix thouſand horſe or *Mamalukes*, and a ſtrong Armie of the *Arabes*. Scarſely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine *Syrian* Spyes) *Synanbaſha* had aduertiſement thereof, and that (not ſtaying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as theſe newes preſerued the Turkiſh Army, ſo was it of no meane moment, for compaſſing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbaſha* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* falſhood, yet (being a man of great wiſedome and prouidence) ſuſpecting what Treacheries might circumuent him, and fearing leaſt hee might meddle with two enemies at once: reſolued to meet the *Mamalukes* by the way, and ſo try the fortune of fight. So, diſlodging after the ſecond watch, he ſilently marched away out of the Cities ſight, reaching fifteene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a ſmall village, which had the benefit of a plentifull Spring there ariſing, and therefore was the reaſon of Trauellers vſual lodging there.

Syrian Spyes ſend aduertiſement to Synanbaſha, and what he preſently did to preuent all danger.

It fortuned, that *Synanbaſha* purpoſed to ſtay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had the like intention of breathing there ſome few houres, to refreſh both his men and horſes, that he might the ſooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, euen at one inſtant (as it were) both the Generals receiued intelligence (on either ſide) by their vant-currers, that a mighty duſt was raiſed, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this ſtrange and vnlookt for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that fayling of his purpoſed intent, hee was alſo vnable to match the enemy, if he ſhould encounter with him, becauſe his horſes were halfe ſpent and weary. Yet had he no diſmay in courage, although he was compelled (vpon ſuch a ſodaine) to deuiſe what inſtantly might be done, for generall ſafety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduiſed euerie man to make ready his weapon; and to conſider, that what could not bee performed by ſtealth and ambuſh, according to a precedent intention, required now courragious reſolution, and muſt be diſpatcht by manly valour.

One intent happened to both the Generals, of ſtaying at one and the ſame place.

The reſolue of Gazelles in this vnexpected diſtreſs.

On the other ſide, *Synanbaſha* hauing his men ſooner ſet in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertiſed them, what was to be done on the fightes encounter; cheared all the ranks with honourable ſpeeches. And the iſſue of his Oration, was, That flight muſt vtterly bee forgot, becauſe all places round about thē would be ſhut vp, and iniurious to them, except they were victors. Moreouer, of one thing to perſwade themſelues eſpecially, that no man ſhould periſh that day, but he whom heauen had deſtinated vnto death, by the moſt certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant ſhould finde ſafety in middeſt of the enemies ſwords, and alſo the fearfull, death in their very ſafeſt flight, through the power of inequitable lot.

Synanbaſha his encouraging ſpeeches to his ſoldiers.

The Harquebuſiers were in the wings, & were extended foorth in length with a ſingle array, and no man ſtanding nere to another, for handling their Harquebuſſes the more freely, and to compaſſe the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midſt, to ſuſtaine the impreſſion of the *Mamalukes*. But *Gazelles* approching, ſent the *Arabian* troopes before, to diſturbe the Wings; and he himſelf (with a ſquare battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and long

The managing of the ſeuerall bands with great difficulty on either ſide.

long time doubtfull, becauſe the Turkes (though ſuperiour in number) were not able to endure the power of the Armed horſſe. And now being beaten from their ground; and diſperſed, ſome one way, and ſome another, by the *Mamalukes* that brake in vpon them, they looked rounde about for flight, fixing their eies and harts ſtedfaſtly for it. When ſodainly, by *Synanbaſhaes* commaund, the Harquebuſiers, who (with their firſt ſtorme of ſhotte) had driuen backe the *Arabes*: reducing in their wings, encloſed all the whole battaile of the enemy.

Synanbaſha releaſed his army, being on the point of flight.

Now, both men and horſe, were (a far off) beaten down with deadly bullets, ſtorming vpon them in ſuch multitudes, as no place (to expreſſe valour) was left to the encloſed. For, when any troope of *Mamalukes* ranne in violently vpon the Turkes; they, by reaſon of their nimble lightneſſe (being accuſtomed to giue ground) did ſwiftly flye backe: and in all places this was their endeuour, not to encounter thē with their horſes, but onely to play vpon them with their Harquebuſſes. When *Gazelles* ſaw, that his horſſes were tyred with extreme wearineſſe, and that manie of his ſtouteſt men, were now either ſlain or hurt, and he himſelf greeuouſly wounded in the necke; he, with the reſt, making themſelues way with their weapons, fled vnto *Cayro*, through thoſe deſarts that he came, loſing all his Enſignes.

Victory inclineth vnto the Turkes, Fortune frowning on Gazelles, and his forces

There periſhed in this battel the Captaine of *Alexandria*, and *Orcemar* the gouernour of *Cayro*, men of great account; & beſides them, a great number of *Arabes*, and almoſt a thouſand horſmen of marke. Nor did *Synanbaſha* win a ioyfull and vn-bloody victory, for hee loſt aboue two thouſand horſe; and (among them) ſome of his cheefeſt Captaines. But becauſe the fight had continued from noone to Sunſet, the Turkes were not able to purſue their enemies, their horſes beeing well-nere dead with thirſt, and they themſelues fainting through want of meate, and extreme labour: but encamped in the place where the battell was fought, neere to the Spring before remembred.

Synanbaſha could not greatly boaſt of his Victory, ſuſtayning a great loſſe.

CHAP. XXI.

Of three ſeuerall Battails, fought in the years 1516. and 1517. betweene Selym the Great Turke, and Tomumbeyo, the great Sultan of Ægipt.

Selym hauing receiued intelligence, that *Synanbaſha* had ſurprized *Gaza*, ouerthrowne *Gazelles*, and had receiued a freſh ſupplie of men by Sea, from *Conſtantinople*, for his owne further ſeruice he marched with all his Army towardes *Gaza*, and (within eight dayes more) recouered ſo farre as *Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe ſeat, *Synanbaſha* ſtill marching a dayes iourney before him.

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

*A City in Egypt, not farre from the Iſle Delta.

About the diſtance of ſixe [illegible] from the Citty, there was a ſmal village named *Rhodania*, whereto *Tomumbeyo* (the newe made Sultane) had conueyed all his prouiſion and furniture of great Ordnance, hauing made alſo ditches, croſſe thwarting the plaine fieldes, and high wayes: which ditches were couered ouer with light earth, and ſmall ſtickes, artificially ſhadowing them. But himſelfe, with his *Mamalukes* (who were aboue twelue thouſand) and a great number of *Arabian* horſemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a place better beſeeming: that when the Turkes Army ſhould drawe neere, they might be there entrapt and beaten downe by the vndiſcouerable Ordnance, ere they could come to reach the Ægyptians with their Harquebuſſes; and then this ſtratagem hauing round engirt them, hee had the aduantage of immediate fight, they being vtterly diſioynted, and faln into the ſnare prepared for them.

A cunning ambuſcado, prepared by Tomumbeyo, to entrap his enemy.

So cunningly and prouidently were theſe matters ordered, and perfected with ſuch anſwerable opportunity, that not a man in the Army could imagine, or vrge any doubt of the dayes victory. And queſtionleſſe, no meane diſaſter had mette with the Turkes: but that the giddie headed Goddeſſe Fortune, ouer-friendly to *Selym*, and cruelly vnkinde [illegible] *Tomumbeyo*,

In ſtratagems of warr neuer ſo artificially ordered, Fortune ſtill will be a ſtickler.

as

as (had not the worthy paines of the *Mamalukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

Foure trecherous Mamalukes defeated Tomumbeyos hope for the ambush.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamalukes*, borne *Albanoises*, who stiffely stomacked, that *Tomumbeyo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was aduanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of rewarde, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisedome aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasha*, as to their chiefest Turkish Captaine and Countriman. By these horsemen *Synanbasha*, and (soon after) *Selym*, vnderstood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbeyo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnauoidable from falling into, except they forsooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, beeing guided by these Fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recouered their old wonted way, hauing their battels ranged, their Ordnance ready mounted, to auoyde the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselues at the enemies rereward, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

Preuention of perill is no meane helpe in accidents of Armes.

When *Tomumbeyo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his prouided ambush was discouered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with matchlesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment vtterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Captaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbeyo* in so narrow a straite and necessity, that all thinges, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing theyr weapons, turning the course of his camp, ranging his battailes, encoraging his men, and conueying his Ordenance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which things, as one Captaine could not performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly; so must they needs be effected as rawly, peruersly, and to halfes, by manie indiscreet vndertakers.

A distresse that would trouble the braine of the best soldier in the world.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the hudling of men together, for remouing the Ordnance from place to place, they being ill-fauored huge pieces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vsed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessiue waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greeuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the witlesse and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such as haled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindering difficulties; namely, the chearefulnesse of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor failed in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodain aduerse chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they resumed the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselues, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Tomumbeyo prepareth his troops to giue the enemies battaile.

Nowe, when *Tomumbeyo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the rere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish horsmen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordnance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemyes) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

The best capacity of a Generall or Commander, is well tried in warre.

Many inconueniences happen thorough want of discreete and orderly Military discipline

A great comfort to a Generall, when his Souldiers contain their chearefull disposition.

they were a iuſt diſtance off, and quickely re-charging them, had brought thē within an Arrowes ſhoote of the Ægyptians Ordnance, fighting a long time on either ſide, onely with diſcharging their Ordenance, while the Armies approched neerer. In which contention, almoſt all the Ægyptians Gunners were ſlain, and moſt of their Artillery diſmounted from theyr wheeles, beeing broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Egyptiās Gunners for their great Ordnance almoſt all ſlain.

The Turke had very skilfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewardes, and rich entertainment) out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and eſpecially many out of the Iewes rable, who beeing expelled by the piety of King *Ferdinand* out of the *Spaines*; brought afterwardes ſuch rare and vnuſed deadly Artes into all the Eaſt, to ſpite our men withall. The Captaine or cheefe man of all theſe Gunners, was one *Iames*, borne at *Reggio* in *Lombardie*, a man of extraordinary skill in thoſe Artes, who being enticed by Turkiſh giftes: had (a little before) forſaken the ſeruice of Chriſt, and reuolted vnto *Mahomets* ſuperſtition. The fight beeing brought (on both ſides) to handy ſtrokes, the *Mamalukes* raiſed a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) ſo matched, that hee approached in the forme of a Creſcent. The Captaine of the *Aſians* in the right Wing, was *Muſtapha*, and *Innubaſſa* of the *Europeans* in the left: but himſelfe gouerned the middle battell, wherin was the ſquadron of the Ianizaries, with a great multitude of Ordnance.

The order & managing of Selyms army.

But *Synanbaſſa* being made General of the fielde, had choſen for himſelfe a band of the valianteſt men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to ſerue for all vncertaine euents of the battaile. Whereto hee added (out of *Selyms* ſquadron) fiue hundred foote of extraordinary valor and ſwiftneſſe, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer ſo ſodaine) might ſuccour that part of his fellowes, which was moſt preſſed by the enemy. So that almoſt at one time, when *Tomumbeyo* had ſtood in the middle battaile againſt *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamalukes*, had encountred the Turkiſh with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at their backes, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiouſly and hotly attached at one time, and in diuerſe diſtinct places.

Synanbaſſa General of the field, and his bande of men.

Foure fightes at one time in foure diſtinct places.

They that were preſent at this battell, do report, that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of duſt, and claſhing of Weapons; all mens minds were ſo amazed and confounded, that they, being al on both ſides alike blinded with furie, ruſhed on with ſuch deſperate madneſſe, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Enſignes ſeene, nor commaundes of Captaines beregarded; but euen (by mutuall error) they ſlew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and alſo of theyr enemies, without any reſpect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountred together, enflamed with greater ſpleene and hatred; nor euer had two ſuch mighty Emperors, more conſtantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with leſſe care of life and ſafety. For, when both of them plainly perceiued, that with like daunger of themſelues and their Armies, they had ſet their liues and Empires vppon preſent ruine: they alſo well vnderſtoode, that there would be no other hope leſte to eyther of them, but that which victorie it ſelfe ſhould bring with it.

Credible reports concerning this dreadfull battell.

The mad and deſperate fury of both the Armies, as the like was neuer heard of.

Now *Gazelles* enflamed with deſire of honor and reuenge, to returne the *Europeans* a foile equall to that which hee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubaſſa* with great violence, had ouer-run the formoſt and reſiſting troopes; had beaten downe the *Guidons*: and the *Arabes* purſuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquiſhing companies (euen thoſe of the *Thracians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backes, which neuer any enemie had done before.

The courage of Gazelles in hope of foiling his enemies.

Then *Synanbaſſa*, beeing readie for all occaſions of victoty, flew vpon the ſide of the enemy, with a freſh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully ſcattered. But anon after, *Synanbaſſa*, who had diſcontinued the manifeſt victoty of the enemy, by exerciſing a ſupreme acte of proweſſe, was ſlaine, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the

Synanbaſſa ſlaine fighting valiantly before his men.

Mama-

Mamalukes (vnder their fierce Captayne *Bido*) had turned themſelues prowdly on their new enemy. And his horſemen ſtriuing to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) ſlaine and put to flight by *Gazelles*, who had ſpread abroad his troups, that hauing the more ſpacious roome, they might the more freely vſe their ſwords; in which kinde of fight the *Mamalukes* doe moſt excell. And alſo that noble band of Ianizaries, being encloſed, were ouer-runne & ſlaine; after that they (being forſaken of the horſmen) had long time reſiſted very valiantly.

In another quarter, *Muſtapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horſe, vpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin cõmaunded the moſt renowned captaines *Heylius Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*) very ſharply vrged them. A litle before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordnance, which (by chaunce) was ſhot frõ *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Muſtapha* perceiuing, and being deſirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once diſordered, conſtrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troupes freſhly vpon them, brake thorow, ouer-ranne and beat them downe. And being remarkeable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhorted the *Aſians* to conſider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately loſt at the battell of *Alepo*, muſt be recouered now by height of manhood, or (at vttermoſt) by an honourable death.

Heylius Diadarius and Giapall Orcomas, two famous Captaines of the Egyptians.

At the ſame time alſo, *Tomumbeyo*, hauing broken through the midle regiment of horſe, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and ſtrength, performed infinite actions of worth with his Cemitarie: the *Arabians* likewiſe encloſed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduaunced forward his foote-ſquadron, which was his onely and aſſured helpe in this extremitie, whoſe charge, neither the fierce barded horſe, nor the victors men could abide: becauſe moſt part of his Souldiers being harquebuſiers, and beeing impaled with pikes, did much miſchiefe, for their immoueable force, being cloſed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they incountred. Yet they fought with variable euẽt on both ſides, from the fourth houre of the day, till Sun-ſet, neither was there any part of eyther Armie, but ſuffered ſundry alterations, Fortune being ſome while proſperous, and then againe aduerſe. For, both the vanquiſhed and victors, beeing madded with mutuall & implacable rage, fought with obſtinate & indurate hearts; the *Mamalukes* diſdaining, that victorie ſhould be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had ſlaine ſo many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two ſeueral battels, ſhould make ſo long reſiſtance againſt them. Inſomuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languiſhing, yet ſupported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart; ſeemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark ſhut vp the violence of ſo great a ſlaughter.

The vndauntable ſpirit of Tomumbeyo in the thickeſt throngs.

Variable euẽt and ſucceſſe alike in both the Armies, from the 4 houre of the day till Sun-ſet.

Tomumbeyo, who (no doubt) was vanquiſhed, diſtruſting the entire loſſe of the field; firſt commanded retreat to be ſounded, that his men, who now could not match the other ſquadron, might ſeeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceiued to be of no meane moment, both for the eſtabliſhing of his ſouldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceiued in his firſt hope, might promiſe himſelfe (as men in miſery commõly do) more proſperous ſucceſſe afterward, prouided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, preſeruing thoſe few powers left him, he intended a freſh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights countermãd, the *Turks* being victors, won the enimies tents and Ordnance, purſued the *Mamalukes* ſtill very late in the night, albeit (almoſt in maner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

Retreate was firſt ſounded in the Campe of Tomumbeyo.

The hope of Tomumbeyo for better ſucceſſe in a ſecond battaile.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no ſpeed, by reſon of his grieuous wounds, and with him *Bidon*, hauing one of his knees broke with a falcon-ſhot, which alſo ſlue his horſe. But the next day, *Selym* cauſed them both to be ſlain, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable ſacrifices for appeaſing *Synanbaſha*; for whoſe loſſe hee igreatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquiſhed, yet was their ſtrength mightily empayred, and by the meanes of theſe fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was ſpent with ſickneſſe

Diadarius and Bidon taken and ſlaine by Selyms command.

sickeneſſe and wounds, and a great number of their Horſes vtterly foyled, eſpecially through the tedioufneſſe of this daies ſeruice.

Theſe were maine motiues, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted courſe of expedition, becauſe (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the Ægyptian inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomumbeyo* had beſtowed himſelfe, or what hee further intended. For, till he had deliberately conſidered on all theſe occaſions, he would not aduenture the ſafety of his owne perſon, and perill of his whole Armie, to the mercy of innumerable Cittizens, and in the greateſt Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes ſpace in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, cauſing the wounded to bee cured, and his ſlaine ſouldiours to bee buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beaſts. And then diſlodging thence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, betweene old *Cayro* and *Bulach*: for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious ſeruice of water.

Selym reſteth his weary Armie four daies at Rhodania.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the ſecond Battell at Cayro, betweene Selym and Tomumbeyo.

TOmumbeyo, beeing all this while nothing bruiſed, notwithſtanding ſo many lamentable loſſes and diſaſters; ſtill aſſembled together the *Mamalukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a moſt commodious place, betweene new *Cayro* and the riuer *Nilus*, wherein he had eight thouſand Æthyopian ſlaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vſe of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beſide, ſetting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamalukes* ſonnes, and to Moores which were their retainers, as alſo to the Iewes and Arabians, preparing for farre ſharper warre againſt the Turks, then formerly had bene. But afterward, having intend d a ſodaine camiſado vpon the Turkiſh Campe, and the ſame againe vnluckily diſcouered to the Turkes (who beeing readily prepared for it, repelled (though with ſome loſſe) his formoſt rankes; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

His proiectes and intentiõs alwayes were vnfortunately diſcouered.

The motiue heereto was, becauſe the *Mamalukes* (hauing bene foyled in all precedent battailes) conſidered with themſelues, that they muſt now make warre after ſome other manner of way: & in that regard, aduiſed him to fortifie the Cittie, placing ſtrong Courts of guard in the moſt conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they muſt needes fight for their houſes, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, and anſwerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their ſight, and euen before theyr owne doores.

The Mamalukes reſolued to dye in the ſight of their wiues & children.

Heereupon, each *Mamaluke* going to his own houſe, furniſhed all his houſhold, and the very toppe of his houſe with all kinde of weapons: inſtantly alſo entreating the Egyptiáns in each ward & ſtreete to take Armes againſt the common cruell enemie, not ſuffering themſelues to bee ſlaine, and their wiues and children carried away as ſlaues. For (quoth they) if the ſauage and inſatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull: no ſpare will bee made, no not of ſuch as beare themſelues but indifferently, leaning in help to neither ſide; becauſe victory ſwelles with ſuch inſolent licence, as he reſpects not any man, but ſuch as (without doubtful ſtaggering) run deſperately to affiſt his fortune, when war ſtands vpon vncertaine ſucceſſe.

Victorie admitteth no reſpect of perſons.

Moſt of the Egyptians that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foreſee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great loſſe and hinderance to their wealth and Trafficke: ſo, in deuotion and helpe, they vvere not failing to the *Mamalukes*. As on the contrary, moſt of the poorer Citizens, and no meane multitude of the worſer ſort (who, being voide of danger, do euermore gaine by others loſſes) remembring all the villanies and extreme oppreſſions, which they had

The baſer ſort make their beſt benefite by fiſhing in troubled ſtreames.

had ſuffered (for the ſpace almoſt of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamalukes*, in very wofull and wretched ſlauery, they kept themſelues within doores, awayting for the fights ſucceſſe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for puniſhing their proud oppreſſors, and that reuenge would be ſought by the bloud of ſtrangers; the iſſue ſorting ſo, that theyr eyes ſhould be ſatisfied, with a pleaſing & long expected ſpectacle.

Tomumbeyo fortified the gates & waies belonging to the City.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeyo* with moſt indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Cities entrance, appointing Captaines for euery ſtreet. In euery market place, Court, and aſſembly of people, he made very witty and perſwaſiue Orations, permitting no idle loytering in the workes: and finally (which is ſaide to be the hardeſt matter in diſtreſſe and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering ſignes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamalukes*, ouer and aboue neceſſity (which in extreamities makes men mad and deſperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being ſtirred vp by emulation: did ſpeedily and couragiouſly execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention beſt inſtructed him, made trenches thwart the moſt paſſable ſtreetes, laying alſo great Logges of Timber croſſe vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with ſharpe-pointed ſtakes ſurely faſtened in them, whereon the enemies vnwarily falling, might gore and ſplit themſelues. Others likewiſe fitted the houſes and Windowes of euery turning ſtreete, with ſuch plenty of ſhot as their ſtore and ability afforded; and all theſe thinges were performed with ſuch expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamalukes*) made it nice, or ſtrained courteſie, to take the pickaxe & ſpade, or to do any ſeruile ſeruiceable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deuiſed, but it was as expeditiouſly effected.

The buſie imployment of the Mamalukes againſt their enimies, without any curioſity, or ſcorne of taking paines.

Now, although the Citty (being verie great and old) had no wals to encloſe it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad ſtreet, leading from the Eaſt gate to the Caſtle, and into the middeſt of the Citty. The reſt of the wayes wer but very narrow ſtreets or paſſages, ſomewhat vnſightly and diſgraceſull, where no Ordnance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his oppoſite. Into this maine way or ſtreete had *Tomumbeyo* eſpecially brought a power, becauſe he well perceiued, that their enemy would couet entrance, in regarde of the ſpacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with ſmall guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Caſtle ſtood, was guarded with a ſufficient power, for the better ſupply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellowes perill might call their aſſiſtance. For the Citie, being the greateſt of all other, with ſo ſmal a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

The great City of Cayro was not enclosed with wals.

One maine or chiefe ſtreete in the City, all the reſt but of ſlender paſſage.

When *Selym* had receiued certaine intelligence, that *Tomumbeyo* vvas entred *Cayro*, and all the *Mamalukes* (gathering their ſtrength into one maine head) wold try the vtmoſt fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Cittie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to conſider with themſelues aduiſedly, that now they muſt intend an entire conqueſt of thoſe Enemies, whom they had already ſo often vanquiſhed; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be anſwerable vnto theyr braue endeuour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate deſires. So pauſing a while, and commaunding a Trumpet to ſummon general ſilence, thus againe he proceeded.

Selym maketh marcheth on toward great Cayro.

A briefe Oration of Selym, *to his Souldiers.*

FRiends, and Fellowes in Armes, let mee intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a forſaken naked King; who, being lately ſpent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the ſight of their wiues and children) the ſupreme and laſt caſt of a miſerable life.

He encouraged his ſouldiers to their laſt inclyned good ſucceſſe.

Moreouer the Egyptians *(of their owne accord) haue ſent for me: for they deadly hating*

ting the Mamalukes very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vtterly to destroy the race of those wicked sauage men. Neuertheleſſe, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in vtter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thorowly affrighted Army; because they cannot bee accounted as ouercome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, euen the greateſt Citie thereof.

The entrance of Selym into Cayro at Baſſiuel gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

The ſouldiers ſoules were on fire with deſire of ſpoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the ſignall for irruption. Whē *Selym* entring at *Baſſuel* gate, ſent in his horſe troopes at many places at once: but the Ianizaries entred at the broader paſſage, where the horſe (on eyther ſide) meeting together, a cruell & bloudy fight began in the turning ſtreets, and narrow lanes. The foot, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the ſtreetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remoue the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their paſſage: the *Mamalukes* gaue them very valiant reſiſtance, and either ſide ſhewed ſuch rare courage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamalukes* and Turkes ſtoode on their higheſt tearmes of manhood, vſing all their cunning ſlights & policies of war, in this one deadly dāgerous fight; neither part beeing ignorant, that this was the laſt hope of life and Empyre, Fortune equally and indifferently preſenting them with honorable rewards for the Conquerot, and ſhamefull diſgrace for the vanquiſhed.

No fury comparable to hotte contention for victorie.

The great ſlaum done by the ambuſhed trenches and pitfals.

Mighty ſlaughter was made at the munitions, by reaſon that the Turkes raſhly running vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfals, were ouerthrown on heaps one vpon another, the hindmoſt thruſting them on that were before; others, beeing gored & ſpitted on ſharpe pointed ſtakes: vpon which aduantage, the *Mamalukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardineſſe) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great ſtones on them thus ouerthrowne beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary ſide, the Turkes with their Harquebuſſes, fetcht off ſuch as they ſaw in the windowes, & on the houſes, breaking open the doores where any harmfull thing was throwne downe, and fighting in thoſe houſes with diuerſe euents. Alſo the Egyptians, beholding fortune now on the one ſide, and then againe turned to the other; aſſayled both ſides alike as equall enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likelieſt to happen, that they might appeare onely to haue aſſiſted that part, and thought vtter enemy to the other.

A cunning crafty maner of fighting in the Egyptians

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to theyr confuſed running in the ſtreets, now this company, then that, lighting vppon freſh and new troopes of enemies: & they that conſtrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerſe part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull ſight to beholde, the diſtances betweene houſe and houſe, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the ſlaine mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & diſmembred on heapes: that the Duſt, which roſe like a thicke miſt or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be ſeene at all. Notwithſtanding, the ayre was meerly darkned with the ſmoake of the Ordnance and leſſer Artillerie, as alſo clouds of Arrowes ſhot from theyr bowes: and ſo great was the cry and clamour among the ſoldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth ſeemed to groan and tremble, and the houſes were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and ſlender apparence of aduantage on either ſide: but only that the *Mamalukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themſelues by little and little, into the inner parts of the City, vtterly forſaking the formoſt munitions.

The extremity of a thicke riſing duſt allayed by the blood of ſlaine mens bodyes.

They fought two dayes and two nightes continually.

The third day, when the *Mamalukes* were in the very pitch of perill of loſing their whole eſtate, and all that they had, (which caſe vſually augmenteth ſupreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endeuours of all men, they renewed the fight with ſuch ſurpaſſing valor, that they droue the Turkes a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of their Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to deſpaire

Selym despairing of victory, commãded to set the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: iust wrath against the Ægyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very sight, and but a little before) *Inubashis* was greeuously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

A sodain successe happning to Mustapha, against the Mamalukes.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Ægyptians: and nowe the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreate should be sounded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamalukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, reposed theyr lateſt refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitiue *Mamalukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamalukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and sadled; intending, that if any ill hap befell thẽ, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got al those horses, and led them away, hauing chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weake, & defended by none but boyes and horsekeepers.

The Mamalukes vanquished and enforced to flight.

Which accident (as commonly it happneth in serious and vnexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so roũd ringed about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but onely meere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turnd their backs. Many making hast to *Nilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiancie, wisedome, and policy, to auoide the foile in this battaile) passing ouer the riuer by boats, went into the Region of *Seiectica*. Another multitude hid themselues in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking dennes. But aboue 1500. of the valianteſt *Mamalukes*, fled vnto the greateſt Temple of the Citty; where after they had long time defended themselues, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, beeing confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselues to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry souldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were caried downe the riuer to *Alexandria*.

The great Temple could be no refuge for them.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the Citty, that all the *Mamalukes* which would come in and yeelde themselues, and within the limitation of twelue houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusall; and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians, that could disclose the lurking *Mamalukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently to be spitted vpon stakes, & selling their wiues and children as slaues, to burn their houses to the ground. Vppon the fame of this Proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were instantly put in yrons, & afterward all most cruelly slaine in prison; because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendshippe by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

The victorie fauouring Selym altogether, he sendeth his souldiers to quench the flaming fires.

A cruell murthering of the Mamalukes in prison, after that they had yeelded themselues.

After this, the soldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slewe them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leauing no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* cam to *Cayro*; who had beene sent (a little before) into *Thebas*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the case to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeelded himselfe to *Selim*; who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

The coming of Gazelles to Cayro, & his submission to Selym.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and laſt Battell fought at Nilus, betweene Tomumbeyo and Selym, with the ill ſucceſſe and diſgracefull death of Tomumbeyo, and hard fate of his Mamalukes.

BVT *Tomumbeyo*, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the Riuer of *Nilus*, into that region which is called *Seiectica*, lying towards * *Cyrenaica*; although with ſo many diſaſtrous miſhaps he had formerly bin vanquiſhed, yet ſtill hee made a couragious reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent ſupply of *Mamalukes* frō *Alexandria*, being ſent for by letters out of the Cittie Garriſons, and many more alſo followed him in flight. Beſide, the *Arabians* of *Affrica* repaired to him, and the Moores likewiſe which were inhabitants of that country, promiſing him their vttermoſt fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers Ægyptians of *Cayro*, whoſe houſes and people had bin ſpoyled and diſhoneſted, by the couetous and luxurious Turks, gaue faith alſo, that they would raiſe a tumult and inſurrection, if he would ſpeedily come thither in the dead of night; whereby might be compaſſed, that ſuch Turkes as were lodged in the City houſes, might ſodainly be deſtroyed by inuaſion of all the people together. For the Citizens, hauing ſuffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the iniuries of ſuch proude and malapart oppreſſors. Further they alledged, that the Turks, being (before) a potent army, were now reduced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were ſlaine in the battels at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the reſt were ſpent with woundes and ſickneſſe.

While *Tomumbeyo* was thus buſied about his needfull preparations, *Albuchomar* the very greateſt man (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Seiectica*, came to *Selym*: eyther to preuent the miſchiefe of imminēt warre, to the no meane peril of his countrey, or elſe to win the victors fauour by Treaſon: and acquainted him not onely with the new collected powers of *Tomumbeyo*, but alſo with the practiſes concluded among the Cittizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderſtood, he cauſed ſtricte and ſtrong watch and ward, to bee planted in all parts of the City; commanding alſo, that the ſuſpected Cittizens ſhould be kept in the Caſtle, which (vppon the Garriſons forſaking it) very eaſily hee ſurprized. Furthermore, in diuers places along the riuer of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of veſſelles, well furniſhed with Ordnance and ſoldiers, to defend the further banke of the riuer.

Selyms prouiſion to withſtand Tomumbeyo.

Neuertheleſſe, conſidering aduiſedly with himſelfe, how perilouſly he had often fought with moſt valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to intercept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by flight) ſtill into waſte and vnknowne Regions prolonged the Warre, ſtill getting freſh and newe ſupplies. Conſidering alſo, that his owne power was ſo ſmall, and ſo far from ſuccour, as it might eaſily bee oppreſſed in that mighty Citty, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vppon theſe diſcreete conſiderations, hee deſired rather to conclude the Warre by ſome honeſt compoſition, then by forcible further contending, to entangle himſelfe in new dangers.

Selyms ſerious deliberation concerning his owne dangerous condition.

And ſo much the rather, becauſe hee had intelligence by them of *Seiectica*, that freſh Companies of Horſſe were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamalukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Nauie likewiſe, which was ſent into the ſtreights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulffe againſt the *Portugals*, ſtoode now vppon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezzia*.

Freſh companies of Horſſe leuied by the Mamalukes.

In the Nauy were aboue three thouſand *Mamalukes*, land *Amyraſſes*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of braſſe Peeces: whereby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former receiued iniuries, and ſo returne againe to the Cittie, being ſent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motiue of all, was his care of the *Perſian* affairs, leſt *Humbracoſſa* (whom he had ſent before to the mountaine *Taurus*) ſhould not prooue able to match the *Perſian* power, whereby hee

* Called alſo Pentapolitana, of the fiue Cities, Berenice, Arſinoe, Ptolomais, Apollonia, & Cyrene.

The cheefe matter that moued Selym to seeke composition with Tomumbeyo.

The effect of the charge giuen to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdred.

A bridg builded ouer Nilus by Selym.

Tomumbeyo distrusted the Prouincials constancie to him.

His departure from Seiectica, to preuent the intention of the enemy, by a sodain & vnexpected stratagem.

The discouery of Tomumbeyos neere approaching.

Sodaine a dents in A mies may a bold re ued Lead specially w the troop into disc red com

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and soldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Cleargy, and likewise certaine Ægyptians of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enioy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, carelessely forgetting his owne weakenesse: then, when warres fortune was thorowly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he shold expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeased *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Seiectica*, were (with franticke and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamalukes*, before they had any audience.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise mooued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Seiectica* against *Tomumbeyo*, cõmanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broade bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* riuer: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignitie, nor suting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Cittizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfaithfulnesse of the Prouincialles, whose hearts he feared to be reuolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albuchomar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceiued his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him, to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wildernesses of hazardous aduenture, and dangerous successe.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamalukes* were to make; by breake of day he departed frõ *Seiectica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day til they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodain aduenture) he might deceyue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, wheras celerity would forstall any fame of his vnlookt for comming; so to destroy ỹ part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the riuer, before they could receiue succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither; and euen as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaw-ward of the *Asians* had alreadie past the Riuer. But the Muleters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, raunging ouer farre, were the first that descried the dust of the approching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the allarum was presently giuen.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had already passed the riuer, and theirs also which stoode ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselues ready, and reforting vnto their Ensignes, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shocke of the assailants, dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight: and all the vantgard was wel-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearlesse in the van, & very chearfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that fledde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused hudlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the riuer banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ruful-

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for succour. Many also being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brinke of the banke, fell headlong downe into the riuer; and many also perished at the end or heade of the bridge, by reason they could not passe ouer it, beeing hindred by them that were continually sent from the further side; beside, many that would haue ascended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thrust backe by their owne fellowes, were drowned in the riuer.

The Bridge was spacious and large for passage.

The bridge was so broad, that 4. horse in rank might well passe ouer together; & a great number sent ouer in an houres space. But because the Ordnance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horse were sent, then either the greatnesse of the danger, or sodainnesse of such a chance did vrgently require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordnance, which could not speedily bee drawne ouer, or shot off from the hither banke to the other against the Enemie, without great danger to themselues, by reason that their owne men stoode in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the riuers side, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled small boates with Ianizaries Harquebusiers, & sent them ouer to succour their distressed fellowes; commāding the horse also to make what hast they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vsing their best pains, in often passing and returning with fresh supplies; so that within a short space they had conueyed ouer many bands of Ianizaries, whose comming confirmed the disordered *Asians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Selim maketh a notable supply by the help of his Ianizaries sent ouer in small Boats.

The Tartares passe the River Nilus with their horses.

Also *Canoglas*, son to a Tartar king, encouraging his troopes of Tartares to take the riuer with their horses; attained to the further bank of the riuer, to the admiration of all men, and losing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to swim ouer the violent and mightie Riuer of *Tanais* and *Volga* with their horses, were the more apt for passage heere. At the same instant also, *Tomumbeyo* fore-seeing, that the speedy victory consisted therein, endeuoured with his thickest troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling away the formost boats, and cutting in sunder the cables, which fastened the rest together, & to the bankes: the whole bridge being so let loose at liberty, might be caried away with the streames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This caused a very dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamalukes* constraining the front, fought with singular valor. And on the other side, *Mustapha* perceiuing the present perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valiantest of his soldiours, to make good that place: so that both sides contended with such surpassing manhood as the weightinesse of the case required. For, the *Mamalukes* saw manifestly, that if they could winne that place, they should (with very short worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turks as plainly perceiued, that except they kept and preserued the bridge, the safety of theselues, the whole estate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperor, lay now at the stake, and all brought to vtter despaire.

A worthy policy deuised by Tomumbeyo, to cut away the bridg of boats

The maine aime on eyther side, in their hope & expectation.

Hereupon, *Mustapha* so preuailed by his Harquebusiers, & troops of Greek horse, which in sundry companies had passed the bridge: that the enemies were repulsed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue some respit to his *Mamalukes* to breathe themselues a while, being not able to fight fiercely, because their horse were spent and tired, & that after a fresh repairing of their strēgth he might aduenture the extreme & latest fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamalukes* had breathed a little. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamalukes* (hauing somwhat comforted their own bodies & horses) making good their place, the battel was againe renewed with such rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (distrusting the victory) doubted not to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, although his friends earnestly labored him to the contrary.

Tomumbeyo encourageth the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

His coming (which brought fresh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they coueting to win reward and praise, by doing some seruiceable action in their Emperours sight) repressed all the enemies best endeuour, and were forced vnto flight, onely through the valiancie of the Ianizaries. Pursued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by those Horse which had beene at the fight, and likewise by the Tartares, who gaulled them very greeuously

The Ianizaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Mustapha*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horse, to follow them that fled, and not to suffer *Tomumbeyo* to escape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, standing in a Marish vppe to the waste in Water, among Bull-rushes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchsafe to see him.

Tomumbeyo taken and brought to Selym.

After he had caused him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to disclose the treasures of *Campson*; at last he gaue command, that he should be carried about all the famous streets of the Citty, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murthering (as hee pretended) of his Ambassadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltlesse thereof. The like fate also befell to all the *Mamalukes* that were in prison, or could be taken. After the shamefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, who was executed the thirteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yeelded, and likewise all the Princes that had beene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Prester Iohn*.

How basely Selym vsed Tomumbeyo, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanes Empire yeelded to Selym.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the first inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the same purpose.

AMong all other Iewels and Ornaments, inuented by the spirite and industry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himselfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Rings. bee it for riches, or curiosity in workemanship. For, ouer and beside that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the most perfect of all other: they are beside so subiect and light, that they may be worne on the least finger of the hand. Neuertheless, they are alwayes made of the very richest mettall of all, and accompanyed with stones, the most precious and exquisite that are to be had, and valewed to bee the onely esteemed things in the world. Behold then, what meanes the ambition of men found out, to weare a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a Citty: for, it is not vnknowne, there are some such precious stones, that are esteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vse of any exercise whatsoeuer. And albeit that Rings haue serued, and yet do, to some other more necessary ends & effects, then those before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vse, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward testimonie of Nobility, and shew the persons estimation. But because they are now grown very common, and yet much esteemed, I will set downe certaine ancient Histories, incident to our present purpose, not greatly irksome to reade or heare.

Rings inuented by the vanity of man.

Ringes made of the purest and richest mettall of all other.

The principal end that did bring Ringes into vse.

Rings were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

In the first place, it is not resolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Rings: and yet some do say, that the first Rings knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) beeing chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permission of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuertheless, that in perpetual memory of his imprison ment, the saide *Prometheus* stood obliged, to weare incessantly a ring of gold, enchased with a stone of the rocke whereto hee was prisoner; and thereby some hold, that the vse of rings tooke thence the first beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this discourse for a fable, as al Christians ought to do: and because it is a leasing, and friuolously feigned, I meane to insist thereon no further.

Concerning the inuention of Rings.

Prometheus deliuered frō the rocke by Hercules.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; considering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bignesse by a thred, and with that measure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: such as aunciently were worne by the very cheefest Lordes of *Lacedemon* and

Rings neuer the inuention of one man onely.

and *Rome*, before they gaue themselues ouer to the superfluities and dissolutions, which afterwardes reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the custome and ceremonie continued long time amongst the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband sent to his spouse on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* discoursing on the antiquitie of *Rings*, saith, That they were not in vse in the war time betweene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: considering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of Rings, much lesse, that they sealed then with Rings. And yet notwithstanding, he speaketh sufficiently of Chains and Bracelets, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of closing and sealing Letters: so that if Rings had then bin in vse, *Homer* would neuer haue let it sleepe in silence.

The mariage Ring of Honour vsed among the Romanes.

Rings not in vse at the warres of Troy.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot ouer-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we reade in *Genesis*, that *Ioseph* (who liued aboue fiue hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the sayde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his safer possession in that estate, he tooke off his Ring from his hand, and put it vpon *Iosephs* hand. And surely, kings did not onely weare Rings in those times, because we reade that *Thamar*, desiring to haue issue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Ioseph*) had his company, vnder colour of beeing a common whoore, and receiued as presents from him, his Staffe and his Ring. In *Moses* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, wee find Rings to be then in vse; for we reade that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Priest should weare, and they of his posteritie afterward, as also it was auouched by *Iosephus*.

Gen. 41, 42. Pliny reproued by greater authority.

Gen. 38, 18.

Exod. 28, 26.

Ioseph. in lib. Antiq. Iudaic. 4. cap. 5.

Whereby appeareth plainely, that the vse of Rings was much more ancient, then *Pliny* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in sacred writings, so it is no maruell, if these things went beyond his knowledge. According as himselfe apparently manifesteth, speaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee sayth, the vse of *Rings* were anciently so rare in *Rome*, & specially such as were of gold; that there was no auncient Statue to be seen ringed, except those of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without Rings. Hee sayth moreouer, that (ordinarily) no other Rings were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the custome of the *Romans* was, to giue Kings of gold (by way of prerogatiue) to Ambassadours, which they sent to any King, or to some strange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other Rings then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this custome continue.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 18.

Statues of kings wearing Rings.

Triumphers in Rome, wore Iron Rings, but Crownes of gold.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and sumptuous, yet did they expresly prohibite in *Rome*, to all mechanicall persons, and men of meane condition, to weare Rings of golde: except they were ranked with the Souldiers, or *Romain* Cauallerie, which was a third estate, betweene the Order of the Senators, and the common popularitie; as now-adayes is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, Rings were so priuiledged, that in giuing licence to any one to weare a ring of gold, it was as much as to ennoble him, and to passe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Pliny*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* Knights were known, and those of the Military Order, amongst the common people, and distinguished from them by Rings, which they wore on their fingers: euen as euidently as Senatours were knowne by their long Purple Roabes, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cause, the Poet *Horace* attributed Rings to the Cauallerie, bestowing on them the name of Knights, or Gentlemen.

No Mechanick or mean persons to weare Rings of gold in Rome.

Dion in lib. 9. Plin. in lib. vbi supra.

Equester ordo.

This priuiledge then of wearing Rings of golde, might not be graunted, but to such as had accomplished some high enterprise, or that were men of power, and worthily deserued. And assuredly, this prerogatiue was so affected generally, that *Iulius Caesar*, coueting to embolden his Souldiours by remunerations and promises: after a long Oration made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in signe, that they should enioy whatsoeuer he promised. And all his Army conceiuing, that by this signe, hee would permit them to weare Rings of golde, which intimated asmuch,

Who onely were allowed to weare rings of gold.

Cæsars encouraging signe to his Soldiors.

asmuch, as that they should all be knights, were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most cheerfull dispositiõ.

Rings giuen to such as deserued them not, onely in the Emperors times.

Very true it is, that in the time of the Emperours, this prehemínence was giuen to many that deserued it not, as wee may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Cæsar*, and of *Vitellius*. Neuertheless, the Edict, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*: for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Liuius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaines* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like maner, as *Cicero* alleadged in his fift pleading against *Verres*, he vsed these very words; *When a Generall of the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulnesse.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will hereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proued by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

3 bushells of rings found in the field at the battel of Cannas.

First then, our reuerend predecessours vsed to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullus*, Romain kings; because that finger was called *Digitus Annularis*, The Ring finger. And certainely (as *Plinie* saith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere expression of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at al: and therfore, to make the lesser shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the mannaging of Armes, it seruing then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vsed then to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

On what finger our graue elders vsed to weare their ringa, & theyr reason for so doing.

The left hand more at ease then the right

Neuertheless, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: *For it is least set to labour of all the fingers*, as *Macrobius* saith. Pursuing the same ease, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words; *There is a veine or nerue, comming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde*. *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for physicke, or physically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchased in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by meanes of the forenamed veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; alleageth many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightlier ouer, as seeming to bee matters of small importance. We will resolue then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receiuable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

A veine in the ring-finger coming from the heart.

Rings worne on *Digitus annularis* only for phisicke, in regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Macrobius doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuenting or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchased in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

Rings deuised for the sealing of Letters at the first.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-adayes they are that way least imployed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signets, that they would seale with them verie seldome. Which I thinke not to be so vsed amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so neare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signets, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and purses, that kept the housholde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stollen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe sayth, that his mother did the same.

The grippenesse of the Romaines in sealing vp all things.

Now cõcerning the vse of sealing with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially in the sacred Scriptures, where

The antiquity of sealing with rings.

where it is said, That Queene *Iesabel*, wife to *Achab* King of *Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Commaund whereby she sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fifteene hundred yeares before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

3 Reg 21,8.

Moreouer, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundemenr) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdome: whereby appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall; as now they are vsed in any Kingdome, when the King confirmeth any especiall priuilege.

Dan,6,17.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchased and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onelie to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

Iuuenall

I knew the Letter, and the faithfull stone.

Asmuch to say, as hee knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard wherof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one an other in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witnesse the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polycrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meerely fabulous: yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerauld engrauen, wherewith this Prince vsed to seale his Missiues and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

The famous Seale-ring of Polycrates. *Cicero de finib. bon & malor. Plin. in l. 14. & 9. Strabo in lib. 4. Herodot. in l. 3.*

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courses of this life, without experimenting her variable trauerses; was willing to fal into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that meanes) to satisfie whatsoeuer Fortune could inflict vpon him. Hereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepest place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did, as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasias* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkeable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polycrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowells thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Sea; an accident very admirable, and fortunate to *Polycrates*. When King *Amasias* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polycrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadours; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pittying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

The history of Polycrates and his voluntary faling into misfortune.

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunat man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

Pliny sayth, that the Stone enchased in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerauld; but there appeareth some defect heerein, because *Pliny* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emerauld could bee engrauen?* In briefe, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander* the Great, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more beside doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice fauourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and set it to *Hephestions* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

Plin. in lib. vbi supra.

As ordinary thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

Suetonius sayth, that *Octauius* the Emperour vsed the forme of a * *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a * *Harpiæ*, which demaunded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolue their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octauius*, vsed as a commō saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise some such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolue. And this made

* A beast like to an Ape or Monky.
* The monstrous and rauennous birds Aello, Ocypte and Celaeno.

Octauius

Octauius to alter his Seale, engrauing therein the Image of *Alexander* the great.

Doubtfull figures in Signet Rings.

Mecœnas, a great fauourite of the sayde *Octauius*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Seale; and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romains greatly feared the Frog of *Mecœnas*, because by vertue of the Mandations sent vnder that Seale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

A signet ring caused the long war betweene Marius and Silla.

In briefe, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembred, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bocchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with king *Iugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Lieutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romaines waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie between * *Drusius* and *Scipio*.

*Grandfather to Cato.

Mens figures engrauen in Rings, as in the time of the Romane Emperors.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romains caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bawde in one of his Comedies, that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuertheless, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*; such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already beene said) Rings were in vse to bee worne, euen as now-adayes they are in many Countries, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

Rings onely deuised for brauery, and the eyes contentment.

Wee may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie, and onely to giue delight to the eie; as also for some other reasons, whereof wee shall speake heereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath beene of long continuance; for, beside the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that couragious woman *Iudith*, who hauing sworne the death of *Holophernes*, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romains likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest aboue all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason whereof I purpose not now to speake.

Iudith 10,4.

All fingers ringd except the middle finger.

Pliny saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtayned in *Asia*, the Romaines greatly inured themselues to weare rings; and brauery grew then into such request, that in Winter they vsed to weare bigge rings: but those appoynted for Summer, were much more light, subtile and ingeniously made. Also, they named theyr Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romaines beganne to weare their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is neareste to the pulse; and then afterwards they wore them on the litle finger. Moreouer he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on ech finger: neuertheless, such as were most dainty and curious, would weare but one Ring only vpon the whole hand.

Rings for Winter and for Summer.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 18.

From hence it ensued, that euery Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engraue their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romaines) in auncient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddesses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses, and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuertheless, many Authors (worthy beliefe) doe auouch it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consisting in the sayde

Rich stones sought for by all Nations to make Signets.

The rare precious stone belonging to King Pyrrhus.

Plin. in lib. 2. supra.

stone;

ſtone; or elſe by ſome correſpondencie, or celeſtiall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monſter, wholly different from humane kind, and by the ſelfe ſame influences.

Albert. Magnus in lib. de prop. Rerum.

Albertus Magnus ſaith, that he ſawe at *Collen*, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and diſcerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of precious Stones ſayth, that this may be ſo, naturally; affirming moreouer, to haue ſeene ſeauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayted in a Stone. And not to tie my ſelfe to other mens teſtimonies, I haue obſerued in Columnes of Marble and Iaſper, men naturally figured, and many other ſhapes beſide, very remarkeable, both for the diuerſitie of colours, and ſingularitie of ſhadowes naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, ſeeing ſo manie credible perſons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-ſtone of King *Pyrrhus*: it might very well be, that the Nine Muſes were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Leonard. Camill. in Mir. Lap. pr. 4.

Liuely figures diſcerned naturally in Marble and Iaſper pillars.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of *Giges*, King of *Lydia*, (which *Plinie* attributeth to King *Midas*) it ſeemes a matter ſtrange and incredible. This Ring had ſuch a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-ſide of the hand, the wearer went inuiſible; but turning it to the out-ſide, then he was viſible againe, and to be ſeene of all men as before; all which was made ſo publiquely knowne, that men tooke it offenſiuely, when they were demaunded, if they had ſeene *Gyges* Ring, or no. *Plato* the diuine Philoſopher ſayth in his Booke of Common-wealth, that by reaſon of a certaine tempeſt and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publikely diſcerned. *Gyges*, being then a Sheepheard, but a man of bolde ſpirit, deſcended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horſſe, which was of Braſſe, and hollow; within which horſſe was a dead body, of a Giant-like and prodigious ſtature. He looking conſideratly on the huge body, eſpied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vppon his owne, found himſelfe ſodainely returned to his fellowes: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

The wonderfull Ring of Gyges king of Lydia.

Plato in lib. Reipub. Concerning the hiſtory of Gyges, and in what manner he found his Ring.

It came to paſſe, that *Gyges* (accidentally) turned the ſtone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand, and then heard his companions talking of him, as if hee was abſent from their company: whereupon, beeing wiſe and ingenious, hee preſently conceiued, that this proceeded from ſome hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and truſting to the ſecret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of *Candaules* King of *Lydia*, where hee preuayled ſo fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing ſlaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he poſſeſſed himſelfe of the kingdome, and ſo became King of *Lydia*. *Cicero* taketh this narration of *Plato*, no otherwiſe then as a morall Fable, applyed by him to colour what he ſayd. *Philoſtratus*, diſcourſing of Serpents and dragons in the *Indiaes*, ſaith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be ſeene, naturally figured; and that this may be proued by the Ring of *Gyges*. Seeing then, that ſo many famous Writers make mention of *Gyges* Ring; we may well allow it to be a true Hiſtorie, and no Fable.

How Gyges found out the inuiſibility of the Ring.

In what manner Gyges became king of Lydia.

Philoſtratus diſcourſing of ſtones in India.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *Of the properties and vertues, ſecretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is ſayd to be in Magicall Rings.*

AS touching the before remembred Ring of *Gyges*, albeit I will not reſolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any ſuch propertie (as elſewhere in other places, according as hath beene obſerued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, cõcerning precious ſtones, hauing wonderfull and vnſpeakeable qualities and vertues:) yet notwithſtanding, making no ſuch ſtrange reckoning of that ring, Magitians haue promiſed to execute far greater matters, then the ring of *Gyges* was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of *Giges* be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magick, rather then any other vertue elſe: as all they doe, that

The Author refuſeth to iuſtifie the hidden vertue of Gyges ring

Magicall matters performed by Astrologie.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, obseruing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starres and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

More vertues reputed to be in precious stones, then the Author crediteth.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuertheless, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that theyr qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on desciphering their virtues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described; contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

Of the Diamond, and his properties

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against sorcerie, charmes and enchauntments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues: but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirites, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit.

The Amethyst.

The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkennesse.

The Rubye.

The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body.

The Carbuncle.

The Carbuncle is very preseruatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and asswaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart.

The Corall.

The Corall contayneth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preseruatiue against gastly visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits.

The Crystall.

As concerning the Crystall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight: and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensiue matters.

The Iacinth.

The Iacinth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preseruatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraulde on the finger, it maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that if it be worne on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin-honour, it will break immediatly. It is also greatly auaileable against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes.

The Emerald called the stone of Chastity.

The Cornaline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to seale withall, because waxe will neuer cleaue vnto it.

The Cornaline or Cornine.

The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, asswageth the impetuous tempests of choller and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour; and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what seuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembred Stones.

The Topaze

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lightlier, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance;) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerall matters; to the Poet *Marbodeus*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his sixt Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomeus* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (aboue all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Vincentius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuities sake.

The ingenuity of men, by enchasing precious stones in Rings.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the perspicacitie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the maner and meanes to set and enchase precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their proprieties and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the instigation of the diuell, inducing diuers auncient Pagans to despaire, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories.

Poyson put into diuers Rings in elder times.

Especially renowned *Hannibal*, who vsually caried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemie;

The ring of Hannibal bearing poyson in it.

he

he hauing slaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in *Italy*: to whom *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hannibal*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romanes*. *Plinie* sayth, that the great *Athenian* Orator *Demosthenes*, imitated the very same example.

Heliogabalus the Romane monster.

Heliogabalus, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carryed poyson in his Ring, and to the same end: albeit as *Lampridius* sayth, in reporting his life, he deserued not so honourable a death, as impoysoning. *Pliny* speaks of this matter, and maner of carrying poysons in rings, to bee an ordinary obseruation, and very common in his time.

Aspects and influences of the stars enclosed in rings, and greatly trusted vnto.

Moreouer, those ancient fore-goers did singularly obserue the aspects, & influences of Starres, as well by forging them into their rings, as also by engrauing them in stones, when they were to be enchased, by those meanes to giue them vertue: a most wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembred amõg Christians. And assuredly there are many Authours, which discourse on those Images & Carracters, made by obseruation of Astronomicall Constellations, and which made promise of mountaines and meruailes by those meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beside the naturall vertue of the stone; it attained to a new strength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as also by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the mettall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that those Planets and Starres gaue influence, and communicated their virtue to those rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; euen as to the things subiected to their influences; and so by this means, the naturall vertue of those stones, was fortified by the Magicall vertue thus attained vnto.

Magical rings made vnder the obseruation of Starres and Planets.

In this manner, they baptized (by the name of naturall Magicke) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, mettalls, perfumes and carracters, and which they vnited or combined together in one ring, saying: That rings composed in that maner, were soueraigne against the Apoplexie or dead palsie, and anguish in the sides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mittigate the rage and fury of a madman, and also that they serued as preseruatiues against poyson, and for many other diseases; as to conserue a man, euen for the encreasing of his naturall strength. In briefe, they attributed many admirable proprieties to these Rings, wherein breuitie constraineth me to be silent. Notwithstanding, whosoeuer desireth to be heerein further informd, may make his recourse to the Mirrour of precious Stones, set downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Cornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of Secret Philosophie; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Tabithens*, a Philosopher highly renowned, discoursing on this Argument; as the like doth *Insilinatus*, *Sesserinus* and diuerse other. Neuertheless, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue sayd; because I neuer experimented the vertue of Magicall Rings.

Helps for further information to such as are desirous.

Rings to be made vnder each seuerall Planet, and their secret infused vertues.

True it is, that such as make profession heereof, do say and auouch, That by obseruing the Constellations, requisite as well for forging the mettall, as for engrauing the stone enchased in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the retentiue vertue, working many other great effects, almost incredible. Likewise, such Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the speaking of a man; and maketh him a singular Orator, as also apt to deale in merchandise. And so the like may bee sayde of such, as are made vnder the obseruation of other Planets.

Carracters of the Zodiack engrauen in rings, & their vertue.

Others engraue in their Rings, the carracters belonging to the signes of the *Zodiacke*, and according to their triplicities, saying; that they of the first triplicitie, as namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe serue for colde diseases, for Feauers occasioned by phlegme, and for dead Palsies. Also the caracters appertaining to the second and ayrie triplicitie, as *Gemini*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*; are singular against corruption and putrifaction of the blood. And so doe they say of other triplicities of the signes, according to their Elementarie qualitie. And indeed, this obseruation is very auncient, and was practised a long time amongest the oldest Philosophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Rings baptized by naturall Magicke, and in what maner, being applyed for the curing of sundry infirmities.

Of rings termed fortunate rings.

Some also affirme, that the seauen fortunate Rings, which King *Iarchas* gaue to *Appolonius Thyaneus* (according as *Philostratus* sayth) were of the same temper.

Iarchas was cheefest of the Indian Philosophers.

A man liued 130. yeares by vertue of a Ring.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily weare a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preserued himselfe for an hundred yeares, being alwayes as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King *Iarchas*, liued an hundred and thirty yeres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, beeing continually in manly verdure. And herevpon, the *Greekes* made great vse of these Magicall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, peremptorily contesting against *Diseus*, who had threatened him, and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatnings that can be vsed against me, hauing this Ring vpon my finger, which his Mistresse solde for a Drachma.* And shewing the Ring, he proceedeth thus: *With this Ring I wil keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

Aristophanes in Pluto.

Erasmus Roterodamus, concerning Magical rings

Erasmus, speaking of these Magicall Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to weare Rings, wherein are certayne caracters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmely holde, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others, imagining this to be true, do counterfeit these Rings; but all is meerely abuse. For, to giue them such vertue; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regarde not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchased in the Ring, and the carracter there engrauen.* This may bee seene in the Bookes of the wings of *Rogerius*, and in the writings of *Leonardus Camillus*, as also of *Tetellus* and *Caelus*, in those bookes which are attributed to *Salomon* for their credite, and which amply doe discourse thereon. For, according as *Tetellus* sayth, a Iaspar stone enchased in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preserueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a Lambe be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the Apoplexie, and cureth also the seauer quartane. A Cornalline also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In briefe, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

Clauicules de Salomon.

Diseases cured by images engrauen vpon stones.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in *Spaine* they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to ech other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutuall promise, which they haue made one to an other. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet an other poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembring some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remayne forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed, as *Pliny* and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Hereto we may adde, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie proprieties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto Bishops, in signe of dignitie.

What vse is made of rings and signets in Spaine.

Rings necessarily vsed for mens remembrance, and haue bin respected by men of honor and vertue.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ Whence it came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, as wel to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Councellers. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the inuention of emblazoning Armes first in Escutchions.

THE custome ordinarily obserued in *Fraunce*, *Italy* and *Spain*, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house; especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Armes. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in Embassie, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house.* Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in their Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

Customes for the stile of a Gentleman.

Knights and Gentlemen of the kings house.

who were named Gentlemen of the kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were discended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Souldiers, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies asmuch as Noblemman, and extracted of a noble linage. Neuertheleſſe, it appeareth not much differing from our purpoſe, to ſay ſomewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentillitie, together, with the cuſtome of bearing Armes in Eſcutchions.

Gentleman ſignifieth Nobleman.

Whence the name Gentle or Gentile came at the firſt.

As touching the firſt point, the name of Gentile came from the *Latines*, who called ſuch men Gentles or *Gentiles*, as were of one and the ſame race, and of one ſelfe ſame name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie: and thoſe houſes alſo were tearmed Auncient Gentiles, euen as now-adayes wee call them houſes of Noble race, houſes of Gentlemen. Which *Cicero* well witneſſeth, in his *Topickes*, ſpeaking thus: *We call them Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue beene of free condition: ſo that no part or parcell of their race, was euer ſeruant or ſlaue, and much leſſe, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgeſhip.* And *Bætius* alſo ſayth in his *Topickes*, *We call ancient Gentiles, all ſuch as are iſſued of one ancient houſe and race, franke and free: as were the Scipioes, the family of Brutus, & other noble houſes of Rome.* *Cicero* likewiſe taketh this name of *Gentile*, *For one that is of our race, and that beareth the ſame name and Armes as we doe.*

Cicero in Top.

Bookes of logicall inuention.

Bætius in Topic

Cicero de Cl. Orat. ad M. Brut.

The learned *Budeus*, ſpeaking of deuoires or duties of parentage, obſerued among the Romaines, ſayth: *They were three in number: Duetie of conſanguinitie; Dutie of bloud and linage in direct line; And duety of Gentilitie, as much to ſay, as when a man is diſcended of the ſame name & Armes.* The title then of Gentle or Gentility, was and ſhould be attributed onely to Noble houſes. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the Romaines, valued as much as a Nobleman among the Caſtilians and French. And aſſuredly, the Romaine Gentlemen did (ordinarily) ſhew the Images and Deuices of their predeceſſors, that had illuſtrated their memorie by their worthy deedes: and this repreſentation of Nobility, was highly eſteemed among the Romaines, euen as yet to this day, are ancient Armes, and Penons and Standards, belonging to the predeceſſours of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their linage) in funeral orations, made at the obſequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted ſo much the more Noble.

Budeus, his 3. degrees of Romane ducts.

The name of Gentleman among the Romanes.

Ancient armes in Penons & Standards belonging to Gentlemen.

In this reſpect *Cicero* reproued *Piſo*, in the change and pleading he made againſt him, ſaying; *The honours and eſtates which thou haſt obtayned, were giuen thee, onely for reſpect of the ſmoakie images of thy predeceſſours, of whom thou carrieſt the colour onely; ſo that thou canſt not be denied to be a Gentleman.* And in another place, ſpeaking of himſelfe, he confeſſeth: *To haue no Images of his race; for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wiſedome and highly eſteemed eloquence, he ſo much ennobled himſelfe; that he came to be Conſull of Rome, enioying other degrees and prerogatiues, euen as if hee had beene a Gentleman of race, and iſſued from the houſe of a Senatour.* Which himſelfe alſo further confeſſeth in his laſt pleading againſt *Verres*, ſaying: *Thou beeing great Surueyour of Rome, for ſome eſpeciall ſeruices done by thee to the Common-wealth, haſt a place appoynted for thine Image, and enioyeſt the priuiledges of a Gentleman.*

Cicero cont. Piſo

Cicero in Orat. lib. 3.

Cicero in Declamat cont. Verres.

I reade, that the Romaines were verie careful of thoſe images, which were called *Stemmates*: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portalles of their houſes; or elſe prouidently kept in aptly contriued boxes, and ſo preſerued in places appointed for theyr ſtanding, as witneſſeth *Iuuenal, Martial, Seneca, Plinie*, and many more.

Images made of waxe, and crowned with Garlands of Flowers.

And when there was queſtion of ſome publique ceremony or of funerall pompe, the people of the houſes would make a goodly ſhew of the Images belonging to their Auncеſtours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as *Plinie* reporteth. He alſo declareth in his ninth booke and fift chapter, that the Romaines would place before their houſes, the Enſignes, Penons and other Coates of Armes and ſpoyles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuitie: ſo that if the houſe were ſolde, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, becauſe they ſerued for

Plin. in lib. 9 c 5

Enſignes and Coates of Armes fixed before the Romans houſes.

an honour and preheminence vnto their houses.

The original of bearing Armes in an Eſchutchian.

From hence came the cuſtome of bearing Armes in a Eſcutchian, as now-adaies Gentlemen vſe to do. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from thoſe deuices, which were on the Banners and Enſignes, as well of the Romaines, as other ſtrange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperors beare an Eagle in their Armes; becauſe *Iulius Cæſar*, the firſt Emperour of *Rome*, carried an Eagle in his Enſignes. As much may be ſaid cõcerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of *France* carrie, and of diuers other.

The Romane Eagle borne by Emperors.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romains* were, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vſe. For, it is ſaid, in the firſt Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Captaine generall of the Iews armie, made a very ſumptuous ſepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in maner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquiſhed his brethren. *Meſſala Coruinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the linage of the Emperour *Octauius* (although the Oration deſerued not the title of *Meſſala*, alleadging *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the *Troian*, to be the founder of *Padua*) ſayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Meſſala* do ſpeake truely, the vſe of Armes is very auncient. Heereupon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, becauſe they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Meſſala* ſaith; *Our Auncients, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Enſignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemie.*

1 Macchab. 13 27, 28. 29.

Armes in vſe long before the Romaines time.

Meſſala Cor in Or. t. Octa. Imperat.

The Troyans Armes vpon new Padua.

Meſſala in lib. vbi ſupra.

Wherefore we may well ſay, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Eſcutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from thoſe ordained and appoynted for horſſemen in the Romaine Cauallerie: who were of the third eſtate or degree amongſt the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators, and their ſonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; aſmuch to ſay, as iſſued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Liuius* auoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their ſonnes Patricians, and this degree was the moſt noble and chiefeſt in Rome.* Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were ſtiled Knights: from whence inſued, that Gentlemen in *Spaine* are called *Cheualiers*. The like wee ſay of the long gowned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senatours; and yet notwithſtanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to ſuch credite, as the very greateſt doe holde themſelues honoured to bee called *Knights*: albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horſe.

The name of Gentleman, & bearing Armes very ancient.

Senators Fathers, & their ſonnes Patricians.

The name of Knight.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ *Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Tranſlatours of the olde Teſtament, out of Hebrue into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occaſion.*

EVeryman is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie perſons, who tranſlated the Olde Teſtament out of Hebrew into Greek; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that tranſlation was ſo appointed: wherein aſſuredly, many Diuines, in their publique preaching, haue declared ouer-much ſloath & negligence. Firſt then it is to be obſerued, that this Tranſlation of the Seauentie men, hath beene only in the Church holily and religiouſly reſpected: but in the time of Pope *Damaſus*, Saint *Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to ſpeak ſeriouſly, the traduction of the Septuagint hath beene of ſuch authoritie, that it is alleadged for diuine: for ſo it appeareth by our bleſſed Sauiour and his Apoſtles, in often alledging Scriptures, according to the ſaide Tranſlation.

Negligence in many, concerning the Septuagint.

The credit authority the Septua gints Tra tion.

And

And because the historie of that Translation is very worthy and famous, I will set downe that which is sayd by Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, *Iosephus* the Iew, *Eusebius*, *Irenaus*, *Iustinus*, *Ruffinus*, and many other.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. lib 4.

Here is to be noted, that the fiue books of *Moses*, the Prophets, and other Histories of the holy Bible, were first of al written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the first vsuall tongue among men; before the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babylon*. In that tongue and language God spake first to his Prophets; as the like our blessed Lord and Sauiour did, when he was conuersant among men. This language then being particular to the Iewes, and the mysteries and prophecies (as also the coming of Christ) being concealed therein: it was very requisite, that such mysteries should bee written in a tong more common then the Hebrue: as that was then among the Greekes, who were sole Gouernours of the wide Vniuerse, by the fresh and recent victories of *Alexander* the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had course generally, and was esteemed the most common of all other Languages whatsoeuer.

The hebrew tongue the first generall tongue.

God spake to his Prophets in the hebrew tongue.

The Greeke tongue esteemed the most frequent tongue.

To the end then, that the mysteries of sacred Scripture, might bee vnderstood of euery one, before the comming of Iesus Christ; it was requisite of necessitie, that the Scriptures should be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue; for feare lest the Iewes at the *Messias* his coming, should suppresse them, or else falsifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and most wicked inclination) because it might not be sayd, that the Christians had added or diminished any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantasie. And therefore, about two hundred and seauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, it pleased the goodnesse of Almightie God, to inspire *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to procure the translation of the holie Bible. But seeing we are fallen into discourse of that Prince; we will reach into his Historie somewhat higher.

The necessity of the Scripture in a vulgar tongue.

The Translation of the 70. yeres before Christs incarnation.

After that *Alexander* the great had subdued *Asia* (which he performed in small compasse of time) and that he had ranged a great part of *Europe* and *Affrica*: he died without any lawfull heire, that might succeede him in such great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all most valiant and famous men: laboured by force of Armes to possesse themselues of what they possibly could: So that the kingdomes appertaining to *Alexander* onely, became diuided into many parts: for *Antigonus* possessed himselfe of *Asia*; *Seleuchus* of *Chaldea*, and of many other Prouinces. By the same meanes also *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus* made himself king of *Egypt*, of *Phœnicia*, of *Cyprus*, and diuerse other Countries, among which *Iudea* then was one. Being Lord of *Iudea*, he made there many great booties, leading away store of Iewes captiues into *Egypt*, where hee had ordained the chiefe seate of his Kingdome. So that he was the first King of *Egypt*, that called himselfe *Ptolomie*: which name remayned hereditary to the successours in the sayd Kingdome; for, before that *Cambyses*, sonne to *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, had conquered *Egypt*, all the Egyptian Kings called themselues *Pharaohs*.

The death of Alexander the Great.

Alexanders Kingdome diuided into many parts.

The first Ptolomy King of Egypt, after the Pharaohs.

But returning againe to our *Ptolomie*, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then succeeded him *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, who likewise reigned peaceably in *Egypt*.

This Prince gaue leaue, and set at libertie all the Iewes, which his father led prisoners into *Egypt*. And then it came to passe, according to the pleasure of Almightie GOD, that this King erected a goodly Librarie, in *Alexandria* the capitall Cittie of *Egypt*, by the meanes of *Demetrius Phalareus* the *Athenian*; a man much renowned for his knowledge, and to whome hee gaue full power and commission. So that, by the diligence of *Phalareus*, hee compassed the finishing of the faireſt and most compleate Librarie, that euer was seene in the world, as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authours, and diuersitie of disciplines.

Demetrius Phalareus, a Noble Philosopher and Oratour, Scholler to Theophrastus, for his excellent vertues gouerned the Athenians ten yeares.

This King, vnderstanding that the Books of the Iewes, contained admirable and vnexpressable mysteries, resolued to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpose, he dispatched an Embassie to *Eleazar*, Prince of the Iewish Synagogue, with great presents; intreating him, in memory of fauors

Ptolomies Ambassage to Eleazar the Iew.

by him to those of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betweene them, to send him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as also such lerned and skilfull men, as could translate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* haue set downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

The Tenour of the Letter, sent by King Ptolomy Philadelphus, to Eleazar the High-Priest.

Ptolomy a King, to the High-Priest Eleazar, health.

The Iewes were diuers times brought as captiues into Egypt, by seuerall kings conquests ouer them.

NO man can be ignorant, that manie Iewes haue dwelt in this kingdome of *Egypt*, being brought thither prisoners by the *Persians*, at such time as they subiugated *Iudea*. And againe, when the late deceassed king my father brought diuers hither also, to whom (neuertheleſſe) my said Lord & Father trusted so much, that they did him seruice in his warres: yea, he planted them in strong forts, by way of Garrisons, to keep the *Egiptians* in awe & feare. As for my selfe, from such time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwaies vsed humanity towards your Nation, and haue sent home more then 100000 that were detained here as slaues, paying their ransome & charges to them that held them prisoners. Such as desird to follow the wars, to them I haue giuen wages, euery one answerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne house ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do somewhat acceptable to God, who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

King Ptolomy vsed great kindnesse and humanity to the Iewes.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleasures that I can to you, and all the rest of your nation, aswell for the time present as to come: I haue determined, to cause your Bookes in the Hebrew language, to be translated into the Greek tong, because I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnfurnisht any way. And therefore you shall do me a great fauor, to chuse sixe auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe, and well versed in the Greeke for this intended translation. Nor doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpose, I haue sent vnto you *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuerd large summes of gold and siluer, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appointed them, desiring you to send mee by them, such as may further this negotiation. Assuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, nor more, to maintaine the friendship begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with some expedition. *Ptolomie.*

He desireth the full furnishing of his goodly Library.

Two men of great honour and worth, sent by the King.

After that the High-Priest *Eleazar* had receiued the Kings Letters, and vnderstood the further trust referred to the Ambassadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and siluer sent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Iosephus*) was a mightie quantitie. And hauing assembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had sent the Ambassadors. Wherein, to satisfie his desire, they elected out of each Tribe sixe aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the Greek language. For the *Iewes* had a custome to send their people into *Asia*, to learne the Greek and Latine tongues, as also the Artes and Sciences comprised vnder those languages, euen as yet to this day they obserue the same; so that all the men made choice of, were seuenty two. After they were thus chosen, they were sent with the Ambassadors to King *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Testament with them, written (as *Iosephus* sayth) in most places all in golden Letters, and vpon such parchment, the most ingeniously made that euer was seene. Moreouer, he sent diuers great gifts to the said Prince, returning him answere in maner following.

Eleazar entertained the Ambassadors very honorably.

The Iewes by frequenting Asia, learned the Greeke and Latine Languages.

The Answere of the High-Priest Eleazar, to great king Ptolomy Philadelphus,

Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.

I Am very glad of your present welfare, and the health of Queene *Arsinoe* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wish to your contentment: certifying you likewise of my instant

The High-Priests vsed to write very familiarly to such kings with whom they were leagued in am

instant healthfull condition. By the Missiue you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the faire loue and affection, which you beare to our Nation, and haue caused your letters to bee publikely read before all the people, and to let them fully vnderstand, what holy deuotion you declare towards God; I haue exposed to open view, the twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of siluer, together with fifty Cups, and a Table of siluer for the sacrifices, beside forty Talents of gold, and as many of siluer, sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of our Temple. All which I haue receiued from the hands of the Noble Lords *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, your faithfull Counsellors and Ambassadors, who haue amply enstructed vs in the cause by you required. And therefore, we haue sent them backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues by them, to accomplish your good pleasure.

The royall gift sent by Ptolomy Philadelphus.

And because the extraordinary great fauours which you haue done to them of our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for vs to vse or return any condigne requital: wee must make our recourse to solemne prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble Lords your sonnes. In which holy action, all our people very voluntarily desire to imploy their vtmost paines, in craving of God, to further and finish your desires, as may best stand with the conseruation of your Estate, and maintainance of your Kingdome in glory and honour.

A confession of the Iewes vnablenes to requite so great & gracious a kindnesse.

Now concerning the Translation of the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly and earnestly desired; we haue elected six Auncients out of our seuerall Tribes, who we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our Bible. But when the Translation shall be perfected; according to the office of a iust and louing king, wee desire that they may be sent back againe to their natiue Country.

Eleazar, and the people of the Iewes.

The 72. translators separated one from another, and yet differed not one sillable in al their labours.

When King *Ptolomy* had receyued the Letters of *Eleazar*, with the Books of the Bible, and such Presents as were sent by *Eleazar*; he most royally welcommed the seuenty two aged men, and (as *Iosephus* saith) ioyed not a little for their arriuall. Their lodgings being prepared, & all things necessary for their imployment, they setled themselues to the Bibles translation: wherein happened an admirable and miraculous case; for the seuenty two men being placed separately, according to the kings Commission, without any meanes or power of conferring one with another: after they had thus diuidedly finished their Translation, they all appeared before the King with their seuerall labours, and were found therein all so coforme and agreeing, that one man had not a sillable more then another; which doubtlesse could not bee done, without the power and especiall grace of the holy Ghost, according to the saying of S. *Augustine*, *Ireneus* and *Tertullian*; who auoucheth in his time, to haue seene at *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, the written Bookes of the seuenty two Translators, vnder their own hands, which were in Hebrew and in Greeke.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. lib 8. Ireneus cont. Valent. Tertul. cont. Gentiles.

As much is said and maintained by *Iustinus* the Philosopher, in the book of Aduertisements, which he wrote to the Gentiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus. *King Ptolomy caused to bee builded without the Citty of Alexandria, seuenty two Halles, to lodge therein separately, the seuenty two Translators, and there prouided for them all things necessary, in most honourable manner. In which places the Translators remained, without seeing one another; vntill the translation was perfected.* Nay more, he affirmeth to haue seene the ruines and olde wals of those buildings, which were esteemed as reliques and sacred things And although S. *Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disagree concerning the number of those Halles or Chambers: yet notwithstanding, that is no matter of any moment, cōsidering (according to S. *Augustine*, and many other Authors) each Translatour wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, not any way conferring one with another, and yet neuertheless, all the Translations were found conformable.

Iustin. in Aduers. ad Gent.

The difference of S Hierome and Ruffinus about the buildings.

And assuredly, when I consider aduisedly on this mystery, I hold it for a mighty miracle, that they should agree in such a conformity of stile, order and method, traducing matter so long and diuers, although they had beene admitted altogether, and had begun the worke with their owne agreement, because we see it a matter of no meane moment, to finde two mē agreeing vpon one and the same point, when

The admirable conformity of stile, method and matter, in so long a labour.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Iewes which dwelt in Egypt, and were very learnedly skilfull in their Law, commended these Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolomy*, beeing amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalareus*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Iewes? Whereto *Demetrius* thus answered.

King Ptolomy amazed at the sacred Scriptures.

Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently seene, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it vnreuerently, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrues among his owne, beautifying thē with borrowed words, and rhetoricall phrases. But vpon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was reuealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embellish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.

Theopompus punished for prophaning the Sacred Scriptures.

I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragicall Poet, lost his sight sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yet vpon his vnfeigned repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.

Gods sacred word hath no need of mens vaine adorning.

The punishment of Theodorus a Tragicall Poet.

King *Ptolomy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankefully respected the ancient Iews, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Eleazar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as S. *Augustine* and Saint *Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophesie: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alledged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perhappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which is not in the translatiō of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holye Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation ẇ is not in the Hebrue text: we must verily beleeue, that the blessed Spirite reuealed the passage by their meanes. For the selfesame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Propheſies in writing, gouerned the seauenty two Translatours in traducing the holy Bible; so saith S. *Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. l. 7.
Hier. in Præfat. Bibli.

One and the same blessed spirit guided the Prophets and Septuagint.

This was the first, before the comming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Sauiours Passion, *Aquila* the Iew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwardes performed, but by whom it was not knowen: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of Saint *Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the sixt booke of his Ecclesiasticall history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but Saint *Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside, Psalmes and other thinges are sung and sayde in the Church, whereof no disputation neede to be made, whether they were of S. *Hieroms* writing or no.

Aquila the Iew wrote the second translation.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6.

CHAP. XXVII.

¶ *Of the admirable vertues and proprieties, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin derived.*

YOu may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patrones, Maisters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Aelianus*, and many other, writing on that argument: but becausse my desire extendeth it selfe beyonde ordinary compasse, coue-

Arist. in Latin Plin. in lib. 7. 8. Elian. in hist. Animal.

coueting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpoſe to ſay ſomething of the Ant, Emmot, or Piſſe-mire, albeit in regard of the creatures ſmalneſſe, ſome may thereby take occaſion to condemne my diſcourſe. Neuertheleſſe, let their humors ſerue them howſoeuer, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & ſpacious Forreſt: for there is not any garden how warily or cloſely ſoeuer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in deſpight of the Maſter and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and ſubſtãce of the creature, it ſeemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderfull things thereof.

The Ant will haue roome in all mens places.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* ſayeth; *This creature is vnprofitable, and of no worth at all, but onely for it ſelfe: when contrariwiſe, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuertheleſſe) giue a pleaſing taſte to our food, by the ſweet ſauour of his hony, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eate them.* But yet in another place, he ſpeaketh wonders of the Ant, & extolleth it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee impoſeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetouſneſſe, whereunto man is ſo inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how ſmall ſoeuer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant ſhould prouide it ſelfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would conſider things, in ſuch kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we ſhould finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant ſerueth vs as an example of induſtry, prouidence and friendſhip, and of many other vertues beſide, related at large by *Salomon* in his Prouerbes, who ſendeth the ſluggard to the Ant, to conſider what paine and ſolicitude ſhe taketh, and to learne diſcipline and direction of her. *For, hauing neither guide or Captaine, or any to command and direct her: ſhee prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.*

Plin. in l. 5. c. 3. The Ant good for none but it ſelfe.

The couetouſneſſe of men to gather benefite from all kind of creatures.

Prou. 6. 6, 7, 8.

From hence it enſued, that Saint *Ambroſe* (ſpeaking of this ſilly little creature) vſeth theſe words: *The deſſeignes and enterpriſes of the Ant, being iuſtly conſidered, do farre exceede her power and ſtrength. And although ſhe haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithſtanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, ſhe prouideth for afterclaps and future neceſſities.* Behold what Saint *Ambroſe* hath ſaide, who ſpeaketh much more amply concerning the proprieties of this little Ant; whereon *Cicero* likewiſe diſcourſing, ſayeth: *That the Ants Commonwealth is to be aduiſed to euery City.* For, not onely they haue vnderſtanding like other Animalles: but alſo they haue ſenſe, reaſon, and memory.

Ambroſ. in Hexam. l. 5 cap. 8. & 9.

Cicero in Tuſculan. Lib. 1.

Pliny, Ariſtotle, Elianus.

Pliny, Ariſtotle, and *Elianus,* are verie ſtayed in iudgement, for their conſideration of the Ant, and not without great reaſon: for in duly obſeruing her forme, her dreadfull aſpect, her hardneſſe, her liuely colour, and her piercing ſnowte; there is not any Lion ſo fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is ſo ſtrong, bold, and dreadfull.

No beaſt able to beare ſo great a burthen as the Ant.

First, there is not any animall, that can carry the weight of himſelfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heauier load then it ſelfe, ſo that if this ſmal creature were as great as a horſe, it would eaſily beare the burthen of foure Waggons. Other beaſts can hardly defend theſelues againſt her aſſaults; for, although ſhee is ſo ſmall a worme, yet notwithſtanding, her teeth are ſo ſtrong, as the very hardeſt graine of Corne is not able to withſtande them. Nay, ſhe wil carry hard ſtones in her teeth, and howſoeuer ſhe faſteneth vpon them, ſhee will ſquaſh and bruiſe them, holding them ſo forcibly: that no pincers are able to open her mouth. And ſo opinitiue is ſhe is of her power, as ſhee will rather ſuffer her ſelfe to be rent in peeces, then to forſake whatſoeuer ſhee holdeth: which ſtrength would be farre greater, if her body were equiualent thereto.

The wonderfull & great ſtrength in her teeth.

But leauing her ſtrength (whereof ſo ſmall account is made, in regard of her litleneſſe) let vs ſomewhat conſider the naturall inſtinct, together with the vertue & wiſedome abiding in her. For nature (throughout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonſtration of vertue, then the Ant: nor ſuch profeſſion of amity, induſtry, prouidence, and diuers other ſingular vertues, as wee ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of heereafter, in theyr apte places.

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall inſtinct.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Commonwealth among themſelues, according as *Pliny* ſaith; for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much is affirmed by *Ariſtotle* and *Salomon:*

mon: And yet their Commonwealth is ſo well policied and ordered, as they haue neuer any Warre or ciuill contention among them. Likewiſe they are neuer ſeen to fight or kill one another, as men doe: but, as hath bene obſerued, all labour for the Weale-publike, without laying aſide any thing for priuate vſe, as other Creatures do, that fight for feeding of theyr bellies.

Hnw they ſupply one anothers weakeneſſe in liking their prouiſiō.

Ants helpe and aſſiſt one another, in conducting home their ſtore, and make their prouiſion generally for all together; and if any one be ouer-loaden or wearie, his fellowe giues his ſupply, and in ſuch decent manner, as one is no hinderance to another. And if there be any thing ouer heauy to bee carried away with their prouiſion, they take ſo much thereof as is needfull, and eaſie to bee trained along, going on together ſo chearfull and dexterioully, that they may well be ſaid, to bee creatures fit and apt for portage. Other creatures haue their neſtes and retreats a part by themſelues, ſo that (oftentimes) they neceſſarily war againſt them of their kinde, for their neſts and lodgings: whereas the like ſilly Ants haue but one roome or receipt for them all in general, without any diuided chambers or Parlors for particular perſons: by which meanes, they maintaine loue and friendſhip one vvith another, therein giuing vs a familiar example, to vſe the like ſociable vertue as they do.

Antes haue their dwelling in frendly maner altogether.

Moreouer, the induſtry which they declare in their Caue or roome, is a matter maruellous; becauſe if it bee poſſible for them, they will alwayes make their dwelling nere to a riuer, or ſome little running brooke, and plant the earth which they bring to the mouth of their caue, to ſerue as a rampier againſt rough winter, as fearing leaſt water ſhould winne entrance: & within the entry, they winde and turned diuers wayes, to the end, that their maine abiding ſhould not eaſily be found, & the mouth or doore is very narrow, in regard of the ſpaciouſneſſe within.

Their caue is commonly nere to ſome Brook or Riuer.

Beſide, they haue three roomes or ſtages within their Caue; one whereof is for the males, the ſecond for the Females, where they produce their yong ones, for there are male and female of theſe ſmall Creatures. In the third ſtage they make their Garner, wherein they beſtow theyr food and prouiſion, according as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth. Vſing their ſtore ſo meaſurably, as they neuer haue any want of victuals. And becauſe the moſt part of their purueyance is Corn, to preſerue it in ſuch ſort, that moyſture may not make it ſprout; they bite and nibble the Graine within the midſt, where the ſprouting yſſueth foorth; a thing moſt admirable and miraculous in Nature, notwithſtanding, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and many other good authors, do auouch it to be certaine & true. If they finde their Corne to bee wette and moiſtned with winter raines, they haue a naturall vnderſtanding, to dry and refreſh it againe in the Sunne, to preſerue it from putrifying: ſo that the little poore Ant is neuer idle either day or night, for then ſhe vſeth the helpe of the Moone, when the Sunne-ſhine is denied her, which enſueth from incomparable prudence.

Ariſt. in Lib. de anim. 4. cap. 6

A miraculous induſtry in the Ant for preſeruing her prouiſion.

Such as haue written on this argument, and daily experience confirmes the ſame, that the Ants are well inured to theſe labors; for they dayly rome abroade from their Caues, to bring home freſh and new nouriſhment. And after that ſuch nouell prouiſions is brought in, whether theyr knowledge conſiſteth in the ſmelling it, or by a naturall inſtinct giuen from God, enſtructing how to order and vſe it, all come forth together, to refreſh both their olde and new prouiſion, and following theyr guides in great crowds, conuey their ſtore in all by one way, without the leaſt iniury one to another: becauſe in doing a kinde of courteſie, they make way for each others free paſſage, and ſometimes walk on in couples together.

Daily care & endeuour for freſh ſupply of food.

Courteſy don each to other in the portage of their prouiſion.

Now here is a further matter to be obſerued, what order they keepe, when they come to the place, where they do charge themſelues with their prouiſion. For ſome get the Corne out of the ſtraw; Others, carry it to the Caue, at the entrance whereof, there ſtand diuers other readie to receiue it, and ſo conuey it into the garner, euery one doing his duty according vnto his office and degree. And when they carry a Peaſe, a Chiche, or ſome other grain, more weighty then a graine of Wheate; three or foure vndertake the burthen, or ſo many as the caſe requireth, pacing on very gently together, without any crowding or diſorder.

The maner of carrying their prouiſion to the garner, & in what mutuall order they are helping one to another.

And if by chance they come vnto any place,

place, irkesome or offensiue to their passage, the order is admirable which they obserue therein. For, some raise vp the loade aloft, and others labour to thrust it forward, by stepping vnder to ease theyr fellowes: and if any meete them accidentally by the way, they all lay helpe to get home the burthen. And being come vnto the Caues entrance, if the graine be greater then the mouth thereof will admitte: they cut it in quarters, and so carry it into the Granary. In the while of this their busie toile, others are not negligent, in bringing home purueyance beside: so that wee may say (in conclusion of this point) all generally labour for the Weale-publique.

These admirable qualities in the Ant are auouched by many good Authors.

After their prouision is thus made, and their Garner well stored for the season, they fortifie and fast close vp the Caue, against the iniurie of winters stormes and raine: norishing themselues all the while, with their plenty formerly brought in. Which naturall instinct is denied vnto all other Animals, man onely excepted: and yet there are many men, scarsely prouided for a morrowes necessity. Moreouer, that the Ant maketh a double prouision for her age, is very considerable; for, according as *Virgil* saith: *She prouideth for her aged yeeres, which ensueth to her by instinct of Nature, preparing still (euery yeare) for a following Winter, implying the Winter of her age.*

Many meselesse prouident then the Ant, that maketh prouision for her age.

Virgil in Bucol.

This creature, hath also a naturall inclination, quite contrary to all brutish behauiour. For, she seemeth to haue some knowledge of God, and a kinde of religious vnderstanding. For as *Pliny* and *Ælian* do both affirme, they obserue Religiously certaine festiuall daies, as all the newe Moones; a matter somewhat hard to bee credited, and yet possible neuertheless. The same authors say also, that they haue a naturall kind of charitie amongst them; because they will bury their dead, euen in meere compassion.

The Ant deuout and religious.

The Ant charitable.

Cleanthes reporteth an admirable history, which by *Aelian* is maintained to bee true. *Cleanthes* beeing a learned Philosopher, and sitting one day by an Ant hillocke, to consider their naturall disposition: he espied two Ants bearing a thirde Ant that was dead, and comming neere to the Caues entrance, which belonged to the other dead; they set downe theyr load, and two other Ants came out of the Caue to them, seeming to confer & talke together by outward action. The last two returned into the caue againe, & brought foorth a little Worme betweene them, which the other receiued of them, as in payment for their paines, and returned backe, leauing the dead Ants bodie, that they of the Caue might giue it buriall, the which they presently did, so soone as the other were departed.

An admirable history recorded by Cleanthes and Elianus.

Vndoubtedly, it is a matter marueilous, that these creatures, being so smal, as som of them can scarsely be seene, should thus serue as an example to mē, to study peace and concord, and to be good house-keepers, laborious, prouident, and charitable; aptly therein enstructing the spirit & vnderstanding of men; not reputing the Ant to bee so vnbeneficiall, as *Plinie* did, thogh it produce no hony or other food. Yet it is greatly auaileable for the health of man; especially her Egges, which (as *Pliny* saith) being incorporated with the milke of a Bitch, healeth all paine and anguish in the eares. If they be beaten in pouder, they make an Vnguent, which mixed with salt, taketh away all pimples and pushes in the face: and Ants beeing eaten, dooth cure all diseases incident vnto the eyes.

What an example the Ant is to men in many matters.

The Ants egs helpefull for paines in the eares.

Neuertheless, because this poore Animall feeds on graine, herbes, and fruits of trees, onely to conserue her selfe in her being, and to perpetuate her generation, whereby some damage may redounde to the fields: reuengefull man, finding himselfe offended at so little harme, hath inuented a thousand wayes to worke her death. For (as *Pliny* sayth) the power of Origan, incorporated with sulphure, and a little vnslaked Lime, killeth Ants. He sayth moreouer, that damming vppe the mouth of their Caue with Sea-mud and Ashes, they can neuer get forth. Notwithstanding, there is not any thing more proper to kil Ants, then the Hearb called *Heliotropium*. And beside, *Auicenne* studied in a whole Chapter, how to be the death of this poore Creature, taking as much paines therein, as if it had beene to expel the plague, or the feauer quartane.

The malice of man against the poor Ant, onely to destroy it.

Meanes whereby to kill beds of Ants.

I reade of certaine Ants in the Region of the *Dardæ*, who doe inhabite the *East Indiaes*, toward the North seashores, which are as grosse and great as Wolues, and

Ants in India, as big as our Wolues, that cast vp Golde in the fieldes.

and the people feare them as they do Lyons, according to the teſtimony of diuers Authors. And ſome ſay, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when theſe dreadfull Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but ſent them in the fields. For ſometimes, theſe Antes hauing winded thoſe ſeekers for Gold, ruſh foorth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

Riding on light Camels, to eſcape frō thoſe Ants.

And they haue no other means to ſeek for gold with ſafety, but by comming thither mounted vppon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by miſchance) theſe Ants do winde thoſe Gold-finders; they haue ſome peece of fleſh hanging about them, which ſodainly they let fall, and ſo eſcape away. Finally, it ſeemeth a thing monſtrous, that our Ants ſhould be charged with wings: Neuertheleſſe, there is a common Prouerbe, ſaying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Whereby it appeareth, that ſome further meaning is hid therein: becauſe ſuch creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they pleaſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that ſome men liue long, and others farre leſſer while. And what complexion is the beſt for liuing long. Alſo how we are to vnderſtand the place, where it is ſaid, that The dayes of a man are numbred.

Though all men are ſubiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike. Iob. 14, 5.

THE Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſayeth, *That all men are ſubiect once to dye*, and therein all men are equall and alike. Notwithſtanding, there is a difference in the tearmes of life; becauſe ſom liue long, and other leſſe ſpace. Neuertheleſſe (as *Iob* ſaith) *The time of our life is compaſſed, and no man can paſſe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* Theſe things then ſtanding thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amiſſe, to vnderſtand that which cauſeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then another; what complexion is moſt proper for long life: and laſtly, how it ought to be vnderſtood, when it is ſaid, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to paſſe on further, which are points ſufficiently obſcure, and comprehended by few people.

The hermony of the foure elementarie qualities gouerne the body of man.

To vnderſtand therefore the cauſe of long life, it behoooueth vs to preſuppoſe in the firſt place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, conſiſteth in the concord and hermony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is compoſed, as namely heate, colde, moyſture, and drineſſe. But expreſſely in the proportionable hermony of heate and moiſture, which *Ariſtotle* well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conuenicncy of theſe two qualities, for the ſupport and continuance of man. In like maner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, ſo long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall inſtrument, to conſerue the vegetatiue ſoule.

Wherein the life of man mainly conſiſteth: naturall heate being the chiefe inſtrument.

Now, to ſpeake vprightly, the life of man conſiſteth in nothing elſe, then in maintaining the inſtruments and organes of the ſoule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is ſo neceſſary to ſupport mans body, as whenſoeuer it is failing, the ſoul is conſtrained to forſake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And becauſe this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) conſumeth whatſoeuer it meeteth withall: it was truely conuenient, that another contrarie qualitie ſhould be oppoſed againſt it, for conſeruation of the inferiour bodies. Vppon which occaſion, God placed the radicall or naturall humor, with this natural heate, onely to nouriſh and maintaine it, euen as fire feedeth it ſelfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicall humour conſumeth and diminiſheth it ſelfe daily; to ſupply & defend it, it was neceſſary, that all Creatures ſhould browſe and feede, and that by meanes thereof, the humor (being the cauſe of digeſtion) ſhould ſupply the naturall defect.

Of the radical or naturall humour.

The humor which is cauſe of digeſtion, is neuer ſo perfect as the radicall humor.

But ſeeing that (according to *Ariſtotle*) the humor which is cauſe of digeſtion, is neuer ſo perfect as the radicall and naturall, although it ſerueth much for maintenance: of neceſſity the radicall humor decayeth

cayeth it selfe dayly (for the accidentall humour, cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall, which vanisheth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate looseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humour radicall, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according as Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruite thereof, it should re-establish the radicall humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to *Adam* and *Eue*, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselues in their originall righteousnes; they and their successors, feeding on the fruite of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified theyr bodyes, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that humane Linage hath lost this prerogatiue by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

The Tree of life in the terrestriall Paradise, preserting from corruption & old age.

Proceeding nowe to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicall humour is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuertheless) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the saide qualities; which likewise commeth so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moisture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it self. For when heate ouer aboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in choller icke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humiditie, heat feeleth it selfe to be quenched, as in Flegmaticke persons it happeneth in the same maner. Neuertheless, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also faile, who hath as much of the moyst humor as of heat, because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humiditie proportionably. For, one thing beeing agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did *Aristotle* couertly declare, when he said; *Among these two qualities before remembred, there ought to bee a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicall fire, to the end, it may not wholhe consume the humour naturall. And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry vp the radicall humour, so that it may not extinguish the naturall fire.* As we often see to happē in yong children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moisture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions, & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheles these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moisture, which yet is the norisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw nere to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and cold. A man then (according to the good temperature of heauē) ought also to temper his complexxion by these foure qualities, and that in such sort: as, to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing cold and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which meanes, they that finde not themselues thus proportionably temperated, are naturally of short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

Arist. in Anim. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Yong children dying by ouer abounding moisture.

Concerning the diuersitie of contrarieties.

Life lasteth longer or lesser time, according to the proportion and temperature of the radicall humor.

Life dieth, loosing her companion heate and moysture.

By the good temperature of heauen, a man should gouerne his own complexion in those foure qualities.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as Choler, flegme Blood, & Melancholy, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life; for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist, and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moisture sufficient to norish the heat, it is most

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Cholerick complexion.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Cholerike cõplexion, it is of lesse continuance, because the viuacity and force of his fire, and also of the heate, cannot long endure with his dryneſſe.

The Phlegmaticke & watric.

The Phlegmaticke & watrie complexion, cannot bee digested by heate, in regard of his excessiue humidity: & therefore falleth easily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The Melancholy.

The melancholy complexion, beeing earthie, abridgeth life by his coldnesse & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moisture: and therfore it is not to bee wondred at, though they shorten life, by ouer-abounding in some bodyes.

Choller and Phlegme.

Notwithstanding, if Choller mingle it self with Phlegme, and that it surmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion also is very apt to maintaine long life.

Blood and Melancholy.

When likewise blood surpasseth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themselues, with the cold and drineſſe of melancholy.

Compounded Complexions

Whereby we may gather, that there are compounded Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine simplie, to preserue and prosper the length of life.

The life of man limited by power of his complexion.

By that which formerly hath bene said, wee may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: so that the diuersitie of proportions doe cause the diuersity of tearmes of life in man. And some hold, that a man may liue so long as naturall heate lasteth, and the radicall humor giueth maintenance. Also, whereas some say, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impossible for him to passe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may supply and maintaine vnto the latest point; yet notwithstanding, of a thousand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, because there are so many disasters which happen accidentally, or else by some disorder; that the most part die, before nature failes in them, either by hunger, pestilence, poison, gourmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diseases, caused thorow infinit excesses in mõ, by them daily committed, and so the true naturall tearme of mans life, is, when nature faileth, being the

Many men dy before nature faileth in the through theyr owne extremity of excesse.

vtterly impossible for them to passe that point.

Thus are we to vnderstand that place in *Iob*, where it is sayde: *Lord, thou hast established the bounds of mans life, which is impossible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearely be discerned, that a man may very easily shorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that we see many of good complexion, and likely to liue a Worlde of yeares: who neuertheleſſe are of short life, by some exteriour cause, which hastens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithstanding, that passage in *Iob* may bee otherwise vnderstood, in regard of Gods prescience or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life; be it by his naturall complexion, or by some other meanes, which he hath assigned to the life of man. And because ther is nothing hidden from the wisedome of God (for, hee knoweth all the causes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impossible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God, although there were contingent causes.

Many men likely to liue long, haue yet their dayes shortned.

In this respect it may be said, that there are two tearmes in the life of man, one whereof, dependeth vpon the hermony & proportion of the Elementary qualities; and the other is according to the preordination and prescience of God. Between which tearmes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede so farre as the first, and yet without passing it; but all men attaine to the second. And although that (by course of nature) some one may passe on to his second terme: yet notwithstanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may bee sayde of other creatures and plants.

Two termes in the life of man, and how they are attained vnto.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the life of man hath beene abridged and shortned from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times. Of the diuersity of termes allotted to men: With many histories tending to that purpose, especially of such as haue liued long.

HAuing the wne how to maintaine this life, & declared also the reasons, why some liue long, & others lesse time; it may

appeare

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Concerning the naturall hermonie of Elementarie qualities, supporting mans body.

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall hermonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of foode, which do conserue and establish life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

The long life of our forefathers in the first world.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eight Chapter; where is amply related the yeares of our auncient fore-fathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkeable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written; that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled and limited to an 120. yeares, immediatly after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-liue six score yeares; but as if that the rest or ouer-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

Gen. 6,3.

Gods owne limitation for the life of mã.

Abraham, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seuenty and fiue yeares. *Iaacob* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Ægypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to bee alledged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortned againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attain to foure score yeares; yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes we see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not aboue fiue and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & fiue (I meane in lusty disposition, for operations and actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentith part; of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God only knoweth.

Genesis 25,7.

Genesis 46,6.

Psalme 90,10.

The yeares of weak & strong men in these our instant daies.

The ancient Philosophers labored very seriously, in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to the celestiall influences. Others alledged farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more beside, that limit the life of man to sixe score yeares. *Berosus* alloweth no more then an hundred and seauenteene; *Petosiris*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Essatius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the poise or weight of his heart.* Euen as wee haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are alledged, making to this purpose, without presuming into any secret, concerning the will and prouidence of God.

The search of Philosophers for the reason of mans short life, as is to be seene in their seuerall writings.

In the first place, God ordaind al creatures to eate and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radicall humor, graunting them means also, to perpetuate their seuerall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establish the radical humor, which diminisheth and vanisheth away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it; so is it not possible also, to yeeld a body by the act of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radical complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it ensueth, that the life of man became abridged and shortned dayly more and more.

All creatures appointed to feede for maintaining the humor radicall and naturall.

The radicall complexion, the principall Complexion.

Another reason, which neuertheles dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and commeth far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is vtterly impossible, to haue mankinde in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first worlde had. And therfore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the hermony of the Elementary qualities beeing adulterated and bastardized, and foode likewise decayed in goodnes; it is no maruel, if our present life be become so much shortned. And thogh those times then obserued, euen as an

A second reason concerning foode and sustentation.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers persons (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and, in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiected to any law or limit. Neuertheless, because we may not complaine, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuity thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discourse on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be shortned.

The life time of men after the generall deluge. Gen. 11, 12, 13 14.

Arpachshad, sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeares after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to foure hundred and thirty yeares before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liuad foure hundred and three yeares. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whome the Hebrewes took their name) liued foure hundred sixty and seuen yeares. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he safely preserued the Hebrue (which was the first language of the worlde) because he consented not to the proud building of *Babels* Tower.

When the confusion of tongues was.

Terah, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and fiue yeares, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauentie and fiue yeares; as also *Iaacob* an hundred seauenty fiue yeares, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuertheless, *Moyses* liued six score yeares, and *Aaron* sixe score and three yeares: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued sixe score and seuen yeares, and that valiant woman *Iudith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, lyued an hundred and fiue yeares; as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

At what time mens liues began to shorten.

The liues of renowned women.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Nestor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predecessors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Nestors* yeares, hee being three hundred yeares old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: *Prince Nestor being about three hundred yeares of age, went to succour the Greekes against the Troyans, with a potent army by sea.*

*Son to Neleus & Chloris.

Nestors yeares

Homers words of Nestors going to the Troyan warre.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authours besides. *Arganthonius*, King of * *Andalouzia* (anciently called *Turditania*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeares, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Anachreon*: Neuertheless *Herodotus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet do auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeares.

* Now Granado.

Arganthonius king of Turditania.

Valerius Maximus, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeares, and liued sixe score yeares. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of years: but because matters fecht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspition, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

Kings of Arabia that liued long.

Valerius Maximus Coruinus, did liue an hundred yeares, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing beene sixe times Consull of *Rome*: and further saieth, That there were sixe and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship, and the last yeare of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledisposition, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices imposed vppon him.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Corui-nus, six times Consull of Rome.

Stephanus the *Romane*, beeing farre entred into yeares, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Octauius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seuenty three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperor *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwarde. *Titus Fullonius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fifty yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from fiue yeares to fiue yeares in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the trueth, for he was very curious in such matters.

These were sports vsed from one 100 yeares to another hundred.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeares. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fifteene yeares of age, hauing had fifteen male children.

The long life of diuers Roman ladies.

Samura

Valeria Cariola a famous Ladie Dancer.

Samura a *Romane* Lady, was an hundred and ten yeares old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeares, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperor *Octauius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen years old.

Plin. l. 10. c. 7

Pliny reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Parma*, each of them being aged six score yeares, and two that were sixe score and ten yeares old; beside a woman, that was aged sixe score and twelue years. He saith moreouer, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them beeing an hundred yeares olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeares: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeares: and other foure men, who were seuerally aged sixe score & fifteen yeares: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeares old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

A note well worthy obseruation.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. *Gorgias Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeares. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeares, was demanded, why he tooke so great delight to abide in the world; whereto he thus replyed, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to bee blamed in mine age.* An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

* A Rhetoritian, scholler to Empedocles, and Master to Hocrates.

Seneca the Philosopher, borne at * *Corduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Appollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeares before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeares; and dyed, hauing neuer felt Feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Physitians, liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeares: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the sense of any sickenesse.

* A Citie of Betica in Spaine.

Galen, Prince of all other Physitians.

* *Attyla*, King of the *Gothes*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure years, seruing as a scourge to mankinde, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Massinissa*, King of *Gninea*, liued fourescore and seauenteene yeares, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head couered, neyther from the Sun, windes, or raines, or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bare-headed) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest souldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

* A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued Pannonia, &c.

He was also King of Numidia.

As for Hermites and ancient Fathers, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as Saint *Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued sixe score yeares; Saint *Anthony* the Ægyptian Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Creonius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuertheless God hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Conrade*, which was in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemaigne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeares, and was called *Iohn of Time*. Which name was giuen him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *Iohn, Iohn, trust thou in God.*

The long life of Hermits & holy Fathers.

Iohn of Time hadde liued 360. yeares.

CHAP. XXX.

A briefe Chronologicall Survey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into seuenteene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.

CConcerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these coũtries, wee finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes, the one being named *Battus*, or *Batton*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreamly pursued by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pitied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poysoning, murthering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuised and put in practise against the) were forced to forsake their native abyding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battauia*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

*A people neere to the Scythians.

Battauia is Holland.

Zelandus, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursute should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he trauelled on to the vttermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Zeland, named by Zelandus.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselues, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their originall) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters meerely exempt from our intended breuity, and may more amply be seen in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceed to the yeare, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

863.

In the yeare before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Haghen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for theyr great deseruings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen. *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earl of *Teysterbandt*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, beeing formerly called *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

The two sons of Count Haghen.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much withstood by the *Frizelanders*, as scorning to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proued to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselues, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the yeare eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frizeland*.

Thierry Earle of Holland, Zeland, and Lord of Friseland.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Ienna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperor *Charlemaigne*. Hee worthily foyled the Danes, that then possessed the Towne of *Vtriche*, the Wiltes and the Slaues, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulsed likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

2 *Thierry*

2 *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frizeland*, who married with *Hildegarde*. daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charls* the Simple. The *Frizelanders* did twice reuolt from their obedience, and would not allow Earl *Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earl, wasting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their insolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frisons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must stoope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and seruile, receiuing a new Oath of allegeance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egbert*) became Archbyshop of *Treues*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

The Frizelanders rebell againe.

3 *Arnold*, or (as others will haue it) *Arnulph*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lordship of *Frizeland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Otho* the third, Emperour; and so became in fee to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with straunge Eclipses both of the Sunne and Moone, beeing as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frizons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betweene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst. Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefest Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after S. *Lamberts* day, in the yeare 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned fiue yeares, and being thus vnfortunately slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

A dreadfull Comet, eclipses and earthquakes.

4 *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lorde of *Frizeland*. Being desirous to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frizons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adelbold*, Byshop of *Vtrecht*, against whom (neuertheless) hee preuailed in two foughten battailes, in the yeare 1018. and (with great slaughter of the *Frizons*) brought them vnder obedience to his youngest son *Floris*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vndertooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Hierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 46. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Adelbold byshop of Vtrecht.

5 *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fift Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Frizeland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tourney of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard happe, to kill a Brother of the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discorde and molestation, that, after many aduentures of reuenge, vndertaken by the *Germaine* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fifteenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer maried, and therefore left not any childe to succeede him.

1309.

The Byshops of Cullen and Liege.

6 *Floris*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Frizeland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixt Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishappe at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, but they wold needs prosecute fresh reuenge on Count *Floris*, who being a man of vndáted spirit, defeated his enemies in two attemptes. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditches and pitfals to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and grasse, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody batell being fought betweene

1048

Two militarie Stratagems.

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty sixe thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, *Anno Domini* 1058. The second foyle of his aduersaries, happened foure yeres after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germans* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earles ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he sate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuayling by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteene yeares, and in *Frizeland* 21. yeares, and lyeth buryed at *Egmont*.

1063. Robert the Frizon.

7. 8. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063. she re-married with *Robert* the *Frizon* (sonne to *Baldwine* of *Lisle de Bucke*, Earle of *Flaunders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three sonnes, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey* of *Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decease) Earle of *Flaunders*;) *Philip*, father to *William* of *Ixt*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teroanne*; beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Frizon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frizons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine de Mons*, Earle of *Flaunders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earledome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Richild*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by meanes of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and she with her sonne *Baldwine*, remayning satisfied with the Countie of *Henault*, *Robert* became quietly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisedome and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077. was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrudes* time of rule by her selfe, and *Roberts* after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

Robert Earle of Flanders.

1077.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of yong Earle *Thierries* minoritie, was made an instrument (in regard of the former quarrel of *Count Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became an vsurper of the young Earles right, for the space of foure years. But as he was sitting on the draught to ease his body, a seruant of young *Count Thierries*, did thrust a Iaueline vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestrecht*.

The crooke-backt Duke of Lorraine.

10. *Thierrie*, the fift of that name, who (by crook-backt *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time beene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frizons*, in two seuerall great battells, recouered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whithilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxonie*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleance*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, dyed, and was buryed in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

The Frizons conquered in two battels.

11 *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or Grosse, succeeded next after his father *Thierry*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmonts* reuenews were largely encreased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frizons*, who, for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselues to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petronilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxonie*, and sister to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kenemerlandt*; and *Symon*, also one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Countesse of *Gueldres*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeares; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*,

1119.

Didier Duke of Saxony.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frizons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

1133.

Lotharius & Conrade Emperors.

ſuch time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vncle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* beeing ioyned as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, cauſed a freſh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which cauſed very long contention, and much bloud to be ſhed on either ſide. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* fortie yeares, died in the yeare 1163. and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

1163

13 *Floris* the third, eldeſt ſonne of *Thierry*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. The *Frizons* (pretēding their former freedomes and imperiall liberties) made ſtill their reuoltes from time to time, imboldned thereto by the often ſuggeſtions of *Godfrey* of *Rhemen*, Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, who (as his predeceſſors had done before him) ſtill queſtioned the Earledomes of *Oſtergo* and *Weſtergoe* in *Frizeland*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himſelfe in perſon, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithſtanding, much hurt was done on eyther ſide, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuerſie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flaunders*, for the Iſle of *Walchren*, and *Count Floris* (in triall of fight) became priſoner to the Earle of *Flaunders*: who neuertheleſſe vſed him princely, and they beeing accorded by the Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, and the Biſhoppe of *Liege*; the great hole neare to the damme or ſluce; was recouered with much adoe, by caſting a dogfiſh thereinto, and ſpeedy filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-ſluce*. This Earle *Floris*, aſſiſting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Phillip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Chriſtian Princes and Earles, at the ſiege of *Damieta* in *Soria*: fell there ſicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty ſeuen yeares.

Earledomes of Oſtergo & Weſtergo.

1168.

The Dam or Sluce, called Dogs Sluce.

1208.

14 *Thierrie* the ſeuenth, hearing of his fathers death in *Paleſtine*; ſucceeded as his heire in all his Earledoms. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combuſtions. Firſt by his brother Lord *William* of *Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Paleſtine*, and performd there many honourable ſeruices) thorow diuers diſagreements that happened betweene them; notwithſtanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flaunders*, he was as moleſtuous to him likewiſe, for the Iſle of *Walchren*: beſides the *Frizons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as alſo his impriſonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intruſion of the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, after which, enſued a peace and vnited amity on all ſides. This *Count Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters; *Adella*, marryed to *Henry* of *Gueldres*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meanly marryed by her mother (after her fathers death) to *Count Lewes* of *Loos*, that ſo the gouernement might be diſpoſed at her pleaſure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203. Earle *Thierry* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteene yeares, and and lyeth buryed in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

L. William of Holland.

1198.

1203

15 *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Counteſſe of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which mooued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they ſhould liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they ſent into *Frizeland* for *Count William*, proteſting to aſſiſt him in attayning the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Counteſſe *Ada* was ſurprized in their firſt attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet wunne the Biſhop of *Vtrecht* (by money and other promiſes) to ayde him, and by this means he had ſome ſmall ſucceſſe for a while. But the Counteſſe *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power againſt the Earle of *Loos*, and ſuch was his ſucceſſe, that the Women did beate his enemies with Diſtaues and Stones, they beeing glad to caſt away their Armour for lightneſſe, to ſaue themſelues by flight; yet many were drowned in the Ditches, and a great number taken priſoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, Pauillions, Plate, Iewelles, and Munition, which Count *William* royally diuided amongſt his *Hollanders*, remayning abſolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*.

The gouernment of a woman deſpiſed

Women beat Men with Diſtaues and Stones.

16 *William*, firſt of that name, ſucceeded

1128. ded rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong *Counteſſe Ada*. He had ſome ſtrife with *Didier* Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, and *Gerard Vander Are* his brother: but (vpon certayne Articles) all diſpleaſures were qualified. By his firſt wife *Alix*, daughter to the Earle of *Gueldres*, he had *Floris*, that next ſucceeded him, *Otho* Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, *William* Lieutenant of *Holland*, and two daughters, the one was Abbeſſe at *Rhynsbourg*, aud the other at *Delfte*. His ſecond wife was named *Mary*, daughter to *Edmund* of *Lancaſter*, ſon to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had no iſſue. He gouerned 19. years; and dying, lies buried at *Rhynsbourg*.

Edmond of Lancaſter, ſon to the King of England.

17 *Floris* the fourth, ſucceeded his father *Count William* in his Earledomes. He took great delight in Iuſts & Turnaments, and the Earle of *Clermont* proclayming a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Counteſſe his wifes requeſt (who greatly deſired to ſee this *Floris*, of whom ſhe had heard much commendation:) this honorable Erle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *&c.* was thefe treacherouſly ſlaine, onely through iealous ſuſpition of the old Erle of *Clermont*, who was there likewiſe preſently ſlaine himſelfe, and the Counteſſe (grieuing for this great miſhap) died ſoone after. This Count *Floris* had a daughter named *Mathilde*, or *Margaret*, as ſome call her, who was married to Count *Herman* of *Henneberg*. She deſpiſing a poore widdow, that deſired her almes vpon vrgent neceſſitie, holding in either arme a ſweet yong child, both which, God had ſent hir at one birth; gaue hir very reprochful words beſide, as, that ſhe could not be honeſt of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, grieuing to be reiected in ſuch extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation ſo nearely touched, knowing her ſoule cleare from al diſhoneſt detection: made no further ſuite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earneſtly deſired, that as ſhe had cõceiued and borne thoſe two infants lawfully by her husband; euen ſo, if euer that Ladie ſhould be ſubiect to the cuſtome of Women, that it would pleaſe him, to ſend her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the yeare. Not long after, the Lady conceiued with childe by her husband, & (for her deliuerance) went into *Holland*, to viſite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at *Loſdunen*, and grew ſo exceeding great, as the like had neuer before beene ſeene. When her time came, on the Friday before Palme-ſunday, in the yeare of our Lord God 1276. ſhee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being ſonnes, and the other daughters; but the odde childe was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well ſhaped and proportioned in their little members. Theſe children were layd in two baſins, and were all baptized by *Guydon*, Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, who named all the ſonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Elizabeth*, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no ſooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother alſo. The two Baſins are yet to bee ſeene in the ſayde Church of *Loſdunen*, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitis Hennebergiæ vxor, & Florentij Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ filia, &c.* Vnderneath are theſe verſes:

The wonderfull birth of 365. Children

This Hiſtory is auouched for a truth by diuers good Authors.

En tibi monſtroſum & memorabile factum,
Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.

This Count *Floris*, being ſo treacherouſly ſlaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into *Holland*, by the Earle of *Cleues*, and other noble Lords, who buried it in the Abby of *Rhynsbourg*; he hauing honourably and vertuouſly gouerned his Countries twelue yeares. He left but one ſon named *William*, ſix yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle *Otho*, Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, during his minoritie.

18 *William*, ſecond of that name, ſucceeded his father *Floris* in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of *Otho* Biſhop of *Vtrecht* his vnckle, who was a very worthy & carefull Guardian to him. The Pope hauing depoſed *Fredericke* the ſecond, and *Conrade* his ſonne from the Empire: the Princes Electors (in deſpight of the Pope) made this Earle *William* King of the *Romans*, and crowned him at *Aix le Chapelle*, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble hapned, betweene him, & *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Flanders*, a very high-minded and proude woman,

Earle William King of the Romans.

woman, for the country of *Walchren*, wherin, after a great foile and slaughter of the *Flemings*, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (*Guy* and *Iohn*) she implored the aid of *Charles* duke of *Anion*, against king *William*, & sped therby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconcilement. This King *William* built the Pallace of the Earles of *Holland*, in the vilage of *La Hage*, or the *Hague*, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at *Harlem*. At his warres in west *Frizeland*, where he preuailed very successefully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebells ouer the Ice, where his horsse slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none neare to helpe him (but enemies of the *Frizons*, that lay secretly in ambush;) they beate him downe with clubbes and staues, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the village of *Hooktwond*, thinking so to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of *Middlebourg*, in the Isle of *Walchren*.

King William cruelly slaine.

19 *Floris* the fift, son to King *William*, who was slaine so inhumanely; albeit hee was but sixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vncle *Floris* being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting *Frizons*, and ouercame them at a village called *Schellinckhout*, very seuerely reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in *Frizeland*) brought them wholly vnder his obedience. Afterward, Count *Floris* made a voyage into *England*, where a marriage was contracted, betweene *Iohn*, eldest son to Earle *Floris*, and *Elizabeth*, daughter to king *Edward* the first: *Iohn* being (not long after) sent into *England*, to accomplish the sayd mariage, where he remained in the Court of *England*, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

1290.

A knight lined in the Earles Court, named *Gerard van Velsan*, who had beene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded, through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle, which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repayre this wrong, with very especiall fauors done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which *Gerard* disdaining & replying, that he would not weare his cast shooes: the Earle rashly answerd, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent mariage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. Which when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending *Gerard* on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a little pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to *Gerards* house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning her to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly deflowred her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At *Gerards* returne, and this foule wrong discouered, it was pursued with very bloudy reuenge, by a resolued conspiracy sworne against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuerd him by a poore woman;) yet his disaster being ineuitable, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd *Gerard*. But hee and the rest of the conspiratorse scaped not vnpunished, for they had their heads smitten off, and were then laid vpon wheeles; but *Gerard* was put (stark naked) into a Pipe stucke full of sharp nailes, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of *Leyden*. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and al his kinred (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheeles.

A seuere reuenge for the Earles death.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle *Floris* the fift, committed by the *Fryzons*, as hath beene declared: *Iohn* his only son (being then in *England* with King *Edward* his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue *England*, some partialities and factions happened in *Holland* for the gouernement, which soone were qualified at Earle *Johns* being there present, notwithstading the subtile policie of *Wolfart* of *Borssele*, seizing the person of Earle *Iohn*, and Lady *Elizabeth* his wife, thinking to haue the gouernement of the sayd Earle, because, as yet,

1297

Wolfart of Borssele, his secret intention.

yet, he was but young. Earle *Iohn* preuailed against the *Frizons*, and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and hauing gouerned his Countries about foure yeares, hee fell sicke at *Harlem*, and there dyed. He was the first of al the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line masculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the first Earle of *Holland*, had continued 437. yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinsbourg*, his widdow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where she was afterward maried to the Earle of *Oxford*: So that by the death of Earle *Iohn* in this manner, those Countries were deuolued to the Earles of *Henault*, issuing by the mothers side frō the earles of *Holland*.

1300. The end of the race of the Dukes of Aquitaine, & succession of the Earles of Henault.

21 *Iohn*, the second of that name, called *Iohn* of *Henault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Sister to *William* king of the *Romans*) succeeded after *Iohn*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*, *&c.* He had a long and tedious trouble with *Iohn de Reuesse*, who perswaded the Emperour, that *Iohn* Earle of *Holland* dying without issue, his Earledomes ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the bald, Emperor of the *Romans*, had at first giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This suggestion raised the Emperour *Albert* in Armes against *Iohn* of *Henault*; but the Bishop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betweene them; and *Iohn de Reuesse* was afterward drowned, by which means, *Iohn* of *Henault*, hauing gouerned *Henault* thirty yeres, and his countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* fiue yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

1301.

Iohn de Reuesse drownd.

1305.

22 *William* the third, sonne and heire to *count Iohn* of *Henault*, succeeded his fathers Earledomes: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iustice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned so great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, euen in the streets as they went: seeking also for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewise found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed sucking at their mothers breasts, and some were enforced to feede on their dead children. In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, being extreamely ouercharged with hunger, entreated her owne sister, (being a woman of better abilitie) to lend her some bread, which she would thankefully repay againe, when God should enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pitty of her extreamity, denyed her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vrgings; that shee was assured, that shee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmercifull sister (lying, both to God and to her owne poore sister) sayde: If I haue any bread, I wish that it may instantly be turned into a stone: wherewith the heauy displeasure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupboord (to relieue her selfe) she found all her loaues of bread conuerted into apparant stones, and died herselfe with extreamity of hunger. It is credibly said, that one or two of those stones, are yet to be seene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iust iudgement of God.

The good Earle William

1316. A wonderfull dearth.

A strange example of an vnmercifull sister.

There is also recorded another memorable Historie, of vpright Iustice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, against a Bayliffe of South *Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the relieue of himselfe, his poore wife and children; as there are some Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty pottles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliffe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then sicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any suiters from audience, were he sicke or well) was adiudged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike Iustice (being himselfe an Officer) and abusing the authority committed in trust to him; the Earle sent for an Executioner, and caused his head to be smitten off by his beds side. This good *Count William*, beeing a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned, wise, wel spoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32. years, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

A worthy action of iustice done by this good Earle William.

1337. Earle William a worthy & iudicious.

23 *William* the fourth, son to the good Earle *William*, came to his fathers Earledoms by lawfull succession. He was a man of high merit, & a most famous Souldier, whereof

wherof he made good proofe; first against the *Sarazins* and *Moores*, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperor *Lewes*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, against the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuonia*, and warring against the *Russian* Infidels, lading home his men with victory & wealthy spoiles: And lastly, in preuayling against the *Frizons*, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vtrecht*: Yet it was his hard hap to be slaine vnknowne (amongest the *Frizons*) before any could haue power to helpe him: so that he left no lawfull child to succeede him, and therefore his sister, (beeing Empresse) remayned his onelie heire.

1342. Robert of Arckell, Gouernour of Vtrecht. 1346.

24 *Margaret*, wife to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldest sister to Earle *William*, slayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizons*, by the Emperors interposition of his authority, and her owne natiue right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a most princely and well-beseeming traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princesse of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. But before her returne back to the Emperor againe, shee constituted both his and her eldest sonne (named *William* of *Bauaria*) to bee her Regent there in those Countries, for a summe of money yearely payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, she might resume all her rights to herselfe againe. The Emperor deceasing, the Empresse *Margaret* came thither againe, and had resignation (from her sonne *William*) of all the aforesaide Countries, retyring himselfe into *Henault*, as being well contented there to liue: vntill by intestine discord, and dangerous practises of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks* (wherin both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers gouernment did grow vnsufferable, and Duke *William* was recouered from *Henault*, to vnder-goe the sole authority. Two very bloody battels were fought betweene the Empresse and her sonne; and in the first, Earle *William* escaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the second, there was so much bloud spilt, that (for three dayes after) the old Riuer of *Mense* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The Empresse (by helpe of a small Barke) escaped into *England*; and vpon an agreement afterwards made betweene them: Duke *William* had the quiet possession of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* assigned him, and the Empresse *Margaret* had the countie of *Henault*, where (fiue yeares after) she ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Valenciennes*.

Margaret the Empresse, Princesse of Holland. The factions of Cabillaux and Hoecks. 1351. great effusion of blood.

25 Duke *William* being peaceably possessed of his Seigneuries, according to the former composition, being also Duke of *Bauaria*, *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Henault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Matilda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaster* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much strife, warre, and blody bickering, hapned betweene him and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, with shrewd disaduantages on eyther side; till, by the meanes of some Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

Matilda, daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaster.

This Duke *William* (vpon what occasion it could neuer be knowne) fell distracted of his senses, and slew a Knight with a blow of his fist: so that hee was shut vp (vnder good Guarde) for nineteene years space, euen till he dyed. Hauing gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Frizland* (before his madnesse) seauen yeares, and *Henault* two. 1358

26 *Albert* of *Bauaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his distraction, was sent for from *Bauaria*, and made Gouernor of his brothers Countries, in hope of his recouery, which by no meanes could be compassed. Hee vanquished the *Frizons* in many rebellions, tooke the towne of *Delft*, and beheaded the Baron of *Eughien*, vpon finister reformations, which caused great trouble betweene him, and sixe brethren of the said Baron: but, vpon their reconcilement. *Count Albert* builded the Chanonry of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

The Baron of Eughien beheaded.

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reason of great tempests at Sea, and extraordinarie high Tides) was seene swimming in the *Zuyderzee*, betweene the Townes of *Campen* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleansed from the Seamosse growne about her, by her long abiding there: she was like to another woman, endured to be apparelled, and would feed on meats as others did, yet sought she all meanes to escape, and get into the water

1368 A Sea-Woman seene in the Zuyderzee. 1441

agayne, had ſhe not very carefully beene tended. Shee did learne to ſpinne, and exerciſe other womanly qualities, beeing daily ſeene of infinite perſons, who haue made perfect teſtimoniall of this rare accident, and ſignified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that ſhe liued fifteene yeares, and lyeth there buryed in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand foure hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countries ſixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutour to his diſtracted brother, and twenty ſeauen as Prince, heire and Lord of thoſe Countries, beeing buryed at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

1404.

27 *William*, ſixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Bauaria* his father, ſucceeded as his immediate heyre. His firſt wife was daughter to *Charles* the fift, King of *Fraunce*, and ſhe dyed yong, without any iſſue. He ſecondly marryed the daughter of *John*, ſonne to *Phillip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Iaqueline* or *Iacoba*, as the Dutch vſe to call her. This *Count William* waſted *Frizeland*, ſpoyled *Liege*, and preuayled againſt the *Gueldres*, and alſo the Lordes (father and ſonne) of *Arckell* at *Gorrichom*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the *French* King. The Dolphine of *Fraunce*, ſonne to King *Charles* the ſixt, marryed *Isquiline*, *Count Williams* daughter; but hee being poyſoned, by putting on a ſhirt of maile, dyed without iſſue. As Earle *William* himſelfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Iaqueline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*) was his true heire in all his Seigneuries: Hee gouerned thirteene yeares, and lieth buried at *Valenciennes* in *Henault*.

Philip the bolde Duke of Burgundy.

1417.

28 *Iaqueline*, or *Iacoba*, daughter and ſole heire to *William* of *Bauaria*, ſucceeded her father in all his Earledomes and Seigneuries, beeing then widdow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, ſhe endured much moleſtation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions tooke head againe, and bandied their boldnes on both ſides, the *Hoeckins* fauouring the Counteſſes faction, and the *Cabillantines* her enemies, by which meanes her rule was greatly diſturbed. For *John* of *Bauaria* (forſaking his Biſhoppricke of *Liege*) ſought to make himſelfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Iaqueline* (vtterly againſt her will) and yet to diſpoſſeſſe her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpoſe he leagued himſelfe with the *Cabillantines*, and other powerfull friends, who neuertheleſſe were ſlaine in their bolde aduenture at *Gorrichome*. And, to fruſtrate the Biſhops vaine hope, the Pope diſpenſed her marriage with *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinſman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritãces were the more ſtrengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, &c. It were needeleſſe heere, to relate the following moleſtations of *Iohn* of *Bauaria* the Biſhop, to his Niece *Iaqueline*, taking on himſelfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by ſome) rancked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Iaqueline*; to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, vnckle to *Henry* the ſixt, King of *England*; the fourth and laſt time (in great priuacy) to *Franke* of *Borſſelle*, Lieutenant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom ſhee reſigned vp all her Countries. Let it ſuffiſe, that ſhee liued in continuall vexations n ineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buryed in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

Iohn of Bauaria Biſhop of Liege.

Iohn of Bauaria the Biſhop reckoned the 29. Earle of Holland.

" 1436. "

30 *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundie*, beeing (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and ſucceſſour to the aforenamed Counteſſe *Iaqueline*; was thus entitled: *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourg*; Earle of *Flaunders*, *Artois*, *Burgogne*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marqueſſe of the holie Empire; and Lord of *Frizeland*, *Sulins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two firſt hee had no children; but by the laſt, named *Iſabell* (daughter to *Iohn* King of *Portugall*) hee had three ſonnes; *Anthony* and *Ioſſe*, who dyed yong, and *Charles Martin*, Earle of *Charolois*, and ſucceſſour vnto his father. This *Phillip* of *Bourgogne* inſtituted the order of Knighthood of the golden *Fleece*, and had much diſcontent with his ſonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he marryed to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebells of *Gaunt* and *Bruges* dearely felt the valour of

The Titles of Philip Duke of Bourgogne.

The order of the golden Fliece inſtituted.

of this *Phillip*; hee beſieged *Callis*, ſurprized *Luxembourg*, ſubdued *Liege*; and ouercame the *Hamecons*. Hee exceeded all his predeceſſors (dukes of *Burgogn*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fift day of Iune 1467. hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing firſt inuented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the firſt honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *Iohn Fauſtus*, who had beene ſeruant to *Laurence Ianſon* of *Harlem*, as they conſtantly affirme.

1467. The Art of Printing firſt inuented.

31 *Charles*, ſurnamed the *Warlike Duke of Bourgogne*, ſucceeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gaunt* reſiſting him, he brought them vnder obeiſance, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the *French* king, who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a freſh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the ſiege of their town; which he ruined, and practiſed the like to the houſe of *Brederode*. He warred againſt the *Frizons*; and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The *French* King, and the Duke, ſought to deceiue each other, and the Conſtable of Saint *Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they reſolued his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betweene the King and Duke) the Conſtable was beheaded at *Paris*. The Duke warred againſt the *Swiſſes*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granſon* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swiſſes* were enriched. The Duke beſieged *Nancie*, and was there ſlaine in battell, by the treaſon of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where beeing engirt with a great troupe of Lanciers, he receiued wounds, one in the head, the ſecond in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one only daughter and heire.

The warlike Duke of Burgogne.

The Earle of Campobachio. 1477.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the warrelike Duke of *Bourgogne*, ſucceeded her father in all his Countries: being but eighteene yeares old when hee was ſlaine before *Nancy*, wherefore ſhe remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauenſteine*. The French King ſeized *Piccardie* & *Arthois*: and ſhe hapning into the *Ganthois* power, endured much trouble, by putting her chiefeſt ſeruants and councellers to death. The *Flemings* were defeated, and the yong Duke of *Gueldres* ſlaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded betweene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, ſonne to the Emperor *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit ſhe would more gladly haue matched with the houſe of *Fraunce*.

The Duke of Gueldres ſlaine.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and ſonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marying the Princeſſe *Mary* of *Bourgogne*; was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, firſt the *Guldres* reuolted from the houſe of *Bourgogne*. Next happned the battell of *Guinegate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Turnay* yeelded to him; truce was taken betweene him and the French King, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks*, were alſo by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was ſurpriſed by the yong lord of *Egmont*; alſo, many Townes in *Gueldres* yeelded to the Arch-duke: and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-dutcheſſe *Mary*; who had (the firſt yeare of her marriage, a ſonne named *Phillip*, father to *Charles* the fift) the ſecond yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betroathed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, ſonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a ſonne named *Frances*, according to the name of *Fraunces* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being choſen King of the Romans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Naſſau*, Gouernour of the Netherlands in his abſence: and afterward, vpon the bold inſolency of the *Ganthois* and *Brugois* (keeping the K. of Romans priſoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made ſecond gouernor of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperor *Fredericke* againſt the Flemings. But *Fredrick* dying, his ſon *Maximilia* ſucceeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Auſtria*, ſonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, *&c.*

1479.

New tumults of the Cabillaux and Hoecks.

1482.

Engelbert, Earle of Naſſaw. 1491.

1494.

34 *Phillip*, ſecond of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and ſucceeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperor in the *Netherlands*, had theſe Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lothier*, *Brabant*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourg*, *Luxembourg*, and *Gueldres*; Earle of *Haſpourg*, *Flaunders*, *Arthois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferretto* and *Kiburch*; *Palatine* of *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zutphen*:

The Titles of Philip, Arch-Duke of Auſtria.

1497. Marqueſſe of the holy Empyre, and of *Bourgogn*; *Landtgraue of Elſaten*, Lord of *Windiſmarke*, *Portnean*, *Salynes*, & *Mecklyn*. Vppon his full poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, peace was made betweene him, and *Charles* the eight, King of France; war hapning betwixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of *Guelders*, great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke *Albert* being ſlaine before *Groningen*, the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of *Caſtile*, & *George* duke of *Sazony* (being then made Gouernor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke *Phillip*) continued the Warres in *Frizeland*.

1503. For, vpon the death of *Iſabell*, Queene of *Caſtile*, *Iane* her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch-duke *Phillip*; ſhe hereby inueſted him in the realms of *Spaine*, *Leon*, *Granada*, &c. as abſolute King. But he enioyed that Dignitie not long: for in the yeare 1506. the 27. day of September, he dyed (ſodainly) in the Citty of *Bourgos*, ſuſpected to bee poyſoned.

Iane daughter to Iſabel married vnto the Arch-duke Philip.

1505.

1506. After the death of *Phillip* King of *Caſtile*, the Emperor *Maximillian* took vpon him the gouernment of the Netherlandes, as Guardian vnto *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, his Grand children, being the ſons of *Phillip* and *Iane*, King and Queene of *Caſtile*.

35 *Charles* of *Auſtria*, ſecond of that name, ſucceeded rightfully in al his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Emperors appointment, his daughter the Lady *Margaret* (Dowager of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince *Charles* took poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, and being crowned K. of *Spaine* and *Arragon*, ſoone after followed the death of the Emperor *Maximillian*, and in an aſſembly at *Francfort*, for choyſe of a new Emperor, *Charles* king of Spaine had free election, by the name of *Charles* the 5.

1508.

1515.

1419.

1520. Then was Lady *Morgaret* (widdow both of *Caſtile* and *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Emperor *Charles*) accepted as ſole gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, in her Nephewes abſence. Troubles hapned in Spaine, by reaſon of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in *Frizeland*, but likewiſe betweene the French and Bourguignons, as alſo the warres of Boores or Peazants in Germany; and the *Groningeois* reiecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, did yeild themſelues to the Emperor: then hapned the ſecond bloody edict from the Emperor, againſt the Netherland proteſtants, and then was the imperial diet at *Ausbourg*, where the proteſtant Princes preſented the confeſſion of their faith. After followed the deuouring inundation in the Netherlandes, and the death of the Lady dowager *Margaret*, whereby *Mary* of *Auſtria*, ſecond daughter to King *Phillip*, and Queen *Iane* of *Caſtile*, ſucceeded in the gouernment of the Netherlands. War hapned betweene the Emperor and the French king, but vpon the coming of queene *Elenor* of *France* to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.

Lady Margaret ſole gouerneſſe.

1526.

1531.

Mary of Auſtria.

1544.

36 While *Mary* of *Auſtria* gouernd the Netherlands, for the Emperor *Charls* her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Proteſtants, by oppoſition of the Pope & Emperor againſt them. The Emperor affected the Empire for Prince *Phillip* his ſonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, to whom the Princes of the Empire were more enclined, then to *Phillip*; and then the Proteſtants denied their comming to the Councel of Trent. *Philip* King of Spaine married *Mary* queene of England: And not long after, the Emperor reſigned the Netherlands to his ſonne King *Phillip* (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c.) and the Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans and Hungary, departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes quietly in a Monaſtery, not far from *Placentia*. Reſeruing an hundred thouſand crowns yeerely to himſelfe, employing four thouſand for his dyet and maintenance, appointing the reſt vnto young Maydens marriages, and the releeſe of Widdowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing aboue two yeares after. When not onely happened his death, but likewiſe the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of France and Hungary, as alſo of *Mary* Queen of England; after whome, ſucceeded her Siſter *Elizabeth*. In which time, *Emanuell Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piemont*, was Gouernour, and Lieutenant Generall of the Netherlandes, for King *Phillip*; till the King of Spaines marriage (beeing turned into teares, by the moſt vntimely death of the French King) cauſed *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Baſtarde to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and Dutcheſſe of

1549.

1555.

1556.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

1559. of *Parma*, to ſucceede the Duke of *Sauoy* in the *Netherlands* regiment. King *Phillip* returned then home into *Spaine*, it beeing his laſt departure out of thoſe countries: whereon (not long after) enſued the ſubtile bringing of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition into the *Netherlands*, by creation of new Biſhops; and ſuch was the power and priuilege of the Inquiſitors, as none were able to withſtand them, in confiſcation both of their body and goods at their owne pleaſure.

The Spaniſh Inquiſition. 1565.

1568. Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutcheſſe gouernment in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a ſharpe ſnaffle in their mouths) K. *Phillip* remoued his Baſtard ſiſter *Margaret*, & ſent *Don Ferdinando Aluares*, Duke of *Alua*, who quickly brought the *Netherlands* into a moſt pittifull eſtate: making himſelfe ſure of *Gaunt*, and Count *Horne* and count *Egmont* (abuſiuely) made priſoners: he built the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, where he erected his own proud ſtatue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of *Orange* by Commiſſion, ſetting down Articles by the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the *Netherlands*, vpon which ſoone followed the execution of the ſonnes of *Batembourg* at *Bruſſels*, as alſo the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*. *William* of *Naſſau* prince of *Orange*, was made gouernor of *Holland*, *Zeland* & *Vtrecht* for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts againſt the D. of *Alua*, which made him labour his repeale home into *Spaine*, with *Don Fredericke* his ſonne. *Don Lewes de Requeſens*, the great Commander of *Caſtile*, was ſent to ſpoyle the dukes place in the *Netherlands*, for the K. of *Spaine*, to whom *Aluaes* former behauior ſerued for an example, in his proceeding; and notwithſtanding, his beſieging of *Middlebourg* (near hand to famiſhmēt) yet was his fleet defeated before his face, and the town yielded vp by *Collonell Mondragon*, to the Prince of *Orange*. After many dangerous turmoiles on both ſides, the States ſent to require ſuccour of *Elizabeth* Q. of *England*, and ſoone after dyed *Don Lewes de Requeſens* at *Bruſſels*; in whoſe roome ſucceeded *Don Iohn* of *Auſtria* (baſtard ſonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift) as gouernor for K. *Phillip* in the *Netherlands*, all the Prouinces whereof were vnited at the pacification of *Gand*; whereupon, the Caſtle was yeelded to the States and al the Spaniards departed out of *Antwerp* caſtle, which was alſo deliuered into the States hands. *Don Iohn* being receiued as Gouernor, he ſought occaſions how to renew warre againſt the prince of *Orange*, and diuers diſcontentments, as alſo treacherous practiſes, being noted in *d. Iohn*, the States grew iealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke *Mathias* called to bee Gouernor, and while the heart-burnings held betweene *Don Iohn* and the States, the Duke of *Aniou*, and Duke *Caſimire* alſo were required to ſuccour them, but to little effect, for *Arthois* and *Henault*: fell from the *Netherlanns* generall vnion, and then folowed the death of *Don Iohn*, of the plague, in the Campe neare vnto *Namure*.

1574. Prince of Orange, the Commander of Caſtile.

1575. Iohn of Auſtria.

1577 The Arch-Duke Mathias.

1578.

Then *Alexander Famaſe*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, baſtard Nephew to the King of *Spaine*, ſucceeded *Don Iohn* in the *Netherlands* gouernment: Whereupon, a ſtricter vnion (then before) was made betweene the Prouinces at *Vtrecht*. The D. of *Aniou* was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vnion, which made the King of *Spaine* proſcribe the Prince of *Orange*, and ſet his life at ſale, to which proſcription the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iuſt anſwere. Then were valiant and worthie ſeruices performed by ſir *Iohn Norris*, and Captaine (afterwards) ſir *Roger Williams*. In the yeare following, the generall Eſtates of the Prouinces, hauing declared *Phillip* K. of *Spaine*, ſecond of that name, to be fallen from the Seigneury of the ſayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent gouernment, againſt their priuiledges and freedoms (ſolemnely ſworne by himſelfe.) In way of right and Armes, took vpon them al the gouernment of the politike Eſtate, & of the religion in thoſe Prouinces, breaking the Kings Seales, abſoluing the ſubiects of their oath to him, and cauſing them to take a new oth, for preſeruation of their country, and obedience to the ſaid States. Vpon a bargaine made by the K. of *Spaine*, to kill the prince of *Orange*, the ſaid prince was ſhot by one *Iohn Iaurregui*, a bākerupt-merchants ſeruant, who was inſtātly ſlain, but the prince eſcaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traiterouſly murdred by *Balthazar*

1580 The Duke of Aniou.

1581 The States for themſelues.

1582. The Prince of Orange ſhot.

1584. The Prince of Orange murdered.

Gerard a (high *Bourguignion*) at *Delft* in *Holland*: whereon, Prince *Maurice* (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the gouernment. Then followed the siege of *Antuerpe*, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the Queene of *England*: eyther to giue her the full Soueraignty of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releeue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no soueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of mony, as should be disbursed by hir, and Articles of couenant set downe betweene them. Also, *Robert* Lord *Dudley*, Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earle of *Leicester*, was appointed by the Q. of *England*, to be her Gouernour generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585. The Earle of Leicester.

In the time of the earle of *Leicesters* gouernement for the Queene, were sundrie worthy seruices performd by the Earle of *Essex*, sir *Iohn Norris*, the Lord *Willoughby*, sir *Phillip Sidney*, sir *William Russell*, &c. besides the subtile pretences of sir *William Stanley*, *Rowland Yorke*, *Patton*, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of *Leicester*, and had the gouernment of *Zutphen* skonce, and the strong towne of *Deuenter* (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was perswaded of them: for, after the death of that matchles noble Gentleman sir *Philip Sidney*, he being shot before *Zutphen*, & therof dying; the Earle of *Leicester* (being gone for *England*) both *Deuenter* & *Zutphen* Skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money.

Sir Philip Sidney slaine. 1587.

And (not long after) the Prince of *Parma* beleagring *Scluice*; by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betweene the Earle of *Leicester*, and the States; the Queene called home the sayd Earle into *England*, and the Lord *willoughby* remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of *Englands* Conquest, in

Scluice.

The Lord Willoughby.

1588. the dreadefull yeare, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and eight, Prince *Maurice* his entrance into the Netherlands re-

Prince Maurice.

giment, and the Dukes of *Parmaes* warres in *Fraunce*; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

1592. The Prince of *Parma* dying at *Arras* (after his retreate from *Rouen*) the second of September, one thousand fiue hundred ninety and two: *Maurice* of *Nassau*, borne Prince of *Orange*, Marquesse of *La Vere*, and of *Flushing*, &c. was made great Captaine and Admirall generall of the vnited Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and *Ernestus*, Archduke of *Austria*, was also made Lieutenant Gouernour, and Captaine generall for *Phillip* of *Spaine*.

Ernestus D. of Austria.

Prince *Maurice* proning very successefull in his warrelike attempts, a Renegate or Apostate Priest (in the habite of Souldiet) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke *Ernestus*) to murther the Prince *Maurice* at *Breda*; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the *Hage*. Afterward, vpon Prince *Maurice* his valiant surprizall of *Gronning*, *Ernestus* had dealt in like maner with a Souldier, named *Peter de Four* (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Guarde to Prince *Maurice*) to vndertake the murthering of him at *Lillo*: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of *Berghen vp-zoom*. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of sir *Frances Vere*, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the Netherlands Historis (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke *Ernestus* dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand fiue hundred ninety and fiue; *Mondragons* forces defeated by Prince *Maurice*, and *La Motte* slaine before *Dourlaus*: the Estates (vnder the king of *Spaine*) gladly sought peace with the vnited Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince *Maurice*, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of *Spaine*, perceiuing the Netherlands, and Prince *Maurice* his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his vtter abolition thence. Herevpon, *Albertus* the Cardinall, brother to deceased *Ernestus*, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and Netherland

1594. Prince Maurice should be murdred twice.

Sir Francis Vere.

1595

Albertus Arch Duke of Austria.

therland ſhippes, which had beene ſtayed in *Spaine* to meete the *Indian* fleete, were ſodainely releaſed; and *Phillip* of *Naſſau* (who is now Prince of *Orange* and Earle of *Buren*, that had long time beene reſtrained of his liberty in *Spaine*) for the better countenancing of th'intended buſines, he likewiſe was ſent along with the Cardinall *Albertus*.

1596.

The Cardinall being made Gouernour for the King of *Spaine*, tooke *Callice* from the *French* King, as his firſt peece of ſeruice: but for loſſe thereof, he recouered *La-fere* from the *Spaniards*. Whereupon, the Cardinall beſieged *Hulſt* in *Flanders*, which yeelded in the end: but it was a deare purchaſe to the Cardinall, for this ſiege, (continuing ſome two moneths) coſt him the liues of aboue three-ſcore valiant Captaines, beſides other Commanders, Collonels, and men of marke, and aboue fiue thouſand well approoued ſouldiers.

Hulſt beſiedged.

Then did the King of *Spaine* diſpenſe with himſelfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Antwerpe*, *Amſterdam*, and *Middlebourg*, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betweene the *French* King, the Queene of *England* and the States, againſt the *Spaniards*; and then did Prince *Maurice* go to *Tournhoult*, where the Earle of *Varax* was ſlaine. *Amiens* alſo was ſurprized by the *Spaniards*; but ſoone beſieged and recouered by the French King, albeit the Cardinall did offer ſuccour, which proued in vain. Prince *Maurice* beſieged, and tooke the Townes of *Alpen*, *Meurs*, *Rhinberg*, *Groll*, *Breſort*, *Enſcheyde*, *Oldenzeel*, *Otmarſom*, *Goot*, and *Lingen*; all which ſeruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, againſt the life of Prince *Maurice*, by perſwaſion of the Ieſuites of *Doway*, and vndertaken by *Peter Panne*, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing receiued the Sacrament to performe the deede, eyther with knife, ponyard, or piſtoll: the Prouinciall of the Ieſuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and aſſuring him of Paradice, if he performed it, vſed theſe words to him beſides; *Goe in peace, for thou ſhalt goe like an Angell, in the guarde of God*. But the man (being terrified in conſcience) diſcouerd the whole treaſon, without any compulſion, and was therefore executed at *Leyden* in *Holland*. The King of *Spaine* growing weake and ſickely, gaue his Daughter the *Infanta*, named *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall *Albertus*, with tranſaction of the Netherlands and *Bourgogne*: whereupon he left his Cardinalles habite, and went to fetch the *Infanta*. Soone after dyed the King of *Spaine*, on the thirteenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1598. beeing ſeauentie one yeares olde, and foure moneths.

1597.

Tournhoult.

1598

The Ieſuites conſpire the death of Prince Maurice.

The death of king Philip.

The Arch-duke and the *Infanta* being come into the Netherlands, had their inſtallment at *Bruſſells*, *Louaine*, *Antwerpe*, *&c.* The Emperour ſent to the States, concerning a peace, but their reſolution helde to make warre in *Flaunders*. Then happened the ſiege and memorable battaile of *Nieuport*, where Prince *Maurice* tooke diuers Fortes from the Spaniards, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he beeing there in perſon: but gladly fled away, leauing his Armes, Horſſe of Combate, all his Houſhold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and loſt ſixe thouſand men, beſides eight hundred taken priſoners, among whom was *Don Franceſco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Arragon*, Marqueſſe of *Guadaleſte*, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to *Ooſtend*; *Don Baptiſta de Villa noua*, led to *Horne* in *Holland*; *Don Alonzo Ricquell*, to *Delft*; *Don Gonzalo Hernandes de Spinola*, to *Vtrecht*; *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, to the *Hague*; *Don Pedro de Valaſco*, to *Berghen*, with *Don Franciſco de Tarres*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and *Don Pedro de Leuſina*, to *Enchuiſen*: beſides the Arch-dukes three Pages, *Count Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego de Guzman*, and *Mortier*: *Don Pedro de Monte-maior*, his chiefe Taſter; alſo his Phiſition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, moſt of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guarde, and (in a maner) all his houſhold; with three Prieſts or Monkes; forty Auncients, and thirty ſeauen Pentioners, tearmed (by them) Ancients and Sergeants reformed. Hee loſt alſo ſixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and ſixe Enſignes of foote taken, and fiue Cornets of horſſe, comprehending the Mutiners Standard, and the recouerd loſt Colours.

1599.

1600.

The battaile of Nieuport.

Moreo-

Moreouer, on the Archdukes side were slaine, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *La Fere*, the Seneshall of *Montelimar*, the Baron of *Pimereull*, *Chassy Ottingny*, son to the President *Richadot*; *Don Gaspar de Sapena*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, Don *Diego de Torres*, Don *Gaspar de Loyazo*, Don *Gonzalo d'Espinola*, Don *Ioan de Pardo*, Don *Garcia de Toledo*, Don *Lopode Capeta*, Don *Alouzo Carcamo*, Don *Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velasco*, *Sebastian Doteloa*, *Christionall Verdugnes*, *Mattheo d'Otteuille*, *Ioannettin de casa nueua*, the Paymaster *Alines*, and many other neuer knowen.

Prince *Maurice* and the States', at the first encounter in the morning, and lastly in the battel, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Couteler*, & *Hamelton*, Captaines of horse, and some twentie Captaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exployte at *Nieuport*, the vertue and valor of Sir *Frances Vere* Generall, and Sir *Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembred.

Prince Maurice and the States losse.

1601.

1602. 1604.

The occurrences in the following years as the besiedging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Flessigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Graue* yeelded vp vnto Prince *Maurice*; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yeelded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, the by this breuity can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued siedge at Oastend, which lasting three whol years and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yeelded to the Archduke.

The long siege at Oast-end.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oast-end, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commissaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before *Oastend*) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Arch-Dukes Campe, and also what number (of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this siedge, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz) Masters of the camp seuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Maiors twenty nine, Captaines 565. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lanspizadoes 600. Soldiers, 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72124. persons.

The Archdukes losse at Oastend.

To continue the memory of this long siedge, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Siluer and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of *Oastend*, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Graue*, *Sluice* *Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Isendyke* & *Cadsant*, with this inscription round about; *Plus triennio obsessa, hosti rudera, Patriæ quatuor ex me vrbes dedi. Oastend being more then three years besiedged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and to her Natiue Countrey foure Townes.* Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxit, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuius adiutor Deus.* For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince *Maurice*, on the riuer of *Scheld* and *Antwerp*, with the taking of the Castle of *Wouwe*, neere vnto *Berghen Vp zoome*; *Spinolas* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, taken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betweene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeuor of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands between Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Guliche* in Germany, where the Prince *Maurice* did behaue himselfe very honorably.

1605. 1606.

1607. 1608.

1609. 1610.

THE

The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Containing, a breefe discourse of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath beene gouerned, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. to this instant.

HIstoriographers who haue written of the *Venetians*, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For some doe write, that they are descended of the *Venetian Gaules*, inhabiting along the Ocean sea in little *Britaigne*, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Cities (beeing a Byshops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, and (among them) *Titus Liuius*, born in *Padua*, assures vs, that they came forth of *Paphlagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being slayne at *Troy* the great) they went with *Antenor* into *Italy*. Others write, that this Nation, hauing beene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vppon the *Adriaticke* Sea in their Fortune. The most common opinion, is of them, who say, that the *Hinitians* or *Henetes* came with *Antenor*; and, in sometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Venetes*.

People of Paphlagonia.

First of all, they expelled the *Euganeans* who inhabited this country, between the *Adriaticke* sea and the *Alpes*, and builded the Citty of *Padua*. Afterward, by succesſe of time, they increased in such sort, as they would not be satisfied to be Masters (onely) of that which had appertained to the *Euganeans* (consisting of thirty foure fayre Citties and Townes;) but inrruded farther, to seize on *Bressano* and *Forli*. Some report this Countrey to be bounded with the Riuers of *Pau*, and that of *Adde*, as also the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* sea.

People by the inner gulfe of the Adriatick sea, towardes the Alpes.

And so the ancient *Venitians* in this maner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the most pleasant Countrey of *Italy*: but the seating of the places did daily beget the elder estate of the *Venitians* hatred. For on the one side, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other side, the frequent and frightfull courses of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without these impeachments, this Nation had bin most fortunate, in conquering (by the right of Warre) one of the most goodly & beautifull regions in all *Italy*.

Liburnia, the countrey of Croatia, betweene Istria, and Dalmatia.

Now ouer & beside, that on the south-side, it is enuironed with a most calme circuite of the sea, and in regard thereof, is the most capable of receiuing al strange Merchandizes: so it is likewise Watered with very delectable riuers, wherby whatsoeuer commeth from the Sea, is easilie transported to the very Nauel of the Prouince. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forrests, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choisely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

The situation of Venice, & capacity therof.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is also plentifully stored with Countrey houses, Townes, Cities, and Villages, Castles, Fortes, and such like, verie commendable for the scituation & enclosure of their Walles.

These new inhabitants, when their weake estate beganne to grow in fayrer forme: they were sildom exempted from the Warres and incursions of strangers. For, after many bolde insolencies of the Barbarians, with continued Warres against each other, euen from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbred, with the furious assault of the *Goths*, a Tempest farre exceeding in turbulency, all other former disasters happening vnto them whatsoeuer. For first, the *Hunnes* (a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riphean* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mandlucke*, dispersed themselues ouer *Italy*, and making horrible spoile whersoeuer they went, fell into the Prouince belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long siedge, they tooke the Citty of *Aquilea*, and spoyled and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they also ruinate the two Cities of *Concordia* and *Altina*, and almost all the Venitian region.

Mountains in the north part of Scythia, where snow lieth continually.

An ancient Citty in that part of Italy, called Forum Iulii.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and so much the rather, because they had beene formerly inured, to sustaine their cheefest mishappes amongest the Barbarians. Whereupon it is said, that (euen then) a great number of persons withdrew themselues from the firme Land, to the Isles where *Venice* at this instant is builded: hasting thither from all other parts, especially vppon the arriuall of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

The first foundation of Venice.

Some (of the better sort of *Padua*) first beganne the retreate, and being come to the entrance or issue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remaind to the same place, as deriued of the word *Riuealto*) they there laide the first foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

Little Islands in the sea, and neere adioyning.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the selfe-same feare; fled thence, and beganne to people themselues in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Som of them of *Aquileia* (at the same time) betooke themselues to the Marshes or Fennes of *Grada*; and, vpon the fresh returne of *Attila*, the people ran (in mighty affluence) along the Coastes to the Neighbouring Isles. They of *Aquileia* bestowed themselues in *Grada*, a place neerest vnto firme land, yet engirt with Waters. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made vse of *Coarli* and the *Attinois*, sixe little Islands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, acording to the names of the gates of their former lost and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Maiorbo*, *Buriano*, *Muriano*, *Amiana*, and *Gonstantiaco*.

The prime estate of the place where Venice now standeth.

These seuerall places, where at this present the Citty of *Venice* is seated, were (in elder times) very straight or narrowe Islands, and neere vnto each other; sauing onely that they were separated by the pleasing course of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and refluxe. Nor in these straights were then any dwellings to bee discerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Seas, to disport themselues vppon the Sunny bankes; and Fisher-men likewise, would sometimes there put in for harbour.

The first builders of Venice, and at what time.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the first that beganne to builde, and it was in the very same place, where the first foundation of the Citty was layde: Namely, the fiue and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord, 421. and second yeare of the reigne of *Pharamond*, first King of the *Gaules* or French-men, in the time also of Pope *Boniface* the first, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the selfe-same time, began both the kingdome of *France* and the Commonwealth of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this present, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or lesse.

Their first buildings destroyed by fire.

This Citty so newly begun, encreased dayly both in people and buildings. But see what happened vppon a sodaine, a Greeke Carpenters house (or rather hee was one of the Shipwrights, named *Entinopus*) falling on fire; consumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24. faire new built houses. Which when these new come inhabitants perceiued, & fearing that heauen was offended with

with this their manner of beginning, forgetting God, and seruing their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a solemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apostle Saint *Iames*; at which verie instant time, a mighty tempest of rain (as sodainly fell) whereby the rest of the new begun City was happily preserued.

That Church is yet at this day plainely to be discerned, with the markes and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very midst of the *Rialto*: And it was then consecrated by foure Byshops, to wit; *Seuerianus* byshop of *Padua*; *Ambrose*, Byshop of *Altina*; *Iocundus*, byshop of *Treuisa* and *Epodius*, byshop of *Vderzo*, and a Priest was there appointed, to performe diuine Seruice.

The first Church built in Venice.

The first foundations of this Famous Citty, were men of honest repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*, at the chaunge of their abiding, brought vvith them thither their wiues and childrē, with the very wealthiest moueables which they had, and so (at leysure) withdrew themselues, to places of a more secure dwelling. But being impeached (by incursions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the sea Coasts; such as had any meanes or apt commodity: gaue themselues to fighting, and to make salt, or to transport the goods of their neighbors; esteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more dishonest or vnbefitting, then to plough and husband the grounds of others.

Noble & rich men the first Founders of Venice.

As for the wealthier sort, they addicted themselues to traffick Merchandizes with strangers, and by their frequent aduenturing into diuers Countries, some of them being very skilfull Miners, and well experienced in the triall of seuerall Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by industry and endeuour they found in the earth, became Finers or Tryers of those Mettals, and extracted (from the grosser substances) the purer perfections of Gold and Siluer, whereby, in theyr owne Language, they were termed *Orifici*, deriued of the Latine word *Aurifex*, Gold-smithes, or Hammer men, that (of those refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Basons, Ewres, or any other needful matter whatsoeuer, both for the seruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperors, Kings, & Princes. So that, by the consent of diuers good Authors, as *Liuie*, *Florus*, *Cassidorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and others, the first Gold-smiths, workers in Gold and Siluer, and framers of those excellent mettalles into such orderly meanes for vse (within the parts of *Europe*) liued in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very best ingenious, and perfect workmen for such matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world. Concerning such as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & safety of the Citty; they applyed their spirits, to deuise good lawes and customs for generall benefit. During which time, such was their due respect of iustice, & so precise care of equity and right to all men; as among so great a number of people, there could not bee any disorderly differences noted.

The first gold smiths known in Europ, wer in Venice.

Care of iustice and common good.

Catholike religion they so singularly commended, and the dayly presence of some reuerend Prelates, who had saued themselues with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their assistance appeared verie requisite, not onely for the ministry of holye Offices; but also for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing least they might be infected with the poison of Arrian heresie; because nothing els made more spoile and hauock through all the Prouince, except the weapons of the *Gothes* and *Hunnes*.

Loue of religion in especial respect.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in such manner of liuing, and in such exercises shee spent her first infancy; till (by her vertues) shee attained vnto greater groweth, and grounded her selfe in her instant state and condition. It hath constantly bene held, that this Common-wealth (euermore) retained that forme of gouernment, which is termed *Aristocratis*, that is, that the most noble and worthiest Citizens should guide and gouern. For, although it be saide, that it hath bene gouerned first by Consuls, then by Tribunes, and lastly by Dukes, and Maisters of warlike power: yet notwithstanding, all these dignities, being but electiue, and not hereditary, the election should (in right) appertain to the most Noble Islanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whose aduice the Common-wealth ought to be

Aristocratia optimatum principatus.

mana-

managed, euen as it hath bin, and ſtil continueth to this day.

The gouerne ment of Conſuls, and who were the firſt in Venice.

Conſuls, to the number of three, were choſen for two yeares, and albeit that this kinde of Gouernment laſted for about the ſpace of threeſcore yeares, yet wee finde onely but three conſecutiue or ſucceeding elections of them. The firſt Conſuls, were *Albertus Phalarius*, *Thomas Candianus*, and *Zeno Daulo*. Theſe men firſt gouerned the Citty in her Nonage, & ſome are of the minde, that they were the firſt Authors of the *Paduans* flight, and their retirement to the Lakiſh or Mariſh Iſles, as alſo of their firſt building there. The ſecond Conſuls, were *Lucianus Graulus*, *Maximus*, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo Fuſcus*. The third, were *Marcus Aurelius*, *Andreas Claudius*, and *Albinus Maurus*. The names of ſuch as were elected after theſe, are not to bee found in anie Hiſtories.

The creation of Tribunes, and what they were.

After, that the Iſles (about the *Rialto* were filled with inhabitants: in ſtedde of Conſuls, Tribunes were created, and for their creation, the matter was firſt debated priuately by few people, afterward, it was ordained and reſolued in open aſſembly of the Iſlanders: that in each Iſle there ſhould be a Tribune, and hee ſhould bee a yearly Magiſtrate, to render Iuſtice to the Cittizens, and with ſeuerity, to puniſh their offences. But the remaynder which concerned the generalitie of the Common-weale: was referred to the generall aſſembly of the Iſlanders, to bee by them determined. Afterward, there was but one Tribune created for gouernment of the Iſles, which continued for ſome yeares. Finally, they concluded to create ten, wherunto were added two more, who ſhould dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tribunary dignity held place for more then two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee noted, that the Tribunes of the Iſles, abuſing their authorities, did ſo trouble the State with ciuill diſſentions, as it plainly appeared, that the maine body of the Cittie would be diſſolued, without ſome good and immediate remedy. Which gaue occaſion, that (to heare the complaints of euery one) a general aſſembly of the Iſles was publiſhed, and their meeting to be in *Heraclea*.

In this aſſembly, *Chriſtophero* byſhop of *Grada* was Preſident, accompanyed with a great number of the Cleargie, and after diuine ſeruice was performed, the firſt propoſition which he made, was, that (for good of the Common-wealth, each man might complaine of the future Tribune, which being done, and the offences no longer to be endured, for publike benefit of the ſtate in generall, reſolution was ſet downe, to make election of a Duke, who ſhould repreſent all honor and Maieſty in the State or Seigneury, & he ſhold haue power to aſſemble the general counſell, when queſtions were to be made, of any important matter concerning the Commonwealth. He ſhould haue power alſo, to elect yearely Tribunes or Magiſtrates in euery Iſle, and their appellations to bee brought before him. Moreouer, if any ſhould obtaine any dignity, Prelacie, or Benefice, by ſuffrages of the Clergy or people: that he ſhould not enioy it, or be poſſeſſed therof, without the good liking and conſent of the Duke, whoſe power alſo ended with his life.

Who was the firſt Duke of Venice.

This being thus concluded, in the year 697. *Paullucio* was created the firſt Duke; and ſo hath that Ducall dignity continued euer ſince. Saue onely that in the yeare 737. after the death of the third Duke *Orſo*, it was determined, that no duke ſhold be elected, for ſix yeares, but that a Maſter of the armed troopes or Souldiours ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and his Authoritie to be annuall; which laſted no longer then fiue yeares. For in the year, 742. they proceeded againe to a Dukes election; and ſince that time, the Common-wealth of *Venice* hath euermore had Dukes & Princes of the Seigneury; by whoſe wiſedome (and his counſell aſſiſting) it hath bin preſerued in an euer flouriſhing eſtate, euen to this inſtant yeare, 1619.

CHAP. II.

A ſhort Summary, of the liues of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate alſo of the moſt remarkeable actions, in the times of their Gouernment.

PAuluccio Annapeſto, was firſt Duke of the people, choſen in *Heraclea*. He took his

his Oath before *Christophero*, Patriarke of *Grada*, to gouerne according to the lawes, & to regard nothing more then the weale publike. He pacified the difference which *Luitprand*, king of the Lombards had with K. *Aribert*, and made friendship with them both: as well by his authority, as by arms. He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder obedience, encreased the Citties customes and reuenews, and dyed, hauing beene Duke twenty yeares, sixe moneths, and eight dayes.

2 *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place of *Heraclea*, was elected his successour, by common voyce of the people. He was deuoute, modest and affable; but much lesse diligent in gouerning, then his predecessour. The Patriarchat of *Grada* was transferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luitprand*, and there hee had great warres, about the dissentions of the Bishops, wherinto he would not interpose himselfe, but dyed, hauing beene Duke nine yeares, and twenty one dayes.

3 *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*, wonne himselfe great reputation by his famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarcho* had recourse to him, the *Gratian* Armie beeing broken, and siege layd to *Rauenna* by *Luitprand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the Kings nephew his prisoner, slew the duke of *Vicenza*, and reseated the *Exarcho* in his due rights. Hee brideled the *Aquileians*, who troubled the publike peace, and put corage into the soules of the yonger sort. He was slaine, by reason of the dissentions of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth yeare, and fift moneth of his Principality.

4 *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death of his father: during which time, the people were gouerned by a Marshall or Maister of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Heraclea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*. There he was the first created, and limited his Confines with *Astolpho* King of the *Lombards*. He was also slayne by *Galla* a Cittizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth yeare of his Principalitie.

5 *Galla de Malamocco*, a wicked and seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as Protector of publique peace, was established in the place of *Theodato*. But his wickednesse being knowne, and that (being but a subiect) he would needs make himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the people plucked out his eyes, and tooke from him the Dignitie, which hee had a yeare vsurped.

6 *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*, was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Somewhat to bridle this Dukes authoritie, the people ioyned two yearely Tribunes with him. But he, being a man audacious and arrogant, sought to tyrannize ouer the people: whereat they growing into furie, pluckt out his eyes, the eight yeare of his Principalitie.

7 *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heraclean*, for his iustice, wisedome, and wealth, was chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne Duke with him, and they gouerned together. In his time, the Church of *Grada* being molested, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference. The Bishopricke of Saint *Peter de Castello Oliuolo*, was then erected. And he died, hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8 *Giouanni Galbaio*, hauing beene Duke nine yeares with his father, gouerned the Commonwealth yet nine yeres more, and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauritio* his sonne, companion with him in the Principality. But they being both of vnsufferable and wicked life, hauing murthered *Iohn* Patriarchat of *Grada*, throwing him downe headling from an high tower: *Fortunatus*, successour in the Patriarchate, made a conspiracie against them, and another was elected Duke. Whereat, being not a little confounded, the father fled into *Fraunce*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the sixteenth yeate of their rule.

9 *Obelerio*, being elected Prince by them that had intelligence with *Fortunatus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his associate, and *Patricinus* beside (being their third brother) was admitted with them in the same dignitie. And it is worth the noting, that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Counsell chamber of *Venice*; whereas *Obelerio* incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre on the *Venetians*: and *Beato* maintaind the Common-wealth, raigning fiue yeares.

10 *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*, was elected Duke, the people being summond to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes palace, in the same place where that now built, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, ſtreets, and precincts. The *Pregadi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminall offences) was then inſtituted among them. He gouerned 18. years.

11 *Giuſtiniano Participatio*, hauing beene an aſſociate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *Iohn*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperor againſt the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was conſecrated in his memory. He died the ſecond yeare of his dignity.

13 *Giouanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of S. *Marke*, placing therein a great number of Prieſts and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee cauſed the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had beſiedged in the Iſle of *Curtia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conſpiracy was deuiſed againſt him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight yeare of his Principality; he ſhaued his head and beard, and made himſelfe a Monke, in which eſtate he dyed.

12 *Pietro Tradonico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himſelfe to the peoples contentment in the warres againſt *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioyned *Iohn* his ſon in rule with him, and gaue ſuccour to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who made requeſt thereof by *Theodoſius Patricius*. He was made *Protoſpotary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he ſent 60. Gallies. *Lewes* 2. granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was ſlaine by a ſedition, in his 27. yeare.

14 *Orſo Participatio* hauing appeaſed the ſedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing ſpoiled *Dalmatia*, euen ſo far as *Grada*, wer vanquiſhed by him and *Giouanni Participatio* his ſon, whom he made aſſociat with him in his gouernment. *Baſilius* the Emperor, highly honoured him for that good ſeruice, and made him *Protoſpatary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. yeares.

15 *Giouanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Comachio*, waſted the County of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himſelf on the Count of *Comachio*, who had impriſoned and wounded vnto death his Brother *Bradoario*. He growing much ouercome with ſickneſſe, cauſed the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and S. *Cyprian* to be built at *Malomocco*; and hauing gouerned fiue yeares, and ſixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary diſmiſſion of his Predeceſſour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithſtanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in perſon) with ten Gallies againſt the *Nauratines*, who (as Theeues) robbed and purloyned from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly againſt them, hee dyed at the ſecond time, with the Weapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then fiue moneths.

Dominico Tribuno, is ſet (by ſome) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, leſſe curious in ſearch of the Hiſtory, haue omitted him; becauſe he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkeable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, ſonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperour and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into *Italy*, and burned *Heraclea*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that thoſe Strangers ſought to vſurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orſo Badoaro*, called himſelfe *Participatio*, and was the firſt that chaunged his name. He ſent for his ſonne *Pietro* to *Conſtantinople*, and hee was made Protoſpatarie. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodulphus*, Emperour and King of *Italy*, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authoritie, to ſtampe Moneyes. Hee addicted himſelfe wholly to piety, and in his 20. yeare, he renounced the Dignitie, to make himſelfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the ſecond, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Lauterio*, Marqueſſe of *Iſtria*, who hindred the Trafficke of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Istria*. He vanquished *Albertus*, sonne to the Emperor *Berengarius*, who impatronizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stollen by the *Testaines*, to ioyn in marriage with them; but they were soone recouered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the Sclauonians. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperor did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

21 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro*: and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with thē. His sonne being reproued by him for his bad behauiour; reuolted from him, and against the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thēce into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: whereat his Father greeuing, died in his fifteenth yeare of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *Iohn* the twelfth, that the Churche of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitane of all the Venitians State, and of *Istria*. *Otho* the Emperor, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He rmined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orseolo*, was a man altogither deuout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the dissentions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Istria*, who yeilding themselues tributary; hee went with *Beato Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two years and two months, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Vitale Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperour *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone as hee entred vppon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuno Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great dissentions, betweene the families of *Moresina* and, *Calloprina*; by reason whereof, many notorious murthers were committed. He tooke part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselues to *Verona*, to the Emperor *Otho*. He gaue the Isle of S. *Giargio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Moresini*: and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orseolo* the second, beeing a very discreete man, ordered the matter so well with the Emperours *Basilius* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperour lying at *Verona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confines on the Sea, winning many places in *Istria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth yeare of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orseolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eighteene yeares. He wunne such reputation, that *Geta* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person he conquered them of *Istria*, who vvere become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresmura*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vppon the which, he was confined into Greece, in the seuenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranico*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all dissentions, as well concerning the Cittizens remooving, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from Constantinople, beeing Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* cōming. He continued

about a yeare in the Palace, and forſooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orſeolo* would then perforce vſurp the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Rauenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabanico*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orſeolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Councell was held, for gouernment of the Eccleſiaſtickes. He made the family of *Orſeolo* ſuſpitious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter ſupplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleaſing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, beeing heauily burthened vvith the rebellion of *Zara*. Hee fauoured the Normans againſt *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the diſcord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Pepo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualifyed. Hee builded the Monaſterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himſelfe ſuch reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, gaue him his ſiſter in marriage; by whoſe perſwaſion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*, and (at the firſt attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, poſſeſſing himſelfe of *Duras*. But at his ſecond aduenture, hee fought with ſmall aduantage; whereby enſued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of Saint *Marke* with Marble, firſt and before any other, cauſing it alſo to be beautified with an artificiall Checker.worke. He died in the thirteenth yeare of his gouernement.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the ſoueraigntie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, ſucceſſor in the Empire, did him many great fauors: and comming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptiſme. The Office of proprieties was conſtituted in his time, and the workemanſhip of S. *Markes* Church continued. He died in his ſixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduenturing on the ſea, did very farre extend the Commonwealths limites. Hee made the Eaſterne warre (by the perſwaſion of Pope *Vrban* the ſecond) for Conqueſt of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Chriſtendome. The Iſle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ieruſalem* were then recouered from the Infidels. He died in his ſixt yeare.

34 *Ordelaſo Faliero*, ſonne of *Vitale*, aſſiſted King *Baldwine* againſt the Infidels in conqueſt of the holy Land: and made ſuch progreſſion, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdome of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malomocco* was almoſt al burned and ſubmerged; by reaſon whereof, the Epiſcopal See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in perſon to the Warre againſt *Zara*, which was becom rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a ſecond time, and on the like occaſion; where hee died in Armes, in the fifteenth yeere of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Chriſtians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed ſhippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raiſe their ſiedge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Vaumond* Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*. *Emanuel* the Emperor made war againſt him, frō whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylline*, and *Iſter*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polani*, kinſman to *Michele*, was a very wiſe man, inſomuch as he was made Arbitrator of the diffrence, betweene *Conrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war againſt them of *Piſa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himſelfe againſt the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the ſame *Emanuell*, to whoſe Empire hee added many worthy poſſeſſions. Some ſay, it was his ſonne that won all the battailes, and that himſelfe being ſalne ſicke, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Moreſini*, hee ſwept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof beeing called *Guiſcardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed ſiedge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenzo*; which Cities were become rebellious in *Iſtria*. He held confederacy with *William* king of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtayned many

many exemptions for the Traffieke of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitane Cittie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildinges of the Cittie of *Venice*; and began the Tower of Saint *Marke*. He dyed seauen moneths after the eight year of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time. He imprisoned *Vtrich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanons. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperor *Emanuell*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke foorth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, because hee woulde not haue so worthy a house to be extinct. There hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in theyr weake iudgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuenteene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the eleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who caused *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Octauian* hauing bene made Anti-pope. *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time serued in the Monastery of *La Charita*; he was in the end knowen, and taken thence by the Prince and Seigneury. Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Octauian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fift yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Malipiero*, or *Mastropetro*, was the first Duke elected by the forty; and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had sixe Councellors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. He reconquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to vsurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Ptolemais* was recouered, and *Andronicus*, successor to *Emanuell* the Emperor; deliuerd many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprizall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastian*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*, the Correctors beeing then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Achaia*, to submit themselues in obedience to the Common wealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He married *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* K. of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrency of *Renieri Candolo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candie* rebelled, and the seditious were seuerely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience. He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Ezzelino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principaly in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Moresini*, was made Duke by the one and fortith, by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courtly Noble man sent into *Candie*, who builded the *Canea*. He made Warre against *Ezzelino*, who besiedged *Mantua*, and who (in a furious rage) caused 1200. *Paduans* to be hewne in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. year of his Principality.

45 *Reineri Zeno Podestà* at *Bermoge*, was elected Duke, and sent to be fetcht thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breefe, because *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the fayde Cittie: yet once more (after that) the selfesame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignity 16. yeares, he dyed.

46 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victory hee had against them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his ſonnes (verie Nobly) with two ſtrange Ladies: by reaſon whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Seruia* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquiſhed by him: hee gouerned ſeuen years, and fiue and twenty dayes.

47 *Giouanni Contarini*, being aged eightie yeares, and Atturney of S. *Mark*, was made Duke. The law againſt illegittimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were ſome rebellions moued in *Istria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickely appeaſed. At length, thorough vnweldineſſe of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignity, hauing gouerned in this authority, foure yeares, and ſix moneths.

48 *Giouanni Dandolo* was elected, being then abſent. The Citty was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Istria*, againſt the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Goritia*. At the inſtance of Pope *Nicholas*, he aſſiſted the Archbyſhop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died ſeuen monthes after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradanigo*, a man of great courage, deliuered the Common-welth from two important dangers. One, was a high diſgrace, which happened in a battell againſt them of *Genes*. The other was the conſpiracie of *Baiamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vppon the place of S. *Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely ſhould gouerne, and the counſel of ten was then inſtituted. Hauing ruled 22. years, and nine months, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgio*, was a man of ſuch life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reaſon of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled again the ſixt time, & much labour it coſt, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After he builded the Monaſtery of Saint *Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his firſt yeare, hauing gouerned ten months, and ten dayes.

52 *Giouanni Soranzo*, had the honor of recouering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolted in his predeceſſours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & war afreſh commenced againſt them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interpoſition of *Franciſco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaine of iron about his necke. The number of Atturneyes of S. *Marke*, was increaſed to ſixe. Hee gouerned ſixteene yeares, and ſix months.

52 *Franciſco Dandolo*, who had ſo lowly humbled himſelfe for his Countreyes good, was therefore exalted to her higheſt dignity. They of *Pola*, and of *Valeſia*, ſubmitted themſelues to the Commonwealth, which gaue way vnto the warre againſt the Patriarch of *Aquilea*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scaliger*, and *Treuiſa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the Turke, and in his time were ſixtie ſeuerall Ambaſſadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten months.

55 *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, Atturney of S. *Marke*, was made Duke at ſeuenty ſix yeares of age, by the interceſſion of *Andrea Dandolo*, and his ceſſation. In his time was *Venice* myraculouſly deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were ſeuerely puniſhed. There hapned a great dearth in the Citty, which droue the people to diſcontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andrea Dandolo*, who had before reſigned his place vnto *Bartolomeo Graningo*, cauſed the dearth for to ceaſe; by ſending for great ſtore of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of Babylon, free Nauigation into Egypt. *Zara* rebelled the ſeauenth time, and was reprized.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the Citty, was troubled by two great accidents happening; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadfull; and the other, was a greeuous Peſtilence. Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting ſome fewe months.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambaſſador at *Rome*. Hauing recei-

receiued an iniurie by ſome particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne deſire: hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himſelfe abſolutely Lord, without any controule. The conſpiracy being diſcouerd by *Nicholao Lion*; he had his head ſmitten off within the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture ſhould not be placed amongſt the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing: *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grieuous offence, had his head cut off*: hee was duke but ten moneths.

56 *Giouanni Gradenigo* had an excellent ſpirit, but a much miſ-ſhapen countenance. The warre was renewed againſt the *Genes*, which tearmined with a mutuall peace. He had warre againſt the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Treuiſa* was beſieged in his time, and thither he went in perſon. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giouanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Treuiſa*, defending it againſt the King of *Hungary*. The Senate ſent to demaund free paſſage for him; which being denyed, he came forth with two hundred horſſe to beard the enemie, and ſo attained to *Marglitra*, where the Senate in perſon receiued him. In ſhort time he gaue end to this warre, and recouered *Conciliano*, *Seruatta*, and *Aſola*. He made peace for the ſoueraignty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and fiue yeares, hauing gouerned foure yeares, two moneths, and eleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celſo*, vpon a falſe bruite, of a victorie againſt them of reuolted *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occaſion, a Iuſt and feaſt was publiquely made in the place of Saint *Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principalitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wiſe and learned, was ſent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel bloody warre: the Pope graunting plenary Indulgence to all ſuch as went thither. The Rebels being ſeuerely puniſhed, the common-wealth ſent to Pope *Vrbane* the fift, a certaine number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, fiue months, and foure and twentie dayes.

60 *Andrea Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as preſaging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. Firſt of all, he made warre with them of *Trieſte*, then ſoone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and ſuch was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the Citty of *Venice* found it ſelfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and oppoſed himſelfe (in perſon) againſt the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, foure moneths, and fifteene daies.

61 *Michele Moriſini*, was a man well furniſhed with Learning and Wiſedome. Some ſay, that in his time the Iſle of *Thenedos* was taken, and not in the time of his predeceſſour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongeſt others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly beene hanged, ſhould afterwards haue their heads ſmitten off. He liued but foute months, and fiue daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threeſcore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Veniero*, was a rigorous obſeruer of Iuſtice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, becauſe he had (outer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, againſt *Carrara*, whereupon he tooke *Padua*. He aſſiſted the Emperour *Emmanuell* againſt the Turke; and gaue aid alſo vnto *Sigiſmond*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwardes came to the Empire. The place of Saint *Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attourney of Saint *Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell againſt the Genewales. *Carrara* was now the laſt time vanquiſhed, and *Padua* and *Verona* ſurprized. They of *Vicenza*, to free themſelues from his tyrannie, yeelded themſelues to the Common-wealth. *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungaria*, did likewiſe forgoe *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomaſo Mocenigo*, was firſt Generall of the Goulfe. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Cittizens might traffike.

Vdina became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuoli*; by meanes of the Lords of *Sauorgnani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were alſo ſuccoured againſt the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Franceſco Foſcari* ſtoutly repreſſed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Breſcia*, *Bergamo*, and other Citties of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongſt which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Rauenna* in *Romania*. Hee made alſo a large progreſſe on the Seas, euen into *Morea*. The Senate aſſiſted *Paleologus* the Emperour, againſt the Turks, who vſurped *Conſtantinople*, in the yeare 1453. Hee was made Arbitratour by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was diſmiſſed, hauing gouerned thirty foure yeares, and ſixe moneths.

66 *Paſchale Malapiero*, was appoynted in the place of *Foſcari*, being Atturney of Saint *Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his diſmiſſion. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke ſhould not be depoſed. In his dayes, the famous Arte of Printing was brought into *Venice*. The *Arſenall* was greatly encreaſed: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, ſixe moneths, and fiue daies that he gouerned.

67 *Chriſtophero Moro*, a Procuratour of Saint *Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for ſome time in peace, till the ſecond yeare of his gouernement; and then the Turke (proud of his ſurprizall of *Conſtantinople*) declared warre againſt the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the fift, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which laſted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, hauing reigned nine yeares, and ſixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had ſuch good hap, that (in his time) the Common wealths affaires went well againſt the *Turke*. *Pietro Mocenigo*, Generall in the *Archipelagus*, vnited his power with the Popes. The king of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* ſent eightie fiue gallies together, and tooke *Satalia*, a Citty of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewiſe with the King of *Perſia*, againſt the *Turke*. *Iames* King of *Cyprus* comming to *Venice*, eſpouſed *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of Saint *Marke*. He gouerned one yeare, eight moneths, and fiue dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Atturny of Saint *Marke*, after ſome laws made by the Correctors; was elected Duke. In his time there was a conſpiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Marcenigo* went thither with a great Armie, where he appeaſed all troubles, and ſeuerely chaſtiſed the Rebells. *Scutari*, a Cittie in *Liburnia*, was beſieged by the *Turke*, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yeare, foure moneths, and ſeuenteene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in deſert of all his worthy deedes. *Lepanto* was beſieged in his time by the *Turke*, and vertuouſly maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewiſe before the Iſle of *Stalimena*, but the ſame *Loredano* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were roially entertained. This Prince cauſed a Money to bee ſtamped, which hee ſurnamed by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had ſuch ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two ſeuerall times put to flight by the *Turkes*: Once, neare to *Croya* in *Albania*, and the other in the country of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of perſon, and had a moſt beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had ſo goodly children, whom he allied in marriage with the chiefeſt Families: he gouerned one yeare, and eight moneths.

72 *Giouanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre againſt the *Turke*; in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter ſo, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Conſtantinople*. Hee made warre againſt *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the inſtance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occaſioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Common-wealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Poleſana*. The Cittie became much diſgraced by fire, and a peſtilent ſickeneſſe: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing raigned ſeauen yeares, and ſixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceaſed, cauſed all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular iniuries doone vnto him: but ſuch as were cõmitted againſt the State, he would haue reuenged with ſtricteſt ſeueritie. The grand Signeur or Turke ſent a particular Ambaſſadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, withſtood the progreſſe of *Charles* the eighth King of *Fraunce*, when hee made warre againſt them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The Turke vſurped on the Common-weales of *Lepanto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and Qu. *Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office *de la Sante* was ereated, by occaſion of the peſtilẽce: This Duke gouerned fifteene yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Lauredano* ſuſtained a very rigorous war, againſt the chiefeſt Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*; the King of *Fraunce*; them of *Naples*; and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the ſecond. All the whole eſtate of firme land was ſurprized, except *Treuiſa*; but in the end it was recouered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being Generall, had a moſt infamous diſ-rout or foile, by which occaſion, hee was diſmiſſed of the charge of Procurator of Saint *Marke*, and confined to *Cherſo*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himſelfe to *Rome* to the Cardinall his ſonne: where he had ſo many worthy Offices impoſed vpon him, as, not onely he waare-eſtabliſhed in his Attorneys place againe; but he was likewiſe made Duke, at the age of foure ſcore and two yeares, and gouerned but one yeare, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Gritti*, gaining the beſt part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great eſteeme. Hee dealt ſo with the King of *Fraunce*, (to whome he was priſoner) that his Maieſtie allied himſelfe with the Common-wealth, and *Breſcia* and *Verona* were reconquerd. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleaſing to the Senate, during the warres betweene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *Fraunces* the firſt, as alſo againſt *Solyman*. He gouerned fifteene yeares, ſeauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth againſt the *Turke*: with whom (at laſt) he made a peace, knowing how to make vſe thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whileſt the warre continued betweene *Charles* the fift, and King *Frances* the firſt. Hee gouerned ſixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Franceſco Donato*, making benefite alſo of this peace, beautified the Cittie with many goodly buildings, beſides that of the Pallace. He ſent ſuccor to the Emperour, againſt certaine Rebells in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Guiſe*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned ſeauen yeares, and ſixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Treuiſano*, a man altogether deuout laboured that the Common-wealth might abound in goodneſſe and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices ſhould not be wincked at, as, in too many countries they are. He gouerned a yeare, wanting three dayes.

81 *Franceſco Veniero*, could ſo well skill of gouerning the Common-wealth, that albeit the Turke (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *Fraunce* in *Tuſcanie*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* roially welcommed thither. He gouernd two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was ſollicited (by the Pope) to make warre againſt the Emperor. But, he being a friend to the Common-wealth; by no meanes would offend him, but mediated a pacification of thoſe affaires. In his time peace was made betweene *Fraunce* and *Spaine*, and *Charles* the fift dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the precedẽt prince, enioyed thoſe great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambaſſadors in the hall of Kings.

In

In his time the Councel of *Trent* was concluded, whither he ſent (as Ambaſſadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Matheo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptiſme) the ſonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret* of *Fraunce*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84 *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrarie to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arſenall* was burned in his time, and there then alſo happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, ſucceſſour of *Solyman*, tooke occaſion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demaunding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, fiue moneths, and eight dayes.

85 *Luigi Mocenigo*, warre being kindled againſt the Turke, loſt the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicoſia* being taken, and *Famagoſta* ſurrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, ſo that their armies (being ioyned togither in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuenty one) they obtayned a worthy victorie againſt the *Turkes*. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertayned. This Prince dyed in his ſeauenth yeare.

86 *Sebaſtiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with ſuch applauſe, that diuers *Turkes* ranne to him and kiſſed his feete. He created fiue Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The Citty was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouernd not aboue a whole yeare.

87 *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profeſſion in *Venice*. He paſſed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could poſſibly gratifie him. The Seminary of Saint *Marke* was inſtituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriuing then at *Venice*, were by him moſt honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned ſeuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteen dayes.

88 *Paſchale Cicogna*, Procuratour of S. *Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine Seruice in the Church. In his time there was great warres, betweene *Fraunce* and *Spayne* about *Piedmont*, and betweene the Emperour and the *Turke*, for ſome parts in *Hungaria*. He cauſed the towne of *Palma* to bee builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new caſtle or fortreſſe, in the Iſle of *Cephalonia*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89 *Marino Grimini*, Procuratour of Saint *Marke*, was ſo highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinarie ſignes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The ſecond yeare of his Principality, he cauſed the dutcheſſe his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight ſent her the Roſe of gold. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweene the Kings of *Fraunce* and *Spayne*. Vpon occaſion of the Popes comming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Eccleſiaſticall Eſtate, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* paſſed thence to *Venice*, where he was moſt honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was ſuch an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barkes, Boates, and Gundoloes floated on the place of Saint *Mark*, euen as if they had beene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much bemoaned of the people, hauing gouernd ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90 *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deſeruings, ſinguler wiſedome and dexterity, mannaged paſſed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident teſtimonie of his care and faithfulneſſe; was aduaunced in the place of *Grimani*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had beene ſent Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople* to *Mahomet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the Eaſt) in the Common-wealths name, to ſalute him with accuſtomed complemẽts. He hath ſuch a practick braine, & ſo happie a memory, ſeated in a ſoule ſo religiouſly zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, then to any other of his Predeceſſours.

The Cttie hath (in his time) beene excommunicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about ſome pretentions appertaining to his See: But it may well be ſayd of this Prince, that, againſt ſuch Thunderclappes and Lightning flaſhes, hee hath ſhewne himſelfe an immoueable rocke, in defence of that eſtate in generall. In like maner, two principall Pillers of Chriſtendome, threatned great diſaſter and ruine: but that moſt Chriſtian *Henry* the fourth, King of *Fraunce*, embracing thoſe two Collomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redreſſed all diſcontentment, by the entermiſe of his Ambaſſadours, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *Fraunce*, his particular affection for ſuch fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preſerue him, and all other good Princes.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of Wounds made by Gun-ſhot, and other fierie Engines.*

IN the yeare of our Lord, 1536. the victorious king *Fraunces* ſent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to vitaile *Thurin*, and to recouer thoſe townes and caſtles, which had beene taken by the Marqueſſe *Du Guaſto*. Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monſieur the Conſtable, then great Maſter, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Mounſieur *de Mounte-jan* Captaine generall of the Footmen (of whom I was then Chirurgian.) A great part of the Armie arriued at the *Pas* of *Suze*, where we found the enemie keeping the paſſage, and had made vnto themſelues certayne forts and trenches; in ſuch ſort, that before they could be raiſed from thence, wee entered into battell: in which conflict there was many hurt and ſlaine, as well on the one ſide as on the other. But they were inforced to quit that paſſage, and to recouer the caſtle; which they held not long, but were compelld to giue it vp; marching away in their ſhirts onely, hauing each of them a white Wand in their hands: of whom, the moſt part went to the Caſtle *de Villane*, where there was about ſome two hundred *Spaniards*. To this caſtle my Lord the Conſtable drew his forces, becauſe hee would make his way cleare before him. It is ſituate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great aſſurance to thoſe within, that there can bee no Ordinance planted againſt it, to batter it downe. They were ſummoned to reſtore it vp, or elſe were threatned to haue it battered in peeces; which they flatly refuſed: anſwering withall, that they were as good and faithfull ſeruants to the Emperour, as Mounſieur the Conſtable was to the King his maiſter. Their anſwer being vnderſtoode, the ſame night there was mounted two great Canons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as miſ-fortune would) thoſe cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiſcretion fired a barrel of Gun-pouder, wherewith he himſelfe was extreamely burned, together with tenne or twelue ſoldiers. Moreouer, the flame of the pouder was the cauſe of the diſcouerie of the Ordinance, whereby thoſe of the Caſtle, the night following, diſcharged their Ordinance at that place where they diſcouered our Cannons; inſomuch, that we had many of our men hurt and ſlaine.

The Caſtle de Villane beſiedged and taken.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which thoſe of the Caſtle perceiuing, deſired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time ſome of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be aſtoniſhed, mounted the breach, and entred the Caſtle, putting euery man to the ſword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmonteſe*, which a great Lord entertained into his ſeruice. The Captaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were preſently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the reſt of the Emperours ſouldiers, not to be ſo foole-hardie, to hold ſuch places againſt ſo great an armie. Now, the ſouldiers of the Caſtle ſeeing our men ruſhing in vpon them in ſuch great furie, made all the reſiſtance they could to defend themſelues, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets; where the Chirurgians had a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

Pas of Suze.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgian,

The Author entreth into the matter.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, becauſe I neuer (as yet) had ſeene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-ſhot. True it is, that I had read *Iohn de Vigo*, his firſt booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he ſaith, That thoſe wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venenoſity, becauſe of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oile of Elders mixed with a litle Treacle: yet neuertheleſſe, becauſe I would not be deceiued, before I would make vſe of the ſaid boyling oile, knowing that it brought with it extreme paine to the Patient, I obſerued the methode of other Chirurgians in the firſt dreſſing of ſuch wounds; which was by the application & infuſion of the foreſaid Oile, as hot as poſſibly they could ſuffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldned to do as they did. But in the end my oile failed mee, ſo that I was conſtrained to vſe in ſtead thereof, a digeſtiue made of the yolke of an egge, Oile of Roſes and Terebinth. The night following, I could hardly ſleep at mine eaſe, fearing leſt that for wãt of cauterizing I ſhold find my Patients, on whom I had not vſed of the aforeſaid Oyle, dead and empoyſoned; which made mee to riſe earely in the morning to viſit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found thoſe on whom I had vſed the digeſtiue medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing reſted well all that night. The reſt, on whom the aforeſaide Oile was applyed, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I reſolued with my ſelfe, neuer to burne ſo cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-ſhot any more.

A remedy found by accident.

When we entred *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgian, who was exceeding famous, eſpecially for his curing wounds made by Gun-ſhot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my ſelfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounſieur the Marſhall of *Montejan*, who was Lieutenant generall of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgian, that I had a deſire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requeſting him, that he would performe his promiſe, which was, to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, ſeeing that I was to leaue that countty. He ſent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, ſix ounces of the Terebinth of *Venice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vitæ*: and in my preſence, he boiled the whelps aliue in the ſaid oile, vntill the fleſh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themſelues of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being ſo prepared, he boyled them alſo in the ſaid oile, till they became dry; this he ſtrained thorow a napkin, without anie great expreſſion; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebinth: and laſtly, the *Aqua-vitæ*, and called God to witneſſe, that this was his Balme which hee vſed in all wounds made by Gun-ſhot, and in others which required ſuppuration; withal, praying me not to divulge his ſecret

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where ſhortly after, Mounſieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Phyſicke, a man greatly eſteemd among learned men, requeſted me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Queſtions, and among the reſt, of the eſſence of wounds made by Gunne-ſhot, and of the combuſtions made by Gunne-pouder. Whereupon, I preſently prooued vnto him, that the pouder was not any thing venomous at all; becauſe that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much leſſe the compoſition. Alſo, I haue ſeene by experience, that ſome Souldiers being hurt, will take of the ſaid powder in wine, ſaying; That pouder ſo taken, doth preſerue the body from the enſuing accidents, the which I approue not. Alſo, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vſe of the ſaid pouder drie, and heale them without any daunger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any ſuch heat, that they ſhould haue the facultie of burning: for a bullet being ſhot againſt a ſtone-wall, it may preſently be helde in the naked hand, although the colliſſion made againſt the Stones, ſhould (in reaſon) heate it the more: And as for combuſtions or burnings made by Gun-pouder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuerſified from the cure of other combuſtions.

Gunpowder not venomous

wounds made by gunſhot are without cumbuſtion.

bustions. Whereupon, I related this History. A certaine boy of the Kitchin, of Mounsieur the Marshall *de Monte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boyling hote; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie, demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applyed vnto burnings. An auncient Countrey-woman being by, hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to prevent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demaunded of this woman, Whether she had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language, *Si messé, à la fe de dé*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this scullion of the Kitchin, where truely I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vessickes or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applyed, to be much blistered.

History.

Not long after, a certaine Dutch-man, one of the guard of the said Lord *de Monte-jan*, hauing drunke hard, by indiscretion set his Flask afire, which caused a great disaster, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applyed of the saide Onions on the one halfe of his face, and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applied the Onions, to be altogether without blisters, or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistred: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

Moreouer, I tolde vnto the sayd *Sylui-us*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body, it is requisit, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded. Many other things I discouered vnto him; which are contayned in this Booke following. My Discourse ended, he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writings; to the end, that that false opinion of *Vigo* might be altogether abolished, the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments to be cut, such as had not beene divulged, for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the yeare, 1545. and well receiued, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the yeare 1550. and lastly, in the yeare, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things; because I haue since followed the warres, haue beene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Metz* and *Hedin*. Also, I haue beene entertayned into the seruice of fiue Kings, where I haue alwayes discoursed with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurgians of those times, to learne and discouer, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratiues in the beginning, and not boyling oyles. And I did protest moreouer to the sayd *Sylui-us*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and nerueus parts, it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shiuereth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iounctures or ioynts, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by gunshot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshie parts.

The cause that maketh wounds by gun shot hard to be cured.

Therefore, the aforesaid accidents do not proceede from the venenosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For proofe of which, I will alleadge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Cardon*, Lord of *Lathindon*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the commaundement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleane through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuertheless, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie dayes, without a Feuer or anie other euill accident. I

History.

dreſt him at S. *Iohn de Latran*, in the houſe of the Archiſhoppe of *Glaſco*, then Ambaſſadour for *Scotland*, who came euery day to ſee him dreſt. Moreouer, for teſtimony, I could produce Mounſieur *Brigard*, Doctor Regent in the facultie of Phiſicke, who was an aſſiſtant with me; together with *Iames Guillemeau*, Chirurgian to the King, and ſworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curation. The ſame likewiſe Mounſieur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Phyſicke can teſtifie, who ſometimes came to ſee him. Alſo *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgian, euery of them maruailing how hee became ſo ſoone cured, without the application of hot and ſharp medcines. Now, the reaſon wherefore I haue made this litle Diſcourſe, is to demonſtrate, that it is aboue 30. yeares agoe, ſince I firſt found out this maner of curing wounds made by gunſhot, without the vſe of boiling oiles, or any other ſharp or burning medicines, vnleſſe I was conſtrained to vſe them, for ſuch accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euil diſpoſition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will ſhew more amply in this Diſcourſe following, which I made vnto the deceaſſed King, after the taking of *Roan*.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *A Anſwer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Eſſence of wounds made by Gunne-ſhotte, at his Maieſties returne from the ſiege, and taking of the Towne of Roan.*

Occaſion of this diſcourſe.

AT one day pleaſed your Maieſtie, together with the Queene Mother, my L. the prince of *La Rochie ſur Yon*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demād of me how it came to paſſe, that in theſe laſt warres, the moſt part of ſuch Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-ſhot, & other inſtruments of war, died, or were very hardly recouered from their diſeaſes, although the wounds they receiued were but of ſmall apparāce, and the Chirurgians which were employed for their cures, did performe their duties according to Art; I haue bin the bolder to publiſh this diſcourſe, to ſatisfie (in ſome meaſure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profeſſion might not be ſpotted with the leaſt diſhonor; and that your Maieſtie might vnderſtād the reaſons, which might haue bin the cauſe of the death of ſo many valiant mē; the moſt parte of whom I haue ſeene (to my great griefe) to finiſh theyr dayes pittifully, without any poſſibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my ſelfe to giue them remedy.

Infinuation into the good acceptance of thoſe who are of the contrary opinion.

I know that this following Diſcourſe will aſtoniſh ſome, who repoſing themſelues vppon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the firſt front of my diſputation very ſtrange; becauſe that the contrary hath beene ſo long imprinted in their fantaſies. For I doe hold, that the cauſe of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-ſhot, not to proceed from any poyſon or venomous quality in the ponder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it ſelfe, being rubbed or infuſed in any venomous mixture. Neuertheleſſe, if their meekeneſſe and patience will extend ſo farre, as firſt to weigh the motiues, which firſt moued me to vndertake this ſubiect, which was a zeale of the publique good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to ſhew the vttermoſt of my power in ſuch things which the ſingular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And ſecondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reaſons which I ſhall vſe in this preſent Treatiſe: then I ſhall bee certayne, they will both accept my labour thankefully, and free it from all future calumnie. Otherwiſe they will ſhew themſelues to be ſo ill affectioned toward me, as if I ſhould preſent my ſelfe before them, enriched with all the treaſures of the auncient Philoſophers, and they ſhould place mee in the number of the pooreſt and ignoranteſt men in the world. To preuent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poiſoning, which the Aduerſaries heere aboue mentioned may alleadge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maieſtie, that ſuch as are wounded by gunne-ſhot; I ſay the malignancie of ſuch wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder, beeing of it ſelfe ſimply conſidered: and much leſſe from the cobuſtion or cauterization which the Bullet

The Author propoſeth two points, which he would maintaine, viz. the poyſon of the powder, and the fire of the Bullet.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuertheleſſe some do striue to maintayne; alledging for all, reasons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore beene seene ruinated in an instant, onely by the meanes of a Cannon shot. Also of a thatched house set on fire with a Musket shotte. Moreouer, because that such wounds which are made by Gunne-shotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts so blacke, as if an actuall Cauter had passed thereon. As also the fall of a certayne eſcarre, as they say. All which Arguments are so ill framed, that they deserue no authoritie, beeing builded on so slender a foundation: much leſſe, that the resolution of your demaund should be taken from them, as I trust to giue you plainely to vnderstand in the Disputation following. Which (after I had seene a great number of those wounds, and diligently obserued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philosophers, Physitians, and Chirurgians to present vnto your Maiesty, and to withdrawe your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of so many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

The present disputation is taken from Philosophers, Physitions & Chirurgians.

Now, to enter into the matter proposed, and to answer the Arguments before alledged, we are first to examine, whether there be any poyson inclosed in the powder, or no? And if there bee, whether it may infect by meanes of the pretended poyson thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainely, wee must search into the composition of the sayd powder, considering that it is not of substance simple, but compound: and so by examining the nature of such Simples, which enter into the composition thereof; I meane their qualities, effects, and operations, we shall the sooner attaine to the scope and intention pretended.

As for the Simples, it is a most assured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the composition thereof; that is to say, coales of willow or birch, sulphure, and salt-peter, and sometimes *Aqua-vitæ*: which ingredients seuerally considered, are alledged not exempt and free from poyson, or any venomous quality. And first for the coales, there is not any thing considerable in them, vnleſſe it bee a drying quality, of subtile substance, by meanes whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linnen cloth burned into Tinder doth the sparkes that fall from a Flint stone. Sulphure is hote and drie, neuertheleſſe, not exceſſiue, and of a more oilie and viscuous substance, yet not so easie to inflame as coales, although it doth retaine the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguished. As for the salt-peter, it is such, that many make vse thereof instead of salt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venenosity in the nature of these simples, namely, in that of sulphure; which is the most suspected. *Dioscorides* in his fift booke, chap. 37. prescribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the asthmaticke passion, coughes, and to such which spit matter, and those that haue the Iaundise. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 56. ordaineth it as a topicall remedy, vnto such who are bitten by venomous beasts; and in all malignant practises or itchings; as for the *Aqua-vitæ*, it is a thing subtile, that it will euaporate if it be set in the ayre; besides, it is vsed by most Chirurgians inwardly in drinkes, and outwardly in embrocations as a most singular medicine. These things considered, make mee to affirme, that the whole composition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyson, seeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the least touch in that kind.

Salt-peter is Salt of stones.

Moreouer, I haue obserued it to bee the practise of the *Hollanders*, beeing wounded by Gunne-shotte, to dissolue two charges of powder in Wine, and to drinke it off, hoping, by that meanes to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approoue thereof, because it is a most insufficient remedy.) Also, such vlcers which are made through the combustion of powder, are of no other nature then those that are made by fire, or scalding water. But, wherefore should I allodge any forraine example? Do we not see amongst our owne souldiers, I do not know on what occasion, but only to shew themselues braue fellowes, to empty their charges of pouder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconuenience at all; and others in like manner, beeing

Refutation of those that affirme the Bullet to be impoysoned.

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vlcers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or steeped, rubbed, or mixed with any poyson, causeth the aforesayd daungerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poyson of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done by impoysoned Swords, Pikes, Arrowes, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Roan*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poyson. Neuertheless, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysoned. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoysoned by them; rather beleeuing and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill successe, then by the Causes whereby they were made.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hypocrates* in the *Epidemies*, as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of what kinde soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like maner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to beale then others; not because they dot participate of any venonosity, but from some generall cause depending, either frō the *Cacochimie* of the body, putrifaction of the aire, or the corruption of the victualls, whereby those vlcers are brought to be more malignant *Cacoethes*, and rebellious to all medicines.

Refutation of those that affirme that the Bullet causeth combustion.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the aforesaid danger; I cannot conceiue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vnable to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolued, which we neuertheless do see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreouer, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and colliffion made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreouer, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the meanes of a Bullet shot; it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; euen as the smiting of a steele against a flint stone. The like wee may iudge of such thatched houses, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towe or Paper, rammed in with the powder, and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a ball of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feeleth no force of fire at all, for then would it melt; neuertheless, it will pierce an inch boord. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extreamely heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

An example of a Ball of Waxe.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great conuulsion that it maketh: For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreame and incredible force, because it is of a round figure.

Whence it proceedeth, that wounds made by gun-shot, are ordinarily black.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselues be demaunded, I beleeue they will testifie the trueth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet; but they doe feele in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie

burthen

burthen were laine on the offended part, in the which they feele a heauy paine, with a benummed ſtupifaction of the part; which diſſipateth and ſometimes extinguiſheth the naturall heate, together with the ſpirites contayned therein; from whence there foloweth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea ſometimes of the whole body. And as for the Eſcarre which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they ſay, they doe abuſe themſelues: for it is onely ſome certaine portion of the membranes and contuſed fleſh, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and ſo ſeperateth it ſelfe from the ſound parts which are greatly contuſed.

Reaſons of thoſe of contrary opinion.

Although that theſe reaſons doe make it manifeſt enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuertheleſſe, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philoſophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon ſhot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burſt foorth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and ſo fall violently on the earth. From the which ſimilitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet, as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thanke God) that Thunder beeing ingendered from a groſſe and viſcuous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake foorth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, ſometimes more ſubtle, ſometimes more groſſe, according to the diuerſitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is compoſed. For *Seneca* writeth in the ſecond Booke of his Naturall Queſtions, chapter 49. that there are three kindes of Thunders, all diffring the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The firſt, by reaſon of the matter thereof, it being moſt thin and ſubtle, it doth pierce & penetrate ſuddenly the obiects which it toucheth. The ſecond kind, by reaſon of the violence thereof, breaketh and diſſipateth the ſame things, becauſe the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempeſt. The third ſort being compoſed of a more earthie matter,

Seneca. Three kindes of Thunders.

burneth with manifeſt tokens of the heate thereof. I alſo know, that the Thunder is of nature peſtilentiall and fætide, becauſe of the groſe & ſliny matter thereof; which being burnd, leaueth behind it ſuch a ſtinking ſauor, that all animals do ſo much auoid it, that if it do happen to fal into their dennes, other places of haunt, they will vtterly abandon and forſake ſuch places; ſo much do they hate the infectious ſtinke of that poiſon. The ſame is noted by *Olaus Magnus*, in his Septentrionall Hiſtorie, that in certayne places where Thunder hath falne, preſently after the fall thereof, the fields haue beene found afterwards to be couered & ſtrewed ouer with ſulphure, neuertheleſſe vnprofitable, and almoſt extinguiſhed. For all theſe reaſons, I muſt not confeſſe, that the blows of Gun-ſhot are accompanyed with poyſon and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in ſome ſimilitude, it is not therefore in their ſubſtance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to batter, teare, and diſſipate the obiects which they doe meete with, that is to ſay, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolte or ſtone ſometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-ſhot by the meanes of the Ayre forced away by impetuoſitie, and ſo conducting the Bullet, cauſeth the like diſaſter. What if I ſhould be conuicted by ſtronger Arguments, ſo that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like ſubſtance; yet I ſhould neuer bee forced to ſay, that the ſhotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a fierie qualitie. *Plinie* ſaith in the ſecond Booke of his Hiſtorie, and the 52. chapter, that among Thunder, one kinde is compoſed of a maruellous drie matter, diſſipating all ſuch things it meeteth withall; neuertheleſſe, without anie ſigne of burning: others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not, but blacketh and diſcoloreth much, more then the firſt. Others are compoſed of a very cleare and ſubtile matter: the nature whereof is moſt maruellous, forſomuch that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well ſaid) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Siluer in a mans purſe, the purſe it ſelfe not beeing ſo much as touched therewith.

Answere to the contrary Reaſons.

A maruailous effect of thunders.

Alſo in melting a ſword, the ſcabberd thereof remayning whole. Alſo, in diſſoluing into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or ſo much as heating the wood. In ſhedding the wine out of a veſſell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforeſayd teſtimony, I can aſſure you, and that without any preiudice, that thoſe Thunders, which onelie breake and diſſipate without any burning; and ſuch which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in ſubſtance to the Canon ſhott, and not thoſe which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example. To prooue my ſaying true, this one example ſhall ſuffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket ſhot, from whence I extracted a bullet; the which being wrapped in the Taffatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuertheleſſe, I drew it forth of the wound with the ſame Taffatie, it being without any ſigne of burning.

And which is more, I haue ſeene many men, who not beeing ſhot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnleſſe it were in their apparrell only; haue receiued ſuch an aſtoniſhment by a Cannon ſhot, that onely paſſed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liuid; and ſhortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification, whereof in the end they haue dyed.

Theſe effects are like vnto thoſe of the thunder before ſpoken of. Neuertheleſſe, there is not in them any fire or poyſon: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyſon in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this diſaſter was common to all thoſe which were hurt in theſe laſt warres, and yet neither by fire or poyſon that ſo many valiant men dyed. To what cauſe may wee impute this euill? I am ſo confident of the true cauſe (my Liege) that I hope preſently to make your Maieſtie vnderſtand the ſame, to the end that your demaund may be fully ſatisfied.

Thoſe which haue conſumed their age and ſtudy in the ſecrets of naturall Philoſophie, haue left vs this amongeſt other things, for authenticke and appooued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe ſymbolize in ſuch ſort the one with the other, that they doe ſometimes tranſforme and change themſelues, the one into the other, in ſuch ſort, that not onelie their firſt qualities, which are heate, coldnes, drineſſe and moyſture: but alſo their ſubſtances are changed, by rarification or condenſation of themſelues; ſo the fire doth conuert it ſelfe ordinarily into ayre, the aire into water, the water into earth; and contrariwiſe the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and prooue it by thoſe bellowes of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being compoſed in the forme of a Boll, which beeing filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middeſt of the Spherical forme thereof: receiueth the tranſmutation of the water within it into ayre, through the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll muſt bee placed; and ſo thruſteth the aire forth of it with violence, making a continuall hoyſe or ſound, vntil all the ayre be gone foorth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Cheſſenuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, preſently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it ſelfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his paſſage, burſteth the ſhell, becauſe it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was chaunged by rarification cauſed by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding paſſage, is conſtrained to make one by violence, according vnto the propoſition helde for moſt certayne and true amongeſt all Phyſitians; that is to ſay, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water: and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of aire ten of fire. I do ſay and affirme ſo much of the matters contayned in the ſaid Gun pouder, which by meanes of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which becauſe it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the tranſmutation thereof, is compelled to iſſue foorth with an incredible violence: by meanes whereof, the bullet breaketh, ſhiuereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as we ſee a Bow, or a Sling ſhoote foorth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

But the bullet driueth before it such a subtle winde, and so swiftly agitated, that sometimes the very winde it selfe, without the action of the Bullet, causeth strage and wonderfull effects. For sometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuision of the flesh. And heerein it may be compared (as wee said before) vnto the effect of Thunder: euen so we see, that if the saide powder bee inclosed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire set vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerse huge masses of earth almost as bigge as Mountaines. Also in this yeare, in your Maiesties Towne of *Paris*, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the *Arcenall*, by taking fire, caused such a great tempest, that the whole Towne shooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houses neere vnto that place, and discouered and battered down the windowes of all those that stood within the fury of it. And to be briefe (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerse heere and there many men halfe slaine; taking away from some their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no lesse torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horses had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the onely agitation of the ayre, into which substance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or lesse violent, hath caused so many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto those which are caused through the incloſing of windes in the bowels and cauities of the earth, not being perspirable. The which, striuing to haue vent, bloweth with such a strong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake thereat: thereby deboliſhing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and transporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of *Megara* and *Egina*, anciently much celebrated in the Country of *Greece*, perishing by Earth-quakes can witnesse vnto vs.

The effect of Artillery like to the thunder

I omit to discouer (as but little seruing to our purpose) how the winde enclosed in the Entrailes of the earth, maketh a noyse of diuers sounds, and very strange, according to the diuers formes of the condits and passages, through the which it issueth by; euen after the manner of musicall Instruments; the which being large, do giue a great and base sound, & being narrow, do make high and sharpe notes, and being crooked or replied, make diuers sounds; as wee see by experience in the Huntsmans horne, and in Trumpets, the which also, being moistned with water, do make a hollow gurgling sound.

In like manner, these noises, murmurings, and clamors, are sundry wayes diuersified, according to the places whence they proceed; in such sort, that sometimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, representing (as it seemed) the assault of a City, the cryes and lowings of Buls, or the neighing of Horses, roaring of Lyons, sound of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadfull thinges; yea sometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beating; which made (as he imagined) such a wofull and greeuous lamentation; where-with he became so greatly affrighted, that he had scarsely breath sufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderstood the cause of this plaintiue voyce, he was presently deliuered from that feare, which otherwise might haue killed him.

Diuers sounds issuing out of the veines of the earth.

But some perhaps will say, that these things haue alwayes bene, and no lesse ordinary in the times past, then they are at this present: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient causes of the death of so many men. The which imputation, I should freely confesse, if I should present them for such: but seeing, that by them I would onely paralel and compare the impetuosity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth; which being so, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing against my first intention, as I hope to demonstrate cleerely, that I am slandered without a cause, if you please to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and briefely describe the true causes of the late mortality, which happned among your Highnesse Soldiers.

Amongst the things necessary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodyes, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inspire by those conduites which Nature hath appointed

The true explication of the question.

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the noſe, and generally through all the pores of the skinne and Arteries therein infixed, whether wee eate, drinke, watch, or ſleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inſpired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the Braine, and vniuerſally in all the parts of the bodie, to refreſh, and in ſome meaſure to nouriſh the ſame, is the cauſe that a man cannot liue one minute without inſpiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Phyſitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; becauſe, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuerſally, it doth circumuolue all things therein contayned: nouriſhing them miraculouſly, ſtrengthning them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; altogether ſymbolizing with the Starres and Planets, into the which the diuine prouidence is infuſed, which changeth the aire at his pleaſure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and ſeaſons, but alſo of the alteration of naturall bodyes. And therefore the Philoſophers and Phyſitians haue expreſſely commanded, that we ſhould haue a principall regarde vnto the ſituation and motions of the heauenly bodies, and conſtitutions of the Ayre, when the preſeruation of health, or the curation of diſeaſes are in queſtion: but eſpecially the courſe and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may eaſily iudge by the foure ſeaſons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth therby become heated and dried: and in winter the humidity and coldneſſe of the ayre doth likewiſe fill our bodies with the very ſame qualities; in ſuch order neuertheles, and in ſo good a diſpoſition of nature, that although our temperatures ſeeme to bee changed, according to the foure ſeaſons of the yeere; we neuertheleſſe receiue no harme thereby, if thoſe times doe keepe their ſeaſons and qualities free from exceſſe. But to the contrary, if the ſeaſons be ſo peruerted, that the Somer is colde, and the Winter hotte, and the other ſeaſons in the like diſtemperature; this diſcord bringeth with it a great perturbation, both in our bodyes and in our ſpirits, conſtrained neuertheleſſe to receiue the danger, by reaſon that the cauſes are extreame, and on euery ſide encompaſſe vs; ſo that we are conſtrained to lodge it in vs by thoſe Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end, as partly, to expell the ſuperfluous excrements of our nouriſhment, and partly to receyue the ſaid externall cauſes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to thoſe parts of the world frō whence they do proceed.

The alteration of ſeaſons cauſe of diſeaſes.

Hyp. in the Preface of his Prognoſt.

Hyp. in the beginning of his book de Aere locis & aquis.

For, it beeing ſo, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyſt, that of the North cold and dry; the Eaſterly Winds for the moſt part are cleare and pure, and the Weſterly cloudy and ſubiect to rain; yet it is a moſt aſſured thing, that the aire which we do inſpire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is moſt predominant. And therefore, wee ſhould of neceſſity conſider in all diſeaſes, and the incomeniences which happē therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath lernedly left vs by writing, in the third Booke of his Aphoriſms. Chap. 1. and 17. ſaying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the viciſſitude of the times and ſeaſons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodyes are ſubiect to all diſeaſes, becauſe that moyſture is their primitiue cauſe: it alſo weakneth our naturall heate, the which in the oppoſite caſe is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which alſo maketh our ſpirits more quick and ſubtle. The verity of which ſentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experiment to their dammage. For being themſelues betweene the luſtieſt and healthfulleſt people of all *France*; yet neuertheleſſe they themſelues are very ſickly for the moſt part, their bodyes leane, their countenances ſad and heauy; their faces tawny, or of an Oliue colour, do manifeſtly ſhew the ſame. Alſo among other diſeaſes, they are almoſt all ſubiect to the white Leproſie; and the laſt Vlcers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poictiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cauſe, as they themſelues confeſſe, and as all ſtraungers know that haue liued in their country, but onely becauſe they are for the moſt part,

blaſted

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and clowdy; causing in their bodies al the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fift Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulleth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swelleth and aggrauateth the head, weakneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Lib. 3. Aphor. 15. Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point; That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessiue humidity is the true matter of putrifaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kindes of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an houre. These things beeing considered, that it is most necessary for the conseruation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excesse or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies wil fall into many vnnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerted thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space heere in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinary qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate, in the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distempered with raine and moysture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little seene in natural Philosophy, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdome of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, to rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceede so many kinds of Feauers, Pleurisies, Apostumes, Catars, defluctions of small Poxe and Meazels? So many kindes of venomous Beastes, as Frogges, Toads, Grashoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Waspes, Snailes, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspickes, but onely from a putrifaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vnknowne accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath bene weakned, how our blood and humors haue beene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that wher there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath beene but little bloud drawne from any, whether they wer yong or old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last Warres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the preuention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the bloode putrified and corrupted.

This beeing so, it must needes follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed: and all our bodies Cacochymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is putrified, and the ayre altogether corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance; the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgian; such & so great was the Cacochimy or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydropticke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and watery: and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrifaction, because of the corrupted blood whereby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacochymed bodies, A similitude.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good ſubſtance, becauſe that to reſtore a lawdable fleſh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood ſhould not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All theſe things were wanting in the times of theſe laſt Warres: and therefore it is not to be wondred at; if the woundes which were then receiued (although they were but ſmall and of little cõſequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them ſo many tedious accidents, and in the end death; becauſe that the aire which doeth encompaſſe vs, maketh the wounds to be corrupt and putrified, by reaſon of the inſpiration and tranſpiration thereof, eſpecially when it ſelfe is corrupt and puttrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Intollerable ſtinke proceeding from the wounded parts of men.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dreſſe, that haue rendred a moſt inſupportable ſtinking ſauour, as a certaine witneſſe of corruption and infection, inſomuch, that the aſſiſtants could hardlie endure to be preſent at their dreſſings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanely kept, or often dreſſing, or for not adminiſtering to them things neceſſary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore ſoldiers; whoſe wounds (if by chance one day eſcaped wherein they were not dreſt, ſo great was the number of the hurt ſoldiers) you ſhould finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of wormes, with a marueilous ſtinking ſauour. And moreoũer, there hapned vnto them many Apoſtumes in diuers parts of their bodies oppoſite to their hurts. For if they were ſhotte in the right ſhoulder, they ſhold haue an Apoſtume on the left knee; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apoſtume would ariſe in the leſte arme. As it hapned to the late K. of *Navar*, to Mounſieur *de Neuers*, and to Monſieur *de Rendan*, and almoſt to all others. So it ſeemeth, that Nature being ſo much oppreſſed with corrupted humors, could not be ſufficiently purged and diſcharged of them by wounds onely, but ſent ſome part of the corruption to ſome other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apoſtumes appeared not outwardly, they ſhould be ſound in the inward part; as in the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Frõ thoſe putrifactions were ſtirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination vvith the heart, cauſeth continual Feauers; with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain ſwoonings, faintings, convulſions, and conſequently death.

Venomous wounds.

Now becauſe of thoſe aforeſayde accidents, it is vnpoſſible for any Chirurgian (were he neuer ſo expert) to correct the malignity of the aforeſaid wounds: neuertheleſſe thoſe that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; becauſe it is impoſſible for them to warre againſt God, nor againſt the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iuſtice. If therefore, according to the ſentence of ancient *Hippocrates*, who ſaieth; That all contuſed woundes ought to bee brought to ſuppuration, thereby to bee perfectly cured; which method wee are ſometimes conſtrained to change, becauſe of the putrifactious Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie ſuch wounds, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuſe vs, becauſe we are conſtrained through neceſſity to change and alter that manner of curation, and inſted of ſuppuratiue medicins to vſe other remedies, to reſiſt ſuch accidents which not onely happen in wounds made by Gun-ſhot, but alſo by ſwords or ſtaues: which remedies ſhall be deſcribed in this preſent Diſcourſe. Beſides humane cauſes, that man is ill inſtructed in the knowledge of Celeſtial things, which doth not beleeue for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punniſh the faults which ordinarily we cõmit againſt his Maieſty. His ſcourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue theyr miniſters alwaies at hand, to execute the commandement of his diuine iuſtice, into whoſe ſecrets I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the beſt aduiſed Practitioners, that the principall occaſion of the aforeſaide mortalitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the Heraldes of his diuine Iuſtice) hath made vs apt to receyue the aforeſaide inconueniences, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Phisicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatsoeuer.*

What humane Arts are truelie falde to bee.

All Arts inuented for the vse of man.

Diuinity excepted from all humane Arts.

The nature and qualitie of knowledge in humane lawes.

Of place allowed to physicke in the second degree.

WE vnderstand humane Artes (as well Liberall as Mechanicall) to bee all those, that Man (inspired by God) hath inuented for his necessitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongest which also is Phisicke, the practise of naturall Philosophie vppon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanicall Arts were deuised; as Artes liberall for exercise of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary professions of Man, the sacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderstand, not to come within compasse of this coparison, when we extoll Physicke to be aboue all humane Arts: because it is neyther Art or humane Science; but a matter meerely and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infused by God; concerning soules, and not bodies; eternall, infallible, immutable, hauing (for obiect) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the seruice of man. In whom we are to consider a reasonable soule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him, for the support and maintaining of his life.

Diuinity hath her especiall care of the soule, and next to her, Moral Philosophy. Skill and knowledge, restrained vnto humane Lawes, do discourse on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Physicke, conseruing the body in health, expelling Diseases, and sauing from death, so farre as it pleaseth God to permit. If then the excellency of professions, is to be esteemed in and by their subiects, according as they ought to bee: Physicke will then assume the second place. For, the soule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garmented.

I will not here contest with my Grand Maisters the Magistrates, who haue power ouer other mens bodies, as well in case of life, as death: for their authority is nothing else but a meere declaration; either of pardoning, or punishing with death, according to the quality of desert. As for the power of absolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the sole Prince or Soueraigne Magistrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accused: the which is properly to saue, or giue life, because the party standing so accused, hath not therefore deserued death.

The power of Magistrates in cases of life or death, holding their authority from God.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praise; at least, it ought not to be compared with the power of sauing life. For, so much doth the Physition (the grace of God assisting) to man, beeing attainted with deadly diseases, and doubtles should dye, except they were succoured in such manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Physicke) life may be prolonged: that we shal more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to shewe the excellencie of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conseruation.

What diuersity there is betweene the two powers, of sauing life, and putting to death.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchsafed to bestow on him his owne Image and resemblance, giuing him an immortall soule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all thinges were subiected to him, for his necessitie, commodity, and recreation; hauing made (for his seruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no neede of any thing, made by himselfe: All is for our vse, and therefore it is easie to vnderstand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the worlde. So, to speake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning, were ordained for an ending, and to wexe olde like a Garmene. Onely Man shall neuer end, but change his condition, and of beeing mortall, he shall become immortall; in a short while after the soule shal receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner then before, and in such a perfect temper, as neuer can be subiect to corruption.

Wherein the cheefest dignitie of Man doth consist.

Man was created neuer to haue ending, but to change his present condition.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthiest thing in all the world, beside al other whatsoeuer: the Science ordained for his person,

Man the only worthy thing in al the world

son, must needs bee the most excellent aboue all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preheminēce and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

The Antiquity, necessitie, and vtilitie of Man.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquitie, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) becam subiect to sickneſſe. He must needs be Physition to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the vertue of all thinges whatsoeuer, and causing him to giue them seuerall names, answeteable and according to their seuerall proprieties.

Adam was Physition to himselfe.

What attribution is made to Physick by profane histories.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the inuention of Physick to god *Apollo*, which is the Sunne: signifying thereby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Æsculapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Machaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitions (otherwised called Chirurgeons) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Chirurgions termed vulnerary Physitions

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; prouided, that it hath beene continued. For, if it be neither vse-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (euen to this instant) that Physicke hath beene well maintained, euermore in augmentation, beauty, and liberall bounty. And that, by industrie of the cheefest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath beene highly honoured, according as ancients Histories, and their learned labors left to vs of Physicke, do plainly testifie.

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitions

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about sixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation; for the cruelty of some Chirurgeons which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very suspitious. But since those times, Physitions were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the cheefest Noblemen and Knights.

Plin. in lib. 29. c. 1.

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not expetible or desireable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, that is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then affectable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for those children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musicke) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanicall Arts, which cannot passe without vse. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to bee desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Physicke not desireable of it selfe.

Mechanicall Arts cannot passe without vse.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioyneth with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desireable then long life: Physicke, prouiding both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as whosoeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he, hath liued but a little while, brought thereto the lesser benefit with him. For, as the Father of Eloquence sayd: *We are not borne for our selues only, but our Parents, Kindred, & friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these deuyse from vs some emolument, and commodity.*

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the world.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Senectute.

It remaineth now, to confirme al these reasons by great and good Authoritie, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors therof, commending it infinitely by their Writinges. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remonstrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to bee

Authority for the honour of Physick.

be suspected in the matter, because he was a Physition: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the seruice of any man; but free and most liberall of his profession. And he it was, that first diuided Physicke from Philosophie. Because (in elder daies) Physitions were not distinguished by themselues, but Philosophers did contemplate vpon diseases, and their remedies among naturall thinges: for their vse principally (as *Celsus* witnesseth) who had most need aboue other, in regarde of their bodyes weakenesse, being ouercome with continuall depressions of Age.

Hippocrates first seuered Physicke from Philosophie.

Hippocrates then was the first, that deuided this Art from Philosophy, and made profession therof publikely: as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, *Herophilus*, and *Erasistratus*, all his successours. And they (at length) diuided Physicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to sicke persons: referring mechanicall people to manuall operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are tearmed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in these our dayes) it is exercised among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the most part) whose testimonie in the Art of phisick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himselfe, although he was one of the first subiected seruants thereto.

Physick distinguished three seuerall waies

Galen disallowed in this respect.

Wherfore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I haue made recitall of the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, the wisedome of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verse 1. *Honor the Physition with that honor which is due vnto him, because of the necessity thou hast of him; for the Lord hath created him.* 2. *Healing commeth of the most High, and the Physition shall bee honoured euen of Kinges.* 3. *The knowledge of the Physition exalteth his head, and in the sight of Princes he shall be had in admiration.* 4. *The Lorde hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wise will not abhorre them.* 5. *Was not the water made sweete with woode, that men should know the vertue thereof?* 6. *So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that hee might be glorified in his mernailous workes.* 7. *With such doth he heale men, and taketh away their paines.*

Eccles. 38

8. *The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet hee cannot finish his owne work: for, it is from God, that health commeth ouer all the earth.*

Exod. 15, 25.

9. *My sonne, faile not in thy sickenesse, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.*

10. *Leaue off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and clense thine heart from all wickednesse.*

11. *Offer sweete Incense, and fine Floure for a remembrance; make the Offering fatte, for thou art not the first giuer.*

12. *Then giue place to the Phisition: for the Lord hath created him, let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him.*

13. *The houre may come, that their enterprizes may haue good successe.*

14. *For they shall also pray vnto the Lord, that hee would prosper that which is giuen for ease, and their Physicke for prolonging life.*

Concerning the Apothecaries.

These diuine words do conclude (& verie sufficiently) our purpose, for the dignity, excellency, necessity, vtility, and prerogatiue of Physitions: condemning all such, as hold them in vile esteeme, and (in them) do despise the great goodnesse of Almighty God, who hath bestowed vpon men such meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was spoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complayned so long since, that (euen in his time) Physick was but slenderly esteemed, in regarde of abuse; much more then must it needes be now at this day.

Sufficient Proofe for the authoritie of Physicke.

The Art of Physicke (saith hee) *is the most apparant of all other: but by the ignorance of some that vse it, and such as iudge of the Professours; it is too farre euergone by all other Artes. The faulte (meethinkes) proceedeth principally from this: That in Cities, there is no punishment appointed to the Art of Physicke, as to other. Except dishonours done it, which are not inflictions sufficient for such as fayle therein.*

Hippocrat in lib. de Leg. cap. 14.

They may well bee compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habite, visage, and outward behauiour, of those persones which they represent and counterfeit. In like manner, there are many Physitions in name and repute; but verie few that are the men indeede. For, in him that vvould truely haue the knowledge of Physicke, sixe seuerall qualities or conditions, are necessarily required, which followe thus. 1. *The Nature.* 2. *Discipline.* 3. *Good Manners.* 4. *Learning from his Childe-hoode.*

A familiar cõparison for the bold abusers of so singular a Science.

Six things required in a true Phyſitiō, and (without which) he is no body.

5. *Loue to the toyle and labour; 6. And obſeruation of apt times and ſeaſons. With, and by theſe he ſhall become a good Phyſition, not onely in name, but in deed alſo. But ignorance is a wicked treaſure, & a Iewell of vile price, to ſuch as haue it, and liue but as in a dreame or opinion.*

Pli. in l. 29. c. 1.

Plinie purſuing this matter, and to the ſame purpoſe, taxing the vulgare, that know not how to diſtinguiſh betweene the good and badde Phyſition, liſtening onely to ſuch as are full of talke, making great vaunts and bragges of themſelues, hath theſe wordes: *They get* (ſaith hee) *a little taſte of the arte onely, and their raſh iudgement ſodainly conceiueth, that preſently they are skilfull Phyſitions; albeit (in anie kinde of lying) there is no greater daunger, yet it is not eaſily diſcouered, ſo pleaſing is the ſweetneſſe to a man, in perſwaſion, and commending himſelfe.*

Pliny his reprehenſion of prating Phyſitians.

Moreouer, there is not any Lawe, for the puniſhing of capitall ignorance, where it importeth the liues of men, neither is there anie example of vengeance: for, they vndertake matters of difficulty and danger, and make their proofes by killing men, and yet paſſe vnpuniſhed for thus murdering men. Nay, and that which is farre worſſe, when themſelues do iuſtly deſerue the reproch: they excuſe it, by the ſicke patients intemperancie, and impudently doe lay their owne ſinne vppon the dead.

No puniſhment for capital ignorāce

Ignorant Phiſitions are meere murderers of men.

I thought it expedient to ſet downe theſe words, to the end it may be known, that (euen in theſe dayes of ours) there are many, that wearing the maske and apparance of Phyſitions, cauſe Phyſicke (thorough their abuſes) to bee greatly deſpiſed. Euen as many other things (good of themſelues, or newtrall) are made worſſe then they be indeede, in regard that they are very eaſily abuſed. But becauſe I haue formerly promiſed, to declare in another Chapter, whether life may be prolonged by Phyſicke, or no, which is an action ſingular and excellent: I will nexte ſet downe in ample manner, what mine opinion is concerning that point.

The reaſon why Phyſicke is contemned by many.

CHAP. VI.

Whether it bee poſſible, or no, to prolong the life of man, or woman, by Phyſicke.

THis Queſtion hath alwayes appeared to bee verie difficult, and hath much afflicted the verie greateſt ſpirits: as lying hid and concealed in the darkeſt and deepeſt ſecretie of Nature; and therefore it hath bene the more painfull, to ſuch as haue curiouſly ſought after it. The reaſons of them that haue debated it, are ſo ſtrong and powerfull on either ſide; that hardly can any reſolution bee yeelded, or what beſt may be ſaide in the caſe. For there are very many Arguments, abſolutely concluding; that the life of man cannot be prolonged, by any remedies or meanes of Phyſicke. On the contrary, Phyſitions haue and doe maintaine, that it is poſſible. Therefore, for the better diſciding of this doubt, I will firſt of all defend each of the ſeuerall ſides, and in the end (like to an honeſt and indifferent Arbitratour) deliuer therein, mine owne opinion and iudgement.

A queſtion of no mean difficulty to be decided.

Arguments on either ſide very contradictory to each other.

That there is a tearme or limitation, appointed vnto the life of man, and that hee cannot goe beyond it by any meanes whatſoeuer; wee haue (in the firſt place) that which the patient man *Iob* ſaid, chapt. 14. verſes 1. 5. inſpired by the Spirite of God. *The dayes of Man are ſhort; the number of his Moneths are with the Lord; He hath ordained the boundes and limits of his life, which he cannot paſſe.*

Acertain date of time prefixed to the life of Man.

Ariſtotle affirmeth the ſame, in his ſecond book of generation and corruption; *The time and life* (ſaith he) *of euery thing, hath his infinite count and determination: For, in all thinges there is an order, and all life and time is meaſured by a period.* Alſo, in his fourth booke of the Generation of Creatures, hee ſayeth; *It is but reaſonable, that there ſhould be periods and ſeaſons, as well for Groweth, as for Generation and Life: which are accounted by dayes, monethes, yeares, or other times that are decree-*

Ariſt. in Lib. 2. de Generat. & Corr. chap. 10.

Ariſt. in Lib. 4. de Generat. Animal. cap. 10.

decreed for them heere. And *Auerroes* explicating the ſame ſaith; *All things that are, haue (neceſſarily) life determined vnto them.*

All Natures works conſiſt on a certainty of order.

Seeing then, that all the works of Nature do (neceſſarily) conſiſt on a certainty of order, ſo that they neither can bee otherwiſe, or auoide it: And ſeeing alſo, that Art is heerein much inferiour to Nature: it may eaſily bee concluded (as *Galen* diſputeth in the Booke called *Maraſmus*) that life is no way to bee prolonged by any cunning. Whereunto *Auicen* conſenteth, where hee maketh an expreſſe ſearch, for the cauſes of our ineuitable death, ſaying: *This naturall death is vndiuidable to euery man, differing one from another, according to their prime complexion, vntill the time they haue in their power, for conſeruing their naturall humidity. For, euery one hath his tearme prefixed, which is diuers in their indiuiſion, by diuerſity of their temper: who haue naturall tearmes, which in other are ſhortned, and yet all according to the will of God, &c.*

Galen in Lib. Maraſ.

Auicen in lib. 1. Tract. 1. doct. 3. cap. 3.

If then the tearmes of life are prefixed and aſsigned to euery perſon, by the will of God, and his ordinance (Nature being but a ſeruant to God, to wit, eſtabliſhing things (by order in this World) from their beginning;) it is not to bee exceeded or out-ſtept, by any meanes in Man, but onely by the grace & goodneſſe of Almighty God. As to King *Ezechias*, to whom the Prophet *Iſaiah* had ſignified his death. Yet vpon his Repentance, life was prolonged to him for fifteene yeares, onely by the mercy of God. Who alſo promiſeth in his ſacred Law long life vnto children, *That Honor their Father and Mother*, and are no way ingratefull to them.

4. Reg. 20. 1. & 5.

Exod. 20. 12.

Thus we ſee, if (contrary to theſe allegations ſo certaine) wee can extend and prolong the naturall termes of life, by any ordinances or remedies in our Arte. Becauſe there are ſome ſtore of reaſons, which perſwade, that not onely the order of Nature, but alſo our induſtry, doth promiſe long life. Firſt of all, Aſtrologers do maintaine it, where they diſcourſe on elections, figures, and Images. And this hath bene confirmed by experience, in the care and diligence of Phyſitions to manie perſons, who being aſsiſted by remedies and good gouernment: haue maintained themſelues in health. And being crazy & ſickly, haue held out for long time: whereas otherwiſe, they had dyed yong, and neuer ſeene ſo many yeares.

Of remedies and good gouernment for maintaining health.

Plato & *Ariſtotle* (great and graue Authors) without all exception, doe teſtifye (to this purpoſe) that a learned man, named *Herodicus*, the moſt ſubiect to ſickeneſſe of any in his time: did yet neuertheleſſe liue an hundred yeares, by great skil, and exquiſite manner of Gouernment. *Galen* alſo (in diuers places) confeſſeth his owne naturall infirmity; but he ſaith withall, that he had ſo wel corrected it, as hardly was he (at any time) ſicke; at leaſt, after he gaue himſelfe wholly to exerciſe Phyſick. Except, when he was once or twice affected with the Ephemerie (which is of a daies continuance) onely being painfull to him, in trauailing to viſit his Friends. And, if wee may credite ſome that haue written, he liued aboue ſeuenſcore years, which may be counted a goodly time.

Sickly Herodicus that liued an hundred yeares.

Galens experience approued on himſelfe.

We ſhall not need to cite the authority of *Plutarke*, who ſpeaketh of manie verie weak (yet delicate) bodies, that liued long time by the meanes of this Art: becauſe we ſee the ſame now daily experienced on as many. Nor ſhall we likewiſe neede to oppoſe againſt them, diuers intemperate and diſſolute perſons, that daily haue deſpiſed all good gouernment; and yet notwithſtanding, haue attained to great yeares, yea, to decrepite age. For, it is verie certaine, that if ſuch perſons as are wel borne, and of good temper, woulde liue and be aſſiſted by Phyſicall means in their neceſſities: they ſhould be ſlower to Age, and haue the benefit (doubtleſſe) of long life. Which is eaſie to proue, becauſe wee oftentimes ſee, that ſome, who are vnhelthfull by nature, or elſe by accident: do yet liue longer time, thē others that are more ſtrong and luſtie. Becauſe ſtrong bodies, truſting onlie in their ſtrength; do liue diſorderly, without any lawe or gouernment at all. Others, being ſober and continent, abſtaining from hurtfull things, and obſeruing a certaine manner of liuing, by direction of a skilfull Phyſition indeede; haue hadde their life time longer, and much more healthfull. Whereuppon grew the old Prouerbe, *A crackt Pitcher (ſometime) laſteth longer, then one that is new.*

Intemperate bodies haue liued long, without any helpe of Phyſicke.

Of perſonnes wel born, and of good temper.

Heereupon *Galen* ſaide well: *It is verie credible, that ſuch men liue leſſe time, then*

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do deſpiſe the healthfull maner of liuing. For, the Science of Phyſicke, prouiding for the health and life of Man, hath ſuch vertue; as if any one ſhal raſhly contemne the ordinances thereof; he not only liueth in miſery, and all irkeſomneſſe of diſeaſes, but alſo cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the tearme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well ſay) thereby cutteth his owne throate. As much to ſay, when (by vſing euill gouernment) he conſumeth his radicall humour, ſooner then it was ordained for him, or ſuffocateth, or quencheth his naturall heate: on both which, do conſiſt the continuance of life.

For ſuch as deſpiſe the art of Phyſicke.

The radicall humour and naturall heate

Now, if ſuch be the law and nature of contraries, that they are ſaid to be in one and the ſame ſubiect; as, if the one hold, the other alſo muſt do the like: it followeth then neceſſarily, that if the one can ſhorten life, the other likewiſe can prolong it. And ſeeing it is moſt euident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers faultes and blemiſhes of exceſſe: it may alſo as ſufficiently be concluded, that life may bee prolonged by good gouernement and diſcreete order. For, although the diſcommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any means) to be auoyded or preuented (as the effluxion and continuall diſſipation of our whole ſubſtance, which is done by naturall heate, beeing the reaſon of Ages ſooner enſuing, in regard of exceſſiue and ineuitable exſiccation:) yet notwithſtanding, it may bee tardyed by Phyſicke, and ſo hindered, that the laſt day ſhall not come ſo ſoone, nor ſo haſtily.

If diſorder do ſhorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reaſon of the ſodaine ſtealing of aga vpon vs.

Hath it not beene (almoſt) in generall obſeruation, that diuers haue lien gaſping, yea, euen ready to giue vp the ghoſt; who (neuertheleſſe) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a ſmall quantity of Malmeſie, *Aqua vitæ*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Alkermes*, or ſome other cordiall thing? The period and laſt limit of life beeing then ſo neere; hath it not bene deferred (by thoſe means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing * *Democritus*, that being entreated by his Houſhold ſeruants (ſeeing his health very crazie) that hee would baniſh all greefe and ſorrow from his houſe, during the *Theſmophorian* Feaſts, which were then neere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the ſmel of Hony, though ſome others ſay, that it vvas by the ſauour of hot bread. Thus you ſee what our Phyſitions haue deliuerd, wherin there is a verie great apparance of trueth.

Life kept and retayned in great extreamity by drinkes and Cordials.

*A Philoſopher that laughed at the follies of the worlde.

Wee haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrarietie of ſentences and reaſons on either ſide: it behoueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to reſolue on that which hath the beſt hold. And to the end, that it may bee done with the greater cunning; it is neceſſarie alſo, to diſtinguiſh the tearmes of life; that ſome are ſuper-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentarie, which wee call ſhortned or abridged.

The ſeuerall termes of life diſtinguithed by themſelues

We call thoſe ſuper-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained and prefixed to ſome, out of his owne meere will, ſuch as are not to bee inſtituted by anie Arte or Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the firſt Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind: and eſpecially to *Noah*, for the reſtauration thereof.

Of ſupernaturall life as before the flood.

Thoſe which we tearme Naturall, are they that be beſtowed vpon euery man, according both to the diuerſity of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, eyther ſtrong or weake. In regard whereof, ſome may liue long, others leſſer while, according vnto the order of Nature. And they that doe attaine vnto theſe tearmes (the grace of God aſſiſting) except they fal into diſorder, or ſome inconuenience happeneth to them; which are (already to bee called) the limits or termes of the thirde kind, and which we haue named accidentary, or accidentall, that may happen in, or to any age, by caſuall and inopinate caſes; as Wounds, Poyſons, Burnings, fals, ruines, ſhipwrackes, plagues, and other populare harmes. Such inconueniences are (moſt often) ineuitable, and it lyeth not in the Science of Phyſicke, to vſe any precaution againſt them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be poſſible. So leauing theſe tearmes of life to the arbitrarion of fortune (which is nothing elſe, to ſpeake more piouſly) then the

Naturall life giuen to euery one, though not all alike.

Accidentall life hapning in any age whatſoeuer.

Inconueniences no way to be auoyded.

After the ſeauenth Paradox of the firſt Decade.

then the pure will of God, without order of Nature, as elſewhere we haue enſtructed: let vs ſpeake onely concerning the tearme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

All the Philoſophers and Phyſitions do agree together, that we ought to meaſure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen naturall heate, and the radicall humor. Now, to the end that theſe things may laſt the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as *Galen* ſpeaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nouriſhment, defendeth the ordinary diſſipation of our ſubſtance and Radicall humour, maintayning our naturall heate, as well by this meanes, as by reſpiration, and the pulſe of Arteries.

Naturall heat and the Radicall humor do prolong life.

An admirable power giuen vs by Nature.

But ſuch a kinde of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinit; cannot alwayes defend and conſerue the ſayde humour in ſuggeſting another. Whereby it commeth ſo to paſſe, that the body wexing dry, by little and little; procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exerciſed in it ſelfe: but weakneth dayly more and more, ſo that in the end, the bodies power ceaſeth, from being nouriſhed ſufficiently. In this manner, thoſe parts becomming ſapleſſe and withered, the body wexeth meager & diminiſhing: and ſo paſſing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall natural neceſſity of corruption and death, to all bodyes begotten: for death enſueth then, when the humor primitiue, ſuſtayning or radicall, fayleth, and natural heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

The reaſon of our ſoon comming to wrinkled Age.

Auicenne his words concerning the Arte of Phyſick, aſſuring it two waies helpfull to mans life.

As concerning the Art of Phyſicke: *It is an Art* (ſaith *Auicenne*) *that exempteth not from death, nor can conduct euery one, ſo farre as to the lateſt tearme of humaine life. But it aſſureth and exempteth from two thinges; the one is from putrifaction, that it can no way ſeize vppon the body, except it bee by ſome externall occaſion, as the Peſtilence, or poyſon; the other is, in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may laſt the longer, and bee the ſlower in conſuming.*

Theſe two things are in the power of Phyſicke, whereby it may prolong life, for ſo long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three meanes. The firſt whereof, is, to preoccupate ſtraunge heats; to hinder opilations; and to eiect the excrements, from whence enſueth the generation of putrifying; or when they are engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The ſecond is, the due adminiſtration of drinking & eating; in ſubſtance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abſtaine from things, which, in conſuming and exhauſting the Radicall humour; in a very ſhort while doeth reſolue, or diſſipate together the naturall heate; as exceſſiue trauaile or labour; vſe of ſharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers paſſions of the minde. But aboue all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and at incommodious houres; with ſome other ſuch like things, which a man may, and ought to ſhunne, by following the good and wholeſome ordinances and rules of Phyſicke.

Three ſeuerall meanes for the prolonging of life.

Teſtimonies of ſome particular things hurtfull vnto health.

But (ſay you) no man neede doubt of theſe things, for euery one will gladly agree, to mooue the foreſaide Reaſons; that ſuch cannot but liue long, as keepe within the compaſſe of temperance, and haue an eſpeciall care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and tearme ordained by Nature, without abridging or ſhortning it, although this is a caſe verie rare. But I demaund principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, may be aduanced and prolonged by the Arte of Phyſicke, or no? The Anſwere heereto, is, That life is not onely conſerued by Phyſicke, but likewiſe prolonged. For, it ſtandeth with good reaſon, that the thing muſt needs be the more confirmed and auanced, the principles, foundation, and productions cauſes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (eſpecially) made the ſtronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitiue humor) if they cannot bee re-integrated, yet (at leaſt) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art. According as the curing of Hecticke or continuall Feauers doth ſhew vs, and the recouering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

A yeelding to the former allegations, with a further obiection.

An Anſwer to the principall point in queſtion, concerning the power of Phyſick

If then, by way of liuing humectiuely,

The way and meanes for preſeruing the radical humor and naturall heate.

or moiſtly, as by Bathes of pure freſh waters, and other ſuch like remedies, the radicall humour may be the longer conſerued, which otherwiſe would be ouer ſoon conſumed; and naturall heat kept temperate; ſo that it may conſume her feeding the more ſparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally enſueth: wher is the man who wil not confeſſe, that life may be prolonged by Phyſicke, which elſe wold haue bin much ſhorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confeſſe it, that the ſolid and ſpermaticke parts, cannot be moiſtned ſubſtantially, & of themſelues: neuertheles, you will grant, that they may be moiſtned through the voide ſpaces and pores, by which the feeding humour inſinuateth it ſelfe, and whereby alſo the waſting of the radicall humour is the more tardied. And it is almoſt in the ſame maner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe; to the end, that the Oyle may the more ſtrongly reſiſt the flames deuouring.

Concerning moiſtening of the ſolide and ſpermaticke parts.

But yet (ſay you) although the termes of life may bee lengthened, yet it is not ſtrongly enough proued by this argumēt. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the moſt and cheefeſt life, is moiſture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moyſt, which vulgarly wee vſe to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far ſhorter life. So that, whenſoeuer both of them ſhall vſe one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithſtanding, the firſt will be of longeſt laſting, becauſe it hath the terme of it owne life furtheſt off, from the principles of it own generation. Now, the Art of Phyſicke enſtructeth, & the vertue thereof is ſo great, that it can chaunge (by little and little) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into theyr contrary: as *Galen* teacheth how to do it, in his two laſt bookes of the preſeruation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the tearme of life may likewiſe be prolonged by the Art of Phyſicke? Yea, and that ſome one, vnfortunately borne, and (euen bound as it were) to ſhortneſſe of life; hath yet chaunged the condition, and become thereby farre more liuely and chearful. Onely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one eaſily vnderſtandeth, how to learn of another; which is nothing elſe, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, whereby enſueth, that the courſe of euery life may be prolonged.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Argument.

How Phyſick enſtructeth to alter temperatures.

Euery one is couetous in deſire how to lengthen out life in all degrees.

And firſt of all, that the vigor and flour of youth, may long time be preſerued by the Art of Phyſicke; *Galen* declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conſeruation of health, vvhich are in our power: namely, to reſtore the ſubſtance diſſipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to reiect the excrements proceeding from them.* If no defailance bee made in any of theſe: the body (ſo long) ſhal inioy helth, and will bee very long time conſerued in the ſtrength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the ſelfeſame reaſon, Age (altogether vnauoidable, of ſuch as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Phyſicke: ſo that ſwoonings, trances, and the pale aſhie countenances of extreme olde Age, ſhall come very ſlowly.

Gal. in Lib. vlt. de Regim. Sanit. cap. 9.

The ſtealing on of Age to be holpen by phyſicke.

Heereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more eaſily, vnderſtande the tearmes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery eſtate of life: the tearmes may be prolonged by Phyſick, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And theſe are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Phyſicke) would haue ſubiected to this Art: which are in our power, ſo long as God permitteth, and cutteth not our thred of life, vntill it pleaſeth him. Euen as in like manner heeretofore, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he ſuſtained and prolonged life myraculouſly, without anie Phyſicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by phyſicke.

CHAP. VII.

Againſt ſuch as hold opinion, that Phyſitions do delay, and prolong hurts & diſeaſes, and are meere abuſers of the world.

The Art of Warre & the Art of phiſick compared together in hatred of fortune.

THere is not any other Art, ſo much ſubiect to ſlander and calumnie, as the Art Military, and that of Phyſicke: which

which agree likewiſe (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be diſcerned, by diuers diſcourſes following. For, to explicate (familiarly) the deeds of Phyſicke, I ſhall often borrowe ſimilitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this inſtant (meethinkes) I may ſerue my turne with one, which aptly offers it ſelfe for my purpoſe, thus. If a Generall beſiedge a Towne, & take it not within ſome promiſed time, or elſe ſo ſoon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Captaine performed his vtmoſt diligence: he ſhall be ſuſpected and accuſed in diuers kindes, as of negligence, ſlothfulneſſe, intelligence, corruption, treaſon, ignorance, precipitation, or tardineſſe in his enterprizes, badde conduction, puſillanimity, or ſome other defect in his charge, & yet all theſe vtterly falſe. But they which iudged thus peremptorily, knew not what reſiſtance the beſiedged made, what good prouiſion they had, what ſtrength of men, and all thinges requiſite to defend themſelues, beyond the expectation of the beſiedged; who might be abuſed by his ſcowtes and ſpies, and diuers, making report of the eſtate of the place, and of ſome other exteriour ſemblances, whence might be imagined, what was within the Towne.

Example of a Generall in his beſiedging a town or Citty, and what raſh imputations (vndeſeruedly) may be laid vpon him

They that ſee by imagination, are worſe then blindmē.

So fareth it with the Phyſition, who beſiedgeth any diſeaſe, treacherouſly entred into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forſake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abuſed by exteriour ſignes, and very goodly outward reſemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore ſee, the Diſeaſe making farre greater reſiſtance, then the Phyſition thought on: reenforcing, and repayring it ſelfe dayly more and more, againſt the beſt ſuccour and remedies applyed. So that the ſickeneſſe will laſt longer, then himſelfe that hath it expected, and cannot be cured ſo ſoone, as (perhappes) the Phyſition promiſed, or others immagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereuppon, hee groweth ſuſpected preſently, eyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetouſneſſe, malice, or ſome other vice, which inducteth him to lengthen out the diſeaſe, longer then it ought to be.

The former diſcourſe aluded vnto the Phyſitions labour.

The beſt Artſman may bee deceiued in his owne skill.

As touching ignorance, I ſuppoſe it could not bee ſo, but that the Phyſition was held to bee skilfull, expert, and an honeſt man. If he prooue not ſuch a one, it was ill done to call him, and to commit the patients life into his handes: ſo that the Patient may well ſay, as Ieſus Chriſt replyed vnto *Pilate*, Iohn 19, verſe 11. *He that deliuered mee to thee, hath the greater ſinne.*

Concerning ignorance in the Phyſition.

Iohn 19, 11.

As for negligence, I grant that there are Phyſitions learned, expert, and men of good eſteeme, who may paſſe (ſomewhat ouer-lightly) their viſitation and curing of ſicke perſonnes: but I can neuer thinke, that it ſhould bee to any ſuch end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other affayres. For which, there is very good remedy, by erneſt ſolicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their dutie, and wiſhing them to be more frequent in attendance; or elſe, by giuing them a coadiutor or aſſiſtant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

For Negligence in their attendance on ſick & weake patients.

The moſt that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar ſort thinke, that Phyſitions (commonly) lengthen out Diſeaſes, and draw thē into ſome time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly ſtand ſomewhat the longer vpon this point, to refute this falſe opinion, which is the moſt erroneous of all.

Auarice and couetouſneſſe to prolong the patient in paine.

First, I am of the minde, that the the Phyſition ſhould bee an honeſt man, in regarde, that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I deſire alſo, that hee ſhould profite in his profeſſion; as euerie one ſhould gette Goodes honeſtly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honeſt and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Chriſtian Compaſſion, and neuer will ſuffer any man, (by or with his will) to languiſh out in ſickeneſſe or diſeaſe: but if hee bee no ſuch man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly ſaide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to graſpe vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diſeaſes, which he may and can ſhorten: he

The Authors anſwere concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honeſt Phyſitions.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in leſſer time then other men do; he ſhall be in the greater requeſt: hee ſhall haue ſuch crowdes of patients reſort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himſelfe, and rather they wil giue him a french Crowne, then a Teſter to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more then ordinarie, to be ſo ſoone recouered? If, to ſome other Phyſitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes bee giuen: there needeth no complaint, if fiftie Crownes be diſtributed to him, that ſhall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of ſufferance.

It is a matter of no great conſequence to be famous and to haue great reſort of Patients.

But, to ſpeake vprightly, it is not in the Phyſitians power, to doe any ſuch acte at his owne pleaſure. He would gladly wiſh it ſo, that he had ſuch a vertue, as to heale by touching, ſeeing, or the very firſt receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other ſuch light direction. He ſhould haue the leſſer paines, be tenne times the more eſteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne aduantage. Oh good God! how ſoone might hee be rich, that could be ſo proſperous and ſucceſſefull. It is not then to be imagined, that Phyſitians (prouoked by couetouſneſſe) ſhould delight in prolonging diſeaſes: ſeeing they may gaine ſo much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with ſuch expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Phyſitian, that hauing parents, kinred & familiar friends, of whō he wil take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite ſake) in leſſer time: the diſeaſe being alike, and the ſubiect anſwerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of ſuch ſickeneſſes; it is enough if he looſe not the good opinion conceiued of him, and diuers kind offices done vnto him. Let mee ſay moreouer, when himſelfe, his wife, or children lie ſicke; they depend vpon his owne expence, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can he ſooner cure them, then any other beeing in the ſame diſtreſſe? Queſtionleſſe, it is a great follie, to thinke, that Phyſitions ſhould be ſo forgetfull of themſelues, as, to prolong diſeaſes willingly, and with their knowledge; in regard of iuſt affection to their owne honour and profite.

Phyſitions are not able to cure or recouer at their own pleaſure.

Phyſitions ſhould take ſmall delight in lingring diſeaſes.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in beſieging ſome appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the buſineſſe in three dayes compaſſe, and yet continue there a moneth before it, without diſſembling or ſparing any paines. They were perſwaded, that a wall could not reſiſt tenne ſhotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-ſtoode more then an hundred. They held opinion, that the beſieged were not ſtored with victualls and munition, for aboue eight dayes; and finde them furniſhed for more then two months. Whatſoeuer is thought or conceiued in this kinde, be they neuer ſo many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of ſome reſemblance, examples and obſeruations, which faile as often as they ſpeed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Captaine aſſaylant, ought not to bee accuſed, for ill doing his duety, when hee perfourmed all that Arte and Induſtrie could require.

Another familiar alluſion of Martial diſcipline, to Phyſicke.

In all reſpects, this is the Phiſitians caſe, who is moſt excuſable altogether, when hee fayleth in the quantity and efficacie of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as *Galen* auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Phyſicke coniecturall, *Defining coniecture to be a meanes or condition, betweene perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to bee interpreted to the beſt, and taken in good part, what ſucceſſe the remedies ſort vnto, which a learned, expert, diligent and honeſt Phyſition applyeth fitteſt for the purpoſe, and the moſt iuſtly as is poſſible for him; euermore referring the euent and iſſue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminiſheth the power of thoſe remedies, according as it beſt pleaſeth him, whether the diſeaſe ſhall be ſoone or ſlowely ended; one while indifferently amending, another while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Mallice or ſpleene now remayneth; which may be ſuſpected in the Phyſitian. If there be the very leaſt occaſion of rancour, hatred and ill will betweene the Phiſitian and his patient: there was no good aduice or diſcretion, in calling ſuch a man to the buſineſſe. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the ſicke perſon

Of mallice or hatred in the phyſition towards his Patient.

ſon ſhould loue his Phyſitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this caſe, a ſtrict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betweene their hearts: For otherwiſe, the patient will neuer kindely receiue his Phyſitions beſt ſuccour, nor the other care for adminiſtring, where hee findeth his paynes not to bee affected. As for deliberate and purpoſed mallice, with an intent to doe hurt ſecretly; if there be any Phyſitian to be taxed with ſuch a ſin: hee ought rather to be rancked with impoyſoners, and not any way to bee imployed.

Of purpoſed mallice to do harme priuily

But, I vnderſtand by the vulgare ſort, that they take this word Mallice in another kinde of ſence, to wit, that Phyſitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe caſt downe their patients bodies ouerlowe, by abſtinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very lateſt paſſage. And that this is done, but in oſtentation of their Arte, and to winne the worthier reputation, when they can come off with any credit: or elſe they ſalue and ſhield it, with ſome prognoſticke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vndertaking the buſineſſe, that the patient was (euen then) in daunger of death; but this doth proceede from ſuch, as haue formerly fallen into the ſame perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they ſpare not to ſpeake it.

How mallice in the Phyſition is vnderſtood by the common people, in their vulgar interpretation.

In very truth, it were moſt maliciouſly, traiterouſly and wickedly doone, if anie Phyſitian ſhould play ſuch prankes with a poore ſicke bodie: yea, as vilely done, as if a man ſhould throw ſuch a one into a riuer, as knew not how to ſwimme, hoping quickely to caſt a cord after him, thereby to get him on ſhoare agayne. For, it may ſo fall out, that the party thus ſowſed and ſubmerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cānot hold it ſtrongly enough, or hath not power ſufficient to be drawne foorth, and ſo is drowned in this diſtreſſe. But ſurely, it is not credible or likely, that any Phyſitians ſhould be ſo bad minded, as to bring ſicke bodies ſo lowe by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to bee well inſtituted, and accordingly as beſt appertayneth to the caſe. It is the diſeaſe it ſelfe, which continually vndermineth the forces of nature, encreaſing ſtill his owne power to a certayne poynt, which is the vigour and ſoueraigne condition of the ſickeneſſe. After which, if the diſeaſe be curable, enſueth the declination and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all theſe aceidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee ſhall haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of heereafter.

No excuſe can ſalue or couer ſuch treacherous dealing in any Phyſition.

How ſickneſſe vndermineth the ſtrength of Nature, to gaine the vpper hand thereof.

There are people ſomewhat more modeſt, who ſay not, that Phyſitians do take downe their patients bodies ſo lowe, and bring them into daunger: but that they ſtretch foorth the ſickeneſſe in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouermuch pleaſing the ſicke perſons humour) or to binde him in the larger aduantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartedneſſe, it is verie true, that many ſicke men affect rather, to be ſlowe in recouering, then ſpeedily, only by being the gentlier handled: which is an excuſe ſufficient for the Phyſitian, prouided, that hee makes proteſtation thereof, for ſafetie of his owne honour and reputation.

Of ſuch as are more modeſt in complaining on Phyſitions, for lengthning their diſeaſes.

As for ſuch as prolong ſickneſſe, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a ſmoothe-faced kind of treaſon, and (indeede) meere villany. And ſurely, it cannot be credible (if the Phyſitian do vnderſtand himſelfe well) that he ſhould (at any time) offer to delay a diſeaſe. For, he is not able to meaſure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to ſuch protraction, the interiour euill may grow the worſſe; wherein is greater perill, then delaying ſimply, or the cure wexing long. It is another maner of thing, then vlcers dealt withall by the Chirurgian: for they may well bee maintayned, without any preiudice to the perſon, becauſe the inner parts of the body may be ſafe enough, purging themſelues by the vlcer, and that there be no other harme, then the vlcerated parts.

Of prolonging ſickneſſe for the larger benefit.

Vlcers and ſickneſſe of the body are not equall in curing.

For proofe whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fiſtulaes ſhould be entertayned with delay, and make iſſues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee muſt haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of an other conſideration, and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cured,

Inward ſickneſſe is to be ſpeedily cured and no way delayed.

red, to procure it with all possible speede, or so soone as may be.

That physitions doe nothing else but abuse the world by their confused dealing.

Another point of calumny, is, that Physitians doe abuse the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and sooner: and, they doe nothing else but deale confusedly. Wee haue already sufficiently confuted this follie, by the sacred authority of *Ecclesiasticus*. Notwithstanding, I will borrow one similitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profession, our Arte holding therein equall comparison. Some places doe gladly yeeld themselues to the besieger, in regarde hee hath cutte off all their victualls and prouision. Others, at the very first view of the Cannon: Other at the first assault: And contrariwise, some there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we should argument in this manner, we daily see places, that yeelde themselues without enforcing: what neede is there then of besieging, assaulting, fighting, ruinating the walles or any other hostile acte? What neede we to make warre on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee see them voluntarily submitte themselues? It is then but an abuse, and a foolish idle expence to the countrie (how seditious soeuer it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where such employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from such molestation, and all goes well with them.

Another allusion to Military seruice.

The Country that is free from warre, hath no need of weapons.

To our purpose then. If all places be feeble, and no resistance is made, by men well munited, and prouided with courage, and other things requisite for their defence; those places may easily yeelde themselues. As the like doe light diseases, against which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times do weare away of themselues: yea, and sometimes the very strongest, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy resistance, against the insolencie of the euill. Otherwise, there is neede of succour, to employ batterie, and all kindes of the best remedies: albeit often it commeth so to passe, that all these doe aduantage nothing, the disease remayning still incurable.

Sicknesses incident to the body with their apt cõparatiues.

What benefite is it to sorrow then, or say, that the partie might haue beene better holpen without all this, or that the patient is meerly abused? Rather account that truely for an abuse, if a man promise cure of a disease, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power sufficient to ouercome it. Euen as he shall be abused, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fists, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuze shot: where the Cannon is rather too little, and no answerable engin or instrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuses, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Empericks impose vpon the people, promising the curing of all diseases, and more then all many times. Wel may it be said, that they abuse the world, and not naturall Physitians, being learned, expert, and approued honest men.

Where the Physition is refused, no meruaile if the cure grow desperate.

Such are those beggerly wanderers about the countries.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ That it is neither sinne, or any acte ill done, to call for the Physition, and to vse his remedies, when men are diseased.

THere is an other kinde of error grounded on the foolish superstition of some Ideots, who thinke it an offence to God; if they call for the Physitian, to cure their harms & sicknes; saying, *It is to contradict, and oppose our selues against the will of God, who hath visited them with such an affliction, and onely for their good: because, by chastising the bodie, the soule is purged from sinne.* Adding further, as maister *Guydo Chauliac* declareth in his singular chapter. *God hath sent it me, as he pleased, and he will take it from mee, when he pleaseth, the name of God be blessed, Amen.* Referring their health and recouerie (wholy) to the intercession of he Saints and she Saints of *Paradise*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

Curious Coxcombes that well vnderstand not what they say but rather offend God themselues by their nice curiosity.

This opinion most erroneous, is easily refuted, by that which wee haue alreadie alleadged, out of the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he piously exhorteth the sicke (and with great wisedome) *To reconcile himselfe first to God, whome hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Physition, whom God hath created, & giuen him knowledge,*

The aduice of the Wise man to euery sicke person.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderfull works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chastisement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also proceedes health and recouerie, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to ouercome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke, & the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordayned for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

God onely is the giuer and maintainer of helth, by such meanes as he hath appointed.

Well may wee say then, that these are the meanes which ought not to be despised; for, a wiseman will no way disdayne them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainely) wee would haue him to worke myracles, according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickenes, I shall be healed, without vsing the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not saue mee.* This is euen as if hee should say; *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that it be so appoynted by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well bee spared. For if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eate nor drinke.*

Proud and arrogant words in tempting God.

An extraordinarie follie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himself, that God will worke a miracle vppon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, hauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meerly tempting of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this follie by meere extreamitie of hunger, and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainely collected this fantasticke brutalitie in his minde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiuing sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their foode; whereto we are to keep vs, and not to seeke after other extraordinarie means, which are vnknowne to vs, and not to bee imployed, according to our presuming appetites.

There is small wisedome to tempt God in such bolde manner.

All things that God can doe, he will not do to please presumptuous men thereby.

So standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God, for the health of the sick, and conseruation of them in sound condition. For, whosoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition; who hath the only meanes to doe it: he tempteth God, and expects, that hee should performe a miracle, foolishly contemning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire, and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it shall be saued, the fire will be quenched by other meanes.*

Physicke ordained by God, for benefit of the sicke and healthful, and that no man should despise it.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Concerning the ingratitude and vnkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towardes Physitions.

INgratitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speakes of all the euills in the world. And this sin is so common amongst men, especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession beeing euerie where subiect to calumny, and cosine germaine to Ingratitude.

An ingratefull man is the onely foule name in the World.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can yet cleanely couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogither so vnthankefull as others are. For there are some so compleate in courtesie, as they haue protested publikely, & very often: that (next vnder God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, hauing acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physition, will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, and life is of greatest valew aboue all their goods: it is not in their power to discharge that debt, though they gaue him all their substance.

Outward professors of loue to physitions, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.

But the chiefest poynt of recompence, is, their thankful protestations to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

and are indebted to him for their life. This is euen as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of anothers hand, that stoode ready to kil him therewith; or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him sufficient recompence? Some will say, I haue well payed my Physition, yea, ouer-payed him; I haue giuen him so much euery day, I owe him nothing. If he haue made me well, I haue as wel requited him. Alas poore man, that which is giuen to the Physition, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast receiued: for thou payest or recompencest him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preserued thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this maner thou remainest (for euer) indebted, and thus thou confessest truely thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpright heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

Wherein the cheefest point of recompēce consisteth in gratifying Physitions.

The common words of many ingratefull men in these wretched times.

I know there are some, who wil thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he saued thy life, and preserued thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned euidently. Put the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his bloud in extreme abundance, and doubtlesse dyeth instantly, except the bloud be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceasseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saueth life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly; an extreame vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuitie: Or (conueniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and halfe strangled. As much also (questionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had beene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

How the words of sauing life, and preseruing from death, are harsh to many nice hearers.

Cures performed by physicke in extremity of danger.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physitions, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as *Herophilus* saith) *The hands of God.* For he releeueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physition vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof *Ecclesiasticus* spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physition shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physition shall be honoured of Kings.* These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

The words of Herophilus, concerning physitions.

Eccles. 38. 3. 4.

But there are some, that doe deale farre worse, who, after they haue beene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to be tolde, that they are beholding to the Physition, but growe hatefull against him, that saued their liues. Oh extreame ingratitude! but yet not only in these our dayes: For *Hyppocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damagetes*, maketh *Democritus* to speake in this manner. *I thinke* (saith he) *O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subiect to obloquie and ingratitude. For, sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recouerie to the Gods, or else to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physition of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they hate afterwards, being angrie and offended, that anie should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him.*

Ingratitude in the very highest degree, to hate him that preserued their liues.

Hip. in Epist. ad Damag.

Moreouer, they will not attest or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased; that ignorants in the Arte (who neuertheless liue by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him, &c.

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our dayes. For, the most part of sicke people now referre theyr recouerie wholly, to some he-Saint or she-Saint of *Paradise*, to whome they vowe and deuote themselues.

Our times learned ingratitude of former Ages, but not a iote of thankfulnesse.

And although (many times) they do not performe their vowes; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physition; so long as the extreamitie of anguish lasteth, protesting to giue him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

In

Mountaines promised, and not Mole-hils performed.

In brieſe, much goodneſſe is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient commeth to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Eyther, that the Phyſition perfourmed not the cure, but that it might haue beene doone without him. Or elſe, from the ſollemne vowe he made, came the cauſe of his recouerie, with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths. Or elſe, from the Apothecarie, to whome hee rather will attribute all the ſucceſſe, rather then to the Phyſition; although the other did nothing but by his direction. Elſe, hee will attribute it vnto the goodneſſe of his owne complexion: or to ſome caſuall chaunce, by ſome diſorder in him committed and doone: ſome of theſe muſt haue the reference of his healing: So that the Phyſition ſhall ſurely haue the ſmalleſt part, or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindneſſe and recompence.

All means deuiſed, to rob the Phyſition of his due honour.

For performing of promiſes to phyſitions.

And as concerning promiſes, the man beeing recouered, then he conſidereth, what charges the ſickeneſſe hath coſt him; how long hee hath depended vppon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Phyſition is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, reputing all ſuperfluous, and keeping his bedde ouer long, hoping hee ſhould haue beene reſtored much ſooner, and with a great deale leſſer charges. So that (in his account) the Phyſition ſhould be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges anſwerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authoritie; he would haue him condemned in the greateſt part of his expences. Heere is good acknowledgement of a benefite receiued; was there euer the like ingratitude?

There are too many ſuch in theſe vngrateful times.

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man ſhould ſtrangle himſelfe by deſpayre; or otherwiſe; and ſome one comming to ſuccour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciouſly) afterwards, ſhould make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeuoring to ſaue him, put his own life in perill (by chance) teare a lappet of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his torne garment. So, they which ſhould be payers, doe become demaunders; confeſſing neyther gree nor grace, for all the good ſeruice perfourmed vnto them: but rather affect, that an ignorant varlet, or ſome charre-chamber woman, procured their healthfull recouery, then the care and induſtrie of the painefull Phyſition. And I gueſſe this to enſue from one of theſe two reaſons; eyther that they are ſo dull and ſottiſh, as they haue not the capacitie of comprehenſion. Or elſe, knowing it well enough; they are aſhamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confeſſe it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is moſt contemptible to God and men.

Two imagined reaſons of this baſe ingratitude to well deſeruers

CHAP. X.

¶ *That the vulgare ſort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the lateſt applyed remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Phyſition that commeth to the declination of the diſeaſe.*

OVr next enſuing errour, is ſtrongly in cõiunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cauſe of the ſayde Ingratitude. For, if a ſicke perſon bee not healed againſt his owne opinion, or of ſuch as come to viſite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Phyſition.

Recouery cõtrary to opinion, is diſtinguiſhed two wayes.
1. Of healing in leſſer time, then the diſeaſe laſteth.

Now, to heale or recouer a man againſt opinion, conſiſteth of two partes: One is, to heale in leaſt time, and (as it were) at vnawares. As, if the diſeaſe laſt commonly with ſo much acceſſe, or ſo many dayes; to cure it in much leſſer ſpace. For otherwiſe, ſay they: Well ſir, the malady hath made his full courſe, and yet the Phyſition hath doone little or no ſeruice at all; as well might it haue beene done within the ſame time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the ſame kinde of infirmitie, ſome are ſhort, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues, and of contiuance

Of tertian Feuers, and them of continuance.

nuance alſo, which laſt and hold for a moneth or two,, you imagine, that the Tertian ſhould not exceed (at the moſt) a ſeuenth acceſſe, which are fourteene daies, and the continuer to conſiſt of ſeauen, eleauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard Phyſitions ſpeake, which is the tearme of exquiſite feauers. But you know not, that of a thouſand, we ſhall hardly meete with two ſuch, becauſe the moſt part are confuſed and mingled, whereby their tearme is much more lengthened, as in all diſeaſes engendred of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the tertian Ague doe end within three weeks, or a moneth, beeing well beaten by our remedies: that (but for ſuch encountring) would haue endured two or three moneths, as hath bin ſeene in many others. Was it not well rebated, and cunningly out-ſtept for the patient? Yet nothing at all is doue (ſaith he) if much more be not performed, then he pretended. For, he is of the mind, that a Phyſition may handle ſickneſſe, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in lengthening or ſhortening them as they liſt. The acte is not ſufficient to abate or extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the moitie of the paine, and to hinder or appeaſe thoſe diuers accidents, which commonly happen in all kindes of diſeaſes, deliuering ſound and probable reaſons, for the beſt account that can be poſſible, and the charges equall to his owne deſire.

The ſick man accounteth nothing to be well done, if it be not anſwerable to his owne opinion.

Yet this is falling into an other part of vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is nothing worth Sir, except ye can heale ſuch as are held for dead. For, admit the ſickneſs to be deadly, as all diſeaſes are, which we call eager (that is to ſay, cutting, goes on ſwiftly, and is not without terrible accidents) if the patient or his viſitants hold opinion, that this great danger may be recured, and it prooue to be ſo: yet ſtill nothing is done. Contrariwiſe, if the ſicke man chaunce to die, then the Phyſitian is in all the fault. For, the aſſiſtants were perſwaded (though the Phyſition found the contrarie in his prognoſticke rule) that he might be recouered. But if they imagine that a man will dye, or hold him alreadie for dead, then the Phyſition beholdeth great wiſedome. For, though he doe nothing elſe, but appoynt Broaths for him, with ſome drogueries or confections, eſpecially reſtauratiue and cordiall things (albeit they are not to any purpoſe;) yet hath he performed a chiefe piece of work. Heere is a rare cure; hee hath recouered ſuch a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath rayſed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and worthy man, & pitty it is he ſhould want.

2. It is nothing to cure ſicke men, except they be reputed for dead, or very neere it.

The ſame Doctour, at the very ſame time, hath another patient, whoſe ſickenes is not reputed deadly, becauſe the euill lies more cloſely concealed. He takes very great payns to reſtore his health, and to compaſſe his intent, imployeth all his skill and induſtry for the patients ſafety: whom he knoweth to be in greater daunger, then all the friends (ſtanding by) doe or can imagine. At the laſt, he dyeth, quite contrary to their common opinion. Look then vpon Maiſter Phyſition, his reputation is ſodainely loſt, and then they tell him: That hee meddleth with too many matters at once: The other man was much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is any thing doone of value, if it be not performed, againſt the hope and expectation of the vulgare.

The recouery of one patient, is not a warrant for all other in the like caſe.

An other errour propounded in this Chapter, is, the attribution of the ſucceſſe in the cure, to the lateſt adminiſtred remedies: euen as they referre the occaſion of ſicknes, to the laſt hurtfull acte that the party committed. As if a man had fed on ſome fruit, ſalad, or other thing leſſe ordinary, & (ſoon after) the party falls ſicke, of ſome diſeaſe more then of a months continuance) yet that muſt be the only cauſe: neuer remembring other precedent diſorders, which procured the greater part in preparation. For, euill humors will haue a meeting together by little and little, till they come to a certayne quantity, againſt which, nature hath power to reſiſt no longer. Euen as wee ſee a Glaſſe (ſet in the raine) to fill it ſelfe by many drops of water, ſo long as till they come to the brim: but being full, the leaſt drop then following, makes an ouer-flow. Euen ſo, the leaſt addition, to that which nature hath already ſupported, makes hir to ſinke vnder the ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, vſed to a common charge: how little ſoeuer is added to her vſuall burden, ſhe is (by no meanes) able to beare.

3. The third propoſition.

Sickneſſe imputed to laſt occaſion, whē the infirmity hath bin of longer continuance.

Nature is ſo ſufficient of it ſelfe, that needleſſe addition breedeth but diſeaſes.

Men repute themſelues iudicious and wiſe in their owne conceit.

It was not then the laſt morſell, meate, or diſorder, that did the harme, the precedent riots had perfourmed their parts before. Euen as in the felling of a tree, too.

cuts

Sicknesses may seeme sudden, but they haue other precedent occasions.

cuts (giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in vaine, and stil it stands; for tis the hundred and eleauenth stroake that ouerthrows it. Now, if a man shal say, the last odde blow did the deed; should he not do great wrõg to all the rest? As also, when a strong Tower hath endured 1000. discharges of the canon, and at the last shot of all, it falleth: Did the last do any more then the first? It is all one in iudging of remedies, which abate the harme, and expell sickenesse out of the body. The last application (whatsoeuer it was) may haue the honor by vulgar censure, speaking according to their capacity: but what was the labour and paines perfourmed before, of purging, glysters, drugges of diuers kinds, administred both within and without, did all these nothing? In the end, some one thing is added, and then the man is made well. Poore idle opinion, if this last admired acte had beene done at the first, it had serued to no vse at all: but, after the hot seruice of so many other remedies, which controuled and disheartned the euill, shaking, and renting it from the root; the least thing in the world could then quite displace it.

It is not the last application in physick, that is the Master-piece.

Like to poore besieged people, no longer able to hold out; let but a man be slain among them, and they yeelde themselues immediately. Shall it therefore be sayd, that all the battery, all the assaults, cutting them off from vittailes, and other good means for conquering; these serued to no purpose at all? But only he did the deed, that discharged the last Musket; and yet (notwithstanding) he killed but one man: If he had slaine a chiefe Commaunder, it had bin a matter of much more moment: Euen so, a briefe or ticket, hung about the necke; or drugges tied about the wrist of a man; shall haue the honour of healing Agues, affirming, that they could not bee cured by any other applyed good orders, directions, remedies, and great medcines. This is all one, as if the disease hung but by a twine threed, which may easily bee broken by perswasion and opinion, and thereupon the sicke man restored: but if this had beene applyed in the beginning, the patient could not haue beene cured, by an hundred times as many perswasions, or the very strongest imaginations. Perswasion & imagination may do somwhat in healing, but not all, nor alone of themselues. Thus you see how true and certaine remedies, are robbed of their due honour, by iudging ill of the successe; because men would be cured sudenly, before any thing at all is done to effect it: otherwise, all indeuor else is but in vaine, & serueth to no purpose. He only is the author of the happines, after whom (immediatly) a man findes himselfe to be recouered.

The Argumẽt still holding betweene physicke and Military Discipline.

Perswasion may do somewhat in physicke, but not absolutely performe the cure.

And bicause it is commonly said (which is the fourth poynt of this Chapter) *Happy is the Physition, that comes to the declination of the disease*; we must imagine, that what soeuer was done before, health stoode at the doore, tarrying but for his entrance, & healths introduction is attributed to him. And although that Physitian shall do nothing at all, nor appoint or giue direction; yet (say the people) he is the cause of the happines: and if he had bin sent for at the beginning, the sicke man had sooner bin set on foot. But if the Physition be wise & honest, he will not be bonneted with this honor, consenting to thieuish larceny and detraction; against them that well entreated the patient, & (vnder God) were truly the Authors of his restoring: Rather he will reforme those poore opinionists, by shewing them, that the accidents formerly past, were of the nature of the sickenes, which hath had such a course; and that (by good directions already administred) all succeeded well, and to the aduantage of the patient.

4. The Physition is esteemed a happy man, that comes to the ending of an infirmity.

No honest mã will be the base preferrer of another mans truely deserued reputation.

If he doe otherwise, and attribute that honor to himselfe, or accept it from their vulgar ignorance; he commits a shamefull wrong, and the like Iewell may afterwards hang at his owne eare. For, of what sufficiency or reputation soeuer he be, it may so come to passe, that another Physition shall be called, vppon the ending of some cure by him taken in hand at the first, and he may requite him in the same kinde. Euery man therefore ought to be well aduised, and honestly content himselfe, with such honor as is due vnto him; not robbing his colleague or fellow-labourer in painefull endeauours, yeelding good and faithfull testimony, of ech others laudable performed actions. Accounting himselfe happy (neuertheless) that he came to the declination of the disease; where, taking no more pains, yet he shared a part in the gratefull acceptation, due vnto them that were employed from the first beginning.

Whosoeuer doth another man wrong, may meete with the like himselfe.

A duty necessarily required among learned and honest physitions.

CHAP. XI.

Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiencie, by their successe: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.

IT is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke shold be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolish but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physition. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiencie of anie man: it behooueth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know somthing therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physitions. Their eye and censure waites on the successe of their practise; & if som one heale (by chance, or sodainely, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physition, although he did not any thing deseruing speech. On the contrarie, the Physition little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonie; which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a mā is more or lesse skilfull, if he be reputed learned among men of knowledge: but will rather say he is not happy among sicke men, and consequently, no great Physition; euermore censuring by the successe.

Successe of practise is the vulgars direction in cēsure on the paines of any Physition.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in al things there is a happinesse and vnhappinesse, & (as the *Italian* saieth) *La buona è la mala sorte, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physition is, not to be called or employed, for such as are certain to die. For, there is no reputation to bee had, no, not in respect or friendship; neuertheless, he shal be sure not to escape blame, although he hath done his very vttermost endeuour, and ought to bee no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defend a Town to the very latest Effort and labour, hauing eaten vp all the horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parchments, and other vile foode (as is sayde of them of *Sanserre*, in the yeare 1573. who fed vpon the very tiles and slates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wal all battered, and no meanes wherby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deserue lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that saued his own towne, being well munitioned and prouided of al things needfull, which he preserued without any paine, & very easily might do so?

Good and ill hap awaiteth vpon the actions of al men, and consequently vpon Physitions.

No thanks for a Generall to saue a Town, when he is able to withstand all resistance.

If this case should bee controuersed, it were easie to be discided; prouided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection; as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Whereuppon ensueth, that they will not bee perswaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physition, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Gouernor of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines baffulde in particularities of opinions, euen to the valewe of a straw. Whereas contrarywise, he shal be accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good successe in his enterprizes.

Men are ouer much addicted and led by their own selfe-perswasion, & wilfully blinded.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attemptes; but this happinesse dependeth not vppon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especiall gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shal escape, continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shall dye, to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physition by successe, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy & successefull in his affaires.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoeuer Physition is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee ministred by the most ignorant

man

man in the world, and they ſhall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleadged. As if we would haue him, that of ſtones, he ſhould make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpoſe, make it profitable. It is a common ſaying: *Helpe thou, and God will aſſiſt thee*. Let all the beſt meanes bee ſought that may be vſed, and referre the iſſue to God, in whoſe hands are all things.

CHAP. LII.

Againſt ſuch men, to whom all things are ſuſpected, and Phyſitions ſlaundered, in the moſt part of thoſe accidents, which happen in diſeaſes.

A heauy burden to the very beſt Phyſition.

ONe of the very great paines, which a Phyſition (beeing the moſt generous, and of beſt ſpirit) hath, is, to ſupport the reproaches, and falſe accuſations of the ſicke perſon, or of his aſſiſtant friends, who are ſo vnreaſonable; that all the accidents which do happen in ſickeneſſe, they attribute them to the remedies; and thoſe of good ſucceſſe, they doubt whether they are due to the Phyſition, or no.

Accuſations vpon the patients weakneſſe, and imputed to the Phyſitions error.

For, firſt of all, when they ſee the perſon very weak, they accuſe the abſtinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Phyſition: or elſe letting him bloud, of the purgation, and that they are the cauſes of the weakenes; imputing no vertue to the remedies, which (in diminiſhing the euill and bad humours) ſuſtained the ſicke body in farre greater ſtrength; for, but by the vſe of them, his eſtate would be a great deale weaker. That this muſt needs be ſo, do we not ſee ſome, who, condemning abſtinence, bloudletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vſe of ſuch remedies, maintaine themſelues in greater ſtrength then other; one then might better ſay, that the remedies are the occaſion of weakenes but on the contrary, we behold thoſe deſpiſers to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die ſooner then the other.

For ſuch as deſpiſe all good meanes ordayned for their health.

Imputation laid vpon diuers other accidents, by ignorance of ſuch as are ouere cenſury.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniuſtly to the remedies; as vomiting, flux of the belly, diſtaſte of meates, alteration, paine, want of ſleepe or watching, rauing and ſuch like, happening by reaſon of the diſeaſe properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applyed remedies as ignorant people ſuppoſe. For, if after the patient hath taken ſomething, by ordination of the Phyſition, or onely ſome matter is applyed vnto him, and then (quickely after) he hath a caſting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cauſe, by reaſon he did it not before. After ſuch a medicine receiued, this Syrrope, that Reſtauratiue; this Cordiall potion is ſo diſtaſtefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impreſſiure far greater then before.

Of idle Aruments, pretending cauſes without any true ſence or reaſon.

It is true, that theſe occurrences happen after, but not thereby cauſed. And is it not as ill argued, if a man ſhould ſay: Since it ſnowed, my cloake grew more torne then it was before; therefore the ſnow was the cauſe thereof. Or otherwiſe; Since I fed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon cauſed al theſe accidents. Sillie capacities, whatſoeuer commeth after, proceeds not from all that which hath preceeded. The fluxe in the belly, the caſting, diſtaſting, alteration, lacke of ſleepe, rauing, and the like other cauſes (to you vnknowne) which produce ſuch effects in their due time: was, as the learned Phyſition knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the courſe of the diſeaſe, foreſeeing the dangerous accidents, and diminiſhing them. All which notwithſtanding, in deſpight of what hee hath doone; the ſickneſſe will make his part good againſt him, and encreaſe it ſelfe to a certain point commonly called, the eſtate of the diſeaſe: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

When the ſickneſſe is violent, it checketh much skill in the phyſition.

And if alteration, diſtaſte, and other accidents doe encreaſe, after the vſe of ſome medicaments well appointed: beleeue aſſuredly, that they are from the diſeaſes further progreſſion, notwithſtanding all the re-trenchings and reſiſtances formerly made. Credite alſo, that the ſickneſſe would haue beene more furious, and the aforenamed accidents leſſe ſupportable, if no meanes had beene made againſt them: as wee ſee by good experience, in ſuch as miſ-priſe thoſe remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it muſt needes fall out then,

Wilfull refuſall of helpe killeth many, and diuers dye for lacke of helpe.

that they haue had more accidēts, & more tediouſnes, then ſuch as eſcape in the like perils. There is no need then of ſuſpecting, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin followed by ſome accidents, olde or new, and then to ſay; This frontall (after the vſe of it) he hath ſlept leſſe, or raued more; for the fronrall was no cauſe thereof, but the ſickenes it ſelfe, that could not by the beſt meanes then be tamed.

Faults are eaſily found, but few good reaſons can be ſhewne for them.

Next, after the Cordiall potion, he had the hiccoke, the diſſenterie, or the cramp. It is very true: but this taile belongs not to this Calfe, as we ſay in the common Prouerb, this is another maner of ſtraine. I deny not, but remedies may be ſhrewd occaſions ſometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpoſe. But I euer preſume, that the Phyſition ſhould be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he ſhould continually reliſh, for the better interpretation of his ordināces, and receuing them in the more reſpect; attributing rather to the diſeaſe, or the expreſſe will of God, thoſe accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers ſodaine incounters, and which cannot any way bee foreſeene, to make a guarde or preuention of them: as ſometimes of a very light medicine, we ſhal proceed ſo far as bloud, becauſe the patient was then vppon the poynt, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

Of diuers encounters, no way to be foreſeene or preuented.

The Phyſition, who can not diuine, eſpecially on a neutrall body, neither ſicke nor ſound, that keeps not in bed, becauſe he would be no ſicker then he liſted: if nature make ſome euacuation of it ſelfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature paſſeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: becauſe the expultrix vertue, being pricked by the eagre and mordicant excrements, cannot of her ſelfe reſtraine them. And the matter being corroſiue, cuts out the way as it paſſes along, that bloud enſueth of it. The medicine muſt endure the accuſation of al this, which (notwithſtanding) gaue but two or three ſmall ſieges: all the reſt was but a ſurrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As ſomtime it comes to paſſe, that a man pulling but one ſtone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, becauſe it was ſo old and ruinous. Againſt a ſtrong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weake and feeble wall, a fielde-peece there will make a great breach.

Nature will haue her free paſſage in the body of man, beſide all application of phyſicke.

And alſo, to iudge well of the effects of medicins; their true condition & eſtate muſt firſt be knowne, which none can ſo well do as the Phyſition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or ſoone after, we ſee that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed th[illegible]. No more then as if a child, ſhould giue a blow with his fiſt to a drunken reeling man, and hee ſhould ſodainely fall to the ground. It was not the ſtroke of the hand, that had ſuch ſtrength, but the wine or ſtrong drinke which had ouercome him, whereby the fal happened to him.

The quality & condition of remedies muſt be knone rather then their effects.

Neuertheleſſe, ſome one may reply by the ſelfeſame compariſon, that in like maner, to a ſicke man (very weake) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other compariſon; If a man ſhould giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman beeing great with child, immediatly after ſhe ſhould miſcarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far enough from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderſtoode then, that from ſome other inwatd occaſion, this ſo ſodaine miſ-hap receiued ſuch vigour. Euen ſo, many other things doe meet together of themſelues, not any way depending one vpon another; but caſually & accidentally, & the cauſes (commonly) neuer pretēded, or by any means diſcernd.

Compariſons that hold no true correſpondency with the rules of phyſicke.

CHAP. XIII

¶ *That there are more ſtore and plentie of Phyſitions, then of anie other ſort of people.*

I Finde recorded, that *Alphonſo de Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*, being on a time in familiar cōference, demaunded; of what trade or profeſſion there was moſt people. One anſwered, of Cordwainers or Shoomakers; another ſaide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonella*, a famous Buffone,

A prety queſtion moued by the Noble Duke of Ferrara.

Buffone or Ieſter, replied, that there were more ſtore of Phyſitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged againſt the Duke his maſter (who was far off from any ſuch conceite) that he wold approue his wordes, within the compaſſe of foure and twenty houres.

The policy of Gonello, to make good what hee promiſed to the Duke.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vp his chin, and then a huge hatte couering them all, beſide a warme cloake about his body. In this furniſhment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the ſtreete called *La rue des Anges*. The firſt man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayled? Whereto hee anſwered, that he had an outragious pain in his teeth. O my good friend (ſayde the other) I know the beſt receit in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making ſhew, as if he had ſet downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demaunding of him the ſame queſtion; each man declared to him a ſeuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as he did the firſt.

Many are medlers in giuing councell but fewe or none can giue right directions.

As he held on his way along the ſame ſtreet, going a ſoft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, ſtil gaue him counſel for ſeuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet ſtill each friend aſſured him, that (what he ſpake off) had bin approoued certaine and infallible; and ſtill he wrote downe euery mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallace; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; becauſe he was moſt familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man pittying to ſee him thus diſtreſſed, (vnderſtanding the reaſon of his pain) aduiſed him to many receiptes, which each man auouched to be the verie beſt in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thankes at his departing.

The fool cunningly beguileth the Duke his maſter, for the winning of his wager.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no ſooner ſawe him, but running to him, ſaide: *How now Gonello*, what ayleſt thou? In pittifull manner hee replyed (euen as if he had bene ſcarſe able to ſpeak:) Ah my Lord, I haue the tooth-ake, in the moſt cruell manner that euer man had. Whereuppon, his Excellencie ſaide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine preſently, yea, if thy teeth were ſpoiled and rotten: *Meſſer Antonio Muſſa Braſſouolo*, my Phyſition, neuer found a better in all his practiſe; take it, and it will immediatly helpe thee. Sodainely, *Gonello* threw off all his ſickely outſide, ſaying out alowde: How now my Lord, what are you become a Phyſition too? See heere my roll of Phyſitions, how many I haue met withall, betweene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almoſt two hundred, and yet I haue paſt through but one ſtreete only. I will gage as much more to my wager, to finde aboue ten thouſand in this Cittie, if I ſhould but go thorow it, as I haue done this one ſtreete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of ſome other profeſſion.

A hiſtory well met withall to our purpoſe, and verie true; for, euery man will be a Phyſition for one thing or other, and there are very fewpeople, but they pretend to knowe enough, nay more then ſome Phyſitions do. I ſet aſide ſome Chirurgeons, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nurſſes, or attendants vppon ſicke perſons, wiſe women, Mountebankes, and other Emperickes, euen to very Merchants, who, to make ſome profeſſion of a part of Phyſick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderſtand more then Maiſter *Mouche*, making great outward ſhewes, and medling with many diſeaſes, accompanied with ſhameleſſe aſſurances, and no meane promiſes. I would leaue them, but that they are ſuch a goodly number, and daily they encreaſe by multitudes, out of the baſeſt mechanical trades; as it is moſt lamentable to behold, and many liues periſh by their meanes.

Euery man perſwadeth himſelfe, to haue much more knowledge, then diuers Phyſitions haue.

The name of a cunning Iugler, a Mountebanke in France.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Phyſition, preſuming to handle the pacients pulſe, and obſerue his Vrine. Deliuering theyr own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Phyſition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduiſed heerein; I thinke the number of them to be ſo ſmall, as a man had much rather write of thoſe preſumptuous companions, making vp a tole of ſo manie vndertakers, as (indeede) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of thē are ſo bold and impudent, as before the learned Phyſition (yea, euen in his preſence)

Among verie baſe mechanicall Trades, there are plenty of theſe Phyſicke profeſſors, leauing their owne, becauſe they cannot liue by them.

sence) they will deliuer opinion, whether the patient should be let blood, or no: and when he bleedeth, that so much may bee taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the season is not proper, but fitter for nourishing; when to minister restoratiues, diets, coullises, pressis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which must be giuen by their order, or else the patients friends will neuer be quiet.

The verie chiefe controler of all Arte and knoledge.

In briefe, the great controller, euen the prime and cheefest Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, most vniust and vnindifferent, who (as *Terence* saide) *Thinke nothing to be well done, but what they do themselues.* And if their aduice be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his sickenesse, if that some other course is not taken. Let thē but imagine, and the Patient bee perswaded (by them) that it must be so; all other proceeding is absolutely erroneous, and thinges else is blamed, be they applied to the true purpose indeede. Is not this a miserable case? In other Arts, which are lesse obscure and difficult, and all thinges (well-neere) apparant to euery eye; the Artezan is permitted to follow his owne mind.

All Arts else but Physicke, are not subiect to so much controule & obloquy.

In Physicke, the most secret and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot discerne a iot; euery man will dominere, like Rats in straw. Nor shall wee euer see better succesSe by the order of Nature, for the most part of diseases, in persons of degree, that haue great visitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health sooneSt of whom the least account is made.

CHAP. XIIII.

That it is not for the sicke Patients profite, to haue many Physitions, as in ordinarie: but one Physition sufficeth, being assiduate and skilfull.

The Authour vnderstandeth heere to such as are Physitions indeede.

THis proposition may be vnderstood, by what we haue lately saide, touching vulgar estimation of Physitions: but I would not be mistaken, because my meaning here properly is; of such as are truely Physitions, in skill, knowledge, and profession. It is very reasonable and necessary, that the aduice of many should bee had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a sickenesse. For (as the common saying is) *Foure eyes may see more then two*; that is, supposing them all to see clearly; for, one may aduise one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Physitions, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equall care of the sicke person; can no way bee for his good and profit. For, in euerie purpose, they may contradict one another in some thing, or else about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for ostentation then necessity.

Aduice of one Physition to another, cannot be hurtfull to the patient.

Pliny did very well obserue and note this writing thus. *It neede not to be doubted, that Physitions (coueting reputation by some nouelty) make a sodaine Traffick of our soules. Hence ensueth those miserable contestations, about sicke bodies; none of them beeing of one and the same opinion, because no repetition must be made. Thence came that superscription on the vnhappy Tombe: I was spoilde, by hauing too many Physitions.* Meaning thereby the Emperor *Adrian*, who (in dying) cryed out: *That the multitude of Physitions had kild him.*

Plin. in 29. c. 1.

The words of the Emperor Adrian on his death bed.

The reason of this mischeefe is diuers waies vnderstood. As first, the enuy or iealousie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; especially such, as are the worst created, ambitious, and couetous, beyond the ordinary course of other Artesmen. For, it is vsually seene: *That one Potter is enuious at another*, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without comparison) the Physition, because he desireth, that the whole honour should be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finishing the disease. Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other should share a part with them. I speak of the couetous ambitious man: who is likewise (comonly) quarrellous, a detractor, and insupportable.

One Begger is wo, another by the doore doth go.

Of couetous, ambitious, & quarrellous Physitians.

You haue some men very modest, but yet iealous of the honor, which they conceiue is doe to them; chiefely, in such occasions, which they thinke may bee done by themselues, as being cases light, common, and ordinarie. They can bee well con-

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will giue consent, and yeelde to the desire or pleasure of the Patient, or those friends that are about him. But this is not for the sicke parties profit, as I haue vndertaken to proue. For, although there be three or foure Physitions, one assisting to another for cure of the man, being all modest, peacefull, and skilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the most part of such inconueniences as I will sette downe, and are (oftentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obserued it by others, to iudge, how much this maner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

Of the first inconuenience by multiplicity of Physitions.

First, if there be but one or two Physitions ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be most carefull, most diligent, most affectionate, to come off with theyr credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who shall haue the charge layde on his shoulders, may be there much more attentiue, because the trust is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth must redound to him. If that man haue a good heart, he will studie and labor, to do much better, then if he were consorted with another; considering euermore (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counsell.

Of the second inconuenience.

Another discommodity is, that manie Physitions can hardly meete together, to visit the sicke patient, and all at one houre. For each of them haue other cures of visitation, beside some hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are oftimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time, that all cannot be present with the sicke person. In this case, the Physition most vsed, or such as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduice, or for ordering against some occasion which may happen; fearing least the absent parties or partie, shall not allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breede an error in the patient, or his assisting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himselfe. Sometime, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of as small moment, deseruing (of it selfe) not to bee spoken of; but yet al must agree togither, and giue consent in the case. This keeps the attending Physitions in no meane affliction, and many times the patient in much more.

Many Physition can hardly meet al at an houre.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many small things, which the ordinary and present Physition would order otherwise, following such occasions as present themselues at euerie moment. I do call them small of themselues, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading discontentment in them which are absent. Hereby the patient may passe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or beeing kept ouer-hot, or too much pressed with foode and Medicines, or prohibited of some pleasure and recreation, no way preiudiciall to his healing, and such like. I hold my selfe satisfied, in setting downe these three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Physitions, to shew and approue, that it is much better (without comparison) to haue but one Physition; prouided, that he be assiduate and carefull.

The 3. Inconuenience.

Many afflictions hapning to a man in sickneffe, yet easily holpen.

It is the greatest happinesse for the sick man (that can be) to haue but one Physition, that goeth not away from him: For, by visiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in grosse, and not exactly. For the present Physition, obserueth many particularities, which causeth him to change opinion euery houre; as wel of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore *Celsus* saide very well, where he sheweth, what diligence a Physition ought to vse, in well directing the patients foode, for due houres, and measure of them, because it is one of the cheefest points in the whole cure. For (as hee writeth) *Foode fitted to purpose, is a most singular Medicine and remedy. It ought alwaies to be obserued, and generally, that the attending Physition do continually respect the Patients strength: When it shall be good & able to vse abstinence; and when hee beginneth to doubt his weakenesse, then to make supply of food. For it is his duty, that he surcharge not the sicke body with superfluous matter; neyther to betray it to feeblenesse, by famine, or starueing, &c. Hereby may easily bee vnderstood, that many (together) cannot bee cured by one Physition: & that he (if he vnderstand truely his Art) is most proper, that neuer parteth*

Great happinesse to a sick patient, in hauing but one Physition, that shall attend him diligetly.

The words of Celsus, a most learned Physition.

teth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, beecause much is to bee had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiosity, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of accesse; especially in such, as vse not often to see their patients. But it behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, to see that hee haue good nourishment.

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

Heereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physition, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is seene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physition, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse pressure; so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & carefull obseruation in the ordinary Physition; may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much imployed.

One honest painfull Physition is better then twenty.

CHAP. XV.

Against such as complaine on the ouer-short visitation of some Physitions.

Hip. in Epist. ad Demag.

OVr life is ful of contrarieties, according as *Democritus* declared to *Hippocrates*, in the conference which they had together: as *Hippocrates* writeth to *Damagetes* in his Epistles. For, that which pleaseth vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would bee a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discouered, when wee see contradictorie quality in one and the same thing. As, to be a soldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Varlets and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbing; to liue dissolutely, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practise, (of whome the vulgar giue great iudgemen, that they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so fals out, though not alwaies.) And sodainely they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

Al conditions are ful of contrarieties.

Contradictions contrarie to themselues

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

This is a complaint commonly made of our *Parisian* Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plentie of patients, as it is vterly impossible, that they shold stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physition haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is is not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at fiue of the clock in the morning, and so continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till fiue in the euening, heere are ten houres imployed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from fiue to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

The Physitions of Paris in France.

Allowance of times for visitation.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires; importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie seuerall persons. For no man whatsoeuer, can ride in poste quite thorough a Cittie; and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by ouer-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physition may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such imployment; And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euerie one) a quarter of an houre in the mor-

Six houres for morning, and sixe more for afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twenty patients.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) abone thirty patients; and besides that, to vse consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth neeessarilie, yea, and inevitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euerie man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needes allow euery one a little. Thus the Physition doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feeles his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

Famous Physitions haue many cures to attend on.

He is not iustly to bee blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physition answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, *O good Sir, if you do but looke in a doores, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight onely: if you woulde but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied.* As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

Physitions that vse summary visitations, with nimble celerity.

But some one will answere mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Byshoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councellor, Treasurer, Generall of the Finances, and other men of Honour, who haue wherewithall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquitte himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more cõmanded; as his parents, neereſt Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree soeuer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physition, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physition obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greatnesse.

That great persons shall bee more respected, then men of meaner quality.

Parents and kindred challenge no meane knowledge in ceremony and respect.

And although the most part of our greateſt persones, haue no other knowledge of the Physition, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physition; yet such knowledge being not reciprocall, and hauing no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutuall Obligation; the Phisition is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession, who hauing fewer crowds following thẽ, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respect. But passion is so preualent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euery man would very willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

Great men are guided by the fame of Physitions.

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue wherewithall to pay him, as wel as another: you shal haue an hundred to speake the same Wordes. What shall the Physition then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euery one may haue a little. But euer more let him reserue the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

When all will haue one man onely, what vse is like to be made of the rest?

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduisement, and to desire ŷ which they may haue: that is, a Physition easyer to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie imployment; because their season is not as yet come, beeing post-posed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Beleeue it vndoubtedly, that if the Phisytion be an able mã, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest words; which he had rather shold appeare by proofe, then waste the time in vaine lip-labour.

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesser time.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

tient can take, of what quality ſoeuer hee be, for his ſooneſt helpe and ſuccor. And if his meanes be ſuch, as to haue the Phyſition ſtill with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it wil be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin diſcourſed in the precedent Chapter.

CHAP. XVI.

How much it importeth, that the ſicke patient ſhould repoſe confidence in his Phyſition.

The Authors clearing himſelfe concerning the former chapter.

SOme may miſ-vnderſtand, that which I haue ſet down in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be viſited by the moſt famous Phyſitions, and who (for their great reputation) haue moſt acceſſe in the beſt Cities. God forbid, I ſhould therein do wrong to very venerable and rare perſons, who (by their merit) haue acquired ſuch renowne: And I ſhould alſo offer iniurie to the ſick if I perſwaded them from affection, and recourſe to the healers of theyr harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainely, and ſo much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it then they.

He taxeth nothing but vulgar cõplaints onely.

I taxe onely vulgar complaint, and in ſuch as (to their owne ſhame) are diſcontented, becauſe they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintain, that they are onely the meaneſt men, in regard of themſelues, and for their reſpect. Onely this is my deſyre, that men of ſuch fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in ſo great requeſt: ſhould alſo be moſt skilfull and expert, happy in their practiſes, and conformable to their patients. For otherwiſe, their high ſailes will ſtrike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will flie vp in ſmoake.

In commendation of the renowned generally by the world.

But for the choiſe men themſelues, they are verie meete, apt, and correſpondent, to cure the greateſt diſeaſes, and in the worthieſt perſonages: in which reſpect, they holde reputation, and the cheefeſt ranke among Phyſitions, onely for happineſſe in their cures. Becauſe opinion conceiued of them, giues certaine confidence to the ſicke man, to bee recouered better, and more ſecurely by their means, then any other whatſoeuer. Whereupon, we commonly ſay in out ſchooles, *He healeth moſt diſeaſes, in whom moſt confidence is repoſed*. And this proceedeth from ſtrong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impreſſion in vs; as I ſufficiently haue ſhewne, in the Preface to my 2. booke of Laughter.

Confidence in the patient, is halfe a help to the Phiſition.

It is a power of the ſoule, which ſtrongly mooueth the blood and ſpirits, in ſuch a ſtrange manner; that if ſhe walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature aſſemble, to fight againſt the ſicknes. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very preſence of a Phyſition deuoutly attending. For, deſire and hope being ſatisfied, the ſoule releeueth it ſelfe, and re-enforceth againſt the ſickeneſſe. So that (verie often) Nature maketh ſome braue ſally and effort; chaſing the matter of offence impetuouſlie, by a *Criſis* as we vſe to call it, which is the conflict of Nature and Sickneſſe. Contrariwiſe, if the Phyſition be not verie anſwerable in liking to the patient, perceiuing him not ſo ſuccourable, as hee deſireth or would haue: ſuch a Phyſition ſhal neuer proceed ſucceſſefully, and the ſicke man (contriſting and diſcouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his ſpirites being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and diſtruſt which hath before ſeized vpon his heart.

The power of Deſire and hope on their ſatisfaction.

An vnpleaſing Phyſition can do no good to his patient.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Phyſition at his owne deuotion, and according to his wiſh and liking; becauſe from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apteth and accommodateth him ſelfe, to whatſoeuer he ordaineth for him: with a chearefull confidence, that all this will ſurely helpe and heale him. As on the contrarie, what hee receiueth (from another Phyſition) all is in miſlike & diſdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the beſt, and moſt delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the ſtomack fals to a loathing, and neuer can it come ſo gladſome to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull diſpoſition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Brawne of a

Nothing can be welcom to the patient, if he be out of loue with his Phyſition.

Par-

Partridge, are most excellent nourishments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, of that the Cookes dressing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the stomack being directly opposite vnto them. What will he thinke then of things, which (are of themselues) very vnpleasing, and sicknesse abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other druggeries?

Many afflictions happens to the patient if he bee not confident in his Physition.

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances, wherein he shall be greatly impatient to his owne preiudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Physition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approoue him to bee such a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perswade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore sicke men should desire such as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) passeth good opinion; for such haue the best efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not so much to bee affected, as no respect at all should be vsed of other: whereof choyse also may bee made at a second or third time of occasion, and they then must needs bee vsed, for want of the former. When any such man happens to be called: the patient must likewise repose his trust, confidence, and affection in him, without desiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleasure.

Mariage vsed as a comparison with the present argument.

For, in mariage, Maids couet to match in great houses; but if it will not come so to passe, they must content themselues with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands chosen by themselues. And God may giue them as much (or more) happinesse and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richest husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honest household life, whereas the other might haue prooued iust nothing like the Physition, standing out of his patients affection, beeing daily desirous of another.

CHAP. XVII.

Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet deny to do as they appoint and direct them.

NOt long since, I met at *Narbona* with a Gentleman of *Venice*, who was Ambassador to the Seigneury, and he talking purposely concerning Physitions, pleasantly said: That he wold beleeue them well in their Negatiues, but not in their affirmatiues. This was a good old man, gallant and pleasantly disposed, who came from *Spaine*, hauing accomplished the tearme of his legation with King *Phillip*. Hee thus interpreted Negatiues prohibited by Physitions: As not to drink Wine, nor eate fruite, not to feede on windie meates, and such like. And their affirmatiues were, to take medicines, glisters, Inleppes, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a goodly proposition, which many put in practise, to their extreame harme. For, they are willing to haue Physitions: but go looke for such as shal do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this *Venitian*, who (at least) would abstaine from what he was forbidden: but the most part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What auaileth it to haue a Physition, if a man bee resolued, not to execute and accomplish his counsell, for the defence of his owne life?

The Negatiues of Physitions better credited then their affirmatiues.

The Physition may be kindly welcome, but his counsell nothing respected.

Some will answer, that the presence of the Physition comforteth, delighteth, and encreaseth courage; whereby they feele the infirmity to diminish, & their strength to augment. Another saieth, I will doe something that the Physition doth aduise mee, at least of foode and gouernement; but of his Drugges I will not heare him speake.

Friuolous answers in denying the Physitions counsell

Well may wee compare this case, vnto people beseedged in a Towne or Cittie; calling some good and expert Captaine or Commander, for their succour and defence. Hee being come to them, they wil not obey him, nor accõplish any of his

ordinances, but say: That they are vvell pleased with his presence, and they are sufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be prouident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing else, but meerly to mock a braue soldier for his paines, & send him away with losse of credit?

Eccles. 38, 4. I durst not tearme this folly, if *Ecclesiasticus* had not taught me, saying; *Hee that is wise, will not abhorre the Physition.* Oh, but Physicke (say some) is very irkesome to take. It is true, and God hath so ordained it, that it may the better fight against the euill. For, as health is pleasing and acceptable, so is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as sicknes is vnpleasing, so must distasteful things helpe to conquer it. It is not wisedome, if we apply not our willes, to whatsoeuer the Physition appointeth, without contemning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obseruation, which may seeme but small: the disease impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (sometime) bee lost, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or passage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime, a sparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a house, and of one house, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a small fault grow into excesse, or faileth of help in due time, no meane disorder ensueth thereon.

By tasting sickenes, we know the better how precious a thing health is.

Small errours may grow ouer great to be easily appeased.

What then shall become of such as despise the Physition, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to saue them, that are willing to doe whatsoeuer hee would haue them? Commonly, it falleth out with them who are so difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meanes, nor time, and can no way bee preserued from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious assistance. Euen like to besiedged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not imploying all their means; but sparing their bedtickes, balles of Wooll, Chests, Cuppeboords, and other mooueables, for re-impairing their victualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and persons might be the better secured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themselues constrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Iewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for safety; when there is no remedy at all to sted them, but become wise too late, with the *Phrygians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himselfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Physition shall counsell and ordaine for him, without restriction, or distinguishing Negatiues and affirmatiues, that God may the better giue his blessing, to concurre with the Physitions true endeuour.

Contemners of Physicke seek for helpe thereby, when it is too late.

Delay in such cases is euermore dangerous, & hardly recouered.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of such as in their sickenesse, will admitte no medicine or remedy; but only for the present paine and anguish.

I Obserued this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Vinares*, affected greatly to his pleasures. He made no particulare account of infirmities, which were without greeuance, thinking remedies to serue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it vvere necessary, that the disease shold haue his course. And whatsoeuer was done, the infirmity would passe his foure times, if it were recouerable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it; which were erroneous speeches, grounded on those folies heretofore refuted. In breefe, he would not allow of any Physition, nor any medicine; but to take away instant anguishes. But, if he wer falne into a palsie, which is a disease without paine, I beleeue he could gladly haue desired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe else whatsoeuer.

No application of remedie, but to the place of present paine.

Now, concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, it is to bee vnderstoode, that greefe there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill must and ought to be taken away, frō which the anguish proceedeth, if men do deale iustly in their cures. For, if one stand trifling simply vpon the paine, & the cause is mistaken (which is the fourse, root, and mother of euill:) there are then but two

Concerning dolorous and painfull diseases, wherein anguish is not chefe.

meanes;

meanes; the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminiſh the pain in ſome meaſure, and cauſeth the party to endure the reſt more patiently.

The other is by *Arcotick* medicins, that is to ſay ſtupifying, making the member ſleepy, in aſtonning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vſed, but in extreme neceſſitie, and very wiſely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let paſſe or leſſen the greeſe, but onely for a time.

The ground & cauſe of euils are to bee taken away, or elſe all our labour is to no purpoſe.

Euermore, wee ſhould come to Cure the principall, otherwiſe it is ſtill to begin againe. And if our remedies ſerue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which cauſeth paine: that were the greateſt falſhoode in the worlde, as I haue apparantly proued before, where I ouerthrew the idle imagination, that Phiſitions ſerued to no purpoſe, but abuſed the world. If any yet ſhall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Phyſitions and Medicines: I anſwere alſo in the ſame manner, that as many loſe their greeuances, without Phyſicke, or any other applyed remedies, whereby that propoſition is meerely confounded of it ſelfe.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *That ſuch as are ſubiect to diſeaſes, are in like manner ſubiect to Phyſicke: and others not.*

Men ſtrong & healthful, condemne ſuch as are weak, and ſickly.

MANY throw aſperſions of blame and reproofe, on ſuch as obſerue ſome orderly rule and gouernment, ſubiecting themſelues to certaine remedies, to maintaine their healthfull condition, and preuent ſome knowne euilles, whereto they are ſubiect. They that condemne thoſe meanes, are (doubtles) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which reſpect, the poſition is verie true, according to that which is ſaide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iuſt.* But more expreſſely, where it is ſaide, *The whole need not the Phyſition, but they that are ſicke.* Theſe words likewiſe do confirm the contrary, to wit; That ſuch as are ſick, haue need of the Phyſition; & ſuch as are ſubiect to any ſickneſſe, are alſo ſubiect to ſome rule. Euen according as we are ſubiect to ſin, ſo are we ſubiect to the Law.

Matth. 9. 12.

Celſ. in lib. 1. c. 2.

I ſhall alwaies giue conſent with moſt eloquent *Celſus*: *That the healthfull Man, while he carieth himſelfe well, and is truely himſelfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Gouernment, nor to imploy the Phyſition. It is very expedient, that he ſhould haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field: To Nauigate, hunt, to be at reſt and eaſe ſomtimes, but yet to exerciſe himſelfe more oftē. For, ſloath and idleneſſe, maketh the bodye drowſie and dull; but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the haſtner of Age, the other is the continuer of iolly youth.*

Excellent aduice giuen by learned Celſus, to a healthfull man.

It is good alſo ſometimes to bath, and ſometimes to vſe colde waters; one while to annoint, then againe to forbeare. Feare no kind of meats, that are vſed among ciuill people: to be ſometimes preſent at Feaſts, another while to refraine them. One while feede ſome-what immeaſurably, and afterward ſoberly. Make two meales a day more often then one, and alwayes eate well, ſo long as it may haue digeſtion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not bee deſired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and ſildome, exciteth the body; that more frequent diſſolueth it, &c.

He that is well & cannot keep himſelf ſo, the blame is his owne.

Theſe rules are to be obſerued by ſuch, that haue their health firme, and can ſo keepe themſelues; that remedies ordayned for euil carriage be not employed & conſumed in vaine. In this maner are men of ſound health indifferent to all, and ſubiect to nothing, while they beare themſelues well, and are ſo firmely in health, as *Celſus* hath limited. It were very great ſhame for a man, to make himſelfe delicate, ſoft, and tender, ſoupling and eneruing his good and ſtrong Complexion; which would extend it ſelfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exerciſes. But for valetudinarie perſonnes, vnhealthfull, ſubiect vnto manie Diſeaſes, as Epilepſies (commonly called, *Mal de S. Iean*) Megrimes, Rheumes, Catarhs, ſhortneſſe of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Gowts, and the like infirmities (whereof the moſt part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaproſie too) who makes any doubt or queſtion, but that ſuch men ought to liue

Many diſeaſes and infirmities, that are ſaid to bee hereditarie to ſome men.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

within rule, if their owne eaſe they be not enuious of, and deſire to ſee manie dayes?

Concerning Students and men in publike offices.

Such alſo as addict themſelues to ſtudie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, becauſe they are ſubiect to many neceſſities, ought to be gouerned; otherwiſe they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & conſtraine themſelues to ſtore of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celſus* in the words before alledged, preſuppoſeth, that the healthfull man, muſt alſo be wholly himſelfe in all reſpects.

How we are to vnderſtand our being ſubiect to ſicknes

Now, in the poſition formerly alleadged, ſaying, *Subiect to diſeaſes*; we vnderſtand a particular ſubiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are ſubiect to all kinds of ſickneſſe, euen as we are all ſubiect to death. But we ſay, ſome are ſubiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and diſpoſition to ſome euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already ſicke, but becauſe a ſmall matter will throw them into ſickneſſe; and therefore, they ought the more reſpectiuely, to carry themſelues. By example of him formerly ſpoken of, who being the only ſick man in his time: made ſhift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, and exquiſite manner of life.

CHAP. XX.

That ſuch as know ſome little matter in Phyſicke, are more dangerous to be neere ſicke perſonnes, then they that know nothing at all.

In the 13. chapt. before.

I Muſt confeſſe, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Phyſitions, then of anie other profeſſion. But fearing to offend any ſuccorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I ſhould taxe and reprooue them in ſuch publique manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my courſe; knowing, that ther is more danger (then we wold eaſily think) in ſuch as know ſomething, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weening, either they preſume, and vndertake the very greateſt cures; or withſtand and hinder Phyſitions, from beeing imployed in principall remedies, neceſſarily requiring quick and ſure healing. But theſe inſolent controllers, keep them ſo engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor vvill aduenture.

The leſt skill or knowledge in ſome ſmall matter, preſently inciteth to preſumption.

There are ſome perſons, who know not any thing in Phiſick, in regard of diſcourſe and reaſon; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor reade; but onelie haue certaine obſeruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Culliſe, a Reſtoratiue, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the ſick mans head. Beſide, they know ſome infant remedies, againſt itch, ſcabs, burnings, falling of the *Vvula*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themſelues compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantaſie; and if their experiment ſucceede ill, they ſpare not to vaunt, that the Phyſitions great Gowne ſhall couer all this.

Of ignorant women Phyſitions, that can neither reade nor write, yet haue knowledge in ſome petty cures.

It were very good and expedient, that aſſiſtants about ſicke patients, did knowe nothing elſe, but to obey the Phyſitions directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, ſuch as do not preſume of thēſelues, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is prefcribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminiſh, alter, or elſe do iuſt nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Phyſitions directions at their owne pleaſure, as preſuming to know the curing of the diſeaſe, and the nature better in courſe, then he doth: being drunke with ſome opinion concerning the like; as hauing obſerued diuers the like ſickneſſes, attended many Phyſitions, and ſeene the ſucceſſe of the like receipts.

There ſhould be no preſumers about ſicke perſons, when they lye vppon their ſicke beddes.

O dangerous ouer-weening! ſee here the verie ruine of moſt ſicke perſonnes. It were much better (before God I ſpeak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more vnhappineſſe for the patients life, and honour to the Phyſition, then to haue an Apothecarie ſo ouerweening, temerarious, and preſumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

Better to know nothing at all then to haue knowledge in dangerous maner.

the ſicke are in much better manner ſerued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to ſee the ſicke man, except it be in courteſie and friendſhip; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Phyſitions vnder write their bils of receipts, by or for whō the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knowes as litle of the Phyſitions intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuſe the Phyſitions directions; or, much leſſe then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

A great inuective against ouer presuming Apothecaries.

Next to Apothecaries, I ſpeak of thoſe vile and bad (not good, prouident, modeſt, and honeſt people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, moſt dangerous keepers or ſeruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Phyſition (eſpecially, if they be anciently traded in the buſineſſe) touching nouriſhing principally; beecauſe it ought to be of ineſtimable importance, qualitie, fit houres, and meaſure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Phyſitions order; but for the houre and meaſure, they do all at their owne liking. I ſpare the drugeries they couertly vſe, and the omiſſions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fitte for their purpoſe. Such people are moſt daungerous, and much better to haue them that know no ſuch cunning, neither haue learned any other leſſon; but to doe what they are apointed, which is the main article of their duty.

For Nurſſes, keepers, and attenders about patients, pretending to haue no mean knowledge.

CHAP. XXI.

The manner of knowing Opportunity truely, for vnderſtanding or performing ſuch actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders vſed to depict or figure Occaſion.

THere conſiſteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing howe to make vſe of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: beecauſe great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regarde there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vppon the aduenture. Heereupon, the Grecian Philophers leſte vs many notable ſentences in writing, making to that purpoſe: in regard that they truely vnderſtoode, what wiſedome depended vppon knowledge, for doing a buſineſſe in apt opportunitie, and taking occaſion when it is fairely offered.

Opportunity the greateſt matter, belonging to the life of man.

Salomon ſaith in his *Eccleſiaſtes*: *To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke vp that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to heale: A time to builde, and a time to ruinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace.* In breefe, many examples might bee alledged, whereby to demonſtrate, what loſſe relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accompliſhed aptly to time and place.

Ecc. 3, 1, 2, 3, 4. A diſcourſe made by Salomon concerning times.

Menander, a Greeke Poet ſaid; *That all things done to purpoſe, & in time, haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a little attendance giuen on time, is eſteemed highly worth. *Heſiodus*, a Greeke Authour alſo, appointed vs te keepe meanes and obſeruation of times: *For, the importance of all affayres* (ſaith he) *conſiſteth in attending on time and opportunity. Pindarus* ſaid *Time hath great power in all things.* Alſo (according to *Horace*,) *A man ſhould alwaies ſet forward his affairs, when he ſeeth due time. Socrates*, writing to *Democritus*, ſaid; *All things are naught, being done out of due ſeaſon.* In breefe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will purſue his buſines in fitteſt times.

The wiſe ſaying of Menander.

Heſiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

All which notwithſtanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and apteſt times to perfourme any thing: ſo likewiſe, the point or inſtant is not to bee ſlipt, for exact executing any matter when it commeth. This is that which hath commonly beene ſayde, Occaſion is neuer to be miſprized. For, all things ſ are done out of their conſtellation, & conſent of the ſtars (although occaſion commeth otherwiſe) can neuer grow to good perfection.

Opportunities muſt by no meanes be let ſlip, but taken while it may be.

And to ſpeake ſeriouſly, occaſion and opportunity for our actions, was in ſuch

high esteeme with our Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eies. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, dangling downe in long tresses; but al the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was giuen to occasion or Opportunity, by *Posidius*, or *Posidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poet, translated into Latine by the learned *Erasmus*, and *Ausonius* the *Lombards* Poet. Whom Sir *Tho: More* of *England*, a man much renowned for wisdome and learning, traduced into the *Castillian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For *More* said, that Occasion, standing so vpon a wheele, declared thereby her instability; and hauing wings both at her handes and feet, shewed, how lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreouer, said he, her forhead and face being couerd with hairy long locks, expressed; that she might easily be held, by such to whom she presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face so couered, because she would escape away vnknown: being also bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recouered, by all our paines applyed afterward.

Occasion or Opportunity, moralized in Figure.

Occasion familiarly described by Syr Thom. More, Englishman

Ausonius making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulders of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoeuer happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so loodaine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for opportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, beeing troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by the. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their busines suffer no occasions (in the meane while) of faire offer, to ouer-slip them. For otherwise, they may fall into a tardy repentāce, which will be little to their credite and benefite.

Repentance figured sitting on the shoulders of Occasion.

A worthy president for two sorts of people.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Fauour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.

THe precedent discourse, cōcerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romanes* gaue and granted to Fauor, Grace, or good Opinion: as well for the great cōueniency which these two things hold together, as also becausse the tru time and very occasion of wel-doing any thing is, when Fauour standeth faireſt for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentiue eare, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euerie one thinkes well of what he doth, or saith; becausse all things succeede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towardes him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

The excelent correspondencie betweene Opportunity and Fauour.

The fauour of Princes are no meane blessings to such as haue them

Little need is there to produce Histories or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euery yeare is a breuiate therof; wherfore it shal suffice me only to represent the true figure of Fauor, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may som way conforme it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their truest picturing Fauour, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomeus Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introduceth himselfe) speaking to the Painter *Apelles*, by way of dialogue, in this maner.

The true picture of Fauor, according as it was drawne by Apelles.

O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraite truely the Image of Fauour: I pray thee tell mee, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto *Apelles* sodainly replying, sayde; *Her Race is knowne, but to verie few people. And indeede, the Originall of Fauour is hardly to*

The impudice betweene Dardanus & Apelles.

to be found. For some say, that fauour commeth by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she commeth by aduenture, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuertheless, many are of the minde; that shee yssueth from true Nobleness of the minde. As is easilie discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to *Apelles*, beginneth thus.

A discoursiue Dialogue (according to Morall sence) betweene a Poet and Apelles, concerning the true Image of Fauour.

Poet. WHat is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

Apelles. *Her name is Flattery.*

Poet. And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

Apelles. *Her Name is commonly called Enuie.*

Poet. What people are they that so round engirt her?

Apelles. *They are such as continually keep company with Fauour, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the sourse and originall of all vices.*

Poet. Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to Fauour?

Apelles. *Because she cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseth her.*

Poet. And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

Apelles. *Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.*

Poet. And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

Apelles. *Because she followeth the steppes of Fortune, being euermore as inconstant as Shee.*

Poet. But why dost thou make her puffe and swell so proudly?

Apelles. *Because prosperity blindeth the vnderstanding of all men.*

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can bestow vpon it. Neuertheless, the most gracious Fauourites may heereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon Fauour, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselues with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vp into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath beene made, by the vnhappy and lamentable end of many Princes Fauourites, that knew not howe to vse their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

The greatest Fauourites of Princes, haue bene subiect to many misfortunes

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those seuen Wise men of Greece, commonly called the seuen Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.

AMong the ancient *Gracians*, such were called Sages, or Wise men, as now we vse to terme Philosophers. But *Socrates*, accounting the title of Sage or wise to be ouer-arrogant (because it was onely proper and peculiar to God, to bee absolutely called Sage or Wise) inuented the name of Philosopher, as much to say, as a louer of wisedome; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wise; so that al wise men, which were since the time of *Socrates*, were well contented with the Title of Philosophers. Notwithstanding, there were seuen seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or Wise-men, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regarde of their Knowledge and Vertue.

Socrates first inuented the name of Philosopher, as thinking the title of Sage or Wise, to be ouer-arrogant.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable sentences leste by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their wittie sayings.

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Set-

Setting aside then that vaine and fooliſh Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countries, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which yet were diſcredited, and rent in peeces by *Diogenes Laertius*) I will ſhape my courſe, according vnto that which hath beene auouched by Saint *Auguſtine*, *Eraſmus*, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Beroaldus*, *Raphaell Volateranus*, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of thoſe ſeauen men, were *Solon*, *Chilo*, *Cleobulus*, *Thales*, *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Periander*, and they are all liuing together at one time: although ſome of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the reſt did. For, all of them were in perfect beeing, during the reigne of *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, at ſuch time as the Iewes remayned captiues in *Babylon*: which was about the ſpace of fiue hundred and fiftie yeares, before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as *Euſebius* ſaith.

Authors of great & good ſufficiency.

The names of the ſeuen Sages of Greece

At what time the ſeuen Sages liued.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 4. c. 7

We purpoſe to ſpeake of them particularly, and likewiſe of ſome of their principall Sentences, which they left reſpectiuely for vs: albeit memory hath embrared infinite common ſayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. *Auſonius*, a famous Poet of *Lombardie*, verie elegantly reduced into verſe, many notable Sentences of thoſe Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation, in three ſeuerall Bookes publiſhed by him.

Anſonius the Lombard Poet.

FIrſt then, we will begin with wiſe *Bias*, who was borne in *Priene*, a Sea-coaſt towne of *Ionia*, a Region in *Greece*, hauing a very poore man to his father, named *Totamus*. This *Bias* was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well ſeene in all the Sciences; beeing otherwiſe endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in higheſt eſtimation, to contemn the riches and honors of the world. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of him, ſaith, that when the enimy deſtroid the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to ſaue and carry away the beſt of his goods: *Bias* would not ſaue any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was ſo reſpecteleſſe of his goodes: he anſwered; *All my goods I carry with mee:* meaning his wiſedome, which (indeed) is the greateſt wealth of all.

Bias one of the Sages, and where he was borne.

Cicero in Orat. pro Cluent.

Omnia mea mecum porto.

Aboue all things, this man ſought ſtill to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chiefeſt in the Commonwealth: hewould ſay, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his frinds, then between two of his enemies: for in condéning a friend, he ſhould looſe his frendſhip; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whome the ſentence was giuen, would become a friend.

Of Friends and Enemies.

A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pittied in religion? whereto *Bias* anſwered not a word: the man growing angry, mooued the ſame queſtion againe; and *Bias* replyed; *Why doſt thou aske ſuch a caſe of me, as concerns not thee at all?*

Irreligious fooles ſhould alwayes be ſo anſwered.

He vſed oft-times to ſay, that the greater part of men, were the worſt men; and *Auſonius* took great paines in confirming this ſaying. But it is ſo manifeſt and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Goſpell, where it is ſaid: *Many are called, but few are choſen.* *Cicero* alſo maintaines it to be true, affirming the race of the wicked to be great. *Plato* alſo ſaide to the ſame purpoſe, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwiſe, the vices of the wicked encreaſed daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.

Auſonius in lib. 1. cap. 5.

Cicero in Tuſc. cul. cap. 3.

Plato in Trimi.

There are ſome Authors, who alledge many other ſentences of *Bias*, very ſingular, and neceſſary; as, *Attribute to God all the good thou doeſt: Neuer be enuious at the rich. Hee may well be called a good man, that hath no remorſe of conſcience. The greateſt danger that happens to a man, commeth from man: The very richeſt gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honeſt.*

Many worthy ſayings attributed to Bias.

Ariſtotle attributeth this to *Bias*. Degrees of honor and offices, do moſt manifeſt what a man is: for, many appeare to be honeſt men (as indeede their actions ſhew no leſſe) beeing priuate perſons: but hauing power to command, doe manifeſtly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth alſo. That a man ſhould ſo carry himſelfe to his friend, as if (another day) he ſhould become his enemy: and ſo to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet *Ariſtotle* himſelfe reproued this ſaying, in his *Rhethoricke*. Notwithſtanding, in due conſideration of managing friendſhippe in theſe dayes, wee ſhall finde this Sentence to be moſt true.

Ariſt. in lib. 2. c. 4.

Ariſt. in Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 4. b

There

There are many other sayings, well deseruing memorie, which are attributed to this Philosopher, & would aske too much time heere to insert: and therefore I will leaue them, hauing first informed the Reader, that after the death of *Bias*, his funerall was sollemnely performed, at the cost and charge of the Common-wealth, in signe of his perpetuall honour.

Bias buried at the Common wealths charge

THe second Sage or wiseman of *Greece* was *Solon*, although some ranke him in the prime place. *Plutarke*, and many other haue written at large of his life, saying; That hee was borne in *Salamina*, an Iland in subiection to the *Athenians*, issued of an auncient and most Noble house; his fathers name being called *Aecrestides*. The *Athenians* made such pretious esteem of *Solon*, aswell in regarde of his wisedom, and the victories which he had obtayned against them of *Mytilene*, with sundry other enterprises, which hee had finished very dexteriously; that they limited themselues to his ordinances, which were great (as *Plutarke* affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.

Solon, the second Sage or wise Man of Greece.

Solon highly esteemed among the Athenians.

Plutarke in vit. Solo

Especially he moderated the Lawes of *Draco*, which were very rigorous, so that for the very least facte committed in *Athens*, life depended thereupon. For, *Demas* the Oratour sayd, *That the Lawes appointed by Draco, were written downe with the blood of men*. *Solon* therefore corrected them, and confirmed in *Athens*, the Councell of the *Areopagites*, according as *Aristotle* and *Plutarke* do plainly maintayne.

Dracos lawes repealed in blood.

Hee had a concurrent or corriuall in *Athens*, a kinseman of his owne, named *Pisistratus*; so that, the more *Solon* labored the libertie of his Countrey, so much the more did hee study and endeauour to oppresse it. Neuertheless, in conclusion, the eloquence of *Pisistratus* had more power, then all the approoued goodnesse in *Solon*, whereby hee possessed himselfe of the Seigneury and Rule of *Athens*; which *Solon* might haue done (much more easily then hee) if he would haue vsed but his owne meanes. For, when the men of *Athens* offered him the soueraignetie of their Citty, hee made them answer thus: *The house of tyrannie is very pleasing, but it must haue a winding stayres to mount it: And therefore, I will neyther be a tyrant, nor subiect to a tyrant.*

Pisistratus, an opposite against Solon.

Solons refusal of gouerning Athens, & his wise reason.

Heereuppon, after that *Pisistratus* had gotten full possession of *Athens*, *Solon* departed thence, and trauelled Countries for the space of tenne yeares, as well in *Egypt* as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of *Crœsus*, the rich and powerfull King of *Lydia*, who hauing shewed him his aboundant treasures, demaunded of him, if euer hee had seene more Royall possessions? Whereto *Solon* (like a Philosopher and Free-man) replyed: That he had seene the possessions of diuers Fowles, Cockes, Capons, and such like, which seemed goodlier to him, because they were naturall to them. Againe hee demaunded of him; If euer hee had seene any man more rich, or so happie as hee was? *Solon* answered him (without flattery) that hee had seene a man in his owne Countrey, named *Tellus*, who (in his opinion) was more happie then *Crœsus*; for hee was an honest and vertuous man, and had seene his children, and the children of his children so well aduaunced, that hee receyued seruice from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extreamitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.

Solon left Athens & trauailed Countries.

His comming to rich Crœsus, King of Lydia, and his conference with him, about his riches and happinesse.

The King being much displeased at the answer of *Solon*, sayd vnto him: Why dost not thou attribute to me some degree of happinesse? Whereunto *Solon* replying, shewed him the great trauerses and mutations, which may ensue vnto such as are constituted in great Estates: and they being subiect to such alterations, he could not tearme them truely happie, alledging a common Prouerbe, vsed among the *Athenians*: *That the end of life must first bee seene, before any iudgement of happines passe thereon.*

Croesus wold haue some degree of happnesse granted to him.

A witty Athenian prouerb.

O most notable saying, though to *Aristotle*, it seemed not receiuable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertayne of his estate and condition, as also of his fame and reputation: as it was well approuedby the Wise man, who said, *Commend no man before his death*. And our blessed Lord also, would haue his Apostles and Disciples to make stay in no place, or to salute any bodie by the way: which some expounded according to the saying of *Solon*, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not assure himselfe

No man can be happy before his death

Eccles. 11, 14

Matth. 8, 19.

The saying of Solon approued by many good authors. *Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 10. Ouid. in Metamorp. lib. 3.*

selfe from falling into many ineuitable inconueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him selfe to *Solon*, sayd; *One day iudgeth another, and the last day iudgeth all*. *Ouid* maketh the like affirmation, saying: *whosoeuer considereth the last day of man, which is vncertaine; it is not possible for him to say, that he can be any way truly happy.*

Solon departed from king Cresus, as a man vnregarded.

But returne we againe to King *Cræsus*, who, notwithstanding the wise answere *Solon* had made him, he regarded him not, neither what great benefit might after befall him, by enioying the companie of a man so worthy, as neuer respecting future occasions to follow. Whereuppon *Solon* departed from his Court, with very vnkinde entertainement: but afterward, such an aduenture hapned, as made him dearely acknowledge his errour, and well to remember the words of *Solon*. For, Great King *Cyrus* waging new warre against him; and hauing vanquished and taken him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee should be burned aliue. Hee being vpon the pile of wood, and fire making readie to consume him: cryed sodainely out aloude, O *Solon, Solon, Solon*, remembring now in this extreamitie, that his saying was true, and that no man could be happy while he liued! *Cræsus* commanding the Officers to stay, and to keepe the fire from the pile: would needes vnderstand of him, wherefore he vsed that inuocation vppon *Solon*, or expected thereby for deliuerance from death? *Cræsus* reported the whole History to him, what *Solon* had sayd, concerning his imaginarie happinesse; the trueth whereof he had now too apparantly prooued. *Cyrus* being much amazed thereat, and entring into mature consideration, of the strange and vnauoidable mutabilities of Fortune; deliuered King *Cræsus* from death & captiuity, doing him so great honor, that he made him his associate in his kingdomes. Whereby we may perceiue, that this wise and worthy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of sreeing one mighty King from death, and made an other also much wiser then hee was before.

Cresus found Solons words true, to the no mean hazard of his life.

Cyrus giueth life to Cresus, and made him Competitor in his Kingdomes.

Aristin polit. lib. 3. cap. 13. The death of Solon in the Isle of *Rhodes*.

Solon, hauing attained vnto the age of foure score yeares, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordayning by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth) that his body should bee burned, and his ashes scattered in the Isle of *Salamina*: because they should not be caried to *Athens*, for constrayning them (by that meanes) to keepe his ordinances. Because, before he departed from *Athens*, he made the *Athenians* to take an oathe, that they should keepe his Lawes inuiolably, vntill he was returned from his voyage. And indeede, according vnto *Aristotle*, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians* maintained themselues very prosperously, so long as they kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Solons saying conformable to Christian Religion and Ciuility.

Now, as concerning the sentences and sayings of *Solon*; for the most part, they were conformable to Christian Religion, and all Ciuilitie. As, *Honour God: Be helpfull to thy neighbour: Maintaine the vertue of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bridle thine anger: Honor thy father and mother: Sweare not: Keepe thy selfe from Enuy: Be not too light in confirming a friend, but learne to keep him when thou hast him. Marrie with thine equall: Reproone thy friend in secret, but publikely thou mayest commend him: Shunne the company of wicked people: Praise and follow vertue*. Hee sayd moreouer, *That Lawes were like to Spyders webs, wherein poore litle Flies were soone entangled, but such as were great and strong, could easily breake thorow.* Such, and the like notable Sentences, are found among his Lawes and Ordinances: And so much for *Solon*.

Chilo, the third Sage or wise man of Greece.

Chilo, son of *Amaratus*, was also numbered amongest the seauen Sages of *Greece*. He was of *Lacedemon*, a citty highly renowned in *Greece*, where he was elected in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in regard of his great wisedome & knowledge: this was an Estate among the *Lacedemonians*, as the Conseruatours and Tribunes were among the Romains. *Chilo* was very summary and succinct in his Discourse, as (ordinarily) all the Lacedemonians were: and hee was likewise called *Aristageras*, in regard of that qualitie. When any one compiled an Oration, in few and witty words, they vsed to say; That he had written a *Chilonicall* Oration. He liued so long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euen till nature fayled in him. Neuertheless, he dyed with a conceit of ioy, seeing one of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Honour in the Olympian games, and after his death; the Lacedemonians performed his funerall with great solemnitie.

Chilo called Aristageras, for his succinct discoursing.

Plin. lib. 16.

The singular wisedome of this man, appeared sufficiently, by the notable Sentences

Chilo enstructed all men to know thẽselues.

tences which he had written; but especially in this, that he exhorted euery man to know himselfe. Which being heedfully obserued, men would not bee so vaine, nor so proude and inordinate, as vsually they are: because all vices and disorders do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no man truely knowing himselfe. Hereupon the Christian Church tooke an order, that euery yeare (in the begining of Lent) all men should bee admonished to remẽber, that from dust they came, and to dust they should returne againe.

Plat. in lib. de legib. 3. cap. 9.

Plato recordeth, that this saying of *Chilo*, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters of golde, vpon the portall of *Apolloes* Tẽple. *Iuuenall* saith, *That this saying came frõ Heauen. Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipioes Dreame*, saith; That the Oracle of *Apollo* being demanded the meanes, what course should be taken, for attaining to felicity, answered: *Onely teach a man to know himselfe. Demonicus*, being asked, at what time he began to be a Philosopher, answered; *When I began to know my selfe.* O most necessary rule; for if a man would consider himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand his condition, estate and vacations, and frame his life accordingly thereto: hee could neuer bee so changed, to attempt such things, as he neyther should or ought to do, neyther would there bee so much disorder in the world, as now there is.

Iuuenall.

Things fit and necessary for all men to know and vnderstand.

Chilo also had an accustomed kinde of Prouerbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember thou must dye, and therefore prouide for thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no murmurer. Speake no euill of an offendour. Chuse rather losse, then dishoneſt gaine. In violence and constraint bee milde and humble. Labour rather to be loued, then feared. Try Gold by the touch; for, a golden-tongued mã, who speaketh all that comes into his mouth, men may often heare from him, such things as they would not.*

Witty and graue sentences written & vsed by Chilo

Questions moued to Chilo, and his discreete answeres.

Chilo being asked by one, named *Æsope*, what God had done, answered; *Hee exalted humble men, and suppressed proud ignorant Fooles.* Being demanded also, what was the hardest thing in the world to bee done, replyed: *To vse and imploy a mans time well, and to pardon iniuries and outrages receiued.* In briefe, he would vsually say, that he would so dispose the course of his life: *That the greatest persons should not despise, nor the meaneſt feare him.* Finally, *Chilo* both wrote and spake many notable things in his time, which would require ouermuch leysure to report: And therefore, we wil take our leaue of him, making way to entertaine our 4. man of *Greece*.

Cleobulus, the fourth wise man of Greece, a mã of learning and excellent compoture of body.

Cleobulus, who was also one of the seauen Sages, was borne in *Lindos*, a City in the Isle of *Rhodes*; or as some others say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anconia*, a Region in *Greece*; and his Fathers name was *Euagoras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a very singular wise man, was also of very goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully actiue of his person: so that eyther, or both these happy blessings togither, made him admired, and esteemed generally. The loue of learning preuailed in such sort with him, that he forsooke his Country, Parents and Friends; trauailing into *Egipt*, where (in those times) were many goodly and famous Vniuersities.

Cleobolina, daughter to Cleobulus, a woman of rare ingenuitie.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*, that could inuent and write in prose, beyond ordinary compasse of men or women, and very skilfull shee was beside, in propounding questions of difficult resolution; as this one for an example. *A Father had twelue children, and each childe had thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all which were immortall, and yet (notwithstanding) were discerned to dye daily.* By which Enigma, shee vnderstood the yeare, that hath twelue Moneths, and euery Moneth thirty dayes and thirty nights.

Her witty Enigma.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who after his returne out of *Egipt*, deserued so highly by his learning and iudgement, as to be ranked among the seauen Sages of *Greece*. And many of his learned sayings and sentences, were held as rules and directions for mens liues. Among other, he vsed most of all to say; *That Mediocrity was without compare.* And assuredly, these words greatly confirmed the saying of *Chilo*, who wold haue euery man to know himselfe: For if we knew our selues well, and as we ought to do, a meane then in all things would easily gouerne vs. By this sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such precious account of Mediocrity; we may well conclude, that all extremities are vicious. As much to say, when there is too much, or too little: whereupon our ancient Philosophers vsed to say; *Beware of*

Cleobulus his commendation of Mediocriry.

Omne quod est nimiũ vertitur in vitium.

too

too much, declaring thereby, that all excesse is vile.

Arist.in Polit. lib.3.cap.7.

Aristotle attributeth this sentence to wise *Bias*, and some other to *Solon*, but be it howsoeuer: Vertue alwayes consisteth in mediocrity: According to the saying of *Aristotle*, *Vertu tormenteth it selfe by too much, or too little*: For vertue is nothing else but a mean or mediocritie, consisting betweene two extreamities. *Horace* appointed in his Discourses, that a meane should be obserued in all things. *For* (saith he) *all that goeth before it, or contendeth to come after it, keeping neither meane nor measure; can neuer be said to be well accõplished.*

Horace in lib. 1.cap.6.

Approbation by the foure Cardinal Vertues, & their contraries or opposites.

An infinite number of examples may be alleadged to this purpose, especially concerning the foure principall vertues, which are commonly called Cardinall. For, Fortitude is lodged betwixt Feare & Boldnes; & Liberality keeps the mid-way betwixt Couetousnes and Prodigality; as the like may be sayd of other vertues, and humane operations, which ought to gouerne themselues by time and necessity: yet with this charge neuertheless, to beware of ouer-much in any. This is a doctrine conformable to the saying of *Hesiodus*, oftentimes alledged by reuerend *Erasmus*, commanding all men to obserue a measure in their actions. Asmuch maintaineth *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and many other Authors both ancient and moderne, euery one of them auouching commonly; *That happy men alwayes follow a meane in their trauells.*

Hesiodus. Erasmus. Terentius. Plato. Plautus.

Comparison of the fiue Zoanes.

The Sunne, Prince of the planets.

The onely cheefe meane aboue all other.

And (in this case) the reason is peremptory, for all things are euen as nothing, they haue their beginning and their end, and so they passe away: Reason then fits them with an apte conclusion, that theyr perfection consists in the midst of the fiue Zones or Plages, which girdle round the whole wide Vniuerse; the two extremest are held to be inhabitable: and yet contrarywise, those in the middst are allowed to be most perfect. The Sunne which is held to be Prince of the Planets, is in the midst of the errant or wandring Stars. Among men, the place of honour is in the midst, & (indeed) it is hard to make any agreement, except ther be a third, to serue as the means. To conclude, the meane so much commẽded to vs in all things, concernes chiefly Christ, that hee would be caled the Mediator betwixt God & man.

He vsed diuers other notable sentences beside, as, *Beware of giuing thy friend occasion to reproue thee: shunne the ambushes of thy enemy: Before thou goest out of thy house, remember what thou hast to do: and vpon returning home, consider what thou hast done: match not in marriage, but with thine equall, for if thou takest a wife of a better house then thine owne, thou makest thy selfe a slaue to her and her kinred: Pardon the errours of other men, and neuer be sparing of thine owne: The more liberty thou hast, so much the lesse vse make of it: Be not prowde in prosperity, nor faint-hearted in aduersity. Inure thy selfe to beare the trauerses of fortune patiently.* Many other singular Sentences are attributed to *Cleobulus*, which *Ausonius* and *Diogenes Laertius* haue recorded in their works, affirming withall, that he dyed at the age of seauenty yeares.

Other sentences vsed by Cleobulus.

Ausonius in l.3. Diog. Laert. in vit. Cleob.

NOw it remaineth to speake of *Pittacus*, of *Mitylene*, the capitall Citty in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and at this day called *Mitylene*, his fathers name being called *Hyrradius*. He was of such learning, wisedome and ingenuitie of spirit, that the Græcians placed him in ranke among the seauen Sages. The loue hee bare to his Countrey, moued him to make warre against the tyrant *Meleager* (who vsurped thereon) so that he enforced him to flight. In the war betwixt the Athenians and them of *Mitylene*, about a field then in controuersie; hee was Generall for the *Mitylenians*, and became Conquerour, and slew *Frinenes* Generall for the Athenians in the open field. Whereupon, the Athenians quitted vnto *Pittacus*; the contentious field which they quarrelled for, in regarde of the victorie which hee obtayned against them: and gaue him the gouernment of their Common-wealth, which he ruled worthily the space of ten years, ordayning many good Lawes and Constitutions for the benefit thereof. Which hauing done, he willingly gaue ouer his gouernement, as it was freely put vpon him: and liued vntill hee was seuenty yeares olde, beloued and honoured generally.

Pittacus, the 5. of the Grecian Sages.

He made war on the tyrant Meleager, & was Generall against the Athenians.

Pittacus made Gouernor of the athenians.

His sayings and Sentences are no lesse considerable, then those of the other Sages, neyther the maner of his life. For, first of all, he made so smal account of the dignity, gold and riches of *Crœsus*, King of *Lydia*, that hee would not receiue any of him:

The slender esteeme hee made of King Croesus, and all his pompe.

him: but sent him word, that he had no need of his gold or siluer, because he had already a great deale more, then willingly he would haue. Giuing thereby to vnderstand, that hee was sorry for his Brothers successiõ, which happened to him, because he affected his Brother, better then his owne welfare. He often saide, that things to come, were very difficult to vnderstand; and that there was nothing in the world more certain then the earth; and contrariwise, that there was not any certainty in the Sea.

The earth reputed to be certaine, but the sea most vncertaine.

A wise man (quoth he) *ought to foresee disasters before they happen, the better to shun and keepe himselfe from them. Recouer that with patience, which force cannot command. He that knowes not how to holde his peace, knowes no fit time when he shold speak. In time of prosperity get thee friends, & make proofe of them in aduersity. Neuer boast of what thou wilt doe, least thou bee scorned if thou canst not do it. Looke how thou art towards thy Father, such shall thy children bee to thee.* So much for *Pittacus*.

Worthy sayings vsed by Pittacus.

Thales, the sixt of the Sages of *Greece*, was a Native of *Miletum*, a Citty much renowned in *Greece*; and for the many vertues abiding in him, deserued well, that the cheefe place among the Sages, should be assigned to him. For, in the first place, he was Soueraigne in Geometry, and the first man that discouered the principall secrets of Astrology: as the course of the Sun, the reason of his Eclipses; and likewise of the Moone, and the Equinoctials. In briefe, he brought to light the course of the Planets, and many other secrets of naturall Philosophy. Moreouer, he was the cause, that the proud Title of Sages, remained to the seuen learned men of *Greece*, by this accident.

Thales, the sixt of the seuen Sages.

Thales the first discouerer of Astrologe.

Vpon a day, sundry young men, and friendly companions of *Miletum*, had bought a draught of certaine Fishermen, hauing cast foorth their Net into the sea, and these young men were to haue the benefit of al to be drawne vp at that time. A most admirable case suddenly happened; for when the Net was drawne vp, they found therein a Table of Golde, beautified and enriched in most costly and sumptuous manner. They which bought the draught, pretended, that the table of gold belonged to them, by their bargaine. The Fishermen (on the contrary) auouched it to be no fish, & that they bought nothing of them, but onely all the fish which shold be taken: and therefore (in that respect) they had no right at all to the Table. A long and great contention grew between them; which to be the sooner ended, by full consent on eyther side, they sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, for a finall resolution: where he, or the diuell speaking by him, made this answere; *That the Table must be giuen to the only wise man of Greece.* Which beeing thus vnderstood, the golden Table was sent to *Thales*, as being the wisest man in *Greece*. But he was so modest, that he sent it to another of the Sages before named (for they were al liuing at that time) and hee sent it to another, so that the Table of gold passed from hand to hand, vntill at last it came to *Solon*, who likewise would not enioy it, but sent it to the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*.

Table of gold drawne out of the Sea in a Fishermans net.

The Oracle of Apollo must end the controuersie.

The Table of gold sent to Thales, as the onely wise man of *Greece*

Ausonius, *Callimachus*, and many other write, that through the courtesie vsed in the Sages one towards another, the Table returned againe to the hand of *Thales*, to whom at first it was presented; and that he sent it to the *Delphian* Oracle. But howsoeuer those Authors write diuersly, concerning this History; yet all doe agree together in this, that *Thales* was the first mã, to whom the golden Table was sent.

Variation among Authors, concerning this History.

Aristotle making mention of *Thales*, reciteth many conceited sayings proceeding from him, especially in his Bookes of Pollicies, and namely one, which he vsed ordinarily. *That when he pleased, he could be rich.* Whereof he made good and sufficient proofe; for foreseeing by Astrology, that there would be a good season for Oliues, and Oyle of Oliues (soone after) was likely to be deare, he laid out his money, to buy Oliue-Oyle, while the season serued, which afterwards hee solde at what rate he pleased. Not because thereby hee would enrich himselfe; but to make a manifestation, that when he listed he could be rich, considering what knowledge he had, both for times of abundance, & likewise of dearth, when they would happen.

Arist. in 3. lib. Polit cap. 9.

Thales would be rich when he listed.

On a time it came to passe, that as he was gazing vpon the starrs, he fell into a ditch; which an old woman seeing, & comming (vpon his outcry) to help him, in mocking maner said to him. *Tel me Thales, how darest thou presume to foretell of things to come, by consideration of the Starrs, and yet couldst not*

Thales being fallen into a ditch, was reproued by an olde woman.

ſee what was vnder thine owne feet vpon the ground. And yet notwithſtanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wiſe man. He was wont to ſay; *That ouer-great aſſurance and confidence, was euermore accompanyed with repentance.* For many times, ſuch as truſt too much to others faithfull promiſes, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could preuayle with them. He ſayd moreouer; *That the true meanes of liuing vertuouſly, is, by not doing ſuch things, as we condemne in other men.*

Diuers wiſe ſayings often vſed by Thales.

Being demanded, what was the eaſieſt thing in the world to doe; he anſwered; *To know other mens faults, and none of our owne.* He ſayd alſo; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* *Diogenes* following the opinion of * *Hermippus*, ſayd; that *Thales* vſed to thanke God for three things (though this Sentence is fathered on *Socrates:*) *Firſt, that he had made him a man, and not a beaſt. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne a Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

* A philoſopher & ſcholler to Philo Biblius, a Iew, borne in Alexandria.

Now we come to ſpeake of *Periander*, the laſt of the Græcian Sages, of whom I haue no great matters to relate; becauſe (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the ſeauen Sages, and yet a man of ſingular wit and vnderſtanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the ſon of King *Cipſilas*: the maner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Soldiour or Captaine, rather then a Philoſopher. And hence it enſued, that *Heraclides*, and many more beſide, eſteemed this *Periander* to be none of the ſeauen Sages of *Greece:* but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philoſopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuertheleſſe, the moſt voices gaue the title of *Sage* to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*: yet notwithſtanding, he was ſo diſcreet, valiant and of ſo abſolute vnderſtanding, that thereby he won the name of Sage among the *Greeks*.

Periander the laſt of the ſeuen Sages of Greece.

Periander reputed not to be a philoſopher, but king of Corinth

It was demaunded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdome becauſe (quoth he) I may fall into as great daunger, by willingly leauing my kingdome, which none other can diſpoſſeſſe me of by force. He vſed continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Conſideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring therby, that the principall thing wee ſhould haue care of, is, to conſider well what affaires we vndertake. The Poet *Auſonius*, expounding the word *Conſideration*, ſaith; *A man ſhould thinke tenne times on any thing, before hee preſume to attempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great daungers, through much inconſideration: eſpecially, when they will not be gouerned by wiſedome or councell, but raſhly follow the perſwaſions of Fortune.

His anſwere when he wold not leaue his Kingdome.

Auſonius, cõcerning the word Conſideration.

Vertue (ſayd *Periander*) *is immortall, but the pleaſures of this world are of ſmall continuance. In times of proſperity, be wiſe and modeſt, & in aduerſity patient and conſtant. Liue in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy. Let ancient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement, inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealth. Profite ſhould alwayes be accompanyed with good grace and honeſtie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canſt not preuent but cowardly.*

Wiſe & learned Sentences of Periander, left to eternall memory.

Compleate he was in theſe, and infinite other of the ſame nature, which breuity maketh me ſpare to ſpeake of.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ That Sight is the chiefeſt and principall Sence of all the reſt. And of many being blind, who neuertheleſſe were men of great honour and renowne.

ARiſtotle had great reaſon to ſay: *Sight is the very principall of all the other corporeall ſences.* For, it is ſeated as in the maine Cittadell, in the high & moſt eminent part of the body, whereby we may vnderſtand, that it partaketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other ſences. Touching hath a terreſtriall participatiõ, for the earth is moſt touchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Taſting holdeth with Aquoſitie and humiditie: for, without humidity, a man cannot taſte any thing. As for Smelling, *Ariſtotle* attributeth it to fire, ſaying: *Heate is the foundation of odour, and her end conſiſteth in vapour, ioyned to an Ayre groſſe, and full of exhalation.* Concerning Hearing,

Ariſt. in 1. lib. de anim. cap. 1. The eminent ſeate of ſight.

The Elementary qualities of the bodily ſences.

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it partaketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by ſound, cauſeth hearing; but ſight participateth with fire.

Sight holdeth more of Fire, then al the other ſenſes.

And although that the Eye were compoſed of a moyſt and wateriſh bodie, yet notwithſtanding, without Fire, it wer not poſſible to haue ſight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing houldeth more of fire, then all the other ſenſes doe beſide. And becauſe the eye (as *Ariſtotele* ſaith) doth more preſent the figures of things to a man, then all the other ſenſes: to it is granted, the beginning of contemplation, and knowledge of all things. For from ſight proceedeth admiration, and the conſideration which a man hath by ſeeing, occaſioneth a deſire in him, of coming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and Inuenter of all Arts and Diſciplines.

Sight the beginner of contemplation.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man conſidereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we diſcerne their colours and greatneſſe, their formes, number, proportion, and meaſure; their ſenſe, motion, & their reſting. And although Hearing had ſome concurrence in this caſe with Seeing, ſo that it might be tearmed a ſenſe of doctrine and of diſcipline, becauſe men learne vertue by hearing and vnderſtanding: yet (for all this) that title appertayneth principally to the ſight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderſtanding, to enquire by the plenitude of things which ſhe heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communicated to other. Hereby then we may obſerue, that the firſt ſourſe or ſpring of inſtruction, commeth from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing miſtris of the worke, by comprehending thoſe admirable things preſented firſt to the eies cenſure. Wherein alſo may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it ſelfe, without vſing the means of another; but the Sight comprehendeth all thinges (as it were) euen of it ſelfe.

The ſingulare benefit receyued by ſight.

Hearing cannot attaine to the preroga-tiue of Seeing but becometh thereby the better inſtructed.

Hearing comprehendeth nothing but by anothers helpe.

Moreouer, Seeing ſurpaſſeth all other ſenſes, in ſwiftneſſe and promptitude of her operations: for in an inſtant, and with no more then a caſt of the eye, ſhe perfecteth her deſſeignes: whereas the other ſenſes are long, & laborious in their working. For, Touching muſt haue one thing or another, to execute her power and office vppon, before ſhee can expreſſe her prerogatiue. Taſting alſo muſt needs tarry, for ſome things anſwerable to hir pallate. And Smelling requireth ſuch a leyſure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her noſtrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice entering into the eares. But Sight only worketh inſtantly, and preſently comprehendeth the images of things preſented to hir in an vnſpeakable and gracious manner. For, blowes may bee ſeene giuen a great way off, and although the ſound or noyſe of them bee not heard ſo ſoone; yet notwithſtanding, there is nothing that can conceale ſight of the ſtrokes, for they are ſodaine and apprehenſiue vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing ſurmounteth the other ſenſes, becauſe it extendeth it ſelfe ſo farre.

The Eye diſcerneth along way off from where the perſon is, ſo can none of the other ſenſes.

In this reſpect, by many Hiſtories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may eaſily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other ſenſes, without any compariſon, or wearying her ſelfe tediouſly, as all the other do. For the Taſte tireth it ſelfe by too much feeding. The Eare is eaſily offended, by talkatiue babling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of ſweete Odors. But Sight ſolie, hath no ſenſe of paine in her operations. Nor doth ſhe at any time ſo wearie her ſelfe, as to cloſe her lids retiredly; but rather, ſhe is neuer ſatisfied with Seeing. In briefe, the excellency of Seeing is ſo great, that the name of Seeing is attributed to all the other ſenſes, in theyr ſeuerall operations. For, men ordinarily ſay, Behold the excellencie of this ſweete Odour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Muſicke; or the rare taſte of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing attributed to the other ſenſes in their kinds

The name of Seeing, extendeth it ſelfe to the operations of the vnderſtanding; for it is an vſuall ſaying; Marke how my intention will come to paſſe. It is likewiſe ſayde in the Goſpell, that our Lord and Sauiour ſaw (that is to ſay, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Phariſees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our bleſſed Sauiour did in thoſe vnworthy Countreyes; it is holde for the moſt eſpeciall and ſingular, that he gaue ſight to the blind. And therfore ther is no

Seeing extendeth to vnderſtanding.

Matth. 12, 20.

Chriſt his giuing ſight to the blind moſt commended.

labor, wherein our Phyſitions more gladly ſtudy and take paines, then to preſerue and maintaine the ſight of men.

A Hiſtory of Fredericke King of Naples.

I reade of a holy man named *Azarias*, who being preſent in a conſultation, that diuers Phyſitions made before *Fredericke* King of *Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens ſight. When it came to his turne to ſpeake, he ſaid; *There is nothing better to comfort the ſight, then enuy; becauſe it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man ſeeme greater then they are*. This agreeth with *Ouids* ſaying; *Enuy euer thinks his neighbours Corne, more goodly then his owne*. Notwithſtanding, according to the opinion (almoſt) of all men, Spectacles do greatly ſerue to defend the ſight: and ſurely, they were a very good inuention, though the firſt deuiſer neuer knew it.

Of the enuious man.

Spectacles helpe to preſerue the ſight.

A glutonous Feeder.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spaine*, that would alwaies eate Cherries with his Spectacles on his noſe; onely to make them ſeeme the bigger and more nouriſhing: but yet this gourmandiſe was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, beeing quipt by K. *Phillip*, becauſe he ſed ordinarily with Spectacles on his noſe; anſwered the king, Sir you count it not ſtrange, that I vſe my Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, becauſe I eat fiſh with Spectacles on my noſe, wherein are ſuch an infinite number of bones, as the very leaſt is able to ſtrangle me, & which I cānot ſee without my Spectacles? Spectacles then ſerue to very good purpoſe many times. But to our former purpoſe againe concerning Sight.

A Gentleman of Spaine alwayes vſed his Spectacles at his meales.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of man; yet notwithſtanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature ſupplying their vnderſtanding, for whatſoeuer wanted in their ſight. *Appius Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and eſteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus Liuius*, although hee was blind; was elected Cenſor at *Rome*, which office hee mannaged with ſo ſingular authority, as he only hindred the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrrhus*. *Cicero* diſcourſeth amply, in the fifth Booke of his *Tuſculane Queſtions*, concerning the blindnes of *Appius Claudius*, and of remedies againſt diſeaſes in the eyes.

Diuers blinde men of great honour and excellency.

Blinde Appius Claudius, Cenſor of Rome.

Cicero in Tuſculan. lib. 5.

Caius Druſus, the moſt famous Lawyer and Aduocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheleſſe, his houſe was continually full of clients and ſuters, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wiſdome, then by their owne eye-ſight. *Caius Auphidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was Prætor of *Rome*; and yet left not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued councell from him, in their very greateſt and weightieſt affairs. And notwithſtanding this blindnes, yet he digeſted a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made moſt high eſtimation. *Diodorus* a Stoicall philoſopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could ſtudy in the night time, & play on his viole in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publikely, a matter almoſt incredible, conſidering that it can not be practiſed but by the eie.

Caius Druſus a famous lawyer blinde, & yet wrote a worthy Chronicle.

Diodorus a Philoſopher who taught Geometry in his blindneſs.

Antipater of *Cyrenaica*, and *Aſclepiades* the Critike Poet, were both of the blind; and yet bearing their diſaſter with patient ſoules, they neuer gaue ouer ſtudying Philoſophy, but therein ſpent their time to the benifit of many. And when certain Ladies (grieuing at his hard fortune) ſate weeping by *Aſclepiades*, hee ſaid to them: *Forbeare (noble Ladies) becauſe you know not what a pleaſure it is, to dwell in darknes*: they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindnes, he replied; *I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before*. *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind alſo, as his name imported; according to the ſaying of *Cicero*: neuertheleſſe, tis vnknowne when he loſt his ſight; but true it is (as *Ouid* ſaith) that this diſaſter hapned to him in his olde age.

Antipater Cyrenaica, and Aſclepiades Criticus.

Homer being blinde, was called the Prince of Poets.

Didimus Alexandrinus, may likewiſe be ranked with them that haue gone before, who beeing blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheleſſe) a moſt perfect Logitian; ſtudying beſides, in all other humane diſciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Pſalms* of *Danid*. Such then, as wee haue before ſpoken of, perceiuing themſelues to be depriued of their ſight, did yet ſtriue and labour to perfourme things memorable, as Neceſſity is alwayes ſayd to bee induſtrious.

Didimus Alexandrinus, the famous Logitian.

But that which *Democritus* did to himſelfe, made the world both aſtoniſhed & ſmile

Democritus the Philosopher, pluckt out his owne eyes.

smile at together: For, (as *Lucretius* and *Aulus Gellius* do affirme) he pluckt out his owne eies, to inioy the more freedome in his contemplations. But *Tertullian* (who was an Author worthy of credite) maintaineth, that he did it, onely to auoide the inordinate appetites of the flesh.

Ziza, chiefe Captaine and Commander of the Bohemians.

Aboue all other men, subiected to the infelicitie of blindenesse, *Ziska* the Bohemian deserueth no meane remembrance, who being blind, was chosen chiefe Captaine and Commaunder of the Sect hee professed among the Bohemians; and so well executed his charge, that he obtained many victories against his enemies, and carryed himselfe so woorthily in his place, that hee atchieued immortall memorie.

Belus, the second King of Hungaria, made blinde by his cruell Vnckle.

Belus also, second king of *Hungaria*, being elected chiefe of the *Hungarian* army; had his eyes pluckt out by the meanes of King *Colomanus*, his owne vnckle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparance of his manly spirit and wisedome: that king *Stephen*, sonne to king *Colomanus*, repealed him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Seruia*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*. And being blinde, reigned nine yeares; during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Broccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdome of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

Iohn, the blinde King of Bohemia, who assisted Phillip of France, gainst King Edward of England.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *Iohn*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Ziska* should maintaine his Commaunders place so worthily, being Generall of the *Bohemian* army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*: yet I hold all nothing to blinde *Iohn* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victories) to succour (in person) *Phillip* king of *Fraunce*, his kinseman, in his warre against King *Edward* of *England*. For, this blind King, euer affected to make one in the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *That Auarice or Couetousnesse, is a most enormous vice, and subiect to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extreamely couetous.*

The reason of inserting this Chapter by the Author.

THe Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreame daunger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certaine histories of many couetous men, which may serue as examples to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which some Iuggler or Mountebancke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obseruation.

Aristotle. Cicero. Thos Aquinas. The definitiō of Auarice.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deriue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other; so that we may well say, this vice is excessiue in desiring and griping, but very cold and slowe in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abhominations, sheltring themselues there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the other vices. For, as *Virgil* saith; *Execrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the heart of man?* S. *Paul* also saith: *Couetousnesse or Auarice is the sourse or roote of all euilles, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

Virgill, his exclamation on Auarice.

Rom. 9, 14.

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hatefull vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regarde of our

Auarice causeth contempt both of God and Men.

ſelues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithſtanding, Auarice hath gotten ſuch preheminence ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, beeing ſo forgetfull of himſelfe, that hee will neyther eate, drinke, nor clothe himſelfe decently; but rather is content to faſt, and almoſt ſtarue himſelfe, becauſe he will not allow the leaſt leiſure from the ſcraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his ſoule & body, ſo he may be ſure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who ordained and inſtructed vs, to affect and maintaine our ſelues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to looſe and condemne his owne ſoule; yea, and abridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Auarice maketh mẽ careleſſe of themſelues in getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and ſoules.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man ſhould not reſpect himſelfe, nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; prouided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: ſuch an one was the Rich man, ſpoken of in the Goſpell. What a miſerable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirſt, colde, ill cloathing, and neyther ſleep by day or night, but euery houre to endanger life, and yet make no vſe of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and ſhould ſerue for the ſuſtentation of life, and to that end riches were ordayned. Obſerue the words of our bleſſed Sauiour; *What auayleth it a man to winne the whole world. and looſe his life, that is, his ſoule?* Surely, I am of opinion, that this happeneth by the Diuine permiſſion, caſting ſuch couetous men into a reprobate ſenſe, to the end they may die in that auaritious will and deſire.

Men care neither for Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themſelnes, ſo they may get riches.

Luke 16.19.

And yet notwithſtanding, God often permitteth, that wealth ſcraped together, by ſuch toyle and trauaile: ſhall fall into the hands of other, to ſcatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully ſparing. This is that whereof *Salomon* ſpeaketh in his *Eccleſiaſtes*: *Such as heape vp riches, gotten by iniuſtice, leaue them for other to ſpend.* For, can that thing bee good for an other, which is euill in him who hath it? *Iuuenall* alſo vpon the very ſame words ſpeaketh thus. *Some doe gaine and make profit, only to maintaine their life; and there are others, who liue not but to gaine.* In briefe, this wicked vice doth ſo captiuate a man, that it robbes him of all loue and reſpect to himſelfe: ſo that there is not any wickedneſſe in this world, but it may well bee expected in a couetous man.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together, for the prodigall to ſpend vnthriftily.

Eccleſ 7.9.

* *Dion* the Philoſopher ſaid; *Auarice is the head of all wickedneſſe.* *Euripides* ſaith, *An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or deſire any iuſt thing.* Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *whoſoeuer ſuffereth himſelfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becommeth ſubiect to all vices and wickedneſſe.* And this is conformable to good reaſon. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becommeth a tempter, periured, an euill payer, an vſurer, a deceiuer, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: ſo that it is not poſſible, that a couetous man ſhould haue any good being; neyther as Lord nor vaſſaile, gouernour nor ſubiect, father nor ſonne, nor friend or couſine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

* A Philoſopher of Boryſthenes.

Aug. in lib. de lib. Arbit. cap. 5.

The true picture of a couetous man.

* *Lucillius* ſayd, *An auaritious man is good to no bodie, becauſe he is wicked to himſelfe.* *Democritus* maintained; *That extreame Auarice, is worſe then extreame Pouertie.* *Ariſtotle* in the firſt Booke of his *Politickes* ſaith: *Deſire to become rich, neuer hath ending; and therefore riches ſerue as pouertie to a couetous man: becauſe hee dare not vſe them, for feare of empayring his eſtate.* The *Stoickes* had a ſaying, *That wiſhes and neceſſitie came not of pouertie, but of aboundance: for, the more that a man hath, ſo much the more needy is he.* Concluding, *It is good to haue a little, becauſe at no time to be needie.* *Plato* gaue this councell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed; hee ſhould not encreaſe his wealth, but rather decreaſe his auarice or couetouſneſſe.

* A famous Latine Poet, liuing in Italy.

Ariſt. in Polit. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wiſhes and neceſſitie.

All theſe notable Sentences before remembred, are intirely conformable to the ſacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are inſatiate.* *Salomon* alſo ſaith in *Eccleſiaſticus*; *A couetous man is neuer ſatisfied with money: And that whoſoeuer addicteth his mind to riches, ſhall neuer enioy them.* Saint *Auguſtine* compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be glutted enough, and neuer ſaith it hath ſufficient, although it hath beene ſo long time in filling. Euen ſo, the greedy

Sentences of Scripture, as touching couetouſneſſe.

Aug. in Ciuit. de lib. 9. cap. 4.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. Saint *Ierome* sayth: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all. And alwayes his auarice encreaseth, as fire doth, being continually fed with dry wood.* As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in vtter detestation of this damnable sinne.

S. Ierome, his comparison of a couetous man.

Neuertheless, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this poynt with the saying of Saint *Augustine: How strangely insatiable is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited; for they hunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leaue their prey. But hee that coueteth the riches of this world, is insatiable: for hee seeketh and hoordeth vp daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, eyther God or men, Hee knoweth neyther father nor mother; he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widdowes, robbeth Orphants, and and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaues: He is commonly a false witnes, and cares not how hee engrosseth vp dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man?* Let vs flie then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of *Aristotle*) *for it encreaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his full reigne, when bodily strength fayleth in man.*

S. Augustine, concerning desire in men, and other creatures, but (aboue all) in the auaricious and couetous man.

Arist in Polit. lib. 1. c. 10.

To shunne one falling into this slauish sin, I will alleadge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, *Iudas Iscariot* marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiected to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagge, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Oyntment to bee lost, wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anoynted the feete of our blessed Sauiour. For, if the Oyntment had beene solde, hee would haue stolne part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he solde his Lord and Maister. This onely example were sufficient to approoue whatsoeuer hath beene said concerning couetousnes: neuertheless, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Cæsar* Emperour of *Rome* is the formost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exampled in the *Romain* Emperors, then this of Auarice.

Examples of miserable wretched couetous men. Iudas Iscariot one of Christs Apostles.

Example of couetousnesse in diuers of the Romane Emperors.

This Prince, among other his notorious vices, (whereto hee was very easily mooued) was so subiect to penurious griping, and pinching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cnæus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enioy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heauily charged the poore with taxes and toules, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Citties and Townes remayned desert and vn-inhabitable. In the end, pursuing on still his vnsatiable inclination: *Caligula* smothered him betweene two pillowes, and so hee dyed.

Tiberius Cæsar, who couetously put his own heire to death, to enioy his reuennues.

He was found smothered by Caligula.

Domitian the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperor *Commodus* (therein) exceeded them both: for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-sale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabd to death by Ponyards. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so ouercome with couetousnesse, that hee could not be contented with his Crowne lands, and very large ordinary reuenews; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hung him vp by the heeles. *Pontanus* maketh mention of a Cardinal, who was so extraordinarily auaritious, as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groome or slaue, and steale away the prouender from before his owne horses. *Horace* saith, that there was a man in *Rome*, named *Onid*, who was so aboundantly rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Siluer by many bushels: and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe starke naked, and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as fearing still

Domitian and Commodus, two extreme couetous Emperors.

Achelous, King of Lydia

A most extreme couetous Cardinall

A wretched and miserable couetous man in Rome.

still least he should fall into pouerty, liued most wretchedly all his life time.

Many other might be spoken off, too much addicted to this detestable sinne, as *Primaleon, the brother to *Dido*, who slew his cousine, onely to enioy his riches. *Politus* also, King of *Troy*, who put to death one of King *Priams* sonnes, being sent to honour him in his Court: but such prolixity of examples may prooue offensiue. We will content our selues then, to know how we ought to shunne this sin, which is the occasion of infinite euils: and so much the rather, because men are continuallie more enclined to Auarice, then to Liberality.

* Or Pigmalion, as some writers call him.

Politus, King of Troy.

CHAP. XXVI.

A verie singular reason, deliuered by Phauorinus the Philosopher, concerning Astrologers; that it is not good to demand any Question of them, hauing relation vnto future matters.

Iudiciall Astrology continually misdoubted.

OVr Ancient, yea, and more moderne writers, were euer more doubtfull in the act of Iudiciall Astrologie, which discourseth of thinges to come, and accidents happening to men, as wel in particular, as generally throughout the world; some condemning it, and vtterly reiecting it; others approouing it in part; some beside maintaining it by strong reasons, and by experience. Moreouer, there are store of bookes, which I could produce here, as warrantable presidents: but I mean not way that to trouble my selfe, although I haue studied sufficiently in that part of Astrology, which discourseth on the course and motion of the Starres.

The Authour himselfe a student in Astrologie.

Beeing willing then, not to touch the honour and reputation of any person, I will onely alledge, what the Philosopher *Phauorinus* saide, according as *Aulus Gellius* relateth. He being desirous to retreat and turne mens mindes, from reposing any trust in Astrologers, Caldeans, or Mathematitians, concerning the knowledge of things to come: vsed a reason very ingenious and acute, speaking in this manner, and as himselfe hath sette downe the words.

Aul. Gel. in Attic Noct. l. 5. c. 7.

The admonition giuen by Phauorinus against confidence in the saying of Astrologers.

Be well aduised, that thou giue no credite to Astrologers, in any manner whatsoeuer: For, although they tell thee true, that which they say, will be either good or ill for thee; and being good, it must be truth, or a lye. If it be trueth, thou maist receiue double damage by knowing it: for first of all thy desire runs into further paine and trauaile, what good thereby shall happen to thee, and how soon. Secondly, a good or benefite to come (whereof thou hast thus receiued intelligence) is alwaies reckoned the lesse, because it cannot bee so compleate, as if thou wert possessed thereof instantly. If it be a lye, thou expectest in vain, the benefite which the Astrologer promised thee, in regard it shall neuer come vnto thee. What if that which the Astrologer foretolde thee, is ill and hurtfull for thee? Being euil & certaine; what more great disgrace can happen to thee, then to be possest of an euill turne, which thou must embrace, and is out of thy power to shunne or auoide? If it be a lye, why should a man be afflicted, or driuen into sadnesse, by feare of a mischeefe that shall neuer come neere him? Be it therefore in what sorte soeuer, it is not good to enquire after future accidents.

The Authors iudgement of the Philosophers counsel.

For mine owne part, I finde the counsel of this Philosopher to be so good, that I hold it agreeable vnto the holy Gospell, which sayeth: *It is not for vs to know times, seasons, nor moments.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Diuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby great plots and designements of great Politickes, haue bene dissipated and ouerthrowne. Also, concerning Policies, that (for a time) haue beene profitable, and yet in the end haue proued pernitious.

Plut. in vit. Timoleon.

WEE reade in *Plutarch*, that the people of *Sicily* (beeing oppressed with diuers Tyrants) craued assistance of the *Corinthians*, who sent them (for their succour) a Captaine of theirs, called *Timoleon*; a man famous, not onely

onely for Militarie diſcipline; but alſo for morall vertue and piety. This *Timoleon* had (within a while) ſuch good ſucceſſe, that the Tyrants deſpairing of ability eyther to ouercome him, or to defend themſelues by force againſt him: One of them (being named *Icetes*) ſubborned a couple of deſperate companions to kill him. And they perſwading themſelues, that it might beſt be done, as he ſhould bee ſacrificing to his Goddes; watched on opportunitie for that purpoſe, and finding him one day in the Temple, ready to ſacrifice; they drew neere him, to execute their intent. But as they were readie to ſtrike him, one of the ſtanders by (who ſuſpected nothing of their intention) vppon a ſodaine, gaue one of the Conſpiratours ſuch a mortall wound, that he fell downe deade in the place. The other (ſeeing his fellow ſlain, and thinking that the conſpiracy was diſcouered) fled into the Altare, and taking hold thereof, craued pardon of the Gods and *Timoleon*, promiſing, that (if he wold ſaue his life) hee would diſcouer all the practiſe.

An attempt againſt Timoleon, ouerthrowne by a ſtrange accident.

These are the mercies of heauen, to preſerue the liues of vertuous men.

In the meane time, hee that had killed the other Conſpiratour, being fled; was taken and brought back, calling God and Man to witnes, that he had done nothing but a moſt iuſt and lawfull acte, in killing him that had ſlaine his Father. Which being knowne to ſome that were preſent, and teſtified by them to be true: filled all the aſſiſtants with admiration of Gods prouidence; who by ſuch a ſodaine and vnexpected accident, had not onely ouerthrowne the pernitious plot, and deſignement of the wicked Tyrant, and preſerued *Timoleon*, but alſo had executed his iuſtice on a murtherer.

Murther is a ſin ſo heinous that often it is reuenged by ſtraunge meanes.

Heereupon, *Plutarch* maketh a notable diſcourſe of Fortune, following the opinion of the *Platoniſts*, concerning the ſame (which they define to bee *Demoniacum poteſtatem*, &c. *An Angelicall power, connecting diuers and different cauſes, to produce ſome effect.*) And therfore, he noteth in this Hiſtory, how the good Angel of *Timoleon*, did (for his preſeruation) aſſemble, and (as it were) chaine things together, that had no coherence of themſelues, making one of them to be the beginning of another. For, although the murther of his Father that ſlew the Conſpirator, had no connexion with this conſpiracie againſt *Timoleon*; yet, neither that murther had bene reuenged, if this Conſpiracy had not followed; nor this Conſpiracy had beene diſcouered and ouerthrowne, but by occaſion of that murther committed long before. Thus diſcourſeth *Plutarch* vpon this accident; which although he referred to Fortune (ſpeaking thereof, according to the opinion of the Platoniſts) yet he aſcribed it principally to the prouidence of God, who by the miniſtery of his good Angell, protected and preſerued his ſeruant *Timoleon*, in reſpect of his great piety and deuotion: and this beeing well vnderſtoode, is no way repugnant vnto Chriſtian Catholike Doctrine.

The definition of Fortune according to the Platoniſtes.

Proclus in Comment in Timæum.

Plutarch aſcribeth the preſeruation of Timoleon, to the prouidēce of God, by the meanes of his good Angell.

But to come to examples neerer our time, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, beeing at Warre with *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, had (for his Confederates) the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Britany*, whereof the firſt was the Kinges owne Brother. And hauing beene (in former time) twice deceiued by the ſaid King, with falſe treaties, and now deſirous to quite him with the like; offered him to abandon his two Confederates, vpon condition; That he would reſtore vnto him certaine Townes, which he had of his vpon the Frontiers. Aduertiſing his Confederats (in the meantime) that his meaning was not to forſake them, or to keepe any Couenant with the King; but onely to recouer his owne, and then to delude him, as he had bene before deluded by him.

Phil. Com. c. 58.

Another exampleof great deſignement of Charles D. of Burgundy, ouerthrowne by a ſtraunce.

The King (ſuſpecting no deceit) accorded to the conditions, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to Duke *Charls*, to take his oath for performance of the Couenantes on his part. The Duke ſware, or rather forſware himſelfe (promiſing vppon his Oath that which he meant not to performe) & then ſent his Ambaſſadors in like manner vnto the King, to take his oath. In the meane time, before the Ambaſſadours arriued where the King was, it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe, that the Duke of *Guienne* the kings Brother, and Confederate to *Charls*; dyed. Which the King vnderſtanding, and ſeeing himſelfe already deliuered (by his Brothers death) of the daunger of Ciuill Warre, which he moſt feared: refuſed to ſweare, and ſtand to his couenants. And ſo, all the crafty deuice and ſubtle plot of *Charls* was ouerthrowne, by the ſodaine acci-

A falſe Oath taken, iuſtly requited by a Confederates death.

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himselfe forsworne for nothing.

The ouerthrow of Cæsar Borgia (Machiauels mirrour for a Prince) by a sodain chance

Heereto I wil adde *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiauell* so highly admireth, that he proposeth him for a paterne or example to his Prince. This *Cæsar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the sixt, his Father; and fearing nothing so much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemie of his might be chosen to succeede him; studied and laboured by all meanes possible to preuent that inconuenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers successour, might fall into the power of himselfe and his friends. Which when hee had prouided sufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by such meanes as I will declare.

Guic. in Lib. 6

Borgia the great politician preuented,

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise so extremely sicke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before resolued. Whereby it came to passe (God so disposing in his iust iudgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to succeede) he was within a while vtterly ouerthrowne. In which respect, he himselfe was wont afterward to confesse, and lament the imbecility of mans witte, because when hee thought, that he had foreseene all inconueniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and prouided to preuent them: hee neuer so much as imagined, that he should bee so sicke at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his designements in execution.

Guic. in Lib. 6

Cæsar Borgia thinking to poison another, poisoned his owne Father & himself

And herein is also to be noted, for further proofe of the matter in hand, that he himselfe was the cause, aswell of his owne sickneſſe, as of his fathers death, and (consequently) of his owne ouerthrowe, by a wonderfull chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, hauing inuited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyson the Cardinall, to the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of impoisoned wine, to a trusty seruant of his, with speciall charge to keepe it safe, and giue it to none without his expresse order. But it so fell out, by his seruants negligence (or rather by Gods iustice) that as the Psalmist saith; *Incidit in foueam quam fecit: He fell into the pit himselfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into supper very hot and thirsty, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the seruant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poysoned; but imagining onely, that it was some especiall wine, more precious then the residue) & not hauing any other ready (because the prouision was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his son *Borgia* dranke. And being both poysoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weake) died presently: but the Sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poison; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous sickneſſe) he hardly escaped. Thus was his bloodye plot and pernitious purpose preuented, by an accident which he neuer minded.

Psalme 7, 16.

Guicciard. ibid.

The plotte of the Duke of Northumberland, against the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to K. Henry the eight.

But let vs come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *Iohn Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of K. *Edward* the sixte, meaning to aduance himselfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Guilford Dudley* (his fourth sonne) to the Lady *Iane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*, pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in preiudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldest sister to the sayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering sickneſſe, he had time to vse all the meanes, which he thought conuenient for the accomplishing of his desire. And therfore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had heerein so farre preuailed, that there seemed to want nothing for assurance of his intention: but only to haue the Ladie *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to send for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that she should come to comfort the king; whereto she obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke.

Iohn Stow, in vit. Edou. 6.

Lady Marie aduertised of the treacherie intended towards her, by one of his owne counc.

But as she was vpon the way, and somwhat neere to *London*; before she fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that shee receiued aduice of the Dukes designement, from one of his own counsell: whereupon she returned sodainly,

ly, and within a while after, that ſhe arriued at her owne houſe; ſhe had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although ſhe was deſtitute of men, money, counſell, and all other meanes to enable her, wherby to reſiſt ſo great an aduerſary as the Duke (who was not meanly prouided) yet ſuch was her truſt in God, as alſo the iuſtice and right of her cauſe; that ſhe prouided her houſholde ſeruants to proclaime her Queene preſently, in the countrey Townes thereabout. Whereupon, firſt the common people of the countries adioyning, and (afterward) diuers Gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in ſo great a number; that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Iane* in London, and in diuers parts) thought it conuenient to leuy forces, and to make a royall Army, whereof the Duke himſelfe (for the authority of his perſon) was Generall.

The Duke of Northumberland his ouerthrow by gods prouidence and iuſtice.

The Duke then preſently put himſelfe into the fielde, leauing the charge of the Citty & Tower of London, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his abſence, and vnderſtanding the great concourſe of people, to the aſſiſtance of the Ladie *Mary*, and the equity of her cauſe iuſtlie conſidered: they agreed amongſt themſelues, to proclaim her in London, as preſently they did, and committed to priſon the Lady *Iane*. Then ſent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was ſo diſmayed therewith when he vnderſtood it; that he vtterly loſt his high and hopefull courage; and being taken priſoner at or nere *Cambridge*, was brought to London, and there afterward executed.

These are commonly the ends of high and ambitious hopes.

By theſe examples, and infinite others which might bee alledged, it is verie euident, that there is no ſurety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer ſo wiſe, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may ſay) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*: a ſodaine blaſt of an accident vnexpected, ſhall caſt them downe to the very grounde, to the confuſion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what ſhall we ſay of counſelles and policies, that ſeeme not only to be grounded vpon great reaſon, and contriued alſo with as great prudence; but alſo ſucceede (for ſome time) notably well, & yet in the end proue to be pernitious? Wher of we haue ſeene ſufficient experience in the *Romane* Empire, which was ouerthrowen in courſe of time, by that (which for many yeares) ſeemed to bee the ſtrength and ſecurity thereof. For, whereas the firſt *Romane* Emperors, hauing oppreſſed the Common-wealth by Armes, perſwaded themſelues, that their ſeate was to bee eſtabliſhed and conſerued, by the ſelfeſame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore reſolued, that the ſafety thereof, & of theyr perſons, conſiſted in ſtrong Guards, garriſons, Legions, and Armies of ſoldiers, to be diſtributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the ſame was (in the end) one of the principall and cheefeſt cauſes, of the Empyres vtter ouerthrow, though (at the firſt) it ſeemed greatly to eſtabliſh and aſſure the ſame.

The Romane Empire ouerthrown by the ſame meanes that preſerued it for a time.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Cæſars* was ended) not onely the Guards deputed for the cuſtody & ſafegard of the Emperors perſons, called *Pretoriani milites*; but alſo the Legions & Armies, diſpoſed and placed in diuerſe quarters of the Empire (ſeeing as wel the perſonnes of the Emperours, as alſo the ſtrength of the Empire in their own hãds) did arrogate vnto themſelues, ſuch authority and liberty to chuſe new Emperors: that they ſet them vppe, and pulled them downe at their pleaſure. Wherby in leſſe then one yeare after *Neroes* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Veſpaſian*, were choſen by the Guardes, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their inſolency grewe to ſuch extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whoſoeuer would giue moſt for it.

The factious election of Emperors, by guards and armies of ſoldiours.

Suetonius. *Plutarch.*

Elius Spartan.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpitianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly becauſe he gaue them ready mony, and partly becauſe *Sulpitianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had ſlain. And, whileſt not onely the Emperours guards, but alſo the ſoldiours of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out ſometimes, that there were as many Emperors choſen at once, as there were

The Empire ſold to ſuch as would giue moſt money for it.

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Insomuch, that in the time of *Galen* and *Valerian*, there were no lesse then thirtie Emperours declared in sundry places, within the space of fifteene yeeres. Whereuppon it followed, that the Empire (beeing pittifully rent and torne with ciuill warre) was so weakened, that it became a prey to the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Lombardes*, and such other barbarous Nations.

Trebel. Pollio in triginta tyrānis

Thus was the Romane Empire ouerthrowne, by the same meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and maintaine it; but also did indeede (for a time) preserue it from many dangers, both domesticall and forraine, to wit, as well from inuasion of forraine enemies, as from rebellions of Subiects: which by the Emperours Guards, and the ordinary Legions, dispersed through all parts of the empire, were either easily preuented, or speedily represſed. For which cause, the Emperors themselues were content, to stand (as it were) at their mercy, to the end that they might (by them) rule and command others; which although to some it was a safegard and security, yet to manie more it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, *Galien*. *Seuerus*, *Macrinus*, *Aurelianus*, *Iulius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with diuers other; some of them being slaine by their owne Guards, and some by their Soldiers.

The ruine of many Emperors by their owne Guards

Suetonius. Iul. Capitolinus. Elius Lamprid. Trebel. Pollio. Flauius vopiscus

This inconuenience, the Emperors of Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Tyrannicall Dominion (which they also vphold by force, as the Romans did, though with lesse danger.) For, although they haue aboue three hundred thousād horse, and foote euer in readinesse, vnder theyr Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*: yet they keepe them alwayes sundered, and farre dispersed; that they neuer come together in any number, vnlesse they are to be imployed in some forraine Warre. Neuertheless, theyr Guardes of Ianizaries, which they haue alwaies neere about them, for the security of their persons, to the number of thirteene or foureteene thousand, haue proued (many times) no lesse dammageable, then dangerous to their States. For they haue not onely sometime set the younger Brother against the elder, and holpe the sonne to depose the father: but also (euen in our Age) haue taken the most confident Officers, and greatest fauorites of the Turke from him by force, and smote off their heades; and compelled him to pardon them, yea, and to giue them whatsoeuer they would demaund, to appease them.

The Turkes great Guarde of Ianizaries, dangerous to his State.

Lazaro Soranzo in his Ottoman. part. 1.

Whereuppon, two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicitie of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to be feared, then louingly affected: are forced to make themselues subiects & slaues to those, by whome they keepe other in subiection and slauery. Whereby we see, how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod alieno metu magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare, is not voide of feare in it selfe.* The other consideration, is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how weake their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots; and consequently, how needfull it is for them, to craue and haue the especiall protection of Almighty God, in all their designements and actions; seeing the meanes whereby they labour to preserue themselues from dangers, proue many times more dangerous in the end, then the dangers themselues, which they seeke to auoid.

Paul. Iouius, in Commen. rerum Turc. in Baiazet. 2.

Tyrantes are slaues to those by whom they keepe other in slauery.

The dangerous & tickle state of Princes, without Gods especial protection.

This may further appeare, by the policie which *Rodericke* King of *Spaine* vsed, to assure his state against the children and friends of King *Vitiza*, whom hee had deposed. For, fearing lest his subiects might rebell in their fauour, he dismantled al the strong holds and places in *Spaine*, and disarmed the people. Whereby, though hee strengthned his state, in regard of domestical danger; yet he weakned it, in respect of forraine attempts. Insomuch, that the Moores inuading him shortly after, and ouerthrowing him in battel, found so slender resistance afterward, that in seauen or eight moneths, they conquered almost al *Spaine*.

Rodericke K. of Spaine, ouerthrowne through his owne policie. *Lucas Tudens. Anno 713.*

The like also may be saide of the *Britaines*, to whom their owne policie prooued most pernitious; for, being molested by the *Picts* and *Scottes*, they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who (for some time) serued them to good purpose; but in the end, they conquered them & their Countrey.

Ioan. Vasæus in Chron. An. 714. Baron. An. 713. Beda hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 14. 15

In like manner, the Queene of *Hungarie* thought it good pollicie, to procure the

the ayde and assistaunce of *Solyman* the Great Turke, against *Ferdinando* King of the Romaines, brother vnto the Emperour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and (for a certayne time) shee was releeued and supported thereby: but in the end, *Solyman* comming into *Hungarie*, in his owne person, with a pretence to succour her: he depriued both her and her sonne of their Kingdome: Also *Amurath*, one of *Solymans* Ancestours, conquered and subdewed the greatest part of all *Greece*, euen by the very like kinde of meanes and occasion.

The very worst kindes of policies to ouerthrow the deuisers themselues.

But peraduenture you will say, that this was so grosse a follie in Christian Princes (to put confidence and trust in the helpe of such potent and perfidious Infidells) that it is not to bee alleadged for an example of pollicie. I graunt that it was follie; but such kindes of follie may bee committed and doone, euen by the wisest Princes and their councells, when Almightie GOD will punish and afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from them their polliticke wittes, to the end they may erre and precipitate themselues: or, hee ouerthroweth their wisest designements, by such kinde of meanes as they cannot imagine: or else, he doth bring them to such exigents, that they are forced (sometimes) wittingly, to take in hand some daungerous and desperate resolution, whereby they are disgraced and ruined.

No policie preuaileth against the will of heauen.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *A briefe Discourse concerning the first foundation of Ierusalem; What fortunes (from time to time) befell thereto: And of the Kings that there did reigne.*

The admirable graces & priuiledges of Ierusalem in precedent times.

NEuer was there any Towne or Cittie (of what estate or condition soeuer) that had so many especiall graces and priuiledges from Almightie God, nor euer had such store of sacred mysteries therein performed, as in the Cittie of *Ierusalem*: although it had not had that (onely chiefe) note, that our blessed Lord and Sauiour was there crucified, dead and buried; and that the mysteries and secrets of our redemption, had not beene there accomplished. Contrariwise, there is not any City in the world, that euer endured so many miseries and mischiefes, or fell into such slauish seruitude, as shee, and as is to be discerned at this day.

The wealth and sumptuous buildings in Ierusalem. Plin.li.2.ca.9. Cor.Tac.in lib.3.cap 4. Iosep.de Bell. Iudaic.lib.6.

As concerning her riches, and sumptuous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth could euer equall them; as *Pliny* extolleth it aboue all the Cities in the East, and *Cornelius Tacitus* amply describeth the situation thereof: whereby wee may easily collect, that it was one of the most potent Cities in the world. As much affirmeth *Iosephus*, who describeth the three walles wherewith it was ingirt: which neuertheless were adorned with goodly Towers, Bulwarkes, and buildings most rare; besides the excellencie of the Temple, a thing beyond all compasse of comparison. All which considerd, I thought it not vn-necessary, to make some briefe report, concerning the first foundation of this Citty, with what fortunes happened thereto (as well good as euill) by a summarie Collection, of such things as I find recorded in her owne Chronicles.

Concerning the seating or plantation of Ierusalem.

Ierusalem was scituated and founded, in the very middest of *Iudea* or *Iewrie*, at the toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*; which is helde or reputed (commonly) to be the middle or centre of the earths superficies. *Ezechiel* also saith, *That it was seated in the middest of Nations*. *Dauid* likewise sayth: *That the saluation of men was perfected in the middest of the earth*. Which Saint *Hierome* declareth, writing on that passage of *Ezechiel* before specified. Moreouer, it is written in *Genesis*, That *Melchisedech* (which, according to the interpretation of Saint *Paul*) is as much to say, as a Iust King, or a King of Iustice. *Abraham* hauing conquered foure Kings, that kept *Lot* prisoner) mett him and made a sacrifice to God, and that this Prince baptized this Citty of *Salom*, or (as some say) *Salem*, which is as much to say, as *Peace*: in regard wherof, he was called *King of Peace*.

Genes.14.18. Hebr.7.1.2.3

Salem then was the first name imposed vppon this Cittie: although Saint *Hierome* is of the opinion, that it had the

Salem the first name giuen to Ierusalem.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors beside, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath beene sayd.

It was also called Iebus and Ierusalem.

This Citty likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-builded and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

Ioseph. Ant. Iud. ca. 19. li. 1.

Melchisedech called it Ierusalem, *Vision of peace.*

Iosephus and *Aegesippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace:* making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*, so that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by chaunging *B.* into *R.* Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision:* by reason of the Angell which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaack*.

The house or palace of king Salomon.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon:* in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this poynt, which I passe ouer lightly; because I am of the minde, that as the Iewes called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Aegesippus*, Greeke Authors. Yet, *Nicholas de Lyra* will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethell:* which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethell* is twelue miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifolde high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The Holy Citty*; *The Sacred Cittie*; *The Cittie of Dauid*, and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

The opinion of Nicholas de Lyra concerning Ierusalem.

Many particular names giuen to Ierusalem.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iabus* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Cam*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israell* (deliuered from the Captiuity of *Egipt*) possessed themselues of *Palestine* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision or partage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israell* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuertheless, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in Armes) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites:* they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee beeing both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expulsing the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe; and erected there a goodly Pallace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The Citty of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capitall Citty in all *Iudea*.

Concerning the Iebusites and Canaanites the lords and possessors of Ierusalem.

Ierusalem fell to the tribe of Beniamin in the diuision.

King Dauid expelled the Iebusites out of the land. Iosep. in Ant. Iud. lib. 18 c. 9

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victoryes which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wise *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still encreased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and arteficiall cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as we may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Salomon succeeded his father Dauid.

Iosep. in Ant. Iudaic. lib. 8.

The Queene of Saba visited King Salomon.

Many

Many Kings likewise sent him choyse Presents to the same effect, Gold, Siluer, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuertheless, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolater, so that God suffered his kingdome to be diuided after his death.

Solomons kingdome became diuided after his death

Hauing reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him, against whom ten of the Tribes reuolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had the but two of the Tribes onely, to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Citties: and afterward, this Kingdome remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Iewes*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successors, called themselues Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to bee the chiefe Citty of that Kingdome: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continuall warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was descended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee preuailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israell*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a iote diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensiue to God by Idolatry: then this goodly Citty suffered many miseries and calamities.

The kingdom of the Iewes and the kingdome of Israell.

Rehoboam thriued in all his attempts, being descended of Dauid

* *Rehoboam* hauing strongly defenced his Townes and Cities, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; hee notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as we may reade in the holy Chronicles, and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Susac* or *Shishack*, King of *Egypt*, who came and couered his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threescore thousand horse, and a countlesse number of Infantery, belonging to the *Egiptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Guynea*, to his seruice. Boldly they entred into *Ierusalem*, sacked the Citty and the Temple, from whence they carried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdome, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him, who ouer-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

Shishack raised vp by God against Roboam. 3 Reg. 14.25.

The first sacking and spoyling of Ierusalem, in the dayes of Roboam.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolator; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grandfather) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore he gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besiedged. In his time, the Kingdome of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found fiue hundred and foure-score thousand men, able to beare Armes. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Citties.

After Abias, succeeded Asa, a iust and vertuous Prince.

A goodly muster of men made in Iuda.

Hee being deceassed, *Iehosophat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefely in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Micheas*, *Osias*, *Elias* and *Elisæus*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Seir* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them, that they conuerted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselues, so that without striking a stroake, King *Iehosaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where hauing reigned peaceably, and in no meane power; he dyed, leauing the Kingdome vnto *Ioram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Citties, with great summes of gold and siluer.

Ierusalem blessed with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army preuented by Gods prouidence.

Ioram being come vnto the Crowne, he followed not the steppes of his Father, nor of his Grand-father; but gaue himselfe to impiety and cruelty, putting to death his owne Brethren. He laboured also to haue alliance with *Achab*, King of *Israell*, whose councell he mainely followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

The impious and wicked rule of Ioram.

The countrey of Iudea ſpoiled & ruined.

God being diſpleaſed, ſuffered the men of *Edom* to reuolt from him. The *Arabes* alſo made warre vpon him; which proued in ſuch cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iudea*, was thereby vtterly waſted.

Wicked liues haue commonly as wicked deaths.

After his death, *Ahazia*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, ſucceeded in the Kingdome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of moſt Wicked life, euen ſo, hadde they as vnhappie an ending.

Next him ſucceeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparance in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all thinges for the beſt, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of pollicie. For, hee reduced the Temple into the firſt condition, and re-eſtabliſhed all the damages and iniuries which the Kinges of Egypt (and eſpecially his Father *Ahazia*) had done. But ſoone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, ſo that (by common voyce of the people) hee cauſed the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

The Prophet Zacharie put to death by Ochozias.

So highly was the goodneſſe of Almightie God diſtaſted heerewith, that he ſent a terrible chaſtiſement vppon *Ieruſalem*, and that in the time of King *Amaſias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre againſt *Ioas*, King of *Iſraell*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him againſt the *Idumaans*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were ouer-come, and beeing ledde Priſoner vnto *Ieruſalem* his owne Citty, was compelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Ioas*, who cauſed it to be diſmantelled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Walles to bee beaten downe. He ſpoyled the Temple alſo, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vnto King *Amaſias*: returning home afterwardes (in Triumph) to his Cittie of *Samaria*.

Another great misery happning to Ieruſalem.

Furthermore, King *Amaſias* beeing ſlaine by Treaſon, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next ſucceeded, who vvas a verie valiant and potent Prince. Firſt of all, he ſtrengthened *Ieruſalem*, and all the other diſmantled Citties, enriching his Countrey, by diuers great victories which hee obtained againſt the *Philiſtimes*, *Arabes*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributarie vnto his Crowne; ſo that the renowne of *Ieruſalem*, encreaſed day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Citties beſide.

Amaſias murthered by treaſon, his ſon Azarias ſucceedes him

Neuertheleſſe, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiuing that he had three hundered thouſand men ſubiect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew ſo exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vſurpe the High-Prieſtes Office. But as hee was perfourming his Sacrifice in the Temple; God ſmote him with a fowle Leaproſie, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

Pride and arrogancy iuſtly puniſhed by the hande of heauen.

After his deceaſe, *Iotham* his Sonne next ſucceeded him, being a Prince very wiſe, iuſt, and valiaunt; hee alſo enlarged *Ieruſalem* verie ſpaciouſly, by manie reparations and new foundations; beſides, the building of ſome other Cities. Hee likewiſe ouercame and vanquiſhed the *Ammonites*, from whom he brought backe great ſummes of Golde and Siluer. But after his death, Triumphing times beganne to weare away, and all vnhappineſſe fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, ſur-named *Eleazar*, beeing come to the Crowne; gaue himſelfe to Idolatry, introducing the ceremonies and ſuperſtitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chaſtiſed them by the hand of *Raſis*, King of *Suria*; and *Phezias* king of *Iſraell*, who ſlaughtered (in one day) ſixe ſcore thouſand men. After which pittifull ouerthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iudea*, robbing and ſpoyling it in lamentable manner; and becauſe *Ieruſalem* was ſtrong, it outſtoode the ſharpe beſiedging of theſe kings ſo long, til they deſpayring of their inſufficiency, were forced (vvith great ſummes of Golde) to buy their ſuccor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Aſſyrians*. And for the better ſatisfaction of him, they tooke the Veſſelles of Gold and Siluer, which onely were for the Temples ſeruice, to helpe them withall in this great diſtreſſe.

Iotham ſucceeded Azarias his father

Pagane Ceremonies and ſuperſtitions brought into Iudea.

Ieruſalem reduced againe to diſtreſſe in woful maner.

Salmanazar beeing come to aſſiſt the king of *Iuda*, vanquiſhed and ouerthrew the king of *Iſraell*: and yet notwithſtanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes priſoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Ithena* to dwell in. And this was the firſt diſperſion and captiuitie of

The firſt diſperſion and captiuity of the Iewes.

of the Iewes, ſince their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in ſhort time after, the *Aſſyrian* king, compelled the King of *Iſraell*, euery yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Oſea*, *Eſay*, *Amos*, *Micheas* and *Ionas* were in great reputation.

Ezechias the ſon to vnfortunate King Achaz, ſucceeded in the kingdom after his Father.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his ſon *Ezechias*, a man farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wiſe, iuſt, religious, and one that feared God. *Ieruſalem* alſo (in his reigne) recouered once more her former credite; policy becomming better reformed, and the ſeruice of God reduced to ſuch perfection: that (as the Scripture it ſelfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudah* neuer had a better king; liuing in great proſperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

His rooting vp of idolatry and warning giuen to the ten Tribes.

Hee could not content himſelfe, with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, whereto the people were ouer-much enclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true ſeruice of God: but hee alſo gaue ſummons to the ten Tribes of *Iſraell*, to liue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyſes*. Whereunto many condiſcending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ieruſalem*, and to celebrate Eaſter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyſes*.

Salmanazar and Senacherib, Gods ſcourges vnto the Iewes.

Notwithſtanding, as the ſacred Scriptures doe teſtifye, the reſt perſeuered ſtill in their Idolatrie, and made a mockerie of thoſe gentle inuitations, as alſo the aduertiſements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting roddes vppon them, aſwell by *Salmanazar*, as *Senacherib*, kings of the *Aſſrians*, who oppreſſed them greatly, in the firſt yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Alſo in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Iſraell*, the *Aſſyrian* broght ſo heauy a warre againſt ſeuen Tribes of *Iſrael*, for the ſpace of three whole yeares: as he inforced them to forſake their countries, and to go dwell as ſlaues among the *Medes*.

The diſperſiō of the Iewes to ſtrange countreyes.

Thus you ſee how the Iewes were diſperſed heere and there, among forrayne and ſtrange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houſes, ſo that none knew what afterward ſhould become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, which had continued three hundred and ſeuenty yeares.

How the Samaritans firſt receiued that name.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* ſent his *Aſſyrians* into *Samaria*, to inhabite there; who (vſurpingly) got poſſeſſion of all the Countreyes (wherein the *Iſraelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Euſebius* taketh that name but as a Garriſon, wherein his opinion (me thinkes) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samaria*, the chiefe and principall Citty of that Countrey. The *Aſſyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abhomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I ſhall be ſilent therein, becauſe it no way concerneth my diſcourſe: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I ſubmit my ſelfe to the Churches correction.

The kingdom of Iuda remaining after the ruine of the Iſraelites.

After the ouerthrow and ruine of the *Iſraelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remayned on foote: For the good King *Ezechias*, to ſaue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preſerue his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great ſummes of gold, buying (by that meanes) peace for long time. Neuertheleſſe, this Infidell King falſifyed his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie, intending to ruinate the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Iſraell*. But GOD beeing pleaſed to defend his people, ſent the Prophet *Eſay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (beecauſe this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, ſlew one hundred and foure ſcore thouſand fighting men in the Aſſyrians camp: by meanes of which great ſlaughter, the reſt retyred thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing eſcaped this dangerous periſl to himſelfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peacefully in his Kingdome. And God hauing euidently declared great Myracles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leauing his Sonne *Manaſſes* ſucceſſour in his kingdome.

One hundred and fourſcore thouſand Aſſyrians ſlaine in one night.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and addicted himſelfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

Manaſſes reuolted from the wayes of good king Ezechias his father, and was led captiue into Babylon.

many moſt abhominable ſinnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewiſe induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raiſed vp the *Aſſyrians* againſt him, who ſo well chaſtiſed him; that, ouer and beſide the ouerthrow of his people, himſelfe was taken priſoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithſtanding, he repented him of his ſinnes, which cauſed God to deliuer him out of the *Aſſyrians* hands; ſo that hee returned home to his owne eſtates, and dyed there in peace. After him, ſucceeded his wicked ſon *Amon*, who was ſlain moſt miſerably: the Prophets *Ioel*, *Nahum*, and *Habbakuk* ſucceeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his ſonne *Ioſias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becomming ſo good and iuſt a King. For, he expulſed all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the harts of men, and he repaird the Temple alſo. Neuertheleſſe, the anger of God againſt the Iewes was not appeaſed, in regard of the abhominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manaſſes* & *Amon*. Notwithſtanding, in reſpect of King *Ioſias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorely; God deferred to chaſtiſe the Iewiſh people, in ſuch manner as he did afterward.

The deeds of the holy king Ioſias, repayring the Temple, and expelling idolatry out of his kingdome.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynſt *Necar*, King of Ægypt, when hee might haue bin better imployed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell againſt him, but rather ſought his friendſhip ſo much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces againſt the King of *Aſſyria*. Neuertheleſſe, in a brauery of ſpirit, *Ioſias* would needs meddle with him, which coſt the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, eſpecially by the Prophet *Ieremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

King Ioſias died of a wound needleſly receiued in fight.

The lamentations of the prophet Ieremie.

Ioachaz his ſon ſucceeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickednes: wherfore God ſuffered him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, depriued him of his kingdome, making the countrey of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Siluer, euery yeare.

Ioachaz being thus defeated of his kingdome, and led priſoner into Ægypt, wher he dyed; *Ioachim* his Brother, was enſtalled in his place, behaning himſelfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which reſpect, God ſtirred vp king *Nabuchodonoſor* to be his enemie, who had already reigned forty foure years in *Babylon*.

Ioachaz dyed a priſoner in Egypt, led thither in captiuitie.

This Prince hauing won the victorie againſt the Iewiſh people, ledde away the moſt part of the greateſt perſonnes in all the Countrey, as captiue ſlaues and Vaſſals, and tooke away alſo the Veſſelles of the Temple. The occaſion of this warre grew, becauſe *Ioachim* gaue ayde vnto the King of Ægypt, againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, contrary to the counſell of *Ieremy*. *Ioachim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued priſoner three yeeres, dyed in great pouerty.

King Nabuchodonoſor ouerthroweth the Iewiſh people.

After whom ſucceeded *Iechonias*; following the ſteppes of his Father, becauſe hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to diſplay his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before againſt *Ieruſalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Ioſias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonoſor* came in his owne perſon, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to beſiedge the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*: but, *Iechonias* beeing not able to make reſiſtance, ſubmitted vnto his will, himſelfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall perſonnes that were of his Houſe. Moreouer, hee made him a preſent, of the Veſſelles and Treaſures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which meanes, King *Iechonias*, and the cheefeſt men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonoſor*, tooke all the aſſurances and fidelitie of *Mattathias*, vncle to King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

The long deferred anger of god againſt Ieruſalem, now cometh to appearance in the war of Nabuchodonoſor.

In ſpeaking of this King, I muſt needs ſay, hee was one of the moſt Wicked and vnhappy Princes that euer reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almightie GOD, for the great Graces which hee had beſtowed vppon him (turning ſtill his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Ieremy* tolde him) but alſo did falſifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonoſor*; who

Sedechias one of the worſt Kings that euer reigned in Iudea.

who had enſtalled him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendſhip. And if this Prince was no more worthy: much leſſe then were the ſacrificing Prieſts, and leaſt of all the common people: ſo that all abhominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had beene held in ſuch ſacred eſteeme. And notwithſtanding all the aduertiſements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie*, *Ezechiell*, and other Prophets: yet his obſtinacy encreaſed daily more and more. Whereupon, God raiſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*; In the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Country of *Iudea* with a mighty Army, and held *Ieruſalem* beſiedged, the ſpace of two yeares, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himſelfe for his more ſecurity.

The warning giuen to this vngracious King, by Ieremy, Ezechiel, and other Prophets.

The poore people languiſhing with famine & peſtilence, were no longer able to endure the ſiedge; but being thus by extremity compelled, yeelded to the enemies mercy: when hee entring into the Citty, put all to fire and ſword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonoſor*; ſaw his own children ſlaine before his face; and as for himſelfe, he had his eyes pluckt out, and ſent (in that miſerable maner) captiue to *Babilon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he ſent to *Ieruſalem Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with eſpeciall charge, vtterly to ruinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeares after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like, to all the Fortreſſes and ſumptuous buildings of *Ieruſalem*, beating downe the walles of the Citty, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Iuda*.

The wrath of God executed vpon King Sedechias & his Children.

The vtter ruine of the Temple of Ieruſalem.

Hee carried away alſo all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ieruſalem*, as throughout the coũtry beſide, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the ſpace of about threeſcore and ten yeares. This was the Captiuity of *Babylon*, which hath ſo much bene ſpoken of, and which happened about ſixe hundred yeares before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. Thus you ſee, how the poore Citty of *Ieruſalem* remained deſert and deſolate, except ſome few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (neuertheleſſe) of *Godolias*, Deputy Gouernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, ſlew *Godolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonoſor*; ſuch as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egipt*, leauing *Ieruſalem* waſte and vnpeopled.

The captiuity of the Iewes in Babilon, & how long it continued, as alſo the woful depopulation of the Citty.

S. Hierome ſaith, that after the ſurprizal and ſacking of *Ieruſalem*, there paſſed well neere fifty yeares, when neyther Man, Beaſt nor Bird entred into it: whereby may ſufficiently be knowne, what great puniſhments this people had deſerued, that were ſo highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeares being paſſed ouer, it pleaſed God with the eye of pitty, to looke vpon the Captiuity of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Perſians*, who thereof diſſeized the *Aſſyrians*, and in the time of the puiſſant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, ſuffered fifty thouſand *Iewes* to returne home into their Country, vnder the conduct of *Zerobabell* their Captaine, and *Ioſuah* or *Ieſus*, the ſoueraigne Sacrificer or High-Prieſt: who beeing returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Citties, and eſpecially *Ieruſalem*, which they re-builded with great ioy, offering ſacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

Hier. in Lib. Queſt. Hebraic.

At what time God began to commiſerate the diſtreſſe of his people.

Fifty thouſand Iewes releaſed by King Cyrus, and ſent into their Country

CHAP. XXIX.

What difference there is betweene Leaſing and Lying; And how a man may tell a leaſing, and yet not to be ſaide, that it is a lye.

LYing, is one of the greateſt vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way poſſible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a lyar, becauſe lying maketh euery thing to be ſuſpected. Moreouer, the horrour of lying ſheweth it ſelfe ſufficiently, in that it is directly oppoſite to truth, which is God: as likewiſe the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in his

How deteſtable a thing is lying, making men not to be credited when they ſpeake truth.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the seauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In briefe, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a lyar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobeus*.

The hatred to lying, both by Infidels and Christians.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernitious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betweene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Aulus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great diffrence in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to bee true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be saide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it so to be.

The diffrence betweene lying & telling a leasing.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell trueth, when hee speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath said, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath said; hee lyeth, and then it is a direct lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne: but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expression of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion heerein, I would aduise all men to auoyde both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truely.

How a man may lye in speaking truth.

Aul. Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 9.

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may belye the person. For as Saint *Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a lyar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemne promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding, obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some vgly women, as black as faire diuels, who paint & paint to get them better faces, and look therby worse the euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be yong againe by fantasticke meanes.

Ambr. in Serm. de Cena Dom.

Of such lyars there are no meane store in the world.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important businesse before the *Lacedemon* Senate; was very much greeued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was stept into; which made him to cut and shaue his head and beard, hoping by this meanes to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparantly carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

A pleasant history of an yelle-headed olde man, before the Senate of Lacedemon.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men vsed to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.

NO great mystery consisteth in knowing the signification of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuertheless, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vulgar tongue: I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some particular friends, that by looking vpon their portraitures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

An argument discoursed by few or none.

First of all then, beginning with *January*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of Wine in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drink, then at any other time: because heat is retired inward, & strengthneth the stomacke in such sort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

January.

February, was a mā heating his hands about his own body: for in this month, fire

February.

is

is very requisite, in regard of the great colds in Winter, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

March. *March*, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselues, insomuch, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

Aprill. *Aprill*, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his vertue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring foorth Flowers.

May. For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraited, being mounted on horseback, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his Fist. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures striue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

Iune. *Iune*, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Medowes must be mowed downe.

July. *July*, carried a Sickle in his hand, where-with to reape downe the ripened Corne.

August. And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barnes and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaues of Corne.

September. *September*, was in the habite of a Vintager; as thereby signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

October. *October*, was figured like a husbandman, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Corne as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry; so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

November. *Nouember* stood in the shape of a Thrasher, labouring his Flayle vpon the Corne in the sheaues. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the Acornes from the Trees, because in this Month, Acorns serue best to fatten Swine; and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

December. *December* stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vsually figured.

The Yeare. As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the resemblance of a Serpent, writhed into a roundle, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly Citty of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.

ALL the World is naturally desirous to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidents as happen to men: to the ende, that they may the better defend themselues, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I concluded with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chance, which happened in the wealthy Citty of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much meruaile, as any other that euer I heard of.

It is the common affection of all men to listen after nouelties.

In the yeare, 1478. the Citty of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayrs of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke, that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medicis* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*,

The sumptuous and flourishing estate of Florence in those times

Iuliano and Laurentio de Medices, both Brethren.

cis, Brethren; who were highly eſteemed among the people, in regard of their Anceſtours, and eſpecially for *Coſimo de Medicis* their Grand-father, who had beene the onely and richeſt Merchant of *Italy*; althogh that in *Florence* wer very wealthy Merchants beſide.

Emulation & hart-burning in ſome againſt the Medicis, in regard of their authoritie.

Now there were (at this time) in the ſaide Citty, many other Gentlemen and rich Merchants, who thought themſelues euery way as ſufficient, to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as thoſe, that were of the houſe of *Medici*. Neuertheleſſe, the *Medici* ſtill had the great opinion, being euery day reſpected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the houſe of the *Pazzi*, *Saluiati*, and many other, iſſued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by paſſion and particular affection (coupled with innated enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medicis*) contriued a ſecret complot, whereby to take the Common-wealths gouernment from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accompliſhed, without the death of *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*, becauſe they were rich and potent Lords.

The death cõtriued of Iuliano & Laurentio de Medicis.

Franceſco and *Giouanni de Pazzi*, Couſins-germaine to *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and cheefeſt men of that houſe, vndertooke to kill the ſaid Brethren of the *Medici*, and ioyned with them the Family of the *Saluiati*; eſpecially Signior *Franceſco Saluiati*, Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, and they vndertooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewiſe *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had conſtrained into their league: all verily perſwaded, that being rid of them, they ſhould not meete with any reſiſtance in the execution of their purpoſe.

The combination for a moſt horrible murder.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things prouided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbiſhoppe of *Piſa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Soldiours, all well knowne: yet without diſcouering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceiued, practiſed ſuch meanes, that a young Cardinall, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then ſtudied at *Bologna*) ſhould come to paſſe the time a while at *Florence*, to fitte their turne (in the action) with him and his people, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

A liſt of Soldiours prepared for the purpoſe.

Order being taken for all occaſions, and euery thing kept cloſe in the boſomes of the principall conſpirators, the concluſion was thus; that the two Brethren *de Medici* ſhould be ſlaine together, eyther in the great Church, or elſe where the Cardinall ſhould heare Maſſe. *Franceſco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis*: but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Prieſt. The houre or moment, aſſigned by *Giacomo de Pazzi*, for the execution of theſe two murders, was at ſuch time, as the Prieſts ſhold be at the eleuation in Maſſe, holding the Hoaſt or Sacrifice aloft aboue his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

The appointment how the maſſacre ſhould be performed, & by what perſons.

The ſignall for the deed to be done.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478. this concluſion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Maſſe, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, without his brother. For they vſed to walke (as men ſuſpecting ambuſhes) ſildome or neuer together in the Citty, for feare of falling into any diſaſter together: knowing right well, that no man durſt make an attempt offenſiuely vpon them, if one of the two were left aliue. The conſpirators perceiuing that Lord *Iuliano* came not at all; *Franceſco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had ſworne his death) vnder the ſhaddow of Courtly attendance, went to come along with him from his houſe, and beſtowed ſo many embraſſadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then ſate farre enough off from his Brother. Conſpiring eyes were ſtill fixed on them both, enuying that they ſhould ſitte ſo farre aſunder: but yet the time and place gaue thē courage, that they might eaſily accompliſh the acte; and yet not be proſecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

A care in the two brethren, to preuent miſchiefe.

Ceremonious Courthip, many times makes way to diuelliſh practiſes.

The point for performance being come, *Franceſco de Pazzi* gaue a ſtabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Iuliano*, which thwarted the ſtomacke, and iſſued foorth at his ſhoulder, ſo that immediately he fel down dead: and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making haſte (leaſt Lord *Iuliano* ſhold not be thorowly ſped) wounded himſelfe with his owne

Lord Iuliano ſlaine by Franceſco de pazzi.

Amb de

owne Dagger in the ſtomacke, albeit hee ſaw the Lord *Iuliano* lye dead before him. There dyed alſo *Franceſco Nori*, ſlaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, becauſe he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Iuliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Prieſt, ſharply aſſayled the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, but yet with ſuch ſlender dexterity; that vſing his owne couragious defence, hee was wounded a little in the mouth, and (in deſpight of all they could do) by meanes of certaine friends, he got into the Sacriſtia or Veſtrie, and there ſaued himſelfe from their fury.

Lord Laurentio ſaued his life in the Veſtry.

This aſſault was ſo ſudden, that it had ſpeedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for ſuch was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himſelfe free, and in ſafety to the high Altar. All the Citty was vp in a furious vprore; for ſome cryed out, that the two Brethren *de Medici* were ſlaine, & others ſaide no, putting themſelues preſently in Armes. They of the houſes of *Pazzi* and *Saluiati*, began aloud to cry, Liberty, Liberty, ſo that the Seigneury reſorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* ioyning with them, they fortified themſelues with armed men in the houſe. The Councellors of the Cittie, and ſuch as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to ſeeke for the Lord *Laurentio*; conducting him home to his own houſe, where ſtood readily prepared, aboue eight thouſand armed men.

The young Cardinall hardly ſaued himſelfe.

The whole Siegneury run in haſte to the pallace.

As for the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, hee purſuing on ſtill the point with the *Saluiati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and ſuch as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seigneury. The Lords of the Seigneury, although they tooke part with the houſe of *Medici*; yet notwithſtanding they were ſo preſſed, as they had not any leyſure, for making any Armed prouiſion, not to appoint a Garriſon for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that he had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Arch-Biſhop of Piſa cleth to the allace, to onferre with he Seigneu. y.

The Archbiſhop perceiuing, that the Seigneury had no leyſure to take a reſolution, in ſome matters that he would haue propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep poſſeſſion of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, aſcended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seigneury, that he had ſome-what to acquaint them withall, for generall benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, he being admitted in, with ſome few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpoſe: the Gates of the Pallace were made ſo ſtrongly faſt; that the Archbiſhop could haue no ſuccor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seigneury themſelues haue any aſſiſtance. So loudly did the Archbiſhop deliuer his minde, ſpeaking of matters in ſuch vnorderly manner; that the Seigneurie (well vnderſtanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as alſo of *Giacoma Saluiati*, and *Giacomo*, the ſonne of *Meſſier Poggio de Pazzi*. And ſo vnruly grew the tumult, that all their attendants were inſtantly ſlaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

The Arch-Biſhop admitted to ſpeake with the Seigneury.

The Arch Biſhop ſeized on, and his followers moſt of them ſlaine.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbiſhops men (that had the truſt of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and ſlaine preſently, without any reſpect vſed towards them. As for the Arch-Biſhop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cauſe more terrour in the reſt. *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conſpirators, rode vp and downe through the Citty, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiuing none to make them anſwer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to ſaue themſelues by flight. Only *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very ſicke, by paine of the wound which he had giuen himſelfe; ſo that hee was not able to ſit on horſebacke, or come come abroad out of his Chamber.

The other part of the Archbiſhops attendants ſlaine, & himſelfe hanged.

By this time the whole Citty was vp in Armes, to defend the cauſe of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely greeued, for the death of Lord *Iuliano* his Brother: cauſing ſeuere purſuite afret the Conſpirators, ſo that many, who were but meerely ſuſpected

The whole Citty maintained the cauſe of Lord Laurentio de Medicis.

ſuſpected in the caſe, could not eſcape, although no matter was prooued againſt them; but no knowne offender could any way be ſpared. The young Cardinall, Nephew to the Pope, was kept priſoner in the Pallace, with very great perill of his life: but at length, his innocence being truely knowne, he was acquitted; continuing (neuertheleſſe) long time priſoner.

Bernardo Bãdino hanged vp ſtarke naked by the Archbiſhop.

Bernardo Bandino, was ledde ſtarke naked to the Pallace, and ſo hanged vp, next to the Archbiſhop. As for *Antonio de Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Prieſt, who ſhould haue ſlaine the Lord *Laurentio*: they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne euery where in the Citty, crying *Medicis, Medicis*, burning and pulling downe all their houſes, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In briefe, the diſorder was ſuch, and ſo confuſed, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; eſpecially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempeſt.

Seuerity of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

Giacomo de Pazzi, was taken in his flight, & brought back to *Florence*: where he was hanged or ſtrangled, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiſcated, and adiudged to the Seigneuries poſſeſſion. And after condigne puniſhment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Iuliano* was moſt honourably buried, and with very ſolemne Funerall pompe.

A briefe ſuruay of the conſpiracy, & the maine actors therein, with ſome other accidẽts that followed thereon.

Such iſſue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very ſtrange. For, in leſſe then three houres, the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis* (an extraordinary rich man) was ſlaine; the Archbiſhop of *Piſa* hanged, with ſome other of his confederates, and the houſes of the aduerſe part vtterly deſtroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceiued ſuch a ſpleene againſt this action at *Florence*: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army againſt the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themſelues ſo well; that no other aduantage was due to the diſturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effuſion of blood happening on eyther ſide. Behold the poore and vnfortunate iſſue of theſe conſpirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiſcreete meanes: loſt their liues, diſioynted the peace and vnity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medicis* gouerned *Florence* ſo long as he liued.

CHAP. XXXII.

A very remarkable and worthy Hiſtorie, deliuering in true and briefe diſcourſe; the life and memorable actions of that famous Captaine, commonly called, Caſtruccio Caſtracagnio.

Caſtruccio Caſtracagnio, a Captaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be rancked among the greateſt and moſt renowned Captaines of the world: conſidering the pouerty of his originall, and the ſlender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared alſo with thoſe ſtrange trauerſes, which Fortune put vppon him. Wherein I may well ſay, that very few Captaines or Generals are to bee found, who with ſo poore & imperfect furniſhment; did euer reach to thoſe honours and eſtates, as this our *Caſtruccio Caſtracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no diſparagement vnto our precedent beſt ſubiects, that his Hiſtory ſhould make one among them: not purpoſing to vſe any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obſerued in the reſt, becauſe it ſhall ſuffice me, ſummarily to report the courage of this Captaine.

It is not pouerty of birth that hindreth the merite of any well-deſeruing man.

Beginning then with his originall, which was very ſtrange, you are to vnderſtand, that in *Lucca*, a Citty of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of S. *Michaell*, named *Meſsire Antonio Caſtracagnio*, who had a ſiſter (of his owne) liuing with him, being a very honeſt and vertuous woman. Cloſe ioyning to this Chanons houſe, was a little Cloſe or Field of * *Autines*, which was plentifully furniſhed with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vſed in *Italy*. The ſiſter to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Cloſe, to gather ſome Hearbs for her vſe, without dreming on any ſuch matter as after happened: as ſhe was gathering Hearbs beere and

Here the Author briefly diſcourſeth the originall of Caſtruccio Caſtracagnio, & in what manner he was found.

* They are Vines faſtened to Trees, according to the manner in Italy.

and there, heard a ſmall voyce, as if it were of ſome new borne babe. And walking that way where ſhe heard the cry; among the leaues and young bourgeons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as deſiring aide in that wofull diſtreſſe.

The widdow brought the Babe to her Brother the Chanon.

The good widdow, ſomewhat ſadly moued at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compaſſion: carried in the tender childe, & ſhewed it to the Chanon her brother; who being amazed at ſo ſtrange an accident, and yet ouercome with Chriſtianlike pitty, determined to prouide nurſing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchilde, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Caſtruccio*. When the Nurſſe was come, he cauſed it to be nouriſhed as if it had beene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, ſent him to ſchoole, with full intention of ſurrendring his Chanons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the leaſt part of his care, for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a ſword: and in regard that he was very actiue of body, he gaue himſelfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wraſtling with other ſtrong Lads like himſelf. Speaking al in a word, he was ſo dexterious in whatſoeuer he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Caſtruccio* becãe reſpected in euery eye.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

Young Caſtruccio not addicted to learning, but to manly exerciſes onely

It ſo fortuned, that Captaine *Franceſco Guiniguo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing ſuch report of young *Caſtruccio*, & ſeeing him bold & brauely ſpirited; found meanes to haue him in his ſeruice. And *Caſtruccio* being now where he beſt deſired, became (in leſſe then fiue yeares) ſo expert a Souldior, as his like was not to be found, as well on horſe as foot: for he could ſo cunningly manage any horſe, that *Canalcadore* of *Italie* hardly came neere him.

The firſt entertainment of young Caſtruccio in ſeruice.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Captaine *Guiniguo*, his Maſter, departed thence for *Millaine*, in aide of the *Viſcontines*, who were in Armes againſt the *Thuriani*, and many other *Millaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Caſtruccio* along with him, who caried himſelfe ſo valiãt and wiſely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Soldiors in the Campe. This war laſted fiue or ſixe yeares, which being ended by peace or truce; Captaine *Guiniguo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Caſtruccio*, wher he was moſt kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noiſed euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guiniguo* his Maſter; for hee was ſo humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increaſed towards him daily more & more.

Caſtruccio his firſt going with his Maſter to warre-ſeruice at Millaine.

Within a ſhort while after, Captaine *Guiniguo* feeling himſelfe ſicke, & in ſome danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Pagola* his ſonne, to his man *Caſtruccio*. In which charge, *Caſtruccio* carried himſelfe ſo faithfully, that ſo long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Pagola*, euen as if hee had bene his owne ſonne. After the deceaſe of Captaine *Guiniguo*, the credite and reputation of *Caſtruccio* wonderfully augmented. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe he was very fiery, impatient and vindicatiue, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow ſuſpitious, that he purpoſed to make himſelfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without ſome pregnant occaſion; in which reſpect, the Seigneury commanded him to auoide the City. Which diſgrace *Caſtruccio* ſo much diſtaſted, that he reſolued to be reuenged, euen with the ruine and confuſion of his head-ſtrong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euen thẽ alſo, the lord *Hugo Fagiuola* was in ſome comand, who being poſſeſſed of the Seigneury of *Piſa*; *Caſtruccio* practiſed (by inſinuation) to compaſſe grace & fauour with this Lord *Fagiuola*, & therfore complotted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Figiuola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on ſecretly, he preuailed ſo well with ſome of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed inſtant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By means whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with ſuch ſuccor as the Lord *Fagiuola* had giuen them, expulſing thence the *Guelphes*, after they had done their very vttermoſt they could.

Caſtruccio credited with the guardianſhip of his Maſters ſonne

He is commãded by the Seigneury to auoide Luca.

Caſtruccio complotteth againſt the City of Luca, by meanes of the diffrence betweene the Guelphes and Gibelines.

Caſtruccio was now in greater eſteeme thẽ euer, & in ſuch ſort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Fagiuola*, to whõ he made recourſe in times of neceſſity. The *Florentines*, who deadly deſpighted *Caſtruccio*, vnderſtãding the ſucceſſe of his affaires; leuied a great Army, by helpe of ſuch as were in league with thẽ, purpoſing to ouer-run *Caſtruccio*.

Caſtruccio repaired the Lord of Luca.

The Florentines ſought he death of Caſtruccio.

But Lord *Fagiuola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of Lord *Fagiuola* and *Castruccio*, serued wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiuola* receiued intelligence, that there had happned a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiuola* was faine to leaue the Armies conduct wholy to *Castruccio*: who behaued himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most obstinate mā that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine aboue tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiuola*, all those estates (held by him) in farre better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

The Army left wholly to Castruccioes gouernment

Castruccio winneth the victory gainst the Florentines, Don Pedro & Don Carolo slaine

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiuola*, towards whom he shewed himselfe very obedient. But, as it is a customary case, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiuola*, perceiuing the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse; he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensiue to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiuola*: who hauing aduertisement thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thether with a potent Army.

Lord Fagiuola concludeth the death of Castruccio dishonorably

The Lucanes reuolt from Lord Fagiuola.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were aduertised, that *Castruccio* was deteined as a prisoner; they began so to stomacke the matter, that they slew the Gouernor, whom Lord *Fagiuola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselues from the tyranny of *Fagiuola*. He receiuing intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therin he proued likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste frō the *Pisanes* arriued at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiuola* could do.

The Gouernor of Pisa slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the Lucans

Hereupon, the *Lucanes* put thēselues in Armes, so that they expulsed the sonne of *Fagiuola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedome to *Castruccio*, in meere despight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiuola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of recouering his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But be it howsoeuer, this I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enioyed stil, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Captaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whol Seigneury. In which authority he being loath to liue idle, leuyed a great Army, wherewith hee recouered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vsurped from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despight of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtayned, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*: For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Forts and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine fielde of Battaile, equally appointed on either side.

The Lucanes rise in Armes against Fagiuola, and exclude his son.

Castruccio made Generall of Luca by common consent.

He was crowned sole Lord of Luca, and became much dreaded.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Frederick*

The Emperor Frederick desired to haue the seruice of Castruccio.

ricke came into *Italy*, to be crownd Emperor there: wher being enstructed of the many good parts remaining in *Castruccio*, hee laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. *Castruccio* then leauing *Pagola Guiniguo* (of whom he had thus long beene Tutour) as his Lieutenant to gouern *Luca*: went to see the Emperor *Frederick*, whom he followed so far as *Rome*. Some hold, that he came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into *Germany*, *Castruccio* preuailed so well by good means, that they of *Pisa* chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to *Rene*, King of *Naples* (his old heauy enemy) he begā to grow doubtfull of *Castruccio*, and perceiuing his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with thē *Florentines* against *Castruccio*, intending now to see the vtter ruine of him, and recouery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Castruccio chosen Prince of Pisa, and assisted by the King of Naples.

Hereupon, the King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountred by *Castruccio*; that euermore he had the better of thē, althogh with great expence of blood, and recouery of many places from them: so that the *Florentines* were meerely enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, *Castruccio* largely increased his power. For, as they of * *Pistorium* were in diffrence one with another within the Towne: *Castruccio* shouldred in (during their ciuill dissention) and possessed himselfe of *Pistoriā*, and all other places subiected to that Citty.

The King of Naples & the Florentines foyled by Castruccio.

* A Citty in the midst of Tuscia.

The *Florentines* seeing themselues more and more in daily dangers, endeuoured by al the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of *Castruccio*, or else to drue him out of *Pistorium*. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of *Naples*, as other places more remote, were so great; that vpon the musters account, they were numbred to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards *Pistorium*, where *Castruccio* had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the *Florentines*. Neuertheless, he guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprizals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

An Army of fortie thousand men leuied by the Florentines against Castruccio.

In the end, comming to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that he vanquished the *Florentines*: in which ouerthrow was great slaughter made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the cheefest of the *Florentines* were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. *Castruccio* himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a iote daunt his courage, but still he pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against * *Partum*, which he tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereabout. So that (without any resistance) he went and placed his Campe within two miles of *Florence*, whereat the *Florentines* were not a little amazed.

The Florentines ouerthrowne in a day of set battaile, by Castruccio.

* A faire town in Tuscany.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into *Florence*, hee receiued aduertisement, that the *Pisanes* were practising some matter to his disaduantage: so that, leauing his intent for *Florence*, he returned to *Pisa* a triumphant Conqueror. After he had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions beseeming warre: because he was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some imployment for warre.

He encamped within two miles of Florence, & was called thence by a mutiny at Pisa.

The *Florentines*, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselues to the King of *Naples*, promising him a yearely ttibute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of *Naples* accepted thē *Florentines* offer, and sent *Don Carolo* his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Cauallery and Infantery that hee could command; and the like did some other Citties of *Italy*, who stood all in feare of *Castruccioes* Forces: so that now the Army of the *Florentines* consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote. With this powerfull preparation (perswading themselues, that *Castruccio* durst not come into the fielde) they intended to besiedge *Pisa*; but *Castruccio*, who was one of the most valiant & politique Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherin continually *Castruccio* had the best. Finally, *Castruccio* seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the *Florentines*: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of * *Arno*, and found the *Florentines* in such disorder, as he compeld thē to accept the battel; wherin was a great

The Florentines gaue themselues in subiection to the King of Naples.

Another great Army raised by the Florentines, against Castruccio.

* A goodly Riuer in Italy

Castruccio his victory ouer the Florentines, and easie meanes to haue made a further conqueſt.

ſlaughter on both ſides, but yet the victory fell to *Caſtruccio*; twenty thouſand *Florentines* being ſlain in the field, beſide two thouſand priſoners taken: among whom was *Don Carolo*, ſonne to the King of *Naples*, and many other Commanders of name. And aſſuredly (without all queſtion to the contrary) conſidering this laſt great victory, which *Caſtruccio* had againſt the *Florentines*: he might not onely haue conquered *Florence* it ſelfe, but likewiſe no meane part of *Italy* beſide.

But heere may bee apparantly obſerued, how weake and feeble the ſtrength of man is; for a Glaſſe is no ſooner crackt & ſhiuerd, then a mans beſt might, when Gods aſſiſtance giueth him ouer. *Caſtruccio*, following his fortune vpon the ſpurre, and hauing made the ſurprizall before remembred; rode coaſting along the Riuer of *Arno* like a worthy Generall, to rallire all his people together. And being ſore wearied and ouer-ſweated, (for he had fought all the day) the freſh coolneſſe, or dampe of the Riuer ſmote him inwardly, that the night following, he fell into a Quotidian Feauer, whereof (no doubt as God had appointed) he dyed on the ſeuenth day after, being then in the very flower of his time.

Caſtruccio ſel ſicke of a Quotidian Feauer, and dyed within ſeauen dayes following.

Surely, had this *Caſtruccio* bene a Natiue of *Rome*, or *Athens*, as he was of *Luca*, where he was borne, without knoledge of Father or Mother; Or had he beene brought vp in the Kings Court of *Macedon*: he had greatly blemiſhed the renown of *Scipio*, *Phillip*, yea, and *Alexander* the Great. Notwithſtanding (a *Lucane* borne as he was) had hee liued a longer date of yeares, which his youth and ablenes made faire promiſe of: hee had equalled any of them in richneſſe of fame. But returning to our Hiſtory, *Caſtruccio* made *Pagola Guinigno* his heyre; albeit ſome ſay, that he had Children of his owne, whom he inſtituted to bee his heyres. But be it howſoeuer, as he got his eſtate & wealth by manhood and valour: his ſucceſſours loſt all by lewdneſſe and negligence, if we may credite *Aretine*, *Blondus*, *Tonimus* & *Macchiauell*.

The Authors farwell to the endleſſe memory of Caſtruccio Carcagnio.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Diſcourſe concerning the Windes: And of their ſeuerall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.

THE Windes, according as *Seneca* ſaith, are very meete and neceſſary for the ſpacious Vniuerſe; to conſerue the temperature of Heauen and Earth; to diſperſe and ſcatter raines and myſts; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruites. Nature alſo gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Nauigation, whereby they might communicat together the goods of the earth: ſo that Regions which are fertile in ſome particular things, may impart them to other that are not ſo well prouided. In briefe, the Windes do cauſe an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuity will not ſpare me to ſpeake of.

The opinion of Seneca, concerning the Windes, and of what neceſſary vſe they are.

Onely I haue propounded to my ſelfe, to ſhew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perſwaded, that ſome benefit will redownd to diuers perſons, eſpecially to ſuch as profeſſe ſayling on the Seas. To vnderſtand then, what the Winde is, I will not relye on diuerſity of opinions, in ſuch as haue written thereon: but following *Ariſtotle*, and the moſt common iudgment of the wiſe; I ſay, that the Winde is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driuen aloft by his heate and lightneſſe, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes colde; commeth to be repulſed by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh foorth into blaſts whether it can go, & being hindred of deſcending downe, in regard of lightnes: is conſtrained to toſſe and tumble here & there in the Ayre; eyther more or leſſe, according to the ſtrength of the matter wherof it is cauſed. So that the definition of *Seneca* is not warrantable, who ſaieth, *That the Winde is nothing elſe, but the Ayre moued, without any other matter*: becauſe theſe are the exhalations and vapors, which ſtir and moone the Ayre; for, after they are conſumed, the winde ceaſſeth.

The Arguments intended to be diſcourſed in this Chapter.

The winde a vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

The reaſon of the Windes bluſtering in the Ayre.

Exhalations and vapours mouing the Ayre to preſent themſelues.

As

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients impoſed ſuch vpon them, as correſponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuertheleſſe, Antiquitie neuer acknowledged ſo many windes, as haue beene ſince thoſe times. For, according as *Plinie*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Vegetius*, *Homer* and other auncient Poets ſay, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. Eaſt, Weſt, North and South; thoſe are the parts or quarters moſt remarkeable that can be obſerued throughout the world. For, as *Dauid* and *Lucan* ſay; *Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night.*

Antiquitie neuer acknowledged but foure windes onely.

According then vnto this proportion, our auncient Latines termed *Subſolanus*, the winde that came from the Eaſt Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apeliotes*, or *Eurus*: In *Italy* and *Spaine*, they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Eſt*. Now, for the right winde belonging to Sunne-ſetting, which is oppoſite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Vinifying*: for it makes all plants to flouriſh: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Mariners call it *Oueſt*. And yet ſome others ſay, that the word *Zephyrus* ſignifieth couching or ſetting. The third winde was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of ſeauen Starres, which turne or wheele about the North-Starre. By the ſame reaſon the Greeks called it *Apparetias*, or *Boreas*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Norte briſa*; and the French do giue it the title of *Nort*. The fourth wind, which is oppoſite to the North, the Latines termed *Auſter*, euen as if they would haue called it a Water driuer, for that this winde is often rainy; which made the Greeks to call it *Notus*, that is, watriſh, or moiſt. The Italians name it *Mezzodi*; the Spaniards *Abregoſar*, and *Vendeual*; and the French, *Sud*.

Concerning the auncient names of the windes.

The Eaſt winde.

The Weſt winde.

The North winde.

The South wind.

Thus you ſee as concerning the foure windes, whereof only ſpeake *Homer*, and *Ouid* in his Metamorphoſis. But (with much more reſpect and reuerence) let vs yet ſay, that our bleſſed Lord and Sauior makes mention of the foure windes, ſpeaking of the laſt day of Iudgement, both in Saint *Mathew* and Saint *Marke*, where he ſayth: *That hee will ſend his Angells with troupes, to aſſemble his Elect from the foure windes.*

Chriſt himſelfe ſpake of the foure windes.

Matth. 24. 31. Luke 13. 21.

Now, as touching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make ſome relation thereof, in diſcourſing on other ſubalternate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as aſſigning (between the Leuant or Eaſt, and the *Mezzodi*, or South) a winde which the Latines call *Vulturnus*, becauſe this wind whiſtleth like the wing of a Vulture, when he diſlodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and ſome call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Sueſt*.

Of the qualitie of the windes.

The North-East winde.

The other winde which rayſeth it ſelfe from the place, where the Sunne mounteth at mid Iune, hath no name amongſt the Latines. Notwithſtanding, ſome call it *Ardant*, or *Helleſponticus*, becauſe it cometh from the coaſt of the *Helleſponticke* Sea. Our Mariners call it *Grec*, or *Nordeſt*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquilo*, which neuertheleſſe is the name of another winde.

The North-Weſt winde.

The other winde is iuſtly betweene the North and the Weſt, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne ſetteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Affricus*, becauſe (in regard of *Rome*) this wind commeth directly from *Affrica*. The Greekes called it *Lybs*, becauſe they entitle *Guynea* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Sueoeſt*, or *Garbin*.

The South-East winde.

The other winde is iuſtly betweene the North and the Weſt, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him ſelfe in broad day. Some call it *Auſo*, or *Cancro*. The Greekes called it *Argeſtes*, as much to ſay, as full of rayes. His impetuouſneſſe is called *Apix*, becauſe it cometh from a quarter of *Italy*, ſo called: Others giue it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians ſtile it *Meſtrall*, the French & Spaniards doe tearme it *Nort-oueſt*. Theſe are the eight ſeuerall winds, whereof *Aulus Gellius* and *Vitruuius*, maketh mention of.

The South-Weſt winde.

Moreouer, *Andronicus* the *Athenian* Philoſopher, builded a Tower at *Athens*, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at euery angle was figured the Image of a Winde, which blew againſt the ſaide angle. On the top of the ſame Tower, was

Andronicus the Philoſopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was composed in such artificiall sort, that he turned still with euery winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpō Castles or stately houses now adayes do; shewing, or pointing still with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Foure windes more, added to the former eight, and in what seuerall places they are described to be.

Ouer and beside the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp iust the number of twelue: placing two windes on this side, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both sides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right side of the *Tramontana* or North, betweene that and the winde *Cæsias*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous blustering, which is more sudden, then the wing of the fleetest Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* also called it *Boreas*, in respect of the great noise it maketh when it bloweth: some other tearme it *Meses*. The other winde, which is on the side of the couchant or Sun-setting, betweene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes Thrasias*. *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neuertheless, there are some who name it *Circius*, or *Circius*: the *Chastillians* call it *Galego*.

Two other windes opposite to the former.

The other two windes are also opposite to these heere related, whereof the one commeth from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himselfe in Winter, which also is called *Euro auster*, or *Euronotus*. *Aristotle* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Affrica* they vsed to call it *Phœnicias*. The other winde plainly is betweene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-West*: in which respect they call it *Lybonotus*, or *Lyboauster*. And these are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

A South and by East-winde

A South and by West winde

Aristotle, in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his Meteors, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neyther assigneth to them any names or number. *Pliny* notwithstanding, *Seneca* and *Vegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like also is done by our moderne Astrologers and Cosmographers, as namely *Orontius*, *Appianus*, *Gemma-Frisius*, *Henricus Glareanus*, *Stoslerinus*, *Ioannes Berenus*, *Ioannes Fernelius*, *Robertus Valturinus*, and many more beside. *Vitruuius* neuertheless, after he hath assigned the eight principall Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two subalternate Windes to each of the other Windes; so that (by his account) there should be foure and twenty Windes.

Arist in lib. Coelat Mund.

Moderne Astrologers & Cosmographers.

Foure & twenty windes granted by Vitruuius.

Notwithstanding, to enstruct our better apprehension of the Windes, he presupposeth three Circles, whereof one serueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the last for that of twelue. Hee setteth downe (beside) the names of the Windes, according as Marriners (and especially the *Spaniards*) haue stiled them. Yet (in the meane while) it is to be obserued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

Three Circles alotted to the windes.

For the three Orientall or East-windes, that is to say, *Subsolanus*, *Cæcias*, and *Vulturnus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwise, *Zephyrus* and his neighbors, which come from the West or Sun-set, are colde and moist: because the absence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where those windes blow. As is easily discerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as also by places subiected to shades, that are (ordinarily) coole and fresh. From the same cause proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Easterne windes: so on the contrary, moisture encreaseth in the nights coolenesse.

The conformity of the windes to their Regions

The difference betweene day and night times.

As for the three *Septentrionall* or Northerly Windes, they are cold and dry; because they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinckled. Their coldnes also causeth drinesse, which they borrow of the eastern windes, that are their neighbours: and yet they can take no moysture from the Occidentall or Westerne windes, because their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Of the Northerly windes

Come we now to the Meridionall or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moist: because they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, comming from where the Sunne heateth downe right: with this addition moreouer, that they are neighbors to the East windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from the

Of the Meridionall or Southerly windes.

the Westerne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountainy Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moysture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drinesse may be caused by Plaines and champaigne grounds, so that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obserue, that in euery Region, the three windes comming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the same effects, which cause other effects (great or small) according to such as they happen to meete withall.

Occurrences in charge, commeth by the qualities of the windes

It resteth now to speake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right East winde, which is the most healthfull of all. For, it is subtile and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing against the South, is more moyst, and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Aristotle* sayth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do seeme more great and grosse, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, causeth raines and tempests, it troubleth the aire with cloudes, procuring pestilence and corruption. The winde *Carbin*, which is neighbor to the right West, is very tempestiue, according vnto *Virgill*. But the *Ouest* or West wind, encreaseth fleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the first appearing of the Spring. The direct *Trimontana*, which we call the right North winde, causeth colde and frost, it burneth floures and fruites, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in regarde it shutteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for health. As much may be sayde of the other Septentrionall windes, which are his consorts or companions.

The East winde the most healthfull of all the rest.

Arist. in Coel et Mund. cap. 3.

What winde bloweth at the Springs entrance.

It is to be held then for a conclusion, that these windes proceede from vapours and hote exhalations, and that (in al) there are twelue: without depending vppon other allegories, assigned to some infant windes. The Spaniards hold for principall winds, those foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, East, West, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from them precedent: for the North-east is betweene the North and East wind: that which is betweene the Sunne-set and the South, is also called South-west, and the other betweene the East and South, is also termed South-east; these are their seuerall nominations.

The full conclusion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be between each of them.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betweene the former eight, being termed Collaterall, side or middle windes. As that which is betweene the North and the North-east, was called North-North-east: The other which is betwixt the East and the North, is called by the Spaniards *Zesur-dest*, and by French Mariners, North-east; that which is betweene the South and South-east, is called South-South-east: and the other betweene East and South east, is named East-South-east. The other betweene South-west and East, is tearmed West-South-West; and so of the other in the same distinguishing: so that sixteene Windes are equally distributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other sixteene Windes beside, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee should then haue two and thirty windes: but these latter borrowe all their names of their neighbours. Thus much therefore may serue for all the Windes.

The windes of interposition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

The end of the eight Booke.

The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Prouince of Moſcouia: As alſo the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Diuided into fiue ſeuerall Tractes.

CHAP. I.

In this firſt Tract, is contained a Coſmographicall deſcription of the whole Countrey; the Climate and Soyle. Alſo what Shires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the ſeuerall parts of the land yeeldeth: And then a breefe Collection, of the principall Cities and Townes in Moſcouia or Ruſsia.

The city Moſca, or Moſcua.

Moſcouia or *Ruſsia*, is a great northerly Region, containing more then fiue hundred leagues in length. The principal Citie thereof, being called *Moſca*, or *Moſcua*, greater then the Citty *Paris* in France, and ſeated on the Riuer *Moſqua*. I read alſo, that this Countrey was (ſometimes) called *Sarmatia*, and came to varry or change from the name, by calling it ſelfe *Ruſsia*, as beeing parted or diuided into ſundry ſmall, yet abſolute Regiments, neyther depending, or being in ſubiection one to another.

Moſcouia ſom time called Sarmatia.

Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee diuided betweene foure Brethren, whoſe names were *Trubor*, *Rurico*, *Sinees*, and *Varinus*, and in that countrey Language, when they ſpeak the word *Ruſſe*, it implyeth as much, as to part or diuide. They anouch likewiſe, that foure other perſons made the like partition of the South parts, as *Kio*, *Scieko*, *Choranus*, and a Siſter of theirs, named *Libeda*; and euery one termed his Prouince or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and ſo from this their diuiſion, the Countrey came to be called *Ruſsia*, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and ſixty.

Foure brethren diuided the North-parts between them.

Diuiſion of the South-parts.

At ſuch time as it was called *Sarmatia*, it conſiſted of two peculiar Diuiſions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White *Sarmatia* contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the ſide of *Liceſland*, which Prouinces are now termed *Duyna*, *Vagha*, *Vologda*, *Cargapolia*, *Nouogradia*, &c. *Nouogradia* being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke *Sarmatia* contained all the country Southward, towards the black or *Euxine* Sea, with the Dukedome of *Valodemer* of *Moſco*, *Rezan*, &c. It is bounded Northward by the *Lappes* and the north Ocean: On the Southſide by the Tartars, called *Chrimes*: Eaſtward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, who poſſeſſeth all the country of the Eaſt ſide of the *Volgha*, toward the Caſpian Sea: On the weſt and South-weſt border, lye *Lituania*, *Liuonia*, and *Polonia*.

Of the White and black Sarmates in their diſtinct diuiſions.

The bounder and bordring of Moſcouia.

All the Countrey beeing brought to the obedience of one Gouernor, do comprehend theſe cheefe Shyres or Prouinces.

The ſhires & Prouinces contayned in Moſcouia, much greater the the ſhires of England.

ces. *Volodomer* (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperors ſtile, becauſe their houſe came firſt of the Dukes of that Countrey) *Mosko*, *Niſnouogrod*, *Pleska*, *Smolensko*, *Nouogrod Velica* (or *Nouogrod* of the Low countries) *Roſtoue*, *Yaruſlaue*, *Bealozer*, *Rezan*, *Duyna*, *Cargapolia*, *Meſchora*, *Vagha*, *Vſtuga*, *Ghaletſa*. Theſe are the ſhyres naturally belonging to *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*; but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot ſay that they are ſo well peopled. The other Countreyes or Prouinces, which the Emperors haue wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by theſe names. *Twerra*, *Youghoria*, *Permia*, *Vadska*, *Boulghoria*, *Chermigo*, *Ondoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condora*, beſide a great part of *Siberia*, where the people, (though they are not naturall Ruſſians) obey the Emperor of *Ruſsia* or *Moſcouia*, being gouerned by his Countrey Lawes; paying Taxes and Cuſtomes, euen as his owne people doe. Ouer and beſide all which, the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan* (not long ſince obtained by conqueſt) are vnder his command.

Prouinces won by force or Conqueſt, and brought in ſubiection to one and the ſame countries lawes.

The kingdomes of Cazan and Aſtracan.

Concerning all his poſſeſſions in *Lituania* (to the number of thirtie great Townes, and more) with *Narue* & *Dorp* in *Liuonia*: they are quite gone from him, beeing (of late yeares) ſurprized by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. The fore-named Prouinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Iuriſdictions, tearmed by them *Chetfyrds*, as much to ſay, as Tetrarchyes or fourth-parts, whereof wee ſhall haue more occaſion to ſpeake hereafter.

Iuriſdictions or tetrarchies

The whole countrey is of great length and bredth: for, from the North vnto the South (meaſuring from *Cola* to *Aſtracan*, leaning ſomewhat Eaſtward) containeth in length about foure thouſand two hundred ſixty miles, which they terme verſts. And yet the Emperor hath more extendure Northward, farre beyond *Cola*, euen to the Riuer of *Tromſchna*, which runneth a thouſand verſt or miles beyond *Pechinga*, neere to *Wardhouſe*, yet not intire nor clearly limited, becauſe the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, hauing diuers Townes there, as well as the *Ruſſes*, are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to thoſe whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreyes bredth, from that part of the Territory lying fartheſt Weſtward on the *Narue* ſide, to the Eaſtward parts of *Siberia*, where the Emperors Garriſons are kept, is counted forty four thouſand verſt or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Verſt to be a thouſand paces, yet leſſe (by a quarter) then an Engliſh Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Ruſſian Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in al places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouernment, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

The longi-tude and lati-tude of the whol country

The Kings of Sweden and Denmarke haue diuers Townes amongſt the Ruſſes.

The Emperors dominion not all habitable.

To ſpeake ſomewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the moſt part it conſiſteth of a ſlight ſandy mould, yet differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding ſuch things as the earth affoordeth. Concerning the Countrey North-ward, vnto the parts of Saint *Nicholas* and *Cola*, and North-Eaſt towards *Siberia*; it is all verie barren, and full of deſert woodes, by reaſon of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in winter.

Of the ſoyle and Climate in Moſcouia.

Barren ſoyle and deſart woods.

In like manner, along the riuer *Volgha*, betweene the Countries of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, where; though the ſoyle is fruitfull, yet it is vn-inhabited: except on the weſt ſide of the riuer *Volgha*, where the Emperour hath ſome few Caſtells, and garriſons in them. But this is occaſioned by the *Chrim Tartar*, who will neyther himſelfe plant Townes to dwell there (as delighting in an extrauagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yet ſuffer the *Ruſſe* (who is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts.

The ſauage & extrauagant kind of life of the Chrim Tartar.

From *Vologda*, which lieth well-neare ſeauen thouſand verſt from the Port of Saint *Nicholas*, downe toward *Mosko*, and ſo towards the South Port, bordering vpon the *Chrim*, containing the like ſpace of 1700. verſt: it is a very pleaſant and fruitfull Countrey, yeelding paſture and corne, with woods and waters in great plentie. The like is betweene *Rezan* (lying South-eaſt from *Mosko*) to *Nouograd* and *Vobsko*, the which reacheth fartheſt towards the mountaines: So betweene *Mosko* and *Smolensko* (lying South-weſt towards *Lituania*, is a very pleaſant and fruitfull ſoyle.

A very fruitfull and pleaſant countrey

To obſerue the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it ſelfe, in regard of the yeares courſe; vrging a ſtrange alteration, betweene Winter and Summer in *Ruſsia*. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

A ſtrange inequality of the countrey in winter and Summer.

Winter vnder ſnow, which falleth there continually, contayning (ſometime) two yardes in thickeneſſe, and yet farre greater towardes the North: the Riuers and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of cruſt, how broade or ſwift in current ſoeuer they bee, continuing ſo commonly for the ſpace of fiue moneths; as from the beginning of Nouember, vntill it draw towardes the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Mighty deepe ſnowes and ices in Moſcouia.

Well may we iudge of the ayres ſharpneſſe there; becauſe Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the groũd. And let a man hold a diſh or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in ſome chamber where the warme Stoaues are) and his fingers will freeze faſt vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he ſhall ſenſibly feele his breath to grow ſtarke, euen as ſtifling with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

The extream freezing cold of the country

Many haue bene noted, not onely ſuch as trauaile abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common ſtreetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerely killed with colde. So that diuers haue beene ſeene to droppe downe dead in the ſtreetes, and many trauaylers are brought into the Townes, ſitting ſtiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, ſome haue loſt their noſes, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their verie Toes, feete, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Wolues haue come (by huge troopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meer hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne whatſoeuer they could finde or meete withall; whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for ſafety of their liues.

Diuers frozen to death with cold, in Markets and frequented ſtreets and trauellers on their Sleds

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was ſeene a more freſh and delicate countrey, the woods (conſiſting moſt of Firre and Birch) being ſo ſweet and louely; the Paſtures and Meddowes ſo greene and well growne, yea and vpon a ſodaine, ſuch variety of Flowers, ſuch harmonie of Birdes (chiefely of Nightingales, whoſe notes ſeeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can lightly trauaile in a more delightfull countrey. From the freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there, the ſnow giueth no meane reaſon of opinion, becauſe all winter time it ſeemeth as mantled in a white Liuerie, which keepeth it warme clothed al winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat diſſolueth it to water. All which, do ſo ſweetly ſympathize with the ground, beſtowing on it ſuch ſufficient drenching and ſoaking (being of a ſlight and ſandie mould, chearing it againe with the ſunnes reuerberating brightneſſe) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary aboundance. So that, as winter there ſuperaboundeth in colde, Sommer anſweres it with ſo much the more heate: chiefely in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, it equalling then the beſt ayres in any other Countrey.

An admirable ſummer time in Moſcouia.

The reaſon of the ſodaine & freſh ſpring in the Countrey

The Winter not ſo colde, but ſummer is as violently hot.

Comming nowe to ſpeake of the Riuers, the firſt is the famous *Volgha*, whoſe head or Spring ariſeth at an Alder-trees roote, ſome two hundred Verſt beyonde *Yaruſlaue*. It entreth into ſuch bignes by the entercourſe of other riuers gyring into it; that in ſome places it extendeth in bredth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caſpian* ſea, by eſtimation neere 2800. Verſt or miles in length. *Boriſthenes* is the ſecond, called now *Neper*: diuiding the country from *Lituania*, and thence hauing his courſe into the *Euxine* Sea. *Tanais*, otherwiſe termed *Don* (bounding anciently betweene *Aſia* and *Europ*) ſeemeth to haue his riſing out of the *Rezan Ozera*, paſſing thorough the *Chrim Tartares* Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Maotis*. Report runneth among the *Ruſſes*, that from their cheefe Citty of *Moſco*, euen to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world; men may eaſily make paſſage by this Riuer. But then the conuoy Boate muſt bee drawne ouer a little *Iſthmus*, ſome fewe Verſtes thwartwiſe, as prooſe was not long ſince made of.

Of the principal riuers in Moſcouia, Volgha the chiefe.

Boriſthenes.

Tanais.

Rezan Ozera

Maotis.

An excellent paſſage afforded by the riuer.

Duyna, being many hundred Miles in length, muſt bee remembred amongſt the reſt, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-ſide it hath great Rockes of Alablaſter vppon each banke. *Duna* emptieth it ſelfe into the Balticke Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then

Duyna.

Duna.

is

Onega.

is *Onega*, which ſome ninetie Verſt from the port of Saint *Nicholas*, hath his downfall into the Bay at *Solouetſco*. Not far beneath *Cargapolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Volocke*, which by *Yama* (a ſmall Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* ſea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* Port, and ſo into the Sound, the *Ruſſes* eaſily paſſe by water.

Volock.

Suchana

Suchana is another, which flowing into *Duyna*, runneth on into the North ſea.

Ocka.

As for *Ocka*, his head commeth from the *Chrims* borders, ſtreaming on into *Volgha*.

Moſcua.

And *Moſcua* glideth thorough the Cittie *Moſco*, borrowing his name thereof.

Wichida.

Wichida likewiſe is a very long and ſpacious riuer, riſing out of *Permia*, and falling into the *Volgha*. So much for theſe memorable riuers in this country.

Such fruite as Moſcouia affoordeth.

We come now to ſpeak of thoſe fruits as *Moſcouia* yeeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more ſweete and delicious. Alſo Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arbouſe*,) Raſpes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries, beſide many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well ſtored with them.

What Corne and Graine the Countrey yeeldeth, and at what rate it is ſolde.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue Wheare, Rye, Barley, Oates, Peaſe, Buckway, Pſnytha, which reſembleth Rice in taſte. The Countrey is ſo ebounding in theſe Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for Wheate is ſometime there ſolde for two *Alteens* the *Chetfird*, valewing ten pence ſterling, and the meaſure amounteth well neere to three Buſhels.

Their ſeaſons for ſowing their Graine.

Concerning ſeaſons of Husbandrie, Rye is there ſowen before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and deſert places, as the *Permians*; the partes more Southward do furniſh them: beeing conſtrained yet (ſometimes) to make Bread of a Roote called *Vaghnoy*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

The commodities which in beſt maner the Countrey affoordeth.

Natiue commodities yeelded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for ſeruice of the peoples beſt expectation, and benefitting the Emperor, by venting them abroad in the World: for the cold of the Climate (being a naturall inconuenience) by Gods great goodneſſe, is therein much remedied. Their cheefeſt Furres are Blacke Fox, Sables, Luſernes, Dun-fox, Martrones, Gurnſtalles or Armines, Laſets or Mineuer, Beuer, Wulueriins, being the skinne of a great water-Rat, that ſmelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or gray Squirrell, redde Squirrel, red and white Fox, what plentie of theſe are ſpent in the Countrey (becauſe the people weare Furres all the winter time) is almoſt incredible. And yet the Merchants ſome yeares, tranſport thence, to the valew of foure or fiue hundred thouſand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Perſia*, *Boulgharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with ſome other of Chriſtendome.

The principal furres vented thence in merchandize

The places that afford the very beſt furs in all their ſeuerall kindes.

In the Countreyes of *Pechora*, *Momgoſorfria*, *Obdorskoy*, and other places, do the beſt Sable furres growe; and the worſer in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and ſuch like places. The blacke Foxe and red come from *Siberia*; as from *Pechora* the white and Dun: the Wolues and Beares skins (both beeing white) come alſo thence. *Perm* yeildeth the choyſeſt Wuluerin, and the beſt Martrones come from *Syberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm* and *Cazan*. *Gallets* & *Ouglites* ſend out the beſt Luſerns, Miniuer, and Ermines: yet ſome come from *Nouogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonskey* by *Cola* hath the beſt breed of Beauers. Common Furres (with ſome of theſe fore-named) are in euerie part of the Countrey.

Wax, wherof euery Poode containeth fortie pounde weight.

A ſecond commoditie is waxe, which hath beene ſhipt thence into far remote Countreyes yearely, the valew of 50000. Pood. Honey alſo is there in great quantity, ſpent dayly in their ordinarie drinkes, which is *Mead* of all ſorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremiſſen Tartar*, yeeldeth the greateſt encreaſe of Hony: but good ſtore alſo commeth out of *Seuerskoy*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogoboſe*, and *Vaſma*.

Hony.

Tallow.

Tallow is yeelded in great weight for tranſportation, by reaſon of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as alſo manie Lents obſerued among them.

Many Lents vſed in Moſcouia.

Partly beſide, becauſe the greateſt perſonnes vſe waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner ſort do Byrch, dryed in their ſtoues, being cut into long ſlices, called there *Luchine-*

os.

os. Some yeares haue ſent away by Shipping, aboue an hundred thouſand Poode yearely, which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko*, *Yarusslaue*, *Ouglits*, *Nouogrod*, *Vologda*, *Otfer* and *Gorodetskey*.

Loſh & Cow-hides, & Buffe

Another principal commodtty is Loſh and Cow-hides: their Loſh and Buffe beeing very faire. Their Bull and Cow-hide is but ſmall of ſize, for Oxen they make none, nor of weather. Strange Marchants haue tranſported thence ſome yeares aboue an hundred thouſand hides, beſide great ſtore of Goats skinnes, ſhipt alſo thence in large number. The breede for the faireſt Loſh or Buffe, is about *Roſtoue*, *Wichida*, *Nouogrod*, *Morum* and *Perm*, as the leſſer ſort are in the kingdom of *Cazan*.

Traine Oyle.

Traine Oyle, beeing made or drawne out of the Seale-fiſh, is no mean commodity there. And becauſe we are ſpeaking of the Seale-fiſh, it ſhall not much diſſent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the Seale, whereof afterward this Oyle is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the froſts are not (as yet) begun; they deſcend with their boats into S. *Nicholas* Baye, to the Cape called *Cuſconeſſe* or *Founoſe*, where they leaue their boates till the next ſpting tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the ſpring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay; they return thither again, and drawing their Boats ouer the ice, vſe them as houſes to lodge and reſt in, Commonly, there are about ſeauenteene or eighteene Fleete of them, being diuided into diuers companies, fiue or ſixe boates alwayes conſorting together.

After what manner they hunt the Seale Fiſh in Moſcouia.

Boates made vſe of to lodg in.

A Beacon fired to giue warning.

Such as light firſt vpon the fiſhes haunt or reſort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the ſame purpoſe, and certaine are appointed, to obſerue when the Beacon ſhall be fired; whereof report beeing made to the other Companies, they reſort all together, compaſſing the Seals round in a ring, as they ly Sunning themſelues together vpon the Ices, being commonly foure or fiue thouſand in a ſhoale. Then euery man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters ſtoutly vpon them; & if they hit them on the noſe, then they are ſoone kilde. But if on the backe or ſides, they beare out the blowes ſtiffely, and manie times catch the club ſo faſt, and holde it downe with their teeth ſo ſtrongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

How they ſet vpon the Seales with their clubbes.

The maner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themſelues beſet round about; to gather all cloſe together, as in a throng or heape, to ſway and beare downe the Ice, and to breake it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp ſuch a Sea-water vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further ſlaughter at that time: the hunters fall to ſharing, euery boat his part by equall portions. And ſo they flay them, taking off the ſkinne from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skinne, which they beare thence with them, going to the ſhore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Larde from the skin, caſt it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to melt it withall. The vppermoſt and pureſt is ſold, and vſed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the groſſer, being red of colour, they ſell to make Sope.

The Seals naturall behauiour whē they are beſette, in their own defence.

The hunters diuide the ſpoile among them.

Great quantity alſo of *Ickary* or *Caueary*, is made vpon the riuer of *Volgha*, out of a Fiſh called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seneriga*, and the *Sterledey*: moſt part whereof is ſhipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *England*.

Ickary or Caueary made of Sturgeon.

Flaxe and Hempe is another commodity, whereof hath bene ſhipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundered Ships ſmall and great yearely. But great abatement is in theſe and other commodities, by ſhutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which is now in poſſeſſion of the *Sweden*. The ſtop of paſſage alſo ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Plotsko*, in regard of warre with the *Poland*: which cauſeth the people to be leſſe carefull in prouiding theſe and other commodities, becauſe they want ſale. For growth of Flax, the Prouince of *Vobsko* and countrey thereabout is chiefe: like as *Smolensko*, *Dorogoboſe*, and *Vaſma* is for Hempe.

Flax & Hemp

Great hinderance in vending their commodities

Great ſtore of Salt the Countrey maketh, whereof the beſt is at *Storarouſe* in very great quantity, hauing ſtore of Salt-wels, ſome two hundred fifty nine Verſt from

Salt, where ſome is made naturally of the ſea water

from the Sea. But at *Astracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which casteth it vp in great hilles, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Russe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt; which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm*, *Wichida*, *Totina*, *Kenitsma*, *Souoletskey*, &c. all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre a great commoditie there.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Duyna* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty thereof abroade. To these before remembred, there are many more (naturall to the countrey) though of meaner estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribazuba*, vsed both amongest themseues, and the *Persians* and *Bougharians*, who fetch it thence for Beades, Kniues and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

A fish tooth called Ribazuba.

Slude, which is there as their Moscouie glasse.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to Vnicornes horne, and the fish that oweth it, is called a *Morse*, beeing caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and do weigh eleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes; and are naturally to bee vsed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse, yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slude*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuer *Duyna*, towardes the North Sea.

Salt-peter & Brimstone

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglites*, *Taruslaine*, and *Viting*; with some meane store of Brimstone vppon the Riuer *Volgha*; but they want skill to refine it.

Iron.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapoleia*, and *Vstiug Theleſna*, for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdome.

What strange beasts are in Moscouia.

As for Beasts of strange kindes, they haue the Losh, the Oilen, the wilde Horse, the Wuluering or Wood-dogge, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martroun, the blacke and dunne Fox, the white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the Gurnstall, and the Laset or Miniuer. Likewise, there is a kinde of Squirrell, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other Squirrels haue, which they doe moone and shake, as they moue from tree to tree; like to a Wing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flewe thereby, whereby they were called, *Letach Vechshe*, that is to say, flying Squirrells. In the Summer their Hares and Squirrells are of the same colour as other are; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the Squirrell into grey, and thereof is it that the *Calaber* commeth.

A strange Squirrell.

Hares milke white.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the Roe Bucke, and great plenty and store of Goates. Their horsses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer, they trauell them vnshod, vsing no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is affoorded in diuers other Countries, nor of so good a wearing.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Of Foules they haue of the principall kindes; and great store of Hawkes, as also the Eagle, the Ger-faulcon, the Slight-faulcon, the Gos-hawke, the Tassell, the Spar-hawke. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Countrey is counted the Ger-faulcon. We may not forget other chiefe Foules, as the Swanne wilde and tame in great plentie; the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, resembling a Feasant in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Pheazant and Partridge they haue great plenty; and an Owle, so great and ougly to beholde, as few countries affoorde the like, with a huge broad face, and eates much like to a man.

Foules of diuers kindes, both wilde and tame.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish, besides the common sort; as Carpes, Pikes, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c. they haue diuerse kindes very good and delicate. As the *Bellonga* or *Bellougina*, of foure or fiue elles in length; the *Ostrina* or Sturgeon, the *Seuerga* and *Sterledy*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the Sturgeon, but not so thicke, nor so long.

Varietie of fresh-water Fish and other besides.

Theſe foure kindes of Fiſh breed in the *Volgha*, and are there catcht in great abundance, ſeruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdome. And of the roes of theſe foure fiſhes, are made very great ſtore of *Icary* or *Caueary*.

The Ribabela or white Salmon.

Beſides theſe breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fiſh called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, hauing alſo great plenty of them in the Riuers northward, as in *Duyna* and *Cola*, *&c.* In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Periſlaue*, they haue a ſmall Fiſh, which they call the freſh herring, of the ſame faſhion, and taſting alſo like a Sea herring. From the trades of fiſhing the Emperor hath an yearely large cuſtome, which they practiſe in the Summer: but ſend it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

The Moſcouia freſh herring.

Now, becauſe wee aymed at a formalitie in the deſcription, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Citties in *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*, and as our direction guideth vs, theſe are their names.

The names of the cheefeſt Citties in Moſcouia or Ruſsia.

1 *Mosko.*
2 *Nouograd.*
3 *Roſtone.*
4 *Volodomer.*
5 *Plesko.*
6 *Smolensko.*
7 *Iaruſlaue.*
8 *Periſlaue.*
9 *Nuſnouogrod.*
10 *Vologda.*
11 *Vſtiuck.*
12 *Golmigroe.*
13 *Cazan.*
14 *Aſtracan.*
15 *Cargapolia.*
16 *Columna.*

The Citie of Moſco very antient.

The Citty of *Moſco* is ſuppoſed to bee of great antiquitie, though the firſt founder thereof be vnknowne to the Moſcouites or *Ruſſe*. It ſeemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one ſide thereof. *Beroſus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs, that *Nimrod* (in other profane Stories called *Saturne*) ſent *Aſſyrius*, *Medus*, *Moſcus* and *Magog* into *Aſia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Moſcus* planted both in *Aſia* and *Europe*. Which may make ſome probabilitie, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this *Moſcus*. And ſo much the rather, becauſe of the Climate or ſeituation, which is in the very furtheſt part and liſt of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Aſia*.

Beroſus in his Moſcus planted Colonies in Aſia and Europe, and Moſco ſeemes to take name of him.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* ſonne vnto *Daniell*, the firſt that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his poſteritie, the rather, becauſe hee was inueſted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246. which was much miſliked by the *Ruſſe* people, being then a part of the Eaſterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Cittie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. Inſomuch, that not only the prouince, but the whole country of *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*, is termed by ſome, by the name of *Moſcouia* the Metropolite Cittie.

The firſt changing the title of Duke into King.

Moſcouia the Metropolite Cittie.

The forme of this Citty is (in a maner) round, with three ſtrong walles, circuling the one within the other, and ſtreetes lying betweene, wherof the in-moſt wall, and the buildings cloſed within it, lying ſo faſt (as the heart within the body) fenced and watred with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth cloſe by it; is all accounted the Emperours Caſtell. The number of houſes through the whole Citty (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chrim*) were 41500. Since the *Tartar* beſieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waſte of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel ſet and planted with buildings; eſpecially that part on the South ſide of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Baſilius* the Emperour for his garriſon of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cauſe called his new Cittie *Naloi*, that is to ſay, *Skinke or poure in*, So that now the Cittie of *Moſco* is not much bigger then the Citty of *London* in *England*.

The forme of the Citie.

The number of houſes before the Citie fiering.

When the Chrim Tartar fiered the Citie.

A name giuen to the new Citie.

The next in greatneſſe, and (in a manner) as large, is the Citty *Nouogrode*, where happened (as the *Ruſſe* ſayth) the memorable warre, ſo much ſpoken of in Hiſtories, of the *Scythian* ſeruants, that tooke vppe Armes againſt their Maiſters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

Nouogrode the next great citty to Moſco.

The

The hiſtorie of the Seruants warre againſt their Maiſters, at their returning home from the Tartars warre.

The *Boiardines* or Gentlemen of *Nouograde*, and the adiacent territories (that onely are Souldiers after the diſcipline of thoſe countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well perfourmed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderſtoode by the way, that their *Kholopey*, or Bondſlaues whom they left at home, had (in their abſence) poſſeſſed their townes, lands, houſes, wiues and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdayning the villanie of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeed home, and ſo, not farre from *Nouograde*, mette them in warrelike maner marching againſt them. Whereupon, aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they all agreed, to ſet vppon them with no other ſhew of weapons, but with their horſe whippes (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-ſette, which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of the villaines, and ſtrooke ſuch a fence into them of the whips ſmart (whereof they had ſharpely taſted before) that they all fled together, euen like ſheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Nouogradians* (euer ſince) haue ſtamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe Nouogrodskoy*, currant through all *Ruſsia*: with the figure of a man on horſebacke, ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand. Theſe two Citties exceede the reſt in greatneſſe.

A worthy reſolution in Maiſters againſt their bold ſlaues.

A victory worne by the laſhing of whippes only.

For ſtrength, their chiefe Citties are *Vobſco*, *Smolenſco*, *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for ſcituation, *Iaruſlaue* farre exceedeth all the reſt. Becauſe, beſide thoſe commodities yeelded by paſturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and lookes ouer it, from a banke moſt faire and ſtately to beholde, whereof the Towne taketh name. For *Iaruſlaue* (in that language) ſignifieth a faire and famous banke. In this Cittie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the Moſcouian or Ruſſe King *Vlademir*, ſurnamed *Iaruſlaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the *Dane*, as the Daniſh hiſtorie teſtifieth, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand ſixty ſeauen.

Iaruſlaue the onely Citie of ſcituation.

A Moſcouian King married the King of Englands daughter.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be ſpoken of the other Cities and Townes, but onely ruines with o their walles: which declareth the peoples decreaſe vnder this gouernement. In ſtead of paſing, the ſtreetes (in their Townes and Cities) are plancked with Firre trees, plained and layd euen cloſe one to an other. Their houſes are of wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very cloſe and warme, with Firre trees playned, and layd one vppon another, being faſtened together with dents or notches at euerie corner, and ſo clapped faſt together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thruſt in Moſſe, whereof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And euery houſe hath a paire of ſtaires, which leade vppe into the chambers out of the yard or ſtreete, after the Scottiſh maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Countrey, then that of Stone and Bricke; becauſe they are danker and more colde, then thoſe woodden houſes; eſpecially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: whereof God hath prouided them ſuch ſtore, that a faire houſe may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is ſcanteſt.

Pauing of the ſtreetes.

The Moſcouian manner of building their houſes.

Bricke and Stone is no conuenient building in Moſcouia.

Onely the greateſt inconuenience of their woodden building, is the aptneſſe for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull ſort, by reaſon of the drieneſſe and fatneſſe of the Firre, that beeing once fiered, it burneth like vnto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite conſumed.

The danger of their woodden houſes.

CHAP. II.

Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperors are descended: And a view of their enstalment or Inauguration in that supreame dignitie: with the form of publike Gouernment, & order obserued in holding their Parliaments. Then, of the Nobility, dignifying the State, with the regiment of their Prouinces; and Councell attending vpon the Emperour: His Customes, Reuennews & Sophismes; and a breefe relation of the Comminaltie, in their obedience and service.

THE firname of the Imperiall house of *Moscouia* or *Russia*, is called *Beala*, receiuing Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of *Hungaria*, which may appeare the more probable; because the *Hungarian* Kings (many years since) haue borne that name, as is noted by *Bonfinius*, and other Histories wrirten of that Countrey. For, about the yeare, 1059. mention is made of one *Beala*, that succeeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith, from which they were faln by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called *Beala* the Blinde, after whome succeeded diuers of the same name.

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house from the kings of Hungary.

That their Ancestours came not of the *Russe* Nation, *Iuan Vasilowich* (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdaining (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deriued from the Ruffian blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my *Russes* (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking stedfastly vpon the Emperor, began to smile.

The house Beala not naturally Moscouian or Russe.

Familiar talk betweene the Emperor, and an English Goldsmith.

The Emperour being of verie quicke conceite, charged him to tell, what hee smiled at. If your Maiesty will pardon me (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the *Russes* were Theeues, and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a *Russe*. I thought so sayde the Emperor, but thou art deceyued, for I am no *Russe*: my Ancestours were *Germaines* (for so they account the Hungarians, to bee part of the Germaine Nation) although (indeede) they come of the *Hunnes*, who molested and inuaded that country, and rested in those partes of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Moscouia*.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bare notwithstanding an absolute gouernment with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Prouinces of *Moscouia*) this house of *Beala* spred it selfe foorth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is a thing well knowne, and but of late memory.

How first they came to the Dukedome of Volodemer not knowne.

The cheefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, *Iuan Basilieus*, and *Iuan*, Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperor, was *Basilieus*, Father to *Iuan*, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they onely were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of *Mosco* or *Moscouia*.

The aduancement of the house of Beala.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when we come to speake of their Collonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer

Reference to a place of better consistency.

to

No hope of iſſue by the Emperour.

to haue, for ought that can bee conie-ctured by the conſtitution of his bodye, and barrenneſſe of his wife, after ſo many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of ſixe or ſeauen yeares olde, in whom reſteth all the hope of ſucceſſion, and poſteritie of that houſe.

A great miſ-hap & much lamented, co-ſting allo the Fathers life.

As for the other Brother, that was eldeſt of the three, and of the beſt toward neſſe: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vppon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as ſome ſay) of a thruſt with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no ſuch mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and paſſion after his Sonnes vntimely death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iuſtice of God, that punniſhed his delight in ſhedding of blood, with this murther of his Sonne by his owne hand. And ſo ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murthering of himſelfe by extream greef, for this his vnhappy, and moſt vnnatural facte.

Treachery attempted againſt the yong Princes life.

The Emperours younger Brother, of ſixe or ſeauen yeares olde (as was ſaid before;) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition and gouernment of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the houſe of the *Nagaies*: yet not ſafe (as I haue heard) from atempts of making away, by practiſe of ſome that would aſpire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yſſue. For, the Nurſe that taſted before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

Qualities of yo great com-mendation.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto *Iuan Vaſilowich*, the *Ruſſe* people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear alreadie in his tender yeeres. He delights to ſee Sheepe and other Cattle kilde, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayde to beholde) and to beate Geeſe and Hennes with a Staffe, till he ſee them dead.

Mother, title inheritance the Duc-es of Holſt

Beſides theſe of the maſle kinde, there is a Widdow, that hath right in the ſucceſſion, Siſter to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; ſometime wife vnto *Magnus*, Duke of *Holſt*, Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, by whom ſhe had one daughter.

This Woman', ſince the death of her Husband, hath beene allured againe into *Ruſsia*, by ſome that loue the ſucceſſion better then her ſelfe, which appeareth by the ſequele. For her ſelfe, with her daughter, ſo ſoone as they were returned againe into *Ruſsia*, were thruſt into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this laſt yeare, but of no naturall diſeaſe, as was ſuppoſed.

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane anguiſh.

The Mother remaineth ſtill in the Nunnery, bewayling her ſelfe, and curſing the time when ſhee returned into *Ruſsia*, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promiſes in the Emperours name. And thus it ſtandeth with the Imperiall ſtocke of *Ruſsia*, of the Houſe of *Beala*, which is like to determine in thoſe that now are, and to make a conuerſion of the *Ruſſe* Eſtate. If it bee into a Gouernement of ſome better temper, and milder conſtitution; it will bee happie for the people, that are nowe oppreſſed with intollerable ſeruitude.

Our nexte Diſcourſe, muſt extend it ſelfe, to report ſuch ſolemnities, as are commonly vſed at the *Ruſſe* Emperors Corronation, which followeth in this manner.

Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Ruſſe Emperors.

THE ſolemnities vſed at the *Ruſſe* Emperors Corronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Prechehe* (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Caſtle, is erected a ſtage, whereon ſtandeth a Screene, that beareth vppon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich ſtuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there reſorte thether, firſt the Patriarche with the Metropolitanes, Arch-byſhops, Byſhoppes, Abbots, and Priors, al richly clad in their *Pontificalibus*. Then enter the Deacons with the Quier of ſingers: who ſo ſoon as the Emperor ſetteth foot into the church

The Eccleſiaſticall attendants.

begin to ſing: *Many yeares may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolite, with the reſt of the Cleargy, anſwere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, ſinging it al together, with a great noiſe. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the ſtage, where ſtandeth a ſeat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch willeth him to ſit down, and then placing himſelfe by him, vppon another ſeate prouided for that purpoſe, boweth down his head toward the groũd, and ſaith this prayer.

The prayer vttered by the Patriarch, before the Coronation.

Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuell diddeſt chuſe thy ſeruant Dauid, and annoint him for King ouer thy people Iſrael; heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy ſeruant Theodore, whome thou haſt choſen, and exalted for King, ouer theſe thy holy Nations. Annoint him with the Oyle of gladneſſe, protect him by thy power, put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious ſtones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the ſeat of Iuſtice, ſtrengthen his arme, make ſubiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all errour, and ſhew him the ſaluation of thy holie and vniuerſall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Iuſtice, and protect the children of the poore; and finally attaine euerlaſting life. This praier he ſpeaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth alowd: *All praiſe and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.*

The Ceremonies to bee vſed in order.

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great ſolemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde; *Peace be vnto all.* And ſo he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Bow your ſelues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preſerue him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy things, let iuſtice ſhine foorth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without ſtrife and malice.*

This is pronounced ſomwhat ſoftly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe alowd: *Thou art the King of the whol world, and the Sauiour of our ſoules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt, be all praiſe for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the Robe and the Cap, he bleſſeth the Emperor with the ſigne of the Croſſe: ſaying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.* The like is done by the Metropolites, Arch-byſhops, and Byſhops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another, doe bleſſe the Emperor with their two forefingers.

According to their ancient cuſtome

Then is ſaide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O moſt holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Manie yeares to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Ruſsia, &c.* Wherto the other prieſts and Deacons, that ſtand ſomewhat far off by the Altar or Table, anſwere ſinging: *Many yeares, many yeares to the noble Theodore.* The ſame note is taken vppe by the Prieſtes and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left ſide of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, ſinging; *Many yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Ruſsia,* &c.

Homage and obeyſance done to the Emperor.

Theſe ſolemnities being ended, firſt cõmeth the Patriarch with the Metropolits, Arch-byſhops, and Byſhoppes; then the Nobility, and the whol companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feete vnto the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is inueſted at his Corronation, runneth after this manner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperor of all Ruſsia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Nouograd of the Low Countreyes, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlauely, Bealozera, Lieſland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countries, &c.

This

The Emperor proud of his many Titles.

This ſtyle containeth in it all the Emperors Prouinces, and ſetteth foorth his greatneſſe. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewiſe ſtrangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperor by ſpeech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and ſometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambaſſadors; who refuſe to call him *Czar*, that is Emperor, and to repeat the other parts of his long ſtyle.

The State or forme of their gouernment.

The manner of their Gouernement, is much after the Turkiſh faſhion: which they doe ſeeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in politick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The Ruſſe gouernment tyrannical.

The State and forme of their Gouernement is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a moſt open and barbarous manner; as may appeare by the *Sophiſmata*, or ſecrets of their Gouernment afterward ſet down, aſwel for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their ſeuerall degrees; as alſo in their impoſitions and exactions, wherein they exceed al iuſt meaſure, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Exaction in Noblemen ouer the meaner ſort.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniuſt, and vnmeaſured liberty, to command and exact vppon the Commons and baſer ſors of people, in all parts of the Realme whereſoeuer they come, eſpecially in the place where theyr Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperor to gouerne vnder him. Alſo to the Commons ſome ſmall contentment, in that they paſſe ouer their lands (by diſcent of inheritance) to whither ſon they will: which commonly they do after our *Gauill kinde*, and diſpoſe of their goodes by gift or Teſtament, without anie controulment. Wherein notwithſtanding, both Nobility and Commons are but ſtorers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperors Coffers: as may appear by the practiſe of enriching his treaſurie, and the manner of Exactions ſette downe in the title of his Cuſtomes and Reuennewes.

The Nobilitie and Cõmons, ſtorers for the Prince.

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Soueraignty conſiſteth (as the *making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magiſtrats, power to make warre or league with any forraine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeale in all matters, both ciuill and criminall*) they doe ſo wholly and abſolutely pertaine to the Emperor and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be ſaide to be the Soueraigne Commander; and the executioner of all theſe. For, as touching any Law or publike order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publike Aſſembly or Parliament bee ſummoned. Where beſides his Councel, he hath none other to conſult with him of ſuch matters as are concluded before hād but onely a few Byſhoppes, Abbots, and Friars: to no other end, then to make aduantage of the peoples ſuperſtitions, euen againſt themſelues which think to be holy and iuſt, that paſſeth with conſent of their Byſhops and Cleargy men, whatſoeuer it bee.

Of Soueraign power.

Benefit made by corruption

For which purpoſe, the Emperors are content to make much of the corupt ſtate of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nouriſh the ſame by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Byſhopps Seas, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, ſuperſtition and falſe Religion beſt to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a ſpeciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the ſame.

Offices giuen by the Emperor himſelfe.

Secondly, as touching the publique Offices and Magiſtracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any ſo great nor ſo little in that Countrey, but the beſtowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himſelfe. Inſomuch, that the very Diackes or Clearkes in euery head Towne, are (for the moſt part) aſſigned by himſelfe. Notwithſtanding, the Emperor that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth al ſuch matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*.

Of iudiciall matters concerning life & death.

Thirdly, the like is to bee ſaide of the Iuriſdiction, concerning matters iudicial, ſpecially ſuch as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publike Iuriſdiction that goeth by diſcent, or is held by Charter; but al at the appointment and pleaſure of the Emperour.

And

And the ſame practiſed by the Iudges with ſuch awe and reſtraint; as that they dare not determine vpon any ſpecial matter, but muſt referre the ſame wholly, vp the *Mosko* to the Emperours Councell. To ſhew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subiects, the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich* (in his walkes or progreſſes) if he had miſliked the face or perſon of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be ſtrook off. Which was preſently done, and the head caſt before him.

The Emperors power ouer life.

Fourthly, for the ſoueraigne appeale, and giuing of pardons in criminall matters to ſuch as are conuicted; it is wholly at the pleſure and grace of the Emperor. Wherein alſo the Empreſſe that now is, being a woman of great clemency, and withall, delighting to deale in publike affaires of the Realme, (the rather to ſupply the defect of her husband) doth behaue her ſelfe after an abſolute manner, giuing out pardon (ſpecially on her birth day, & other ſolemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperor.

Of appeales and pardon in criminall caſes.

The Empreſs her free pardon.

Their higheſt Court of publike conſultation, for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Aſſembly*. The ſtates and degrees of perſons that are preſent at their Parliaments, are theſe in order. Firſt, the Emperour himſelfe. Secondly, ſome of his Nobility, about the number of twenty, being all of his Councell. Thirdly, certaine of the Cleargymen, &c. about the ſame number. As for Burghers, or other to repreſent the Comminalty, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them, then as ſeruants or bondſlaues, that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters, before they are concluded.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No commons in Parliament

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour cauſeth to be ſummoned ſuch of his Nobility, as himſelfe thinketh meete, being (as was ſaid) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Cleargy, to wit, the two Metropolites, the two Archbiſhops, with ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, and Fryars, as are of beſt account and reputation among them. When they are all aſſembled at the Emperors Court, the day is intimated when the Seſſion ſhal begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

The order of the ſummons or aſſembling

When the day is come, the Cleargymen aſſemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stolly*. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobility, they ariſe all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who bleſſeth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the ſides of his face, & then kiſſeth him on the right ſide of his breaſt. So they paſſe on into their Parliament houſe, where they ſit in this order. The Empetor is enthronized on the one ſide of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a ſmall ſquare Table (that giueth roome to twelue perſons or thereabouts) ſitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolites and Biſhops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called *Dumnoy Dyakey*) that enact that which paſſeth. The reſt place themſelues on Benches round about the Roome, euery man in his ranck after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who repreſenteth the Speaker) the cauſe of their aſſembly, and the principall matters that they are to conſider of. For, to propound bils, what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as in other Countries is vſed) the *Ruſſe* Parliament alloweth no ſuch cuſtome, nor liberty to ſubiects.

The place of meeting for the aſſembly.

Their maner of ſitting in Parliament.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleargy-men) haue the prerogatiue, to be firſt asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the pointes propounded by the Secretary. Whereto they anſwere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any diſcourſe: as hauing learned their Leſſon before, that ſerueth their turnes at al Parliaments alike, whatſoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperor and his Councell are of great wiſedome, and experience, touching the pollicies and publike affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the ſeruice of God onely, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may pleaſe them to proceede. That inſtead of their aduiſe, they will ande them with their prayers, as their duties*

Their diſcourſe at Parliament.

The effect of the ſpeech propounded.

ties and vocations do require, &c. To this or like effect, hauing made their answeres euery man in his course, vp standeth some Abbot or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperor it wold please his Maiesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Maiesties owne iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiake?*

The forme of the Emperors answere.

Whereto is replied by the saide Secretary, in the Emperors name. *That his Highnesse, with those of his Noble Councell (vpon good and sound aduice) haue found the matters proposed, to bee very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right; his Maiesty requireth their godly opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approuing or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desireth them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto, when the Cleargy-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperor: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seate, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deiakeis* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, & head-towne of the Realme, to bee published there, by the Dukes & *Deiakeis*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended, the Emperour inuiteth the Cleargy-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

Of the Nobility, and by what meanes it is kept in vnder proportion, agreeable to that State.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whereof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These held sometime a seuerall iurisdiction, and absolute authority within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But afterwards (reseruing their rights vpon composition) they yeelded themselues to this house of *Beala*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge it selfe by ouermatching their neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to this Prince, beeing a man of high spirit, and subtle in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernement into a more strict forme; began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not onely his vassals, but his *Kolophey*, that is, his very villains or bond-slaues. For so they terme & write themselues, in any publike instrument or priuate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperors pleasure, as the rest do.

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The meanes and practise whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them, about prerogatiue of their Titles and Dignities. Wherin he vsed to set on the Inferiors, to preferre or equall themselues to those, that were accounted to be of the Noblest houses. Where hee made his aduantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to bee intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yeeld their rights vnto him.

The Emperors practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

2. He diuided his subiects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Select men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithfull subiects. The other he called *Zemskey*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemskey* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernment, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he prouided that the *Oppressini*, for number

The Faction of Oppressini and Zemskey, deuised by the Emperor.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zempskey* side, whom hee put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of the were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressini* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by complaint to the Emperor.

The distinguishing of the Oppressini & Zempskey each from other.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that euery man knew, who was a *Zempskey* man, and who of the *Oppressini*. And this liberty of the one part, to spoyle and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate or law (that continued seuen years) enriched that side and the Emperors treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: whereof were slaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hundred within the Citty of *Mosko*. This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seem) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceiued of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspition (conceiued of the ill successe of his affayres) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

The reason of this cruell practise.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceassed) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred euer since, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3 Hauing thus pulled them, and seased all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. saue some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tenour of *Pomestnoy* (as they cal it) that are held at the Emperors pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so remoued them into anpther of his Prouinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, not being natiue nor well knowne there. So that now these of the cheese Nobility (called *Vdelney Knizey*) are equalled with the rest: sane that in the opinion and fauor of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogatiue of their place, in all their publike meetings.

Lands helde at the Emperors pleasure.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recouering their dignities, are these, & such like. First, many of their heyres are kept vnmarried perforce, that the stock may dye with the. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, & there eyther made away, or themselues lapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and there themselues Fryars by pretence of a vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by fear, vpon some pretenced crime obiected against them. Where they are so garded by some of speciall trust, and the Conent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

Houses kept downe from rising and recouering their Dignity.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*) are still practised by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the mariage of the Empresse their kinswoman, rule both the Emperor, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federowich Godenoe*, brother to the Empresse) & endeuour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thoght likeliest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose, as *Knez Andreas Gurakon Bulgakoue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peeter Gollauni* (whō they put into a dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vasilie Vriwich Gollooben*, with *Andrieu Inanowich Suskoy*, accounted among them for a man of great wisedome. So this last yeare was killed in a Monastery, (whether they had thrust him) on *Knez Iuan Petrowich Suskoy*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about fiue or sixe yeares since, bare out the siedge of the Citty *Vobsko*, made by *Stepan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanowich*,

Many of the Nobility secretly & trecherously made away.

No respect of persons made among them.

manowich, Vncle to the Emperor by the Mothers ſide, was ſuppoſed to haue died of poyſon, or ſome ſuch like practiſe.

Names of the greateſt houſes of the *Ruſſe* Nobility.

The names of theſe Families of greateſt Nobility, are theſe in their order. The firſt is of *Cnez Volodemer*, which reſteth at this time in one daughter a widdow, and without childrē (mentioned before) ſomtime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now cloſed within a Nunnery. The ſecond *Knez Metheloskey*, thruſt into a Friery, and his onely ſonne kept from marriage, to decay the houſe. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his houſe, and he without children, ſaue one daughter. The fourth *Suskoy*, whereof there are foure brethren young men, and vnmarried all. The fift *Hubetskoy*. Of this houſe are foure liuing. The ſixt *Bulgakoy*, now called *Guletchey* houſe, whereof are fiue liuing, but youths all. The ſeauenth *Vorallinskoy*. Two left of that ſtock. The eight *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Telletskoy*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. Theſe are the names of the cheefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue loſt all now, ſaue the very name it ſelfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to reſtore them againe, if any be left.

The ſecond degree of Nobility.

The ſecond degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiarens*. Theſe are ſuch, as the Emperor honoureth (beſide their Nobility) with the Title of Counſellers. The reuennue of theſe two ſorts of Nobles, that riſeth out of their Lands aſſigned them by the Emperor, and held at his pleaſure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was ſaid before) is about a thouſand marks a yeare: beſides a penſion which they receiue of the Emperour, for their ſeruice in his wars, to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none aboue that ſumme.

The authority of the Emperours Brother, and his large inheritances.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godenoe* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Tranſcendent*, and in no ſuch predicament with the reſt, being the Emperors brother in law, his Protectour for direction; for command and authority Emperor of *Ruſsia*. His yearely reuennue (in land and penſion) amounteth to the ſumme of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himſelfe hath augmented in *Vaſima Dorogoboſe*, ſixe thouſand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Maſter of the Horſe, twelue thouſand Rubbels, or Markes, raiſed out of the *Canaslue Sloboday*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosko*. Beſides, all the Meddow and Paſture ground on both ſides the banke of the riuer *Mosko*, thirty verſt vp the ſtreme, and forty verſt downwards. For his penſion of the Emperour, (beſides the other for his Office) fifty thouſand Rubbels. Out of the Prouince or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the *Chetfird* of *Poſolskoy*, two & thirty thouſand Rubbels, beſide a rent of Furs. Out of *Rezan* and *Seuer*, (another peculiar) thirty thouſand Rubbels. Out of *Otſer* and *Turiock*, another exempt place, eight thouſand Rubbels. For rent of Bathſtoaues and Bathing-houſes without the walles of *Mosko*, fifteene hundred Rubbels. Beſides his pomeſt, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleaſure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the reſt of the Nobility.

Allowance for a ſimple Brother.

One other there is of the houſe of *Glinskoy*, that diſpendeth in land and penſion, about forty thouſand Rubbels yearely. Which he is ſuffered to enioy, becauſe he hath married *Borris* his Wiues ſiſter, being himſelfe ſimple, and almoſt a Naturall. The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

The third ſort of Nobility.

In the third rancke are the *Voyauodey*, or ſuch Nobles as are, or haue beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their poſterities alſo: who take their place aboue the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former ſorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazey*, nor of the *Boiarens*.

Theſe three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazey*, the *Boiarens*, and the *Voiauodey* haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their firname as *Borris Federowich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the reſt may not vſurpe. And in caſe it be not added in the naming of thē; they may ſue the *Beſtcheſt*, or penalty of diſhonor vpon them, that otherwiſe ſhall terme them.

The fourth degree of Nobility.

The fourth and loweſt degree of Nobility with them, is of ſuch as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the yonger Brothers of thoſe chiefe houſes,

ſes, through many diſcents, and haue no inheritance of their owne, ſaue the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is, to deliuer their names and titles of their dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatſoeuer elſe they leaue thē. So that the ſonnes of a *Voiauodey*, or Generall in the fielde, are called *Voiauodey*, though they neuer ſaw the fielde, and the ſonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they haue not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood, to maintaine themſelues withall. Of this ſort there are ſo many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: ſo that you ſhall ſee Dukes glad to ſerue a meane man, for fiue or ſix rubbels or marks a yeare; and yet they will ſtand highly vpon their *Beſtcheſt* or reputation of their honours. And theſe are their ſeuerall degrees of Nobility.

The ſecond degree of perſons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the ſons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their ſeruice in the Emperors wars, being Soldiors by their very ſtocke & birth. To which order are referred their Diacks or Secretaries, that ſerue the Emperor in euery head towne, being ioyned in Commiſſion with the Dukes of that place.

The ſecond degree of perſons.

The laſt are their Commons, whom they call *Mouſicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very loweſt & baſeſt ſort of this kinde (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Chriſtianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to ſee in the deſcription of their Forces, and Military prouiſions. Concerning their *Mouſicks*, what their condition and behauiour is, expect them among the Common people.

The third degree.

The whole Country of *Ruſsia* (as was ſaide before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetſirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Euery *Chetſird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a ſeuerall Office, whereof it takes the name.

Of the gouernment of their Prouinces & Shires.

The firſt *Chetſird* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Foſoskoy Chetſird*, or the *Iuriſdiction of the Office of Ambaſſages*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the Ambaſſages, called *Andreas Shalcaloue*. The ſtanding fee or ſtipend that he receiueth yearely of the Emperor for this ſeruice, is one hundred rubbels or markes.

The foure Chetſirds, and their Offices.

The ſecond is called the *Roſeradney Chetſird*, becauſe it is proper to the *Roſerade* or high Conſtable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Baſilie Shalcaloue*, brother to the Chancellor; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramoue*. His penſion is an hundred rubbels yearely.

The ſecond.

The third is the *Chetſird* of *Pomeſtnoy*, as pertaining to that Office. This keepeth a Regiſter of all Lands giuen by the Emperor for ſeruice, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all aſſurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Eleazar Welluſgine*. His ſtipend is 500. rubbels a yeare.

The third.

The fourth is called *Caſſanskoy Dworets*, as beeing appropriate to the Office that hath the iuriſdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, with the other towns lying vpon the *Volgha*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Penteleoue*, a man of very ſpeciall account among thē, for his wiſedome, and promptneſſe in matters of policy. His penſion is 150. rubbels a yeare.

The fourth.

Exemption on the Emperors behalf

From theſe *Chetſirds* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperors inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertained (from ancient time) to the houſe of *Beala*, which is the ſur-name of the Imperiall bloud. This ſtandeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Beſides diuers peculiar iuriſdictions, which are likewiſe deducted out of thoſe *Chetſirds*, as the Shire of *Vagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*) and ſuch like.

Theſe are the cheefe Gouernors or Officers of the Prouinces, not reſident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor whereſoeuer he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with thē, which for the moſt part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperors chiefe Seate.

The parts and practiſe of theſe foure Offices, is to receiue all complaints and actions whatſoeuer, that are brought out of their ſeuerall *Chetſirds* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperors Counſell. Likewiſe to ſend direction againe to thoſe that are vnder them in their ſaide Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperor and his Counſell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

The manner concerning the foure Offices.

For the ordering of euery particular Prouince of theſe foure *Chetſirds*, there is appointed

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

appointed one of theſe Dukes, which were reckoned before in the loweſt degree of their Nobility, and which are reſident in the head townes of the ſaid Prouinces. Whereof euery one hath ioyned with him in Commiſſion, a Dyack or Secretary, to aſſiſt him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commiſſion, the Dyack doth all.

The Commiſsion of the Dukes or Preſidents of Shires.

The parts of their Commiſſion are theſe in effect. Firſt, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpoſe, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets*, or Coroners, who, beſides the tryall of ſelfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder-Iuſtices, who themſelues alſo may heare and determine in all matters of the ſame nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliwicks: but ſo, that in caſe eyther party diſſent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reſide within the head towne. From whom alſo, they may remoue the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Counſell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them alſo *Sotskoy Starets*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffes of the hundreds.

For criminall matters and ſuch occaſions

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treaſon, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to impriſon the malefactor, & ſo hauing receiued perfect euidence and information of the cauſe, they are to ſend it (ready drawne and orderly digeſted) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chetfird* whervnto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperors Counſell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpō the party offending; is more then their Commiſſion will allow them to do.

Order for Proclamations & other matters.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike ſeruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publiſhing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impoſitions for the Emperour, muſtering of Soldiors, and ſending them foorth at the day, and to the place aſſigned by the Empetour or his Counſell) all theſe and ſuch like, pertaine vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himſelfe, and are changed ordinarily at euery yeares ende; except vpon ſome ſpeciall liking or ſuit, the time be prolonged for a yeare or two more. They are men of thēſelues of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neyther borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or elſewhere. Onely of the Emperor they haue for that ſeruice, an hundred Marks a yeare he that hath moſt; ſome 50. ſome but 30. Which maketh them more ſuſpected and odious to the people, becauſe being ſo bare, and commming freſh and hungry vpon them; lightly euery yeat they racke and ſpoile them, without all regard of iuſtice, or conſcience. Which is eaſily tollerated by the cheefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the ende they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their ſeruice, making an aduantage of their iniuſtice, & oppreſſion ouer the poore people. There are fewof them, but they come to the *Pudkey* or whippe when their time is ended, which themſelues (for the moſt part) do make account of. And therefore they furniſh themſelues, with all the ſpoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, aſwell for the Emperor, and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reſerue ſome good part for themſelues.

Concerning the Dukes & Dyacks, and their credite.

Heere one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no puniſhment.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: haue that in the foure border Townes (that are of greateſt importance) are ſet men of more ſpeciall valor & truſt, two in euery towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperours priuy Counſell. Theſe 4. border Towns, are *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweaden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. Theſe haue larger Commiſſion, then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I ſpake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occaſions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far of, and may not ſtay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperor and his Counſell. They are changed euery yeare (except as before) and haue for their ſtipend, 700. rubbels a yeare he that hath moſt: ſome haue but foure hundred rubbels. Many of theſe

Officers for the foure bordering towns.

The foure border towns

The yearely ſtipend of thoſe Officers

places, that are of greateſt importance, and almoſt the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Godonoes* & their Clients.

The Citty of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors ſeat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperors Counſell. All matters there (both ciuill and criminall) are heard and determined in the ſeuerall Courts, helde by ſome of the ſaid Counſell, that reſide there all the yeare long.

The gouernment of Mosko.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their ſtreetes decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impoſitions & ſuch like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordring of ſuch matters. This is called the *Zempskey* houſe. If any towns-man ſuſpect his ſeruant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to haue him examined vpon the *Pudkey*, or other torture. Beſides theſe two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Staruſts* or Aldermen for euery ſeuerall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotskey* or Conſtable, & the Cõſtable hath certaine *Decetskeis* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the ouerſight of ten houſholds a peece, whereby euery diſorder is ſooner eſpide, and the common ſeruice hath the quicker diſpatch. The whole number of Cittizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperor himſelfe, the *Staruſt* by the Genrlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotskoy* by the *Staruſt* or Alderman, & the *Decetskeis* by the Conſtables.

Of the Zempskey houſe.

Aldermen & Conſtables.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were aſwell ſet for the giuing of iuſtice indifferently to al ſorts, as it is to preuent innouations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in ſubiection; it might ſeeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpollitique way, for the containing of ſo large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Ruſsia*. But the oppreſſion and ſlauery is ſo open, and ſo great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobility & people ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be brought vnder it; while they had any meanes to auoid and repulſe it: or being ſo ſtrengthned as it is at this preſent, how the Emperors thẽ-ſelues can be content to practiſe the ſame, with ſo opẽ iniuſtice & oppreſſion of their ſubiects, being thẽſelues of a Chriſtian profeſſion.

Preuention of innouations.

Oppreſſion and ſlauery very great.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the ſtate of the *Ruſſe* Gouernment, as now it ſtandeth. Firſt, becauſe they haue none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, aduanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne perſon. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was ſaid before) of no power, authority, nor credite, ſaue that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enioy it. Which doth purchaſe them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, foraſmuch as they ſee that they are ſet ouer thẽ, not ſo much for any care to do them right and iuſtice; as to keep them vnder in a miſerable ſubiection, and to take the fliece from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the ſheepe) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Beſides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many ſmall pieces, being diuers of them in euery great Shire, limited beſides with a very ſhort time: which giueth thẽ no ſcope to make any ſtrength, nor to contriue ſuch an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of innouation.

An hard matter to alter the State of Ruſsia.

Duke but a titulary dignity

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the deſcription of their ſtate and quality afterwards ſet downe) beſides their want of armour and practiſe of war (which they are kept from of purpoſe) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (beſides other meanes) ſometimes by pretence of ſome ſeruice to bee done for the common defence, ſometimes without any ſhew at all, of any neceſſity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any innouation, ſo long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the leaſt in continuall pay) hold themſelues faſt and ſure vnto him, & to the preſent ſtate. Which needs they muſt do, being of the quality of Soldiors, and enioying withall that free liberty, of wronging and ſpoiling the Commons at their pleaſure, which is permitted them of

The common people kept from Armour and weapon.

of purpoſe to make them haue a liking of the preſent ſtate. As for the agreement of the Soldiors and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, beeing of ſo oppoſite & contrary practiſe much one to the other. This deſperate ſtate of things at home, maketh the people (for the moſt part) to wiſh for ſome forraigne inuaſion, which they ſuppoſe to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heauy yoke of this tyrannous gouernment.

Agreement of the Soldiers and Commons.

Of the Emperors counſell.

The Emperors of *Ruſsia* giue the name of Counſellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours ſake, thē for any vſe they make of thē about their matters of ſtate. Theſe are called *Boiarens*, without any addition, and may be called Counſellors at large. For they are ſildom or neuer called to any publike conſultation. They which are of his ſpecial and priuy Counſell indeed (whom he vſeth daily and ordinarily for al publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumnoy*, and are named *Dumnoy Boiarens*, or Lords of the Counſell, their Office or ſitting, *Boarſtua Dumna*.

Boiarens Counſellers to the Emperor, but differing from his priuy Counſell.

The number and names of the Counſellers of State.

Their names (at this preſent) are theſe in their order. Firſt, *Knez Feoder Ioanowich Methiſloskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*. 3. *Knez Vaſilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. Theſe three are accounted to be of greater birth then wiſedome, taken in (as may ſeeme) for that ende, rather to furniſh the place with their honours & preſence, then with their aduice or Counſel. 4. *Knez Vaſilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to bee more wiſe then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowich*. 6. *Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 7. *Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregoriwich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine*. 10. *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Foreſtine*. 11. *Bodan Iuanowich Sabaroue*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vaſilowich*. 13. *Knez Feoder Demetriwich Sheſtinoue*. 14. *Knez Feoder Michailowich Troycomoue*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyney*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borriſe Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreſſe. 18. *Stephan Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 21. *Feoder Sheremitoue*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Cleſhenina*. 23 *Ignatie Petrowich Tatiſloue*, 24. *Romain Michailowich Pena*. 25. *Demenſhoy Iuanowich Cheremiſſen*. 26. *Romain Vaſilowich Alferioue*. 27. *Andriew Shalcacolue*, 28. *Vaſilie Shalcaloue*. 29. *Eleazar Welluſgin*. 30. *Drezheen Penteleoue*. 31. *Zapon Abramoue*.

The foure laſt of theſe are called *Dumnoy Deiakey*, or Lord Secretaries. Theſe are all of the Emperours priuy Counſell, though but few of them are called to any conſultation, for that all matters are aduiſed and determined vpon by *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreſſe, with ſome fiue or ſix more, whom it pleaſeth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counſell, and do ſo demeane themſelues. The matters occurrent which are of ſtate, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their ſittings) by the Lords of the foure *Chetſirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the *Gouernment of their Prouinces*. Who bring in all ſuch letters as they receiue from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Citties and Caſtles, pertaining to their ſeuerall quarter or *Chetſird*, with other aduertiſements, and informe the Counſell of them.

Foure Secretaries.

All matters referred to the Empreſſe Brother, and fiue or ſixe more.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery ſeuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counſel Chamber, & informe them, as occaſion incident to his Office doth require. Beſides matters of State, they conſider of many priuate cauſes, informed by way of ſupplication, in very great numbers. Whereof ſome they entertaine and determine, as the cauſe or meanes can procure fauour. Some they ſend to the Offices whereto they pertaine, by common courſe of Law. Their ordinary daies for their ſitting, are Mondaies, Wenſdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly ſeuen a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occaſion, that requireth conſultation on ſome other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Counſell, called *Doroſey Buſhew*, who receiueth order from the *Roſerad* or high Conſtable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

The Officers of Records.

For the receiuing of Cuſtomes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, ther are appointed diuers vnder-Officers, which deliuer ouer the ſame into the head Treaſury. The firſt is the office of *Dweerſoua* or Steward of the houſhold. The ſecond is the Office of the *Chetſirds*:

Of the Emperors Cuſtoms and other Reuenues.

which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure ſeuerall parts, as was ſaid before. The third is called *Bulſha Prechod*, or the great Income.

The Steward receiuer of the Crowne land rents.

As touching the firſt, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiueth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call *Vochin*. The *Vochin* or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greateſt rents, are theſe: *Alexandriſca*, *Corelskey*, *Otſer*, *Slobodey*, *Danielska*, *Moiſalskoy*, *Chara*, *Sametska*, *Strararouſe*, *Branſoue*, &c.

The Tenants of Townes & their rent.

The Inhabitants or Tenants of theſe and the other Townes, pay ſome rent-money, ſome other rent duties (called *Obrokey*) as certaine *Chetfirds*, or meaſures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geeſe, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fiſh, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to ſowe for the Emperours prouiſion, certaine Akers of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vſe: hauing for it an allowance of certaine Akers of ground for their owne proper vſe.

Prouiſion for the Houſhold.

This prouiſion for the houſhold, ſpecially of graine ſerued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is ſpent in his houſe, or in other allowance ſerued out in liuery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalouaney*: for which vſe there is beſtowed very much, both in graine, and other victuall. This ſurplus of prouiſion is ſold by the Steward to the beſt hand, and runneth into the Emperors treaſury.

Diffrence of the Father & Sons times for prouiſion.

In the time of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, Father to this Emperor (who kept a more Princely and bountifull houſe then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treaſury, not paſt 60. thouſand rubbels yearely; but riſeth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vaſilowich Godonoe*, to 230. thouſand rubbels a yeare. And this by the meanes of the Empreſſe, and her kindred, ſpecially (*Borris Federowich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperors treaſure. Much of this ſurpluſage that riſeth out of the rent prouiſion, is employed to the payment of the wages of his houſhold Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying abroad.

The Office of Chetfird.

The ſecond Office of receipt called the *Chetfirds* (being dinided into four ſeuerall parts, as before was ſaid) hath foure head Officers: which, beſides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their ſeuerall *Chetfirds*; haue this alſo as a part of their office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that riſeth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearely rent or impoſition, raiſed vpon euery *Wite* or Meaſure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by ſworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth 60. *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three common buſhels, or little leſſe. The *Podat* is an ordinary rent of money, impoſed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

Tagla & Podat, and how they are diſtinguiſhed.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yeerely to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great ſum of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere ſet downe. The Towne and Prouince of *Vobsko*, pay yearely for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. rubbels. *Nouogrod* 35000. rubbels. *Torſhocke* and *Otſer* 8000. rubbels. *Razan* 30000. rubbels. *Morum* 12000. rubbels. *Colmigroe* and *Dwyna*, 8000. rubbels. *Vologda* 12000. rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. rubbels. *Vſtiug* 30000. rubbels. *Roſtoue* 50000. rubbels. The City of *Mosko*, forty thouſand Rubbels. *Sbierskoy*, twenty thouſand Rubbels. *Caſtrome* twelue thouſand Rubbels. The totall amounteth to foure-hundred thouſand Rubbels or Markes a yeare, which is brought in yearely the firſt day of September, that is reckoned by them the firſt day of the yeare.

Sums of money raiſed by Tagla and Podat yearly.

The third (that is called the *Bulſha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueth all the Cuſtomes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Beſides the fees & other duties, which riſe out of diuers ſmaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulſha Prechod*. The townes of moſt trade, that do yeeld greateſt Cuſtome, are theſe heere ſet downe. *Moſko*, *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod Velica*, *Strararouſe*, *Torſhocke*, *Otſer*, *Taruuſlaue*, *Caſtrome*, *Neſna Nouogrod*, *Cazan*, *Vologda*. This Cuſtome out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and eaſie to be reckned, becauſe it is ſet and rated

The Office of Bulſha Prechod, or great Income.

rated precisely, what they shall pay for the custome of the yeare. Which needs must be paid into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperors aduantage.

The Emperors customes in their places

The custome at *Mosko* for euery yeare, is 12000. rubbels. The custome of *Smolensko*, 8000. rubbels. *Volsko*, 12000. rubbels. *Nouogrod velica*, 6000. rubbels. *Starouse*, by salt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. *Torshock* 890. rubbels. *Otser* 700. rubbels. *Tarussaue* 1200. rubbels. *Castrome* 1800. rubbels. *Nesna Nouogrod*, 7000. rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. rubbels. *Volegda* 2000. rubbels. The custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the yeare.

The whole receipt of the Bulsha Prechod or great Income.

This may be said for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, whē they receiue least, account for thus much, viz. The first table 160000. rubbels. The second table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, & maketh the sum of 340000. rubbels a yeare. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yearely rent of the cōmon Bath-stoaues, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the *Russe* will bathe himselfe aswell within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperors Treasury.

Rent of the Bath stoaues

Rents out of the Iudiciall Offices.

There is besides, a certaine mulct or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or sentence that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty *Dingoes* or pence, vpon euery rubble or marke, and so tenne in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is conuict by law. Hee hath besides for euery name, contained in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, fiue *Alteens*. An *Alteen* is fiue pence sterling, or there abouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken foorth.

Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser seale, where againe it payeth as much more to the Emperours vse. This riseth commonly to three thousand rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts. Further also, out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all Fellonies are tried, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Fellons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

The Office of Roisbonia.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income. Besides the ouerplus or remainder, that is saued out of the Land Rents, allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely to the Office called *Roserade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it, to pay the yearely salaries of the Souldiors, or horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace when they rest at home, not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off, and paide them by halfes, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Roserade* Office, that is laid into the Emperours Treasury, commeth (for the most part) euery yeare to two hundred and fifty thousand rubbels.

The Roserade Office for Soldiors pay.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Strelletskoy* Offices, which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strelsey* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperors guard (twelue thousand in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Townes and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shisiuoy Nomshoy*, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintaine the forraine mercenary Soldiours, as *Poles*, *Sweadens*, *Dutches*, *Scots*, *&c.* So out of the Office of *Pusharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordenance, Powder, Shot, Salt-Peeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeares ende, that runneth into the Treasury. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, that which remaineth in their hand at the yeares end. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasury. So that the whole sum that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts.

The Strelletskoy Office for the shot at Mosko, &c.

For mercenary Soldiors, & prouision of munition.

The Emperors treasure-house within his Castle of Mosko.

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulsha Prechod*, deliuer in their receipts to the head treasury, that lyeth within the Emperors house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lye all his monies, iewels, crowns, scepters, plate, and such like, the chests, hutches, and bagges being signed by the Emperours themselues with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his Seale and ouersight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godonsé*, Cousin-germane to the saide *Borris*, who hath two Clearks allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the Emperors rent-money.

The summe that groweth to the Emperours treasury in money only, for euery a yeare.

1. *Out of the Stewards Office aboue the expence of his house* 23000. *Rubbels.*
2. *Out of the foure Chetfirds for soake and head money,* 400000. *rubbels.*
3. *Out of the Bulshu Precod Office, or great Income, for custome, and other rents,* 800000. *rubbels.*

Summe 1430000. Rubbels cleere, besides all charges for his house, & ordinary salaries of his soldiours otherwise discharged.

But besides this reuennue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treasury, he receiueth yearely in Furres, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are solde or bartred away for some forraigne commodities, to the *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall, as the commodity may bee got) it may be guessed, by that which was gathered the last yeare out of *Siberia* for the Emperors custome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, fiue timber of Matrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

His yearely benefit by Furs and other duties.

To these may be added their seizures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe. Besides other their extraordinary impositions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessity or vse of the Prince or Common-wealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, grosse and barbarous policy (as may appeare) by these few *Sophismata*, or counterfeit policies, put in practise by the emperours of *Russia*, all tending to this ende, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treasury. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*: *That his people were like to his beards: The oftner shauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeare at the least: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their Woll.*

Of seizures, confiscations, & impositions on Monasteries, &c.

Meanes vsed to draw the wealth of the Land into the *Emperors Treasury.*

First.

TO preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoeuer, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to suffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselues full. Then to call them to the *Praueish* (or whip) for their behauior, and to beate out of them all, or the most part of the booty, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperors Treasury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident soeuer the iniury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a yeare: where, in respect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was saide) they might bee continued for some longer time, without all feare of innouation. For comming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours flyes, that came new still vpon all olde sores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prators*, and other prouinciall Officers.

The whip ordayned for all denyers or contesters.

Secondly,

Secondly.

TO make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperor may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferre the fault to his ill Officers.

A Goose ready dressed full of money for a bribe.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a Goose ready drest full of mony. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration; *These good people are they, that would eate you vppe like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middest of the shinne, then his armes aboue his elbowes (demaunding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue beene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtill end, to couer his owne oppressions.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

Thirdly.

A cunning colour for taxations.

TO make an open shew of want, when any great taxe, or imposition is towardes. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, euen at the beginning of his reigne: when beeing left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he solde the most of his plate, and stamped some into coyne; that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

Fourthly.

Superstitious charitie and bountie giuen to Monasteries to a politike end.

TO suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their mony and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyse: the Fryers beeing content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise, that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extreamities. Hee resigned his kingdome to one *Pelica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeare, he caused this new King to call in all Charters graunted to Bishoprickes and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This done, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouernement of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

A strange practise to get money.

By this practise, he wrung from the Bishoprickes, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money; from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, aswell for the increase of his treasurie, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted; that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would aduenture such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ridde away with his horsse, whilest himselfe walked by on foote.

Such a practise as hath been seldome heard of.

Fifthly.

Foreſtalling and engrossing commodities in a strange maner.

TO send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their countrey grow, as furres, waxe, hony, &c. There to foreſtall and ingrosse, sometime one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselues list, and selling them againe at an excessiue

rate

rate to their owne marchants, and vnto Marchants ſtrangers. If they ſhall refuſe to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

An engroſing of Waxe.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther natiue, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engroſſed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treaſurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or ſome other caſualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

Not long ſince was engroſſed all the Waxe of the Countrey; ſo that no man might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

Sixtly.

Engroſsing forren commodities.

TO take vp and engroſſe (in like ſort) ſometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdome by Turkiſh marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, Engliſh, and others. And then to force his Marchants, to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

Seauenthly.

Monopoliſing of Rents and Cuſtomes.

TO make a Monopoly (for the time) of ſuch commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Cuſtome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time, none muſt ſell of the ſame kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all ſolde. By this meanes hee maketh of his Rent, Corn, and other prouiſion of victuall (as before was ſayd) about two hundred thouſand rubbells or markes a yeare. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirtie thouſand rubbells, or thereabouts.

Eightly.

His Cabacks or drinking houſes in euery towne.

IN euery great Towne of his Realme, he hath a *Caback*, or drinking houſe, where *Aqua vitæ* is ſold (which they call *Ruſſe-wine*, *Mead*, *Beere*, *&c.* Out of theſe he receiueth Rent, that amounteth to a great ſumme of money. Some yeeld eight hundred, ſome nine hundred, ſome a thouſand, ſome two thouſand, or three thouſand rubbells a yeare. Wherein, beſides the baſe and diſ-honorable meanes to encreaſe his Treaſurie; many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Artificer, many times ſpends all from his wife, and children. Some vſe to lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbels, or more into the *Caback*, and vowe themſelues to the pot, till all that be ſpent. And all this (as hee will ſay) is for the honour of *Hoſpodare*, or the Emperour. You ſhall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinne, and ſo walke naked (whome they call *Naga.*) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatſoeuer cauſe there be; becauſe he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

Drinking for the Emperors honour.

Ninthly.

Pretence of robbery to an other end.

TO cauſe ſome of his *Baiarens*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vſeth vpon truſt) that haue houſes in the *Moſco*, to faine themſelues robbed. Then to ſend for the *Zemskey* men, or Aldermen of the Citty, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to praue or ſeaſſe the Cittie for their miſgouernement in eight thouſand, nine thouſand, or tenne thouſand rubbells at a time. This many times is and hath beene practized.

Tenthly.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority

IN theſe exactions, to ſhew their ſouereignetie, ſometime they vſe very plaine, and yet ſtrange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this ſort. He ſent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Countrey. The Inhabitants returned anſwere, they could find none there. Whereupon he ſeaſſed their Country in twelue thouſand rubbells, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpoſe. Againe, he ſent to the Cittie of *Moſco*, to prouide for him a *Colpacke*, or meaſure ful of liue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned anſwer, that the thing was impoſſible. And if they could get them, yet they could not meaſure them, for leaping out. Whereuppon, hee praued or beat out of their ſhinnes, ſeuen thouſand rubbels for a mulct.

A buſhell of liue Fleas.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirtie thouſand rubbells, becauſe he miſſed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if theyr hunting and murdering of Hares had bin the

the cauſe of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued preſently againe vpon the *Mouſicks*, or common people of the Country. This may ſeem a ſtrange kinde of extortion, by ſuch pleaſant cauils, to fleece his poore ſubiects in good ſadneſſe: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of thoſe Emperours, and the miſerable ſubiection of that poore Countrie.

Theſe, and ſuch like meanes are practiſed by the Emperours of *Ruſſia*, to encreaſe their Treaſurie.

Of the ſtate of the Communaltie, or vulgar ſort of people, in the Countrey of Ruſsia.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar ſort of people, may partly bee vnderſtoode by that which hath already bin ſayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the ſtate of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And firſt touching their libertie, how it ſtandeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie ſuffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where theyr lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppreſſion of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to ſay, of the Nobility, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common conſultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the meaſure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen ſhall light vppon the commons, ſo that they may eaſe theyr owne ſhoulders by laying all vpon them.

The ſeruile & miſerable eſtate of the Ruſſe people.

Againe, into what ſeruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Country (who themſelues alſo are but ſeruile, ſpecially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their ſupplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperors. Wherein they name and ſubſcribe themſelues *Kolophey*, that is to ſay, their villaines or bondſlaues; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truely be ſayd of them, that there is no ſeruant or bondſlaue more awed by his Maiſter, nor kept downe in a more ſeruile ſubiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuerſally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobility, cheefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Mouſicke* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee muſt turne himſelfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Kolophey are villaines or bondſlaues, and ſo the Common people terme themſelues in writing.

Goods, lands, and poſſeſsions of the Commons.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other poſſeſſions of the commons, they anſwere the name, and lie common indeede, without any fence againſt the rapine, and ſpoyle, not onelie of the higheſt, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Souldiers. Beſides, the taxes, cuſtomes, ſeazures, and other publike exactions, doone vppon them by the Emperour: they are ſo racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Meſſengers ſent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, eſpecially in the *Yammes* (as they do ſtearme them) and thorow-fare townes, that you ſhall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, ſtand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reaſon of the extreame vſage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Moſco*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Yaruſlaueley*, (which is two nineties, after theyr reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in ſight fiftie *Darieunes* or Villages at the leaſt, ſome halfe a mile, ſome a mile long (that ſtand vacant) and deſolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue trauelled the Countrey, well can report.

Yammes are thorow-fare Townes.

Townes emptie of Inhabitants through oppreſsion.

The great oppreſſion ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no corage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more daunger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues alſo. And if they haue anie thing, they conceale it all they can, ſometimes conueying it into Monaſteries, ſomtimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods, as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuaſion. Inſomuch, that (many times) you ſhall ſee them afrayd to be knowne to any *Boiaren* or Gentleman, of ſuch commodities as they haue to ſell. They haue beene ſeene ſometimes, when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as theyr principall Furres and ſuch like) to looke

A miſerable condition of poore men.

ſtill

ſtill behinde them, and towardes euerie doore: as men in ſome feare, that looked to be ſet vpon, and ſurprized by ſome enimy. Whereof being asked the cauſe, it was found to be this, that they haue doubted, leaſt ſome Nobleman or *Sinaboiarſkey* of the Emperor, had beene in compaſſy, and ſo laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

The people made ydle againſt theyr wils.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwiſe hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themſelues much to idlenesſe and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the commodities of *Ruſsia* (as vvas ſayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Hempe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre leſſe plenty then they were wont to doe: becauſe the people being oppreſſed and ſpoyled of theyr gettings, are diſcouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppreſſion, there were three Bretheren Marchants of late, that traded together with one ſtocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000. rubbels in mony, beſide lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the eie of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thouſend miles from *Mosko*, and more. The ſame men were ſaid (by thoſe that knewe them) to haue ſet on worke all the yeare long, ten thouſand men in making of ſalt, carriages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and ſuch like; beſides fiue thouſand bondſlaues at the leaſt, to inhabit & Till their land.

Of three brethren Merchants.

They had alſo their Phyſitions, Chirurgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Dontches* and others, belonging vnto them. They wer ſaid to haue payed to the Emperour (for Cuſtome) to the ſumme of three and twenty thouſand Rubbles a yeare (for which cauſe they were ſuffered to enioy their trade) beſides the maintaining of certaine Garriſons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vſe their purſe, till ſuch time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *wichida* to *Perm*, aboue a thouſand Verſt, and then tooke it all away from them perforce.

Not many other ſuch men in the whole Country

But this in the end being enuied, and diſdained, as a matter not ſtanding with their policie, to haue any ſo great, ſpecially a *Mouſick*: the Emperour beganne firſt to pull from them by peeces, ſometimes twenty thouſand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their ſonnes that followed were well eaſed of their ſtocke, & had but ſmall part of their Fathers ſubſtance: the reſt being drawne all into the Emperors Treaſury. Their names were *Iacoue*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the ſonnes of *Onyka*.

Fleecing the three brethrē

For the quality of their people otherwiſe, though there ſeemeth to be in them ſome aptneſſe to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much leſſe in any Learning, or litterall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpoſe, as they are alſo from all Military practiſe: that they may be fitter for the ſeruile condition wherein ſtill they are, & haue neither reaſon, nor valor to attempt innouation.

The tiranie & oppreſsion ouer theyr very minds and wits.

For this purpoſe alſo, they are kepte from trauailing, that they may learne nothing, nor ſee the faſhions of other countreyes abroad. You ſhall ſeldome ſee a *Ruſſe* a Traueller, except he be with ſome Ambaſſador, or that he make a ſcape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reaſon of the borders that are watched ſo narrowly, and the punniſhment for any ſuch attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiſcate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they ſuffer any ſtranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuil Countrey, for the ſame cauſe; farther then neceſſity of vttering their commodities, and taking in of forraine, doeth enforce them to do.

The iealouſye of the Emperour concerning his ſtate

And therefore not long ſince, they conſulted, about the remouing of al Marchants ſtrangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their reſidency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other ſtrangers (heereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection vvith better manners and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the ſame purpoſe alſo, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Country: ſo that the ſonne of a *Mouſick*, Artificer, or Husband man,

man, is euer a *Mouſick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aſpire any higher: except (hauing learned to write and reade) he attaine to the preferment of a Prieſt or Dyacke.

Of their Language anſwerable to the Sclauonian.

Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the Ruſſe tongue, rather then the *Ruſſe* from the *Slauonian*. For the people called *Sclaui*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue tearmed themſelues of their conqueſt *Sclauos* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclaua*, which in the *Ruſſ* and *Sclauonian* tongue, ſignifieth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being ſubdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary ſignification, and tearme euery ſeruant or pezant, by the name of *Sclaue*; as did the *Romanes* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the ſame reaſon. The Ruſſe Charracter or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, ſomwhat diſtorted.

And becauſe we were ſpeaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people ſeeme to deriue themſelues: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was firſt taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moſes* and *Ioſephus* call *Aſarmathes*, ſonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Heber*, of the poſterity of *Sem*. But this ſeemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likeneſſe of the name *Aſarmathes*. For, the dwelling of al *Iocktans* poſterity is deſcribed by *Moſes*, to haue been betwixt *Meſcha* or *Maſius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlikely, that *Aſarmathes* ſhould plant any Collonies ſo farre off, in the North, and North-Weſt Countreyes.

Genel. 10. 26. Ioſeph in Antiquit. Iud. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparrell, and ſuch like, it is to bee noted where we ſpeake of their priuate behauiour. This order, that bindeth euerie man to keepe his ranke and ſeueral degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the ſubiectes in a ſeruile ſubiection, and ſo, apt for this and like Common-wealths; then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauing no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeauors, and employ themſelues to aduance their eſtate: but rather procuring more danger to themſelues, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

Subiects kept in ſeruile ſubiection.

CHAP. III.

Thirdly, we diſcourſe on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Alſo the Emperors powers for war, and their ſalaries: with their Muſtering, Munition, and Military prouiſion. Their Collonies, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.

THeir Courts of Ciuill Iuſtice, for matters of Contract, and other of like ſort, are of three kindes, the one beeing ſubiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The loweſt court (that ſeemeth to bee appointed for ſome eaſe to the ſubiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Staruſt*, that ſignifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotskoy Staruſt*, or Bayliffe of the ſoake or hundred, whereof I ſpake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. Theſe may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or ſeuerall Hundred, where they are apointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to whome the parties may remooue their matter, if they cannot bee agreed by the ſaide *Gubnoy*, or *Sotskoy Staruſt*.

The Aldermans Court.

The ſecond is kept in the head townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the ſayde Dukes and Diackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Chetfirds*, as before was ſayde. From theſe foure Courtes, they may appeale, and remooue theyr ſuites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Mosko*, where are reſident the officers of the foure Chetfirds. Theſe are the chiefe Iuſtices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their ſeuerall Chetfird or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or proſecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

The Dukes & Diacks Court

The high Court of Mosko.

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. Firſt, the

the plaintiffe putteth vp his ſupplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cauſe, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *wepis* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Praſtaue* or Sergeant, to doe the arreſt vppon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vppon the Arreſt, is to put in ſureties to anſwer at the day appointed, or els ſtandeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept ſafe by ſuch means as he thinketh good.

The dealing of Sergeants in their offices.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and cruell dealing toward their priſoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out from them ſome larger Fees. Though it be but for ſixe pence, you ſhal ſee them go with chaines on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter, after the content of his ſupplication. As for Atturneys, Counſellors, Procurators and aduocates to plead their cauſe for them, they haue no ſuch order; but euerie man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himſelfe ſo well as he can.

No Counſellors or Atturnies to pleade cauſes.

If they haue any witneſſe or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the trueth of the cauſe cannot ſo well be diſcerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintiſe or Defendant) whether he will kiſſe the Croſſe, vppon that which he auoucheth, or deneth. He that taketh the Croſſe (being ſo offred by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremony is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremony is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a nayle, or elſe lying at the Idolles feete, ready to be deliuered to the party ſo ſoon as he hath kiſſed the Croſſe, before the ſaide Idoll.

Ending of controuerſies by kiſsing the Croſſe.

Iudgment by lot, whē both parties kiſſe the Croſſe.

This kiſſing of the Croſſe (called *Crem-Hina Chelouanne*) is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a falſe Allegation. If both parties offer to kiſſe the Croſſe in a contradictory matter, then they drawe lottes.

The better Lotte is ſuppoſed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party conuicted is adiudgd to pay the debt or penalty whatſoeuer, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon euery Mark, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party conuicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Praueuſh* or Righter of Iuſtice, if preſently he pay not the money, nor content not the party.

The order of the Praeuſh or Righter.

This *Praueuſh* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where ſuch as haue ſentence paſſed againſt them, and refuſe to pay that which is adiudged; are beaten with great Cudgels on the ſhinnes, and calues of the legges. Euery fornoon from eight to eleauen, they are ſet on the *Praueuſh*, and beate in this ſort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in ſufficient ſureties, for their appearance at the *Praueuſh* at the houre appointed. You ſhall ſee fortie or fifty ſtand together on the *Praueuſh* all on a rowe, and their ſhinnes thus becudgelled and bebaſted euery morning, with a pitteous cry.

Selling wife and children to pay debts.

If after a years ſtanding on the *Praueuſh* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditour, it is lawfull for him to ſell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine tearme of yeares. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditour may take them to be his bondſlaues for years, or for euer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of ſuites as lack direct euidence, or ſtand vpon coniectures and circumſtances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the ſuite be vppon a bonde or bill, they haue for the moſt part good & ſpeedy iuſtice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine ſort, after this tenour.

The forme of Ruſſe bils or bonds, as they poſſeſſe one man and man

I Iuan Vaſileo, haue borrowed of Alphonaſſe Dementie, the ſumme of one hundered Rubbles of going money of Mosko from the Kreſhenea (or hallowing of the Water) *vntill the Saburney Voſcreſhenea* (or counſell

ſell Sunday) *without interreſt. And if this money reſt vnpayed after that day, then hee ſhall giue intereſt vpon the ſaide mony, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for euery ſiue the ſixt rubbell. Vpon this there are witneſſes, Micheta Sydroneſkoy, &c: Subſcribed. This Bill haue I written Gabriel Iacoueleſni, in the yeare 7096.* The witneſſes and debter (if he can write) endorſe their names on the back ſide of the Bill. Other ſigning or ſealing haue they none.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treaſon, murther, theft, and the like) he is firſt brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in ſuch caſes, is all by torture, as ſcourging with whips made of ſinnewes or whitleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a ſore laſh, and entereth into the fleſh; Or by tying vnto a ſpitte, and roaſting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wreſting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their fleſh vnder the nayles, and ſuch like.

Order after examination.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and euidences that can be alledged againſt the party, it is ſent vppe to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfirde or Fourth-part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is preſented vnto the Councell Table, to be reade and ſentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vppon information, though they neuer ſaw nor heard the party, who is kept ſtill in priſon where the Facte was committed, & neuer ſent vp to the place where he is tryed. If they find the partie guilty, they giue ſentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is ſent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The priſoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betweene his fingers.

Men are ſentenced without perſonall appearance.

The order of their cheefeſt puniſhments on common perſons.

Their capitall puniſhments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting vnder the Iſe, ſetting on a ſtake, and ſuch like. But (for the moſt part) the priſoners that are condemned in ſummer, are kept for the winter, to be knockt on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be vnderſtood of common perſons. For theft and murther, if they be committed vpon a poore *Mouſick* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punniſhed, nor yet is he called to any account for it. Their reaſon is, becauſe they are accounted their *Kolophey* or bond-ſlaues.

On gentlemē and ſouldiers.

If by ſome *Sinaboiarskey*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murther or theft bee committed, peraduenture he ſhall be impriſoned at the Emperors pleaſure. If the manner of the fact bee very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the puniſhment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne ſeruant, little or nothing is ſaide vnto him, for the aforeſaide reaſon: becauſe he is accounted to be his *Kolophey* or bondſlaue, & ſo to haue right ouer his very head. The vtmoſt is ſome ſmall mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and ſo the quarrell is made rather againſt the purſe, then againſt the iniuſtice. They haue no Written Lawe, ſaue onely a ſmall booke, that containeth the time and manner of their ſitting, order in proceeding, and ſuch other iudicial formes and circumſtances, but nothing to direct them, to giue ſentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleaſure of the Prince, and of his Magiſtrates & officers. Which ſheweth the miſerable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iuſtice; againſt whoſe iniuſtice & extream oppreſſion, they had neede to bee armed with many good and ſtrong lawes.

No written Law among them.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers, and their ſalaries.

The Soldiers of *Ruſsia* are called *Sinaboiarskey*, or the ſonnes of Gentlemen, becauſe they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profeſſion. For euery ſoldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the ſoldiers, that take it by diſcent from their Anceſtors; ſo that the ſon of a Gentleman (which is borne a ſoldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Soldier withall, and profeſſeth nothing elſe but Military matters. When they are of years able to bear Armes, they come to the office of *Roſerade*, or great Conſtable, and there preſent themſelues, who entereth their names, and allotteth them certayne lands to maintaine their charges, for the moſt part, the ſame that their fathers enioyed.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are euer certaine, annexed to this office without improouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doth extend alreadie; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperors pay. So that the rest hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shiftes, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Mousick* or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continual pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dworaney*, that is, Pensioners, or guarde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are alwayes in a readinesse.

Degrees of Horsemen.

1. Pretoriani or such as attend the Emperors person

Of these 15000. horssemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ aswel in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dworaney Bullshey*, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seuenty. The second sort are called *Seredney Dworaney*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dyta Boianskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but fiue and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelue. Whereof the halfe part is paide them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the fielde by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearely.

And to this their wages, besides Lands alotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Wherof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horssemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperors owne garde, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman souldiers cald *Prætoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of special accoût for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

Two other troops, to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they bee appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars, or not.

This might seeme (peraduenture) somwhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the commaund of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this meaus. First, becaus these Noblemen are many, to wit, an hundred and ten in all, & changed by the Emperor, so oft as he thinks good. Secondly, becaus they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small renennew, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the soldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, becaus (for the most part) they are about the Emperors person, being of his counsell either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselus not going forth ordinarily to the warres, saue when some of them are appointed, by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe: so the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continual pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which sildom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the Fielde (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolophey*) such as Till his Landes, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, thar hee intendeth to make vppe. The which seruice beeing done,

done, preſently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their ſeruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelſey*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the Citty of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour ſhall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremaney*, *Streſley*, or Gunners at the ſtirrop) about his owne perſon, at the very Court or houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſt are placed in his garriſon towns, till there be occaſion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their ſallery or ſtipend euery man ſeuen rubbels a yeare, beſides twelue meaſures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Soldiours, that are ſtrangers (whom they call *Nimſchoy*) they haue at this time, 4300. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchaſſes* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about foure thouſand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garriſons: of *Douiches Scots* about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Sweadens*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But theſe they vſe onely vpon the *Tartar* ſide, and againſt the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Soldiours (whom they hire ſometimes but onely for the preſent) on the other ſide againſt the *Polonian* and *Sweden*: thinking it beſt pollicie, ſo to vſe their ſeruice vpon the contrary border.

Strangers mercenaries in pay, 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of theſe Forces, according to their names and degrees, are theſe which follow. Firſt, the *Voyauodey Bulſhaia*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houſes of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but ſo choſen otherwiſe, as that he is of ſmall valour, or practiſe in Martiall matters, being thought to ſerue that turne ſo much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, ſaue the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Soldiours for that, and nothing elſe. For in this point they are very wary, that theſe two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, ſpecially if they ſee wiſedome with all, or aptneſſe for pollicy.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders. Firſt, the Voiauod or Generall.

Their great *Voiauod* or Generall at this preſent in their warres, is commonly one of theſe foure: *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methiſloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trowbetskoy*, all of great Nobility, but of very ſimple quality otherwiſe: though in *Glinskoy* (as they ſay) there is ſome-what more then in the reſt. To make vp this defect in the *Voiauod* or Generall, there is ſome other ioyned with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre leſſe Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and moſt vſed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great ſeruice (as they ſay) againſt the *Tartar* and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Voiauod* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marſhalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may bee called the Marſhalles of the field.

2. Lieutenant Generall.

3 Marſhals of the field four.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the firſt is called the *Prawa Polskoy*, or right wing. The ſecond is the *Lewoy Polskoy*, or left wing. The third is *Ruſnoy Polskoy*, or the broken band, becauſe out of this there are choſen to ſend abroad vpon any ſuddaine exploit, or to make a reſcue or ſupply, as occaſion doth require. The fourth is *Storeſhouoy Potskoy*, or the warding band. Euery one of theſe foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery Weeke at the leaſt, muſt muſter and traine their ſeuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iuſtice for all faults, and diſorders committed in the Campe.

The ordering of each quarter.

4. Marſhals Deputies 8.

And theſe eight are commonly choſen out of the 110. (which I ſpake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Soldiours. Vnder theſe eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulauoy* Captaines of thouſands, fiue hundreds, and one hundred. The *Petyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tens.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captaines.

Beſides the *Voiauoday* or Generall of the Army (ſpoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiauoda*: wherof one is the Maſter of the great Ordenance (called *Naradna Voiauoda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, neceſſary for that ſeruice. The other is called the *Voiauoda Gulauoy*, or the walking

Sixe Maſters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horſemen of principall choiſe, to range and ſpie abroad, and hadde the charge of the running Caſtle, which wee are to ſpeake of hereafter. All theſe Captaines and men of charge, muſt (once euery day) reſort to the *Bulſha Voiauoda*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleaſure, and to informe him, if there be any requiſite matter pertaining to theyr Office.

Of their muſtering and leuying of forces, maner of Armour, & prouiſion of victuall for the warre.

When warres are towardes (which they faile not of lightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chetſirds* ſend foorth their ſummons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to bee proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarskey*, or ſonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to ſuch a border where the ſeruice is to be done, at ſuch a place, and by ſuch a day, & there preſent themſelues vnto ſuch and ſuch Captaines.

Their order for muſtering

When they come to the place aſſigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commiſſion for that purpoſe, from the *Roſerade* or High Conſtable, as Clearkes of the Bands.

Default of appearance.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and puniſhed very ſeuerely. As for the Generall and other cheefe Captaines, they are ſent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with ſuch Commiſſion and charge, as hee thinketh behouefull for the preſent ſeruice. When the Soldiours are aſſembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their ſeuerall Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thouſands, &c. and theſe Bands into foure *Polskeis* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romaine Legions were) vnder theyr foure great Leaders; which alſo haue the Authority of Marſhals of the fielde, as was ſaide before.

The horſemans furniture.

Concerning their Armour, they are but ſlightly appointed. The common Horſeman hath nothing elſe but his Bow in his caſe, vnder his right Arme, and his Quiuer and Sword hanging on the leſte ſide: except ſome few that beare a Caſe of Dags, or a Iauelin, or ſhort ſtaffe along their Horſe ſide. The vnder Captains will haue commonly ſome piece of Armour beſides, as a Shirt of Male, or ſuch like. The Generall, with the other chief Captaines and men of Nobilitie, will haue their horſe very richly furniſhed, theyr Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Bridles faire boſſed and taſſelled with Golde and Silke Frindge, beſtudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themſelues in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire ſhining Steele yet couered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his ſteele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrowes at his ſide, his Speare in his hand, with another fayre Helmet, and his *Sheſtapera* or Horſmans Scepter caried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes, are of the Turkiſh faſhion. They practiſe like the Tartar, to ſhoote forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

The Generall and cheefe Captaines.

The footmā furniture.

The *Strelſey* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his ſtriking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his ſide. The ſtocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wiſe, but vvith a plaine & ſtraight ſtocke (ſomewhat like a Fouling peece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauy, yet ſhooteth but a very ſmall Bullet.

Protuiſion of victuall.

As for their prouiſion of victuall, the Emperor alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture ſome corn for their mony. Euery man is to bring ſufficient for himſelfe, to ſerue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or ſome other place.

Their fielde lodging and diet.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Ruſſe* is prepared to be a ſouldiour before-hand. Although the chiefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along vvith them, after the form and faſhion of ours, with ſome better prouiſion of Victuall then the reſt; they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dryed Bread (vvhich they call *Sucharie*) with ſome ſtore of Meale, the which they temper with water, & ſo make it into a Ball, or ſmall lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in ſtead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or ſome

ſome other fleſh or fiſh dryed, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Ruſſe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is harde to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwiſe as apt and well trayned for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet; he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meaner of courage, and execution in any warlike ſeruice. Which commeth partly of his ſeruile condition, that will not ſuffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatſoeuer ſeruice or execution he doe.

Of their marching, charging, and other martiall diſcipline.

The Ruſſe truſteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, ſaue that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themſelues vnder their Enſignes, and ſo thruſt all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall, Their Enſigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulſha Dworaney* or cheefe Horſemen, haue euery man a ſmall Drumme of Braſſe at his Saddle-bow, which he ſtriketh when hee giueth the charge; or onſet.

Horſemens drummes.

The Horſemans manner of charging.

They haue Drummes beſides of a huge biggeneſſe, which they carrie with them vppon a boord layde on foure horſes, that are ſparred together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, beſides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they ſound after a wilde manner, much diffrent from ours.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuaſion, they make a great hallowe or ſhowte altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the ſound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confuſed and horrible noyſe. So they ſet on firſt diſcharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vſe in a brauery to ſhake, and brandiſh ouer their Heades, before they come to ſtrokes.

The footemans charge.

Their Footmen (becauſe otherwiſe they want order in leading) are commonly placed in ſome ambuſh, or place of aduantage, where they may moſt annoy the enemy, with leaſt hurt to themſelues. If it bee a ſet battaile, or if any great inuaſion bee made vppon the Ruſſe borders, by the Tartar; they are ſette within the *running* or *mooning Caſtle* (called *Beza*, or *Gulay gorod*) which is carried about with them by the *Voiauoda gulauoy* (or the *Walking Generall*) whome I ſpake of before. This Walking or mouing Caſtle is ſo framed, that it may be ſet vp in length (as occaſion doth require) the ſpace of one, two, three, foure, fiue, ſix, or ſeuen miles: for ſo long will it reach. It is nothing elſe but a double wall of Woode, to defend them on both ſides, behinde and before; with a ſpace of three yards or thereabout, betwixt the two ſides: ſo that they may ſtand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and diſcharge their peeces, and to vſe their other weapons.

The walking Caſtle.

What the walking Caſtle is.

It is cloſed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either ſide, to lay out the noſe of their peece, or to puſh forth any other weapon. It is caried along with the army wherſoeuer it goeth, being taken in to peeces, and ſo layde on Cartes ſparred together, and drawen by horſſe that are not ſeene, by reaſon that they are couered with their carriage, as with a ſhelfe or pent-houſe.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vſed (which is deuiſed & choſen out before by the *Walking Voiauod*) it is planted, ſo much as the preſent vſe requireth, ſometime a mile long, ſom times two, ſometimes three, or more: Which is ſoone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or inſtrument: becauſe the Timber is ſo framed to claſp together one peece within another: as is eaſily vnderſtood, by thoſe that know the manner of the Ruſſe bvilding,

The planting of the walking Caſtle.

In this Caſtle ſtandeth their Shot well fenced for aduantage, eſpecially agaynſt the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordenance, nor other Weapon into the Fielde with him, ſaue his Sword, and Bowe and Arrowes. They haue alſo within it diuerſe fielde peeces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of peeces for the fielde, they carry no great ſtore, when they war againſt the *Tartar*: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whoſe forces they make more account) they go better furniſhed with all kind of munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought, that no Prince of Chriſtendome, hath better

The ſhotte againſt the Tartar.

ſtore of munition, then the Ruſſe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie houſe at *Mosko*, where are of all ſortes of great Ordenance, all Braſſe peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The quality of the Ruſſe Soldier.

The Ruſſe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within ſome Caſtle, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a ſet pitched fielde. Which is euer noted in the practiſe of his warres, and namely, at the ſiedge of *Vobsko*, ſome few yeares ſince: where he repulſed the Polonian king, *Stephan Batore*, with his whole Army of an hundred thouſand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his ſiedge, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and Soldiers. But in a ſet fielde, the *Ruſſe* is noted to haue the worſe of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*.

Reward for valor.

If any behaue himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or doe any ſpeciall peece of ſeruice, the Emperor ſendeth him a piece of Gold, ſtamped with the image of Saint George on horſe-backe. Which peece they hang on their ſleeues, and ſet in their Caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honor they can receiue for any ſeruice they do.

Of their Collonies and maintaining of their Conqueſts or purchaſes by force.

The *Ruſſe* Emperors (of late years) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their firſt Conqueſt after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodemer*, as before was ſayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Nouograd* on the Weſt and North-Weſt ſide: which was no ſmal inlargement of their Dominion, & ſtrengthening vnto them for the winning of the reſt. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The victories & conqueſtes of Theodore.

The ſame began likewiſe to encroach vpon the Countreyes of *Liuonia* and *Lituania*, but the Conqueſt onely intended, and attempted by him vpon ſome part of thoſe Countreyes, was purſued and performed by his ſonne *Baſileus*, who firſt of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Pleſko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

Theſe victories againſt the *Lettoes* or *Lituanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuill diſſentions and treaſons among themſelues, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was loſt againe by his ſonne *Iuan Vaſilowich*, about eight or nine yeares paſt, vpon compoſition with the Polonian King *Stephen Batore*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reaſon of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the diſquietneſſe of his owne ſtate at home. Onely the *Ruſſe* Emperor, at this time, hath left him on that ſide his Countrey, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala Gorod* in *Lituania*. In *Lituania*, not a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

All wonne by the father, loſt by the ſonne.

When *Baſileus* firſt Conquered thoſe Countreyes, hee ſuffered the Natiues to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the gouernment of his *Ruſſe* Captaines. But by their Conſpiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more ſurely with them. And ſo cõming vpon them the ſecond time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or ſolde vnto the Tartars that ſerued him in thoſe wars, & (inſted of them) placed there his *Ruſſes*, ſo many as might ouer-match the reſt, with certaine Garriſons of ſtrength beſides. Wherein, notwithſtanding this ouerſight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Countrey people (that ſhould haue tild the ground and might eaſily haue bene kept in order without any daunger, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwardes manie yeares together, to Victuall the Countrey (eſpecially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Ruſſia*, the ſoyle lying there in the meane while waſte and vntilled.

Lituania, and the Emperors remiſſenes in his Conqueſt thereof.

Narue euen in the ſame manner.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Liefland*, where his ſonne *Iuan Vaſilowith* deuiſed, to build a Towne and a Caſtle on the other ſide the Riuer, (called *Iuangorod*) to keepe the Town and countrey in ſubiection. The Caſtle he cauſed to bee ſo built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finiſhed, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without a

A moſt vnkind reward.

bating

bating their number or ſtrength; the Towne and Caſtle (not long after) was betrayed, and ſurrendred againe to the King of *Sweden*.

Kingdomes won from the Tartar.

On the Southeaſt ſide, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Aſtracan*. Theſe were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35. the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Country of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great bredth and length of ground, from *Wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thouſand miles ſpace: ſo that hee is bold to write himſelfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

Permia and Pechora, their conquering.

The Countries likewiſe of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerſe people & language from the *Ruſſe*, ouercome not long ſince, and that rather by threatning, & ſhaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to reſiſt.

Meanes of holding his chiefe townes

That which the *Ruſſe* hath in his preſent poſſeſſion, he keepeth on this ſort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Vobſko*, *Smolensko*, *Aſtracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counſel, not of greateſt Nobility, but of greateſt truſt, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & ſtrengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are ſet to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. Theſe he changeth ſomtime euery yeare, ſometime euery ſecond or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very ſpeciall truſt, and good liking of the party, and his ſeruice: leaſt by enlarging of their time, they might grow into ſome familiarity with the enemy (as ſome haue done) being ſo far out of ſight.

The ſtrength of Townes & Caſtles.

The Townes beſides are very ſtrongly fenced with Trenches, Caſtles, & ſtore of munition, and haue garriſons within thē, to the number of two or three thouſand a piece. They are ſtored with victuall (if any ſiedge ſhould come vpon them) for the ſpace of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Caſtles of *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, hee hath made very ſtrong to beare out any ſiedge: ſo that it is thought that thoſe Townes are impregnable.

As for the Countries of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Sibtria*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as eaſie meanes, as they were firſt got, viz. rather by ſhewing, then by vſing of Armes. Firſt, he hath ſtored the Country with as many *Ruſſes* as there are Natiues, & hath there ſome few Soldiours in garriſon, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magiſtrates there, are of his owne *Ruſſe* people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithſtanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly he diuideth them into many ſmall gouernements, like a ſtaffe broke in many ſmall pieces: ſo that they haue no ſtrength being ſeuered, which was but little neyther, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the country haue neyther Armour, nor mony, being taxed and pilled ſo often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to ſhake off that yoke, or to releeue themſelues.

Meanes of holding the Countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in purſuing his Conqueſt) hee hath diuers Caſtles and Garriſons, to the number of ſixe thouſand Soldiours of *Ruſſes* and *Polonians*, and ſendeth many new ſupplies thither, to plant and inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time beſides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Country, by offers of great entertainment, and pleaſanter life with the *Ruſſe* Emperor, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this laſt yeare, and is now with the Emperor at *Mosko* well entertained.

The Kings Brother of Siberia allured from his Country.

This may be ſaid of the *Ruſſe* practiſe, whereſoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conqueſt.

The pollicy of their Conqueſt or other preuailing, whereſoeuer they come.

Firſt, hee bereaueth the Country of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which he permitteth to none, but to his *Boiarskeis* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their mony and commodities, and leaueth them bare, with nothing but their bodies and liues, within certaine yeares compaſſe.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuideth his Territories into many ſmall pieces, by ſeuerall gouernments: ſo that none hath much vnder him to make any ſtrength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, he gouerneth his Countries by men of ſmall reputation, and no power of themſelues, and ſtrangers (in thoſe places) where their gouernment lyeth.

Fiftly, he changeth his Gouernors once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intierneſſe betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Setting diuels together by the eares.

Sixtly, hee appointeth in one and the ſame place aduerſary Gouernors, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by meanes of their enuies and emulations) there is leſſe hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himſelfe is better informed what is done amiſſe.

Seuenthly, he ſendeth many times into euery Prouince ſecret Meſſengers (of ſpeciall truſt about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amiſſe there. And this is ordinary, though it be ſudden, and vnknowne what time they will come.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the Country of Ruſsia, with whom they haue moſt to do in warre & peace.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greateſt dealings and intercourſe, both in peace and warre, are firſt the *Tartar*: Secondly the *Polonian*, whom the *Ruſſe* calleth *Laches*, noting the firſt Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Po*, which ſignifieth *People*, and ſo is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People or Poſterity of Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polanos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to theſe parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as beeing of *Aſia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and gouernment one from another.

The Poloniens called Laches by the Ruſſe, and the reaſon why.

The greateſt and mightieſt of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom ſome call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & South-eaſtward from *Ruſsia*, and doth moſt annoy the Country by often inuaſions, cõmonly once euery yeare, ſometime entering very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571. he came as far as the Cittie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, without any battaile, or reſiſtance at all, for that the *Ruſſe* Emperor (then *Iuan Vaſilowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpoſe, as not daring to aduenture the Fielde, by reaſon that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Captaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Chrim Tartar, or the Great Cham.

The Cittie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reaſon of the buildings (which are al of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, ſaue certaine outroomes) kindled ſo quickly, and went on with ſuch rage; as that it conſumed the greateſt part of the Citty, almoſt within the ſpace of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compaſſe. Then might you haue ſeene a lamentable ſpectacle: beſides the huge and mighty flame of the Citty all on light fire, the people burning in their houſes and ſtreetes, but moſt of all, of ſuch as laboured to paſſe out of the gates, fartheſt from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & ſo preſſing euery man to preuent another: wedged themſelues ſo faſt within the gate and ſtreetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermoſt treading down thoſe that were lower: ſo that there periſhed at that time (as was ſaide) by the fire & the preaſe, the number of eight hũdred thouſand people, or more.

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

A ſtrange accident as euer was heard of.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the City, and fed his eyes with the ſight of it all on a light flame; returned with his Army, and ſent to the *Ruſſe* Emperor a Knife (as was ſaid) to ſtick himſelfe withall: vpbraiding this loſſe, and his deſperate caſe, as not daring eyther to meete his enemy in the fielde, nor to truſt his ſtiends nor ſubiects at home. The principall cauſe of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but poſſeſſed by the *Ruſſe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that beſides *Aſtracan*, & *Cazan* (that are the ancient poſſeſſion of the Eaſt *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Weſtward, ſo farre as the City of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it ſelfe, pertaineth to his right. Which ſeemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Ruſſes* themſelues, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Ruſſe* Emperour (euery yeare) to the Great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Ruſſe* Emperour ſtanding on foote, and feeding the *Chrims* Horſe (him-ſelfe ſitting

The Chrims ſalutation to the Emperor.

The quarrell betweene the Ruſſe and Tartar.

Homage done by the Ruſſe to the Chrim Tartar, and in what manner.

ſitting on his back) with Oates out of his owne Cap, inſtead of a Boule or Maunger, and that within the Caſtle of *Mosko*. And this homage (they ſay) was done till the time of *Baſileus*, grandfather to this man. Who ſurprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a ſtratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belſchey*) was content with this ranſome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Furres: which afterwards alſo was denied to be paide by this Emperors Father.

The homage releaſed by the Chrims ſurprizall.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Ruſſe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice euery yeare, ſometime about Whitſontide, but oftner in Harueſt. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne perſon, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thouſand, or two hundred thouſand men. Otherwiſe, they make ſhort and ſudden roads into the Country with leſſer numbers, running about the liſt of the border, as wilde Geeſe flie, inuading and retiring where they ſee aduantage.

The Chrims comming againſt the Ruſſe.

Their common practiſe (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and ſo drawing the *Ruſſe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to inuade at ſome other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Ruſſe* manner (ſpoken of before) ſaue that they are all horſemen, and carry nothing elſe but a Bowe, a ſheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon ſword after the Turkiſh faſhion. They are very expert horſemen, and vſe to ſhoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horſemans ſtaffe like vnto a boare ſpeare, beſides their other weapons. The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke ſheepes skinne, with the wooll ſide outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the ſame. But their *Morſeys* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to paſſe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they tye three or foure horſes together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them faſt to the tayles of their horſes: ſo ſitting on the Poles they driue their horſe ouer. At handy-ſtrokes (when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Ruſſe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloudy by continuall practiſe of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practiſe.

The manner of the Tartars fight & armor.

The common Soldiours Armour of the Tartars, differing from the Nobleman.

Their paſſage ouer Riuers.

Yet their ſubtilty is more then may ſeeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reaſon they are practiſed to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuiſe ſtratagems (vpon the ſudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war againſt *Beala* the fourth, King of *Hungary*, whom they inuaded with fiue hundred thouſand men, and obtained againſt him a great victory. Where (among other) hauing ſlaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale. Whereupon, they deuiſed preſently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Cities and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no caſe they ſhould conuey themſelues and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide ſafely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country deſolate, to the poſſeſſion of ſo vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearming themſelues in all reproch-full manner.

The ſubtilty of the Tartar.

The Tartars war againſt Beala King of Hungary, and their cunning pollicy.

For, notwithſtanding he had loſt his carriages, with ſome few ſtraglers that had marched diſorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that loſſe, with the acceſſe of a notable victory, if the ſauage *Tartar* durſt abide him in the field. To this purpoſe, hauing written their letters in the *Poliſh* Characters, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the fielde, and ſigned them with the Kings Seale; they diſpatched them foorth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wines, and children, vppon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by theſe counterfeit Letters; ſtaied at home. And ſo were made a prey, being ſurprized on the ſudden by the huge number of theſe *Tartars*, that had compaſſed them about before they were aware.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

When they beſiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and ſend many flattering

Beſiedging of Townes or Forts.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

flattering meſſages to perſwade a ſurrender, promiſing all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once poſſeſſed of the place, they vſe all manner of hoſtility, and cruelty. This they do vpon a rule they haue, viz. *That Iuſtice is to bee practiſed but towards their owne.* They encounter not lightly, but they haue ſome ambuſh, whereunto (hauing once ſhewed themſelues, and made ſome ſhort conflict) they retire, as repulſed for feare, and ſo draw the enemy into it if they can. But the *Ruſſe* being wel acquainted with their practiſe, is more wary of them. When they come a rouing with ſome ſmal number, they ſet on horſebacke counterfeit ſhapes of men, that their number may ſeeme greater.

A ſubtle rule among the Tartars.

When they make any onſet, their manner is to make a great ſhoute, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help vs, God helpe vs.* They contemne death ſo much, as that they chuſe rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are ſeene (when they are ſlaine) to bite the very weapon when they are paſt ſtriking, or helping of themſelues. Wherein appeareth, how diffrent the *Tartar* is in his deſperate courage, from the *Ruſſe* and *Turke*. For the *Ruſſe* Souldior, if hee begin once to retire, putteth all his ſafety in his ſpeedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himſelfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning ſtraight to die. The *Turke* commonly, when hee is paſt hope of eſcaping, falleth to entretie, and caſteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to ſaue his life, by offering himſelfe bondſlaue.

The Tartars contempt of death.

Of the Ruſſe Soldiour.

Of the Turkiſh Soldiour.

The cheefe booty the *Tartars* ſeeke for in all their wars, is to get ſtore of captiues, ſpecially yong boies and girles, whō they ſell vnto the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpoſe they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tier, or to be ſick on the way, they daſh him againſt the ground, or ſome tree, and ſo leaue him dead. The Soldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their wars; but they haue certaine bands that intend nothing elſe, appointed of purpoſe to receiue and keepe the Captiues and the other prey.

The booty of the Tartars.

The *Ruſſe* borders (being vſed to their inuaſions lightly euery yeare in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, ſaue Swine onely, which the *Tartar* wil not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkiſh religion, and will eate no Swines fleſh. Of Chriſt our Sauior, they confeſſe as much as doth the *Turk* in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, & the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, & ſhall be the Iudge of the world at the laſt day. In other matters likewiſe, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkiſh Forces, when hee wonne from them *Azou*, and *Caffa*, with ſome other townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperor of the *Chrims* (for the moſt part) is choſen ſome one of the Nobility, whom the Turke doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that paſſe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the ſpoile, which he getteth in his wars againſt the Chriſtians.

The Tartars religion like to the Turks.

Choiſe of the Tartars Emperor.

Heerein they differ from the *Turkiſh* Religion, for that they haue certaine idoll puppets, made of ſilke, or like ſtuffe, of the faſhion of a man, which they faſten to the doore of their walking houſes, to bee as *Ianuſſes* or keepers of their houſe. And theſe Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they haue among them, for that and like vſes. They haue beſides, the image of their King or Great *Cham*, of an huge bigneſſe, which they erect at euery ſtage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one muſt bend and bow vnto as he paſſeth by it, be hee *Tartar*, or ſtranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or ſee.

Difference from the Turkiſh Religion.

Addiction to witchcraft.

In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or conſanguinity. Onely with his Mother, Siſter, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his houſe, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horſe, Sheep, Kine, &c. If ſhe bee barren, after a certaine time

Making of mariages among the Tartars.

time, he turneth her home agayne.

The Tartar Nobilitie, and their authoritie.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morſeis*, or *Diuoymirſeis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of tenne thouſand, twenty thouſand, or forty thouſand a peece, which they call *Hoords*. When the Emperour hath any vſe of them to ſerue in his wars, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horſes at the leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horſe eaten. For their chiefe vittaile is horſe fleſh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* be taken by a *Ruſſe*, he ſhal be ſure lightly to finde a horſe legge, or ſome other part of him hanging at his ſaddle bowe.

The Tartars dyet, is horſe flesh.

This laſt yeare, when I was at the *Moſco*, came in one *Kiriach Morſey*, Nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrims* that now is (whoſe father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3. hundred *Tartars*, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being entertayned in very good ſort (after the *Ruſſe* manner) he had ſent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his ſupper and his companies, two very large and fatte horſes, ready flayed on a ſledde. They preferre it before other fleſh, becauſe the meate is ſtronger (as they ſay) then beefe, mutton, and ſuch like. And yet (which is maruell) though they ſerue all as horſemen in the warres, and eate all of horſe fleſh, there are brought yearely to the *Moſco*, to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thouſand *Tartar* horſes, which they commonly call *Comes*.

A preſent at a Tartars entertainment.

Their vſe of blacke ſheeps milke.

They keepe alſo great heards of kine, and flockes of blacke ſheepe, rather for the skinnes and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vſe of the fleſh, though ſometimes they eate of it. Some vſe they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruites. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the moſt part, carde them both together. They vſe ſometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horſes blood in a veine, and to drink it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townesthydo plant none, nor other ſtanding buildings, but haue walking horſes, which the Latines call *Veii*, built vpon wheeles, like vnto a Shepheards cottage. Theſe they draw with them whither ſoeuer they goe, driuing their cattaile with them. And whē they come to their ſtage, or ſtanding place, they plant their Carthouſes very orderly in a ranke: and ſo do make the forme of the ſtreetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himſelfe, who hath no other ſeate of his Empire, but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that mooueth with him whither ſoeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and ſtanding buildings vſed in other Countries, they ſay they are vnwholeſome and vnpleaſant.

The Tartars dwelling, walking, or remouing houſes.

Agora, or Towne of wood mouing with the Emperour.

They beginne to mooue their houſes and cattaile in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towardes the North parts. And ſo driuing on till they haue graſed all vp vnto the fartheſt part Northward, they returne backe agayne towardes their South Countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelue miles a ſtage: in the meane while, the graſſe being ſprung vp againe, to ſerue for their cattaile as they returne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towardes the *Caſpian* Sea, vnto the *Ruſſe* frontires, they haue a goodly Countrey, ſpecially on the South and South-eaſt parts, but loſt for lacke of tillage.

The times of remouing their houſes.

Of money they haue no vſe at all, and therefore prefer Braſſe and Steele before other mettalls, eſpecially bullate, which they vſe for Swords, Kniues, and other neceſſaries. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpoſe, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey leſſe ſubiect to inuaſions. Which giueth them great aduantage againſt all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time *Cyrus* and *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, on the Eaſt and Southeaſt ſide) haue done it with very ill ſucceſſe, as we finde in the Stories written of thoſe times. For their manner is, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) vntill they haue drawne them ſome good way within their Countrey. Then, when they beginne to want vittaile and other

They haue no vſe of money among them.

Pollicie in their pouerty.

Their pollicy for inuaders of their countrey.

other neceſſaries (as needes they muſt where nothing is to bee had) to ſtop vp the paſſages, and encloſe them with multitudes. By which ſtratagem (as wee reade in *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* in his Turkiſh ſtory) they had well nigh ſurprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with al ſpeed he could, towards the Riuer *Tanais*, or *Don*, not without great loſſe of his men, and carriages.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas.

Pachymerius.

In the ſtory of *Pachymerius* the *Greeke* (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palæologus*, to the time of *Andronicus* the elder) I remember hee telleth (to the ſame purpoſe) of one *Nogas*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperor of the Eaſt *Tartars* (of whō the Citty and Kingdome of *Cazan* may ſeeme to haue taken the denomination) who refuſed a Preſent of Pearle & other Iewels, ſent vnto him from *Michael Palæologus*: Asking (withall) for what vſe they ſerued, and whither they were good to keepe away ſickneſſe, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it ſeemeth, they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vſe, and neceſſity for which they ſerue.

A ſtory of a Tartarian Captaine.

For perſon and complection, they haue broad and flat viſages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thin haired vpon the vpper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with ſhort legges, as if they were made naturally for Horſemen: whereto they practiſe themſelues from their childhood, ſildome going afoote about any buſineſſe. Their ſpeech is very ſudden and loud, ſpeaking as it were out of a deep hollow throate. When they ſing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or ſome great bandog howled. Their greateſt exerciſe is ſhooting, wherin they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not ſuffring them to eate, til they haue ſhot neere the marke within a certaine ſcantling. They are the very ſame, that (ſometimes) were called * *Scythæ Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

Perſon and complection of the Tartars and their naturall inclination.

* A people in Scythia about Meotis.

Some thinke, that the Turkes tooke their beginning from the Nation of the *Chrim Tartars*. Of which opinion is *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* the Greeke Hiſtoriographer, in his firſt Booke of his Turkiſh ſtory. Wherein he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The firſt, taken from the very name it ſelfe, for that the word *Turke*, ſignifieth a Shepheard, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name theſe *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greeks, *Skúthai Nómades*, or the *Scythian* Shepheards.

The reaſon of the Greek Author, for his opinion of the Tartars.

His ſecond reaſon, becauſe the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Aſia the leſſe*, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, ſpake the very ſame Language that theſe *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the Riuer *Tanais* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are theſe *Tartars* called *Chrims*. At this time alſo, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common ſpeech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, becauſe the *Turke* and the *Chrim Tartar* agree ſo well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer inuading, or iniurying one another: ſaue that the *Turke* (ſince *Laonicus* his time) hath encroached vppon ſome Towns vpon the **Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chrim Tartar*.

*A part of the Sea, diuiding Europe from Aſia.

Fourthly, becauſe *Orcogules* ſonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the firſt of name of the Turkiſh Nation) made his firſt rodes out of thoſe partes of *Aſia*, vpon the next borderers, til he cam towards the Countreyes about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and ſo enlarged the name and territory of the Turkiſh Nation, till he came to *Eubœa* and *Attica*, and other parts of Greece. This is the opinion of *Laonicus*, who liued amongeſt the Turkes, in the time of *Amurath*, the ſixte Turkiſh Emperor, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall vvas more freſh: and therefore the likelyer hee was to hit the truth.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Ruſsia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremiſens*, the *Mordwites*, the *Chircaſſes*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircaſſes*, that border South-Weſt, towards *Lituania*, and are farre more ciuill then the reſt of the *Tartars*; of a comely perſon,

The Nogay Tartar, the cruellest. The Chircaſſe the ciuilest Tartar.

perſon, and of a ſtately behauiour, as applying themſelues to the faſhion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue ſubiected themſelues vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and profeſſe Chriſtianity. The *Nagay* lyeth Eaſtward, and is reckoned for the beſt man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very ſauage and cruell aboue all the reſt.

The Cheremiſen Tartar, very troubleſome and dangerous.

The *Cheremiſen Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Nagay*, are of two ſorts, the *Lugauoy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagorway*, or of the hilly Country. Theſe haue much troubled the Emperours of *Ruſsia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearely penſion of *Ruſſe* commodities, to their *Morſeis*, or *Diuoymorſeis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which alſo they are bound to ſerue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are ſaide to be iuſt and true in their dealings: and for that cauſe they hate the Ruſſe people, whom they account to bee double, and falſe in all their dealings. And therefore the common ſort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morſeis*, or Dukes for their penſions ſake.

The Mordwite Tartar the moſt barbarous of the reſt.

The moſt rude and barbarous is counted the *Mordwite Tartar*, that hath many ſelfe-faſhions, and ſtrange kindes of behauiour, differing from the reſt. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worſhippe for God, that liuing thing, that hee firſt meeteth in the morning, and to ſweare by it all that whole day, whether it be Horſe, Dogge, Catte, or whatſoeuer elſe it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his beſt Horſe, and hauing flayed off the skinne, he carrieth it on high vppon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the Ruſſe ſaith) that his friend may haue a good Horſe to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the beſt thing that he hath.

The Shalcans and Country of Media.

Next to the Kingdome of *Aſtracan*, that is the fartheſt part Southeaſtward of the *Ruſſe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Countrey of *Media*: whether the *Ruſſe* Merchants trade for raw ſilkes, ſyndon, ſaphion, skins, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of *Media* where the *Ruſſe* traderh, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants ſay) and *Zamachio*, where the ſtaple is kept for rawe ſilkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the ſilke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to haſten their quickning, that they may ſooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and ſo to hang thē vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chriniſin* (as wee call it *Chryniſon*) that maketh coloured ſilke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Aſſyria*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zamachio* for raw ſilks and other commodities of that Country, as alſo into *Perſia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the Riuer *Volgha*, and through the *Caſpian* Sea; is permitted aſwell to the Engliſh, as to the Ruſſe Merchants, by the Emperors laſt Graunt, as appeareth. Which he accounteth for a very ſpeciall fauour, and might prooue indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vſed.

Of reuiuing the Silke-wormes in the Spring time.

The Tartars haue no learning or written Law.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vtterly voide of all learning, & without written Law. Yet certaine rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoords*, for the practiſe of their life. Which are of this ſort.

Orders and obſeruations among them.

First, To obey their Emperour and other Magiſtrates, whatſoeuer they command about the publike ſeruice.

2. Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free, and out of controlement.

3. No priuate man to poſſeſſe any Lands, but the whole Country to be in common.

4. To neglect all daintineſſe and variety of meates, and to content themſelues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardneſſe, and readineſſe in the executing of their affaires.

5. To weare any baſe attire, and to patch their cloathes, whether there be any neede or not, that when there is neede, it be no ſhame to weare a patcht Coate.

6. To take, or ſteale from any ſtranger whatſoeuer they can get, as being enemies to all men, ſaue to ſuch as will ſubiect themſelues to them.

7. Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to be true in word and deed.

8. To ſuffer no ſtranger to come within the Realm. If any do, the ſame to be bond-ſlaue to

him that first taketh him, except such Marchants, and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or Passport about them.

Of the Permians, Samoites, & Lappes.

The *Permians* and *Samoites*, that do lie from *Russia*, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it may partly be ghessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except the *Chirchasse*.

The Permians.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subiect to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as doth also the *Samoyt*, that dwelleth more towards the North sea.

The Samoites

The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as Cannibals, eating one an other. Which they make more probable, because (at this time) they eate all kinde of rawe flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very cartion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoites* themselues will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is of themselues, as though they were *Indigenæ*, or poore people bred vpon that very soile, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations haue doone. They are subiect, at this time, to the Emperour of *Russia*.

Indigenæ or beggers.

I talked with certaine of them, & finde that they acknowledge one God; but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. Therefore they do worship, the Sunne, the Oilen, the Losh, and such like. As for the storie of *Slata Baba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read in some Maps and Descriptions of these countries, to be an Idole, after the forme of an old woman) that being demaunded by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things; I found it to be but a very Fable. Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vppon the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which naturally (beeing somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a childe in her armes (as the Rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Fryer) where the *Obdorian Samoites* vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue and practise their forceries, and ominous coniecturings, about the good or the bad speede of their iourneys, fishings, huntings, and other such like.

The Samoites religion.

Slata Baba or the golden Hagge.

The Obdorian.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe, as low as the knees, with their breeches and neather-stocks of the same, both men and women. They are all black haired, naturally beardlesse. Therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes, saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue (in a maner) a wilde and a sauage life, rouing still from one place of the country to another, without any property of house or land, more to one then to an other. Their leader or directer in euery company, is their *Papa* or Priest.

The Samoites habite and behauiour.

The Lappes.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto *Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*, which reacheth in length from the farthest poynt Northward, (towardes the North-cape) to the farthest part South-east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or Holy nose, the Englishmen *Capegrace*) about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweetnesse* to *Candelox* by the way of *Versega* (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90 miles, or thereabouts. The whole Countrey (in a manner) is eyther Lakes or Mountains, which towards the Sea side are called *Tondro*, because they are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the in-land partes are well furnished with woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feed onely vpon fish and fowle. They are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*, and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*: which all exact tribute & custome of them (as was said before:) but the Emperour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is, that they were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their briefe and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremanskoy Lapary*, that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the *Danes* & *Norwegians* they account for one people. The other that haue no Religion at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish people,

Their dyet and feeding.

Diuision of the Lappes.

people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopary*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The Lappes voide of all Learning.

The whole Nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not ſo much as the vſe of any Alphabet, or Letter among them. For practiſe of witchcraft and ſorcery, they paſſe all Nations in the world. Though for the inchanting of Ships that ſayle along their Coaſt (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of windes, good to their friends, and contrary vnto other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a Rope (ſome-what like to the tale of *Æolus* his winde-bag) is a very fable, deuiſed (as may ſeeme) by themſelues, to terrifie ſaylers for comming neare their Coaſt.

The Lappes giue or ſell no windes.

Their Weapons are the long Bow, and hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aſwell for quickneſſe to charge and diſcharge; as for nearneſſe at the marke, by reaſon of their continual practiſe (whereto they are forced) of ſhooting at wilde Fowle.

Their Weapons.

Their manner is (in Summer time) to come downe in great companies to the ſea ſide, to *Wardhayſe*, *Cola*, *Kegor*, & the bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fiſh for Cod, Salmon, and But-fiſh, which they ſell to the *Ruſſes*, *Danes*, and *Norgenians*, and now of late to the Engliſh men, that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the *Lappes* and *Corelians* for their Fiſh, Oyle, & Furs, whereof alſo they haue ſome ſtore. They hold their Mart at *Cola* on S. *Peters* day: what time the Captaine of *Wardhuyſe* (that is reſiant there for the king of *Denmark*) muſt be preſent, or at leaſt ſend his deputy, to ſet prices on their ſtockfiſh, traine oile, furs, and other commodities: as alſo the *Ruſſe* Emperors Cuſtomer, or tribute taker, to receiue his cuſtome, which is euer payed before any thing can be bought or ſolde.

The Lappes Mart on S. Peters day.

When their fiſhing is done, their manner is, to draw their Carbaſſes, or Boates on ſhore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwards, till the next ſpring tide. Their trauaile too and fro, is vpon ſleds, drawne by the Ollen Deere: which they vſe to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Iſland called *Kilden* (of a very good ſoyle, compared with other parts of that Country) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the vſe of their ſledde.

CHAP. IIII.

Fourthly, concerning Eccleſiaſticall Offices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments obſerued in the Moſcouian Church: with their Marriages and other Ceremonies beſide.

Oncerning the gouernment of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greeks, as being a part of that Church, and neuer acknowledging the iuriſdiction of the Latine Church, vſurped by the Pope. That I may keepe the better meaſure in deſcribing their Ceremonies, then they in the vſing thē (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly.

First, what Eccleſiaſticall degrees, or Offices they haue, with the iuriſdiction & practiſe of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of ſeruice they vſe in their Churches, with the manner of their adminiſtring the Sacraments.

Fourthly, what other ſtrange Ceremonies, and ſuperſtitious deuotions are vſed among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Churchmen, are as many in number, and the ſame in a manner (both in name and degree) that were in the Weſterne Churches. First they haue their *Patriarch*, then their *Metropolites*, their *Archbiſhops*, their *Vladikey* or *Biſhops*, their *Protopapes* or *Arch-Prieſts*, their *Papes* or *Prieſts*, their *Deacons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Erewites*.

The Church Officers.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe directer in matter of religion vntill this laſt year, was of the Citty of *Conſtanſtinople* (whom they called the *Patriarch* of *Sio*) becauſe, being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Conſtanſtinople* (the ſeat of his Empire) he remoued to the Iſle *Sio*, ſomtimes called *Chio*, and there placed his Patriarchall Sea. So that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Ruſsia*, were wont yearely to ſend guifts thither,

The Patriarch.

and to acknowledge a ſpirituall kinde of homage, and ſubiection due to him, and to that Church. Which cuſtome they haue held (as it ſeemeth) euer ſince they profeſſed the Chriſtian religion. Which how long it hath bene, I coulde not well learne, for that they haue no ſtory or monument of Antiquity (that I could heare of) to ſhew what hath bene done in times paſt within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

Onely I heard a report amongſt them, that about three hundred yeares ſince, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Country: who (at the firſt) denied to ioyne his danghter in marriage with the Greek Emperor, becauſe he was of the Chriſtian Religion. Which agreeeth well with that which I find in the ſtory of *Laonicus Chalcacondylas*, concerning Turkiſh affaires in his fourth book: where he ſpeaketh of ſuch a marriage, betwixt *John* the Greeke Emperor, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

A ſolemne great marriage.

And this argueth (out of their own report) thar at that time, they had not receyued the Chriſtian Religion: As alſo, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerted at the very ſame time, receyuing the doctrine of the Goſpel corrupted with ſuperſtitions euen at the very firſt, when they tooke it from the *Greek* Church, which it ſelfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many ſuperſtitions and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Diſcipline: as may appeare by the Storie of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eight and ninth bookes.

The Polonian hiſtory.

But, as touching the time of their conuerſion to the Chriſtian faith, I ſuppoſe rather, that it is miſtaken by the *Ruſſe*: for that which I find in the *Polonian* ſtory, the ſecond Booke, the third chapter: where is ſayde, that about the yeare 990. *Vlodomirus* Duke of Ruſſia, married one *Anne*, ſiſter to *Baſilius* and *Conſtantinus* brothers, and Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon the Ruſſe receyued the Fayth and profeſſion of Chriſt. Which, though it be ſomwhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Ruſſe* report; yet it falleth out al to one reckning, touching this point, viz: in what truth and ſincerity of doctrine the *Ruſſe* receyued the firſt ſtamp of religion: foraſmuch as the *Greek* church (at that time alſo) was many waies infected with error and ſuperſtition.

The tranſlation of the Patriarchall Sea from Conſtantinople or Sio to Mosko

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Moſko* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronomo*, being baniſhed (as ſom ſayd) by the Turke, as ſome other reported, by the Greeke Clergy depriued. The Emperour being giuen altogether to ſuperſtitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment. Before his comming vnto *Mosko*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by ſom of his company. His errand was, to conſult with the Emperor, concerning theſe points.

The firſt intention.

Firſt, about a league to paſſe between him and the King of Spaine, as the meeteſt Prince to ioyne with him in oppoſition againſt the Turke. To which purpoſe alſo Ambaſſages had paſſed betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Perſian*. Likewiſe from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to ioyne league together, for the inuading of the Turke on al ſides of his dominion: taking the aduantage of the ſimple quality of the Turk that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambaſſador of *Almaigne*, ſent at the ſame time to ſolicite an inuaſion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Ruſſland*, and to borrow money of the Ruſſe Emperor, to purſue the warre for his brother *Maximillian* againſt the *Swedens* ſon, then King of *Poland*.

Ambaſſage betweene the Ruſſe & Perſian.

But this conſultation concerning a league betwixt the Ruſſe & the Spaniard (which was then in ſome forwardneſſe, and already one apointed for Ambaſſage into Spaine) was defeated, by meanes of the ouerthrow giuen to the Spaniſh king by her Maieſty, the Queen of Engld the laſt yeare before. Which made the Ruſſe Emperor and his Counſell, to giue the ſadder countenance to the Engliſh Ambaſſador there at that time: for that they were diſappointed of ſo good a policy, as was this coniunction, ſuppoſed to be betwixt them and the Spaniſh.

The ſecond intention.

His ſecond purpoſe (whereto the firſt ſerued as an introduction) was, in reuēge of the Turke and the Greeke Cleargye, that hadde thruſt him from his ſeate, to treate with him about the reducing of the Ruſſe church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may ſeeme, that comming lately from Rome, hee was ſet vppon by the

the Pope, who hath attempted the ſame many times before, though all in vaine: and namely in the time of the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich*; by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpoſe, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not ſucceeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the reſignation of his Patriarchſhip, and tranſlation of the Sea from *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, to the Citty of *Mosko*. Which was ſo well liked, and entertained by the Emperor (as a matter of high religion and pollicy) that no other treaty (ſpecially of forraign Ambaſſages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The third intention.

The reaſons wherewith the Patriarch perſwaded the tranſlating of his Sea to the Citty of *Mosko*, were theſe in effect.

Reaſons yeelded by the Patriarch.

Firſt, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the Turke, that is enemy to the faith: And therefore to be remoued into ſome other Country of Chriſtian profeſſion.

Secondly, becauſe the *Ruſſe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the Greek at this time, and holdeth the ſame Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the reſt being all ſubiect to the Turke, and fallen away frō the right profeſſion. Wherein the ſubtill Greeke (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Country: to haue the Patriarchs ſeate, tranſlated into the chiefe City, and ſeate of his Empire. As for the right of tranſlating the Sea, and appointing his ſucceſſour; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himſelfe.

The Ruſſe Church, daughter to the Greeke Church.

Canning in the Patriarch.

So the Emperour and his Counſell, with the principall of his Cleargy, being aſſembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined, that the *Metropolite* of *Mosko*, ſhold become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the ſame full authority and iuriſdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and ſolemnity, the 25. of Ianuary, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Ruſſe* Cleargy, went vnto the great Church of *Prechiſte*, or our Lady, within the Emperors Caſtle (hauing firſt wandred through the whole City in manner of a proceſſion, and bleſſing the people with his two fingers) where he made an Oration, and deliuered his reſignation in an inſtrument of writing, and ſo layde downe his Patriarchiall ſtaffe. Which was preſently receiued by the Metropolite of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vſed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The Patriarchſhip of Conſtantinople tranſlated to Mosko.

The day was holden very ſolemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forbeare their works, and to attend this ſolemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich preſents ſent him from the Emperor & Empreſſe, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the ſtreetes of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperor, Nobility, and Cleargy. Thus the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued ſince the Counſell of *Nice*) is now tranſlated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleeue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the ſame right and authority that the other had. Wherin the ſubtle *Greeke* hath made good aduantage of their ſuperſtition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchſhip be currant or not.

A ſolemne Holliday in Mosko.

An eaſie matter to be perſwaded.

The matter is not vnlike to make ſome Schiſme betwixt the Greeke and Ruſſe Church, if the Ruſſe hold this Patriarchſhip that he hath ſo well payed for, & the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were baniſhed by the Turke, or depriued by order of his owne Cleargy. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Ruſſe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peraduenture hee deuiſed this ſtratagem, and caſt in this matter of Schiſme among them) but that the Emperors of *Ruſsia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Chriſtian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Country, by ſubiecting themſelues to the *Romiſh* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich* was very inquiſitiue, of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Chriſtendome, and ſent one of very purpoſe to *Rome*, to behold the order and behauiour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the ſame time by the great

Demetrio Archbiſhop of Lariſſa excluded with the Patriarch.

Turke) one *Demetrio*, Archbiſhop of *Lariſſa*: who went into *England*, and pretended the ſame cauſe of their baniſhment by the Turke (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeare. Which, how vnlikely it is, may appeare by theſe circumſtances.

Reaſons of good & great likelyhood.

Firſt, becauſe there is no ſuch affection, nor friendly reſpect, betwixt the Pope and the Turke; as that he ſhould baniſh a ſubiect, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, ſpecially in a matter of ſome ſequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.

Secondly, for that he maketh no ſuch ſcruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iuſt and preciſe account from the incarnation of Chriſt: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwiſe then as I noted before.

Thirdly, for that the ſaide Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, whither (it may be gueſſed) he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and ſo neare to his noſe, if he had beene baniſhed, for oppoſing himſelfe againſt the Popes Decree.

The Patriarks Iuriſdiction.

This Office of Patriarchſhip now trãſlated to *Mosko*, beareth a ſuperior authority ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Ruſsia*, and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of Chriſtendome, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*: or at leaſt, the *Ruſſe* Patriarch imagineth himſelfe to haue the ſame authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Dioceſſe) the Prouince of *Mosko*, beſides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

The Metropolites.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolite*, that was called the *Metropolite* of *Mosko*. Now for more ſtate to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two Metropolites, the one of *Nouogrod velica*, the other of *Roſtoue*. Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, ſuch Eccleſiaſticall Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of thē ouer to the Archbiſhops: beſides the ordering of their owne Dioceſſe.

Archbiſhops.

Their Archbiſhops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Cozan*, *Kobsko*, and *Vologda*. The parts of their Office is all one with the Metropolits: ſaue that they haue an vnder iuriſdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metropolites, and ſuperiors to the Biſhoppes.

Biſhops.

The next are the *Vladikeis*, or Biſhops, that are but ſixe in all: of *Crutitska*, of *Rezan*, of *Oſter*, and *Torſhock*, of *Colomenska*, of *Volodemer*, of *Suſdalla*. Theſe haue euery one a very large Dioceſſe: as diuiding the reſt of the whole Country among them.

Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction.

The matters pertaining to the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, of the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, are the ſame (in a manner) that are vſed by the Cleargie in other parts of Chriſtendome. For, beſides their authority ouer the Cleargy, and ordering ſuch matters as are meere Eccleſiaſticall; their iuriſdiction extendeth to all teſtamentary cauſes, matters of marriage, and diuorcements, ſome pleas of iniuries, &c.

Their Gentlemen, Commiſſaries.

To which purpoſe alſo they haue their Officials, or Commiſſaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladitskey*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts, and execute their iuriſdiction. Which, beſides their other oppreſſions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Prieſts: as the Dukes and Diacks do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.

Oppreſſion alſo ouer the Prieſts.

As for the Archbiſhoppe or Biſhop himſelfe, he beareth no ſway in deciding thoſe cauſes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he muſt do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reaſon is, becauſe theſe *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Biſhops, but by the Emperour himſelfe, or his Counſell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Biſhop can entreat (at his admiſſion) to haue the choiſe of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a ſpeciall great fauour. But to ſpeake it as it is, the Cleargy of *Ruſsia*, as well concerning their lands and reuenues, as their authority and iuriſdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperor, and his Counſell, and haue ſo much, and no more of both as their pleaſure doth permit them.

The Emperor appointeth the Gentlemen Officials and not the Arch-Biſhop.

Aſsiſtance of ſeuerall counſels.

They haue alſo their aſsiſtants or ſeuerall Counſels (as they call them) of certaine Prieſts that are of their Dioces, reſiding within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a piece. Theſe aduiſe with them, about the ſpeciall and neceſſary

necessary matters belonging vnto theyr charge.

The Church reuennewes.

Concerning their rents and reuennews to maintaine their dignities, it is somwhat large. The Patriarches yearely rents out of his lands (besides other fees) is about three thousand Rubbels or Markes. The Metropolites and Archbyshops, about two thousand and fiue hundred. The Byshops some a thousand, some eight hundred, some fiue hundred, &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand rubbles a year; as had the Metropolite of *Nouogrode*.

The habite of their Clergie men.

Their habite or apparrell (when they shew themselues in their Pontificalibus, after their solemnest manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popish fashion, with Pearle and precious stone, a Cope on their backes, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroidered with Pearle, and a Crosiers staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of siluer double gilt, with a Crosse or Shepheards crook at the vpper end of it.

Their ordinary habit.

Their ordinary habit otherwise, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bongrace before. Their vpper garment (which they call *Reis*) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many lists or gardes of white Sattin laid vpon it, euery gard about two fingers broad, and theyr Crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselues followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.

Their vpper Garment.

The election of byshops

The election, and appointing of the Byshops and the rest, pertaineth wholly to the Emperor himselfe. They are chosen euer out of the Monasteries: so that there is no Byshop, Archbyshoppe, nor Metropolite, but hath bene a Monke, or Fryer before. And (by that reason) they are, and must all bee vnmaried men, for their vow of Chastity, when they wer first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Dioceese, with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

The learning and exercise of the Russe Cleargy.

As for preaching the word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vnder them; they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Cleargie beeing vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice euery yeare, viz: the first of September (which is the first day of their yeare) and on S. *Iohn* Baptists day to make an ordinary speech to the people, euery Metropolite, Archbyshop and Byshop in his Cathedrall Church, to this or the like effect.

The first day of the yeare.

That if any be in malice toward his neighbour, he shall leaue off his malice: if any haue thought of treason or rebellion against his Prince, he beware of such practise: If he haue not kept his fasts and Vowes, nor doone his other duties to the holy church, he shal amend that fault, &c.

And this is a matter of forme with the vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here set down. Yet the matter is done with that grace & solemnity, in a pulpit of purpose set vppe for this one Act; as if he wer to discourse at large of the whole substance of diuinity. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe is euer present at this solemne exhortation.

The Priestes fearfull to haue their ignorance discoueted.

As themselues are voyde of all manner of learning, so they are warie to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in the feare to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discouered. To that purpose they haue perswaded the Emperours, that it would breed innouation, and so daunger to their State, to haue any nouelty of learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, holpen by Learning and liberall education, can hardly endure a tyrannicall gouernment.

Learning can hardly liue vnder tyranny.

A Printing house erected in Mosko.

Some yeares past, in the other Emperors time, there came a Presse & Letters out of *Polonia*, to the City of *Mosko*, wher a Printing-house was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himself. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, & the Presse and Letters quite burnt vp, and (as it was thought) by the procurement of the Clergymen.

Their Priests, whome they call *Papas*) are made by the Byshoppes, without any great triall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or ceremonies in theyr admission saue that their heads are shorn (not

Priestes not made for merit or worthinesse, and the manner how.

(not ſhauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annointed with Oyle by the Byſhop: who in his admiſſion putteth vpon the Prieſt, firſt his Surpleſſe; and then ſetteth a white croſſe on his breſt of ſilke, or ſome other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and ſo giueth him authority to ſay and ſing in the Church, and to adminiſter the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell; foraſmuch as their makers, the Byſhoppes themſelues (as before was ſayde) are cleere of that quality, & make no farther vſe at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themſelus, ſaue to reade and to ſing them. Their ordinary charge and function, is to ſay the Liturgie, to adminiſter the Sacraments after their manner, to keep & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vſuall in their Churches. Their number is great, becauſe theyr Townes are parted into many ſmall Pariſhes, without any diſcretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of houſholds, and people for a iuſt Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increaſing of knowledge, and inſtruction towardes God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and pariſhes, there followeth a want and vnequality of ſtipend, for a ſufficient Miniſtery.

Their vſuall charge and function.

Partition of their townes into pariſhes.

For their Prieſts, it is lawfull to marry for the firſt time. But if the firſt Wife dye, a ſecond he cannot take, but he muſt loſe his Prieſthood, and his liuing withal. The reaſon, they make out of that place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1.3.2. not well vnderſtood, thinking that to bee ſpoken of diuers wiues ſucceſſiuely, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of at one and the ſame time. If he will needes marry againe after his firſt Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Roſſapa*, or Prieſt *Quondam*. This maketh the Prieſts to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of beſt reputation, among the Women of the Pariſh.

The Ruſſe prieſts can marry but once.

The Quondam Prieſts.

For the ſtipend of the Prieſt, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of corne, or ought elſe: but hee muſt ſtand at the deuotion of the people of his owne Pariſh, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, ſo well as he can, by offerings, ſhrifts, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molitua*.) For, beſides their publike ſeruice within their Churches, their manner is, for euery priuate man to haue a prayer ſaide for him by the Prieſt, vppon any occaſion of buſineſſe whatſoeuer, whether he ride, goe, ſayle, plough, or whatſoeuer elſe hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occaſion of his buſineſſe, but at random, being ſome of their ordinary and vſuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Prieſts mouth, rather then by his owne.

Stipends allotted to the Prieſts.

Prayers for euerie priuate man.

They haue a cuſtome beſides to ſolemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & pariſhes about, come in to haue prayers ſaide to that Saint, for themſelues, and their friends: and ſo make an Offering to the Prieſt for his paines.

Solemnizing the Sainctday of the Churches.

This Offering may yeeld them ſome ten pounds a yeare, more or leſſe, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credite and eſtimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuerſary for the Prieſt) to hyre diuers of his neighbour-Prieſtes to helpe him: as hauing more Diſhes to dreſſe for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

The manner of keeping the Prieſtes Anniuerſarie.

They vſe beſides to viſite their pariſhioners houſes, with holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and ſo hauing ſprinkled and beſenſed the goodman and his Wife, with the reſt of their houſhold and houſhold-ſtuffe, they receyue ſome deuotion (more or leſſe) as the man is of ability. This and the reſt laid together, may make vp for the Prieſt towards his maintenance, about thirtie or fourty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Byſhoppe of the Dioceſſe.

The Prieſtes maintenance.

The *Papa* or Prieſt is knowne by his long tufts of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking ſtaffe in his hand. For the reſt of his habite, he is apparrelled like to the common ſort. When he ſaith the Liturgie

The Prieſts attire, & how he is knowne

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gie or ſeruice, within the Church, he hath on him his Surpleſſe, and ſometimes his Cope, if the day be more ſolemne. They haue beſides their *Papaes* or prieſts, theyr *Churnapapaes* (as they call them) that is, *Blacke Prieſts*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within ſome Monaſterie. They ſeeme to be the very ſame, that were called Regular Prieſts in the Popiſh church. Vnder the Prieſt, is a Deacon in euerie Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Pariſh Clearke. As for their *Protopapaes*, or Arch-prieſts, and their Archdeacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapaes*) they ſerue onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Black Prieſts for keeping of Benefices.

A Deacon or pariſh Clark, Protopapaes.

Of Fryars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is profeſſed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Country, ſwarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popiſh Fryars did by their ſuperſtition and hypocriſie) that if any part of the Realme be better and ſweeter then other; there ſtandeth a Friery or a Monaſterie, dedicated to ſome Saint.

Friers an infinite company in the Country, and as many ſuperſtitions.

The number of them is ſo much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the ſuperſtition of the country; but becauſe the Fryars life is the ſafeſt from the oppreſſions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which cauſeth many to put on the Friers weede, as the beſt Armour to beare off ſuch blowes. Beſides ſuch as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to ſheare themſelues Fryers, vppon ſome diſpleaſure. Theſe are for the moſt part of the cheeſe Nobility.

Fryars liue ſafeſt from oppreſion & taxation impoſed on the Commons.

Diuers take the Monaſteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Fryers, to auoid ſome puniſhment, that they had deſerued by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monaſtery ouer his heade, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for euer againſt any Law, for what crime ſoeuer: except it be for treaſon. But this *Prouiſo* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except ſuch as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his ſtocke with him, and putteth it into the cõmon Treaſury. Some bring a thouſand Rubbels, and ſome more. None is admitted vnder three or foure hundred.

The Monaſterie is as a ſanctuary for offences committed.

The manner of their admiſſion is after this ſort. Firſt, the Abbot ſtrippeth him of all his ſecular or ordinary Apparrell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his skinne, a white Flannell ſhirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermoſt Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or Say, for colour and faſhion, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney-ſweeper. Then is crowne ſhorne a hand bredth, or more, cloſe to the verie skin, and theſe or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while he clippeth his haire.

Their maner of ſhearing Fryars.

As theſe haires are clipped off, and taken from thy head: ſo now wee take thee, and ſeparate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.

The Abbots wordes at a Friars admiſſion.

This done, he annointeth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and ſo taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall chaſtity, and abſtinence from fleſh.

Beſides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greateſt Marchants in the whole Countrey, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monaſteries diſpend in Lands one thouſand, or two thouſand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in lands and fees, the ſumme of an hundred thouſand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

Fryers the greateſt Marchants in the Countrey.

It is built in manner of a Caſtle, walled round about with great Ordenance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Fryers within it (beſides their Officers and other ſeruants) about ſeuen hundred. The Empreſſe that then was, had many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is patrone there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Huſband. Lightly (euery yeare) ſhe went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foote, about foureſcore ordinary miles, with fiue or ſixe thouſand women attending vpon her, all in blew Liueries, and foure thouſand ſouldiers for her Guarde. But S. *Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they ſay) hee hath a ſpeciall gift and faculty that way.

A warlike Abbey.

The Saint to make women fruitefull in Children.

The Empreſſes going on pilgrimage.

What Learning there is among theyr Fri-

The Fryars learning anſwerable to their Byſhops

Fryars, may be known by their Byſhops, that are the choiſe men out of all theyr Monaſteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Vologda*, where (to trie his skill) I offered him a *Ruſſe* Teſtament, and turned him to the firſt chap. of S. *Mathews* Goſpell. Where he began to read in very good order.

Queſtions & anſweres betweene the Author & a Ruſſe prieſt.

I asked him firſt, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? Hee anſwered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangeliſts there were in the Newe Teſtament? He ſaide he knew not. How many Apoſtles there were? Hee thought there were twelue. How he ſhould be ſaued? Whereunto he anſwered me (with a peece of *Ruſſe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee ſhould be ſaued, or no: But if God wold *Poſhallouate* him, or gratifie him ſo much, as to ſaue him, ſo it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him Why he ſhore him ſelfe a Fryer? Hee anſwered, becauſe hee would eate his breade in quietneſſe and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of Ruſſia, which though it be not to be meaſured by one, yet partly it may be geſſed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the reſt.

Nunneries of Noblemens Widdowes & daughters, and none alſo to be admitted there.

They haue alſo very many Nunneries, whereof ſome may admit none but Noblemens Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood or ſtocke, which hee would haue extinguiſhed. To ſpeak of the life of their Fryers and Nunnes, it needs not, to thoſe that know the hypocriſie and vncleaneneſſe of that Cloyſter-broode. The *Ruſſe* himſelfe (though otherwiſe addicted to all ſuperſtition) ſpeaketh ſo fowly of it, that it muſt needs gain ſilence of any modeſt man.

Eremites called holy men, like to Gymnoſophiſtes.

Beſides theſe, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to thoſe Gymnoſophiſts for their life and behauiour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vſe to goe ſtarke naked, ſaue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildely about their ſhoulders, and many of them with an iron coller, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

Theſe they take as Prophets, and men of great holineſſe, giuing them a libertie to ſpeake what they liſt, without any controlment, though it be of the very higheſt himſelfe. So that if he reproue any openly, in what ſort ſoeuer; they anſwere nothing, but that it is *Pogracum*, that is, for their ſinnes. And if any of them take ſome peece of ſale ware from any mans ſhop, as he paſſeth by, to giue where he liſte; hee thinketh himſelfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that ſort.

Prophets and men of great ſanctity.

Of this kinde there are not many, becauſe it is a very hard and cold profeſſion, to goe naked in *Ruſsia*, eſpecially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streetes, and inueyeth commonly, againſt the State and Gouernment, eſpecially againſt the *Godonors*, that are thoght at this time, to bee great Oppreſſours of that Common-wealth.

An Eremite now liuing in Ruſsia.

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Baſileo*) that would take vpon him to reproue the olde Emperor for all his cruelty, and oppreſſions done towards his people. His body they haue tranſlated (of late) into a ſumptuous Church, neere the Emperors houſe in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for ſo the Fryers make the people to beleeue) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not onely by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperor & Empreſſe themſelues, which viſite that Church with great deuotion.

Baſileo the Ermite

Offerings to a dead ſuppoſed Saint.

But at my beeing at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes reſtored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then falne out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter ſix yeares before.

A mery miracle monger.

Now he is put into a Monaſterie, and there raileth vpon the Fryers, that hyred him to haue this counterfeyte myracle practiſed vppon him. Beſides this diſgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight ſlaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which cauſed his bels (that wer tingling before

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all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Baſileo* their S.) to ring ſomwhat ſoftly; and hath wroght no little diſcredit vnto this Miracle worker.

Nichola the Eremite of great eſtimation.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperors Father came to ſacke the Towne, vpon ſuſpition of their reuolting and rebellion againſt him. The Emperor, after he had ſaluted the Eremite, at his lodging, ſent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, ſent him a peece of raw fleſh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour ſeeing, bid one to tel him, that hee maruelled, that the Holye man would offer him fleſh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. *And doth Enasko* (which is as much to ſay as Iacke) *thinke* (*quoth Nicola*) *that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beaſts fleſh in Lent, & not to eate vp ſo much mans fleſh, as he hath done already?*

Preſents betweene the Emperor and an Eremite.

So, threatning the Emperor, with a propheſie of ſome harde aduenture to come vpon him, except hee left murthering of his people, and departing from the Towne, he ſaued a great many mens liues at that time.

Lawful reprouers or findefaults.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, becauſe they are as *Paſquils* to note their great mens faultes, that no man elſe dare ſpeake of. Yet it falleth out ſomtime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeite manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in ſecret: as was one or two of them, in the laſt Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in ſpeaking againſt his gouernment.

Of their Liturgy or form of Church ſeruice, and their manner of adminiſtering the Sacraments.

Their morning ſeruice they call *Zautrana*, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order.

The Prieſt entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, he beginneth to ſay with a lowd voyce: *Blaſſlauey Vladika*, that is, *Bleſſe vs heauenly Paſtor*, meaning of Chriſt. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, one very God in Trinity: and Aſpody Pomeluy*. Or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vppon vs*, repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sanctum Sanctorum* (as they vſe to cal it) and ſo entreth into the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or the heauenly doore: which no man may enter into, but the Prieſt onely. Where ſtanding at the Altare or Table (ſet neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee ſayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Aſpody Pomeluy*, or *Lorde haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, &c.* pronounced twelue times. Then prayſed be the Trinity, *the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, for euer and euer*. Wherto the Deacons and people ſay, Amen. Next after, the Prieſt addeth the Pſalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worſhip and fall down before the Lord &c.* and therewithall himſelfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themſelues towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (croſſing themſelues) bow downe three times, knocking theyr heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commaundements, and *Athanaſius* Creede, out of the Seruice booke.

The heauenly dore, for none to enter but the prieſt.

Worſhip to their Idols and Images.

This being done, the Deacon that ſtandeth without the heauenly dore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of ſome Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for euery day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine ſinging Note, not vnlike to the Popiſh Tune, when they ſing their Goſpels.

After all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine ſet Collectes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and ſo endeth his Seruice. All this while ſtande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof ſome are of the biggeneſſe of a mans waſte) vowed, or enioyned by penance, vpon the people of the Pariſh.

Nine a clocke ſeruice in the morning.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Seruice, called *Obeiana* (or Compline) much after the order of the Popiſh Seruice, that bare that name. If it be ſome high or Feſtiuall day, they furniſh their Seruice beſides, With *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, &c.* and, *We praiſe thee, O God.* &c. ſung with a more ſolemne and curious note.

Their

Their euening Seruice.

Their Euening Seruice, called *Vecherna*, where the Prieſt beginneth with *Blaiſſaney Vladika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the Pſalmes appoynted for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he ſingeth, *My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Prieſt, Deacons, and People, all with one voyce ſing, *Aſpody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the Church, anſwer all with one voice, rowling it vp ſo faſt, as their lips can goe; *Verÿ, Verÿ, Verÿ, Verÿ*, or *Praiſe, Praiſe, Praiſe, &c.* thirty times together, with a very ſtrange noyſe. Then is read by the Prieſt, and vpon the Holy-dayes ſung the firſt Pſalme, *Bleſſed is the man, &c.* And in the end of it, is added, *Allelnia*, repeated ten times.

The next in order, is ſome part of the Goſpel read by the Prieſt, which he ends with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And ſo hauing ſaid a Collect, in remembrance of the Saint of that day, he ends his euening Seruice.

All this while, the Prieſt ſtands aboue at the Altare or high Table, within the Chancel, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer moueth all the Seruice time. The Deacon or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) ſtand without the Chauncell by the *Schariſney Dwere*, or heauenly dore: for within they may not be ſeene all the Seruice time, though otherwiſe their office is to ſweep, and keepe it, and to ſet vp the waxe candles before their Idoles. The people do ſtand together (the whole Seruice time) in the Church, and ſome in the Church porch: for Pew or Seate they haue none within their Churches.

The Deacons office or ſeruice.

The manner of the Ruſſe Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme they adminiſter after this manner: The childe is brought to the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne:) If it be the childe of ſome Noble man, it is brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with chaires and cuſhions of cloath of Golde, and ſuch like ſumptuous ſhew of their beſt furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Prieſt ſtandeth readie to receiue the childe within the Church-porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Chriſtian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the witneſſes, that are two or three, in a certayne ſet forme out of his Booke (what their duty is,) in bringing vp the childe after he is baptized, viz. That hee muſt bee taught to know God, and Chriſt our Sauiour. And becauſe God is of great Maieſtie, and we muſt not preſume to come vnto him, without Mediatours (as the manner is when we make any ſuite to an Emperour, or great Prince) therfore they muſt teach him what Saints are the beſt, and chiefe mediatours, &c. This done, he commaundeth the diuell in the name of God (after a coniuring manner) to come out of the water: and ſo after certaine praiers, he plungeth the child ouer head and eares. For this they holde to be a poynt very neceſſary, that no part of the child be left vndipped into the water.

Inſtructions giuen by the prieſt to the witneſſes.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptiſme, vttered by the Prieſt, when he dippeth in the childe, are the very ſame that are preſcribed in the Goſpel, and vſed by vs, that is, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghoſt*. For that they ſhould alter the forme of the words, and ſay, *by the holy Ghoſt*, as I haue heard they did, following certaine heretikes of the Greeke-Church, I found to be vntrue, aſwell by the report of them that haue beene often at their Baptiſmes, as by their Booke of Leiturgie it ſelfe, wherein the order of Baptiſme is preciſely ſet downe.

The Prieſts words at the dipping the childe in the water.

Other ceremonies after Baptiſme.

When the childe is baptized, the Prieſt layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the fore-head, and both the ſides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the childs lippes (as did the Popiſh Prieſts) ſaying withall, certaine prayers, to this effect: That God will make him a good Chriſtian, &c. All this is doone in the Church porch.

Then is the childe (as being now made a Chriſtian, & meet to be receiued within the Church doore) carried into the Church, the Prieſt going before, and is there preſented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a cuſhion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the mediatour) to be commended vnto God: If the childe be ſicke, or weake (ſpecially in the Winter) they vſe to make the water luke warme. After Baptiſme, the maner

is

is to cut off the haire from the childs head and hauing wrapped it within a peece of wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument in a ſecret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptiſme, which they account to be the beſt & perfecteſt forme. As they do all other parts of their religion, receiued (as they ſay) by tradition from the beſt church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Proſelite or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign Chriſtian, by rebaptizing him after the Ruſſe manner.

Proſelites or Conuerts frō infidelity.

When they take any Tartar priſoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perſwade very fewe of them to redeeme their life ſo: becauſe of the natural hatred the Tartar beareth to the Ruſſe, and the opinion he hath of his falſhoode and iniuſtice. The yeare after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Diuey-morſey*, one of the chief in that exploit, with 300. Tartars more: who had al their liues offered them, if they would be baptized after the Ruſſe maner. Which they all refuſed to do, with many reproches againſt thoſe that perſwaded them. And ſo being carried to the riuer *Mosko*, (that runneth thorough the Citty) they were all baptized after a violent manner: being thruſt downe with a knocke on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpoſe.

300. Tartars that wold not be baptized.

Of *Lieflanders* that are Captiues, there are many that take on them this ſecond Ruſſe baptiſme, to get more libertie, and ſome-what beſides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vſeth to giue them. Of Engliſhmen (ſince they frequented the country) there was neuer any found, that ſo much forgot God, his faith, and countrey, as that he would bee content to be baptized Ruſſe, for any reſpect of feare, preferment, or other means whatſoeuer: ſaue onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly Trade, by keeping a *Caback* (againſt the order of the countrey) and being putte off from that Trade, and ſpoiled by the Emperors Officers of that which he hadde, entered himſelfe into the Ruſſe profeſſion, and ſo was rebaptized, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a rioter and vnthrifty perſon.

Rebaptizing of Lieflāders.

An Engliſhman rebaptized after the Ruſſe manner

Such as thus receiue the Ruſſe baptiſme, are firſt caried into ſome Monaſtery, to be inſtructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vſe theſe ceremonies.

Of ſuch as receiue the Ruſſian baptiſme, what ceremonies are vſed to them.

Firſt, they put him into a new & freſh ſuite of apparrell, made of the Ruſſe faſhion, and ſet a Coronet, or (in Sommer) a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile, & put a wax candle light into his hand: & ſo pray ouer him foure times a day, the ſpace of vii. daies. All this while hee is to abſtaine from fleſh and white meats.

The ſeuen dayes being ended, he is purified and waſhed in a Bath-ſtoue, and ſo the eight day he is broght to the church, where he is taught (by the Friers) how to behaue himſelf in preſence of their idols; by ducking down, knocking of the head, croſſing himſelfe, and ſuch like geſtures, which are the greateſt part of the Ruſſe religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they receiue but once a year, in their great Lent time, a little before Eaſter. Three at the moſt are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating is thus. Firſt, they do confeſſe themſelues of all their ſins, to the Prieſt (whome they call their ghoſtly Father.) Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion table, that ſtandeth like an Altar, a little remooued from the vpper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner.

The adminiſtring of the Lords Supper

Heere firſt they are asked of the Prieſt, whither they be clean, or no? that is, whither they haue neuer a ſinne behinde that they left vnconfeſſed. If they anſwer, *No*, they are taken to the table. Where the Prieſt begimneth with certain vſuall prayers, the Communicants ſtanding in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like penitentiaries, or mourners. When theſe praiers are ended, the Prieſt taketh a ſpoone, and filleth it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth into it a ſmall peece of bread, and tempereth them both together, and ſo deliuereth them in the Spoone to the Communicants, that ſtand in order, ſpeaking the vſuall words of the Sacrament, *Eate this, &c. Drink this*, &c. both at one time without any pauſe.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe

bread by it ſelfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to repreſent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the ſide of Chriſt. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfolde their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Prieſt thrice round about the Communion Table, and ſo returne to their places againe. Where having ſaide certaine other prayers, hee diſmiſſeth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themſelues for the ſeuen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to faſt for it as long time after. Which they vſe to obſerue with very great deuotion, eating nothing elſe but bread and ſalt, except a little cabbage, and ſome other hearb or roote, with water or quaſſe mead for their drinke.

Bread and ſalt the Ruſsian faſt.

This is their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the inſtitution of Chriſt, and what ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may eaſily be noted.

Their cheefeſt errours in matter of faith, I finde to be theſe.

Of the Doctrine of the Ruſſe church, and what errors it holdes.

First, concerning the word of God it ſelfe, they will not reade publikely certain Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moſes*; ſpecially the foure laſt, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they ſay are all made diſauthentique, and put out of vſe by the comming of Chriſt; as not able to diſcerne the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the ſame reaſon; becauſe they wer but directers vnto Chriſt, and proper (as they ſay) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of Pſalmes they haue in great eſtimation, and ſing & ſay them daily in their Churches.

How they allow of the new Teſtament.

Of the new Teſtament they allow, and reade all except the Reuelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) becauſe they vnderſtand it not, neither haue the like occaſion, to know the fulfilling of the propheſies contained within it, concerning eſpecially the Apoſtaſie of the Antichriſtian Church, as haue the Weſterne Churches. Notwithſtanding they haue had their Antichriſtes of the Greek Church, and may find their own falling off, and the puniſhments for it (by the Turkiſh inuaſion) in the propheſies of that Booke.

Apoſtaſie of the Antichriſtian Church.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the reſt of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papiſts, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer themſelues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuerd by the Apoſtles to the *Greek* Church, and ſo vnto them.

2. Traditions equall to the holy ſcripture

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and ſpecially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the reſt) haue a ſoueraigne authority to interpret the ſcriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as ſound and authentique.

3. The church to haue ſoueraigne authority in interpreting the Scriptures.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three perſons, in the one ſubſtance of God, that the Holye ghoſt proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

4. The holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Father onely.

5. About the office of Chriſt, they hold many fowle errors, and the ſame (almoſt) as doth the Popiſh Church; namely, that he is their ſole Mediator of redemption, but not of interceſſion.

5 Chriſt not ſole mediator of interceſsiō.

Their cheefe reaſon (if they be talked withall) for defence of this errour, is, that vnapt and fooliſh compariſon, betweene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that muſt be ſued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue ſpeciall preferment to ſome aboue others, as to the bleſſed Virgin, whom they cal *Prechiſte*, or vndefiled: & S. *Nicolas*, whom they cal *Scora pomoſnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, & ſay, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefeſt, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible exceſſe of idolatry, after the groſſeſt and prophaneſt manner; giuing vnto theyr Images, all Religious worſhip of Prayer, Thankeſgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with proſtrating and knocking theyr heads to the ground before them, as to God himſelfe. Which beecauſe they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they ſay they worſhip not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, & ſo offend not God. Forgetting the commãdemẽt of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

An idle compariſon, of God, vnto a Prince of the world.

S. Nicolas the ſpeedy helper

A vaine excuſing palpable Idolatry.

image or likenesse of any thing, for any religious worshippe or vse whatsoeuer. Their Church walles are very ful of them, richly hanged and set forth with Pearle & stone vppon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the boord almost an inch outwards. They call them *Chudouodites*, or their miracle workers: and when they prouide thē to set vp in their churches, in no case they may say that they haue bought the image but exchanged mony for it.

Miracle workers.

6. For the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the Papistes, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Christ, but by their workes also. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fastes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almes deeds, Croffings, and such like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; aswell the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people; not onely in the Church, but in all other publike places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fasts, Law Courtes, common consultations, entertainment of Ambassadors, and such like.

6. Iustification by workes.

7. They say (with the Papists) that no man can be assured of his saluation, til the last sentence be passed at the day of Iudgment.

7. Saluation vncertaine.

8. They vse Auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged (by the verie action) from so many sins as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

8. Auricular confession.

9. They do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, *the Lords Supper*, and *the last annoyling* or *vnction*. Yet concerning theyr Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not so necessary to saluation, as they doe Baptisme; but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

9. Three Sacraments.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that al are condemned that dye without it.

10. Al damned that dy without baptisme.

11. They rebaptize as many Christians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Russe profession: because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

11. Anabaptisme.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinkes, accounting the vse of one, to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their set fasts, they forbeare to eat flesh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they obserue so strictly, and with such blind deuotion, as that they wil rather die, then eate one bit of flesh, egges or such like, for the health of their bodyes in their extreme sickenesse.

12. Difference of meates.

13. They hold mariage to be vnlawful for all the Clergy men, except the Priests only, and for them also after the first wife (as was said before.) Neither do they wel allowe of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vsed against the Emperours onely brother, a child of six yeares old: Who therfore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their maner is otherwise for the Princes blood because he was borne of the sixt mariage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperor himself, by procurement of the *Godonoes*: who make him beleeue, that it is a good policy, to turne away the liking of the people from the next succession.

13. Marriage for some persons vnlawful

An ill perswasion in priests.

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holye Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the Polonian toong (that is al one with theirs, some few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godlye care which they ought to doe: neyther haue they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Olde and New Testament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Seruice, whereof there are very great numbers.

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

All this mischeefe commeth from the Cleargie, who being ignoraunt and godlesse themselues, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewise) in their ignoraunce and blindenesse, for theyr liuing and bellies sake: partly also from their manner of Gouernement setled among them: which the Emperours (whom it specially behooueth) liste not to haue changed by any innouation, but to retaine that Religion that best agreeeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in some sort (though with-

The Clergie cause of al ignorance.

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true ſenſe and vnderſtanding of it) God hath alſo his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Ruſſe* at *Moſko* ſaid to a follower of an Ambaſſador, ſpeaking againſt their Images and other ſuperſtitions: That God had giuen vnto his Country light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if he pleaſed) to them.

As for any inquiſition or proceeding againſt mē for matter of religion, I could heare of none: ſaue (a few yeares ſince) againſt one man and his wife, who were kept in cloſe priſon, the ſpace of 28. years, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed faſhion, for their hayre, nailes, colour of countenance, and ſuch like, and in the ende were butned at *Moſko*, in a ſmall houſe ſet on fire. The cauſe was kept ſecret, but like it was for ſome part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleeue by the Prieſts and Fryars, that they held ſome great & damnable hereſie.

A man and his wife kept in priſon 28. yeares, and after burned.

The manner of ſolemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer ſaw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any ſight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himſelfe, but by his Mother, or ſome other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (aſwell by the Parents, as by the parties themſelues, for, without the knowledge and conſent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both ſides, or ſuch as are to them in ſtead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: ſo that you ſhal haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thouſand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

The manner of ſolemnizing their Mariages.

After liking taken on both ſides.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor ſtandeth with their cuſtome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in caſe he haue a childe by his Wife, ſhe enioyeth a third deale after his deceaſe. If he haue two children by her, or more, ſhee is to haue a courteſie more, at the diſcretion of the husband. If the husband depart without iſſue by his wife, ſhee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, ſaue onely her dowry: if the husband leaue ſo much behinde him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they ſigne bonds one to the other, aſwell for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (beſides) to aſſure her a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behauiour and honeſty of his wife.

The manner of endowmēt for Wiues.

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

Thus the contract beeing made, the parties begin to ſend Tokens the one to the other; the woman firſt, then afterward the man, but yet ſee not one another till the marriage be ſolemnized. On the eeue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a ſled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes houſe, with her marriage apparrell and bedſtead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer prouided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much coſt beſtowed vpon it. Heere ſhee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcommed, nor once ſeene by the bridegroome himſelfe.

No ſight till the marriage be ſolemnized.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage ſolemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of hoode, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her bodie down to the middle. And ſo accompanied with hir frends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horſebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themſelues but of very meane degree.

Ceremonies in marriages.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in ſolemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the ſame words that are vſed with vs: with a ring alſo giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which ſtandeth all this while on the one ſide of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot beeing knit by the Prieſt, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (ſtanding at the end of the Altar or Table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head vpon his ſhooe, in token of her ſubiection & obedience. And the Bridegroome againe caſteth the lappe

The Brides token of obedience to her husband.

lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cheriſh her.

Signs of loue and affinitie betweene the parents and friends.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, ſtanding both together at the Tables end, commeth firſt the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themſelues downe low to the Bride-groome: and ſo likewiſe his friends bow themſelues to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the prieſt a loafe of bread; who deliuereth it ſtraight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with atteſtation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Wherupon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to teſtifie their true and ſincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

These Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and ſo they goe on together, with their friendes after them, towardes the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in theyr hands, with Meade and Ruſſe Wine. Whereof the Bride groome taketh firſt a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaile belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being ſeene of the Bridge-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroome together.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers houſe, and ſhe likewiſe to hers, where eyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the houſe, they vſe to fling Corne out of the windowes vppon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfulneſſe to be with them euer after.

The euening and night ceremonies.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers houſe, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaile or couer ſtill ouer her head. All that night, ſhee may not ſpeak one word (for that charge ſhee receiueth by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friendes) that the Bride-groome muſt neither heare, nor ſee her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may ſhe be heard to ſpeake, ſaue certaine few words at the Table, in a ſet forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If ſhee behaue her ſelfe otherwiſe, it is a great preiudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee diſliked of the Bridegroome himſelfe.

After the third day, they depart vnto their own houſe, and make a feaſt to both their friends together. The mariage day, and the whole time of their Feſtiuall, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezay*, or yong Dutcheſſe.

Titles giuen to the Bride-groome and Bride.

In liuing with their wiues, they ſhew themſelues to be but of a barbarous condition: vſing them as ſeruantes rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or ſeeme to bee of more eſtimation with their husbands, then the reſt of meaner ſort. They haue this fowle abuſe, contrary to good order, and the word of God it ſelfe, that vpon diſlike of his wife, or other cauſe whatſoeuer, the man may go into a Monaſtery, & ſheare himſelfe a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and ſo leaue his wife to ſhifte for her ſelfe ſo well as ſhe can.

Barbarous behauiour in liuing with their wiues.

The other Ceremonies of theyr Church, are many in number: eſpecially, the abuſe about the ſigne of the Croſſe, which they ſet vp in their high-wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houſes, ſigning themſelues continually with it on their foreheads & breſts, with great deuotion, as they will ſeeme by their outward geſture and behauiour. Which were much leſſe offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worſhippe vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vſed the dumbe ſhew and ſigning of it, inſtead of Thankeſgiuing, and of all other duties vvhich they doe owe vnto God.

The other Ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church.

When they riſe euery day in the Morning, they goe commonlie in the ſight of ſome Steeple, that hath a croſſe made on the toppe of it: and ſo bowing themſelues towardes the croſſe, they ſigne themſelues withall on theyr foreheads and breſts. And this is their thankſ-

Riſing in the morning.

giuing to God for their nights reſt, without any word ſpeaking, except peraduenture they ſay, *Aſpody Pomelug*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

Sitting downe to meate.

When they ſit downe to meate, and riſe againe from it, the thankſgiuing to God, is the croſſing of their fore-heads and breaſts. Except it be ſome few that adde peraduẽture, a word or two of ſome ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpoſe.

Oath for deciding controuerſies.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuerſie at law, they do it by ſwearing by the Croſſe, and kiſſing the feete of it, making it as GOD, whoſe name onely is to bee vſed in ſuch triall of Iuſtice.

At entring into houſes.

When they enter into any houſe (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wal) they ſigne themſelues with the croſſe, and bow themſelues to it.

At beginning worke.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themſelues firſt with the ſigne of the croſſe. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good ſpeede of their buſineſſe. And thus they ſerue God with croſſes, after a croſſe and vaine manner: not vnderſtanding what the Croſſe of Chriſt is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all ſtrangers Chriſtians, to be no better then Turkes, in compariſon of themſelues (and ſo they wil ſay) becauſe they bow not themſelues, when they meete with the Croſſe, nor ſigne themſelues with it, as the Ruſſe manner is.

Holy water.

They haue holy water, in like vſe and eſtimation as the Popiſh Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water ſtockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riuers of the Country once euery yeare. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & ſolemnity: the Emperour himſelfe being preſent at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the ſtreetes towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of proceſſion, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Prechelle* (or our Lady) the other of S. *Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the reſt of the Deacons and the Prieſts of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backes, and their Idols at their breaſts, carried with girdles or ſlings, made faſt about their necks. Next the Prieſts, come their Biſhops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or ſphere on the top of his myter, to ſignifie his vniuerſality ouer that Church. Laſt commeth the Emperor, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

Hallowing of Riuers.

The hallowing of the Riuer at Mosko.

Order obſerued at the Riuer.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a ſtage round about it to keepe off the preaſe. Then beginneth the Patriarch to ſay certaine prayers, and coniureth the diuell to come out of the water: and ſo caſting in ſalt, and cenſing it with frankincenſe, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vſe to make croſſes of chawlke ouer euery doore, & window of their houſes: leaſt the diuell being coniured out of the water, ſhould flye into their houſes.

After the ceremonies are ended.

When the ceremonies are ended, you ſhall ſee the black gard of the Emperors houſe, & then the reſt of the Towne with their pailes and buckers, to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vſes. You ſhall alſo ſee the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, ſome naked, ſome with their clothes on, when ſome man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee ſhould but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their horſes to the riuer, to drink of the ſanctified water; and ſo make them as holy as a horſe. Their ſet day for this ſolemne action of halowing their riuers, is that we call *Twelfe day*. The like is doone by other Biſhops, in all parts of the Realme.

Horſes drinke of the holy water on Twelfth-day.

Drinking of holy water.

Their maner is alſo to giue it to their ſicke, in their greateſt extreamitie; thinking that it will eyther recouer them, or ſanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreaſonable ſuperſtition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely ſonne, at my being at the *Moſco*: whom he killed (as was ſayd by the Phyſitions) by powring into him colde holy water, and by preſenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Baſileo*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extreamity of ſickeneſſe.

They

The Image of Chriſt in proceſſions.

They haue an Image of *Chriſt*, which they call *Nerucbi*, (which ſignifies aſmuch as *Made without hands*) for ſo their prieſts (and ſuperſtition withall) perſwades them it was. This in their proceſſions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, encloſed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great myſterie.

Brewing with holy water.

At euery brewing, their manner is likewiſe, to bring a diſh of their woort to the Prieſt, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and ſo giueth it ſuch a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are ſeldome ſober. The like they doe with the firſt fruites of their corne in Harueſt.

Palmeſundaie ceremonie by ancient tradition.

They haue an other ceremony vppon Palme-ſunday of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himſelfe holding his horſe bridle, and the people crying, *Hoſanna*, and ſpreading their vpper garments vnder his horſe feete. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good ſeruice of that day, 200. rubbles of ſtanding penſion. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Natiuity of Chriſt: When euery Biſhop in his Cathedrall Church, ſetteth foorth a ſhew of the three children in the Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terible flaſhes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the towne all the Twelue dayes, diſguiſed in their Players coats, and make much good ſport for the honour of the Biſhops Pageant. At the *Moſco*, the Emperour himſelfe, and the Empreſſe neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the ſame matter played euery yeare, without any new inuention at all.

Another ceremony before Chriſtmaſſe.

Faſts, beſide foure ſeuerall Lents, and at what times they are.

Beſides their faſts on Wedneſdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yere, (the one, becauſe they ſay Chriſt was ſold on the Wedneſday, the other, becauſe he ſuffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Faſts, or Lents euery yeare. The firſt, (which they call their great Lent) is at the ſame time with ours. The ſecond, about Midſomer. The third, in Harueſt time. The fourth, about Hallowntide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere ſuperſtitions.

In their great Lent, for the firſt weeke, they doe eate nothing but Bread and ſalt, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their ſhriuing and faſting only.

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

They haue alſo three *Vigils* or *Wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stoiania*, and the laſt Friday their great *Vigil*, as they do call it. What time the whole pariſh muſt be preſent in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill ſixe in the Morning, all the while ſtanding, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which muſt be an hundred and ſeauentie times, iuſt, through the whole night.

Burialls, and their ſuperſtitious ceremonies at them.

About their burialls alſo, they haue many ſuperſtitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpes, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*; whome they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Heauen gates, as the Papiſts doe theyr *Peter*.

No buriall in the winter.

In Winter time, when all is couered with ſnow, and the ground ſo hard frozen, as that no ſpade, nor picke-axe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (ſo many as die all the Winter time) in an houſe, in the ſuburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bohſedom*, that is to ſay, *Gods houſe*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a wood-ſtacke, as hard, with the froſt, as a verie ſtone, till the Spring-tide come and diſſolueth the froſt; what time euery man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

Month minds for departed friends.

They haue beſides, their yeares and moneths mindes, for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers ſaide ouer the graue by the prieſt; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When any dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party: and ſtand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heatheniſh manner (ſometimes in the houſe, ſometimes bringing the body into the backeſide: *Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die?* They bury theyr dead, as the party vſed to goe, with coate, hoſe, bootes, hatte, and the reſt of his apparrell.

Buriall according as they went liuing.

Many

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare, how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirite and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Lastly, an Oeconomicall discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Houshoolde affaires: And more priuate behauiour of the people.*

Of the Emperours domestike or priuat behauiour.

THe Emperours priuate behauior, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowne, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Otetz Dyheuna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesseth him, laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the clarke of the crosse (calld *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Image, representing the Saint for that day. For euery day with them hath his seuerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearles and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginnes to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Assody Pomeluy, Pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena*

The emperors ghostly father.

His priuate prayer, and the maner how it is performed in ceremonies.

gresnick Syhodestua: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Prechesse*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whome he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

Sprinkling with holy water.

Then commeth againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a siluer bose ful of holywater, which they call in *Russe*, *Sweta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to besprinkles first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

The emperors visitation of the Empresse.

These deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Empresse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawse, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empresse lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vppon the eeue of their Lents, or commō Fasts: what time she is his ordinary ghest at bed and boord. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zautrana*) of an houre long or there-abouts. From the Church he returneth home, & sitteth him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of thē, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

The Emperor giueth presence euerie morning.

The emperors high and solemne seruice.

About nine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Castle; where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obeadna* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperor in the mean time, talking commonly with some

of

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, which haue to ſay to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewiſe conferre togither among themſelues, as if they were in their councell houſe. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himſelfe till it be dinner time.

The Emperours ſeruice at his Table.

Hee is ſerued at his Table on this manner; Firſt, euery diſh (as it is deliuered at the Dreſſer) is taſted by the Cooke, in the preſence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And ſo is receiued by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilſhey*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Eraſſnoy*) who giueth a taſte of euery diſh vnto the Taſter, and ſo placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his diſhes for his ordinary ſeruice, is about ſeauentie; dreſſed ſomewhat groſely, with much garlike and ſalt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon ſome occaſion of the day, or entertainement of ſome Ambaſſador, he hath many more diſhes. The ſeruice is ſent vp by two diſhes at a time, or three at the moſt, that hee may eate it warme: firſt the baked, then the roſte meates, and laſt of all, the brothes.

A Table for the Nobilitie, &c.

In his dining Chamber is an other Table: where ſit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghoſtly Father, or Chaplaine. On the one ſide of the Chamber ſtandeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great ceſterne of Copper by it, full of yce and ſnow, wherein ſtand the pots that ſerue for that meale. The taſter holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a ſay, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many diſhes out of the ſeruice, after it is ſet on the Table, and to ſend them to ſuch Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperor liketh beſt. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

His ſleeping after dinner.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to reſt, where commonly hee taketh three houres ſleepe, vnleſſe hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this cuſtome for ſleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Ruſſes*. After his ſleepe hee goeth to Euenſong (called by them *Vecherna:*) and thence returning (for the moſt part) recreateth himſelfe with the Empreſſe till ſupper time, with ieaſters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and ſing many ſongs after the *Ruſſe* manner. This is his common and vſuall forme of recreation betweene his meales, wherein he moſt delighteth.

His euening recreation, or betweene meales.

One other ſpeciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or netts, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpoſe, againſt the Emperour bee diſpoſed to ſee the paſtime. The fight with the Beare is on this ſort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himſelfe ſo well as hee can; for there is no way to flie out. When the Beare is turned looſe, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the firſt puſh hee miſſe his ayme, ſo that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he aſſaileth a man, to riſe vpright on his two hinder legges, and ſo to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can puſh right into the very breaſt of him betweene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not miſſe) reſting the other end of the Boare-ſpeare at the ſide of his foote: and ſo keeping the pike ſtill towardes the face of the Beare, hee ſpeedeth him commonly at one blowe.

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

The manner to kill the Beare.

But many times theſe Hunters come ſhort, and are eyther ſlaine, or miſerably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beaſt. If the party quitte himſelfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore, where he drinketh himſelfe drunke for the honour of *Hoſpodare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleaſure.

To maintaine this paſtime, the Emperor hath certaine Huntſmen, that are appointed for that purpoſe, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he ſpendeth his time in looking vppon his Goldſmiths and Iewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and ſuch like, and ſo goeth to his ſupper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Prieſt ſaith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour bleſſeth and croſſeth himſelfe, as in the morning, for

His preparation to bed.

for a quarter of an houre or there-abouts, and so goeth to his bed.

A description of the Emperor, when the Author was there.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his person of a mean stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a sallow complection, and enclining to the dropsie, hawk nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weakenesse of his limbs, heauy and vnactiue, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For quality otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery Weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some Monastery, or other that is neerest hand. He is of 34. yeares old, or therabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of sixe yeares.

Of the Emperors priuate, or houshold Officers.

The cheefe Officers of the Emperors houshold, are these which follow. The first is the Office of the *Boiaren Conesheua*, or Master of the Horse. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouerseer of the horse, and not *Magister equitum*, or Master of the horsemen. For hee appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for seruice in his wars (besides other for his ordinary vses) hee hath to the number of ten thousand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

Master of the Horse.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold, at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The Lord Steward.

The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, iewels, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The Lord Treasurer.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesinine*.

Controller.

The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Esstoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay*.

Chamberlain

The sixt his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

Tasters.

The seuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder thē. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the cheefest account.

Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen beside that waite about his Chamber and Person (called *Shilsey Strapsey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessary Furniture continually day & night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding.

The Guard.

In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him.

Night time.

A second chamber off, there lodge sixe other of like account, for their trust and faithfulnesse.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shilsey Strapsey*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes besides, that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Esstopnick*.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was saide before) watch about the Emperors lodging, or bed-chamber by course two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treasure house.

The Guard for his lodging.

His Court or House at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordenance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great bredth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure and trusty to the Emperor.

Of the priuate behauiour, or quality of the Russe people.

The priuate behauiour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly bee vnderstoode, by that which hath beene sayde concerning the publique state and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the most part, of a large size, and of verie fleshy bodies; accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broade. But, for the most part, they are very vnweldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage,

Constitution of their bodies.

Their ordinary dyet.

and

and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their drinke at their meals

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Charke*, or small cuppe of *Aqua vitæ*, (which they do call *Russe* wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as theyr nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they vse little) and then their pottage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and thin drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee vse to say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meashed with it.

The after noones rest.

Drinking drunke euery day.

This dyet would breede in them many diseases, but that they vse bath-stoues, or hot-houses, in stead of all physicke, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathstoues, & their *Potlads* like Ouens, that so warme the house, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their houses, and of extreme colde without, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and sallow complection, their skinnes beeing tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that (for the greater part) are of farre worse complections, then the men. Wherof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hot-houses, and busing themselues about the heating & vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

Their often vse of Bath-stoues.

Two extremities of heat and colde.

The *Russe*, because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to seasō their bodies) come out of their Bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to leape into the River starke naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad hue of their skins, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wiues and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withal, and delight themselues much, to see them of fowle women, to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

Women there paint grossely

An estuating out of their Bathstoues.

They apparell themselues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion.

The Noblemans attire.

First a *Taffia*, or little night-cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of silke and gold thred, and set with pearl and precious stones. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vppon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Taffia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babilonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the house) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Caftan* or a close coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Persian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his anckles.

Ouer that he weareth a loose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamler, or like stuffe, called an *Alkaben*, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

brooched and set all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer al these, which are but sleight (though they seeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alkaben*, saue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folds vnder them in steed of boot-hose, are made of a *Persian* leather called *Saphian*, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroade, hee mounteth on horse backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the custome and maner also of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe; and yet he will haue his *Caftan* or vndercoate sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth or silke.

The noble womans apparel.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarshena*) weareth on her head, first a kall of some soft silke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obrosa* of white colour.

A coife cap.

Ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife fashion of cloath of golde) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearles and stones. Though they haue of late begunne to disdaine embrodering with pearles about their caps, because the Diacks, and some Merchants wiues haue taken vppe the fashion.

Rich eare-rings.

In their eares they weare eare-rings (which they call *Sargee*) of two inches or more in compasse, the matter of golde set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like pretious stone.

Chin clothes.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white lawne or Cambricke, fastened vnder the chinne, with two long tasselles pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle.

Weather hats

When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they vse to weare white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemskoy*.

Necke collers.

About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broade, set with rich pearle and pretious stones.

The vpper garment.

Their vpper garment is a loose gowne (called *Oposhen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground, buttond before with great gold buttons, or at the least, siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a wallnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastened vnder the cappe, a large broade cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes.

The vnder gownes.

Next vnder the *Oposhen* or vpper garment, they weare an other, called a *Leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffe or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloath of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemskoy*, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote.

Bracelets.

On the hand-wreasts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broade of pearles and precious stones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Russia*, when shee maketh the best shew of her selfe. The gentlewomans apparrell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

Womens buskins.

The *Mouſick*, or common mans attire.

As for the poore *Mouſick*, and his wife, they goe poorely clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tied together with a lace before, of coarse white or blew cloth, with some *Shube* or long wast-coate of Furre, or of sheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poore man.

The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they doe weare nothing but their shirts vpon their backes, and buskins on their legges.

The *Mouſick* wife.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when shee maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

Head attire.

On their heads, they weare caps of some colored stuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the most part, kerchiefes. Without eare-rings of siluer, or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no *Russia* woman, be she wife, or maide.

Eare-rings & Crosses.

As

Their wittes and capacities

As touching their behauiour, and quality otherwiſe, they are of reaſonable capacities, if they had thoſe meanes that ſome other Nations haue, to traine vp their witts in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the Polonians, and other their neighbors: but that they refuſe it of a very ſelfe pride, as accounting their owne faſhion to be farre the beſt. Partly alſo (as I ſayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behauiour) is thought (by their gouernors) moſt agreeable to that State, and their maner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderſtanding of God, and good policie.

Ciuilitie bringeth the knowledge of God

This cauſeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their faſhions. Which were leſſe to be diſliked, if it ſet not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themſelues are very hardly and cruelly dealt withall by their chiefe Magiſtrates, and other ſuperiours; ſo are they as cruell one againſt an other, eſpecially ouer their inferiours, and ſuch as are vnder them. So that the baſeſt and wretchedeſt *Chriſtianoe* (as they call him) that ſtoupeth and crowcheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the duſt that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

Crueltie of the Ruſſe people.

By this meanes the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yee ſhall haue a man robbed ſometime in the very ſtreetes of their Townes, if hee goe late in the euening: and yet no man to come foorth out of his doores to reſcue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not ſpeake of the ſtrangeneſſe of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongſt them, that would ſcarcely be beleeued to be doone amongſt men, eſpecially ſuch as profeſſe themſelues to be chriſtians.

Vagrant beggers poore.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almoſt infinite; that are ſo pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and deſperate manner; with, *Giue me, and cut mee*; *Giue mee, and kill mee*; and ſuch like phraſes. Whereby it may bee gheſſed, what they are towards ſtrangers, that are ſo vnnaturall and cruell towardes their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vſed in that Countrie. I will not ſpeake of it, becauſe it is ſo foule and not to be named. The whole Countrie ouerfloweth with all ſinne of that kinde. And no marueil, as hauing no law to reſtraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleanneſſe of life.

Intemperance

As for the truth of his word, the *Ruſſe* (for the moſt part) maketh ſmall regard of it: ſo he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promiſe. And it may be ſaid truely (as they know beſt that haue traded moſt with them) that from the great to the ſmal (except ſome few that will ſcarcely bee found) the Ruſſe neyther beleeueth anie thing that an other man ſpeaketh, nor ſpeaketh any thing himſelfe worthy to be beleeued.

No care of word or promiſe.

Theſe qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, eſpecially to the *Tartars*, that account themſelues to be honeſt and iuſt, in compariſon of the Ruſſe. It is ſuppoſed by ſome, that doe well conſider of the ſtate of both Countries, that the offence they do take at the *Ruſſe* gouernement, and their manner of behauiour; hath beene a great cauſe to keepe the *Tartar* ſtill heathenish, and to miſlike (as hee dooth) of the Chriſtian profeſſion.

The Ruſſe odious to his neighbours.

CHAP. VI.

¶ *If it may be ſo ordered or limited, that poiſons giuen at a certaine day, ſhall not cauſe death, vntill a time appoynted and prefixed.*

This is the laſt paradox of the firſt Decad.

SIr, though you can much more clearely and exactly reſolue this doubt; yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing you pleaſe to vnderſtand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacie of poyſons, at a day or time prefixed; I ſhall briefly reſolue you of my iudgement.

I haue euermore helde it abſurde and

A compariſon deriued from phyſicall medicines of beſt worth.

ridiculous (although it bee maintayned in vulgare opinion) that venoms or poyſons ſhould be limited to a certaine time, by empoyſoners. For, how can it be ſo, ſeeing Phyſicall medicines, euen ſuch as are moſt profitable, whoſe vertue (in knowledge thereof, is limited to the compoſition and quantitie of the doſe) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but coniecturall: wherfore, I cannot ſee by what reaſon, an empoyſoner ſhould gaine a prefixion of time, for the efficacie of his poyſon. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, no nor without puniſhment: euen as if the action of Phyſicall receipts, ſhould be experimented vpon healthfull perſons.

Triall of poyſons made on Dogs, Hogs, Birds, &c.

It may be alleadged, and I am of the ſame opinion too, that they approue their poyſons vpon beaſts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they conſtitute rules to themſelues; hauing obſerued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poyſons. As if the natures of men, (being the moſt temperate of all creatures) and the other were not verie farre different. Beſides, it is much more eaſie, that a preciſe and certaine houre of euent and ſucceſſe, ſhould happen vnto beaſts, then to men. For, creatures depriued of reaſon, haue very little diuerſitie (in their kinde) betweene them, feeding on one and the ſame paſturage, and being not addicted to ſundry ſtudies, and occupations: from whence enſueth, that euen by and of the ſame things, beaſts endure (almoſt) paſſions alike.

Little diuerſitie betweene vnreaſonable creatures in their kinde.

Very great & ſtrange varietie among mē, for ſeldome or neuer are two found of one and the ſame complexion.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithſtanding they are ſo different, as ſeldome or neuer, ſhall we find two together of likeneſſe in face: but are diuerſe in complexions, conditions and occupations or profeſſions, and no one like other among a thouſand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuerſities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be helde altogether abuſiue, and noway firme, and ſuch coniecture of empoyſoners; as is very eaſie to be prooued, and made plaine to euery vnderſtanding: and vppon this hopefull perſwaſion, wee will fall preſently to our buſineſſe.

Many haue thought and held, that *Theophraſtus* (a very graue and approued Philoſopher) was the Authour of this opinion, becauſe he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is ſaid to be compounded in ſuch ſort, that it can kill at a certaine time: as namely, within two moneths, three moneths, ſixe moneths, a whole yeare, and ſometimes in two yeares. And ſome affirme, that ſuch people ſhall die more miſerably, then if they could haue reſiſted longer time. For their bodies will impaire by little and little, periſhing in a daily languiſhing: whereas ſuch as die ſuddenly, haue the more eaſie death.*

Theophraſtus a learned Philoſopher, his opinion of Aconitum.

But the authoritie of *Theophraſtus*, or of our ſelues, can moue nothing in this matter; conſidering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themſelues doe euidently teſtifie. And if any one deſire to know the cauſe of this perſwaſion, hee ſhall meete with a two-folde anſwere thereto. The firſt is, the ſubtile craftineſſe of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For, how many may be found, that can not ſo paciently endure, when they are reprooued in ſome euill, happening by an externall accident; as if one ſhould tell them, that it receiued originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be ſaide, to bee the cauſe of the firſt conſtitution, and therefore (by conſequent) the reproofe of his imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it is our owne naturally, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond meaſure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we ſtand moſt in feare to be thereof reproued. And hence it enſueth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cauſe from ſome externall occaſion, then of any interiour.

Theophraſtus not to be credited in this caſe.

Two anſwers to the ſeuerous perſwaſion. The firſt anſwere.

We can not indure to hear our owne imperfections reproued.

Examples in this caſe are very manifeſt, euen in ſuch as haue leaſt knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, tranſported by ſimple iudgement of ſelfeloue. As aged, and the moſt part of weake witted people doe, to whom nothing admitable can be ſpoken; vnleſſe it be referred to ſome Saint, or poyſon cloſely giuen, or to the witching lookes of ſome old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof *Virgill* ſpeaketh.

The ignorance of cauſes inducēth (very often) a falſe opinion and Sorceries.

I know not by what ill aspect of wrong,
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.

For there must needes be probable lying, that either instantly, or soone after the poyson is giuen, or continued in the surest manner; if any length or respite of time can be giuen thereto.

The other cause of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Astronomicall Theoremes or Speculations. For the proofe whereof, Astrologers constitute (which is true) the diuers manners or passions of inferiour bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, opposition and enterchanged aspect of the superiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occasion, to ground and establish the varietie of effects, euen vpon the least differences that can bee obserued in the celestiall bodies. As when they constitute some one plant, to haue power and efficacie against feauers; prouided, that it be gathered before Sunne rising. This is an errour spread too farre abroad. For, not onely from these differences (triuiall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly construct the diuersitie of effects in their kinds: but also would haue the accidents of those effects to be diuers; for the selfe same reason; euen as is the time to manifest the efficacie of poyson. The folly (in this point) further related by *Theophrastus*, he sayth: *That death happeneth in as short a time, as a Plant is to be gathered*. Let vs seeke then for a true solution of this Probleme, by reason rather then the testimonies of any. Which we may most commodiously doe (if I abuse not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poison; to the end it may be the easier vnderstood, what the matter is that vrgeth our instant disputation.

The second answere and obseruation of the second cause.

The like ist of hearbs gathered vpon Saint Johns Eue or Vigile.

Theophrastus his words for the sudden ensuing of death

A definition of poison or venome, and what it is vnderstood to be

We properly call venome or poyson, whatsoeuer being receiued into the body, doth so fight against the body, as it is not to be surmounted; but contrariwise, doth so alter the body, as the body it selfe alters in diet. In all venoms there are two especiall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reason of their manifest qualitie; or else they are aduerse thereto in their whole substance. Moreouer, some may kill quickely, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill suddenly, and in fewest daies and houres, which are immediatly carried to the profunditie of the hart. Such venoms are extreamly hot, and (for the most part) corrosiue or putrefactiue; the Greeks call them *Septiques*, endued with most subtile parts. For, colde and grosse venomes are more ydle, and insinuate into the veines and arteries more slowly.

The operation of poysons in their owne nature.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or inuisible exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poisons artificial, which haue so subtile a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the stirrops, will pierce thorow the bootes of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked soale of his foote, and from thence ascendeth vp into the body, by the soulspiralles or ouertures of the skinne, and so corrupt all the members. Bridles and Saddles of horses may also be infected, and afterwards, inducted by naturall heate into the arteries and veins of the rider entring by the pores in his hands and thighes. As in like maner, Garments, Beds and Couerings may be poysond. To these venoms may be referred, such as kill only by sight, smel, or being but tasted only (without swallowing or letting downe) suddenly destroying a man; without any the least lingering.

Of some that destroy sooner then other.

Poysoning mens stirrops, bridles & saddles for horses, garments, beds, &c.

All venomes or poysons bring present death with them, so as there remains not any time of respite, for succor to saue the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderstand, that such poysons are in frequent vse among the *Turkes*, and such other nations. Grosser venoms or poisons do differ from these, as being slower in performing their action; but in the end burne very strongly, bite, eat, torment, & (by their lingring) beget the greater strength & cruel violence.

Such speeding poysons are in daily vse amongest the Turkes and other barbarous nations.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poisons of diuers kinds, but also there happens to them as great a varietie of respites, to hurt according to their constitution and temperature, by whom they are taken. For some feele the harme sooner or later then other; some are ouerthrowne thereby, others escape. Because manytimes it comes so to passe, that the poisons power is mitigated & ouercome, by the very complexiō of him that hath receiued it, else; that it is so strōg of it self, as it needeth no other counterpoyson to vanquish it. So falleth it out with them that dwell in pestilent aires, & others that

Diffrence in the poysons, and difference in their times of working.

Of bodies pestilentially infected.

are attainted with the plague: some of them being sicke, chance to die suddenly, others later, and other (in the end) escape.

A very ridiculous affirmation.

If it be so, it seemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is possible to giue a poison, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) shall cause the parties death, & that the condition of the poison is so to doe. To which errour I may well referre another, sauouring of the same taste, and which we haue long since ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heate*. Whence it ensueth, that being grossely pressed, they produce their effects the later. But if I should consent to them herein, yet notwithstanding, they can neuer come to approue their affirmation, vnlesse it be captiously. For if any man argue thus: This drugge discouereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is false, and *Aristotle* calleth it *Elenchus non consequens*: Euen as if a man should say, A Goat is a Beast, therfore a Goate is an Asse. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kindes, and differ from doing a thing in some time.

Galen in Parad. 1, Dec. 2.

A kind of ydle argumentatiō.

A Goate is a beast, therefore a Goate is an Asse.

Heereby it appeareth, that these great Professours haue no other eye, but onelie on the conditions of the poysons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no distinction of bodies: but onely pretence of the poyson, whereunto they only attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Obseruation hath beene made, that poison hath beene giuen at a Feast or Banquet to diuers persons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without suspition of any such villanie) whereof some dyed suddenly, others died within some few dayes after, and some felt no anguish at all, yet euery one receiued a like quantitie.

At a solemne Banquet in Italie made by Cæsar Borgia.

The like we see to happen daily in purgatiue medicines, which being giuen to diuers persons (euen all alike in measure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon some bodies very suddenly, others more slowly, others very hardly, and vpon some nothing at all. Moreouer, the vacuitie of some men is with much ease; others with great difficultie, grieuously grinding or cutting, and frequent debility of the heart. What need is there then of alleadging many men, when vppon one and the same man, one and the same medicine cannot produce the same effects?

An example deriued from physicall purgatiues.

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparaleld complexion, & conformation of the body, we see such things to happen, for the most part; and besides, that the iust temperature of euery particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then shall any one man dare to say, how long time naturall heate shall resist or withstand poison? Say I admitted, that some one man should be so expert an empoisoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of iudgement) the power of his poison, euen as exquisitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwithstanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyson, for the nature of him that is to receiue it: but he wil faile somewhat of the end, or of the time by him proposed. For, Physicke it selfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be prescribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meetest remedies. *For, no man knoweth how to write or speake iustly or properly*, as *Galen* saith in the third book of his Methods. And a little after: *In the Arte of Physicke* (saith he) *there is not anie thing or remedie, but may bee named in his kinde: but that which cannot be spoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for euery one.*

The complexion and temperature of all men is incomprehensible, neither can poisons worke in one and the same manner vpon them.

Physick a Science grounded but on coniecture.

Hee repeateth this same matter many times, and to the purpose ensuing, as enstructing, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall propertie is vnspeakeable and incomprehensible of an exact Science. Vulgar Physitians call it *Idiosyncrasis*, the naturall propertie, as *Galen* saith. And because all confesse, that it cānot be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Physicke to *Aesculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Physicke (which *Galen* calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. Whereupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iustly, the nature of each one in particular: I should verily thinke to be such a one as Aesculapius, and to know as much in my vnderstanding. But because it is not to be doone, I am determined to exercise my selfe so*

Galen in lib. vbi supra.

so much, to come so neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.

The Art of physicke is more coniecturall then certaine.

If Physicke then be coniecturall, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appointeth remedies to euery body, & the issue is not to be seene, but finally by a long obseruation and experience; who can perswade himselfe herein concerning poysons? For, if in the Art of physicke, *Experience is dangerous*, as the wise & learned *Hippocrates* well aduiseth vs: it is easie to conceiue, how vncertain the proofe of poysons are, because it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and punishment also, as wholsome medicines in diuersitie of persons.

Hippoc. in lib. 1. Aphor. 1.

Beasts natures are very much differing from mens.

And whatsoeuer hath bin obserued vpon brute Beasts, as I formerly saide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, because the natures of men and beasts are greatly differing, as namely by this proofe: that Stares feede safely vpon Hemlocke, and Quailes on Helleborus, which are both physicke and poyson to vs. From these reasons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may bee tearmed an Arte) or coniectures of empoysoners, is to be esteemed very erronious, and of slender firmnes: considering, that one selfe-same poyson produceth his action, sometimes quickly, and sometimes slackly; and that not so much by any reason in it selfe, as by the nature and complection of the body, wideneſse or narrowneſse of the passages, strength or weakneſse of naturall heate; and the plenty or scarsity of semblable excrements, & diuers other meanes.

One selfe-same poyson differeth in his operation, and in his times.

Bodies of strong and good temperature resist the power of poyson,

For the power of poyson remaineth sometimes vaine and fruitlesse, or mightily rebated, according to such bodies, as haue their faculties of the soule stout and strong, by reason of an excellent good temperature. And *Galen* thinketh, that the building and composition of the body, is the cause why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nourisheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the strength and vigour of heate, diminishing and subtillizing, in regard he is perswaded that it happeneth so, that colde poysons better and sooner doe declare their force, when they are giuen to hotte natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made most euidently apparant by the said author, I dare

Cold poysons work soonest on hot natures.

let the proofe passe vpon my credite, because his experience is warrantable.

Of the seuerall action of poisons vpon phlegme and choller, by their scanting or abounding.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poysons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any aboundance of phlegme in the entrailes, the power of hot poyson will bee greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moysture hasteneth the action of such a poyson. Likewise, ouer-copious choller stoppeth and breaketh the stupefactiue venome receiued, whereas phlegme smotheth it. And all that these wicked empoysoners do know, is nothing else, but what poysons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their substance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corrosion, which must haue time to enforce their mallice (as *Galen* saieth) wheras other do weaken themselues by their tardying. For they do all putrifie in time, & so much the more, as the place is moister and hotter.

Of poysons that haue their working by putrifaction.

Such then as worke by putrifying, time doth augment their action: because they encrease the corruption, and in regard they ceasse not to corrupt themselues; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence ensueth, that death is caused long time after: especially such poysons as are of grosse and earthy substance. Thus you may see, what empoysoners haue learned by long obseruation.

What apprehension empoysoners haue of them by four means in obseruations.

First, they know how to distinguish venomes, which kill by their insigne and notorious qualities, from other that cause death by their whole substance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatsoeuer, a most sudden harme, and yet doe not discouer their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kindes) they kill either sooner or later (without any respect to the body) acording as they haue the most, or the least quantity.

Fourthly, they can deale in such sort, that all poysons shall be tempered according to their owne pleasure, and make them sweeter or sharper, because they should kill the sooner or slower, which is without any secret or myracle of nature.

Application of purgatiue drugs in physicke.

We vsually exercise the same cunning, in purgatiue drugges, setting an edge on such as are dull and slowe, and giue them as spurs to further purpose: and contrariwise, wee retaine ouer-hasty penetration

in the other, by mingling with them, such as are naturally more slacke & tardy. But that a man should limit the effects of poisons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to bee meerely absurd and ridiculous, because the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before sufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the most vncertaine tearme or time of euery poyson, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers disposition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which suffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reason of euident qualities, but also of hidden and proper: whence also it ensueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deale of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

Effects of poysons impossible to be limitted to a moment of time.

Diuersity of effects both in the agent and patient.

Pedro de Albano (whom some call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicateth this question, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the measure and quantity of his radicall humour: may giue him a poyson, that shall consume in ten yeares space. From hence he collecteth, some men may bee poysoned, that droope and dry away daily (vulgarly tearmed in *Italian*, *Herbati et Strigati*) and so it may bee ordered sometimes, that poysoning may bee limitted. But that it is to be presupposed by Astrologye, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

The iudgement and answer of Pedro de Albano vpon this point.

Fore-spoken or bewitched.

I confesse, that all such as are seene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoysoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when those men shall bee taken hence. *Plinie* speaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vse of the Sea-Hare (a venomous fish) bringeth, where he saith: *Such men as (in eating) feele poyson, and by the first signe perceiue the poyson: shall dye in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who shall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed houre of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 7.

A mã of more then ordinary skill to haue such knowledge.

And yet if I did admit them, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for al that) that all men shall dye at one and the same time; because one and the selfe-same poison, worketh diuersly, according to the diuersity of mens bodies, as it hath beene more then sufficiently proued. So that it had beene much more truely saide (as the same *Pliny* after addeth) *The saide poyson can haue no certainty of time*, according as *Licinius Macer* also saith.

Poyson can haue no certainty of time

CHAP. VII.

Of diuers erronious and idle opinions, conceiued in fantasticke braines, and verily beleeued, as if they were sound truths.

PEople erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of them selues) but held by elder and precedent intimation, as little also apprehended or vnderstoode by them; but, perhappes, meere fictions of their owne braines, vpon some appearing probable reasons. As wise and woorthie Poets, who haue enstructed bad and bestiall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and pleasant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and still is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the like licence is allowed to Painters, as *Horace* testifieth, saying:

Reports deliuered by ancient people, do carry no meane credite among many.

Poets and Painters equall power containe,
To say or do, what best shall like their braine.

The saying of Horace.

As for Painters, we see that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, cloathed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is represented like to a young Infant, stark naked. The diuell, to haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet nevertheless, these are but spirites without bodies, and cannot carry the resemblance of any visible creature.

The variable shapes giuen by Painters to many things. Angell. Diuell.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throate: Death, beeing but a priuation of life, is resembled by the Anatomized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scithe in his hand. Loue, which is but a passion and accident, not subsisting any way of it selfe; is painted and presented like a naked childe,

Hell. Death.

Loue.

childe, and blind; wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quiuer furnished with Arrowes,

The Windes. The Winds, which are but a moued agitated Ayre; are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely swolne, euen as we see one sounding of a Trumpet.

As for Astrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enstruct ignorant people: yet haue they demonstrations likewise, and presentation is made of the

The twelue signes in the Zodiack in seuerall figures. twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet disposed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinne infants, &c. And so the images of heauen vvhich

The figures of heauen. are out of the Zodiacke; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c. And next the Planets, which are but stars,

The Planets. as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; these beare the forme of personages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwise shewne and distinguished.

Painters also haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with fiue rayons

The Starres. or beames, thereby expressing theyr twinckling splendour: although all the Starres do not sparkle in that manner; and well wee know beside, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams. As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is inuisible) like vnto

The elements Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth. our artificiall fire, which is not much amisse to the purpose. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and transparant bodyes; but yet they are represented by a blewe or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in shape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

Creatures figured in fabulous maner. Of Creatures, they counterfeyte some fabulously: as the Salamander, which is

The Salamander. no such thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphine likewise, as it is presented in

The Dolphin. Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no such shape as Painters giue it.

The Pellicane is figured, vvith her

The Pellican. sharpe Beake turned vpon hir brest, which she launceth therwith, to make hir blood yssue forth, for the norishing of hir yong ones, euen to the price of her owne life, dying thereby: And yet we see and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgelesse, flat, and broad; iustly like in fashion vnto the Apothecaries Spatule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her breast. Also, the Greeke worde [*Pellican,*] signifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it should be.

Moreouer it is sayde, that the Sire or Hee-Bird, beareth the young ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as wee vse to say) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almost dead; and then the Dam woundeth her breast, to reuiue them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phœnix. The Phœnix, being painted burning her selfe in a fire, prepared purposely for her; is much more fabulous. But al these things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we saide before) vpon some good respect and secret reason, needlesse to bee reported heere; making mention onely but of certaine erronious opinions, which the vulgar holde for sure and most certaine, and which are the more excusable, because many great Philosophers and ancient Physitions, haue defended the like opinions.

1. *Of the Viper.*

In what manner the Viper is saide to engender by hir male. IT hath bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by receyuing his head in at her mouth (throgh defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight she feeleth, locketh her teeth so fast together, as thereby she biteth off her males head, and so conceyueth. Afterwardes, when the time for deliuery commeth, the yong ones hauing no other yssue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of theyr Father: bite and teare the belly of their mother, wherby she dyeth. Here is the reason why it is saide of a *Posthumus*, of whome the mother dieth in deliuerance, *He is like the Viper, that neuer seeth his father nor mother.* This hath somtime serued as an Emblem with this deuice or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

Words giuen of the posthumus.

What thou wouldst not haue done to thee, doe not thou to another.

All this is false, and fauored by many, but badly; that beeing well vnderstoode which *Aristotle* hath said. *The Viper* (saith he) *is conceiued of Egges which she hatcheth in*

Arist. in Anim. lib. 9. cap. 7.

The Viper deliuereth her broode, but by one daily.

in her bellie, and become little Vipers: they come foorth all formed, being despoyled of the membrane or thinne skinne, which contained them within the wombe; and that is their secondine. But the later-most (moued with impatience) bite and teare that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth aboue twenty, and yet deliuereth but one daily; which maketh the hinmost impatient, and constraineth them angerly to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vainely imagined.

No Serpent yeeldeth her yong liuing, but the Viper.

Many may be deceiued also, concerning the originall and etymologie of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi pariens*: whereas it is (indeed) of *Vivum pariens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young aliue, or liuing, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are conuerted into Serpents.

2. *Of the Beauer, called Castor also.*

The naturall vnderstanding of the Beauer.

IT is vulgarly helde, that this beast teareth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiueth himselfe to be pursued by Hunt-men: hauing a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Castor* was giuen him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequent) becometh chaste.

Dioſc. li. 4. c. 23.

Which is meerely false, for, as *Dioscorides* wrote long since; hee can by no meanes reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as impostums, ful of fatte matter or suppouration, called *Castoriam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not tearmed *Castor*, of gelding, or of chastitie; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which signifieth a Belly, becausehe is full paunched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter *G* into *C*. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Rondeletius*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

Rondelet. de pisc. tom. 2. cap. vlt.

3. *Of the Salamander.*

GReat errour is there also, concerning the true nature of thiscreature, which is said to liue in the fire, and hath power to extinguish it. From which coniecture, was taken the deuice of great King *Frances*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco, & extingo*: I feed and extinguish.

Dioſc. lib. 2. ca. 5

Galen in lib. 3 de Temper.

Dioscorides hath very learnedly deliuered the contrary, and *Galen* also, saying: *That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by carrying any long while therein.* Neuertheless, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying; *That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walkes aloft vpon it, extincting both the flame and coales.*

Ariſt. in hiſt. Anim. l. 5. ca. 19

Painters haue failed in true forme of the Salamander.

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is meerely fabulous, and contriued by Painters, who haue thrust such an imagination vpon it; making shew also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the walles in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Daulphine Larmuses*. But the Salamander is somwhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moysture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth foorth by the pores of the skinne, pressing it neuer so little. Which milke or moisture is so colde, that the Salamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burning, roasting and dying, as we haue many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse liuing in it: like as the Chameleon liueth by the ayre; and I iudge both alike in truth: albeit I neuer saw any Chameleon aliue to make proofe of.

Like Newtes, Askes and little Lizards haunting olde and ill-kept houses.

A description of the Salamanders resemblance.

4. *Of the Shee-Beare.*

IT is said also, that she produceth a piece of flesh, not hauing the forme of any creature: and afterward shee licketh it in such manner, that thereby onely shee giueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolicall speaking, for to say truely, the yong one is very vnsightly after the birth, being all couered with foame or froth, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a lumpe of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleanseth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away; wherby

The Beare is brought forth a perfect creature at the first, although not so readily distinguished, as afterward.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true ſhape of a creature. So may we ſee a Whelpe (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddied and beſmeared at the firſt, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly ſeene and diſtingniſhed.

CHAP. VIII.

A vulgar Queſtion: What Language a child ſhall ſpeake, that neuer heard any ſpeech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is neceſſarily deafe. As alſo, hee that is Nurſt among dumbe people; And not, on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, ſhould be deafe: And whence it enſueth, that a man is ſo tardie, in knowing howe to ſpeake.

The opinion of the vulgar people.

VIgar people beleeue, and hold it as a thing moſt aſſured, that a man ſhoulde naturally ſpeake the Language of *Adam*, if he neuer learned any other ſpeech from his infancie; euen as if hee had bene nurſſed by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people, or in a Deſert vtterly vninhabited of people, where neuer any ſpeech had beene heard.

Herodot in l. 2. Proofe made by a King of Egypt, to know which was the moſt ancient Language of all other.

Herodotus declareth in his ſecond book, that *Pſammeticus*, a King of the Ægyptians, was deſirous (on a time) to make proofe heereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the moſt auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were ſpoken in the world. He cauſed two Children to bee nurſed in a Forreſt, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were paſt, and they being brought before the King, ſometimes they could pronounce this Word *Bec*, which in the Phrygian tongue, ſignifieth Bread. Whereuppon ſome gathered, that the Phrygian was the firſt language of man.

The opinion of S. Auguſtin *Aug. in Geneſ. lib. 9.*

But as Saint *Auguſtine* ſayeth, theſe children might haue learned the Word *Bec* (and ſo retained it) of Goats, among which they were nouriſhed. For, as hee ſheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of ſpeaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithſtanding, in his Booke of the Cittie of God, hee thinketh and beleeueth, that before the confuſion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babell*) the Hebrew Language was naturally to all. As if words were an action proceeding from naturall inſtinct, or the ſimple and proper motion of the ſoule: euen as if they had power in themſelues (and of themſelues, with ſome naturall inclinations) to bring forth in euidence and effect ſpeech, without any enſtructing. Such knowledge is to ſucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when ſtrength ſerueth, to go.

Aug in Ciuitat. Dei. l. 16. ca. 11

A refutation of the latter words of S. Auguſtine.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other ſuch like creatures, ſo ſoone as they are bred and brought forth, bring themſelues to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nouriſhment. Beeing grown greater, they make choiſe (among a thouſand diuers plants) ſuch as beſt digeſt and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from theyr production, which anſwereth to the cries of children: and this is done without teaching, or any enſtruction, or ſo much as example or imitation.

Such things as are done by inſtinct of nature onely.

Man hath the like actions and repreſentations, euen as other creatures, ſimply naturall of his owne, and without any apprentiſhip. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce ſignificatiue, expreſſing the conceptions of a reaſonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Diſcipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impoſſible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and perſeuering in the ſame deafeneſſe, ſhould euer knowe how to ſpeake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, are moſt exquiſitely compoſed and ordayned, as none more formally can be any way deſired.

That wordes or ſpeaking proceedeth of a ſcience or diſcipline.

What then ſhall wee ſay of him that neuer heard any thing? Speech is a Diſcipline, no leſſe then that of Muſick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it commeth, that a childe (in what place ſoeuer it is nouriſhed and brought vp) apprehendeth

Speech is an inſtruction comparable to Muſicke.

The mother tongue, or learned from the Mother.

eth and retaineth the ſame vulgar Language (which ſome tearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatſoeuer it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbariſme; one is as eaſie to him as another. For, in hauing nothing by naturall impreſſion, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiueth all other tinctures, and ſome kinde of water all ſauours; and ſo in the like compariſons.

That Adam had neuer ſpoken of himſelfe, or naturally.

Adam could neuer haue ſpoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inſpired him with an vnderſtanding ſoule, capable of ſuch a language as pleaſed him: As he did likewiſe to *Eue*; and their firſt children learned to ſpeake by them, euen as ours now do of vs.

Men naturally more enclined to euill then good.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our firſt Parents tranſgreſſion, we haue and hold al our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greateſt imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truely tearmed Original ſinne. But as concerning ſpeech or ſpeaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & hability, euen as all other diſciplines or enſtructions.

What is truly naturall of the Soule.

That which is truely naturall of our ſoule, is enchaſed or carractred into a body of ſuch quality, temperature and complection, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the fonde niceneſſe of birth, is like the infant in his firſt yeare, vnapt to reaſon, by the imperfection of his body, and likewiſe as they, who by accident of ſickneſſe, or paſſion of minde (as Loue and idle diſturbances), become weakly braind, fooliſh, ſottiſh, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the ſoule is euermore her owne, remaining ſtill in her integrity: and yet (neuertheleſſe) cannot exerciſe her reaſon, by not hauing the body at her command.

The vnaptnes of children in their firſt yeares, & the effects enſuing by paſſions of the minde,

The opinion of Ariſtotle, that the ſoule hath nothing of it ſelfe, as concerning Sciences.

Ariſtotle enſtructeth (to ſingular good purpoſe) *That our ſoule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, neatly poliſhed and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infuſed into the body of man, but ſent downe from Heauen as we beleeue. Shee hath nothing but ſimplicity, ſincerity, purity, facility and conueniencie, with inclination and aptitude to euery Arte and Science, and to all knowledge of things diuine and humane* (which is the true definition of Philoſophy) Alwayes reſerued and excepted, thoſe faculties and actions, neceſſarily required in a liuing ſoule, as thoſe in Beaſts; which our ſoule exerciſeth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or diſcipline (as already hath beene related.

The true definition of philoſophy concerning the Soule.

Doctrine is not requiſite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatſoeuer diuine *Plato* ſayeth to the contrary, affirming; *That the reaſonable ſoule hath knowledge of all things, when it commeth into the body: but beeing plunged and ſubmerged in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all.* Like to him that becommeth obliuious, or (as they ſay in Greek) ſicke of a Lethargye, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in ſuch meaſure, as the body loſeth this great humidity, and drieth it ſelfe by little and little: the Soule alſo recouereth it ſelfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonſtrated and ſhewne vnto her, as in remembring and acknowledging her ſelfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

The opinion of Plato, quite contrary to that of Ariſtotle, concerning the capacity of the ſoule.

This was the opinion of good olde *Plato*, which maketh well for ſuch as affirme, that wee haue ſome certainty of Language, which came from our firſt Parents, *Adam* and *Eue*: and that wee ſhould (in time) ſpeake the very ſame, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houſes, did not preoccupate it. But in truth, our ſoule neyther knoweth, or holdeth (of it ſelfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but enclineth equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in ſo good manner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leaſtwiſe, ſome ſlippes or branches would be remembred thereof, as in ſuch, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with ſome certaine words and phraſes of their mother-tongue.

A naturall Language from our firſt Parents Adam & Eue.

That our ſoul knoweth not any manner of language naturally.

The reaſonable ſoule then, hauing not any language of it ſelfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expreſſe by ſound and entire inſtruments,

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King *Mithridates*, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

The happy memory of King Mithridates.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voyce, common to all other creatures that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For euery animall hath a proper voyce, which grossely signifieth his affections or passions: *Which is no way knowne how to be expressed* (saith *Ammonius* vpon *Aristotle*) *or represented by letters or syllables, no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes.* Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee liueth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voice onely, before he learnes to speake: whereof being depriued, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voyce. Whereof *Aristotle* speaketh very notably in his Problems: *That Man onely is dumbe.*

That the voice is onely of nature, and not of words or speech.

Euery creature hath properly a voice.

Arist. Probl. 57. lib. 11.

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voice naturall, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the expressing of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infantize and produce the conceptions of mã: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behoueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voice, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit contraineth.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what ende.

An infant collecteth and assembleth diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) striue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reiteration. Afterward, whẽ his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee striueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the ende of a little long apprentiship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or slippes, which is the naturall voyce, without any other signification; then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

How an infant beginneth first to practise & attaine to speech.

Lets now obserue that which *Aristotle* saith, in his Historie of Creatures. *Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deafe by nature, are also dumb: whereby they may yet render a voyce, but not speake one word.* And in his Booke of the Sences, and their organs, where he maketh a comparison of such as are blind and deafe borne, he saith, *Deafe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another.* Also *Alexander Aphrodiseus* produceth in his Problemes, that being demaunded, why men borne deafe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, *They can neuer speake that which they neuer heard.*

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. *Arist in 4. lib. Anim. in cap. 9.*

cap. 1.

Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 133.

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which *Aristotle* writeth in the same place before alledged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birds, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning, as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may reach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the enstruction of the dammes (both he and she) to their yong ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birds haue one naturall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that, they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediatly seperated, and taken out of the neast. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuersation) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the instant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

That the singing of Birds is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

The voice (saith *Aristotle*) *displaieth, what difference is saide to be among the languages of Beasts & Birds, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countries serue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chucke or iouke, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birds, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite chãged from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other enstructed Birds, or of mens voices: inuring themselues to their notes, customes and manners. Sometime it hath beene obserued in a Nightingale, that taught*

Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 7.

That Birds do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another, besides their owne.

taught her Iargon to her young ones, and so gaue them imitation to diuers songs. For, speech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by study and discipline. Thus you may perceiue also, why men make vse of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voice, &c.

The conclusion, that men borne dumb, are deafe also

Me-thinks this should seeme proofe enough, that speech is a thing properly learned by the meanes of hearing, from whence it ensueth inuitably, that such as are deaffe borne, & they that neuer heard any speech (without being deaffe) are dumbe by consequent, except (by successíon of time) they doe enioy hearing, and their eares be vnstopt; as we haue diuers times obserued, and made practise of, by children that haue not spoken before seauen or eight yeares.

What difference there is betweene the speech of Infants & that of Birds.

Now I come (in passing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpose, to wit: What difference there is in the speech, which an Infant learneth of himselfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pye, a Larke, a Linnet, a Thrush, a Rauen, a Iaye, and such like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their soules are different, euen so is their Language: in regard that a childe vnderstandeth what he speaketh, and would speake so and so, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderstood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence, of the signification of whatsoeuer it pratleth. So that, if a Bird demaund, or answere sometime (prouing to purpose) it is by hap or aduenture, and not ordinary; except it bee suggested, remembred, or else expressely made to speake it.

Whatsoeuer Birds practise, is quite without any intelligence.

Moreouer, a Bird will alwaies adde some crosse thwarting word or other, which argueth sufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Whereupon it hath bin commonly saide, that whosoeuer speaketh, and knoweth not what he speaketh, prateth like a Parrot. So a simple man may learne some folly, or vnfitting words, in the *Germaine, Polish*, or any other vnknowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vse it as a salutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vse many Latine sentences and phrases, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the speaking.

The second Argument; whether the dumbe man by birth, is also deafe by consequent.

It remaineth now to know, seeing the naturall dumbe man is deaffe by consequent: if likewise the man dumbe by nature (by reason of some defect in his tongue, or in other parts requisite for speaking) bee also deaffe consequently? *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee so: but being too grosse an Anatomist (as is easily comprehended by his reasons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodiseus*, in the place before alledged, seemeth to say no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he saith; *That there is a paire of nerues, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the toong and of the eares, doe easily communicate themselues together. Also, forasmuch as that one of the said portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it hapneth also, that a man may become deaffe by some disease, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.*

Lactan. in Oper. Dei li. 2. cap 7.

Alex. Aphrodis. lib. Probl. 133.

Diuers both ancient and moderne writers deceiued in this point.

But his supposition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reasons of some moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, tearmed the Peace-maker, saying: *That the sixt likenesse in the Nerues of the Braine, which mooueth the tongue, is firmely allied to the fift likenesse, which serueth for hearing*. For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of speech followeth deafenesse, by any consent or simpathy of the toong with the eares, but only through want of enstruction, which should be receiued by the eares: so can I not consent, that by the vice or incongruity of those parts dedicated to speaking, hearing should any way be offended.

An especiall note well worth the obseruing.

In the acte also there is no likelyhood or coherẽce, considering that those parts worke not, eyther for the integrity, nor for the construction of the eares, & lesse for the enstruction of hearing, who (for her selfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the sight, or any of the exteriour sences. And as for them, they require nothing else, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their obiect should bee neere, within a certaine distance. Why then, we see and heare naturally, without any doctrine or discipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verball instruments,

What the exterior sences do necessarily require.

nor

Hearing apprehendeth nothing of the verbal inſtruments, nor of words.

nor of words themſelues (as concerning her owne ſimple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, ſhall not be deafe in that reſpect: no more, then as if from a braue diſcourſing man, the toong ſhould bee torne out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obſerued, that ſuch as haue their tongues cut or ſlit, haue heard neuer a iot the leſſe in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If it be true then, that the inſtruments of ſpeech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that ſpeaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is neceſſarie for ſpeech; it enſueth plainely, that the dumbe by nature, ſhall neuer heare in that reſpect (ſuppoſing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein intereſſed. And that the deafe by byrth, muſt be dumbe neceſſarily: although in his tongue, and thoſe other parts, requiſite for ſpeech, there is not any defect at all. Obſerue then I pray ye, that in all this purpoſe, I ſpeake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to ſignifie the deafe or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from byrth, not he that cannot ſpeake (for ſo wee ſhould bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to ſpeake.

The Authors caueate, becauſe he wo'd not be miſunderſtood.

Let vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing ſo prompt and able a ſpirite, that hee comprehendeth all thinges in ſmall compaſſe of time; is yet (notwithſtanding) ſo ſlow and tardie, in knowing howe to ſpeak, and articulate his voice. Whereas on the contrarie, beaſts & other creatures, immediately, or ſoone after theyr production, haue their voice abſolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they ſhall haue.

The third argument. From whence it enſueth, that man is at firſt ſo tardie of ſpeech.

Ariſt in lib. 11. Prob. 58. & 60

Ariſtotle in his Problemes, maketh anſwer heereto, ſaying; *The voyce of man hath great diuerſities in it; other creatures expreſſe no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Conſonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the worde. Speech* (ſaith he) *is not ſoly and ſimply of the voice, but is perfected and accompliſhed of the affection or condition of the voyce, with ſignification; and the affections of the voice, they are the letters.* Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

In the voice of beaſts, are few or no letters at all,

letters, expreſſe their paſſions (no otherwiſe then as beaſts do) by a natural voice and no way taught or enſtructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatſoeuer. But yet ſpeech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the ſame Towne or Citty, by reaſon of the voice artificially diſtinguiſhed, thorough the great diuerſity of letters coupled, and interlaced of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, ſignifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are ſo many manners or faſhions of ſpeaking, and that (of fiue or ſix letters) may bee made fifty ſeuerall words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may eaſilie thereby vnderſtand, why an infant formeth his voice ſo late, in regard of beaſts; who haue their voices meerely ſimple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* ſayth) moſt naturall of all creatures.

A childes ſpeech hath many diuerſities and difficulties in it.

Difference of ſpeech almoſt in euery Citie and Towne.

Concerning the voyce of beaſts *Alex. Aphrod. l. 11. Prob. 41*

For, whatſoeuer is extreamly diuers, & muſt be diuerſified by many differēces; cannot bee attained in any ſhort ſpace of time. Be it in regard of the ſoul, which apprehendeth the ſcience of ſpeaking; or be it in the toong, which ought to expres it, & requireth time alſo, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vſe to ſay of the hand, for inſtruments of Muſick. Wherupon he that is dumb, beginneth at the firſt to mumble and ſnaffle in the mouth, beeing not able to make a ſound of al the Lettets, nor to pronounce words with any hability; onely by reaſon of the tongues ſoftnes, whereas her rudeneſſe requireth a new labour.

Things of extreme diuerſitie craue time for their learning.

There is another doubt vpon the ſame purpoſe, which is much more vneaſie to explicate, & *Ariſtotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. *From whence it cometh, that ſome infants begin to ſpeak before due age; to whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expreſſed ſom words, become dumb again, and return to the firſt condition, vntil the ordinary terme and time of ſpeaking?* Many haue held this to be prodigious, & eſpecially, when it is told them, that ſome haue ſpokē at the very point of their birth. Queſtionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by naturall reaſon, as thus. An infant, at the ſame inſtant it heareth, it vnderſtandeth, & then it may ſpeake. But ordinarily, hearing goeth far before vnderſtāding, & vnderſtanding likewiſe precedeth

Ariſt. in lib. 11. Prob. 27.

What is the reaſon, that ſome infants ſpeake before their time, & afterward become dumbe

ſpeaking: the inſtrument for ſpeech and words, is not (as yet) of ſuch temperature as is conuenient for explicating thoſe things which the ſpirit hath conceiued.

On the contrary, ſome ſpeake much ſooner then they knowe how to vnderſtand (as we haue already ſaide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeyting ſuch words as they heare: vntill time conuenient for them both, that is to ſay, ability to vnderſtand and ſpeake. Such children then, to whom the obiectes of hearing make much ſooner impreſſion in the ſoule, then the inſtrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them ſometimes, that after they haue vnderſtood diuers things, ſodainly they pronounce them. And eſpecially after theyr ſleepe, when the ſpirits haue made themſelues more copious; they haue thē more ſtrength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in diſtincter manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his firſt dumbneſſe againe.

Of ſuch infants as ſooneſt practiſe to ſpeake, and yet faile thereof afterwards.

In like manner, ſometimes wee ſhall finde our ſelues ſo diſpoſed as (vvithout thinking thereon) words and ſentences will meerely flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we ſhall be ſo delayed and hindred, as wee can ſcarſely, or with any eaſie poſſibility, expreſſe things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen ſo it may come to paſſe, that an infant ſhall ſpeak ſomething, and afterward his tongue returning to the firſt ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermoſt time of his perfection and ſtrength.

An apt compariſon of ſome conditions in our ſelues, anſwerable to children imperfections.

It is a contrary caſe, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafeneſſe, after he hath ſpoken ſome gibbridge or prittle prattle, yea ſpoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Toloſſa*, dwelling at the ſigne of the three Kings) frō which his daughters were exempted. They all ſpake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in ſuch ſorte, as they could not heare any noyſe; and ſo (by little and little) ceaſed to ſpeake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did eaſilie forget the little Language, which they had learned in their firſt yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reaſon of his great humidity: and particularly the ſaide *Butines* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And ſo hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and ſpeake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned ſome few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in thoſe Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that diſcontinueth his Grammer, or ſom other Science, or playing on Inſtruments of Muſicke, eaſily forgetteth all by want of vſe.

Of children becomming dumbe by deafeneſſe.

A rare example of dumbneſſe.

Men learning Languages, may ſoone loſe them by want of vſe.

Theſe and ſuch like accidents hapning dayly, confirme our firſt propoſition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely diſcourſed. For, if one may become dumb, by reaſon of deafeneſſe, which happeneth by accident, & after he could ſpeak: who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, muſt needes be inuitably dumbe?

Deaf by birth, is inuitably dumbe.

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh ſome-what to this purpoſe: of ſome, that by a Wounde or hurt, or ſome ſickeneſſe beſide of the braine: haue wholly loſt remembrance of all things, yea euen of ſpeech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the inſtruments of ſpeech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe teſtifie, to haue ſeene ſome wounded in the head, from one ſide to the other, and euen in the eye (wherof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an Hiſtory in his practiſe, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot ſo much as theyr owne Names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like yong children. So came they wholly to the firſt condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar ſpeech, which yet ſome of them retained. But other impreſſions of their tongues became eſtranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and thinges which they had formerly both ſeene and knowne; all quite defaced out of their ſoules, by the inundation and ruine of the harme.

Of ſuch as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

Rondelin lib. pract. Cap. 21.

The End of the Ninth booke.

The Tenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Ireland: The Antiquity, Originall, and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approued Authors.

IN the yeare of the world 1525. the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable sinnes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and fiue and twenty years. But when euery man seemed to neglect his worthie admonitions; a Neece to *Noah*, who was named *Cesara*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to passe indeed, determined (with certaine friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Perswading her selfe, that if she could find a Countrey neuer inhabited, and (consequently) vnspotted with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

The warning giuen by Noah of the worlds vniuersall destruction by water.

Cesara, who was the neece o Noah.

Hereupon, rigging a Nauy, shee committed her selfe to the seas, sayling foorth stil, til at length she arriued in *Ireland*, with three men only, and fifty women; hauing lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also she lyeth buried, was cald *Nauiculare Littus*, *The Shipping riuage or shore*. The Stones, wherein the memory hereof was preserued from violence of the Waters, haue beene seene of some, as they themselues haue reported, but how truely I haue not to say.

Cesara arriued in Irelād, with three men, and fiftie women.

Bithi, Laigria, Fintan.

Nauiculare Littus.

An. mun. 1556

Within forty dayes after her comming on Land there, the Vniuersall Floude came, and ouer-flowed all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde. But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntrueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the proofe or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Nauigation or sayling, was vnknowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

This tale can carry no likelyhood of any truth in it.

Rab. Isaac in Gen. 5.

But to let passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a deuice borrowed, as some think, from *Iosephus*;) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discouered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they wil needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to ỹ which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. years after the generall floode, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Iaphet*

An. mun. 1557 After the best authors, make 300. yeares, & not 100. betweene Noahs Flood, & Babell.

and his posteritie (imboldened by *Noahs* example) aduentured by ship, to commit themselues to passe the seas, and to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers Isles in the west parts of the world.

Bartolenus or Bastlenus. Clem. lib. 2. Cambreid. li. 3

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolenus*, or *Bastolenus*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinseman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*) searched so farre west: intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heere hee setled himselfe with his three sonnes *Languina*, *Salanus* and *Ruthurgus*, right actiue and stout Gentlemen, who, searching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after them; as *Languine*, *Stragruus* & mount *Salanga*, since named Saint *Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgus* his Poole. Little is remembred of *Bartolenus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) he ridde and made playne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Languina, Salanus and Ruthurgus, the three sons to Bartolenus.

Ruthurgi Stagnum.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolenus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolenus*, arriued in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily tearmed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vsed their strength to gaine soueraignetie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeuoured themselues (whersoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, answerable to their hugenesse of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zoroastres* the Magitian, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Which two persons (in themselues and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Aegipt* and *Assyria*.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giants arriued in Ireland.

Bergion the sonne of Neptune, and brother to Albion (as Iohn Bale hath it) conquerd Ireland and the Orkeneis.

A third cause also there was, namely, they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and dominion: lest the curse of slauery (propheſied by *Noah*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and taking head; they set vp a King of theyr owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vsurpers, with daily risings and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them, who coueted to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battel, eyther wholie to subdue those prowd rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedome, and so be rid of further misery.

Euill examples are too quickly followed.

Rebellion against Gouernours.

A very generous and worthy resolution

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongest themselues, whereby they had weakened their owne forces; they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subdewing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battel with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preuayling against the vsurping tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselues from all danger in time to come, vsed their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor childe that came in their way, for meere despite, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenge; they vouchsafed not to bury the carkases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs; through the noysome stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thorow the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

It is not good in weakenes, to warre with strong men.

Victory ouer cruelly vsed, and with more rigour then needed.

A very strange infecting pestilence. *Anno mundi.* 2257.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

the *Iriſh*, that one of the Giants named *Ruanus*, chancing to be preſerued from this mortalitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twiſe the age of *Methuſalem*. By this man (ſay they) Saint *Patricke* was informed, concerning the whole eſtate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vppon requeſt) hauing receiued Baptiſme of the ſayd Saint *Patricke*: hee deceaſſed in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Iriſh* hiſtorie hath beene very vnaduiſedly written. But, letting that paſſe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were ſlayne and deſtroyed, in manner as hath been already related: yet ſome got themſelues into lurking Caues and Dens, and kept cloſely there, till lacke of food cauſed them to come foorth, and make ſhift for ſuſtenance. When, perceiuing no reſiſtance, becauſe the Land was (in a manner) left deſolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderſtoode how matters had paſſed: they ſetled themſelues in the beſt parts of the Countrey, eaſily ſubdewing the poore ſilly ſoules that remayned, and ſo reuiuing their linage, they became lords of the whole Iland, keping the ſame in ſubiection, three ſcore yeares together.

Among the ſons of *Iaphet*, we reade in *Geneſis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanais*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2517 *Nemodus*, with his foure ſonnes, *Starius*, *Garbaneles*, *Anuinus* and *Ferguſius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were ſent into *Ireland*: who paſſing by *Grecia*, and taking in ſuch as were deſirous to ſeeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and ſixteene yeares. At the end of which tearme, the Giants preuayling, chaſed them thence agayne, ſo that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the yeare after the Creation (as by their account it ſhould ſeeme) two thouſand fiue hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept poſſeſſion of the Land (without forraine inuaſion) till the yeare two thouſand ſeauen hundred and foureteene. But yet all that time, they were not able to frame a Common-wealth: for, falling ſtill at variance among themſelues, and meaſuring euery thing by might, ſeditiouſly they vexed one another.

Which comming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it mooued fiue brethren, ſonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skilfull Pilots) to rigge a Nauie, & to attempt the conqueſt of this Iland. Theſe were all of the neereſt poſteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandus*, *Rutheranius* and *Slanius*. When all things were ready, and their companies aſſembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakned, by their owne quarrells and ciuile diſſentions; with the more eaſe did they come to the end of their owne purpoſe, winning the whole Countrey, and vtterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankinde: diuiding alſo the Iſland into fiue parts, and in each of them they ſeuerally reigning. Furthermore, to ſatisfie all ſides, and auoyde contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-ſtone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to which each of their kingdomes ſhould extend; ſo that they might be equally partakers of the cõmodities, found within the Countrey ſoile.

Theſe brethren alſo are ſuppoſed, to haue inuented the diſtribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Baronny to containe one hundred townes hips. At length, deſire of ſoueraignetie, ſet the fiue brethren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slanius*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe: tooke on him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the ſpace of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtayned the priuilege and name, of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of fiue parts (into which *Ireland* is ſayd to be diuided) and is called *Meth*, and in Latine *Media*; taking this name (as ſome haue ſuppoſed) becauſe (in reſpect of the other) it contained but the moitie of Cantreds, viz. ſixteene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peece: or elſe, becauſe it lyeth in the middeſt of the land. This part *Slanius* ioyned as a ſurpluſage (ouer and aboue his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithſtanding) grew after to be a ſeuerall kingdome.

A ſtrange report how long Ruanus the giant liued, and that hee was baptized by S. Patricke.

Some Giants left that ſaued their liues in caues & dens.

Geneſis 10, 2

Anno 2327 Nemodus and his foure ſons, Starius, Garbaneles, Anuinus, and Ferguſius.

Ireland again inhabited by the of ſpring of Iaphet.

Anno 2533

The ſonnes of Dela, neere in linage to Nemodus, skilful in Nauigation

They paſſe into Ireland, & vtterly roote out the race of the Giants,

They diuided the whole Iſland into fiue parts, diſtinguiſhed by a meare-ſtone.

A Cantred.

Deſire of Soueraignetie is the cauſe of variance,

Meth or the middle part of Ireland, and how it attained that name

Slanius dyed and was buried in a mountaine in *Meth*

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buryed in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till nowe (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereuppon ensued continuall Warres betweene them, which (in long time) could neuer be fully ceassed. In the necke of these troubles also, there arriued in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemodus*: and so taking and making parts, they set all in such an vprore, that hauocke vvas made on each side hostilely, in most miserable manner.

A new Armie of Scythians ariued in Ireland.

To be short, they spent themselues, in pursuing one another with such outrage: that they began to grow careleſſe, what Nations or Soldiers they receyued to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a side. By which occasion, the *Britaines* also stept in among them, procuring *Brennus*, the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither with the same Nauy, which he had made ready to passe ouer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that inuaded the Countreyes of *Sauoy* and *Daulphinois*.

Brennus cald into Ireland, to ayde one part of the factious people.

Segwine king of the Allobroges.

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke small effect, though there were other Kings of the Britaines, that got dominion there; insomuch that *Gurgwintius*, or *Gurguntius*, the sonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall descent. Notwithstanding, the British Princes neuer enioyed the quiet possession thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there little other gaine then stripes, whereof they carried away good store. But now to com to the Spaniards, that lastly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) passed into *Ireland*, from *Biscaye*, and inhabited that Island: it shall not be impertinent (following the order obserued) to speake somwhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the Irishe nation had their first beginning.

The British Princes neuer enioyed the quiet possession of Ireland.

In the yeare of the world, 2436. after the vniuersall flood, 870. while the Israelites serued in Ægypt, *Gathelus* the sonne of one *Nealus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon disfauour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, beeing very wise, valiant, and well spoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharaoh*, surnamed *Orus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauersed the seas, and landing first in *Portugall*, after some bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their consent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the bankes of the Riuer, anciently called *Munda*, and nowe *Mondego*, where (shortly after) he began to builde a Citty, first named *Brachara*, but now *Barsalo*, as *Hector Boetius* affirmeth.

The history of the Spaniards arriuall in Ireland, vnder the conduct of foure Captaines.

The Riuer of Munda, now Mondego.

Brachara now Braga or Barsalo.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encrease in power; thorough perswasion of the Spaniards theyr neighbours, they remoued into *Gallicia*, where they also builded a Citty, named *Brigantium*, which is now called *Coruna*. Finally, when they grewe into such a huge multitude, that *Gallicia* was not able to sustaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, passed ouer into *Ireland* and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge especially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For, he not onely enriched and beautified the Irish tongue: but enstructed them in letters also: he sought vp their Antiquities, and likewise practised their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he was discended.

The Cittie Compostella of Gallicia in Spaine.

Gathelus passeth into Ireland, and is there highly honoured.

To conclude, hee was so acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifye such a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Island *Gathelia*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humfrey Lhuid*, but also to other learned men, and diligent serchers of Antiquities: by reason of the sundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miscount of yeares, as other vnlikelyhoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thorowly weighed, and well considered. Yet certaine it is, that Ireland was aunciently named *Scotia*, and the people Scots, as by diuers old writings it may be sufficiently proued: albeit, by what occasion it took first

The names of Ireland, and whereof they were deriued, as they holde opinion.

Ireland was anciently called Scotia.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the History, as we finde it. The residue of *Gathelus* his people, which remayned in Spaine, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confines of *Gascoigne*, and repleniſhed the Sea coaſtes of *Spaine*, with ſtore of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their firſt arriuall there (when they were againe peſtered with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or ſome other els, they croſſed ouer into Ireland, is altogether vncertaine.

Bayon builded by Gathelus his people

Notwithſtanding, ſure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the Britains, the cheefe Gouernour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniardes, two of which are ſaide to be *Hiberus* and *Hermion*, not the ſonnes (as ſome thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Hector Bœtius* affirmeth) but ſome other perhaps, that were deſcended of him; who vnderſtanding that diuers of the weſterne Iſles were empty of inhabitants: aſſembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the ſame in threeſcore great veſſelles, and directing their courſe Weſtwarde, houered a long time on the Sea, about the Iſles of *Orkeney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conqueſt of Denmarke (as in the Brittiſh hiſtory it apeareth) whom they beſought in conſideration of their want of victuals and other neceſſaries (being ſuch, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumbred with ſuch ſtore of women and children) to direct & appoint them ſome place, where they might inhabite; promiſing to hold the ſame of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

The gouernor of Bayon, and foure brethren Spaniards trauelled to ſeeke their fortune abread.

Gurguntius coming from the conqueſt of Denmarke.

Gurguntius aduiſing with himſelfe hereon, remembred, with what troble he held the Iriſh in ſubiection, & cõceiuing hope that theſe ſtrangers might either ſubdue, or wholy deſtroy that vnruly generation; accepted & took thoſe oathes of the Spaniards with hoſtages, & furniſhing them & their ſhips, with all needful things; ſet them ouer into Ireland, where, aſſiſted with ſuch Britaines as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conqueſt of the whole country, & ſetled themſelues ioyfully therein.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards ſeates in Ireland, to liue vnder his ſubiection.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that preſent) voide of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that theſe Spaniards were guided thither by the Britains, & vnder ſuch conditions as before is recited. Whereby it appeareth, that the kings of Britain had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conqueſt of K. *Henry* 2. which title they euer maintained, & ſometimes preuailed in purſuit thereof, as in the daies of K. *Arthur*, to whom the Iriſh (as in diuers hiſtories is remembred) acknowledged their due ſubiection, with paimẽt of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the Britiſh toong, *Caer Lheon*. Wherunto, when their free aſſent, the ſubmiſſion of their Princes, with lawfull conqueſt & preſcription are annexed; an inuincible title muſt needs be enforced.

The arriuall of the Spaniards in Irelãd, and their conqueſt there.

Geffrey Mon.

The Iriſh were ſubiect to K. Arthur, and payed him Tribute at weſt Cheſter.

But now to our purpoſe. The Spaniards ſubſtantially aſſiſted with the Britains, ſetled themſelues, and diuided their ſeats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning ſeuerally apart in ſũdry portions, with good quietneſſe and encreaſe of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, againſt the other two; as *Hiberus* and one of his brethren, againſt *Hermion* and his Brother. In this diſſention, *Hermion* ſlewe his brother *Hiberus*: of whom, at the ſame time (as ſome hold) the countrey was named *Hibernia*. Although ſome are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Mettall, wherewith the land abounded: & ſo thoſe Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Ierna*, name it more aptly after the ſpeech of the inhabitants, then others which cal it *Hibernia*.

Diſſention betweene the bretheren, ſuch are the fruites of ambition.

Hibernia, after the name of Hiberus, as ſome Imagined.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Soueraignty, making his way through his brothers blood moſt vnnaturally, and in an vnhappie Ciuill-Warre: purged himſelfe to his ſubiects, that neyther maliciouſly, nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſarie defence and ſafety, hee had borne Armes againſt his brethren. And to witneſſe, how farre he was from all deſire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) ſeuerall Countreyes: reſeruing to himſelfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his eſtate.

No crime ſo manifeſt or deteſtable, that wanteth a colourable pretence to excuſe it.

Theſe

Ireland diuided into fiue Kingdomes: And one soueraigne Ruler ouer the rest.

These parts appointed foorth in this wise, at length grew to fiue Kingdomes, *Leinster*, *Connaght*, *Vlster*, and *Mounster* diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselues: but euer one was chosen to bee chiefe soueraigne Monarch ouer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly, that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of *Spaine*, inhabiting about the Countries of *Biscaie* and *Gallicia*, came and peopled *Ireland* (as both their owne Histories, & the *British* do agree wholly) but from whence they came first, to inhabite those Countries of *Spain*, cannot by me be auouched. For no other Writers (but such as haue registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make mention of *Gathelus* his coming thither, with *Scota* his Wife, and their people, as by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred and thirty cheefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation, from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*, the sonne of *Nealus Magnus*; in whose time, that holy esteemed man, S. *Patricke* conuerted them to Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen* liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder their seuerall Kings; one *Rodoricke*, a *Scythian* Prince (with a small company of men, being weather-driuen about the Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chaunce cast vpon the shore of *Ireland*. These were *Picts*, and the very first that had bin heard off in those parts (as some good Authors haue recorded) a people (euen from their cradle) naturally addicted to contention, land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy. They being brought & presented to the *Irish* King, desired Interpretors; which being granted them; *Rodorick* their chiefe Commander and Leader, made this request for him and his, as followeth.

An hundred and thirty Kings from Hermion to Laogirius.

The first Picts arriued in Ireland.

The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of *Ireland*.

NOt as degenerate, or falling from the courage of our Ancestours, but fashioning our selues to Fortunes course; wee are become to craue of Ireland (*as humble Suppliants*) *who neuer before this present, haue embased our selues to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and regard vs well: no light occasion causeth these lustie bodies to stoope.* Scythians *we are, and* Picts *of Scythia; no small portion of glory remaineth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre, that hath expelled vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp olde Histories, to moone strangers to bemoane vs? Let our seruants and children discourse thereof at leisure. Our instant motion is, to grant vs some time of abode in your Land, for which effect & purpose, our vrgent necessity beseecheth your fauour: A King, of a King, and men of men, are to craue assistance.*

Dreadlesse he deliuereth of what country they are, and what manner of people in the Country.

Princes can well discerne and consider, how neere it toucheth their honour and reputation, yea, and their owne surety, to vphold and releeue the state of a King, decayed by treason. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more beseemeth the nature of men, then to be moued with compassion: yea, euen (as it were) to feele themselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit then (we beseech you) and receiue among yee, these few scattered remnants of Scythians. *If your roomes be narrow, we are not many: If the soile of your Country be barren, we are borne and inured to hardnesse: If you liue in peace, wee are at your command as subiects: If you warre, we are ready to serue you as Soldiors. We demaund no Kingdome, no State, no pompeous triumph in Ireland. We are heere alone, and haue left such vanities behinde vs with our enemies. Howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our likings to yours: as calling vnto minde, what we haue bene, not what we are.*

Princes can best iudge how to succour and releeue one anothers distresse.

Misery is very apt in making shewes of great humiliation.

Great consultation was had about the request of these strangers, & many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the *Irish* gaue foorth for answer, the opinion of their Antiquaries, such as were skilfull in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it could not be expedient for thē, to accept the *Scythians* into their Land; because commixture of Nations in any Realme, bringeth quarrels. Moreouer, the multitude of their owne Inhabitantants was such, that roome in the whole Isle was scarse able to receiue them: and therfore those few new commers, beeing placed among

In doubtfull cases it is alwayes good to consult with deliberation & aduice

mong ſo many auncient Inhabitants, might quickly breed diſturbance to bring all out of ioynt, neuertheleſſe, they returned them this anſwer.

The Anſwere of the Iriſh King, to the Oration made by King *Rodericke*.

VVE haue conſidered on your requeſt, as alſo thoſe extremities vrdging thereto: And though we may not (conueniently) receiue you among vs; yet ſhall you finde vs ready in furthering you to our neighbours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Iſle of Britaine, *in the North-part whereof (being voide of Inhabitants) your manhood and pollicie may purchaſe roome, to place your ſelues at your eaſe. We ſhall appoint Captaines to guide you thither, and wee ſhall aſſiſt yee with our Forces in that Countrey. Make ready your Shippes, that you may paſſe thither with all conuenient ſpeed.*

Wiſe men preuent their owne perils by putting the to others, ſo the Iriſh perſwaded the Picts to place themſelues in Brittaine.

Encouraged by this perſwaſion, they tooke their courſe towards the North parts of *Britaine*, now called *Scotland*, where (contrary to their expectation) *Marius*, King of *Britaine*, was ready to awaite their comming, and with ſharpe battaile vanquiſhing them in field, ſlewe *Rodericke*, with a great number of his followers. Thoſe that eſcaped with life, & ſought vnto him for grace; he licenſed to inhabite the vttermoſt ende of *Scotland*. This *Marius*, *Humfrey Lhuid* taketh to be the ſame, whom the Romaine Writers name *Aruiragus*, who reigned about the yeare of our Lord, ſeuenty: A Prince of noble courage, and of no ſmal eſtimation in his dayes, as appeareth by that which is written of him. His right name (as the ſaid *Lhuid* auoucheth) was *Meurig*.

Marius, otherwiſe called Aruiragus King of the Britaines ſlew king Roderick

But now concerning the *Picts*, whether thoſe that eſcaped with life, got the Seas by King *Meurigs* graunt, or getting to their Ships, with-drew into the Iſle of *Orkeney*, is doubtfull. Wiues alſo they wanted to encreaſe their iſſue, & becauſe the *Britaines* thought ſcorne to match their daughters, with ſuch an vnknowne and new come Nation: the *Picts* continued their firſt acquaintance with the *Iriſh*, and (by entreaty) obtained Wiues from them, with condition, that if the Crowne ſhould hap to fall in contention, they ſhould yeelde thus much to the prerogatiue of the woman: that the Prince ſhould bee elected rather of the blood Royall of the Female kinde, then of the Male. Which order (ſaith *Beda*) the *Picts* were very well knowne to keepe vnto his time.

The Britaines ſcorned to marry their daughters with the Picts

Picts marry with the Iriſh, and couenant the ſucceſſion of their kings

Heere I could enter into a long, various and friuilous diſcourſe, concerning great combuſtions, warres and bloody contentions, happening (for a very long time) betweene the *Iriſh*, *Picts* and *Scots*: but beeing impertinent to my intended purpoſe, and little beneficiall to the Reader; I will firſt deſcribe the parts and diuiſions of *Ireland* into Shires and Countries, and then proceed to ſhew, how it receiued the Chriſtian faith at the firſt.

Ireland became diuided into foure Regions; *Leinſter* Eaſt; *Connaght* Weſt; *Vlſter* North; *Mounſter* South: And into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth part, yet mearing on each part, called thereof *Media*, *Meeth*, comprizing as well Eaſt *Meeth*, as Weſt *Meeth*. *Leinſter* buttech vpon *England*; *Vlſter* vpon the *Scottiſh* Iſlands, which face with the *Hebriades*, ſcattered betweene both the Realmes: wherein (at this day) the *Iriſh Scot*, Succeſſour of the elder *Scythian*, *Pict* or *Redſhanke* dwelleth. Each of theſe fiue, where they are frame-able to ciuility, & anſwer the Writs of the Princes Courts; are ſundred into Shires or Counties in this manner.

The diuiſions of Ireland.

1 Legenia.
2 Connatia.
3 Hultonia.
4 Momonia.
5 Media.
Weſt Meeth & Eaſt Meeth
Hebriades.

In *Leinſter* lyeth the Counties of *Dublyn*, *Kildare*, *Weiſeford* or *Gueisford*, *Catherlach*, *Kilkenny*, the Counties of *Leiſe* and *Ophalie*, called the Kings and Queenes Counties: theſe two were ſo named by Parliament, in the Reignes of *Phillip* and *Mary*, hauing Shire-Townes concordant, as *Phillips* Towne, and *Mary-Bourgh*.

The Shires & Counties of Ireland. Leinſter.

Connaght hath the County *Clare*.

Connaght.

Vlſter, the Counties of *Louth*, *Doune*, *Antrim*, one moity of the Towne of *Droghedagh* (for the reſt is in *Meeth*) and *Carregfergus*.

Vlſter.

In *Mounſter* lye the Counties of *Waterford*, *Limerike*, *Corke*, the County Palantine of *Tipperary*, *Kerie*, & the Croſſe of *Tipperarie*. In elder time, *Mounſter* was

Mounſter, and how diuided in elder time.

was diuided into Eaſt *Mounſter*, *Ormond*, Weſt *Mounſter*, *Deſmond*, South *Mounſter*, and *Toonemound*. Now the reaſon why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already, by the fiue brethren arriuing there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagundus*, otherwiſe named *Gangandus*, *Rutheragus* or *Rutheranus* and *Slanius*.

Another diuiſion of Ireland into the Engliſh Pale, and the Iriſhrie.

There was alſo another diuiſion of *Ireland*, into the *Engliſh Pale*, and *Iriſhry*. For, whē *Ireland* was ſubdued by the *Engliſh*, diuers of the Conquerours planted themſelues neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and ſo encloſing and impaling themſelues (as it were) within certaine liſts and territories; they forced away the *Iriſh*. Inſomuch, as that Country became meere *Engliſh*, and therof it was tearmed the *Engliſh Pale*: which (in ancient time) ſtretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlagh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the ſlackneſſe of Marchers, and encroching of the *Iriſh enemy*; the ſcope of the *Engliſh Pale* became greatly impaired, being cramperned and caught into an odde corner of the Country, named *Fingall*, with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countries of *Kildare* & *Louth*, which parts were applyed cheefely with good husbandry, and taken for the richeſt and ciuileſt ſoyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* eſpecially (from time to time) was alwayes ſo addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continuall drudgery) Collonnes, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipt *Engliſh* word Clowne, ſeemeth to be anſwerable.

The empayring of the Engliſh Pale.

Fingall excelled in husbandry.

Collonnes of Fingal clowns

The word *Fingall* counteruaileth in *Engliſh*, the race or ſept of the *Engliſh* or ſtrangers, becauſe they were ſoly ſeized of that part of the Iſland, gryping with their Talents that warme neſt ſo firmely; thar from the Conqueſt, to this day, the *Iriſh* enemy could not rouze thē thence. The Inhabitants of the *Engliſh Pale*, haue beene (in olde time) ſo much addicted to their ciuility, and ſo farre ſequeſtred from barbarous ſauageneſſe; that their onely mother tongue was *Engliſh*. And truely, ſo long as theſe impaled dwellers, did ſunder themſelues (aſwell in land, as in language) from the rude *Iriſh*: rudeneſſe was day by day ſupplanted in the Country, ciuility engrafted, good lawes eſtabliſht, loyalty obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, & in the ende, the coine of a young *England* was like to ſhoote in *Ireland*. But when their poſterity became not altogether ſo wary in keeping, as their Anceſtors were valiant in conquering; the *Iriſh* language became free-dennized in the *Engliſh Pale*. This canker tooke ſuch deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and ſound: became feſtered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly putrified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that ciuility; but *Vlſter* alſo, and the greater part of *Mounſter*. Albeit, of all other places, *Weiſeford*, with the territory baied, and percloſed within the Riuer called the *Pill*, was ſo quite eſtranged from *Iriſhry* (which was rare in thoſe dayes) that if a trauailer of the *Iriſh*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and ſpoken *Iriſh*: the *Weisfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake Engliſh, or elſe to bring his Trouchman with him. But afterward, they ſo acquainted themſelues with the *Iriſh*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner ſort, grew to ſpeake neither good *Engliſh* nor good *Iriſh*.

The great ciuility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

The Iriſh Language free-dennized in the Engliſh Pale.

Weiſeford wholly Engliſh.

The Riuer Pil

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the chriſtian faith: And finde, that immediately after Chriſts time, Saint *Iames* the Apoſtle & other, trauailing into theſe Weſt parts; did firſt enſtruct the *Iriſh* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Goſpel. So that diuers among them, euen then were chriſtened, and beleeued: but not in ſuch numbers (as may be thought) wherby it ſhould be ſaid, that the Country was generally conuerted. Notwithſtanding, the *Scottiſh* Chronicles doe auouch, that in the dayes of *Fincomarke* their King, who departed this life in the yeare of our Redemptiō, 358, *Ireland* was conuerted to the faith, by this meanes.

Ireland enſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by Saint Iames the Apoſtle.

Fincomarke King of Scotland.

A woman of the *Pictiſh* blood (ſay they) chanced in thoſe dayes to ſerue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herſelfe beeing a Chriſtian, firſt enſtructed her Queene and Miſtreſſe, in the faith & true points of Chriſtianity, & the Queen her Husband the King, who conuerted the whole *Iriſh* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

A Pictiſh woman conuerted the queen of Ireland to the faith.

of the *Iriſh* Writers themſelues, this ſhould not ſeeme altogether true.

The herefie of Pelagius had greatly decaied Chriſtian faith in the weſt parts of the world.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather ſtill eſteemed as one of the vnchriſtned Iſles, till about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and ſixe: when *Celeſtine*, the firſt of that name, gouernd the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the reſtoring of the Chriſtian faith in the Weſt parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the hereſie of *Pelagius*) vnderſtood that *Ireland* alſo, by reaſon of diſtance from the heart of Chriſtendome, and rudeneſſe of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to bee lamented.

Paladius made offer to go into Ireland, and therupon was conſecrated Biſhop.

Among other, that then were aſſembled to treate of thoſe matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towardes the cõuerſion of thoſe lands, whither it ſhold pleaſe them to appoynt him to goe. *Celeſtine* knowing the ſufficiẽcie of the man, conſecrated him Biſhop, authorized his iourney by Letters vnder his Seale, furniſhed his wants, and aſſociating to him, ſuch religious perſons and others, as were thought neceſſary to aſſiſt him: deliuered vnto him the Bible with great ſolemnitie, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good ſpeede, for ſo long and tedious a iourney.

Paladius landed in the north of Ireland, and conuerted many to the Faith.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly eſcaped (with life) into the Iſles adioyning, where he preached the Goſpell, and conuerted no ſmall number of *Scots* to the Chriſtian faith and beleefe; purging alſo that part which was chriſtened, from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwelt in *Britaine*, to leaue the Iſles, and come ouer to them, there to enſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he ſeemd willing enough. And the biſhop of *Rome*, the more readily condiſcended thereto, becauſe at that inſtant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patricke* attended at *Rome*, ſuing for licence to be ſent into *Ireland*.

The Scots in Britaine required the compa ny of Paladius

Patricke ſent into Ireland, and Paladius appointed to go into Scotland.

The Pope therefore graunted, that *Paladius* might paſſe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patricke* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*, where, vpon his arriuall, hee found the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accuſtomed forwardneſſe) that a man would haue imagined, vpon ſight of their readineſſe; that the Land had beene reſerued for him to conuert. And becauſe it pleaſed God, to beſtow ſuch an vniuerſall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by folowing our Author herein) to touch ſome part of the courſe of his life.

The towardneſſe of the Iriſh men to heare Patricks preaching.

This *Patricke*, in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the Marches betweene *England* and *Scotland*, in a Towne by the Sea ſide, named *Eiburne*, whoſe fathers name was likewiſe called *Calphurnius*, a Deacon, and ſonne to a Prieſt: his Mother, named *Conches*, was ſiſter to S. *Martine*, that famous Biſhoppe of *Tours* in *France*. *Patricke* (of a childe) was brought vp in learning, and well enſtructed in the faith, beeing much giuen to deuotion. The *Iriſhmen* (in thoſe daies) aſſiſted with ſome *Scots* and *Picts*, were become arch-Pirats, greatly diſquieting the Seas about the Coaſts of *Britaine*, and vſed to ſacke little ſmall Villages, that lay ſcatteringly along the ſhore, and would leade away the Inhabitants captiue home into their Country. And as it chaunced, *Patricke* being a Lad of ſixteene yeares olde, and a Scholler then in ſeculer learning: was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an *Iriſh* Lord called *Macbuaine*, from whõ (after the terme of ſixe yeares) he redeemed himſelfe, with a piece of gold, which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwine had newly turned vp, as he followed thẽ in the time of his captiuity, beeing appointed (by his Maſter) to take charge of them, and keepe them.

In what place Saint Patricke was borne.

The life of S Patricke diſcourſed briefly.

Saint Patricke taken priſoner when he was yong, and how he redeemed himſelfe.

And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had ſtamped in him ſuch remorſe and humility, that beeing thencefoorth weaned from the world: hee betooke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and trueth in that Land. And withall not deſpairing, but that (in continuance of time) ſome good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, alluring one of that Nation, to beare him company for exerciſe ſake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a deſire to ſee the conuerſion

Affliction is an eſpeciall meanes to make men becom religious

The paſſage Patricke into Fraunce.

uerſion of the *Iriſh* people, whoſe babes, yet vnborne, ſeemed to him in his dreaming, from forth theyr mothers wombs, to call for Chriſtendome.

Saint Patricke placed in ſeruice with Germanus Biſhop of Auxerre.

In this purpoſe, he ſought out his vnkle *Martine*, by whoſe meanes he was placed wiih *Germanus* the Biſh. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Diſciple for the ſpace of fourtie yeares: all which time hee beſtowed in the ſtudie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Afterwards, beeing renowned through the Latine Church, for his wiſedome, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation, from the *French* biſhops vnto Pope *Celeſtine*, to whom hee vttered his whole minde and ſecret vow, which long before hee had conceiued as touching *Ireland*. *Celeſtine* inueſted him Archbiſhop and Primate of the whole Iſland, ſet him forward with al fauor he could deuiſe, bringing him and his diſciples onward to their Countrey.

He went to Rome, highly commended to pope Celeſtine.

Patricke inueſted Archbiſh. of Ireland.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodoſius* the yonger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patricke* landed in *Ireland*, and bicauſe he ſpake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerend perſonage in the eyes of all men; many liſtened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, becauſe (as ſome Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrine with diuerſe miracles. But eſpecially thoſe men regarded his words before all others, that had ſome taſte of the Chriſtian Faith before, eyther by the comming into thoſe partes of *Paladius* and his Diſciple one *Albius*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop, or otherwiſe by ſome other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained ſome ſpark of knowledge of Chriſtianity, euer ſince the firſt preaching of the Goſpell, which was ſhortly after Chriſts Aſcention, by S. *Iames* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patricke* wonne the better part of that kingdome to the faith of Chriſt.

Patricke verie reuerently reſpected by the people in Ireland.

Albius an Iriſh biſhop, diſciple to Paladius.

Laigerius ſon to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit he receiued not the Goſpell himſelfe; yet he permitted all that would to embrace it. But becauſe he refuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrine; the Biſhop denounced againſt him a curſſe from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: *That during his life he ſhould be victorious: but after him, neither ſhould the kingdome ſtand, nor his linage inherit.* Thence he tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably receiued him, and was conuerted with al his people: ſending him afterward to his brother *Logan*, king of *Leinſter*, whō he alſo conuerted. In *Mounſter* he found great frendſhip, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the Eaſt Angle of *Armagh*, called *Sorta*, where he erected many Celles and Monaſteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Biſhops and Prieſts in conuenient places, whoſe learning and conuerſation, by the eſpeciall grace & fauor of God, eſtabliſhed the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeres he ſpēt in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, which by his means were founded. So he liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buryed in *Downe*.

Laigerius ſon to Neale the great monark of Ireland, permitted the Iriſhmen to become chriſtiās

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinſter.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patricke & his place of buriall in Downe

Now, concerning the chiefe citties and townes of *Ireland*, we are firſt to ſpeake of *Dublin*, termed the beautie and eye of *Ireland*, I find it recorded, that about the yere 155. three noble Eaſterlings, being brethren, ariued in *Ireland*, whoſe names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Tuorus*. *Auellanus* being the eldeſt brother, built *Dublin*; *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Tuorus*, *Limerike*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of ſpeech, *Eblana*, and ſo *Ptolomie* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better skill name it *Dublinium*. This cittie, as it is not inferiour for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*; ſo in pleaſant ſcituation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chiualry, obedience and loyalty, aboundance of wealth, largeneſſe of hoſpitality, in manners and ciuilitie, it is ſuperiour to all other citties and towns in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Iriſh* or yong *London*. The Charter of this citie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yeare 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiffes: which were changed into Sherifs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the ſixt, 1547. But it appeares by the ancient Seale of this cittie called *Signum præpoſituræ*, that the Cittie hath (in elder times) beene gouerned

The famous cities & townes of Ireland.

Dublin, & the firſt founder thereof, who was Auelanus

Dublin the Iriſh London.

The Sword giuen to Dublin.

Sheriffes of Baylifes.

uerned by a Pronoſt.

Waterford called Menapia by Ptolomy.

Waterford was founded by *Sitaracus*, in the yeare 155. beeing a Citty properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriuing, free from factions: the men deale in traffick, the women in ſpinning & carding; and as they diſtill the beſt *Aqua vitæ*, ſo they ſpinne the cheefeſt Rugge in *Ireland*.

The worthy loialty of Waterford.

Of this Citty *Waterford* it is written, to haue continued ſo loyall to the Crowne of *England*, that it is not found regiſtred (ſince the Conqueſt) to haue bin ſtained with the ſmalleſt ſpot of treaſon, notwithſtanding the ſundry aſſaults of traiterous attempts. And therfore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *Intacta manet*.

The Poeſie of Waterford.

Limericke, Yuorus the Founder ther of.

Limericke, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by *Yuorus*, about the very ſame yeare of 155. coaſting on the Sea, hard vpon the Riuer *Sennan*; whereby are moſt notably ſeuered *Mounſter* and *Connaght*, the *Iriſh* name this Citty, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in Engliſh it is called *Limerike*.

Corke the fourth Citty of Ireland.

Corke, in Latine *Corciuam* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citty of *Ireland*, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauen being a Hauen royall. On the land-ſide they were ſo encumbred with euill neighbours, the *Iriſh* Out-lawes, that they were faine to watch their gates hourely, to keepe them ſhut at ſeruice times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to ſuffer any ſtranger to enter the Citty with his weapon, but to leaue it at a Lodge appointed.

Drogheda.

Drogheda, accounted the beſt Towne in *Ireland*, and truely not farre behinde ſome of their Citties: the one moity of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further ſide of the water, lyeth in *Vlſter*.

There ranne a blinde Propheſie of this Towne, that *Roſſe* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Roſſe.

Roſſe, a Hauen Towne in *Mounſter*, not farre from *Waterford*, ſeeming to haue beene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof ſundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Ditches, which are now a mile diſtant from the Walles of *Roſſe*: betweene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the auncient Walles, Gates, and Towers (placed betweene both) are to bee ſeene vnto this day.

Weisford.

Weisford, a Hauen Towne not farre from *Roſſe*, whereof no great matters are recorded: but onely that it is to be eſteemed by all the Engliſh poſterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the firſt Fortreſſe and Harbourer, of the Engliſh Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable ſeruices.

Kilkenny.

Kilkenny, the beſt vpland, or (as they tearme it) the propereſt dry Towne in *Ireland*; is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Iriſh* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the Engliſh, after the Conqueſt, and had a parcell of the *Iriſh* Towne vnited to it, by the Biſhops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earneſt requeſt. *Robert Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred, enclоſed with walles the better part of this Towne.

Walles builded in Anno. 1500 by M. *Robert Talbot*.

Thomas town

Thomas Towne, a proper Towne builded in the County of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz-Anthony*, an Engliſhman: thereof the *Iriſh* call it *Ballie mac-Andan*, that is, *The Towne of Fitz-Anthony*. But becauſe the Reader may perceiue, in what parts of the Country the Citties and cheefe Townes ſtand, I haue ſet them downe in this order.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Vlſter.

Drogheda, *Carregfargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *Arglaſhe*, *Cloagher*, *Muneighan*, *Doonnegaule*, *Karreg mac Roſſe*, *Newrie*, *Carlingford*, *Ardie*, *Doondalke*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Bulrudrie*, *Luske*, *Swords Taſhaggard*, *Lions*, *Newcaſtle*, *Ratheoule*, *Oughter arde*, *Naas*, *Clane Mainooth*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathaimgan*, *Kildare*, *Luianne*, *Caſtle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *Mary-borough*, *Kilcullen*, *Caſtle-Marten*, *Thiſtledermot*, *Kilea*, *Athie*, *Catherlaugh*, *Leighelen*, *Ganranne*, *Thomas Towne*, *Eneſtio ke*, *Caſhelle*, *Callanne*, *Kilkenny*, *Knocktofer*, *Roſſe*, *Cloumelle*, *Weiſeford*, *Fernes*, *Fidderd*, *Eneſcortie*, *Tathmon*, *Wickloa*, *Ackloa*, *Waterford*, *Liſmore*, *Doongarnon*, *Toghill*, *Corke*, *Limerike*, *Kilmallocke*, *Aloana*, *Galuoie*, *Anrie*, *Louaghriagh*, *Clare*, *Toame*, *Sligagh*, *Roſſe comman*, *Aritlowne*, *Trimme*, *Doonſhaghlenne*, *Rathlouth*, *Nauanne*, *Aooie*, *Scrine*, *Taraugh*, *Kelmles*, *Doonboine*, *Greenocke*, *Dulecke*, *Molingare*, *Fowre*, *Loughſende*, *Kilkenniweſt*, *Moilagagh*, *Deluinne*.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Leinſter.

Cheefe townes in Mounſter.
Cheefe townes in Connaght.
Chiefe townes in Meeth.
Chiefe townes in Weſtmeeth

Diuiſiō made of Meeth into two Counties.

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King *Henry* the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at *Dublin*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, Knight, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*: that *Meeth* ſhould be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of *Meeth*, and the other to bee named the County of *Weſtmeeth*. And that there ſhould be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the ſaide Shieres, as is more at large expreſſed in the Act.

The names of the cheefeſt Hauen townes in Ireland.

Loughfoile, the *Banne*, *Wolderfrith*, *Carregfergus*, *Strangford*, *Ardglas*, *Longheuē*, *Carlingford*, *Kilkeale*, *Dunkalke*, *Kilclogher*, *Duuane*, *Drogheda*, *Houlepatrike*, *Nanie*, *Baltraie*, *Brimore*, *Balbriggen*, *Roggers-Towne*, *Skerriſh*, *Ruſh*, *Malahide*, *Banledoile*, *Houth*, *Dublin*, *Dalkee*, *Wickincloa*, *Arckloa*, *Weisford*, *Bagganbun*, the *Paſſage*, *Waterford*, *Dungaruan*, *Roſſe noua*, *Toughille*, *Corke mabegge*, *Corke*, *Kinſale*, *Kierie*, *Roſſe Ilbere*, *Dorrie*, *Baltinimore*, *Downenere*, *Downeſhead*, *Downelounge*, *Attannanne*, *Craghanne*, *Downeuebwine*, *Balineskilliedge*, *Daugine Ichouſe*, *Trolie*, *Semme*, *Caſſanne*, *Kiluewine*, *Limerike*, *Inniskartee*, *Belalenne*, *Arinenewing*, *Glanemaugh*, *Balliweiham*, *Binwarre*, *Dowris*, *Woran*, *Roskam*, *Galwaie*, *Killinillie*, *Innesboſinne*, *Owran*, *Moore*, *Kilcolken*, *Burske*, *Belleclare*, *Ratheſilbene*, *Bierweiſowre*, *Bucaneis hare*, *Ardnemakow*, *Rosbare*, *Kilgolinne Wallalele*, *Rabranne*, *Strone*, *Berweis now*, *Zaltra*, *Kalbalie*, *Ardnocke*, *Adrowſe*, *Sligaghe*, *Innes Bowſenne*.

Of the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in Ireland.

The ſpirituall Iuriſdiction of *Ireland*, is ordered into foure Prouinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. *Patricke*, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbiſhoppricke of *Armagh*, who is called *Primas totius Hibernia*, and the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *Primas Hibernia*. Which cuſtome was ſince confirmed by *Eugenius* the third, in Anno. 1148. or 1152. Who ſent withal three other palles of Archbiſhops to be placed, one at *Dublin*, one at *Caſhill*, and the laſt at *Twene*.

The Archbiſhoppricke.

29. Suffragans

Vnder Armagh.

To theſe were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas* of *Armagh*. Vnder whoſe Prouince are the Biſhops of *Meeth* and *Deren*, *Ardach*, *Kilmore*, *Cloghere*, *Downe*, *Coner*, *Clonknos*, *Raboo*, *Dromoore*.

Vnder Dublin

Vnder *Dublin*, whereunto *Innocentius* the third vnited *Glandelagh*, the Biſhop of *Elphine*, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Oſſorie*, and *Leighlin*.

Vnder Caſhil

Vnder *Caſhill*, the Biſhop of *Waterford*, to whom *Liſmore* is vnited, *Corke* and *Clone*, *Roſſe*, *Ardigh*, *Limerike*, *Emelse*, *Killaloe* and *Ardfert*.

Vnder *Twene*, *Kilmaco*, *Olſine*, *Anaghdonne*, *Clonfert* and *Morroo*.

In this recount ſome difference happeneth, by reaſon of perſonall and reall vnion of the Sees, and for other alterations.

The Names of the Gouernours, Lieutenants, Lord Iuſtices, and Deputies of Ireland, ſince the Conqueſt thereof, by King Henry the ſecond.

The yeares of our Lord.

1174. R*Ichard Strongbow*, Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour, *Reimond le Grace* beeing ioyned (for his more eaſe) in Commiſſion with him.

1177. *Reimond le Grace*, Lieutenant by himſelfe.

William Fitz-Adelme, Lieutenant, hauing *Iohn de Curcy*, *Robert Fitz-Stephans*, and *Miles Cogan*, ioyned in Commiſſion with him.

1182 *Hugh Lacie*, Lieutenant.

Iohn Lacie, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *Richard de Peche*. } Gouernours.

Hugh Lacy, againe Lieutenant.

1227. *Hugh Lacy* the younger, Lord Iuſtice.

Henry Loandoris, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Lord Iuſtice.

1228. *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, Lord Iuſtice.

1253. *Iohn Fitz-Geffrey*, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.

Alan de la Zouch, Lord Iuſtice.

1258. *Stephen de Long Eſpe*, Lord Iuſtice.

William Deane, Lord Iuſtice.

1261. Sir *Richard Rochell*, or *Capell*, Lord Iuſtice.

1267. *Dauid Barry*, Lord Iuſtice.

1268. *Robert Vfford*, Lord Iuſtice.

1269. *Richard de Exceſter*, Lord Iuſtice.

1270 *Iames* Lord *Audley*, Lord Iuſtice.

1272. *Maurice Fitz-Maurice*, Lord Iuſtice.

Walter, Lord *Genuille*, Lord Iuſtice.

Robert Vfford, againe Lord Iuſtice.

Fulborne,

1281. *Fulborne*, Biſhop of *Waterford*, Lord Iuſtice.
Iohn Stamford, Archbiſhoppe of *Dublin*, Lord Iuſtice.
William Veſcie, Lord Iuſtice.
1295. *William Dodingſels*, Lord Iuſtice.
Thomas Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iuſtice.
1298. *Iohn Wogan*, Lord Iuſtice.
1284. *Theobald Verdon*, Lord Iuſtice.
1315. *Edmond Butler*, Lord Iuſtice.
1317. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, Lord Iuſtice.
Alexander Bignor, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Lord Iuſtice.
1319. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, the ſecond time Lord Iuſtice.
1320. *Thomas Fitz-Iohn*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iuſtice.
1321. *Iohn Birmingham*, Earle of *Louth*, Lord Iuſtice.
1323. *Iohn* Lord *Darcy*, Lord Iuſtice.
1327. *Roger Outlaw*, Prior of *Kilmainan*, Lord Iuſtice.
Anthony Lord *Lucy*, Lord Iuſtice.
1332. *Iohn* lord *Darcy*, ſecond time Lord Iuſtice
Iohn Lord *Charleton*, Lord Iuſtice.
1333. *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, L. Iuſtice.
1339. *Iohn* Lord *Darcy*, ordayned lord Iuſtice by Patent, during his life, by King *Edward* the third.
Raphe Vfford, Lord Iuſtice.
1346. *Robert Darcy*, Lord Iuſtice.
Iohn Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iuſtice.
Walter, Lord *Birmingham*, Lord Iuſtice: his Deputies were *Iohn Archer*, Prior of *Kilmainan*, and Baron *Carew*, with Sir *Thomas Rokesby*.
Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earle of *Deſmond*, had the Office of Lord Iuſtice, for tearme of his life, by the grant of king *Edward* the third.
Thomas Rokesby, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.
1355. *Almericke de S. Amand.*
1357. *Iohn Butler*, Earle of *Ormond*. } appointed lord Iuſtices by turnes.
Maurice Fitz-Henry, Earle of *Kildare*. }
1361. *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Lord Iuſtice.
1367. *Gerald Fitz-Maurice*, Earle of *Deſmond*, Lord Iuſtice.
1369. *William* Lord *Windſor*, the firſt Lieutenant in *Ireland*.
1372. *Roger Aſhton*, Lord Iuſtice.
1381. *Roger Mortimer.* } Iuſtices & Lieutenants eſpecially recorded, in the dayes of King *Richard* the ſecond.
Phillip Courtney. }
Iames Earle of *Ormond.* }

Robert Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, Marqueſſe of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland*.
Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*, Lieutenãt. 1394.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of *March* and *Vlſter*, Lieutenant.
Roger Grey, Lord Iuſtice.
Iohn Stanley Knight, Lord Lieutenant.
Thomas of *Lancaſter*, brother vnto King *Henry* the 4, Lord Lieutenant; whoſe Deputies at ſundry times, were *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Meeth*, *Stephen Scroop*, Knight, and the Prior of *Kilmainan*. 1401.
Iames Butler, Earl of *Ormond*, Lord Iuſtice 1403.
Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iuſtice.
Iames Butler, Earle of *Ormond*, ſonne to the foreſaid *Iames*, Lord Iuſtice. 1407.
Iohn Stanley, againe Lord Lieutenant. 1413.
Thomas Cranley, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Lord Iuſtice.
Iohn Lord *Talbot* of *Sheffield*, Lieutenant. 1414.
Iames Butler, earle of *Ormond*, the ſecond time Lieutenant. 1420.
Edmond Earle of *March*, *Iames* Earle of *Ormond*, his Deputy. } Lieutenants to king *Hery* the 6.
Iohn Sutton, Lord *Dudley*; Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy.
Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Chriſtopher Plunket* his Deputy.
Lion, Lord *Welles*, Deputy to the Earle of *Ormond*.
Iames Earl of *Ormond*, by himſelfe.
Iohn Earle of *Shrewsbury*; the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* (in his abſence) Lord Iuſtice.
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of *Yorke*, Father to King *Edward* the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King *Henry* the ſixt, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at ſundry times) were the Baron of *Deluin*; *Richard Fitz-Euſtace*, Knight; *Iames* Earle of *Ormond*; and *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earle of *Kildare*.
Thomas Fitz-Morris, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iuſtice in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at ſundry times) theſe men following:
Thomas, Earle of *Deſmond*. } Deputies to the D. of *Clarence*
Iohn Tiptoſt, Earle of *Worceſter*. }
Thomas, Earle of *Kildare*. }
Henry, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*. }
Sir *Rowland Euſtace*, Lord Deputy. 1470.

Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, younger ſonne to King *Edward* the fourth, Lieutenant.

Edward, ſonne to King *Richard* the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was *Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*.

Iaſper, Duke of *Bedford*, and Earle of *Penbroke*, Lieutenant: his Deputy was *Walter*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

Edward Poynings Knight, Lord Deputy.

1494. *Henry*, Duke of *Yorke*, afterward King, by the name of *Henry* the eight, Lieutenant: his Deputy was *Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*.

1501. *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Deputy.

1520. *Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, Lieutenant.

Piers Butler, Earle of *Oſſorie*, L. Deputy.

1523. *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, again Lord Deputy.

The Baron of *Dublin*, Lord Deputy.

Piures Butler, Earle of *Oſſory*, againe Lord Deputy.

1529. *William Skeffington* Knight, Lord Deputy

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, the third time Lord Deputy.

William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy.

Leonard Lord *Grey*, Lord Deputy.

1535. Sir *William Bereton*, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.

1540. Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, L. Deputy.

1541.

¶ The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Iuſtices in *Ireland*, ſince the death of King *Henry* the eight, who dyed in Ianuary, 1546.

SIR *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, by Patent, dated 24. *Martij. Anno primo Edw. 6.*

1546. Sir *Edward Bellingham*, Lord Deputy, 22. *Aprilis Eodem.*

1546.

1547. Sir *Francis Brian*, Lord Iuſtice.

1548. Sir *William Brabeſton*, Lord Iuſtice.

1549. Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, the third time lord Deputy, 4. Auguſt.

1550.

1551. Sir *Iames Croſes*, Lord Deputy, 29. *Aprilis.*

1553. Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. *Anno primo Reg. Marie.*

1555. *Thomas* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Lord Deputy, 27. *Aprilis.*

1556. Sir *Henry Sidney*. } Lords Iuſtices.
Doctor *Coren*, or *Corwen*. }

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Iuſtice alone, 18. *Ianuary.* 1556.

Thomas Earle of *Suſſex*, Lord Lieutenant 19. *Martij.* 1557.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Iuſtice. 1558.

Thomas Earle of *Suſſex*, Lord Deputy, 6. *Maij Anno primo Reg. Elizab.* 1559.

Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Lord Iuſtice. 1564.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy the third time. 1565.

Doctor *Weſton*, Lord Chancellor.

Sir *William Fitz Williams*. 1567.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, lord Deputy the fourth time. 1568.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy, 11. *Decemb. Anno.* 14. *Elizab.* 1570.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy the fift time, *Auguſt* 3. 1571. 1572.

Sir *William Drury*, Lord Iuſtice, 14. *September*, by Patent, 18. *May.* 1579.

Sir *William Pelham*, Lord Iuſtice. 1580.

The Lord *Arthur Grey*. 1580.

Adam, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*. } Lords Iuſtices.
Sir *Henry Wallop*. } 1582.

Sir *Iohn Perot*, Lord Deputy. 1584.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy. 1588.

Sir *William Ruſſell*, Lord Deputy. 1595.

Thomas, Lord *Burrough*, Lord Deputy. 1597.

Robert Earle of *Eſſex*, Lord Lieutenant. 1599.

Charles Blount, Baron *Montioy*, Lord Deputy. 1600.

Sir *George Carew*, Lord Deputy. 1602.

Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, Lord Deputy. 1604.

Sir *Oliuer S. Iohn*, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honourable Office. 1618.

CHAP. II.

A briefe Diſcourſe, how thoſe parts and Countries, commonly called, The New World, were firſt found: Alſo, by whom, and what things were there found, and ſeene, and brought away thence.

CAruell ſayling on the *Spaniſh* Seas, there fell a tempeſt, comming ſo impetuouſly from the Eaſt, the Windes growing ſtill ſo croſſe and contrary; that at length it was tranſpor-

The Windes and Weather will be Commanders at Sea.

transported into an vnknowne Country, which neuer was in any Carde for Nauigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returning; no more remayned liuing then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extreamitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

In the house of Christopher Columbus died the Pilote Andalvzo.

But the Pilote, whose name was *Andaluzo*, dyed in the house of one *Christopher Columbus*, a native of *Cuguero*, or (as some others say) of *Albizolo*, a small village on the riuer of *Genes*, neare to *Sauona*. With this *Colombus* remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd Caruell, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discouerd, and found. Some say, that the sayd *Andaluzo* trafficked in *Canaria* and *Madera*, when this long and fatall nauigation happened. Others also tearme him a *Biscane*, which dealt with *England* and *France*: and some repute him a *Portuguize*, that went and came from *Myrrha* or *India*. Others agayne report, that the said Caruell went into *Portugall*, or to *Madera*, and other Ilands; but none doe assure any thing for certaine. It is no maruell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Ancients, and that the Inuenters of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of matters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidentall or Westerne Isles (which we call the *New-found World*) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

Variety of opinions concerning this Andaluzo.

Needs must many Antiquities be lost, when later times neglect all memorie.

But all agree together, that this *Andaluzo* dyed in the house of the sayd *Christopher Columbus*; who hauing (at the first) beene a Sayler or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropickes, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, prouing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridionall coasts of *Affrica*, and of other places where the *Portugalls* had sayled: he went into *Portugall*, to the end he might make his Cards the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Isle of *Madera*: where it may be credited (as most likely)

What Christopher Columbus was at his beginning.

that he dwelt when the said Caruell coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discouered: to the end that *Columbus* might set them downe in his Carde, wherein he was further enstructed by him.

Reasons of apparant likelihoode in the case of Columbus.

It is generally supposed, that *Columbus* was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that hee laboured to finde the land of the *Antipodes*, and *Il Rico Cipango de Marco Polo*. Moreouer, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world, which extended it selfe towards the West: whereof *Plato*, *Seneca*, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leaue to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authours, who, in the place where they discourse on the great *Athlanticke* Isle; make mention of a land vnknowne and concealed, more great then *Asia* or *Affrica*. And especially *Aristotle*, writing, that certaine Merchants of *Carthage*, sayling in those parts of *Gibralterre*, towards the West & South, after many dayes found a great Iland inhabited, with Riuers nauigable.

The generall opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning and iugement.

But, after all this so diuersly deliuered, on the behalfe of *Columbus*, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding, and receiuing notice of these new Lands, by the meanes of *Andaluzo*; he conferred with diuers learnd and iudicious men, concerning what had aunciently beene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd *Columbus*, wanting meanes to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stoode in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discouer those lands.

The Authors further examination, and final conclusion as touching Columbus.

Perceiuing then, that the King of *Portugall* was hindered by his enterprize of *Africa*, & nauigation into the East, which he had then in readines, and that the king of *Castile* was busied about the warre of *Granada*: he sent his brother, named *Bartholomew*, to *Henry* the seauenth, king of *England*, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no warres or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

Kings, whose help he intended to haue mooued.

promising to bring him home from those vnknowne Islands (and in small time) vnvaluable treasures. But *Bartholmew* returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonsus* the fift, King of *Portugall*: of whom he could neyther haue fauour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Viso*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contraried him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West, any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Columbus hindered in dealing with the King of Portugall.

Beeing much dismayed and out of comfort (yet his heart encouraging him still, with hope of a happy and successefull aduenture) and being embarqued at *Lisborne*: hee set thence to *Paly de Moguera*, where he spake with *Alphonso Pinzono*, a Pylot well skild in the arte of Nauigation: there also he discouered his secret to to *Iohn Perez*, a Fryar Minor, in the Conuent of S. *Frances de la Rubida*, a most excellent Cosmographer. These men encouraged him to follow his enterprize, councelling him further, to impart the businesse to *Henry*, Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and then to *Lodwick*, Duke *de Medina Cœlia*, who, in his Port of S. *Maria*, had good and commodious meanes to prouide Shipping, and people apt for such a businesse. But these two Dukes helde this Voyage and Nauigation, for no other then as a dreame or phantasma; euen as the Kings of *England* and *Portugall* did. In regard whereof, the poore grey Fryar aduised him to goe to the Court of the Catholique King, and (on his behalfe) wrote to Fryar *Ferdinando de Talaueia*, Confessour to the Queene.

Columbus though discouraged, will not yet be wholly disheartened.

The 2. Dukes of Medina acquainted with this great offer, & refused it also

Columbus followed this aduice of the Fryar, and came to the Court of *Castile*, in the yeare 1486. and (by written petition) presented both his sight and demand, to King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Elizabeth*, who made no great account thereof; as hauing their mindes troubled, for expelling the *Moores* out of *Granado*. He grew then to speake with some, that had neerer eare about the King, and were of most employment with his Maiesty, to negotiate in affaires of importance. But because he was a stranger, meanly habited, and without any other credit, then being commended by a poore Fryar Minor: he was no way beleeued, and much worse listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeased.

His petition to the Catholique King Ferdinand & his Queene, & neglecting where he had greatest hope.

Alphonso Quinta-villa, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dietted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things, as he made promise of in vnknowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes, to haue accesse & audience with *Gonzales de Mendozza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Maiesties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and vnderstood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken off in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and imployment in his voyage of Nauigation, to those Islands vnknown; so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granado*, which then lay heauily on his hand.

Some meanes of entrance for Columbus to worke by.

Columbus was promised supply by the Catholique King.

Columbus, vpon this answere, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprizall of *Granado*, he preuailed so successefully, that the Catholique King consented vnto his request, for passage into those vnknowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without preiudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of *Portugall*. And because the King was then vnfurnished of money for this expedition; *Lodouico*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuenteene thousand Ducats: by meanes whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished * three Caruels at *Pally de Moguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, aswell Marriners as Soldiours.

Christopher Columbus (by meanes of the Catholique King) armed three Caruels to goe finde out the New World.

* Paulus Iouius saith fiue

His ordering of the Caruels, and setting foorth on his Voyage.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conducter. Of the second, *Francesco* & *Vincentio Aeneio*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Captaine and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them; taking also with him his Brother *Bartholmew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Paly

Paly he ſet forward on Friday, beeing the third day of Auguſt, and held on his voyage betweene the Weſt and South, paſſing by *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* Iſlands, where he ſtayed for a ſmall refreſhing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceaſed *Andaluzo*.

Hauing ſayled eight dayes, he eſpied ſo much graſſe or Herbage, as if it ſeemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at firſt) he & all grew doubtfull, although ther was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they ſaw diuers Willow trees a farre off, which gaue an euident and moſt certaine ſigne, that ſome Land muſt needs be neere.

After 8. dayes ſayling, Roderick de Traiana was the firſt man that diſcouered Land.

On the morrowe following, which was the eleauenth day of Nouember, in the yeare 1492. *Rodericke de Traiana*, beganne to cry out alowd, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to ſee whether they were true or no; and hauing likewiſe diſcouered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praiſe GOD, and ſing *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen vvith great exceſſe of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

Their firſt landing at Guabanay, between Florida & Cuba.

The firſt land which they ſaw, was *Guabanay*, one of the Iſles *Lucages*, ſituated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*; where ſodenly they went on ſhoare, and there tooke poſſeſſion of the *New world*. From *Guabanay* they went to *Barucon*, the Porte of *Cuba*, & there tooke ſome Indians, and returning backe to the Iſle of *Hayti*, caſt anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There haſtily they were faine to land againe; becauſe the chief Caruell ſmote againſt a rocke, and began to rift; but yet no perſon was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Iſle ſaw the Spanyards come on ſhore ſo ſpeedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the ſea ſide vp to the Mountaines; imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Canibales*, that came to aſſaile them.

The Indians fearefull of the Spaniardes at their landing.

After them ran the Spaniards, as haſtily as they might, and yet could take none but one woman, vnto whom they gaue Bread, Wine, and Comfittes, as alſo a ſmocke, and other Garments, becauſe ſhe was naked, and ſo ſent her away after the reſt. She went and told her country people, how kindly ſhee had bin vſed, ſhewing them the giftes beſtowed vppon her:

A woman Indian taken & cloathed, and let loſe again.

which cauſed them preſently to come downe againe to the Sea ſide, to ſpeake with the Spaniards, without any vnderſtanding on either ſide, otherwiſe then by ſignes, euen as dumbe folke vſe to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glaſſes, Needles, Sizers, Pinnes, and other ſuch like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, who ſaluted, embraced, & reuerendly entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*. & gifts paſſed betweene one another, in ſigne of loue and amity.

Cachico the firſt Indian Prince ſeene by Columbus.

The Indians brought boats of theyr owne, wherein to beſtowe the goodes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spanyards, ſo louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Croſſe, and beating themſelues on the breſts, like vnto Chriſtians.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spaniards.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time ſoon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholike King, of what he had ſeene and done, preuailed ſo wel with the prompt and ſodaine conſent of *Cachico*, and the aſſiſtance of his ſubiects: as to build a Caſtle of Woode and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spanyards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Roderigo d'Arma*, of *Cordoua*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and ſecrets, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the firſt inhabiting of the Spanyardes in the *Indiaes*.

Columbus, by conſent of Cachico, & help of his people, builded a Caſtle of Wood and earth.

The Caſtle being finiſhed, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoiſes, Conies, and other ſtrange thinges, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as teſtimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboord alſo into his ſhips, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of thoſe toyes and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his abſence, as alſo of *Guacanari* (for ſo was the *Cachico* or king of that Countrey named) who was verie ſorry and loath, that hee ſhould depart thence, he ſent away with two Caruels, wherin

Such things as Columbus caried aboord his Ships with in.

wherein were all the other Spaniardes of the voyage, except the eight and thirtie before remembred, and (hauing a ſucceſſfull winde) arriued at *Paly* within 50. daies or ſomewhat leſſe.

Columbus goeth to Barcellona to the K. and Queen

The Catholike King and queene vvere then at *Barcellona*, whither *Columbus* went to ſee them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithſtanding, they were all conueyed with him by Land, and hee was welcommed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to ſee the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beſide the ſtrange men, of ſuch colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene ſeene before. Some ſayde, that hee had found the Nauigation, concealed from the *Carthagenians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee loſt by fortune, and by an ouer-great quantity of mudde or ſlime encreaſing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, ſaying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accompliſhed, ſpeaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner. *The time vvill come, that (manie yeares hence) New Worldes ſhall bee found, and that their Thile could not bee the furtheſt part of the earth.*

The peoples variety in opinion concerning this voyage of Columbus.

Seneca in Traged. Medea.

Finally, *Columbus* entred the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, preſenting to their Maieſties, the Golde and all thinges elſe which he had brought from the New World; vvhereat the King, Queene, and all then preſent, meruailed not a little, to ſee ſuch rare things, all (but the gold) nouell and vnaccuſtomed vnto theyr ſight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of ſo many goodly colours; ſome of an extraordinary ſhining green, others of a liuely red or Vermillion colour, intermixed vvith many other of choiſe ſplendour, little or nothing at all reſembling them that vvere brought from other places. The Conies were ſmall, hauing their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizeld. Alſo they greatly praiſed the Cockes of thoſe Countreyes, beeing farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering beſides, that thoſe Countries yeelded no other Corne, and no other bread was yet fedde on there, but ſuch as was made of rootes and the like thinges. But their cheefeſt meruaile was at the men, who had little circklets or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their noſtrilles: theyr bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Oliue colour, or boyled Quinces.

No mean admiration in the King Queene and Courtiers at the rare nouelties broght by Columbus

The Indian men wet their greateſt matter of maruell

Very attentiue was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people ſhold haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bigneſſe. And much was his patience mooued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all Idolaters. But hee promiſed, that if God pleaſed to bleſſe him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root Idolatrie out of thoſe Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courteſie to *Columbus*, commanding that he ſhould ſit down before him, becauſe (according to the cuſtome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, ſtand alwayes in the Kings preſence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

The people did eate one another, and were Idolaters.

Obſeruance in the Court of Spaine.

Moreouer, he confirmed his grant and priuiledge, concerning the tenth part of reuennewes in the ſaide Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indiaes*, and made his Brother *Barthol-mew* Lieutenant or vice-Admiral to him. All which beeing done, a Courrier or Poaſte was diſpatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maieſties ambaſſadors, whom (but ſome few moneths before) he had ſent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeyſance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holineſſe; he not a little reioycing at theſe good newes, as the like did al the Roman Court. In regard wherof, the holy Father, with conſent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kinges of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, of all the Iſles and firme lands that ſhould bee found in the Weſt: with charge to ſend Preachers thither, for conuerſion of the Infidels.

Columbus made Admirall of the Indiaes.

News of theſe Indian diſcoueries, ſent to Rome to pope Alexander the ſixt.

When

Columbus sent againe, with more power to the Indies.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vtter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance heerein, by *Iohn Fonsequeio*, Deane of *Sinell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good learning, with Friar *Buleio Catellano*, of the order of S. *Benedict*, who went to be Vicar-Generall for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuerting the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of soules.

A Vicar Generall sent on the Popes behalfe.

The King and Quéene Catholike, sent preachers and handy-crafts men into the Indies.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countries, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, hauing diuers Artezans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Masons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers imployments.

The King caused also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Asses, that breede might there ensue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheat, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Lime to build withall. In breefe, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadiz* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good prouision of Artillery.

His second setting to sea againe for the West Indies.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage; he came to arriue and take landing in an Iland, which he tearmed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Argent*, in the Isle called *Hispaniola*. Passing on thence to *Porte Royalle*, where he had left the eight and thirtie Spanyards, who were all slaine by the Indians, beecause they had lustfully forced their wiues and done them many outrages besides. *Columbus* being displeased hereat, yet shewing no outward discontentment, immediately commanded his Masons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honor of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

A Town builded by Columbus, and called Isabella in honour of the queene.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Gouernor, *Moyses Marguarito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Alphonso de Honieda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian *Caribes*, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Acay*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselfe, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Iamaica*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

Columbus findeth out diuers other small Islandes

At his returne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that had carried themselues scarsely honest with their companions: whereof he commanded some to bee hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King; accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and couetousnesse: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *Iohn de Agnado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behauiour to the King.

Spaniards hanged for mildemeanor and Columbus accused to the king by the Popes Vicar.

Christopher Columbus obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriuing at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite graines of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fifteene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Oliue trees and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, vsed & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

Columbus returned as a prisoner into Spaine.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countries founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring beside, that in the moneth of December, which we hold to be the heauiest time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their yong ones on the trees; &

Columbus his appearing before the King and Queene.

in

The wonderfull plentie yielded by the earth.

in March, the wilde raisins were ripe; and corne (sowne in Ianuarie) yeelded graine within seauentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behauiour of the Spaniards, how he had punished some, and inflicted death vppon other, to the end, that his iustification might the more plainely appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good seruice, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then Iustice, declared him to be absolued of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furnishing him with eight shippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* sent before with victualles and munition, and with the other sixe shippes, himselfe set away from Saint *Luca de Barrameda*, about the end of the month of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and seauen. And because fame and rumour of *Indian* treasure did spread it selfe, enciting diuers Pirates of *Fraunce* to make voyages abroade: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee sent three shippes, by the right way, for the Island called *Hispaniola*, with three hundred banished men; and with the other three shippes, he went vnto the Isle of *Cape de Verd*, to make his voyage very neare to the Æquinoctiall, arriuing at the last in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coasting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full sayle, and thwarting the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, and builded on the Riuer *Ozama*, where hee was receiued to be gouernor, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit some were much displeased thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: because (in his absence) till now, he had the care and managing of all affaires.

Columbus returneth honorably to the Indiaes.

His voyage very neare to the Equinoctiall.

Columbus hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterprises against them of the Countrey, finding out many other Islands beside; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in such sort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Potestate or Iudge) mutined against him, and three score and ten men more, all leagued and coniured against him, who forsaking *Columbus*, went to *Siragua*, and wrote infinite euilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maiestie, beeing not a little mooued, that matters should be thus combustuous in the *Indiaes*, and the Queene taking it very heauily: suddenly sent *Francesco de Bouadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in those parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to punish or imprison the faultie.

Enuy against Columbus by Roldan Simenes and his associates, and great complaints written against him to the King.

This man came to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and foure Caruells with him; in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and nine; and after hee had made inquisition in the Citie of *Dominico*, he sent *Christopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all prisoners to *Spaine*, with yron fetters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadez*, they were deliuered, by Commission sent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could so well shape his excuses (mingled with teares and sighes very passionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, sent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to discouer more new Countries, and this was in the yeare of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

Columbus and his two brethren Bartholomew and Diego sent prisoners into Spaine fettered in yrons.

Columbus againe sent to the Indiaes with foure Caruells.

Columbus being come to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and arriuing neare to the riuer *Ozama*, *Nicholas de Ouanda* Gouernour of the Isle, would not suffer his entrance into the Cittie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much distasted, sent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citty, which he himselfe had caused to be builded; he would goe finde out an other Port, where he might be in better assurance. So parting thence, and coueting to search the Straits, for passing beyond the Æquinoctiall, which he had promised the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the West, withall, turning to the Cape of *Niguerra*, following still the Meridionall coast, returning then to *Cuba*, and after to *Iamaica*, where hee lost two Gallies, and with two other he went to discouer new lands. But not without great harmes and perills endured before, for some of his followers grew sicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

Columbus denied entrance into Saint Dominico, goeth on to seek his further fortune.

Francef-

Franceſco de Porras, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne ſmall Barkes, went towards the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants ſeeing them; would admit them to haue no Victualls, but laide trappes and traines to kill them. Whereuppon, *Chriſtopher Columbus* calling ſome of them to him, reproued their lacke of kindneſſe and charity, entreating them to ſell him ſome victuals; aduiſing them further, that except they did ſuccor them, all they in the Iſland ſhould dye of the plague. And to giue them a ſigne as witneſſe of his words, he tolde them, that ſuch a day it would ſo come to paſſe; as they ſhould ſee the Moone whollie as red as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

The ingratitude of the people to Columbus in denying him victailes, and conſpiring againſt his life.

Afterwardes, when they beheld the Moone Ecclipſed, at the ſame houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretolde (not knowing any rules of Aſtrologie) they verily beleeued his words. And, craning pardon of him, deſired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victuals he could deſire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie againſt thoſe Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

Returning home afterward into Spain, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arriued at *Valyllolid*; a ſickeneſſe ſeized on him, whereof hee dyed in May, in the yeare 1586. and was enterred at *Siuill*, in the Monaſtery of the Charter-houſe Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauailes, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indiaes*, both founde and conquered many Countries, vtterly vnknowne before: beſide, he builded a great part of the Towns and Caſtles in the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, purchaſing great renowne, by bringing to end many actions, ſo well deſeruing glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or Spaine ceaſe to ſpeake, in giuing him ſuch true honour as he worthily merited.

The death of Chriſtopher Columbus at Valydolid in Spaine.

The two worthy ſonnes to Chriſtopher Columbus.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to Madam *Maria* of *Tolledo*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*; and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, conſiſting of more then twelue thouſand Volumes, and which (at this preſent) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominico* at *Seuill*, a worthy deede of the ſon to ſo famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixteene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wife dyed before him, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1604.

The Library of Don Ferdinando, ſon to Chriſtofer Columbus.

Before wee cloſe vp this Diſcourſe of the *New-found World*, it ſhall not varie much from the matter, to ſpeake of a ſtrange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing; concerning the firſt men that euer were in the world, and likewiſe of the generall Floud or Deluge, as I doe finde it ſet downe by the worthy Gentleman of *Fraunce*, *Anthony du Verdier*, lord of *Vaaprinaz*, in this manner.

The peoples opinió of the firſt men in the world, & of the deluge

Among the Inhabitants of the Weaſt *Indiaes*; or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northerne partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much ſhortening the wayes, abaſing the hills and mountaines, and raiſing the lowe-layd vallies, onelie with his word and will, and named himſelfe to be the ſonne of the Sunne.

Con, or Conon, a man without bones in his fleſh.

This man filled the earth with men and women; which he produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things neceſſary for humane life. But by a diſpleaſure he receiued from them, hee conuerted the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren ſand, and tooke away the raine alſo, that it ſhould neuer more ſhowre downe, nor moiſture any place. Yet, as pittying their miſery, he left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conſerue themſelues, in watering the grounds by theyr owne paine and labour.

A heauie diſpleaſure conceiued by Conon againſt men.

At length came one *Pachamo*, who was like-wiſe ſonne both to the Sunne and Moone, and (hauing expelled or baniſhed *Conon*) conuerted thoſe men into Cattes, and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and ſo he was generally reputed: vntill the Chriſtians came into thoſe countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him,

Pachamo came and expulſed Conó.

him, neare to *Lima*, it beeing the moſt renowned in all thoſe lands: becauſe of extraordinary deuotion there vſed, in regard of Oracles and Anſweres, which diuells gaue to Prieſts and Sacrificers there dwelling in diuers places. The Spaniards carried away all the golde and ſiluer (in wonderfull heapes) out of this Temple, and all the Oracles and Viſions ceaſed, diuine prayers hauing beene ſayd there, the Sacraments adminiſtred, and the Croſſe placed where the Idolles ſtoode, which cauſed no mean maruell and feare among the *Indians*.

Oracles and Anſwers of diuells in their Temple by Lima.

Moreouer they ſayd, that at a certaine time it rained ſo extreamely, that all the lowe grounds and lands were drowned, and all the world likewiſe; except ſuch as could hide themſelues within ſome caues, which were among the high mountaines, hauing little doores or mouthes of entrance, and cloſed ſo faſt to them, as no water could gaine the leaſt paſſage in, and therein alſo they had ſtore of foode and beaſts. Afterwards, when they felt the raine and water to be ſomewhat paſſed ouer, they ſent foorth two dogges, which returned all wet and beſmeared: whereby they iudged that the waters were not (as yet) wholly ſhrunke and gone away.

Their opinio concerning a general Deluge or drowning of the world.

Within ſome while after, they put foorth many dogges together, which returned in againe, drie and ſleeke as when they went abroade. And by this meanes they conceiued, that the waters were quite ſpent; and ſo came foorth agayne to dwell vppon the earth: where theyr greateſt paine and trauell was to kill infinite Serpents, which the mightie extreamitie of mudde and ſlime had engendred euery where.

By what meanes they gathered the ceſſation of the waters.

They beleeue an end of the world; but that a great drought ſhall goe before it, and that the Sunne and Moone (which they all adore and reuerence) ſhall looſe themſelues. And, vppon this occaſion, they make cries and lamentations whenſoeuer the Ecclypſes happen: but eſpecially them of the Sunne, as fearing then, that the Sunne, they, and all the whole World, ſhall be quite conſumed and deſtroyed together.

Their acknolegement of the worlds ending.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Marriage: with many ſingular and worthy examples, tending to that purpoſe.*

COncerning our preſent argument, wee haue had a chapter alreadie in our former Volume, declaring verie much good matter to that effect, but yet iuſtly deſeruing this addition or ſupplement; in regard, that nothing can be ſayd too much in the honour of Marriage. This holy inſtitution of Marriage, was made in the earthly Paradiſe before ſinne, in the time of Innocencie, when as God ſaid to our firſt Parents. *Bring foorth fruit, and multiplie, and fill the earth*. But it was not brought to effect, vntill the offence by them committed, and for which, they were expulſed out of the terreſtriall Paradiſe: as Saint *Ierome* hath obſerued in his Booke againſt *Iouinian*.

The Lord Verdiers addition to the former Chapter of Pedro Mexia.

Gene. 1. 28.

Hierom. in lib. contr. Iouin.

After the vniuerſall Deluge, God gaue command to the good Patriarch *Noah* againe; *To encreaſe and multiplie*, which is the principall occaſion, wherefore Marriage was ordayned, and hath euer ſince beene ſo generally recommended: that it hath beene, and is permitted to aged and decrepite people (free from all power of encreaſing, and out of hope of any linage) to marry: which yet is expedient for them (if I might ſay ſo) to the end, that they may paſſe theyr age the more ioyouſly, as in the kinde company of husband and wife, receiuing pleaſure, ſolace, conſolation, and comfortable ſeruices each to other. Euen as heereof we haue an example by *Dauid*; who (in his very olde age) tooke a yong maiden to wife, as namely, *Abiſhag* the Shunamite, with whom hee ordinarily lay, and ſhee ſlept in the boſome of the King, warming and comforting him, and yet the King knew her not carnally.

Genes. 8. 17

The oldeſt aged people not prohibited to marry.

King Dauids marriage in his olde age. 3 Kings 1. 4.

What more holy, chaſte, aſſured, and acceptable ſocietie can be amongſt men, then that of the husband and wife? Oh, how heauenly an harmony, when the one

The iuſt and worthy commendations of Marriage, according to the diuine & originall inſtitution.

is

is as the other, two bodies, one ſoule, one ſpirit, one will, and one mutuall conſent ſympathizing in two bodies: The ſole marryed man and his wife, enuy not one another, but loue infinitely together, each depending vpon the other, ſhee repoſing in him, and he in her: euen as one ſelfe-ſame fleſh, one and the ſame concord, alike equally in all things, and all but one: One ioy, one ſorrow, one wealth, one pouerty, one gaine, one loſſe, and one ſelfe ſame dignitie. They are alwayes companions of one ſelfe ſame bed, one and the ſame table. *Therefore they ſhall be two in one fleſh* (ſaid God) *and not three, or many.*

Gods owne appointment in the Arke of Noah.

God would by no meanes haue in the Ark of *Noah*, to be any more women then men, to the end that they ſhould all be as one ſole woman. In briefe, the loue of the husband to the wife, and of the wife to her husband, ſurpaſſeth that of father and mother to their children, of children vnto the father; and that which brothers and ſiſters ought to haue together. And like as the Ring which the husband (euen as God) puts on the finger of his Spouſe or wife (as the ſoule to the Church) ought to be of golde, and round, as gold, being the moſt excellent of all metalles: euen ſo this coniugal loue exceedeth all other, and ought to continue perpetually. And as *Propertius* ſaith: *Omnis amor magno, ſed aperto in coniuge maior.* *Euery loue is great, but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.* For, Father, Mother, Children, Brethren, Siſters, Couſins and Friends, all theſe are the workes of Fortune: but the Husband and the Wife are Myſteries of Almightie GOD: And man had his Wife, and Wife had her Husband, before there was eyther Father, Mother, or Children.

The incomparable loue of man and wife.

Comparison of the Ring giuen by the husband to his wife.

Propertius of coniugal loue.

Husband and wife before father, mother, or children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almighty GOD, and not of Nature, from whence it enſueth, that children borne out of Marriage, that is to ſay, Baſtards, are called Naturall onely, but they which proceede of loyall Marriage, are ſayd to be Legitimate. And therefore, the opinion of Lawyers is, *That a childe borne out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but we may well ſay, a bad or lewd mother.* He (ſay they) *is the Sonne of the people, or elſe the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an vnmarried woman.* Onely marriage then (which *Baldus* calleth, *The principle, originall and foundation of Mankinde*) maketh Children and Heires certayne, augmenteth kindred, engendereth amitie among Allies, reuerenceth and pleaſeth God.

Baſtards haue no certain father, but are naturall children onely.

Baldus in C. Emancipati col. 2. de reſc.

Holy Marriage was ſo pleaſing to the Authour thereof, that he would haue his onely Sonne, to bee borne of a married woman, and although it was his will, to be borne of a Virgine, without the ſeede of a man; yet was it not without the honour of Marriage. For it pleaſed him, to proceed from a Mother married; yet pure neuertheleſſe, exempt from any carnall ſoyling: elected to be the Arke of the Teſtament, the Buſh not burning, and the Violl of golde to containe the celeſtiall Manna; as well to declare the wonders of his infinite power, as to make that ſacred eſtate ſo much the more honorable. Witnes the preſence of the ſame ſon of God himſelfe, at the mariage of *Cana* in *Galile*, where expreſſing his gracious loue & furtherance, he conuerted water into wine, by an eſpecial and extraordinary miracle.

The great glorie done by God to the honorable eſtate of Marriage, as alſo at the wedding in Cana in Galilee.

Moreouer, there is not the name of any houſe or ſtocke, but (without a woman) it would be quite extinct; neither kinred perpetuated, family increaſed, or a Common wealth continue in intire condition, or any Empire hold, without ſuch help: which the firſt founders of the *Romaine* Empire approued; for, they hauing no wiues, deſired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, their neighbors, but they would not grant the. Whereuppon, there followed a rape or ſtealth of 683. of them, which procured a mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Romans* and the ſaid *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus* well foreſawe, that his Empire could not laſt, without women. For, the Citty being compoſed of houſes, and the Common-wealth of choſen Princes, both domeſticks and familiers, how ſhall he gouerne a Citty, that hath not learned what it is to gouerne a priuate houſe? The Philoſopher *Socrates* teſtifieth, to haue learned more morall Philoſophie of women, then euer he could naturall, of *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus*.

The manifold great bleſſings that enſue to the world by women in marriage.

Dionyſ. Halicar. in libr. 2.

Socrates learned Moral Philoſophy of women.

Aſſuredly, Mariage giues excitation to morall Philoſophie; there is a domeſticall Common-wealth conioyned therewith, and in it ſelfe. For the gouernement whereof, a man may eaſily experiment the power of wiſedome, temperance, pietie, & al other vertues, whereby louing his wife,

Marriage occaſions great exercise to morall Philoſophie.

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wife, enstructing his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his house, and encreasing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that seeketh to spend his life time without being married; is miserable, and worthie to be abandoned of all men.

The Lawe of Lycurgus made for the vnmarried yong men of Lacedemon.

For this cause, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedemonians*, that all such as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage; should be banished in somer time, from all publique playes, spectacles and pastimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be seene there amongst other in an open assembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, because they should be outraged and abused by words and exclamations of euery one, detested as vnwoorthie the name of men. And themselues enioyned to confesse, that they suffered these afflictions iustly, as hauing scorned and despised that religion: whereof they were preuaricators, and disobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

The Romans Law for men vnmarried til their age.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether so strict and seuere, & yet ordained, that such as had liued without marriage till their olde age: should bee condemned in paiment of a great summe of money to the publike Treasury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that such men as were not married, should enioy no honor estate, or publike dignity: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A yong man of *Lacedemon*, would not arise out of his place in the publike Theter, to giue way and honour to a valiant ancient Captaine (neuer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to see the pastimes. And the Captaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the yong man because he disdained him in that manner; gaue him some words of heat and choler, whereto the yong man returned him this answer. *O Callidus, thou hast not (as yet) begotten, neither occasioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and vnmaried as thou art, may arise hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other esteeme is to bee made of thee.* The Romaines in the time of *Q. Metellus* Consull, established many famous and worthy priuiledges for newe married persons; and for such as had three sons, as may be seen in the *Digest*, of such as had ten. And our greatest Diuines, set downe twelue causes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet disanull marriage, although it be consummated & children procreated. As namely errour, condition, vow, parentage, sin, to wit, of adultery or murther, diuersity & diffrence in religion, violence, prophanes in Priesthood, or profession of a false religiō, bond and promise of contrary marriage, as being otherwise contracted, honesty, affinity, and inhability. Al these twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as Cardinall *Caietane* hath comprehended them in these verses.

Twelue especiall occasions that impeach and hinder marriage.

Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,
Cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas
Si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibis:
Hæc socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

Card. Caietan in Sum. Dist. 19

I haue a great desire to discourse particularly on euery one of these causes, if I had not such a multitude of other matters to speake of: let therefore (for this time) suffice that which hath bin said. And for such as are louers of Poesie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scæuola de S. Martha*, partly turned and imitated out of the fifte booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he singeth elegantly in the praise of Marriage.

Ff in institut. de excus. tut. vel curat.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fledde first to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterward into France. And in the end after many heauy and troublesom Trauayls; was (with great honor and renowne, seated in his owne kingdome.

PArtharites was sonne to *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Pauia*. A strife and quarrell, growing betweene the two Bretheren, *Gondebert* sent

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Paulus Diaconus sets down this historie more at large.

sent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towardes *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Captaine and Commaunder, requiring his assistance against *Partharites*, with solemne promise, of giuing him his Sister in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treason to his Lord and Master; perswaded *Grimoald*, to come and possesse the kingdome to his owne vse, which (thorow discord betweene the two brethren) was growne to weake estate, and verie neare vpon vpon vtter ruine.

Grimoald gaue ouer his Dukedome to his Sonne, in hope of a Kingdome.

When *Grimoald* vnderstood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his sonne, creating him there as absolute Duke, and, with the greatest forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Pauia*: and in all cities and towns as he passed along, begot himselfe store of friends, for his better helpe in obtayning the kingdome. Being come to *Pauia*, and entring into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by close practise and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was slaine at a Banquet, and he made possessour of the kingdome. No sooner did *Partharites* heare these sad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodalinda* his wife and Queene, and a yoong sonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for close custody) fled secretly away, making his recourse to *Cacanus*, king of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

Partharites fled and left his kingdome.

Grimoald hauing made sure his Kingdome at *Pauia*, and vnderstanding, that *Partharites* secured his safetie with *Cacanus*: sent Ambassadours to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdome, no long peace should continue betweene him and the *Lombardes*, but he must expect a King as his enemie. According to this Ambassage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in secret, desiring him, that he would wander whither himselfe pleased: because (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And so, vpon a royall, sad and mutuall interchange of wofull lamentations on eyther side; the two kings parted, as might haue moued pitty in Marble to behold it.

Grimoald suffered not Partharites to abide with Cacanus.

A hard case, when a King is constrained to trust to his enemy for mercie.

Partharites, frustrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purposed his repaire to his enemie *Grimoald*, confiding on his kingly clemencie, because he weas left destitute of any other succour. And beeing come neare to the City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vnulphus*, in whom his intimate trust wholly consisted, sending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iustly for his safetie. *Vnulphus* presented himselfe before the new-made King, vsing such wise and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maister, making recourse to his royall mercie, and trusting onely in his goodnesse; that he would freely submit himselfe to him, if he (with the like benignitie) would vouchsafe to embrace him.

Vnulphus a loiall seruant to Partharites

So effectually did *Vnulphus* deliuer his message, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleasure) accept it: that hee promised and sware vpon his faith, no displeasure should any way be done to the King his maister, he might come when he would, & builde securely vpon his faith. *Vnulphus*, hauing brought backe this aunswere to *Partharites*, hee went and presented himselfe before *Grimoald*, meerely prostrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in most friendly manner kissed him: whereupon, *Partharites* beganne thus: Sith I am your humble vassaile and seruant, and knowing you to be most Christian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue safe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildnesse and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my selfe at your feete.

Partharites presenteth himselfe before Grimoald.

Conference between Grimoald and Partharites.

Grimoald vsing his accustomed oathes, promised him, saying: *By him that made me to be borne, seeing you haue put your selfe into my power, you shall suffer no harme anie way whatsoeuer; but I will take such order, that you shall liue well and honorably.* So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainement aunswerable to his qualitie, and all things affoorded to him in plentifull maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to such place as was appoynted for him; it came to passe, that the people flocked and resorted daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earnestly desiring to see and salute him.

Grimoald his protestations to Partharites and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

But see how ready euill tongues are to commit mischiefe, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obseruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in such maner to *Grimoald*, that they incensed him very strangely, perswading him, that if he did not the sooner procure

Sycophants and flatterers are alwayes too neare about kings and princes.

The death of Partharites is vowed by Grimoald.

the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee ſhaken out of his kingdom, yea, and loſe his life likewiſe; for *Partharites* lodging ſeemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimoald* beeing a man ouer-eaſie in beleefe, and led away with the leaſt perſwaſions; became ſo confounded vvith iealouſie and diſtruſt, that (neuer remembring his ſolemne oathes and promiſes) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, ſwore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and meanes, how it might both ſafely and ſodainely bee effected.

One of Grimoalds owne Gentlemen bewrayed the treaſon.

Now, becauſe it grew ſomewhat late, and on the morrow the deed muſt needes be done; he cauſed (that Euening) great ſtore of delicate meates and wines to bee ſent to *Partharites*, purpoſely to make him drunke: that being ouercome with eating and drinking, and all his ſenſes poſſeſſed with drowſineſſe, hee might haue the leſſe care of his health, and ſo his life be the ſooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had ſerued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him theſe Iunkets from the King: ſtouping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerẽce and embracing his knee, ſecretly reuealed to him, how *Grimoald* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouiall drinking ſupper, muſt be a ſolemne induction thereto.

The wiſedom of Parthatites in preuenting the Treaſon prepared for him.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very couertly) gaue order vnto his Cup bearer and Taſter, to fill and bring him no other drinke all ſupper while, but ſome ſmall quantities of water onely, and in his priuate ſiluer Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were ſent to keepe him company) quaffing and carowſing many healths of the King to *Partharites*, deſiring him ſtill to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expreſſing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their ſeuerall charges, proteſting all honor and reuerence to *Grimoald*, rowſſing vp cup after cup as readily as they, ſeeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing elſe but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the king, reported the iocond behauior of *Partharites*, and how forward ſtill he was in turning off his owne Bolle as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refuſed to pledge his Highneſſe health, thinking him to be very farre ſpent with wine. Whereat *Grimoald* heartily reioycing, merrily ſaide; *Alas poore ſilly Drunkard, little thinkes hee, that the Wine and his blood wil lye mingled on the earth to morrow together, in deſpight of all the friends he hath.*

The beſt and quickeſt witted drinkers, may ſomtime be deceyued.

The ſame night, he ſent ſtrong guards to watch about the houſe where *Partharites* was lodged, becauſe he ſhould haue no meanes to eſcape, nor any frends com to giue him aſſiſtance. But the poor harmleſſe Prince, when ſupper was paſt, and al the Courtiers departed thence (remayning alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnulphus*, and a Page that vſed to waite neereſt about, to helpe his Garments both off and on, they beeing both his faithfull ſeruants, and in whom he repoſed moſt confidence:) he diſcouered plainely to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimoald*, and what a ſtrong watch was ſet round about his lodging, ſo that now their poor Lord and Maiſters life muſt needs periſh by his treachery.

Partharites diſcouereth his danger to Vnulphus and his Page.

Vnulphus hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord deerely, & caring for no danger to himſelfe, ſo hee might ſet him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chaunce, ſo ſubſtantially he diſguiſed *Partharites*, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh him from a meere Country Boore or Pezant, and his counterfeiting drunkenneſſe, made the matter to ſeeme the more likely. *Vnulphus* had gotten a good Faggot-ſtick, and pretending ſweating, with beating that drunken Raſcall (for ſo, and ſomtimes worſe he commonly called him) tumbled him firſt downe the ſtaires, and laſtly out of doores, labouring ſtill as if he had giuen many ſore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demaunded of *Vnulphus*, what was the matter? Hee anſwered, ſaying: Here is a drunken ſlaue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath ſecretly gotten in, and ſtolne himſelfe ſtarke drunke; keeping ſuch a terrible noiſe, that my Lord (who is as drunk as hee) I feare can take no reſt, and by no meanes would I haue him to bee diſturbed.

The cleanely ſhift of Vnulphus to ſaue the life of his kingly maſter

Vnulphus cunningly beguileth the Guard, and gaineth the eſcape of Partharites.

No

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnulphus* his words, but laughing, to see the slaue belabored so lustily, suffered him to driue him on before him, bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guards stood laughing at this merry iest, no man needed to bid them make hast, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnulphus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guards the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Moreouer, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doors lockt vp fast, till *Vnulphus* was returned againe: where they two only remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arriued that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *Fraunce*.

Euery thing suted well for the Kings safe deliuering from his enemie.

On the morrow morning, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace, and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbeare, his Maiestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepy, and therfore I pray ye trouble not his rest. Whereto they in modesty yeelding, went and reported the same to *Grimoald*, who well liked that he should sleep so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoeuer (awake or asleep) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers fearing to displease the king, came and knockt earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as aforesaid, they boldely broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demaund, what was becom of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Grimoald sends for Partharites to the Palace, in hope to execute his will vpon him.

Presently were *Vnulphus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being broght before the king; with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, discouering the maner truely how, and dreading no infliction for the fact. When *Grimoald* had aduisedly considered on theyr faith and loyalty, he called them seuerally againe before him; wishing he had such an other faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly, to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompēce him worthily for it. *Vnulphus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisedome & honesty; demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partherites* in the extremity of his fortunes? whereto *Vnulphus* said, with an oath, That he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, in al tormēts whatsoeuer; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

Vnulphus and the Page violētly haled to Court, & the whole matter confessed.

The worthy answer of a loyall and constant seruant.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling theyr vnparaleld loyaltie; prayed them both, to commaund whatsoeuer his Court affoorded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Prouided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*, in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroade, that *Grimoald* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some close ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent backe to *Grimoald* againe: which made him forsake *France*, & to ship himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

The honorable dealing of *Grimoald* with Vnulphus and the Page, sending them after their royal Maister.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) bound for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shoare where hee took shipping, demanding in this maner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship, or no?* *Partharites* replyed without pausing: *who is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most vnhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am. Tell him then* (answered the voyce) *his native Country calles him home, and further he may not goe; for, within three dayes, Grimoald is dead.* *Partharites* amased at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants again; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimoalds* death, which made him verily perswaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus enstructed him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.

A strange and myraculous accident happening to Partharites, laying towards England.

Partharites returning home againe, towardes his owne native Countrey, hee was no sooner arriued at the limites of *Italie*; but he met there with a goodly com-

pany of *Lombards*, with Laurell wreathes on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purposely attended there for his comming, and so conducted him ioyfully to *Pauia*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimoald* being expelled, he was there (by generall consent) created absolute King of the *Lombards*, within three moneths after the death of *Grimoald*. He dispatched Poasts to *Beneuentum*, in quest of *Rodesinda* his Queene and Wife, as also his sonne *Cunibert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great obseruer of Iustice, and charitable to the poore; so soon as he was quietly seated in his kingdome, he builded a goodly Monastery, neere vnto the Riuer *Thesina*, in which sometime he had concealed himselfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods seruice, and in honour of S. *Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and reuennues. His Queene also, after her many troubles, and long separation frō her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, bestowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharites* (hauing reigned eighteene yeares) changed this mortall life for a better, to the great greefe of his louing Subiects the *Lombards*.

A goodly Monastery builded by Partharites, neere to the Riuer Thesina in Italy.

Nor may we heere omit to say somewhat of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He hauing instigated (as hath bin related) *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the *Lombards*, treacherously: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no respect at all, comming to the Citty of *Thurine*, and vnderstanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Easter day neere ensuing; stood on the steps of the Font for baptisme, leaning carelessely on his left arme, by a collome of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, hauing a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So soone as *Garibald* came to bee neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) suddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that instantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being somewhat amazed at so vnexpected an accident, pursuing the murderer, could fasten no hold on him, vntill they had slaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he lost his life; yet couragiously he reuenged the iniurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Master.

A further prosecution of the History, concerning Garibald, the Duke of Thurine.

Garibald slain in the cheefe Church vpon Easter day, by a poore silly fellow.

CHAP. V.

What manner of men those were and are, that be called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.

I Am sure there are many, that neuer saw the goodly, rich, populous, commodious, and well gouerned City and Vniuersity of *Paris*; and yet diuers that haue seene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctors of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctors are honoured by those Cities names, wherein they receiued their degrees: As Doctours of *Louuaine*, of *Poictiers*, of *Doway*, of *Tholossa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Pauia*, of *Bologna*, of *Tubinge*, of *Fribourge*, and so of diuers other. But the Doctours in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they receiued their licences and degrees Doctorall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many, & raised doubt in diuers other, that neuer had the happinesse to visit *Paris*; in which respect, I purpose to set down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occasion it came so to passe.

All Doctors, except they of Sorbonne, are instituted by names of the Cities & Vniuersities where they were gradued

It is to be vnderstood, as I haue elsewhere saide, that the course of nature will sooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Cassiodorus* saieth. King *Lewis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuised (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnprofitable houses, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King caused Churches to be erected, Hospitals, Abbayes, Colledges, & other places of pietie; in imitation of whom, many of his Subiects, & other

The holy life of Lewis the ninth, commonly called Saint Lewis.

other ſtrangers did the like.

Amongſt other, there was a Diuine of the Kings houſe, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to bee prouided of ſome good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kinred, or ſpent his reuenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now-adayes vſe to doe. This good man was called Maſter *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath ſcarcely (as yet) beene diſcouered by any. In briefe, mooued in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which vſually was called in Latine, *Locum Termarum Cæſaris*, that is to ſay, *The place of Cæſars Bathes*. And it is ſayd, that *Iulian*, Nephew to the Emperour *Conſtantine*, Gouernour of the *Gaules*, cauſed thoſe Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Cluny*, which then were without the Citty of *Paris*, and as places of pleaſure: according as we reade in ſome Epiſtles, which *Iulian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The ſaide *Iulian* was afterwardes Emperour, ſirnamed the Apoſtata by the Chriſtians. And then, ſuch as pretended to the Imperiall Crowne, termed themſelues *Cæſars*: as now at this day, ſuch as are deſigned Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

The place that at this day is called Sorbonne, how, and by whom it was bought.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Cæſars* Bathes were, as euidently may be diſcerned, by the channells of hewne ſtone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand fiue hundred forty and foure, at the gate of Saint *Iames*, when Baſtions and Rampires were then made, to reſiſt the forces of *Charles* the fift, Emperour, who was entred into *Fraunce* with a mighty army. Which gutters or cõducts of water, were continued from the village of *Arcueill* (ſo named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this preſent are to bee ſeene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aquæ ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Thoſe conducts of water ſerued well for thoſe Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuerſitie of *Paris* (which haue great neede thereof) if my maiſters the *Eſcheuins*, would therein employ theyr paines.

Aquæducts or Gutters for conueying of water from Arcueill to Paris.

As already hath beene ſayd, this place was builded to bathe or waſh the Romain Emperours, Conſulls, Proconſulls, and ſuch like, and was bought by the ſaid Maſter *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred threeſcore and foure. If you deſire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertayned; I muſt therein confeſſe mine ignorance, although I haue made good ſearch in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elſewhere (ſpecifying large rents & reuenews thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of K. *Lewis* 9. king of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintaine a certayne number of Doctors, who ſhould reade publiquely in Diuinitie; and and alſo of Batchellers to ſtudy, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereuppon, from that time to this preſent, the Profeſſors, Batchellers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeuoure themſelues ſo induſtriouſly, and became ſo capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Chriſtendome, wherein may be found men ſo ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

Bathes for the emperors and conſulls of Rome.

Vpon what occaſion, and to what end the Colledge of Sorbonne was erected.

The Students in this Houſe, are not (as commonly elſe-where) young men, but wel ſtept in yeares; becauſe they haue read publiquely, enſtructing the courſe of Philoſophie, which is perfourmed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Logicke*, *Phyſicke* and *Metaphyſicke*. And many times ſome ſuch are there, that haue made three courſes, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will aduenture to ſtudy or reade publikely in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there ſhould continually be ſuch ſingulerly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctours and Batchellers, ouer & beſide their being great Philoſophers, are likewiſe very skilfull in humane learning, and vnderſtand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebrew*, ſpeaking them (for the moſt part) eloquently. They are held in ſuch reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the greateſt difficulties, and in all Eccleſiaſticall occaſions, their aduice is wholly vſed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the beſt Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and ſo accounted through Chriſtendome.

The Batchellers of Sorbonne, how they become ſo learned.

Very

Admirable disputations of the Doctors of Sorbonne, & how their order began at the first.

Very laborious are they in their disputations of the sacred Scriptures, resolute, and of great vnderstanding, and the generall disputes vsed in this Colledge, are on euery Friday after the Feasts of S. *Peter* & S. *Paul*, in the Moneth of Iune, vntill the solemnity of the Feast of *All-Saints*, the answerer standing there from morning till euening, and bound to answere all the Batchellors Questions, which commonly are aboue two hundred in number, euery one keeping his ranke and place: nor is there any President, to support him that answereth, whereas all other faculties do not obserue any such order. It is reported, that this custome was introduced by a religious man, of the order of S. *Frances*, who (to make proofe of his knoledge) kept open the Schoole all the whole day: and his fellowes, coueting after as much honour as hee had; continued the same course, so that whatsoeuer consisted in the will of the arguers and answerers, became conuerted into an inuiolable loue.

Doctours of Paris are vsually tearmed Doctours of worth and esteeme.

Learned Doctours are as Assistants there, to the end they may iudge on the merit of men, and vnderstand withall, to whom the prime places for Licences are to be giuen. And thus you see, why all Doctors in the facultie of diuinity, which receiue their degrees in that place of *Sorbonne*; are stiled by an Emphasis, Doctors of *Sorbonne*, or *Sorbonnists*, because that there are principall acts obserued, to approue the learning of any, that would aspire to haue the degree of a Doctor. And this place is perticularly noted, as well for antiquity (hauing bene one of the appurtenances to the Pallace Imperiall, at such time as the *Romanes* were Lords of *Gaule*, as I declared in the beginning of this Chapter,) As also in regard of the famous men, renowned for their learning and knowledge, that liue (ordinarily) in a sacred society in that Colledge. In which respect, the most part of the best Cities in *France*, Bishoppricks and Collegiate Churches, resort thither, to make choyse of their Diuines, to prouide them of Prebends, and other reuennues meete for such men.

CHAP. VI.

That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Genewayes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Iurisdiction is past.

Lampridius in the life of the said Alexander Seuerus.

THe Emperour *Seuerus*, the eighteenth, reigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of Christianity) wold ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse carefull of the life of a Gouernor, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepheards and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Poasts, wherein were set downe the names of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behauiour with strictest seuerity.* In the very same manner, this good Emperor, when hee intended to prouide any man for the gouernment of a Prouince, or place where iudgment was to be vsed, or whatsoeuer else appeared requisite: would first set vp publike Placards, or Bils of inscription, in diuers places about the Citty, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publike Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person, might be aduanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life, if it should be proued to be scandall or calumniation, and thereupon, an especiall Law was ordained and enrouled expressely.

Placards Bils of Siquis, or publike inscription fixed vpon Poasts, and to what end they were ordained.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

The Authors comparison of precedency with present ordenations.

thoſe now adayes in vſe, with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genewaies*, and *Lucanes*, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaſſeth: do then make enquiry, to cauſe him render an account of his adminiſtration, and then proceed againſt him according to his demerits. A wicked Magiſtrate, and publike Concuſſionary or extortioner, by giuing a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, ſo to ſtop their mouths: may thus ſalue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

A good aduice againſt vnlawful euaſions.

It is much more expedient, to preuent a diſeaſe, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulſe it: notwithſtanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the leaſt) that feare of ſearch and ſyndication, may retaine Officers within compaſſe of their duty.

It is better to chaſtiſe ſinne late, then neuer.

And yet the ordination of *Solon* (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we reade in the lawes ſet downe by *Demoſthenes*. For by examining the life and manners of ſuch, as couet or ſeeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not onely they may be reiected, but alſo directly (in iuſtice) puniſhed, & rewards diſtributed to honeſt perſons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an hermonious proportion, the purſſe ſhold be giuen to the moſt faithfull; Armes to the moſt valiant; Iuſtice-degree to the vprighteſt; cenſure to the entireſt; painfull trauaile to the ſtrongeſt and beſt able; Prelacy to the moſt learned and deuouteſt. And yet neuertheleſſe, carrying reſpect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as alſo the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage caſes of conſcience.

What kinde of men are in equity to be aduanced to places of authority.

Reſpect is the beſt rule to be ordered by.

Now for the better comprehenſion of our purpoſe in this Chapter, it is to be obſerued, that *Alexander Seuerus* neuer was a Chriſtian: but a worthy man otherwiſe, and when he made that Edict. As being deſirous to place good Magiſtrats, to gouerne in the Romaine Commonwealth vnder his Empire (finding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the Chriſtians; euen (as it is ſaide) in the ſecond time of the Primitiue Church. And when (for any perticular Church) any need appeared of a Biſhoppe, a Prieſt, a Deacon, or ſome other Officer; the Chriſtians (in thoſe times) fixed vp their Placards, ſetting downe the name of him or them, that ſought to haue ſuch office and dignity: they did it to ſuch ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; obiection might bee made againſt the pretendant, ſo to debout him of his requiſition and ſute.

Alexander Seuerus was a Chriſtian, & imitated the Chriſtians in making his Edict.

And queſtionleſſe, great need there was, that this pollicy ſhould bee obſerued among the Chriſtians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) ſought nothing more, then ſome ſubiect or argument, whereby to iniurie and calumniate the Paſtors and Prelates among the Chriſtians, onely to make thē odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Eccleſiaſticall Offices in thoſe dayes, had no other ſtipend or reward, but only ſome collection of Corne and other matters, among the Chriſtians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorely enough, being prouided of thoſe places, & oftentimes their beſt aſſurance was moſt cruell martyrdome. And that which made men then deſirous of Eccleſiaſticall aduancements, was not (as now adayes) to deriue thence large benefits & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tenths leuied for or from them. But the Paſtours then, in a moſt ſacred kinde of charity, coueted to enſtruct the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and diſperſed Chriſtians, perſecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Chriſtian faith, and to encourage them for ſuffering martyrdome, according as *Euſebius* (who liued in thoſe times) hath written at large.

The Paſtours and Preachers among the Chriſtians were very poore in the beginning of vndertaking their charges

The deſire of Paſtors in the Primitiue Church.

As for the eſtates of the *Venetians*, *Geneweyes*, *Lucanes*, and others now exerciſed in *Italy*, they are not during life, as it is in *France*: wherein yet it is not much amiſſe, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to cauſe terror in their offices ſucceſſors, for beſt carriage and behauior in their dutie, leaſt a further inquiſition come vpon them. In *France*, eſtates and offices are exerciſed, during

The eſtates & offices in Italy differing frō thē in France.

during life of the party in poſſeſſion: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbeſeeming acte, to bee inſtantly diſmiſſed, and (oftentimes) death enſueth thervpon. But before any man may bee ſo aduanced, the Statutes of *France* haue enioyned, that good information muſt be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enioy it; before ſuch perſons as his Maieſty, or other ſoueraigne Iudges ſhall appoint.

Prouiſion made by the Statutes of of France.

The Kings of *Spaine*, cauſe information of life and behauiour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are admitted to them. And moreouer, at euery fiue yeares end, ſometime in more, and in leſſe compaſſe of yeares very often; ſecret enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in euery Seigneury: as in all the *Spaines*, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Millaine*, the lower Countries of *Germany*, the County of *Bourgongne*, the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and other, & namely of the places where they exerciſe their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they miſ-behaued themſelues; his Councell depoſeth them, appointing other in their places, of whom (likewiſe) the life and conuerſation is well queſtioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times depoſed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderſtand, that the King is not well contented with their ſeruice. Heere is alſo to be vnderſtood, that information commeth not onely againſt Officers of Iuſtice, as Aduocates, Procurators, Pregnotaries, Iudges ſoueraigne and ſubalternate: but likewiſe againſt Eccleſiaſticks, and men of warre. By which means, euery one is compelled to containe himſelfe within compaſſe of duty; and beſide, the eſtates & offices are not vendible.

The obſeruation of Spaine in the admiſsion of their Officers.

How the kings of *Spain* carry themſelues to their ſubſtitutes.

CHAP. VII.

Of the reaſon and cauſe, why both ſome Princes, and alſo ſome Common-wealths, haue alwaies proſperouſly flouriſhed in the times of warre; and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.

ALthough I diſcourſe in this Chapter, that ſome Princes and Common-wealths haue bin very happy and ſucceſſull, in times of wars and moleſtations; and contrariwiſe, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and deſolation: yet I neyther will, or do therby inferre, that warre is to bee eſteemed more neceſſary then peace. But I will ſhew the cauſes whereby (not all Common-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuouſly & happily in the times of warre, then in their eaſier dayes of peace. And that ſo ſoone as they came to enioy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly loſing all their greatneſſe & ſplendour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not being vſed or handled, or whereof no frequent employment is made; ruſteth and conſumeth of it ſelfe. And this enſued by no other occaſion, but only through negligence and want of reſpect, that when they enioyed the Sunny daies of peace; no diſcreete order was taken, for inſtitution of good life and pollicie, and how to make vſe (as men ought to doe) of ſuch ſweet tranquility.

Peace is alwayes to be preferred before warre in any Kingdome.

In Sunſhine dayes men haue greateſt need to feare ſtormes.

Before I come to approoue my ſayings by examples, I would firſt make a briefe relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonſtrate, that it is (almoſt) vtterly incredible, that any goodneſſe can deriue it ſelfe from warre. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldior? To the milde, meeke countriman, then the bloody Warriour? To the Philoſopher, then the fierce Captaine? To the wiſe, then fooles? Becauſe the greateſt delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forradge Countries, rob the husbandmen, burne Towns and Villages, to maſſacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to beſiege, batter, force and ranſacke houſes, to kill olde and young, to ſpare no age or ſexe, to rauiſh Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutiſhly in innocent blood, to make a ſpoile of ſacred things, to ruinate Temples, to blaſpheme the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feete) all right both diuine and humane. Theſe are the fruites of warre, highly acceptable and pleaſing to fiery-eyde Soldiors, abhominable to good men, & deteſtable before God. Needleſſe is it to amplifie with words, that which hath bin too well ſeene and felt in ouer-many places, whoſe very memory hath ſtartled the ſoules

The fruits are but bad that proceed from warre, be it neuer ſo iuſtly followed.

Where warre keepes his reuels, all goes to wracke and ruine, without any pitty or remorſe.

soules of them in best safety, and made their haire stand on ende, that thought themselues of boldest resolution.

If then the case stand thus, and that warre hath so many discommodities and mischiefes waiting vppon it: how can any good ensue from it?

Further wee are to vnderstand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderstanding and vertue: all the forenamed euils and mischiefes are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himselfe so much the more modestly. And like as greatnesse of courage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other vertues, and exalteth Princes vnto the very highest point of honor: euen so it is vertue (onely) likewise, that most discourageth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer so potent or powerfull warriours, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either side.

Vertue is many times victorious without any blowes giuen.

Hereof I intend to set downe some examples, that in the Roman Commonwealth, and in the times of their warre, there was greater store of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietnesse. First let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing sent backe the children, which the Schoole-Master had brought into his Campe, to make them bondslaues to the Romanes, conquered the Citty without one blow smitten, which neuertheless was very strong, and well furnished with al warlike munition. And *Fabritius*, hauing sent the Physition to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promised to poison him, and refused the moity of his Kingdomes: although he was one of the very poorest Romane Gentlemen, and caused the prisoners ransome to be paide, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not suffering the meanest of them to stand beholding to so great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the *Spaines*: by sending a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celtiberia*, according to the example of *Cyrus*. These so generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make warre any longer against such magnanimous people; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by base or vnbeseeming behauiour.

The Romanes had more vertuous men in warre then in peace.

Furius Camillus.

Fabritius.

Scipio.

ertue can uer conier by cowdise.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hannibal* had put eight thousand prisoners to their ransome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing credite for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing lost so many men, would not be slacke in paying their ransome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates especiall decree) that not one prisoner of them al should be redeemed. Whereat *Hannibal* (saith *Polybius*) was so amazed, as all his courage quite forsooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes secured their state the better, which was shrewdly shaken, and vterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wise and honourable, because *Hannibal*, hauing so much Romane blood to spil at his pleasure, thoght to empty their Treasury of money, and draw eighthundred thousand Crownes from them, which they rather chose to spare, then to redeeme the very scum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Whervpon, and thence forward, euery one took a resolution to conquer or dye, & so became dreadfull and Inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greatest losses; so were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victories. And therefore, in the time of warre, the Romanes more expressed their greatnesse in courage, then in peace they could do.

Hannibal & his 8000 Romane prisoners.

The generous and vnconquerable courage of the Romanes, and grounded on good reason.

Charles the eight of that name, King of *France*, in the voyage which hee made into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the surprizall of a Citty, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but sent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chastity he sped so well, that most part of the Townes and Cities as he passed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more easily) the Kingdomes hee laide clayme to. And yet neuertheless, this King had Ladies (sometimes) at commaund in his owne Court, albeit very secretly.

The honourable action of Charles the 8. King of France.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed warre, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreasing (with great

The fame & reputation of Marius, so long as he continued a Warriour.

great Prouinces) his Country and Common-wealth of *Rome*. As hauing conquered *Iugurthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute surrendet of his Kingdome to *Rome*: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymbrians* in *Gaule*, and the *Germanes* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Consull, euen in iust regard of his great deseruings. But when he ceassed from being a Warriour, addicting himselfe to idlenesse, and desiring to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused aboue tenne thousand Cittizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charonea*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardanians* or *Troyans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and vertuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing there in peace; hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Cittizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a Romane Cittizens head.

The misfortune that idlenesse & negligence brought to Marius and Sylla.

Ease hath bin reputed the Nurse of tyranny.

While *Pombey* managed Armes, and was a braue Commander in Armies; hee was esteemed the most vertuous man the liuing. For he restored the Kingdome of *Numidia* to *Massinissa*, which *Hiarbas* had vsurped from him. He vanquished *Sertorius*, King of *Portugall*, ending also the most dangerous warre of the Pyrats, and ouercame *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, constraining him to slay himselfe. He warred in the Northerne parts, conquered *Albania*, *Morea*, the *Heuiesses*, *Caspia*, *Hiberia*, and afterwards (in the East) surmounted the *Parthians*, *Arabians*, and subiected *Iudea* beside. But afterward, the *Romane* people hauing no longer warre, and he returning home to his abiding; grew enuious against his kinesman *Cæsar*, and as by the precedent warres, the Romane Empire had attained vnto vnspeakable greatnesse: so by peace it impayred too much, onely through ciuill warre, engendred among themselues. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they stood tributaries to the Romanes, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

The renowne of Pompey so long as he followed Armes.

By peace the Romane Empire vtterly lost itselfe.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarsely attained to the age of thirty yeares.

Idlenesse and negligence was the ruine of Great Alexander.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Captaines, and found them imployment in warres, eyther, whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering other, such men as were *Agesilaus*, *Agis*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damonidas*, *Eurycratidas*, *Temistæas*, *Callicratides*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vndertooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pilled and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money; making no more account of care of warr? the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & contemning both exercise and military discipline; they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly imployed painfull diligence, rather by stratagems and policies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in *Archidamus*, then any other vertue else. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good, but because [illegible] daily enticed them to too many [illegible]. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; because a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at al houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall iniuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatest hungers; being euermore constantly resolued, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not bee exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

Throgh sloth and idlenesse, the Lacedemonians vterly ouerthrew themselues.

* A Noblema of Sparta, son to Telis, that would aduenture any danger whatsoeuer for his Countries safety.

The

The Grecian Philosophers banished out of Rome, and the reason why.

The *Romans*, in those times, when they were not corrupted with forces of forren nations, banished all the *Grecian* Philosophers, and would not admit any knowledge of letters among them, but for their vse: and no lesse hated they the professors of questionary sciences, then their books. They would not practise or learne anie thing, but to know how they might best bee obedient to Magistrates, and endure the hardst trauels in battels, to liue or die. A *Thessalian* being demaunded, who were the worst conditiond people in his country, answered: Such as had withdrawne themselues from Military labour and discipline.

A poet banished out of Lacedemon for writing against warre.

A poet, named *Archilochus*, being come to dwell in *Lacedemon*, was banished presently thence, being knowne to haue written: *That it was much better to forsake the Target and Armes, then to die in warre.* Among the *Lacedemonians*, it was an especiall obseruation, to figure all the Images of their gods and goddesses armed, holding launces in their hands, as signifying themselues to be warriors: Because they reputed nothing to be more vile & infamous, then idlenesse and vnarmed peace, being no way so goodly in apparance, as Military vertue: and therefore they paynted their gods in such forme, as themselues alwayes wished to be. Contrariwise, the *Grecians* Theology instructed them, to figure their gods, idle, peaceable, and lying all along. And it seemed, that the *Lacedemonians* had good reason so to do, bicause they imagined, that all our actions should be conformable to those of the gods: for, in painting the shapes of the gods effeminately, and so to follow them in like qualities, is to be pernitious, and vnprofitable to the Commonwealth.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armd, and those of the Greekes effeminately.

So soone as *Charles*, second of that name king of *France*, had contracted peace with the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, with all the princes of *Italy*, and with the countries of high and lower *Germany*, they all being enemies to him: he was very shortly after slaine in a iousting, with a spield of a launce, entring in at the sight of his Beauer. All the great Captaines of *France* esteemd vertuous among all other Nations, in times of peace, fell to killing one an other, keeping neither faith nor promise, but proditoriously massacring their very best friends: feining assemblies about the State affaires; some vnder colour of marriages; others, by pretended feasts and banquets, proceeding on so far in this wicked course, till they killed theyr king, yea & sought to murder his successor. In brief, they leagued themselues daily one against another, and some against the State, growing into such factious and treacherous coniurations, that the *French* were thoght to be a most barbarous kind of people. All which had happned, but thorow discontinuing exercise of Armes against ancient enemies, and calling them in, to despoyle them of their goods. Like as the ancient *Gaules* formerly did, who in meere enuy one to an other, and hauing giuen ouer the exercise of Armes, one part called in the *Romaines*, and an other the *Almaines* or *Germaines*, who were their vtter ruine in the end. And so they became tributaries, who were wont to bee the onely terrour of the *Romaines*, *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, yea, and likewise of the *Germaines*.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armd, and those of the Greekes effeminately.

The French nation entred into long continued seditions, onely by peace.

Discontinuance of military discipline breeds no mean store of euils in any peaceable nation.

Seeing then it commeth so to passe, that some Princes, and likewise some Common-weales (as appeareth by our passed Discourse) attained to much honor, and orderd their affaires better in their storms of warre, then in the calmer seasons of peace: and because it is not possible that warres should continually endure, but Peace must, and will haue some time of sway and dominion: Let vs now see, if there be not as good meanes of vertuous containment, as well in the dayes of peace as of warre; doubtlesse it may bee done more commodiously, and the waies of compassing it I will briefly declare.

The Authour falleth to reprehend his first proposition, and to effectuall purpose.

First of all, when there is no more occasion, for employing men of warre in a Kingdome or Common-weale: aduice is to be had, what Princes, friends or confederats of strangers, haue any need of men of such martiall qualitie, and thither to send them in their assistance, with charge of returning from thence agayne, when they shall bee sommoned thereto. Not onely shall the State or Common-wealth be thus disburthened of paying such wages: but also of such scelerates, as ordinarily doe follow men of warre, the more safely to commit their thefts and villanies, without checke, law, or punishment.

How Souldiers are to be dealt withall, when theyr owne wanteth employment for them.

In like manner did *Charles* the fifth of that name, and King of *Fraunce*, who

A good aduise to discharge any kingdom of theeues & wicked persons, who are dangerous people in the times of peace

Henry Earle of Richmond, afterward K. of England.

Augustus Cæsars care of his countries honor.

War serueth sometime as good Physick, for a Commonwealth, to rid it of corrupted humors.

hauing taken truce with the *English*, *Nauarrians*, and *Britaines*, beeing entreated by *Henry* of *Castile*, the Bastard, who made warre vpon his legittimate brother for the kingdome: For Pope *Vrbane* had conferred the Crowne vppon him, in regard that *Don Peter*, king of *Castile*, had intelligence and confederacy with the King of *Granado*, who was of the Mahometane Religion. Moreouer, he was a tyrant, doing many things vnbeseeming the name or credit of a Christian. King *Charls* sent him succour of souldiers, vnder conduct of the Constable *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who (by that voyage) purged *France* of an infinite number of Theeues, the greater part whereof were slaine in that warre. The like did *Lewes* the eleuenth, who, hauing peace with all his enemies, sent all his soldiers (that rauaged strangely in his kingdome) to the Earle of *Richmond*, who passed them ouer with him into England, because he laid claime to the kingdome. By this meanes, hee ridde his realme of rascality, and had some reuenge also vpon his ancient enemies.

Augustus Cæsar, hauing ouercome his Competitor *Mark Anthony*, and hauing no further imployment for war; was not so improuident or indiscreete, as to suffer his souldiers liue idle and negligently: but sent forty Legions into remote Prouinces, and to the frontiers of barbarous nations, still to support their militarie discipline, and to keepe all occasions of ciuill war, so farre off as might bee. But Great *Constantine* the Emperor, following the counsell of diuers Byshops and Priestes, who were slenderly experienced in State affaires: threwe off his Legionaries and men of warre; which was the cause, that ancient Military Discipline became quite lost, and opened a gate to such enemies, as (afterward) inuaded the Romane Empire on al sides. For they vnderstood not, that Lawe, Iustice, and the whole State (next vnder God) are in the protection of Armes, as vnder a soueraign & safe buckler of defence.

Yet there is one point more, very considerable, to shew, that Militarie Discipline ought to be maintained, and warre made, vpon good and iust occasions; for there hath alwayes bene (and neuer shall we bee without) some theeues, murtherers, idle loyterers, vagabonds, murmurers, and sturdy vagrants, which (in any Common-wealth) do hurt and spoyle the honest simplicity of good subiects, & notwithstanding the verie best Iustice that may be vsed, yet can no countrey bee intirely clensed of such Cankers. The best helpe (in this case) is warre, to send such vnnecessary members farre off from home-abiding, whersoeuer any fitting employment happeneth. Because it serueth as a purgatiue medicine, very cordiall and conuenient, for expelling such corrupted humours, out of the Commonwealths vniuersall body. Furthermore, in times of peace, and for better enioying the benefit thereof; no tolleration is any way to bee suffered, of such as haue not trade or vocation; for idlenesse and negligence, cause too many euils in any kingdome. By this discourse then may bee obserued those reasons, why many Princes & Commonweales florished in times of war, & fell to ruine in the daies of peace; the best meanes also in both of them hath briefly bin deliuered.

How Magistrates are & ought to cary their authority in times of peace.

CHAP. VIII

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortall.

That no man should builde, vainly to immortalize his name.

SOme Flatterers cannot be sufficiently blamed, that perswade Kings and great Monarks, to builde sumptuous houses and Palaces, therby to make their names imortal, contrary to the iudgment of Count *Balthazar* the *Castillian*, in his booke of the Courtier, who (in mine opinion) hath highly erred, to write and approoue such a vanitie. For, *the end of all vertuous actions* (according to the saying of *Cicero*, in the 3. book of his *Tusculanes*) *is honour, glory, and good renown: not a dumb building, which is cõposed of the sweat, blood, and means of poor people.* Palaces cãnot moue out of the places where they are builded, nor can they make knowne the generous deeds of such as erected them: And men that dwell by

Cicero in Tusc. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Men s names rumaine not by their buildings.

by thoſe places, and ſtrangers that ſee or paſſe by them, when ſome fifty yeares (or ſo) are ouer-paſſed, can ſcarcely bee informed, who were the founders, albeit their names may be engrauen vpon ſome ſtone or other matter; whereby the erecters of Pallaces and prowde Buildings, are often fruſtrated of theyr hope and intention.

Princes are aptly compared to Swallowes in theyr loue to theyr buildings.

Moreouer, if it be well pondered and conſidered, the fayreſt buylding is but a matter of frailtie, and ſubiect to no long continuance: for, when men ceaſſe from dwelling there, they runne in poaſting ſpeede to ruine and decay. And Princes are the occaſion heereof: Reſembling Swallowes, who will neuer neaſtle twiſe in one neaſt: Euen ſo, the moſt parte of Princes dwellings become deſert, like to King *Frances*, who buylded a great Tower in the Caſtell of the *Louure* in *Paris*, made after the auncient manner, and ruinated the body of the Lodging, by cauſing another to be erected. Afterward he builded *Madric*, and then agayne the houſe of *Fontaine bleau*, yet neuer dwelt in any of the ſayd buildings.

Example of Catharine de Medicis, not long ſince Q. Mother of Fr.

Catharine de Medicis, widdow to King *Henry* the ſecond deceaſſed, when ſhe was Regent (although ſhee was well furniſhed with vnderſtanding, and a Lady of great honour) yet notwithſtanding, ſhee ſuffred her ſelfe, to be ouermuch perſwaded by ſome flatterers in the Court about her: that, to render her memory to poſteritie euerlaſtingly, ſhee ſhould erect ſome goodly Pallace; whereto ſhe yielded, after a long time of ſollicitation. She had not ſeene the fourth part of the building out of the ground, but ſhee began to repent her ſelfe, ſaying: She knew well enough, that it was meere vanity, to hope for immortallizing by buildings, frayle, & ſubiect to ruine in a ſhort time, and ſo left off, from proceeding any further in ſo friuolous a buſineſſe.

The Qu. Mother of Fráce liked not the building of ſumptuous houſes, which were indeed to ſmall vſe.

The ſayd Lady had houſes of pleaſure abroad, paſſably fayre and commodious: but in *Paris* ſhee had not a dwelling, her children being come to age. The *Louure*, a royall habitation, was not ſufficient to receiue her and her traine: wherefore, ſeeing that the Court (in thoſe times) kept ordinarily at *Paris*: ſhee built an other of indifferent coſt, in the place where was founded the order and religion of *Marie Magdalen*, for ſinfull women and maides, conuerted to repentance, and tranſported the religious women thence, vnto the Abbey of Saint *Mary Magdalen*, beeing much more commodious for them. Reproouing the councell formerly giuen to her, ſhe would vſually ſay: That money might be better employed, in redeeming the Crowne lands, paying of debts, eaſing the people oppreſſed with grieuous taxations; then to bee waſted in ſuch vaine manner, which wordes right well became ſo great a Princeſſe as ſhee was.

This Qu mother was reputed a very wiſe Lady.

Oftentimes ſhe commended the good Emperour *Veſpaſian*, who neuer builded any Pallace, but contented himſelfe with ſuch as were erected by his predeceſſours: yet did hee re-edifie diuerſe and ſundry ruined Temples and Theaters, and gaue very bounteouſly to Hoſpitalls. As ſhe like did the Emperour *Domitian*, who was well ſatisfied with a ſmall dwelling: and yet builded hee the Capitole, which was greatly decayed by age, and a Temple of his owne, dedicated vnto *Iupiter*.

Prowde buil ding loſt Salomons ſonne tenne of the Tribes of Iſraell.

The ſacred Scriptures tell vs, that the magnificence and ouer great ſumptuouſneſſe of *Salomon*, in building his pallaces and houſes, were the cauſe, that tenne Tribes of *Iſraell* did ſeperate themſelues from obedience to his heyre *Rehoboam*, and reigned onely but ouer two. I will not ſpeake here of the Temples building, for his father left him all the ſtuffe and the meanes, as needed for the erection of ſo holy a Temple. But the immeſurable expences layde out on his Pallace, for furniſhment whereof, the people themſelues ſo preſſed after his deceaſe: that they were conſtrayned to ſeeke another King, then his Sonne *Rehoboam*, who would continue the prodigall expences of his father in building, and ſo (of twelue partes) he loſt ten in his kingdome.

The exceeding great coſt of Salomons pallace.

It is right well knowne, by the Text of the Iewiſh Chronicles, that King *Salomon* abuſed the Graces and Bleſſings both of Almightie God and men: for, it was not ſufficient for him, to make walls in his pallace of the very goodlieſt ſtones, the beſt polliſhed, and moſt ſplendant in in all the world; but he would needes illumine them alſo with exquiſite colors, couering them beſides with maſſie golde, as

making leſſe account of ſiluer, then hee did of leade or yron. The like is to bee vnderſtood of the planchers and floores, all made of curious and ſtrange woods, the very worſt being of Cedar and Cethin, without corruption, and ſmelling moſt ſweetly, reſembling in coulor, the beames of the Sun, being ſo ingeniouſly handled in the working, that they appeared like moſt curious ſhapes and figures, as no men in the world were able to inuent, or counterfeit the like. And yet neuertheleſſe, hee couered thoſe coſtly woods with plates of gold, enchaſed with infinite precious ſtones: ſo that the very floores ſeemed to bee ſecond ſtarry Heauens; whereby may eaſily bee preſuppoſed, what the other parts of his Pallace were.

Coſtly wood of Cedar and Cethin, wherof the planks and floores were made.

Moreouer, *Salomon* did not onely build one Pallace in *Ieruſalem*, but many more beſide in diuers places, euen as rich, or rather more coſtly then the other. As that which hee erected for his Summers recreation, in the Wood of *Lybanus*, abounding in all variety of vanities. In two Hals he placed fiue hundred Shields or Targets, of immeaſurable greatneſſe, and all of maſſiue gold, each Target valuing (at the leaſt) two thouſand and foure hundred Crownes, as *Empolemus* hath recorded. The ſaid Bucklers or Targets were beaten with the hammer, and engrauen with rare and coſtly braunched workes. He builded another Pallace in *Gazer*, more ſumptuous then the two former were: which was quickly ruined after his death, and at this day the places are not knowne where thoſe Pallaces ſtood. For the building of theſe, hee trauailed and moleſted his people, who reuolted from him, loſing thereby his heyre and ſucceſſour, and (well neere) all his Kingdome; his Reigne (beſide) being full of many warres and other miſeries. Behold what goodly benefit redounded to him, by erecting ſuch ouer-ſumptuous buildings: for, the *Egiptian* people deſtroyed and pilled his Pallace before his eyes.

Salomon buil ded many more Pallaces beſide that in Ieruſalem, & all as rich as that.

Salomons people reuolted from him for oppreſſing them with his buildings.

Tranquillus declareth, that *Nero Claudius Cæſar*, the ſixt Romane Emperour, was ſo ambitious; that he deſired to make his name immortall, by the meanes of buildings, which he intended to erect, and valued the price of his life, whereof I purpoſe to ſette downe a briefe deſcription.

The vanity of Nero Claudius Cæſar.

Firſt, he would haue had all *Rome* to bee pulde downe, and then to be built againe at the Cittizens charges: ſaying, that the ſtreets were not ſtraite nor large enough. Hereupon, diuers leud perſons (by him ſubborned) fiered the City in ſundry places: hee intending afterward to haue it beare his name, and to be called *Neropolis*: which partly was put in execution, albeit the eight part could hardly bee burned, and becauſe many houſes were built all of ſtone; with engines he cauſed them to be deſtroyed. And as he perſeuered thus in ruinating the houſes, certaine conſpiracies (intended againſt him) chanced to bee diſcouered to him; which made him leaue off, and proceed therein no further. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that hee cauſed a falſe fame to be noyſed in *Rome*, throwing ſcandalous aſperſions vpon the Chriſtians, as if that they had fired the city. And great likelihood there was, that this impoſture ſhould proceed from him, and to be impoſed on the Chriſtians: becauſe he was a vowed enemy to all vertuous, holy and well affected people. In which reſpect, ſo many Chriſtians as hee could apprehend, were bathed and annointed on their naked bodies, with greaſe and pitch, and then tyed to pillers, and fire put vnto them, ſo they ſeemed as flaming Linkes or Torches, for paſſengers and night-walkers through the Cittie.

The reaſon why Nero cõmanded that Rome ſhould be burned.

Cornel. Tacit. in Annal. et vit. Nero. lib. 3. ca. Slanderous imputations laide on the Chriſtians.

For continuance of his names immortalizing, and onely by ſuch buildings he intended; I meane to deſcribe one, another manner of thing, then thoſe which *Salomon* cauſed to bee erected, what ſtore of gold ſoeuer he beſtowed vpon them: whereof let the Reader be Iudge, for what is heere inſerted, I haue traduced out of the ſaide *Tranquillus*, who both ſaw that *Nero*, and his Pallace, and auoucheth, that *Nero* neuer did more harmes in all his actions, then in his buildings. He erected a houſe, extending from his Pallace ſo farre as Mount *Eſquiline*, which hee named, *The Houſe of Gold*: and being almoſt finiſhed, it was wholly deſtroyed with thunder and lightning falling from Heauen, and yet neuertheleſſe, hee builded it againe. It was ſo ſpacious, that it had a place for him to walke in, which was a Gallery

One Pallace built by Ner compared with all the erected by Salomon.

The deſcrip on of Nero coſtly build ing, called, The Houſe Gold.

Gallery at the very entrance, containing a thousand paces in length, hauing three rankes of Marble pillars, all made with Arches, most proudly glittering with goodly coulors, hauing infinite fabulous Histories, and Poeticall figures. In that place also was a Colossus, of an hundred and twenty foote in height, formed after his owne effigie and resemblance. There was likewise a Poole or Pond, seeming as if it had beene an huge spacious Sea: on the Bankes wherof (all round about) were stately houses builded, so that it appeared to be a faire great Citty.

The building must needs containe a wonderfull compasse, to haue so many meruailes within it.

Within the compasse of this building, were eareable grounds, Vineyards, Pasturages, Medowes and Forrests, with multitudes of diuers kindes of Beaste, as well wilde as tame, enclosed within high walles, in the manner of a Parke, and formed with very artificiall cunning. All other parts of this Pallace, were richly guilded, thickly powdered with precious stones, and mother of Pearle, the floores of the Halles for Dinners and Suppers, were all in-layed with Iuory, and curious wrought plates of fine gold, so subtilly turning each against other, that flowers and sweete waters descending from the Roofe, by conuoyes of artificiall conueiance, fell on them sitting at the Table, & after were receiued into the floores. Among al the Halles for banquetting, there was one entirely round, which (by inimitable arte) was so composed, that it turned round night and day, like vnto the world.

Planchers & Tables of admirable cunning.

An admirable Fish-pond, & a strãge Ditch for Bardges.

Ouer and beside all these, hee caused a Fish-Pond to be made, from *Misena*, so farre as the Lake *Auerna*, all engirt with Galleries: where the warme waters of the gulfe *Baia* fell into it. Beside, he had a trench or ditch made, reaching from *Auerna* to *Ostia*, for Boates to floate on, containing foure score French miles in length, and of such wideneſse, that two great Gallies, with fiue rankes of Oares might passe on front. Because if one should mount one way, and the other come againe to meet it: they might freely passe without danger of touching one another.

A counterfet Sea made at the charge of infinite expences.

Nor could these Fish-Ponds, Lakes, Ditches, and other deuices serue the turn; but hee must also haue an artificiall Sea made, which he caused to come from very farre off, cutting through Mountaines, Rocks, pulling downe Forrests, and such like: so that it seemed a worke of no mortall power, but as if it were done by God himselfe. To perfect this mighty labour, he gaue command, that so many prisonners as could be found, were it for criminall causes, debts, or any case else whatsoeuer throughout the whole Romane Empire (which contained then almost al our Hemisphere) should bee brought to *Rome*, and there to bee employed in this seruice.

The horrible taxations imposed on the people, for effecting these idle vanities.

And because these mighty workes could not bee effected without inestimable expences; he imposed on the City of *Rome* (without exempting people of any quality) great and extraordinary subsidies, and vppon the whole Lands of the Empire, wherein the *Gaules* (among other Prouinces) felt no meane affliction, although they were (well neere) quite ruined by the precedent warres, so that they were constrained to reuolt from his obedience. The like did *Spaine*, and great store of the Prouinces in *Asia* and *Affrica*, and (in the end) all *Italy*. Hereuppon, he sent out strickt prohibitions, that no Officer of the Empire should be paid his wages, no, not the Bishops & Priests, who were paied by the hands of the publike Receiuers; neither could the Legions haue their pay, which caused great hauock in the Prouinces whether they were sent. For he employed all his moneyes, about those admirable Workes and Buildings, and yet could not prouide sufficient for that purpose.

The next way to ouerthrow all together.

In regard whereof, the Senate and whole body of the people, being no longer able to support those prodigall expences; conspired against him. Which comming to his knowledge, & he perceiuing approching danger (being forsaken of all his owne followers) fled out of the Citty, to a Country Farme belonging to one of his Libertines; where, by the help of one of his friends, he had his throate cut; for he was such a cowardly slaue, that he durst not do it himselfe.

The end of Nero like to that of Sardanapalus.

Such was the deserued and miserable end of this Emperour, which happened to him, by employing his reuenues, and the goodes of his Subiects so prodigally, in erecting proude buildings, and to no profite.

This one worke of his, was three or foure times more coſtly, and of greater admiration, then eyther the Temple, or all the Pallaces of *Salomon*, King of *Iſrael*. Of which (as alſo of *Neroes*) not anie kinde of noate or memory remayneth to be ſeene, and the places are not knowne where they ſtoode. And although men commune and ſpeake of *Nero*, in theſe our dayes, it is not in regarde of his ſumptuous buildings, whereby hee thought to immortallize his name: but for his abhominable whooredomes, parricides, and infamous life, which hee ledde ſo long as hee liued. Whereof, at this time, I deſire not to make anie more mention: for ſo many Hiſtorians haue written therof, and eſpecially *Tranquillus* (Authour of all that hitherto hath beene ſpoken) as I muſt ſend them to his Volumes, which are deſirous to reade any more of his life and actions.

Neroes Pallace was more ſumptuous thē all them of Salomon.

CHAP. IX.

¶ who was the firſt, amongſt all other Monarches and Princes, that commaunded, to preſent by writing, whatſoeuer was to be negotiated with him.

EVery man of iudgement wel may thinke, that a Prince, who hath manie Prouinces vnder his charge, and giueth command to diuers people; muſt needes be much hindered, from anſwering all ſuch as are to negotiate with him. And it would be a matter vtterly impoſſible for him to ſatisfie al ſutes and demaunds made vnto him: if hee were not eaſed by ſome eſpeciall perſons, of good vnderſtanding in the State affaires, as a Chancellor, Secretary, and ſome ſuch other beſide. In like maner, that which giueth him greateſt contentment, is, when men make their ſutes to him by writing, as in theſe dayes is diſcreetely vſed: which was well inuented (and to good purpoſe) by the Emperor *Tyberius*, who commanded it to be ſo done, for any matter whatſoeuer, and likewiſe deliuered his aunſwers by writing. The reaſon was, to the end that nothing might eſcape, till it had beene conſidered on ſo well as poſſibly might be: For, by ouer much talking, and communicating himſelfe too often, a Prince may commit diuers errors, which will cauſe him to be miſpriſed, or meanely eſteemed. And it neuer ought to bee (as an auncient *Greeke* ſaid) *That a Prince ſhould ſpeake any otherwiſe before the people, then as if he were in a ſtately Tragedy.*

A great troble to any Prince, to answer many ſutes made vnto him by word of mouth

The Emperor Tyberius, the giuing of petitions was firſt deuiſed by him

But ſome may obiect vnto mee, That this is not the true ſtate of a Prince; for, in doing iuſtice to his people; hee ſhould heare theyr complaints and greeuances, vnderſtanding from each mans mouth, the vrgent occaſions conſtraining them thereunto, which are ordinarily ſuppreſſed, or elſe diſguyſed by others mannaging.

I am not of the minde, to haue him ſo conceale himſelfe, that hee ſhould not be ſeene but very ſeldome, or neuer. As now-adayes the Kings in the Eaſt *Indiaes* vſe to doe, and eſpecially the King of *Borney*, who neuer ſpeaketh, but onely to his wife and children. When hee is to ſpeake to other, hee doth it by a Gentleman, through a place made of purpoſe, where he can not be ſeene, but hath the wordes conueyed from the Gentlemans mouth to his eare, thorow the hollow paſſage of a Truncke: as hee did vnto the Ambaſſadour of the King Catholique, and as wee reade in the Hiſtories of the *Indiaes*.

An obiection in this caſe alledged, and to good purpoſe.

The Kings in the Eaſt Indiaes are daintie of their ſight and audience.

But although he ſhew himſelfe very little, as ſtanding vpon his greatneſſe and maieſtie; regarde is yet to be had to his quality and power. For, it is not ſeemely, that a petty Prince ſhould counterfeit the great Kings of *Aethiopia*, of *Tartaria*, *Perſia* and *Turkie*, who (indeed) will not haue their ſubiects to looke directly vpon them: becauſe, they are not ſo much redoubted for power, as they are for maieſtie, as they expreſſe ſufficiently, when they will be ſeene of their Subiects. And if ſome ſay, that the Princes of the Eaſt and South ſhould goueme in that maner, and not they of the Weſt and North: I holde it to be all one in the maine regard. For, it is knowne well enough, that the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Poland*, do containe farte more greatneſſe towards their Subiects, then the King of *France*,

Kings more dreaded for maieſtie then power.

Differences in the maieſty of princes to their Subiects

France, and the King of *Moscouia*, much more then all the reſt: and yet perhappes they are not leſſe, but (it may bee) better obeyed.

Good and ſubſtantiall reaſons, why princes ſhould negotiat with writing, rather then confer in perſon with their ſubiects.

Now let vs returne againe to our purpoſe, of conferring with a Prince by petition or writing, whereby many commodities enſue vnto him. For firſt (as hath already bene ſaid) he vſeth no communication by that meanes, nor ſhewes himſelfe too familiar with his people, which contayneth him ſtill in the farre greater eſteeme.

Another reaſon is, that either if he will not, or cannot grant the demands mooued vnto him: if he make refuſall, he can receiue no ſhame or diſgrace therby; conſidering, that the written paper will not bluſh.

Moreouer, anſwere is returned with the more aſſured iudgment, by the time allowed to ſet downe the Princes Will; which cannot be ſo well done, ſpeaking with him face to face. For oftentimes, he may be incited to anger, by mooving the matter diſorderly, or elſe vppon ſome other occaſion, whereby he may anſwere farre from his owne minde. Or els it may happen in ſome intemperate time; for all Princes are not alike in diet; & then, gifts ſo immenſe; and of ſuch importance may be granted, as the whole State ſhall fare the worſe for it.

Demetrius made a ſcorn of his ſubiects ſuites.

All which approoueth not, that hee ſhould deſpiſe to anſwer requeſts, being made to him by his people: leaſt it happen to him, as it did to *Demetrius*, who quarrelled the kingdome of *Epyre* againſt *Pyrrhus*. Hee hauing receyued a great number of petitions, kept them all in the lap of his cloake; and, paſſing ouer the bridge of a Riuer; he let them all fall downe into the water, according as wee reade in *Plutarke*. Whereupon, his ſubiects ſeeing themſelues ſo contemned, conceiued capitall hatred againſt him: & (ſoone after) he was forſaken of his Army, who yeelded themſelues & the kingdome to *Pyrrhus*, and ſo he won it without fighting.

Plut. in vit. Demetr.

Bold affrontings receiued by Princes, only through ſpeaking with their people.

It hath bene obſerued alſo, that princes, liſtening verbally to the ſutes and requeſts of their ſubiects, haue mette with bold and inſolent confronters. As the woman, who was put off day by day by *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, in ſome matter of expedition which ſhe required of him; whereupon ſhe ſayd: *If thou neither wilt; nor canſt do iuſtice: depoſe thy ſelfe, and another will giue it me*: ſaucily ſeeming (by this meanes) to taxe the King with neglect and careleſneſſe. The very like words vſed *Ioane de Pierre buſſiere*, a Ladie of *Chambaret*, to King *Charles* the ninth, he being in the City of *Bordeaux*, where ſhe demanded iuſtice of him againſt the murtherer of her husband.

A Pirat of the ſea, that was taken and brought before Great Alexander.

A certaine Rouer of the Sea was taken, who was reported, to bee the moſt cruell and deteſtable Pyrat, that euer was heard of. *Alexander* the Great, woulde needes ſee him and ſpeake with him, to the end hee might the ſooner condemne him. Wherefore he demanded of him: whence it proceeded, that he would be a Pyrate, and leade ſuch an infamous kind of life; hauing meanes to prouide for himſelfe otherwiſe: As to be in pay with ſome Warlike Nauy, where hee might receyue good reſpect; conſidering, that hee was ſtrong, ſtout, and a good Soldier, as it had apeared by his paſſed courſe of life? With a bold and vndanted countenance, the Rouer returned him this anſwere. *I am ſayd to be a Pirate and Rouer on the Sea, becauſe I ſayle with a ſmall Veſſel, without any other Followers: and when I meete with another, beeing weaker then my ſelfe; then I make ſome appropriation of him. But thou that makeſt thy Nauigations, with great multitudes of Gallies, and other Shippes of Warre, robbing and ranſacking all Maritime Townes and places, yea, and vppon the firme land likewiſe: Thou muſt be called an Emperour and a Monarch.*

The bold anſwer of the Pirate to Alexander.

Full well knew *Alexander* by the Pyrates anſwere, that his behauiour differed verie little from the others, and that hee deſerued as well to bee punniſhed as hee: and therefore, beeing aſhamed of ſo fowle a detection, he freely pardoned him.

Mounſieur of France his ſuite for marriage with Elizabeth Q. of England.

Frances, Duke of *Anion*, and a ſonne of France, not long ſince deceaſed, being deſirous to ſettle himſelfe, and to match with ſome Queene or Princeſſe that was an heyre: made meanes of marriage vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, letters paſſing betweene them to that purpoſe, and their pictures. In the end, the Queen ſent him word, that ſhe wold neuer contract with any that ſought her, except ſhee might

might ſee his perſon, otherwiſe there needed no further ſpeech. The Prince, beeing perſwaded by yong heads (as litle aduiſed in ſuch a buſineſſe, as himſelfe) and leauing the counſell of more graue experience; went into England to bee ſeene, and with a very ſlender train. But beeing well obſerued by that Lady, he was found ſo deformed by the ſmall pockes, which had left ſuch a deep driuing into his face, his noſe alſo much miſhapen, and ſome kernels riſing in his necke beſide; as might bee the cauſes of looſing the fauour of ſo fayre a Queene. Some were of opinion, that hee ſhould not haue gone, but to haue continued the treatie of Marriage ſtill by Letters; which peraduenture (at length) would haue wonne him grace and fauour.

The Arch-duke of Auſtria, & Henry Prince of Sweden much better aduiſed

More wiſely dealt the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and Prince *Henry*, afterwardes King of *Sweden*, who made ſuite alſo to the fayde Queene to eſpouſe her, but at ſundry times, and were ſent for likewiſe to be ſeene. But they ſatisfied themſelues to treate with the Queene by theyr Letters, and not verbally: for, by this means, they wer aſſured that ſhe could not cauſe them to bluſh.

The Authors aduice vppon this Chapter.

I conclude then, that this inuention of *Tyberius*, was, and is very conuenient for great Monarches and Soueraigne Princes, not to negotiate by words with their Subiects; but to expedite by Writings, becauſe thereby they ſhall ſo much the ſooner diſpatch, and a great deale more equally.

Moreouer, if Princes or Princeſſes, haue any matters betweene them to diſintangle; to performe the ſame by Letters and Deputies ſent from either ſide: for by enter-view and ſpeaking together, litle good can enſue, at leaſt verie ſildom.

CHAP. X.

Of ſuch qualities and carriage, as (neceſſarily) is required to be in a Prince.

SVch as couet to command ouer any one whole Nation, ſhould firſt propounde two things to himſelfe: one is, to be liberall; the other is, to bee clement and gentle. For the Prince, which exerciſeth liberality, ſhall make his enemies to become his frends; thoſe of all other places to be his owne; and of diſloyall, faithfull ſeruantes. Hee muſt bee affable to ſtrangers, chiefly ſuch as dwell in the furtheſt parts of his Land: And as a Prince endued with clemencie, is admired of all men, and honoured as a God: So by theſe two Vertues, Liberality and Clemencie, hee is made like vnto God; becauſe his Office is, to doe good vnto all, and to pardon ſuch as are delinquents.

Pontanus in his booke of a Prince.

Of Liberalitie and clemency in a Prince.

I confeſſe it to bee true, that a Prince ought not (alwayes) to be facile and benigne to his ſubiectes: but that (with his facility and mildeneſſe) he may commixe a grauity and ſeuerity, ſuch as may be termed a kinde of rigour, at ſuch times as neede requireth; to cauſe feare and terror in bad liuers, and to punniſh them rigorouſly, if neceſſity enforce it, for the preuention of a greater euill. Otherwiſe, the Prince may bee the cauſe of his peoples loſſe, if hee permit too much licenſe and libertie, in the performance of diſhoneſt actions; like to *Alcibiades*, who thorough too much eaſie carriage in himſelfe, corrupted and ſpoyled his people. And yet ſeuerity ought to be moderated; for when it is exceſſiue, and ouer-ſharpe ſeueritie: it afflicteth Townes and Citties with great miſeries: euen as when licenſe is facetiouſly accommodated to the onely grace and fauour of the people, it prooueth to be the cauſe of their ruine, by the lacke of a leuell temperature both in the one and other.

Seuerity ought to bee mingled with mildneſſe.

Seuerity ouer ſharpe is the occaſion of much annoyance.

Howbeit that in time & place, acording to cir-

Respect of time, place & difference of persons.

circumstances and difference of persons, the Prince ought to vse, eyther more seueritie, or sometimes more facilitie (according to reason) and as Wisedome iudgeth it fittest to be done, or spared for generall good.

Sophocles in Antig. Pomp. Trag.

Assuredly, in regard that the people is as a Monster with many heads; there is great neede (as *Sophocles* sayth) of a maine and strong bridle. And as it is a principall poynt of Arte in a good Querrie, to make a horse pace milde and obediently; euen such is the office of discipline in a Prince, to render his subiects obedient and modest. And yet notwithstanding, to do it in gentle manner, and by benigne means, not rudely constrayning them alwayes: but perswading, admonishing, and reprehending sometimes, not pursuing euerie suspition; but conniuing in light matters, deferring a businesse in time of daunger and doubt, to redresse it at some other season, more apte and proper. For, by repressing and punishing all arrogancie and wickednesse; he may the more benignely entertayne the good, when humbly they present their afflictions and requests vnto him. All which is the easier done, by vnderstanding the manners and spirites of the people, because, such as are of rude and harsh brain (like vnto those of barbarous nations) must bee gouerned with more seueritie; then they that be of more docible nature, who ought to be mannaged with mildenesse and benignitie, without stearne lookes, or vnkinde manner of dealing.

The office of Discipline in a prince.

The spirits & maners of the people are by the prince to be vnderstood

The complexions of men are diuers and dissemblable, eyther by the nature of the place and ayre; or else by custome and manner of life. The *Athenians*, were easie to anger and mercy, the *Carthagenians* sad, opinionatiue and obstinate; the *Romanes* great, benigne, louers of theyr Country, ambitious and couetous of glory and honor. And therefore, ignorance in the manners of such as wee conuerse withall, doth oft deceiue and disappoint vs in our opinions and enterprises; wherefore, by the diuers nature and custome of the people, *Lycurgus* was rather a sectator of power, then iustice; and *Numa Pompilius* of iustice, rather then of power.

The diuersitie and vnlikenes of mens complexions.

The diffrence betweene Lycurgus & Numa Pompilius

For, as a Prince (in ciuile actions) immitateth the skilfull behauiour of a Lutenist, who tendeth and distendeth their cordes of the instrument, to bring an accord of tune as he would haue it; so doth hee likewise follow the Chirurgian, in order and meanes for tempering with life; because light infirmities hee can eure easily, whereas to them of more perill, hee applyeth both yron and fire. In the same manner, a Prince maketh vse of the Rod and the Sword, according to the seuerall occurrences, and as they appeare.

Apte comparisons of a princes imitation.

It foloweth, that a Prince ought to entertaine good Lawes, and to obserue the chiefest of such as hee hath made: but aboue all other) to haue the honour and feare of God before his eyes. It is necessary also for a Prince to haue the commaund of himselfe, and beare a strict hand on the bridle of his owne affections: directing first a good course of life to himselfe, to the ende, that it may serue as a Square or Rule, to measure the liues of other after his manners. *For, very hardly shall hee commaund others* (sayth *Pindarus*) *that hath not learned himselfe to obey reason, which is the Queene of all things, and a Law, not engrauen in Marble, but in our spirites, commaunding to perfourme lawfull actions, and prohibiting such as are contrary, and bad.* Her woorthy enstructions, wicked Kings (being slaues to theyr owne affections) will not immitate: For, if shee were their Queene & Gouerneresse, they should bee constrained to contemne their vileneresse, and honestly to enter faire Vertues seruice.

For the feare of God, and maintaining of good Lawes.

A good direction giuen by Pindarus the poet.

The *Pythian* Oracle, by the answere it gaue to King *Crœsus, That he should know himselfe*, was not to be vnderstoode; that he should know the glory and greatnesse of his Empire: but Reason, Queene and mistris of humane life, which appeaseth the perturbations of the minde, and restrayneth the mightinesse of power: For, the Poet *Horace* sayth (by way of enstruction) that it is a matter no lesse royall, to represse appetites and affections, then to rule ouer people.

The answere of the Pythian Oracle to king Croesus.

Latins regnes auidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Lybiam remotis
Gallibus iungas, & vtero minaci
Poëmos
Seruiat vni.

The enstruction giuen by Horace.

And *Agesilaus* gloried, that hee had learned better to commaund himselfe, then

then other. *Alexander* the Great, accounted it much more honeſt and glorious, to conquer himſelfe, rather then to conquer enemies. A Prince ſhould ſhunne flattery, for if he lend his eares to flatterers, he will not alwayes bee himſelfe. Credulity is accompanied with raſhneſſe and folly, and there is no greater argument of folly, then credulity: therefore a Prince ſhould not be too credulous, that is, ouer-light in beleefe.

Flattery ought to be auoyded by a Prince.

Ambition alſo, which is the Mother and Nurſſe of many great euils, and the plague of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, ſhould bee excluded from the heart of a Prince. A Prince that remembers himſelfe to be but a man, and conſequently mortall, will neuer mount vp his thoughts in pride; but purſue equality. If he perceiue all things proſper, and ſucceed according as hee can wiſh: hee will then beleeue, that God commandeth ouer humane occaſions, whereof himſelfe onely hath care, and pride is highly diſpleaſing to him.

Ambition the Mother of many miſchiefes & the bane of kingdomes.

I would aduiſe a Prince, to be carefull of what he promiſeth, and to whom hee maketh any promiſe; to be reſpectiue of mens merits and their faculties, as alſo the times of his giuing promiſe, for the better preſeruation of his faith: becauſe there is nothing more vnworthy, and villainlike, then to breake fidelity, and the force of faith is ſo great, that it ought to be kept, euē with an enemy, if it be promiſed. And in regard that faith (according as our graue Auncients haue defined it) is conſtancy and truth in words and conuentions: a Prince ought to be true, and to loue truth, in regard whereof, our betters and elders ordained, and by them it was moſt wiſely inſtituted; that the Booke of the holy Euangeliſts (wherein the diuine verity is contained) ſhould daily (in the time of diuine ſeruice) be giuen to the Prince to kiſſe, to the end, that being admoniſhed thereby, to purſue and honour truth; he ſhould likewiſe remember, how ſtudious he muſt be in louing her vpright.ly.

Of care and reſpect in a Princes promiſes.

An auncient and excellent ordination for faithfulneſſe.

I could wiſh alſo, that a Prince ſhould ſuffer no man to depart ſad and diſcontented from his preſence: but with cheerfull lookes and gracious language, and ſo expreſſe himſelfe both vnto ſmall and great. Whoſoeuer knoweth his Prince to be endued with temperance, dare neuer vrge any vile or vnbeſeeming motion to him. *O happy Marcus Cato* (ſaid *Cicero*) *to whom no man durſt make any vniuſt demand*! He ſhall bee thought worthy of authority and ſoueraigne power, and bee reputed a hopefull Prince by his people; that ſharply purſueth wicked men, hateth the intemperate, reiecteth lyars, & flyeth (as from the plague) ſuch as aduiſe him to follow voluptuouſneſſe: for whoſoeuer takes pleaſure in crediting ſuch coūcellers; his childhood in rule ſhall be immodeſty, his youth effeminacy, and his age infamy.

cicero in Offic. lib.1.cap.5.

Whoſoeuer holdeth gouernment ouer the people, ought to be free from affections; for anger hindereth knowledge of whatſoeuer is good; hatred puffes him on to imperfect actions; loue blindeth his iudgement; pleaſure and inordinate will induceth him to violence; paſſion pricketh him on to reuenge; and enuy enflameth him, with a more haſty and fiery temper, then is expedient in him. One and the ſame conſtancy in courage (at all times) is moſt required and commended in a King, as well in caſes of aduerſity, as proſperity. And if God pleaſe to viſite him, with any ſcourge of his diuine Iuſtice; he ought to reioyce, and remember, that God chaſtiſeth ſuch as hee loueth; learning thereby, to ſupport all with the vertue of patience in contrary fortunes, and not to mount vp in pride, whē affaires are fitting to his owne deſires.

Perticular reſpects fitting to be in a king or Gouernor.

Of conſtancy in courage in all occaſions whatſoeuer, beſt becomming any Prince.

Sloth, accompanied with negligence, is greatly hurtfull to a Prince, which in times of ſafety, begetteth (oftentimes) feare and diſtruſt, whereof the Poet ſaith,

Otium Reges prius, et beatas
Perdidit vrbes.

Wherefore, to ſhunne ſuch inconueniences, ſome honeſt exerciſe is very fit for him; to play at Tennis (euen till hee ſweates) is wholeſome for him, and Muſicke is very commendable; ſometimes to hunt, and to ride great Horſſes is neceſſary, for which *Virgill* gaue cōmendations to *Picus*, King of the Latines.

For the preuention of ſloth & negligence by ſome honeſt exerciſes.

Picus equum domitor, debellatorque ferarū.

Which exerciſes of hunting & managing

Of affability in his lookes & language.

Enstructions to Militarie Discipline.

ging horses, were (aboue all other) frequent with King *Cyrus*, for encreasing the strength of his body, and greatly seruing for the enstruction of Militarie discipline. And patience, to endure both heate and colde, is laudable in a Prince, and is many times more expedient for him, then strict abstinence from meate and drinke.

Historie and Morall philosophie fit for princes: and Poetrie a dayly companion.

It is very necessary also, that he should haue good knowledge in Histories, and (if it were possible) not to bee ignorant in Morall Philosophie, which may well be learned the Hunt-vice: also, to vnderstand Naturall Philosophy, the Science of Ciuile right, and Mathematicall Disciplines. He should be assiduate in reading Poets, as *Homer*, whome *Alexander* had alwayes in his hand: and *Virgill*, singularly affected by the Emperor *Octauius Augustus*. A Prince beeing endued with all these Sciences, shall receiue inestimable benefite thereby.

What benefits the prince receiueth by eruditions.

First, he shall become wise; for learning begetteth wisedome; next, they will yeeld him such vnspeakeable pleasure, as no delectations can be thought or vttered, comparable to those that come from eruditi-on: for, inquisition after trueth, is the proper worke and perfection of the Spirit. What is more woorthy in a Prince, then to vnderstand true & honest things? To discerne falshoode from trueth, and villany from honestie? In mine owne iudgement, I account an ignorant man, I will not say onely, like vnto a Statue or Image, or the truncke of a tree: but (almost) differing in nothing from a bruite beast.

Comparatiues of an ignorant man.

Councell is held to be sacred.

If the Prince himselfe be not seena in all these Sciences and Disciplines, it shall be a good quality in him, to cherish and affect the Professors of them, alwayes hauing wise and learned men about him, and to execute nothing, vntil he haue first heard the councell of them; For, *Councell is a sacred thing*, said *Epicharmus*. And he should striue to be like vnto them, insomuch as possibly he may: according to the example of many great Kings, Princes and Captains, who highly loued and maintained Philosophers, Poets and skilfull men.

An especiall looking glasse for all Kings and princes.

A Prince may perceiue, what account Great *Alexander* made of *Aristotle*, and how much he admired learned men; what dignitie and praise *Pericles* wonne by the institutions of *Anuxagoras*; and *Epaminondas* by the study of philosophy, who (almost of himselfe) subdued the *Lacedemonians*, that commanded all *Greece*. He may further obserue, how *Scipio* kept company with *Panetius* and *Polybius*, learned men; how *Augustus* would walke betweene *Virgill* and *Horace*; and what honours he gaue to * *Arrius*. Finally, what deportments were vsed by many other Emperours and Kings, on the behalfe of learned men; and, by the example of such persons, himselfe ought to performe the like. The Prince that attaineth to the issue of the qualities before remembred, and are required necessarily in him: shall reigne happily, and the people that liue vnder the lawes of such a Gouernor, will finde themselues more happy then he.

* A philosopher of Alexandria.

CHAP. XI.

¶ *That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to bee preferred before a yonger, especially in the succession of Kingdomes and Principalities, according to the Lawe of Nature. And what harmes haue followed, by doing the contrary.*

IN *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, this bad custom they haue (I meane among the Noblemen,) that if they perceiue their youngest Sonnes able of spirit, and addict themselues to Armes, and not to endure any iniuries; they make them theyr heyres. And the elder, perhappes more discreete, following naturall goodnesse, & being nothing so turbulent; they make them beleeue, that they are idiotes and fooles, confining them in prison, or else appointing them to Church-seruice. This maner of dealing, hath caused much war in the Realmes where it is put in practise: and the reason is, because it behoueth alwayes, to keepe the order and commaundement of God. For, although that the eldest

A custome obserued in Germany, not very commendable.

The Lawe of God and Nature is for the eldest. Deut. 21. 16.

eldeſt Sonne be ill-ſighted, lame, crooked, and wholly miſ-ſhapen, prouided, that hee haue a reaſonable ſoule remaining in him; he is not to be excluded from his naturall right. This is not onely to holde, and take place, when queſtion is made about the right of eldership: but alſo, when the very neareſt male by the fathers ſide, ought to ſucceed in the crown, how much deformed ſoeuer he be. Becauſe, for one inconuenience, a good law ſhould not be infringed, and ſo daungerous an ouerture made in Monarchies. Nor ought that to be followed, or held as a good lawe, which was made by *Lycurgus*, commaunding, that deformed or miſ-ſhapen children, ſhould be ſlaine.

Concerning right in the ſucceſſion of kingdomes.

Heereupon, Iudgement paſſed for the Realme of *Hungarie*, by the States of the Countrey, againſt the diſpoſition of *Launcelot*, King of *Hungarie*: who adopted *Alanus*, the youngeſt ſonne of his brother, to make him King, and ſent *Colomanus*, his eldeſt brother to ſtudy at *Paris*, cauſing him afterward, to vndergoe the Orders of Prieſthoode, and beſtowed a Biſhoppricke vppon him, to depriue him of all hope of ſucceeding in the Crowne; becauſe he was ſquint-eyed, crook-backt, lame and ſtammered. Neuertheleſſe, the State and people expelled the younger brother: and would haue none other to be King then the eldeſt, who was brought backe againe, diſpenſation being graunted for his Orders, and he married.

The Hungarians held firmly for the right of the eldeſt brother.

Pompey, being gone into the Eaſt parts, to make Conqueſts, and comming into *Iudea*, found it full of warre; becauſe two brethren warred each with other, onely for the kingly dignity. For *Ariſtobulus* the younger brother, had inuaded the beſt places of the Kingdome, and quite expulſed his brother *Hyrcanus*: becauſe hee ſayd, that hee was not borne, nor apte for Armes. Notwithſtanding, *Pompey* adiudged the Kingdome to *Hyrcanus*, and the high-Prieſthoode to *Ariſtobulus*, which was the chiefeſt degree next to the King; and thus the ſtowt warriour was ſtayed from proſecution of his purpoſe.

The iourney of Pompey into Iudea.

The equall iudgement of Pompey.

Ptolomie, the firſt of that name, King of *Egipt*, preferred the youngeſt before the eldeſt; *Againſt the Lawe of Nations*, ſaith *Iuſtine*, and ſo cauſed the one to kill the other. In the ſame kingdome, an other *Ptolomie*, named *Phiſconius*, at the entreatie of his wife *Cleopatra*, preferred the youngeſt ſonne before the eldeſt: but after the fathers death, the people repealed the eldeſt, and excluded the youngeſt, as *Pauſanias* affirmeth.

Iniuſtice in Ptolomy the firſt King of Egipt.

Pauſan. in lib. 1.

In like manner, *Anaxandrides*, King of *Lacedemon*, preferred *Doricus* before *Cleomenes* his elder brother, becauſe hee was more gentle; and yet notwithſtanding, *Herodotus* in his fourth Booke ſayth, *That the people would not permit or ſuffer it, becauſe it was againſt the right of Nations.*

King *Pyrrhus* making election of an heyre amongeſt his Sonnes, choſe him that had the beſt and keeneſt Sword: neuertheleſſe, after his death, the eldeſt (who was leſſe valiant) carried the inheritance away. For, whatſoeuer hardines, gentleneſſe, fayre feature and wiſedome, that may be in the younger, more then in the elder; yet it is not anie occaſion, whereby the father ſhould ſo forget himſelfe, as to preferre the youngeſt before the eldeſt, as did the father of *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*, who would needs preferre the youngeſt Sonne, becauſe hee had better and more vnderſtanding in the affayres of State, but thereon enſued bloudie tragedies.

The great errour of King Pyrrhus.

They were the ſonnes of Pelops and Hyppodamia.

Heereunto likewiſe I may adde, *Lewes* the Pittifull, King of *Fraunce*, who (at the requeſt of his ſecond wife) preferred *Charles* the Baulde, before his elder Brother *Lotharius*, whereby the Realme became embraced with warres.

Lewes the mercifull.

The like conſequence came by *Robert*, King of *Fraunce*, in preferring *Henry*, the firſt of that name, before his eldeſt brother, who contented himſelfe with *Bourgongne*, becauſe he was a coward and falſe to his owne heart.

Robert King of France.

Charles the ſeuenth, could neuer obtaine of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, to aduance *Charles* the yongeſt Sonne, before *Lewes* the eleauenth, although the King had then good occaſion: becauſe the ſayde *Lewes* made two attempts to take the Crowne, and to teare away the Scepter from his father, without anie occaſion whatſoeuer. And in very truth (as *Herodotus* ſaith:) *Throughout the whole world, the eldeſt are aduanced to the dominion, euen amongeſt the moſt illiterate and barbarous on the earth, they obſerue the courſe of Nature.*

Example of King Charles the ſeuenth.

Herodotus li. 4. Barbarous, illiterate and Sauages imitated nature.

When *Frances Bizarro*, a *Spaniſh* Captayne, conquered the kingdome of *Peru*, he

he put to death king *Attabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Country, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gasca* the eldest, should succeede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

Concerning two Twins.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should bee reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came foorth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may bee moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it eyther by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shal be borne, after that the Father became a king, in right ought to succeed: for the eldest son was not of royal blood, but holds of his fathers first conditiõ, who was not then royall by nature. But the other yonger-borne sonne, though comming long after the first, is truely & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he commeth to vndergo the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, and can neuer come to such legittimacy, as the first borne.

Tit. Liuius in lib. 8. Bello Punici.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succeed his grand-father, or else the Crown appertaine to the yonger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the neerest to the King, & the yonger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Numidia*, where the younger son would succeed next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Heereupon, *Scipio* the *Affricane* being arbitratour, not knowing what to answere in this case, betweene the Vncle and the Nephew: gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enioyed, by a combate fought betweene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

A pretext of inheritance decided by combate.

Concerning the Kingdome of Moscouia.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscouia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succeedeth to the yonger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilius*, King of *Moscouia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vandales*; but also in all the Northerne countries, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in England. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adiudged by the States to *Henry* of *Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the yeare 1399. And in the like case, *Robert* of *Naples*, the younger sonne, enioyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now adayes, this rule holdeth not in the countries hitherward, neyther doth it carrie any practise in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it so happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferd before the yonger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

An vnfitting law deserueth to be abolished.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and (beside) very ill aduised, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childrẽ, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeard most to sauor him. In the number of whom, was *Alphonsus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the yoonger son before the elder; but he slew the yonger, and caused his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoyde ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdoms and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commaundeth, to conferre kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwayes it was practised among the Hebrues: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *Iuda* was conferred vpon *Ieboram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. Which also the wise *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaus*:

Kings becomming superstitious Astrologers.

Alphonsus, K. of Castile.

Pardip. lib. 2. cap. 21. 3.

The honeſt conſcience of Licurgus.

yet notwithſtanding, hee would not accept the crowne; but kept it, and rendred it to the ſonne of the others brother, whē he was come to competent age.

CHAP. XII.

The Monarchy of the Caſars, or Romanes.

3918. *Vlius Caſar*, a verye gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefeſt Captaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquiſhed *Pompey* & his confederats: *Ptolomy* he ſlew, & reſtored *Cleopatra* his friend (ſiſter to *Ptolomy*) to the Kingdome of *Egipt*. Returning home to *Rome*, hee was ſlaine in the Senate houſe, by *Brutus*, *Caſsius*, and other Conſpirators. *Dioſcorides* then liued: but if you would haue more of *Cæsars* life, reade *Suetonius* and *Florus*, in the life of *Caſar*.

3923. *Octauius Auguſtus*, the laſt Nephew of *Iulius*, by the ſiſters ſide, and his adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberall to euery one. Then liued *Virgill*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Vitruuius*, *Mecenas*: And then died *Cleopatra*, and her husband *Marke Anthony*, *Egipt* beeing then reduced into a Prouince. *Herod* a ſtranger (fauoured by *Auguſtus*) was then King of *Iudea*. So the Scepter being wholly taken from *Iuda*; Ieſus Chriſt, God and man, the Sauiour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in *Bethlehem*, according to the Propheſies of *Iacob*, *Geneſ.* 49. *Eſay* 7. *Micheas* 5.

3963. Ieſus Chriſt came in the yeare of *Auguſtus*, 42. and of the world, 3963. *Ouid* was then in exile: the City of *Lyons* foūded: and then liued *Titus Liuius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Strabo*: and *Francus*, King of the *Sicambrians*, in the lower *Allemaigne*: *Aquila*, *Tuberus*, *Galba*, *Labeus* and *Caius*, were then Law-giuers, or Law-makers. *Herod* the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbred then at *Rome*, foure hundred, ſixty foure thouſand men.

The yeares of Chriſt.

Claudius Tiberius, the ſonne of *Liuia*, afterward Wife to *Auguſtus*, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee moſt wicked. Ieſus Chriſt (for our ſaluation) was then crucified in *Hieruſalem*, vnder *Pilate* the Prouoſt of *Iudea*: he ſaide, that *A good Shepheard ſhould clip his Sheepe, and not deuoure them.*

17. *C. Caligula*, Sonne of *Germanus*, a moſt wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beaſt, the ruine of men, made himſelfe to be adored as God: hee poyſoned his Vnckle *Tiberius*, and deflowred all his Siſters, leauing them then vnto others like abuſing.

39. *T. Claudius*, Vnckle of *Caligula*, and monſter of men, reigned fourteene years. He preferred *Nero* before his owne Son, by the treaſon of whom, he was poyſoned with a Muſhrome. *Meſſalina*, his firſt Wife, peereleſſe in all lubricity and wickedneſſe, then flouriſhed: And Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle liued (reported to bee firſt Biſhop of *Rome*:) Then liued likewiſe *Philo* the Iew, *Perſeus*, *Mela*, *Pliny* the elder, and *Columella*. Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle went then through the World, proclaiming Ieſus Chriſt, accompanied with Saint *Luke*. Then liued *Dyoniſius Areopagita*: And then was the firſt councell of *Ieruſalem*.

43. *Nero*, the ſonne of *Agripina*, afterward the Wife of *Claudius*, reigned thirteene yeares. He was the firſt Perſecutor of the Church, and did put Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* to death: he ſlew likewiſe his Maſter *Seneca*, alſo his owne Mother, and *Lucan* the Poet. Then liued *Simon Magus*, and *Appolonius*. *Nero* being expulſed from *Rome*, ſlew himſelfe; after he had ſet *Rome* on fire, to make himſelfe paſtime of a Bon-fire.

57. *Sergius Galba*, in the ſeuenth Month of his Empire, was ſlaine by *Otho*. *Suetonius*, *Egeſius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 21.

70. *M. Siluius Otho*, hee alſo moſt wickedly ſlew himſelfe, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confeſſing, that hee had cruelly tormented the ſpirit of *Galba*. According to *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, *lib.* 7.

Aulus

71. *Aulus Vitellius*, brought vp at *Bourdeaus de Caprea*, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into *Tyber*, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He caused himselfe to be serued at his table, with two thousand seuerall kindes of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. *Suetonius, lib.9. Iosephus, lib.5. de Bel. Iudai.*

71. *Vespasian*, a modest & gracious Prince, a louer of skilfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne *Titus*, who ruinated *Ierusalem: Iosephus, Proclus, Epictetus.* This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade *Iosephus*, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and *Egesippus.*

81. *Titus*, the delight and solace of mankinde, reigned two yeares. He vsed to say, *That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a sad countenance: Cassius, Neracius, Proculius* & *Pegasius* were then Lawyers, and Saint *Bartholmew* was then martyred in *India*; Saint *Matthias* in *Iudea*: Saint *Andrew* in *Scythia*: Saint *Mathew* in *Ethyopia*: Saint *Thomas* in *Bragmania. Hierusalem* was then taken; the famine beeing so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83. *Domitian*, brother to *Titus*, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fifteene yeares: then liued *Martiall, Iuuenall, Statius, Trogus*: and Saint *Iohn* wrote the Gospell, as also *Iosephus* did the warres of the *Iewes. Domitian* would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97. *Nerua*, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of *Traian*, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releeue poore Cittizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was Saint *Iohn.*

99. *Traian*, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished, that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; *That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could wish others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect.* Then liued *S. Ignatius, S. Eustachius, Pliny* the younger, *Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Solinus.*

118. *Aelius Adrianus*, a man studious and skilfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: *Iulius Celsus, Iulian*, and *Neracius Pristus*, were Lawyers and Councellors to the Emperour. Then were liuing *Ptolomy* the great Astrologer, *Phauorinus, Dyonisius* the *Milesian*, and *Heliodorus. Hierusalem* was repaired by *Adrian*, who therfore had his name changed, and was called *Helias.*

139. *Antoninus Pius*, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such esteeme, as strange Nations wold resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences, for he had alway this saying ready: *I had rather saue one Cittizen, then kill a thousand Enemies.* In this time were *Polycarpus, Ireneus, Iustine Martire, Egesippus, Appian, Florus, Macrobius, Iustine, Galen*, and *Palladius: Lucian* the Atheist, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperor tooke away the wages or hyre of Strumpets, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, *Father of his Country.* Reade *Eutropius, lib.8. Thelesphorus* the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

A diuine saying of a Pagã.

162. *M. Antoninus* the Philosopher (called *Aurelius*, borne in *Gaul*, with *L. Commodus Verus*, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the *Pandectes*) reigned nineteen years. This yong Prince being vnwilling to oppresse his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Iewels, Plate, and wearing garments belonging vnto him and his Wife. *Eutrop. lib.8.*

Lucius Aurelius Verus, gouerned the Empire with his brother *Marcus Antoninus*, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

181. *L. Commodus*, the most wicked sonne of good *Antoninus*, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. *Eutrop. lib.8. Orosius lib.8. cap.18. Lampridius* doth most amply describe his life at large.

194. *Aelius Pertinax* reigned sixe Moneths.

He had refuſed the Empire, and beeing deſirous to reforme the gouernment, hee was ſlaine by *Iulian* his Succeſſor; who bought the name of *Cæſar* of the Warriours. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: *O Father of goodneſſe; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.*

194. *V. Iulian*, reigned ſeuen Moneths, and being hated of al men, for ſleying his predeceſſour, himſelfe was alſo ſlaine by appointment of the Senate. Diſſention grew amongſt the Chriſtians, for the celebration of Eaſter; And the ſecond Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and fiue other after, *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 24. Metianus, Sceuola, Martianus* and *Caſſius*, were now Iurſt-conſults: *Aphrodiſeus* and *Aphronius* Sophiſters.

195. *Preſcennius Niger*, or *Nigerius*, the ſonne of *Annius Fuſcus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vice; was ſaluted as Emperor, by the Soldiors of *Syria*, where he commanded, and was ſlaine by *Seuerus*.

L. *Septimius Seuerus*, reigned 18. years. He was a perſecuter of the Church, but otherwiſe a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was ſo wel beloued, and gouerned ſo nobly, that the Senate ſaid of him: *Eyther hee ſhould neuer haue beene borne, or elſe hee deſerued neuer to dye.* Reade *Spart.* and *Vict.* Then liued *Origen, Tertullian, Philoſtratus* the Sophiſter, and *Apuleyus*.

Cl. Albinus, iſſued of the Romane Families, of the *Poſthumians* and *Albines*, made himſelfe Emperor in *France*. He was ſurprized by the Soldiors, & brought halfe aliue to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head ſmitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuer.

213. *A. B. Caracalla*, the ſonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his ſtepmother, reigned ſeuen yeares. He ſlew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At laſt, himſelfe was ſlaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. *Herod. lib. 4.*

Antoninus Geta, the ſonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milain*; After the *Parthian* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæſar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

220. *Op. Macrinus*, with his ſonne *Diadumenus*, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads ſmitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and ſeuere, but (withall) deteſtable and craſty, cauſing his Predeceſſour to bee murdered.

221. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, the baſtard of *Caracalla*, who was a diſhoneſt whore-hunter, and moſt abhominable in life beſide; gaue great eſtates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Ieſters, &c. And beeing generally deſpiſed, hee was ſlaine by his Soldiors, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his owne body and his Mothers beeing dragged along the Streetes, and caſt into the common layſtall.

225. *Alexander Seuerus*, reigned peaceably without effuſion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vtterly forbid the ſelling of Offices. *Vlpianus, Paulus, Pomponius, Alpheneus, Affricanus, Calliſtratus*, and other excellent Ciuil Lawyers (the Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Hiſtorian, and *Philoſtratus*. The Kingdome of the *Perſians* was then founded by *Atarxerxes*, and after tranſported to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*. The kingdom of Perſia.

238. *Maximinus*, a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, reigned three yeares. Being at firſt but a ſilly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Souldiors (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was ſlaine.

241. *Gordianus*, a Prince of a Noble ſpirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the yonger, a good Prince, reigned ſixe yeares, and was ſlaine by *Phillip* his ſucceſſour. In his time was a wonderfull Eccliſpe of the Sunne. Reade *I. Capitolinus*, who placeth alſo *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

Pupienus Maximus, a new man, and ſonne to a Smith, gaue himſelfe alwayes to vertue and Military ſeruices, prouing fortunate againſt the *Polonians* and *Germanes*.

M. Calius Babynus, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Conſuls, and that the *Gordians* were ſlaine in *Affrica*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, againſt *Maximinus*, and both of the were vndeſeruedly ſlaine.

Gordianus the ſecond, yongeſt ſon of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*; was

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip, Prefect* of the *Pretorians*.

C. Valens Hostilianus, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarsely there remaineth any memory of him.

247. *Phillip*, an *Arabian* by Nation, was the first Christian of the *Cæsars*, and reigned fiue yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to Pope *Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Romane Church. He was likewise slaine by his successor, as he had kild his Predecessour.

252. *Decius Traian*, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned two years. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martired at *Tholouse*. *S. Laurence, Hippolita, Cecily, Agatha*, and *Appollina*.

Q. Herennius Hetruscus, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuertheless, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hubert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungaria*, in a battell against the *Gothes*.

254. *Vibius Gallus*, with his soune *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fifteene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked gouernment of this Emperor.

256. *Aemilianus Lybienus*, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

271. *Licinius Valerianus*, with his Son *Galien*, persecuting the Church, reigned fifteene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vsed him as a foote stoole when he mounted on horse-backe. S. *Cyprian* & S. *Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphirius* wrote against the christians: The thirtie Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio, &c.* S. *Paul* the first Hermite began the solitary life.

Galien the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quier, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wise, but addicted to Lust.

Saloninus Valerianus, the sonne of *Galien*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Millaine*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

Cassius Labienus Posthumus, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperor in the time of *Galien*, where he was slaine.

Flauius Claudius (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dyonisius* being then Pope, diuided the Dioceses and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. 1. de Concil. Iamblicus, Plotinus*. and *Inuencus* Priest, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter* Verses.

Aurelius Quintilius, brother to *Claudius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

273. *Valerius Aurelianus*, a cruell man, reigned sixe yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulsed the *Franconians*, entring out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a louer of Military discipline, and one that rigorously punnished the vices of his Soldiors. He vanquished *Zenobia*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

279. *Tacitus* was slaine the sixt Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to bee receiued into all Libraries. The *Manicheans* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

Annius Florianus, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharsus*, by his Soldiors.

279. *Probus*, a good Prince, the Authour of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned sixe yeares and foure Moneths. He said, *That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to eate vp publike prouision.*

286. *Carus*, a good and wise Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first, was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

goodneſſe, valour and knowledge. Then liued *Volcatius*, *Herodian*, *Lampridius*, *Spartianus*, *Pollio*, *Vopiſcus* and *Capitolinus* Hiſtorians.

288. *Dioclesian* with *Maximianus Herculius*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a moſt cruell perſecutor of the Chriſtians, and would haue himſelfe to be worſhipped. *Katharine*, *Lucy*, *Agnes*, *Barbus*, *Sebaſtian*, *Vincent*, *Coſmo* and *Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thouſand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

Valerius Maximus, ſir-named *Herculius*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in luſt, eſpecially with his owne ſiſters: blockiſh in giuing councell, without ciuillity and gouernment, & therefore had *Dioclesian* to aſſiſt him in the Empire.

308. *Conſtantius Chlorus*, father of *Conſtanſtine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt, 4. yeares together. *Conſtantine* commaunded in *Gaul*, *Spaine*, *Affrica*, and *Italy*: The other in *Greece*. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Dorotheus*, Biſhop of *Tyre*, *Euſebius* and other learned perſonages liued at this time.

Galerius Maximianus, tearmed *Armentarius*, becauſe he was a Neat-heards ſon, was made Emperor, being a goodly perſon, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximinus*, Nephew to *Armentarius* by his ſiſter, was Emperor, and perſecuted the Chriſtians in the Eaſt. *Seuerus*, *Prefect* of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was publiſhed Emperor by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and ſlaine.

Maxentius, elected Emperour by his Soldiors, reigned a Tyrant, and was like vnto his Father *Maximinus*. Being vanquiſhed by *Conſtantine*, neere to *Pont-Miluius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

Licinius Licinianus, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had againſt *Maximinus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Chriſt, and perſecuted ſuch as beleeued in him; and becauſe he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

Martinianus, was created *Cæſar* by *Licinius* againſt *Conſtantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

310. *Conſtantine* the Great, ſonne of *Helena* an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and tranſported the Bible into diuers Countries. He aſſembled the Councell of *Nice*, againſt *Arrius* the Hereticke. He builded the Citty of *Conſtantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whither the Imperiall ſeate was tranſlated, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Siluester* to be Pope. *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *Niceph. lib.* 8. The Councel of Nice.

. *Criſpus* was made *Cæſar* by his Father *Conſtantine*, but beeing afterward falſely accuſed to his Father, he was put to death; for that hee would not conſent to the inordinate appetite of *Fauſtine* his ſtepmothe.

Conſtantine the ſecond, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxnentius*. *Themiſtius*, *Donatus*, and *Libanius* the Sophiſter then liued: and Saint *Anthony* the Hermite was knowne in *Egipt*, by many miracles. 341.

Iulian the Apoſtata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperor by the men of warre in *Paris*, againſt his will. Hee forbad the Chriſtians the ſtudy of letters: and beeing wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou haſt vanquiſhed, O Galilean. S. Cyrill*, *Optatus*, *Baſile*, *Nazianzene*, *Epiphanius*, *Hillary*, *Didimus*, *Exuperus* (all learned Diuines) then flouriſhed. 358.

Iouianus, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confeſſion to his Warriours, of the name of Ieſus Chriſt. Now was the firſt order of Monks inſtituted by S. *Baſile*, vnder certaine rules of liuing. 368.

Valentinian, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeare. This man held the error of the *Arrians*, and conſtrained the Monkes to vndertake Armes in warre: he dyed vnhappily. 368.

Gratian, the ſonne of *Valentinian*, during whoſe life time, he was an aſſociate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the ſecond, his younger Brother, and *Theodoſius* ſixe yeares. 381.

Maximus, tearmed Emperour by his Soldiors, ſlew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time, *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe fiue yeares. 387.

Theodoſius,

395. *Theodosius*, after that *Gratian* was slaine by *Maximus*, reigned three yeares with his brother *Valentinian*: the death of who was bemoned by S. *Ambrose*, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. S. *Hierome*, S. *Augustine*, and *P. Orosius* then liued.

399. *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the sonnes of *Theodosius*, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of *Rome* began to decline (by the infidelity of *Ruffinus* & *Stilico* their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vsed by the *Scythians*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Hungarians*, *French*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*: And *Rome* was four times taken by the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then liued S. *Chrysostome* and *Claudian*.

Rome foure times surprized.

411. *Honorius* reigned with *Theodosius*, Son to his Brother, sixteene yeares.

427. *Theodosius* the second, youngest sonne of *Arcadius*, reigned at *Constantinople* 27. yeares, after the death of *Honorius*; hauing assisted *Valentinian* the third, the son of *Constantius*, and *Placida*, daughter to *Theodosius*, who reigned fiue yeares in the West. At this time, the *Frenchmen* leauing *Franconia*, began to enter vpon the *Gaules*, vnder *Clodion* their second King.

453. *F. Valerius Martianus*, reigned in the East, seauen yeares, and *Valentinian* the third (at the same time) in the West: during their Reigne, the *Burgundians* and other Westerne Nations, were conuerted to the Faith. The *Vandals* came out of *Spaine* into *Affrica*, and afterward they tooke *Rome*, vnder the conduct of their King *Genserichus*. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, entered into *Gaul* with fiue hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to *Meroüeus* their second King, who had ioyned with *Aetius*, Lieutenant vnto the Emperor. There he lost an hundred and fourescore thousand men, and fled into *Hungaria*, not any man beeing wounded behinde. About this time was great *Arthur* King of *Britaine*.

460. *Leo* the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by *Leo* the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to *Zeno* his Grandfire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. *Italy* had then nine Emperors in twenty yeares, who all slew one another.

476. *Anastasius* reigned twenty fiue years: he was an *Eutichian* Heretique, was smitten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust punishment) for his heresie. *Fulgentius*.

493. *Iustine* reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-heard, afterward a Cow-heard, next a Carpenter, a Souldior, a Captaine, and last of all Emperour, gouerning very well and godly, and expelling the *Arrian* Heretiques. Then liued *Boetius*; and S. *Bennet* or *Benedict* began this Order.

519. *Iustinian* reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to repaire the decayed Empire, and re-establish ciuill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by *Belisarius*, *Narses*, and *Tribonianus*. They first chased the *Vandals* out of *Affrica*, which they had held 95. yeares: and deliuered *Rome* from the *Gothes*, who had conquered it, & yet were once more expulsed thence by *Narses*.

528. *Iustine* the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. *Sophia* his wife mocked him with *Narses*, the Gouernour of *Italy*, whereat he being offended, called the *Lombardes*, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdome of the *Lombards* founded by *Clebus*, wher reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of *Charles* the Great.

566. *Tiberius* the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that loued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.

The kingdom of the Lombards.

577. *Mauritius* reigned twenty yeares: he was descended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his couetousnesse: a vice as much discommendable in a Prince, as liberality is beseeming, and maketh him renowned.

584. *Phocas* reigned eight yeares: and being the murderer of his Predecessor, himselfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and now was S. *Gregory*.

604. *Heraclius* reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of *Phocas*. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of *Mahomet*, the false Prophet of *Arabia*, where were the *Agarens* & *Sarrazins*: to whom the

Contention for Primacy of the church.

612.

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Soldanes*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand and three hundred, *Mahomets* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grewe to such an head; that it not onely poysoned *Asia* and *Affrica*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

640 *Constantine* the third, reigned foure moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poysoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

641 *Heraclion*, who hauing his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

643 *Constans*, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And beeing very couetous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

670 *Constantine* the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* liued in this time.

687 *Iustinian* the second, a wicked man, reigned sixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being deiected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Absimaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne sixeteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes.

The State of the Venetians.

713 *Phillip Bardasanes*, reigned two yeres. Hee was cast out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked foorth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisedome, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

715 *Anthemius*, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was deiected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then pluckt out the eyes of his predecessour.

718 *Theodosius* the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assayled by *Leo* his successor, and became a Monke.

719 *Leo* the third, a wicked man, reigned fiue and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authoritie of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond.* in his tenth book. The *Sarazins* besiegd *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

742 *Constantine*, the fist of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the yeare of our Saluation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was sirnamed *Copronymus*, because he would discharge his belly in the Fonts, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an vtter enemy, not onely to the Images of Saints, but also to theyr Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowring. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But he receiuing news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent foorth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was so cold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

743 *Artabasdus*, albeit he was descended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulnesse, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emporour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the fist. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expulsed from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the Citty beeing surprized, his eyes were pluckt out, and his children put to death.

745 *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the fist. He was not only heyre to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would

giue

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Sarazins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Hee tooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

780 *Constantine*, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *Therasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a generall Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Constantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicephorus* to be pulld and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also he did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charlemaine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the councell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Heereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking foorth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed, in the yeare 798, and then she reigned alone, about the space of fiue yeares.

798 *Irene*, issued from *Attica*, was Wife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whome he had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) fiue yeres, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. She was thence expelled by *Nicephorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitiline*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charlemaine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

CHAP. XIII

¶ *The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.*

IT is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and an vnderstanding filld with cheareful delicacie, is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farre off from this queint temper, and which subtillizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue euermore biding in such subiects, where the hearts are best and most sanctimoniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a relish more diuine then vulgare, or apted for grosse popularitie: It followeth, without anie question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatnesse, gentlnes, good spirit, & illustrious blood; doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as fayle in the accomplishments of the soule.

The reason why good spirits are much more amorous then dull and leaden capacities.

And, to sift this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued, and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainely approoue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Trueth vnder the distemperd colours of wittie Fables, can not better let vs beholde the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and perfourmed by the *Troyan*, on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud frō his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentleneesse of vnderstanding, and the galliardise of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interiour reason; gaue the prize (he knew not how) of beauty, by appearing in the exteriour shape of a lasciuious Lady.

It is not for the Buzzards eies to gaze on th: Sunnes radiant splendour.

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

Beholde how farre Poeticall Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the sottish Shepheard degenerated not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which liueth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and looseth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indiscreet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most vnworthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The extēdure of poeticall Philosophy in the Fable.

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: so was he as well recompenced according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hectors* desseignes, sauouring of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Corporeall beauty & feature in a woman, is no matter of any great moment

Also, to speake truely, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renowne them, but onely beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue, then euer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortall, and equalled their glory with the renowne of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Against the venemous tongues of such, as neuer ceasse to taxe the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valiancies of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia* the *Asian* Queene, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the Romane Empire: whose wisedome also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefest Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the Worlds Monarchs. Nor am I willing (fearing to make men blush, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinna*, Daughter to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the vtter ruine of his bloode that had aduanced them. After many foughten Battailes, hauing carried herselfe beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, she affected rather to dye, then to see the vtter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, beeing vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valasca*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming the Ladyes of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vntill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) she slew a great number.

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene. The Amozones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Cinna daughter to Philip King of Macedon.

Va'asca a yong Lady, entred into Armes in Bohemia, gainst the men of the Country.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples, beeing satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected frō famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladyes of a people, heeretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlewomen shall receiue some taste of vertue, without lerning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gētlemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choyse of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoghts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History onely.

In the time when *Dagobert*, sonne to *Charles* the Great, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frollo*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to euery one. This King, being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours Lands: but especially to flesh on the king of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entring without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilled, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauenous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also soyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, insomuch, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on, but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abhominable Goate, and not knowing how to shunne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a priuate consultation among themselues by secret intelligence; that at length, they metre together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free vnderstanding of particular grieuances, and how

King Frollo the cruell tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no spare of any thing, so he may compasse his own vile desires.

how they might beſt defend theyr honor and innocencie.

Newes likewiſe ran curſorily among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themſelues into *Denmarke*) ſolicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a diſhonourable iniury done to his owne bloud (for his mother was iſſued from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being eaſily ſpurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his bloud chearefully boyling, and deſirous to atchieue honour by Armes; gaue the eaſier eare to the motion. Beſide, deſire of reuenge, to ſee his reputation ſo much intereſſed, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto the kingdome of *Norway*: Theſe were no meane motiues to incite him on the ſooner. And theſe conſiderations, gaue hart alſo to the diſtreſſed Ladies, for hope of good ſucceſſe thereby: but fearing, that matter and meanes (in this caſe) were not as yet ſufficiently ready; this intimated perſwaſion vaniſhed into ſmoake, euen (well-neare) as ſodainely as it was conceiued, being no way able to reſolue on anie thing.

The noble mē of Norway ſolicite Reyner king of Denmarke to redreſſe their woful miſerie.

Diſtreſſed honor, eſpecially in Ladies, is earneſtly deſirous of redreſſe.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almoſt) one of the youngeſt, faireſt and gentleſt Virgines, and ſuch a one as had propounded to herſelfe, neuer to ſubmit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She, beholding the ſad aſtoniſhment of the whole company, and what iuſt reaſon they had to be ſo dreadfully diſmayed; making a reuerent obeyſance vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

A Councell called among the Ladies of Norway.

The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladyes.

CAn it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illuſtrous blood, appeareth onely in the ſtrength and dexteritie, which fondly wee preſume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, ſpirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, muſt make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chaſtity? If Fate be ſo maleuolently affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obtayne no ſuccour, to recouer their lands, and expulſe the Tyrant out of theyr territories: ſhall it therefore be ſayd, that we muſt needs ſerue the inordinate appetits of a villaine, & Frollo muſt abuſe thoſe remayning Ladies, that neuer taſted his abhominable embracements. Let Landgartha liue no longer, if ſhe be voyde of all other dueties and deuotion, then to attend the pleaſures of a Tyrant, and (without reſiſtance) ſuffer violence to be done to her honour and modeſtie.

In extreamities all meanes conuenient are to beſought and vſed.

Why Ladies, the Lyoneſſe and Tygreſſe whet their clawes and ſharpen theyr teeth, to defend theyr yoong ones, and preſerue theyr liues from the Huntſmens hands. The verie ſmalleſt Bird will vſe both the Beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we, that ſurmount the one, in ſence and reaſon, the other in ſtrength, & all in wiſedome and councell for bolde attempts; ſhall we ſuffer that a Stranger (not one iote ſtronger then our owne Countries ſtrength) ſhall make a mockery and abuſiue paſtime, of the moſt honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure ſuch indignitie, or that (without effuſion of her blood) can yeeld to the beaſt-like Prince of Swetia.

Vnreaſonable creatures arme themſelues in their owne defence & theirs

Are we inferiour in courage and generoſitie of ſpirit, to braue Aluilda, who ſo long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldeſt warriours of the world? Are wee defectiue in any thing ſhe had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, ſtrong and rich enough, to winne whatſoeuer is needefull for vs, by ſeruice eyther on Sea or Land. And if Aluilda (moued by vniuſt means) proſperd in her actions, and had Fortune fauorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heauen hath not farre fayrer ſucceſſe in ſtore for vs, hauing Reaſon and Vertue on our ſide, and vpright iuſtice to ſupport our cauſe? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appeaſe the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremoſt, freely offering my ſelfe as a Sacrifice, to ſatiate the furie of his raging luſt. If he coueted, and would haue nothing elſe but our wealth and treaſure; I would aduiſe you to deliuer all, and rather then ſpare aught, let vs goe ſeeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all ſtrange countries in the world.

Aluilda was daughter to Siward king of the Gothes, & ranged on the ſeas as a Pirat

Ah, no, no, (ſweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleaſure in them, deſireth our euerlaſting diſpleaſure. He will ſuffer

Shame and infamy waite continually at the heeles of vnbridled luſt.

ſuffer vs to enioy our wealth, for his freer wallowing in wicked dalliances, which prey is the maine purchaſe whereat hee moſt aymeth: for hee more delighteth in our Honours violation, then, by maſſacring our bodies, to become Lord of all our Iewells, lands, and inheritances. What remayneth then for our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that are in Denmarke, expecting when they will come to ſuccour vs? No, rather let Ladies arme themſelues, and appearing in open field; fight valiantly againſt the villaine, that ſeeketh to rob vs of our true repute. Let vs giue him plainely to vnderſtand, that effeminate perſons are more ſoft, and leſſe valiant then we are; that chaſte and vertuous Ladies are of other temper, then Souldiers mollified by baſe paillardiſe: yea that they are more truely conſtant then the Tyrant, whoſe conſcious guiltineſſe in foule offences, is his owne continuall torturing hangman. On then (valiant Princeſſes, and Ladies of no meane luſtre;) away with our wanton tires, paintings, perriwigs, and ydle deckings: Let vs change our Spindles, Needles and Samplers, into Horſes, Launces, Swords and Armour, and trie, if Frollo be as furious in warre, as hee is fierie wanton in his laſciuious Pallace. Let vs reuenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred haue receiued; or die moſt gloriouſly, in the purſuite of ſo holy, iuſt and commendable a reuenge.

A famous and worthy reſolution in a chaſte, vertuous & ſprightfull minded Virgin.

This couragious remonſtrance of the braue ſpirited Virgine, gaue ſuch bolde animation vnto the reſt of the Ladies, as (with one conſent) they made a league, vowing louing alliance, and (ſollemnly ſwearing faith, loyaltie, mutuall ſuccour, and aſſiſtance among themſelues;) *Landgartha* was elected chiefe commandreſſe, or Lady Generall of the Army, and well deſeruing that, or any other higher dignitie, being the motiue to ſuch a maine and important buſineſſe.

A League ſworne, amõg the Ladies, & Landgartha made the Lady Generall.

Now beganne a muſter of all the Women and Maidens, of the moſt noble and famous houſes throughout the whole Countrey: but not without much amazment in *Frollo*, wondering whereto tended ſuch an aſſembly. Hee, perſwading himſelfe, that they intended fight to their friends and kinred in *Denmarke*; ſent commaund vnto them, that (on perill of their liues) they ſhould returne home to their houſes, for enioying the benefite of their libertie; which he was content to graunt them, in regard of their beauties and gentle behauiour.

It is no common matter, that mooueth women to march in arms

But *Landgartha*, the man-like woman champion, hearing the peremptory commaund deliuered by the Tyrants Heralds; ſent them backe with blows and iniurious ſpeeches, telling them; that they would not take their liues, in regarde of any reſpect they had to their Lord: but onely, becauſe they ſhould let him vnderſtand, in what deuotion and readineſſe they found them, & or ſeeking ſome conuenient means and way, whereby to make him render an account for his tyrannie and cruelties.

The Heraulds & Meſſengers of Frollo are ſent back with iuſt payment by the Ladies.

When *Frollo* heard theſe tidings, at the firſt he made but a ſcorne thereof, laughing extreamely, at this womaniſh enterpriſe and Armie of Ladies, ſaying: They did well, to make a preſent of themſelues, becauſe he ſhould haue the eaſier way to find them, and if they came into the field; the bootie would ſuffice for his Souldiers pay, and likewiſe for their pleaſure beſide, in regarde he would beſtow wiues vppon them all, and ſaue them a labour from any further fighting. But this pleaſant humour ſoone forſooke him, and conuerted into fury, when he was aduertiſed of their being in the field, & making ſuch a ſtrange maſſacre of his men, as the like was ſeldome ſeene or heard of. Nor ſpared they the liues of any, that durſt reclaime himſelfe from following his ſeruice, which made him curſſe and ſweare, threatning them with a thouſand kinde of torments and afflictions, going now (in good earneſt) to arme himſelfe; as being perſwaded, that this feminine furie had extended ſo farre, that it was no light matter that could allay it. Hee grew alſo into ſuch ſuſpition of himſelfe, that he kept a ſtrong Guard about him: as holding but ſmall aſſurance of his life, amongeſt the armed troupes of his owne Souldiers: yet hee made many large promiſes vnto them, of the very faireſt and richeſt amongſt them, with all their lands and treaſure, to ſhew themſelues valiant and coragious, againſt this giddy headed army of women; which encreaſed daily more and more, both in number, victuals and munitions, brought continually to them from euery part.

The Tyrant made a mockerie of the Ladies preparation in arms meaning to marry them to his Souldiers

Frollo prepareth himſelfe to Armes againſt the Ladies.

But howſoeuer (one way) the bad affection of the *Norwegians* gaue affliction

to his ſpirits, and the fauour which his owne ſubiects affoorded to this womaniſh Army, tormented his ſoule as violently on the other ſide: yet he ſeemed to ſet a good countenance on his feares, declaring no outward doubt of preuayling againſt them, though (inwardly) his cogitations tolde him dreadfull tydings. Neuertheleſſe, being already in the field; and preparing his equipage, to get the beſt aduantage he could, of the place where the Ladies were encamped: a Courtier came galloping in poaſt to him, bringing newes of the king of *Denmarks* deſcent into *Norway*, with a very potent Armie. What aſtoniſhment ſoeuer ſeized on his ſoule, to ſee himſelfe incloſed (as it were) with two puiſſant enemies, and knowing how highly he was hated, by them whom hee had ouercome and ſubiected: yet notwithſtanding, perceiuing that flight was preiudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer) almoſt impoſsible, in regard that the ways whereby he ſhould paſſe into *Suetia*, as alſo euery port and paſſage were in the enemies power; he reſolued, firſt to runne his fortune on the men, who being defeated, the fight would be farre eaſier againſt the women; and thereupon, in the forme of an Oration, thus he ſpake to his Army.

Tyranny is alwayes ſubiect to tormenting paſſions.

The arriuall of Reyner, K. of Denmarke in Norway with a mighty Armie.

¶ *The Oration of Frollo, King of Swetia, to his Soldiers.*

When men be in bad actions (eſpecially in Armes vniuſtly) they ſtand in neede of good incouraging.

IF you were not thoſe valiant *Gothes* and *Swetians*, that haue tamed and beaten this kennell broode of *Norwegians*, and now conquered their land: If it were not your valiancie, that hath often made pillage and ſpoile of the *Danes*; If your inuincible force were not well knowne to the world: I ſhould then haue now entreated you, to remēber your Anceſtors, and the glorious conqueſts of your predeceſſors: I ſhould alſo ſet before your eies, how many Kings, People and Nations were vnder-yoaked, by the greatneſſe and deedes of your famous fore-goers. But, ſeeing that your proper vertue ſufficiently ſheweth it ſelfe, and auoucheth you to be the worthy ſonnes and ſucceſſours, to ſo many valiant and famous Fathers, and that your deedes are no way indebted to the glorie of their greatneſſe: Let vs goe then, gentle and worthy warriours: Let vs pace on, and giue *Reyner* to know, that this is no Countrey for him to reigne in, nor to deale in actions of Armes, with the moſt furious and braueſt Nation of *Europe*. Let vs on (bold ſpirites) to chaſe them againe, which haue ſo many times fled before vs; and let vs chaſtice the rebellion of the *Norwegians*, who falſifying their faith ſworne vnto vs: haue called in our enemy to their ſuccor, to quarrell with me for that, which is yours by right of Conqueſt.

The noble diligence of Lādgartha, ioyning her forces with King Reiners Campe.

In the meane ſpace, while *Frollo* marched on to meete the *Danes*, obſerue the wiſedome and diligence of *Landgartha*, and her Ladies, who ſtepped before him with ſuch poaſting ſpeede, that ere the time, as any intelligence could be obtayned of her departure: tydings were ſuddenly brought him, that both the Camps were ioyned together, and came mainly marching onward to bidde him battaile. Now, although this did not alittle ſtartle his minde, and intimated a ſuſpitious kind of feare, leſt Fortune ſhould turne her backe on him, hauing formerly fauored him in all his proceedings: yet being a man of high heart, valiant, and borne for Armes: he ſhewed no ſemblance of dread or diſtruſt, but rather ſtill ſollicited his men, to ſhew themſelues ſuch as alwayes they were knowne to be, and to account the ennemy no ſtronger by the womens combination; but rather to hope, that fortune had conducted them purpoſely thither, for the larger encreaſing of their benefit, and to heighten their corage againſt any, that durſt preſume to depriue them of ſo faire a booty.

Neceſſity and enforcement makes a cranenly coward valiant.

On the other ſide, King *Reyner*, beeing come within the view of the enemie, rode among the ranks, encoraging his people, propoſing to them his right, and the inuaſion made by the *Swetian*. He required them, to reuenge the wrong doone to ſo many honourable houſes, vtterly ouerthrowne by the Tyrant, and to ſuſtain the cauſe of womens modeſties, for whome, and in whoſe defence, long agone theyr Auncеſtours had attempted rare actions of Armes, and ſpent their blood in many parts of the world. He alſo ſet before their eies, the courage and animoſitie of the Ladies, who marcht orderly vnder the

The effect of an Oration made by king Reiner of Denmarke to his folowers, in ſight of the enemies camp

Enſignes of valiant *Landgartha*, and to imitate by theyr force, that which weake women had vndertaken, to free themſelues from the violence of a Tyrant. Alſo, that they might aſſuredly bee perſwaded, beſide the gaine and bootie, in getting the bagge and baggage of the *Swetians*: himſelfe would (moreouer) vſe ſuch rewarde and courteſie to well deſeruers; that they ſhould for euer haue iuſt cauſe to commend his munificence. He declared to the *Norwegians*, that (for the loue to them) hee would aduenture to fight againſt *Frollo*, whom if he conquered, hee would ſpare him no more, then the reſt of his race formerly had doone. And therefore, to ſhew themſelues valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the *Swetians* tyrannies; ſeeing Fortune had almoſt (with great aduantage) deliuered him into their hands.

Fighting in a good cauſe is an eſpeciall encouragemẽt.

Landgartha, beholding how euery one encouraged other to the fight, and obſeruing ſome rare galliardiſe, euen in the graceſull lookes of her female followers; in ſteade of further animating, thus ſhe ſpake vnto them.

Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

Her action, geſture and behauiour inflamed the deſires of all her faire followers

IT is for vs (fayre Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is reſerued, and to none elſe is due the reuenge, for our parents, kinred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themſelues thinke beſt: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will purſue none other then the very ſquadron of the Tyrant, and there will wee die in the middeſt of our endeuour, or make this the laſt day of his miſerable life. Let our horſes ſeeme to flie among the rankes, that we may be obſerued to ſurmount the proweſſe of men, and that wee can quickely re-vnite our ſtrength againe, if any diſorder ſhould chaunce to diuide vs. Fair Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die glorioufly, or vanquiſh (with hearts beſeeming our Sexe) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a ſpirit gentle and generous, ſee (I beſeech you) what power Diſdayne hath, to behold it ſelfe offended, and of what worth illuſtrous blood is, (touched with wrong) receiued by women and maydens, tender, ſoft, and delicately borne and bred, not inured to the trauaile of Armes, but driuen by deſire of reuenge onely. For, the rapes made on theyr violated kindred and friends: muſt needes bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which fayreſt embelliſheth our faces, and expoſeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongeſt the gallanteſt troupes of men.

The valiancie and carriage of Landgartha greatly admired by the K. of Denmarke.

King *Reyner*, hauing giuen the aſſaults ſignall, aduiſedly obſerued the behauiour and warelike order of the women, ſeeing *Landgartha* perfourme both the actions and diſcreete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entring (euen in meere deſpite of the enemie) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies, into the Tyrant of *Swetians* ſquadron. Hee ſtoode as aſtonied at ſo braue hardiment, and (in this aſtoniſhment) he felt a kind of ſoftning in his manly ſoule, rauiſhing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaſte Damoſell: he foorthwith followed her ſighing, yet knew he not the cauſe of ſo ſodayne an alteration, and beholding her woonderfull carriage in the fight, ſaw no ſtroke returned againſt her, but it ſeemed to cleaue his heart in ſunder. Hee wiſhed himſelfe neere her, to free her from all perill and daunger; yet he tooke great delight to beholde her braue behauiour.

Keyner becommeth ſuddenly amorous of fayre Landgartha.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very ſoone after) he ſaw the Ladies preſſe on with ſuch impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of *Swetia* was in perſon: that (in a ſhort while) it became ſo ſhrewdly ſhaken, as, both the vanquiſhers, and the vanquiſht confeſſed, that the victory was more to be atributed to the wiſe leading of *Landgartha*, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and looſe courage, either in the Souldiers of *Denmarke* or *Norway*: for they neuer ceaſed to purſue the point, till *Frollo* was hewne in peeces amongeſt them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violater of their chaſtities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an inſtant, *Frollo* payed the crueltie due vnto his diſgraceſull life, & was puniſhed by celeſtiall Iudgement; for inuading the land and inheritance belonging

The orethrow of the Swetians, and death of their King by the braue valour of the women.

longing to another, and abusing the honor of so many chaste Ladies.

King Reyner attributes the victory to the valiant Landgartha, & her Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enioyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and aboue al the rest by the wise and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded ouer the female troops. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which stole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman Warriour) what she was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chast as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in *Norway*, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferiour to no Ladie in wisedome. The vertue and wise carriage of *Landgartha* in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King; gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Lady, and of great birth.

The kings passion encreases the more, by her commendable reports.

But because he could rather haue wisht her to be his louely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truely informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attēpt it, seeing how respectiuely she was esteemed, affected, and reuerenced, & hardy enough to suppresse all such sinister enterprises. Moreouer, as elswhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that *Scandian* countrey; yet it was no easy offer to her, that knew wel how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good proofe therof so lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit; he resolued, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, whatsoeuer might appear vnequall in her, to sute with the greatnes of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph ouer her chaste honor: he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearely as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate creature in the world, & such a Iewel, as none could be more precious.

Dishonest desires in a king, are no meane scandall to his best deseruings other wise.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of *Landgartha*, had alwayes continued carractered in the soule of this prince; and if he had respected her as well after the enioying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receyued no occasion to complaine of him, and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pitty) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of greatest consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distastefull of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith, and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

What m^e most couet to iniey they growe carelesse of afterward.

Reyner, how great a King soeuer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his cheefest commands: yet he felt himself a slaue to Loue, not daring to discouer his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with feares, troubled in spirit, martired in his senses, scarse sustaining any hope, but verie coldly, and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this so strange behauiour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldenesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse sollitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuiledge aboue nature, and *Landgartha* no way to be enioyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

The perplexity of k. Reiner in his loue, & endeuor how to compasse it

The speech of king Reyner, deliuered to Landgartha, in the presence of hir parents and friends.

I Know well (gentle Damosel) that it may moue some admiration in you, vppon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stande bound to your high deseruings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner, & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspense the hope I haue, ỹ you wil continue heere in court; was the motiue to my million, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents and frends, shold with their willing

aduice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your house and breeding; but much more am I assured of your valor and other vertuous merits, by the commendable partes and singular rarieties, whereof mine owne eies haue bin a witnesse. You also are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my selfe sensible, either of fauors or iniures, from whom soeuer I happen to receiue them. I confesse, that if there be any thing extrauagant in Loue, or surpasseth the greatest power in man; it hath taken foundation in my soule, enflaming my best desires to wish you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be so courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection; and so much the rather, because you appear aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuertheless, if you measure the greatnesse of a King, and of him that is your Souéraigne, with the luster of your choise perfections you shal see, that both these rarieties paired together, do make but one vnion, & the most excellent that any man can imagine. In breefe, all my wish, intent, and affection consisteth in this, that if you thinke good, or I may seeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I wold take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my selfe: for, of this my submission, I make your parents and friends witnesses, calling for them purposely hither, to heare my motion, and your answer.

Woers are commonly more solemne in their protestations, then afterwardes they prooue sound in their performances.

Landgartha, who was as apprehensiue, courteous and modest, as high in corage, and strict in opinion: considering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbased himself in the demand, returned this answer.

The generous and modest answer of Landgartha: to the former speech of king Reyner.

SIR, although my deliberation from mine infancie, and continuing to this flouring condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to subiect my selfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, because freedom euer seemed more conforme to the disposition of my spirit, then such obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or sworne to any estate whatsoeuer: yet notwithstanding, hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and seeing how iustly I may deserue blame and punishment, in refusing him that hath soueraigntie ouer mee and mine; I beseech you to thinke, that your thoughts being so direct as they pretend declaration, and respecting one of so meane merite as my selfe: I am also the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you most humble seruice. Thanking the great God, that seeing I owe dutie to the fancy of a man (albeit against my former resolue) it falleth so successefully, as in seruice to the most wise and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in these countries. Neuertheless Sir, thinke it not strange, I humbly beseech you, if I speake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vse a silly virgins aduice, to take lōger and more deliberate consideration, in a case so seriously important as this is: humane affections being so light in cases of these and the like impressions; that (many times) they as sodainely wipe themselues out of the soule, as at the first they came to be carractered there. Not that I wil accuse so great a King of leuity, nor suspect his faith any way infirme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the list of my life; you may the better censure my merit, measuring for hereafter, what you may now most valew in my meannes and insufficiency: so shall you be sure, neuer to vnsay your owne words, or be sory then for that, which you make so great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you please to do me at this present, is nothing in respect of the great infamy, redounding then both vppon you and me, & those that gaue you no better counsell in this case, whom it may as neer ly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I should dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your most loyal & dutiful seruāt.

Verie worthie aduice sauouring of a discreet and, wel setled iudgement.

Consideration before mariage is verie necessary, because repentance afterward cometh too late.

With such a graue and seuere countenance she vttered these speeches, that the king, amazed at her wisedome, but more at the Maiesticall deliuery of her wordes, and freedome of so faire and compleate a spirit: swore instantly such loyalty to hir, as fitted with a king and faithful husband; wherein he plainly forswore himselfe, as you shall hear in this discourse following.

At

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing ſo much, as to croppe the fayre flower of her chaſtity) but ſhee returned home with her parents and frends again; hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her abſence would be the meanes to effect it. But *Reyner*, who could not forget her that had ſo worthily aſsiſted him, and whoſe figure was liuely imprinted in his ſoule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling; and, ſcorning to be delayd by many daies acceſſe, eſpouſed her, to the vnſpeakable comfort of her parents and frends, but ſom dread and great diſtruſt in her ſelf, as fearing the continnance of this feruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be diſpoſſeſſed thereof. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was her wiſe and commendable carriage, as to conceale her fears with maieſticke modeſty: ſubmitting her ſelf to the Kings delightful pleaſures, and the yoake of marriage, which formerly ſhe had contemned.

King Reyner eſpouſe Landgartha, to the ioy of her parents, but aprant feare in her of his affections continuance.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences; ſo *Reyner* (being a yong, wanton, and laſciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-ſatisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who broght him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmatchable in all the countrey) coueting after matter of greater moment; withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leauing his truely elected ſpouſe in *Norway*, not with any purpoſe of ſending for her, or returning to her againe, but vtterly to abandon & forſake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetias* daughter, whom he deſired to inioy, accuſing his indiſcretion, that he had embaſed the greatnes of a king, and much blemiſhed his royall title, by marrying with a fillie damoſell: and ſending a ſolemne Ambaſſage into *Swetia*, he obtaind (without war or any other great difficulty) her whome he coueted to enioy in marriage.

The perfidious and vnfaithfull dealing of Reiner with his fayre wife Landgartha.

Heere behold, how conſtant the Kings affection ſtoode to vertue, and howe the maske of fained loue diſcouered it ſelf. He had ſworne fidelity vnto his beſt beloued *Landgartha* (notwithſtanding her wiſe & worthie aduice of inconueniences to follow) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleaſure, and therefore of as little laſting, as eaſe hath continuance in occaſions of the fleſh. Beſide, no ſooner had he receiued anſwer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertiſed *Landgartha* of a ſecond intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (althogh long time before, ſhe had both diuined and feared ſuch diſaſter) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to ſee her ſelfe deſpiſed, without the leaſt occaſion of offence giuen, or why he ſhold ſo vnkindly refuſe her. At length, conſidering that the king had ſome reaſon for this repudiatiō, by ſeeking better aliance, which might ſuccour him in his ſerious affayres; becauſe he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becomming a Chriſtian, if he would help him to compaſſe the kingdome: ſhe began ſomwhat to aſſwage her minds perturbations, anſwering thē that brought her theſe bad tydings, thus.

Landgartha was to bee diuorced from the King her husband, without any cauſe of offence giuen.

The King (my friends) ſhould not thus abuſe *Landgartha*, becauſe he needs not to ſeek any further, for ſtrēgthning his houſe by ſtrōger alliance: and well may I accuſe him of lightnes, whereof I aduertiſed him in the beginning; and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengefull for the ſhame I ſuffer, as hee is vniuſt on my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as buſy and troubleſome imployment, as ſhee can yeeld him pleaſure, ſuccour, or defence, with whom he hath ſuch haſt to mary. He knowes what means I haue to diſeaſe him ſeeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and ſhould perſwade himſelfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer ſomuch offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattring name of mariage, hath wronged the modeſty of her, that diſcerneth now, how men the greater they are, ſo much they think themſelues diſpenſed withall, in breaking thoſe Lawes, whereto they binde other in obedience.

Kings breake thoſe Lawes, whereto they ſtrictly binde their ſubiects.

Yet one thing cauſeth me ſomwhat to pardon his fault, and alſo to accuſe mine owne indiſcretion, that he being blinded

by loue, and I, by ſole reuerenee vnto the name Royall: we haue both fayled in one kinde, but not equally puniſhable, his ſhame being not ſo great as mine, becauſe (being free, & without paſſions) I would ſubmit my ſelfe to the will of him, who durſt not vſe any violence towards mee; whereas he was a ſlaue to his owne cogitations, and tranſported with deſire, which maketh fooles of the very wiſeſt in the world. Let him enioy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleaſure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and ſo ſhall doe for euer, being ſuch as I am) that heereafter, he may neuer be ſo light & changeable in affection, leſt ſome one (of far leſſe cunning then himſelfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the reſt. And aſſure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much leſſe merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithſtanding, the Image of King *Reyner* ſhall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greateſt diſaſter, can euer deface the ſacred and ſincere affection, which his plighted faith ſo lately imprinted in my ſoule.

Men may run on in vnconſtant courſes til at length they chance to be ouermatched.

Goe and report vnto him, the offer of my ſeruice, and the deſire I haue to pleaſe him, inſtead of ſeeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any deſpayring cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyful, to ſee my ſelfe free from ſubiection to a huſband: but yet ſo ſorie as poſsibly can be, to looſe him whom I loue more then my ſelfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the diſloyaltie of King *Reyner*; but to the end, that by the effuſion of her owne bloud, ſhe may yet make him once more to know, that ſhe is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conſeruation, then himſelfe is. Tell him alſo, that ſuch Ladies as reſemble me, haue their hearts more generouſly diſpoſed, and farre more fairely furniſhed with vertue: then baſe minded men, that alwais carry gentlenes in their looks, but villanie truly ſtamped in their hearts. For a finall concluſion, I pray God giue more eaſe to my vnfaithfull husband, then (through his diſloyalty) he leaues ſorrow and affliction in the ſoule of his loyall wife: and that ſhe who vſurpeth my place, (in regard the fault is not hers) may long enioy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Miſtreſſe of, and the King taketh from me, I know not by what diſaſter, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

Meſſages ſent by Ladgartha to him that had forſaken her.

Her vertuous and charitable concluſions at parting with the Ambaſſadours.

What greater conſtancy could be wiſhed, in the heart of the very wiſeſt Philoſopher, that euer *Greece* or *Aſia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible ſoule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper deſpight could be done to a worthy womā; then to reiect and throw her off, as if ſhe had beene wicked and immodeſt? Or what greater occaſion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then cauſeleſſe ſuſpition, and diuorce or refuſall, where reaſon and iuſtice can ſhew no cauſe why? Poets haue liuely depicted in their Verſes, the deſperate tranſports of *Medea*, forſaken by *Iaſon*, and the fearefull cruelties vſed by her, to bee reuenged on ſuch an iniury. *Marke Anthony*, by refuſing and forſaking the faire ſiſter to *Auguſtus*, attracted by fooliſh affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke* & *Aſia*, were inhumanely bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeuouring to reuenge the iniury, which was offered vnto his ſiſter and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray yee) what a wound in *France* was ſometime made, by the diuorce of *Elianor*, Counteſſe of *Poictiers*, and Dutcheſſe of *Guienne*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *Engliſh*, & that they made themſelues ſo ſtrong in *Fraunce*?

Medea diſtracted to ſee hir ſelfe forſaken by Iaſon.

Cruile wars at Rome about an vniuſt diuorce.

The repudiation of Elianor, cauſed the long war betweene the Engliſh and French.

Notwithſtanding all theſe, and many more that I could ſpeake of, we ſee *Landgartha* ſo humble, wiſe, diſcreete, and ſuch a louer of quietneſſe, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on ſo high a wrong done her; ſo farre was ſhe from purſuite, heate, rage or tempeſt, that making Patience prowd of her example: ſhee offered ſeruice to him, by whome ſhe was contemned and deſpiſed, preſenting all duety to an ingratefull husband, and promiſing freſh ſupply, after receit of a former diſloyall recompence. You which are iealous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madneſſe in theyr braines, and of immortall enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

Let all ſuch as deprane the ſexe of womē obſerue the incomparable vertues of Landgartha.

declaring truely a Christian minde, although she neuer receiued baptisme: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue somthing in them rightly heroycall, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

All Ladies are not like to Landgartha in the true vertue of patience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Histories were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lose no time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with iealousie, or tempested with fury for this refusall) sought any meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounted all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some stearne and combustious natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

Reyner, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours sollicited him by warre; because his Subiects (being naturally giuen to warre, and inured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Britain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Iutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces; elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperour *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magunce*, hauing receiued baptisme with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperor for his Kingdome.

The Subiects take occasion to reuolt against Reyner

Harold a christian Prince made King of Denmarke by the Emperor Lewes

Harolde, being fauoured of his owne people, and affected by the most of them that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reyner* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherwith the Emperour furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reyner* thence, and all such as followed his Faction. *Reyner*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Swetians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and seuerity of reuenge for his vile dealing.

King Reyners returne home into Denmark from Swetia, and crauing assistance of Landgartha.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; what an opportunity had it heere to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing beene notoriously iniuried, and so faire a way set wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abhominable, and wrongs receiued by Noble natures, are not easily quallified, when times and seasons shape out reuengefull meanes, such as was this warre vppon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuertheless *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with her selfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely sonne, named *Frideslaus* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motiues sufficient for his longer abiding with her: shee leuied an Army of sixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and comming, in these few Lines.

The noble disposition & nature of Landgartha.

Frideslaus son to Landgartha by Reyner, was afterward K. of Denmarke

The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reyner*.

IF this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recouery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well imployed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brauely against the Enemy, for I am comming with all speede, to let him know, that

Land-

Landgartha *is both a Queene and a warriour.*

Landgartha.

The Rebels afraid of Landgarthaes coming with her forces.

The Rebells, beeing aduertized of this supply from *Norway*, labored by all means possible) to prouoke King *Reyner* to the fight, before the comming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wise, and very skilfull in the Art Militarie. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where hee expected *Landgarthaes* landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to giue the enemy battell. Which *Harolde* well perceiuing, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disaduantage; he pursued after *Reyner* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blowes, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The landing of Landgartha in Denmarke.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fel as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commaunders beeing fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vsurpe an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subiects. And both of them standing on the aduenture of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side soeuer prooued to bee Conquerour.

The Danes put to the worst by Harold, & Landgarthas worthy assistance in very great extreamitie.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reyner*, performed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backes, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe braueſt; and perceiuing *Reyners* men in no meane extreamity, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, incouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits. set on them manfully, they are our spoile, as villaines not deserning to liue, seeing traiterously they list vp their weapons against their king. On then (I say) vndaunted spirits, heere is Landgartha, who hath brought you victorie, as well against Harolde, as sometime she did against Frollo in Norway.*

Landgartha encourageth the Danes against their enemies.

In deliuering these wordes, she dealt such bold blows amõg the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestirre themselues. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side thẽ before: the *Danes*, to repaire their disorderd flight, th'other, to maintaine their hope of victory, whereof they doubted not, but disdained a woman shold depriue them of the occasion, of wholly ruinating *Reiner* and his Army. Neuertheleſſe, whatsoeuer manhood *Harold* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, cheareſull and actiue, conducted by a woman of very high resolue, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest mẽ in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reyner* triumphed of the victorie, yet hee enioyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit she might boast of her happinesse in war, and thereby attained to a great mariage; yet her other infelicity was a great corsey to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemd.

Harolde and his men driuẽ to flight, and the victorie remaining to Reyner by the valor of Landgartha and hir Norwegians.

Reyner now was growne sensible, of the shamefull wrong he had offred to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reuẽge on him, as she thoght fittest in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmatchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquerd by this obligation of duety to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Swetia*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardond all his passed iniuries to hir, & vowing her selfe to a widdowed estate of life, neuer more to conuerse with him or any man liuing; after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into *Norway*, to gouerne the Countrey by her discreete care, til her son *Ftediſlaus* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom the K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The reconciliatiõ betwixt King Reyner and Landgartha.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annalists of *Denmarke*, *Swetia* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, councell, aduice, good conduct and wisdome, seldome wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth; then I

care

care for the idle loues of *Reyner*, or any of his Conqueſts. To the end, that ſuch Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in theſe our times; may hold on in the purſuite of their perfections, by the honorable exãples of them, that (in thoſe precedent daies) declared themſelues admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and ſoueraigne, against all venomes and poyſons.

THe Stone of the *Bezaar* or *Pazer*, is a true and aſſured Antidote against all poyſons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beaſts, infections of the Ayre; As peſtilence, carbuncles or plague-ſores, Purples, the ſmall Pox, the Meazels, and in briefe, against all diſeaſes popular and contagious. And becauſe experience hath made this ſtone to be in daily requeſt, and cauſeth it to be ſought for by people of good meanes; therefore ſale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and auarice being ſo great among men, hath therefore practiſed and compaſſed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heeretofore they did the like by Baulme or Balſamum. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certaine creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddiſh colour, and feed not but on good and wholeſome Hearbes, whereof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they ſtartle at the leaſt noiſe of a Piece. But for our better vnderſtanding this Hiſtory, I will inſert a ſmall parcell of a Letter, written from *Peru* by a Spaniſh Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Phyſition of *Hiſpalis*, dwelling then in *Seuill*, whereby we ſhall perceiue how they are found.

The Bezaar or Pazar ſtone good against all venomes and contagions.

Whence the ſtone is brought and how it is engendred.

¶ The Letter of a Gentleman reſiding in *Peru*.

THe fifteenth of Iune, 1568. *being at the exerciſe of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountains in this Country of* Peru, *continuing at the ſport for the ſpace of fiue dayes, and hauing ſlaine ſome of the Beaſts called Bezaars; we diſſected their bodies, to finde the ſtones. But it beeing a matter impoſsible for vs to do, becauſe wee were not vſed thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs thither to attend vpon vs; in what part of the body we might ſooneſt finde them; whereto they made vs anſwere, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company, ſhewed vs where it was, and we found it in the firſt ſtomacke, where the food of the Beaſt falleth down, to be ruminated or chawed afterward. Which when the Indians ſaw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at his enſtruction giuen vs: but we would not ſuffer them to doe him ſuch violence, and although they are ſubiects to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithſtanding, while we followed our paſtime of hunting, they got the Boy aſide and ſlew him, and afterward ſacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderſtand.*

Hunting of the Bezaar in Peru.

In what part of the Beaſt the ſtone is found.

He that feareth, hateth.

The Indians hold theſe ſtones in great eſteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call Guacas, *adorning alſo their Images with them, and many other things beſide, as Gold, Siluer, precious ſtones and rich Iewels. And I repute it a matter of ſome admiration, that this Beaſt is not found in any of the hither Indiaes, but in the Mountaines of* Peru, *neyther could I ſee them any where elſe: albeit I haue trauailed through all the Kingdomes of* Mexico *and* Peru. *In the Prouinces and Iſles of* Maranon, Florida, *and the Weſterne Iſlands, I haue beene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vppon vrging them to what vſe theſe ſtones are proper: And they haue aſſured mee, that they are ſingular against all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but eſpecially against all harmes of the heart, and it expelleth wormes out of the body. Being put into wounds, made by impoyſoned Arrowes (as heere it is too much in vſe) it is an aſſured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it, but that onely.*

The Indians adorning their temples in rich maner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars ſtones vertues

Wounds cured of impoiſoned Arrowes.

In

Stones are in some Beasts more, and in other lesse, according to their yeares.

In the first Beast that we dissected, wee found in a Bagge like a little Purse, 9. stones, which Nature had there engendered, onely by the benefit of feeding on good and wholesome hearbs: and in all those which we dissected afterward, we found in some more, in others lesse, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found also in Beasts of the same kinde, which browse and feede on the Plaines: yet they are not so vertuous, as in those bred vpon the Mountaines.

Thus you see in briefe, what was written by this Captaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, liuing then in the *Indiaes*) to *Nicholas Monardus*, a learned Physition, and dwelling in *Seuill*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and frō whence these stones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugals* say, who haue made their conquests farre off frō thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

Nicholas Monardus a Physition of Seuil

Of other Stones of Bezaars, described by the Portugals.

Garcias d'Orta a *Portuguize*, Physition to the Viceroy in the *Indiaes* discouered by the *Portugalles*, saieth, that in *Corazine*, and in the Countries of *Persia*, there is another kinde of Goates, of meaner greatnesse, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomack or bulke are found stones of the *Bezaar*, the beginning of them beeing a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatnesse, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to bee as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quātity, smoothe for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, because the rarest, are more sought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Country where they are found, as reputing them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed fiue Ducates, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for threescore Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those stones which are brought out of the *Persian* Countries, a little straw or stalke is found in the very midst of them, as hath beene often approued.

A Bezaars stone that weighed fiue ducats, broght into Portugal

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Persia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Isle which is named *Vacai*, not farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For, as they can betray those Beasts, so they kil them, and being well salted or powdred, they serue as good prouision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great stones, vnknowne to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugalles* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said stones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very sauoury.

Countries where Goats are found that haue the Bezaars stōes

The *Bezaars* stones which come from *Peru*, haue no strawes or stalkes in the midst of them; but onely a little cauity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue seene fiue graines of this stone (in a little water of Mugwort) giuen to a Gentlewoman, who had beene seuen dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a childe dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Luke*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, wherof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the houshold, which were eighteene in number. Each one receiued two graines of this stone euery morning, with a little water of *Aenula Campana*, continuing so for seuen daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Diuers beside, that had carbuncles and sores, by vsing this stone, preserued their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, byles, and all irkesome paines or swellings.

Difference betweene the Bezaars stōes of Peru and Persia.

Vertues approued of the Bezaars stone

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a Riuer, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swolne: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, with a smal quātity of Rose-water, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the ranckling and paine to ceasse, and he was fully cured within twelue dayes space.

A cure of byting by a Serpent on a gentlemans leg.

Monsieur le Vicomte de Conborn, and Lord of *Chasteauneuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Physitions. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall *de Biron*, he took *Bezaars* stone for some few dayes, & within

Histories of rare vertues in the Bezaars stone.

in a little while after, he recouered, grew to indifferent ſtrength, and was much more luſtily diſpoſed, then any of them that had beene offended by the ſame diſeaſe, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his ſickneſſe.

An obſeruation among the Inhabitants of the Iſland of Ormuza.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuza* (an Iſland that is moſt rich, ſituate vpon the red ſea, and ſubiected to the *Perſian*) after they haue purged themſelues in the Spring & Autumne: vſe to take ten graines of this ſtone, in as many ſpoonefull of Roſe-water, for fiue mornings following each other, by which meanes (they ſay) their health is ſoundly preſerued, and youthfull diſpoſition maintained. Againſt an inueterated ſcurffe on the head, or body, a loathſome itch, the wilde ſcab, called S. *Martins mange*, and (aboue all) againſt a confirmed ladry or leproſie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well bee witneſſed by a Prelate of *Languedoc*, liuing at this day, who would haue ſlaine himſelfe an hundred times, and throwne himſelfe out of windowes (if hee had not beene carefully reſpected) onely beeing tormented with that diſeaſe of S. *Martine*. But by vſing this ſtone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good gouernment otherwiſe directed to him; hee is perfectly recouered. Now let vs ſee how true and naturall ſtones are to bee diſcerned, from ſuch as are counterfeit, and meerely adulterated.

Loathſom diſeaſes cured by the Bezaars ſtone.

How the Moores diſtinguiſh the true ſtones from falſe.

The *Moores* are exceeding skilfull in knowing them, and eſpecially, from what parts they are broght, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and cloſing it then faſt together, he will breathe or blow ſtrongly into his hand: if hee feele his breathing to paſſe through his hand, he is aſſured then, that the ſtone is falſified. A great number of them are oftentimes to be ſolde at *Liſbonne*, the cheefeſt Metropolitane City of *Portugall*, where is one of the moſt frequented Portes in al Chriſtendome. And ſuch as there buy them, content not themſelues, with this order of triall made by the *Moores*: but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which there they call *Balittera*. Then paſſing it thwart the foote, or other part of any Beaſt (as of a Dog) with a Needle, hee ſo leaueth it in the wound, vntill ſuch time as he feeleth thoſe accidents, which commonly ſeize on them that are poyſoned. And when he is perceiued to draw neere death; then to make him ſwallow three or foure graines of Bezaars ſtone, mingled with water: if it preſerue his life, it is an apparant ſigne of the ſtones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

Experiment made in Liſbourne for the true knowledge of the Bezaars ſtone

The Beaſt in whoſe body theſe ſtones are found, in *Perſia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had ſeene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward; but thoſe in *Peru* haue none at all. *Theuet* ſaieth, that they haue but one, and that the skinne of the ſaide Beaſt is kept, to be laid to the ſtomacke of man or woman, poſſeſſed with any paine or anguiſh there, and to procure digeſtion, and that (without all queſtion to the contrary) this skinne healeth all ſuch diſeaſes, although the perſons bee aged and decreipt. Moreouer, that he ſaw a ſtone of the *Pezar*, or *Bezaar*, in the cuſtody of the *Greekes* Patriarch of *Cayro*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were ſo, that ſtone was worth no meane ſumme of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a ſtone of ſuch greatneſſe; & yet he further ſaith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, becauſe hee was ſecretly conuerted, and became a Chriſtian.

The variety of hornes borne by this Beaſt.

Some thinke Theuet to be greatly miſinformed in this matter.

It is not to be thought, that this ſtone hath beene knowne but within ſome ſmal compaſſe of time; becauſe antiquity ſpeketh of it more then fiue hundred yeares ſince. For proofe whereof, *Raſis*, an *Arabian* Phyſition maketh mention therof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it reſiſteth all kindes of poyſon, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a childe, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which cauſeth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a ſmall quantity of this ſtone, his life was preſerued. This ſtone hath beene ſo highly eſteemed, and eſpecially in thoſe precedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narach*, an *Arabian* Doctour in phyſicke, who was then at *Corduba*, about thoſe later yeares, when the *Sarrazins* made their vſurpation in *Spaine*: he ſaw a *Bezaars* ſtone, in the hand of

The Bezaars ſtone knowne in times of great antiquitie.

Proofe made vpon a childe that had fed on a poyſonous hearbe.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent obſeruer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly houſe which he had in *Cordubæ*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the ſaid *Abdara* further ſaieth (alleadging the forenamed *Raſis*) that this ſtone being worne about a mans necke, and kept ſo neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no poyſon can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

Abdara Narach, a skilfull Phyſition of Arabia.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath ſo many good and ſingular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) ſhold ſildome or neuer be without it, for a preſent ſuccour in ſuch weighty infirmities. Beſide, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, ſhold euermore be wel prouided of them, becauſe Phyſitions continually preſcribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurniſhed of it. For more aſſurance is to be repoſed in it (next to the aſſiſting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or Mithridatum, the confection of *Alkermes*, & of *Zacinth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; gouerning in thoſe Regions, where the Beaſts are bred that engender theſe ſtones, repoſing ſuch confidence in them, and making ſo precious eſtimation of them; as they cauſe thē expreſly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are poſſeſſed of them, it is a difficult caſe to get any one from thē: which partly is the reaſon, why they are ſo deare and rare to be had.

The Authors friendly aduertiſement to the reader.

The admirable ſoueraignty of the Bezaars ſtone in comparison of diuers other preſeruatiues.

Heere the Reader likewiſe is to bee aduertiſed, that ſome of theſe ſtones are not pointed, or ſharply cornerd; but blunt, edgeleſſe and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although ſome are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary Almonds, and not pointed. They haue alſo diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all ſleecke and ſmoothe: for if you finde thē otherwiſe compacted, they are to bee reiected as falſe and counterfeit.

All Bezaars ſtones are not alike in forme & proportion.

One of theſe ſtones was preſented to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, hee being then at *Molins*, which he cauſed to be eſſayed vpon two perſons, that had deſerued ignominious death, & both of them hauing poyſon giuen them to drinke. One of them was holpen by the ſtone, who neuertheleſſe dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed alſo. The ſtone being broken, was found thicke and maſſiue, not diuided by Spherical robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue ſome great recompence from his Maieſty; had nothing at al, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

The diſcourſe of a falſe ſtone giuen to *Charls* the ninth, K. of France.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found; from whence they are brought; and of their value and eſtimation.

IHaue read many Authors, to be reſolued aſſuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one conſent, or agreeing together, and namely, ſuch as frequent the *Indiaes* in theſe dayes, are diuers and doubtfull alſo in their anſwers. For ſome ſay, that they are engendred in Fiſh-ſhels, like to thoſe of our Oyſters heere among vs, but much greater, and ſomewhat longer. And when they are deſirous to conceiue (vrged thereto by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themſelues, to ſucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowring, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, ſo long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: becauſe in one and the ſame ſhels, are found Pearles trobled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Authors agree not in the generation of Pearles.

Great difference in the generation of Pearles.

Others ſay, that the proper birth and production of the Oyſter, is by egs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the ſand and grauelly duſt, whereby they are nouriſhed, & wherein they hide themſelues: which grauell refineth it ſelfe, & encreaſeth in them, as the graines of the Raiſin in the Grape. And this ſandy ſeed ſoftneth it ſelfe, the Oyſter being in the water: but ſo ſoone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it ſelfe, as we may ſee daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

Another opinion of their generation, contrary to the former.

The

The Egyptian Merchants report how Pearles are engendred.

The Merchants of Ægypt, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Perſian Sea, make men here beleeue that negotiate with them: that perls are engendred in the ſtomacke of a flatte Fiſh, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the ſhores of *Nilus*; and that it drinketh the dewe of heauen, as wee formerly ſayd of the Oyſter, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of theſe dayes know the matter truly; yet notwithſtanding, meaning to mocke ſuch as are ignorant in theſe things, they publiſh lies for apparant truths. *Aſroſthenes* ſayth, *Pearles are engendred in Oyſters, as certaine white and ſolide graines are in the Fleſh of Swine, which we vſe to tearme Meazels, or is made of a clammy ſlime, congealing and hardning of it ſelfe*. Which I thinke to be very likely: For, beeing at *Paris* in the yeare 1566. and (in aſſiſtance with others) at the diſſecting of a womans body, long troubled with a diſeaſe in the reines, in each of the reines was found a ſolide ſubſtance or body, as big as a cõmon Peaſe, gliſtering, cleere and round, like vnto Pearles.

Variety of opinions concerning the generation of Pearles.

Chares the *Mitilenian* ſaith, *Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyſter*; but therein he is much deceyued, becauſe the bones are alwayes in ſeruice to ſtrengthen the body: but Oyſters haue no need of bones: and likewiſe Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oyſters.

The iudgement of Chares of Mitilen

Americus Veſputius, in his booke of *Indian* Nauigations writeth, that he obſerued the opening of many, & out of ſome certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection, being in ſome pretty ſtore or number: but yet thoſe Pearles periſhed of themſelues, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the fleſh of the Oiſter, eaſily parting from it, and thoſe were the beſt. And they that are found in them ſo aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well conſider thereon.

Americus Veſputius recordeth what himſelfe had ſeene.

Of Pearles found among rockes.

It is a meere Fable, which ſome haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rockes, by reaſon of many fiſhes laying their Egges, and becauſe they cleaue to the fleſh, or to the ſhell; but this happeneth very rarely. For, all Oyſters are not apt to procreate Pearles, but onely ſuch as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Perſians call *Cherippo*, cleere and verie ſmooth within: of which ſhelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spoones, and other very ſightly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oyſters; but they are neither ſo great, nor ſo good, as theſe that the *Cherippo* produceth, which ſome haue termed mother of Pearles.

Of the Perſian Oyſter called Cherippo.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oyſters keepe alwayes at the depths of the ſea, becauſe their ſhelles are great, and therefore they are ſo deepe in the ſea. If ſometimes they are founde neerer to the ſhores, it happneth by tempeſts of the ſea; alſo they ſwim heere and there, to ſeeke their beſt nouriſhings; which when they haue found, there they ſtay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they ſenet, or perceiue ſuch as ſeeke for them, they will faſten themſelues ſo ſtrongly to the rockes & ſtones, ouer-couering one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is beſtowed in vaine, and they left there, as being immagined to be ſtones.

A reaſon for the variety of opinions in this matter.

They are fiſhed for in ſtore of ſundrie Countreyes and Regions; but the goodlieſt and thoſe moſt common, are fiſhed for in the Iſle of *Baharem*, an Iſland bigge enough, and well peopled; being ſubiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuze*, and is neere to the Cape of *Maſcina*, in *Arabia Fœlix*, & there is no meane fiſhing for them. In the Iſles of *Maniola* alſo, is continuall fiſhing for them (they beeing as good there, as thoſe of *Baharem*) and the Iſle ſeated on the Perſian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues or thereabout, from *Calicuth*, and almoſt throughout the inner *India*. In the Iſle of *Zeilan*, in the Iſles called *Veiques*, and ſo thorowe the great Empire of *Mexico*. At *Tarate*, more then in any of the forenamed Iſlandes, and in the Iſles of the New World, they haue beene fiſht for in ſuch plentie: that the *Cacico* or Prince of the ſaide Iſle, made a preſent of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaſpar de Morales* (a Spaniſh Commaunder) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promiſed

In what parts the Pearl-oyſters are vſually fiſhed for

A Casket of Pearles giuen to a Spaniſh Captaine.

A tribute giuē of a Quintall weight of Pearles yearly.

beſide, to giue yearely a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperor, and (among them) ſome were as great as ſmall Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (aboue the reſt) was found to weigh ſixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the ſhape of a Muske-Peare, being very perfect and orientall.

The admirable greatneſſe of ſome pearls and of extraordinary price and value.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the ſaid Pearle of *Gaſper de Morales*, for eighteene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not ſleepe for melancholy, and inward griefe he conceiued, becauſe he had giuen ſo much mony for a ſtone: yet hee ſold it againe on the next morrow (& for the ſame price) to *Pedrarias d' Auila*, for his Wife, the Lady *Iſabella Bouadillia*, who alſo ſolde it to the Empreſſe, Madame *Iſabella*. A Iew, named *Damell*, bought of a country peazant of *Baharem* (no long time ſince) a Pearle, of the greatneſſe of a Musket Bullet, for no more then the ſumme of eight ſhillings; and afterward ſold it to a Lord in *Sclauonia*, for three thouſand Crownes. There was a preſent made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Iſles of the *Molucques*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were eſteemed worth an hundred thouſand Crownes, at the leaſt.

In our neerer Seas they fiſh for Pearles, & finde ſome ſtore.

Returning now to our former purpoſe, which was to diſcribe where Pearles are found, I ſay, that not onely they fiſh for them in the fore-named places: but likewiſe in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Occeans of *Peru*, the *Antarticke*, *Florida*, *Canada*, *Guinea*; yea, euen heere in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmarke*; but in ſome place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder, then in other. And namely in ſome parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where ſome are found very rare and paſſable. Now let vs obſerue, how, and in what manner their fiſhing is for them.

How and in what manner they fiſh for ſuch Oyſters as haue pearls in them.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fiſhing, entring into their Barques; and (leauing ſome to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oyſters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining ſometimes vnder water halfe an houres ſpace, before they be ſeene againe, and ſo continue at the bottome: hauing ſtrong pockets, or ſmall twiſted nettings hanging about them, wherin they put their Oyſters. Which being thus taken, they aſcend aboue water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken the ayre, and ſtrengthned their bodies with ſome ſuſtenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer ſee in the water. Fiue or ſixe times in a day, thus they throw thēſelues into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane ſuch Oyſters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

Men & women ſlaues that attend on the ſeruice.

Vpon the Sea-ſhore there are a great number of ſlaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oyſters are brought on land; fill their Scuttles and Baskets, made of Sea Ruſhes, carrying them to Veſſels full of freſh water, wherein when the Oyſters haue continued foure and twenty houres ſpace, and feeling a contrary ſauour to the Sea-water; they open of themſelues, and ſo ſoone as they are open, the Pearles ſunder themſelues from the fleſh of the Oyſters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the ſhels out of the veſſels, finde all the Pearles in the bottom of the freſh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewiſe in other places. Neuertheleſſe, they are not the hundred part ſo good, nor ſo fair, as thoſe of *Baharem* and *Maniola*: And obſerue withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyſter, but in ſome few, in other more, ſome breeding the greater, other ſmaller.

In what manner the Pearls are ſeparated from the fleſh of the Oyſter, & how they differ in goodneſſe & greatneſſe.

The Pearles being thus taken, ſometimes they eate the Oyſters, and otherwhiles they throw thē away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vſe. Theſe Fiſhers are ſlaues, ſeruing (for this purpoſe) the Chriſtian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Baharem*: and according to their taking pearled Oyſters, ſo are they cheriſhed and reſpected by their Maſters euery night, which maketh euery one ſtriue to be moſt beneficiall by his paines. Some-times the Seas are ſwolne more high & boiſterous, then the Fiſhers wold haue them to be, becauſe then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouiſion for them-

The ſlaues reſpected by their Maſters, according to the benefit by their ſeruice.

themſelues in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they faſten a ſtone, which cord they binde about their backes, and ſo ſincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of thoſe ſtones, they continue firmely vnder water, and gather the Oyſters at their eaſe: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they caſt off the ſtones, and ſwimme nimbly in their riſing. Such as would meddle in fiſhing for theſe Oyſters, it behoueth them to be very expert in ſwimming and diuing; becauſe many drown themſelues, through want of taking winde, or elſe are drawne into the depth of the ſea, by huge and mighty Fiſhes, which there they met withall, and then by no meanes can eſcape drowning.

The induſtrie of the diuers or fiſhers vnder water to finde the beſt Oyſters.

Marcus Paulus ſaw this kind of fiſhing in the kingdom of *Vara*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the ſame manner, and he ſayth, that they fiſh not but in the moneth of Maie, and then the Peaſants or Boores are ſet on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraiamins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you muſt know, that without theſe Enchaunters, they that fiſh in this manner for Oyſters, ſhould bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venemous fiſhes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other ſuch like deuourers: but they coniure them in ſuch ſort, that they eſcaped from them without any daunger. But when night commeth, and the fiſhing muſt be forborne till the morrow; the Enchaunters releaſe and make their coniurations to ceaſe: onely to preuent theeues, who elſe (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it ſafely without perill, and ſo carry away the pearly Oyſters, and fruſtrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Marcus Paulus an eie witneſſe of this maner of fiſhing for pearls

Of inchanters whoſe coniurations doe great ſeruice in the fiſhing for pearled Oyſters.

Moreouer, there is no people in all the Countrey, that can enchaunt thoſe terrible fiſhes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuration, but onely theſe *Abraiamins*. And it is to be noted, that all ſuch as trafficke in this fiſhing; doe not cauſe the Oyſters to open themſelues in freſh water; but in ſome Countries, they open them with little kniues, or ſharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other places, as in the *Indiaes* lately diſcouerd, they ſet their Oiſters ouer a fire, and ſo by heat procure them to open, by which meanes they finde the Pearles: but then thoſe pearles appeare of a reddiſh colour, and carry no chearefull water.

All Countries not alike in opening the oiſters for their pearles.

Alſo it is to be obſerued, that all pearls are not white of themſelues naturally, but in ſome places they are found to bee red; as in the Iſland of *Zipangrie*, ſcituate in the Eaſt *Indiaes*, according as the ſaid *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plentie of them, very ſingularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundneſſe: and in thoſe Countries, they are of dearer value, price and eſtimation, that thoſe white do carry no compariſon with them. Somewhat I can ſay of my ſelfe, that I haue ſeene ſeauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceaſſed Dutcheſſe of *Valentinois*; which had a moſt goodly luſtre, and I was (for a while) perſwaded, that they wonne that colour by ſome artificiall meanes: but after I had read the Diſcourſe of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion.

All pearles be not white naturally of themſelues: but ſome redde pearles haue excelled the white in price & eſtimation.

Heere likewiſe will I inſert a great ſecret in nature, and (in my minde) very meruailous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue ſeene the fiſhing for thoſe Oyſters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine ſeaſon of the yeare, theſe Oyſters of pearles, doe belch and caſt forth a red and blood-like moiſture, in great abundance: ſo that many (of the beſt in iudgement) among thoſe barbarous people, imagined them to ſuffer a fluxe of menſtruoſitie, as other fiſhes in the ſame Ocean doe. Theſe Oyſters haue their paſſages, like to all other fiſhes in Seas or Riuers, ſo that in ſome places great ſtore of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe aboue tenne miles further off. Sometimes, they which fiſh in an other Countrey, where ſcarcely one is left: on the morrow or next day, ſhall light on more then euer was there before.

A ſtrange kind of moiſture iſſuing from thoſe pearly oyſters at a certaine ſeaſon of the yeare.

Oyſters continue not in one place.

The *Perſians* haue moreouer inuented an other manner of fiſhing, more commodious, and of leſſe charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Oſiers or Palms, well knit together with ſtrong bindings, in ſuch manner as the fiſhing obſerued in

A later inuention of the Perſians in fiſhing for their pearled Oyſters.

our *Xantonge* Seas for Casserons, vsing certaine Rakes, which rash into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so force thē enter into those hurdls. Others walke aloug amongst the Rockes and Stones, which appeare aboue the water, where ... entimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rockes or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminisheth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in elder time.

The *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Persians* and others, in auncient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleered them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well enstructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profite, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The Ægyptian hath beene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, addicting his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slaues and basest peazants in the Isle of *Baharem*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, beeing dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

The wisedom and long continued experience of the Egyptians.

Plin. li. 12. *ca.* 17. A king among the Oysters, and yet it is doubted, whether Oysters haue any vnderstanding, or no; and a great question among the best Naturallists.

Pliny saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couet most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Athenæus* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe striue to reuenge themselues on the fishers, by opening their shells so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are meerely friuolous, and they which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our Naturallists stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Muscles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (liuing in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselues, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeauouring to eate and deuoure them.

Taruphall, or Taball, a fish contrary to the pearled Oisters, liuing by feeding on them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being tearmed by the *Persians*, *Taruphall*, or *Taball*, and is of the bignesse of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinne, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snowt, seruing for his mouth, which is full of sharp teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, liuing (almost) by no other kind of foode. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oisters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, beeing in the Sea: whereof making his aduantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickely, leauing the shell quite emptie. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chaunce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who imploy them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physitian.

The Taruphal hath plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

Of those Pearles that carrie most commendation by their shape.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearl, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Peare or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest; but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worne by all degrees of persons, as well men as women, in regarde they are growne to be so

so common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spaine*, and next into *France*, within some small compasse of time, which makes mee so much to maruell at them the more.

In briefe, Pearles haue surpassed the riches of gold and siluer, and of Emralds brought from foorth the *Indiaes*. And yet I would gladly know the reason, wherefore our graue Auncients made such estimation of Pearles; considering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard also, they grew quickely olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue lost their lustre, cleareness and whiteness. For my selfe, I cannot imagine what should be the reason, except it be in regarde of their whiteness, which is not common to other precious stones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the self-same substance. Some haue enstructed mee in an other reason, to wit, because they haue beene brought from the new-found world, and likewise, that in times past, they fetcht them from very farre remote Countries, which needs must vrge the more affection to them, because they come from farre hence: Or else wee make such deare estimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they cost the liues of men in fishing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniones*, because sildome or neuer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes separated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the lesser sort they vse to call *Marguerites*.

The reason why the greatest Pearles are called in Latine Vniones.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to bee perused by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Persians* are the best exercised, as beeing naturally enclined thereto by frequent practise. Nor do Pearles continue still in one and the same condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by course of times: especially such as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepest, and in the new Moone, are neuer subiect to any such inconueniences.

The Indians and Persians haue the greatest skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

The flesh (as they vse to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyster, is most wholsom, and of great nourishment; excellent good against melancholy, and for such as language, or are in a consumption, and also for Hectiques and Tisicks. But the *Indians* make no vse of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Physitions of the *Arabes* and *Moores* doe, which hath beene learned of them by some of ours, and vsed in all cordiall medicines, being good also for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an especiall preseruatiue for the sight.

Pearly Osters good for diuers diseases.

A doubt and demand, what the reason may be, that Pearles shold exceed gold and siluer in value and estimation.

FINIS.

A Table of the ſeuerall Bookes and Chapters, with their particular Arguments, contained in this Second Volume.

(:*⁂*:)

The First Booke.

OF the Ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France. What Lawes, Cuſtomes, Religion, Ceremonies, and other manners were vſed among the people of that Nation in their firſt Originall, and howe (ſince then) they haue continued. An Introduction to the whol diſcourſe. Page 1

Of the Temperance in eating and drinking, vſed among the Gaules: As alſo of their Marriages, and ſingle condition of life. pag. 3

How the Gaules vſed to weare their haire, and what kinde of garments they vſed, with painting their bodyes; Of their Coines, Gold, Siluer, &c. pag: 6

Of the houſes and dwellings of the Gaules, their townes, and villages, and of what manner they were. pag: 8

Of the humanity, liberality, hoſpitality, and courteſie of the Gaules to ſtrangers; and care for benefiting each other equally Fol: 11

How the Gaules made choiſe of their Generalles and Commanders for their warres; with a true deſcription of their Military ſeruices and diſcipline. page 16

Of the ſhouts, cries, and ſtrange noiſes, deuiſed and vſed by the Gaules, to comfort and encourage themſelues, and to affright or diſmay their enemies. Alſo of their ſigns of contentment, peace, mercy; their Barit, Songes, and Rithmes. page 24

Of the difference between the Soldiours of Caſar, and of Pompey (being the valiant Gaules) in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gauls, &c. page 27

In what manner the Gaules fortefied their Cities and Townes, &c. 30

Of the ſeruice on the Sea and other waters, vſed by the Gaules, &c. 32

Of the Learning and Wiſedome of the Gaules: Of the diſciplines enſtructed by their Druides or Prieſts, to the younger people. Alſo of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages, and profeſſion of Languages. 34

A Dialogue or Communication betweene Socrates and Phædrus, concerning what great difference there is, betweene the Arte of Memory, and matters regiſtred downe by writing. 40

A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gaules, by their Druides, Bardes and learned men, according to the iuſtification of diuers good Authors; And what Religious Ceremonious Orders they obſerued. 43

Of the diuination vſed by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philoſophers among the ancient Gaules; their manner of Oblations and Sacrifices: As alſo of their ſpels, charmes and incantations. 47

What Ceremonies were obſerued among the Gaules, at the times of their Burials or Funerals. 50

Of the Iuſtice exerciſed in auncient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by diuiding the cheefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magiſtrates: with the puniſhment of diſobedience to ſuperior Officers. 53

The Table.

Of the forme of Gouernment obſerued in the Commonwealths of the ſeueral Cities and Nations: And what their Rulers and Magiſtrates were; As alſo how they attained to their Authority. 60

The Second Booke.

OF the new Gauls, or thoſe that are called (now adaies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, ſucceeding after their Predeceſſors the Auncient Gaules. 70

Of the people dwelling in the fruitful Land of France, what they were, being aunciently Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their manhood, valour, and ſucceſſefull fortunes. 84

Of the Maieſty, Dignity, and high Eminency of the Kings of France: And what infinite actions of honour they haue done from time to time, to renowne the glory of that Kingdome. 114

A Funerall Oration, written vpon the moſt vnnaturall and vntimely death of Great Henry *the fourth, Father to the King now Reigning.* 143

The Battaile of Rauenna, which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betweene Gaſton du Foix, Duke of Namures, Generall for Lewes the 12. King of France, on the one party: And Raymond de Cardonna, Viceroy of Naples, Generall for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other. 155

What they were, whom the world tearmed by the name of the Sibillaes. Of their Propheſies: but more principally of thoſe things which they ſpake and wrote, concerning Chriſtian Religion. 160

Concerning the ſeauen Wonders or Meruailes of the world; what they were. Alſo, in what ſeuerall parts and places of the World, they are remembred to bee by graueſt writers. 164

The Oration of Antipater, the Father to Herod, which he made before Cæſar; ſtanding accuſed for following Pompeys part. 170

The Oration of Herod to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the Arabes. 171

The Oration of Herod before Auguſtus Cæſar, who had conceiued anger againſt him, becauſe hee had taken part, and followed Marke Anthony. 173

The magnanimous anſwer of Auguſtus, inſtantly returned to Herod. 174

The Oration of Herod to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiſion of his Seigneuries, to be made to his Children. 175

The Battaile of Riotta or Nouara, which was fought in the Dukedome of Millaine, betweene Iohn Trivulzi, and the Lord of Trimouille, Generals for Lewes the 12. King of France, on the one ſide; and Maximillian Sforza, Duke of Millaine, accompanied with the Switzers, on the other, in the yeare 1513. 177

Of the force of ſudden Chances and vnexpected Euents, for the diſſipation aſwell of mans power, as of his pollicy. And of the hazards and doubtfull euents of Battailes, and other enterpriſes of warre. 182

How our Auncients and reuerend Predeceſſors puniſhed ſuch in former times, as durſt do any diſhonour to their Miſtreſſes. 187

Concerning diuers kindes of Salutations, vſed among our Auncients, when they met together. 188

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, eſpecially in Princes and great Lords. 189

From whence (at the firſt) came the Title or Nume of King, and alſo of Emperor. *Ibid.*

What was the reaſon, and vpon what occaſion, Kings in ancient times were created and eſtabliſhed: And of the Dignity Royall. 190

The Third Booke.

THe Originall of the Switzers; and the Gouernment of the Country, in the publike eſtate of their thirteene Cantons, with their Confederats both in generall and particular, &c. 193

Of the three firſt Cantons of the Switzers. 195

Of the Originall eſtate of Lucerna, before it leagued it ſelfe with the Cantons. 214

Of the Originall, condition, and eſtate of Zurich, before it leagued in with the Cantons amity. 218

How Glaris, being conquered by the Cantons; came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance. 230

Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended in league and confederacy, with the other Cantons of the Switzers. 232

Of the building of Berne, the ſcituation and condition thereof; And how it was yeelded to the Empire. 233

Of the Towne of Fribourg; who was the firſt Founder thereof: And how it came into league & alliance with the Cantons. 247

Of the City of Solleurre, *being one of greateſt name in Swetia.* 248

Of the Switzers warres againſt them of Millaine; againſt the Venetians, and at the conqueſt of Naples. 249

Of the City of Baſile, and diuerſity of opinions, howe it receiued that name: as alſo the Originall and Antiquitie of the City. 251

At what time Schaffouſe was receiued into the number of the Cantons, and the Antiquity thereof. 252

Of the Switzers warres, ſince ſuch time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them to bee twelue. 254

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it took that name. The Lawes, Cuſtomes, and manner of Gouernment there obſerued. 257

Concerning the alliance made betweene the fiue laſt Cantons: and a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in Confederacie. 258

Of

The Table.

Of the Switzers warres in Italy, when the French vndertooke to recouer the Dukedome of Millaine. 259
A discourse, concerning the alliance of the Switzers, with the kings of France 260
Of them that are allied and leagued with the Cantons, and first the Abbot of S. Gall 263
Of the Towne or City of S. Gall 264
Of the Leagued Grisons 265
The alliance of the people of Valois 267
Of Rotwill, or Rotuill 268
Of Mulhuse Fol: eod
Of Bienna 269
Of Geneua Fol: eod
Of New-Castle 270
Of those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers 271
Of Bada Fol: eod
Of Bremgarten and Mellingen 273
Of Rasperwill 274
Of Frawenfeld Fol. eod
Of the nine Bayliwickes or Gouernments 275
Of Bada and Turgow Fol: eod
Of the three first Prouinces eod
Of the Sargans 276
Of the Rheguſces, now adayes called Rhinthall: That is to say, the valley of the Rheine Fol: eod
Of the Gouernements and Baylywickes which are in Italy, 277
Of Bellizona 278
Of the Alliances made (by the Cantons) with Kinges and Princes, neere neighbouring to them. Fol: eod
Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine 279
Of the Switzers Alliances with the Dukes of Austria & Bourgongne 280
Of the Alliances betweene Sauoy and the Switzers 283
Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers, and the Kings of France 284

The Second Part.

The manner of Gouernement obserued amongst the Switzers 289
Of the manner and behauiour of the Switzers, in the time both of war and peace 290
Of publike Assemblies and meetings: Or rather of the Councell and Senate of the Switzers 297
Concerning sentences and iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences 303
Of those Commonwealths, which are in each of the seuerall Cantons: And first, of the Commonwealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse 305
Of the publike estate and gouernment of the Townes of Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse are 313
Of the Common-wealth of those Cantons, that haue neither Cities nor Townes: but dwell only in the Country villages 319
Of the sixe Cantons, which are handled together in this Chapter, according to their seuerall rights; and also their Iurisdictions Fol: eod
Of the Commonwealths belonging to the Confederates: And first, of the Abbey of S. Gall 325
Of the Commonwealth in the Towne or Cittie of S. Gall Fol. eod
The Commonwealth of the Grisons 329
The Commonwealth of the Valasians, or people of Valois. 334
The Commonwealth of Bienna 335
The Commonwealths of such people, as are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of Switzerland. And first, of Stipendary Townes 336
Of the Baylywickes or Gouernments 338
Of Bada Fol: eod
Of Turgow 340
Of Sargans 342
Of Rhinthall 343
Of the Barons of Altsax 344
The Baylywickes or Gouernments which are in Italy, Fol. eod

The fourth Booke.

Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; the Lawes, customes, and manners of the people: as also the diuision and situation of the Country 350
Of the kingdome of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereo: with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued. 355
Of the Antiquity, Originall, Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice, obserued in the kingdome of Naples 356
Of a Law obserued among the Rhodians, that enioyned and commanded Fathers (setting aside all other businesse and affaires) to marry their Daughters with all possible speed. 362
That Tyrants do liue continually in feares: and that their ends are most miserable. 367
A most horrible cruelty vsed by the Numantines against the Romanes; and (in the end) vpon themselues. 368
That a valiant Captaine or Generall, ought first to embrace wisedome and prouidence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: And also, that after victory, hee should be milde and pittifull. Ibid.
Of the Salique Law, the Originall therof, and who were the first Authors and Inuenters of it. 370
Examples of some Letters containing secrecy, and sent in such manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to such whom they especially concerned. 371
A discourse concerning the Originall of the Normans; what

what valiant acts haue bene performed by them, and of Robert Guiscardo. 372

Of two yong youths of Paris, that trauailed to the Indiaes, to cure themselues of the Neapolitane disease, or French pox. 375

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyacum that is brought hither; as in that whereof the Indians themselues do make vse, against the Neapolitane disease; and the description thereof. 379

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preserued in our Countries, as it hath bin, and still is in Egipt. Also in what manner our Lands and vines should be corrected and qualified without digging, &c. 381

Of the great difference, which both ancient and modern writers haue obserued to be, betweene the royall Title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a tyrant. 383

In what high account and esteeme Philosophers, and other men of knowledge (in what Sciences soeuer) were held in elder times by Emperors and Kings. 385

That Learning is not onely necessary in Kings and Princes: but also for Generals, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the exercise of Armes. 388

Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: And how he may be fed on, and eaten without any danger 391

Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique. Likewise, of many other infirmities, which are only holpen by the same medicine 392

Of a strannge medicine, whereby Faustine of Rome, wife vnto the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, was cured of an infirmity of dishonest loue: and of many other remedies, against that powerfull passion 393

Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian; and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and howe that Beasts haue many times affected both men and women. 395

Of a man, that receiuing a wounde from his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherin he had long time liued: with sundry other examples to the same purpose. 396

Who was the first that planted the Vine; and who began to put water into wine. To whom, and in what manner the Romaines did prohibite Wine. 387

Of many dammages and dangers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath bene held as an healthfull thing (by some Physitions) to be drunken sometimes 399

Certaine aduices and instructions, against forward affection to wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things do appeare to bee three, to men that are ouercome with drinke, 401

In what manner a man may knowe and measure, the rotundity or round compasse of the whole earth: And how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circkling round about. 402

Of the reason, why Snow (beeing couered with Straw) doth preserue it selfe in his entire coldnes, and warme water in his heate: two contrary effects working by one and the same thing. 405

Of sudden death happening vnto diuers great persons, that haue thereto bene wished or threatned, by such as they haue vniustly put to death before, &c. 406

Of the cruelty which Albouine, King of Lombardy, vsed to his Queene and Wife Rosamond: And by what meanes she reuenged her selfe on him. 408

Of a pleasant, witty, and honest deceipt, which a famous and vertuous Queene vsed to her owne Husband, whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten. 410

Of an auncient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince. 411

In what part of the Zodiacke the Sunne and Moone, & likewise the other Planets were, at their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares and times. 413

That men may learne examples by Birds, Flyes and other Creatures, to leade a vertuous life. 416

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline, and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues through drunkennesse and want of following Military discipline. 419

Of the miserable ends, and other strange trauerses, endured by diuers Kings, Emperors, Dukes and other great Princes, &c. 422

That People are commonly such in their actions, manners, and piety; as they perceiue their Kings, Princes and Rulers to be. 429

Of the Originall of Triumphs; why they were first granted and vsed in Rome. How many they were that triumphed. What a Triumph is: And that there are two sorts of Triumphs. 432

Of such names of immortall honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines had granted and giuen them, according to their seuerall victories. 436

Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries which the Romanes gaue to Soldiors. Also of punishing offenders, &c. 438

Of the reason, wherefore sleepe was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleepe is hurtfull and vicious. 442

Of an ancient vse and custome in Spaine, in making their account of times, by these words, Here de Cæsar. What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the vse therof was left. 444

The Fift Booke.

OF Nobility Politicall and Ciuill. 447

Of the Nobility of the first Age. 448

Of

The Table.

Of the first Greeke Nobility. 450
Of the first Romane Nobility. 451
Of the diuers beginnings of Nobility Datiue. 461
The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in creating of Barons by Charter. 478
The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscount. 480
The Royall Charter for the creating of an Earle. 482
The Rites and Ceremonies for the creating of an Earle. 484
The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marquesse. 486
The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse. 487
The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke. 450
The manner of creating a Duke. 452
The Kings Charter for creating of the Prince of Wales. 454
Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales. Ibid.
Of the Crowning of the King. 456
A briefe description of the Pompe & Ceremonies, at the Coronation of Edward *the sixt, King of England, according to the ancient manner, vsed in the Consecration of the Kings of England.* 500
The memorable and famous Coronation, of our most gracious Soueraigne Lord King Iames, *and Queene* Anne *his wife, the 25. of July, 1603.* 506
A Statute and Acte of Parliament, made in the 31. of King Henry *the eight, concerning placing of Lords in the Parliament Chamber, and other Assembles and Conferences of Councell.* 510
The Order of the Parliament Pompe. 512
The manner of restoring of renewed Nobilty, lost before. 518
Of Customes. Ibid.
Of Noblemen of the lesser sort. 526
The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordained. 535
The Prtoration, or Epilogue of the whole Worke. 543

The Sixt Booke.

OF *the Gouernment and administration of Iustice, obserued in the Common-wealth of Gennes or Geneway.* 548
An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes. 555
The first Family, being the Posterity of Iesus. 556
Of the Asmoneans, being the second Family. 562
Antiochus and Lysias are put to death by Demetrius; *the wicked behauiour of Alcimus the Priest: The death of Iudas, and succession of his Brother Ionathas.* 565
Concerning the imprisonment of Simons two sonnes and their Mother, by their cruell Vnckle Ptolomy; and lastly their lamentable death. The valiant actes of Iohn Hyrcanus, *sonne to Simon; and destruction of* Samaria. 568
How the rest and prosperity of Iudea, begate sundrie Sects among the people, especially of the Pharisies, Sadduces, &c. The diuersitie of their opinions, and a breefe narration of the Doctrine in vse among the first Fathers 569
Concerning the Originall of the Sadduces Sect, contrary in nature to the Pharisies, and what customes were obserued among them 576
Of a third Sect, contrary to the Pharisies and Sadduces, who tearmed themselues by the name of Essæans: Their Originall, Religion, and manner of life 578
A returning backe to speake more of Hyrcanus, and of his sons 580
A breefe entrance into the description of the posterity of Antipater, holding the Principality of Iudea, but not the High-Priesthood 596
The third Family, concerning the posterity of Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon, &c 597
A further entrance into the discourse, concerning the race and posterity of Antipater, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, &c 602
How Herode, after all his tumultuous troubles and mollestations, attained to the sole gouernment of the kingdome of Iudea 607
A breefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which he had by his tenne wiues: As also the order of their seuerall successions 616
Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus, and the plea of him & his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of gouernment 619
Of Phillip, son to Herode the Great, and how he gouerned in his Tetrarchy 620
Of the life and death of Herode Antipas, Brother vnto Phillip, and Tetrarch of Samaria, &c. 621
The life of Agrippa, the first man of that name, coming to be king of Iudea 623
A breefe Collection of the principall accidents hapning in the time of the siege 633
Of three great and notable doubts, which the anciet Philosophers knew not how to resolue, and for what cause. 635
Of such ceremonies as were vsed by the Romans, before they moued any war. 636

The Seuenth Booke

Of the Gouernment and administration of Iustice, obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca 639
What benefite and honour it is to a Prince, to haue a comely body, &c. 642
Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties, of Aristotimus the Tyrant 644
The reason, why men cannot know and vnderstande the truth of many things, while they remain in this life. 648

Of

The Table.

Of diuers accidents (monstrous in nature) which serued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of thinges to come, in olde and ancient times. 649

Of a very strange and admirable accident, which happened to an Army in the night season. 651

How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to bee blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combate betweene man and man. 653

Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse. 654

Of the singular vertues and constancy of the noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And the honest pollicy, for the deliuerance of her Country. 656

Of the famous Philosopher Euxines: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians. 659

The true Module and Patterne of Gouernment, to be obserued in any Common-wealth, deriued from the community of Bees, and how many waies they may bee examples to men. 660

How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is, to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to a future life. 665

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seauen seuerall Ambassadors: to know which of their Kingdomes haue the best Lawes and Customes. 666

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the Citty of Corinth, in the seruice whereof, were fiue hundred Ladies: And of the answere of an Abbesse to a great Lord. Ibid.

Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos; the originall thereof, and vpon what occasion it came. 667

What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their sacrifices. 668

Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the seate of the soule in the body of man: And a contrary coniecture of the Platonists. 670

How men ought to shun and auoide curiosity. And what penalties and punishments were appointed by our Auncients, for curious people. Ibid.

Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occasioned by the sinnes, eyther of the Princes, or of the people, or of both. 671

The Battaile of Gaza, fought betweene Synanbasha, Generall for Selym the Great Turke; And Gazelles, Lieutenant of Tomumbeyo, the Soldan or Sultane of Egipt, in Anno 1515. 677

Of three seuerall Battailes, fought in the yeares 1516. and 1517. betweene Selym the Great Turke, and Tomumbeyo, the Great Sultan of Egipt. 679

Of the second Battaile fought at Cayro, betweene Selym and Tomumbeyo. 683

Of the third and last battaile, fought at Nilus, betweene Tomumbeyo and Selym, with the ill successe, and disgracefull death of Tomumbeyo. &c. 687

Of the first inuention of wearing rings, to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable thinges, &c 687

Of the properties and vertues secretly concealed in precious stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, that is said to be in Magicall rings 695

Whence it came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, as well to Knights, as to the sons of Presidents & Councellors. What Armes the ancient Romaines carried, &c. 698

Of the Septuagint, or seuenty Translators of the old Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke, &c. 700

Of the admirable vertues and properties, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pismire, &c. 704

From whence it proceedeth, that some men liue long, and others farre lesser while. And what complexion is the best for liuing long, &c. 708

How the life of Man hath beene abridged & shortened from the beginning of the worlde, and that in diuerse times. Of the diuersity of tearmes allotted to men: with many histories tending to that purpose 716

A breefe Chronologicall Survey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into seauenteene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time. 714

The Eighth Booke.

A breefe Discourse, concerning the Originall of the Venitians, and the foundation of Venice, &c. 421

A short Summary, of the liues of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: and a breuiate also of the most remarkeable actions in the times of their Gouernment 734

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines 743

An answer vnto a certaine demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the quality and essence of wounds made by Gunshotte; at his Maiesties returne from the siedge and taking of Roane. 746

Of the Excellencie of the Art of Physicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences 755

Whether it be possible, or no, to prolong the life of man or woman by Physicke 758

Against such as hold opinion, that Physitions doe delay and prolong hurtes and diseases, and are abusers of the world 762

That

That it is neyther sinne, nor any ill acte done, to call for the Physition, and to vse his remedies in diseases. 766

Concerning the ingratitude and vnkindnesse in sicke and diseased persons, towards Physitions. 767

That the vulgar sort do account it nothing, if they be not cured and healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the Lateſt remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physition that commeth to the diseases declination. 769

Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiency, by their succesſe: which oftentimes is more dne to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge. 772

Against such men, to whom all things are suspected, and Physitions slandered in the most part of those accidents which happen in diseases. 773

That there are more store and plenty of Physitions, thē of any other sort of people. 774

That it is not for the sicke patients profite, to haue many Physitions, as in ordinary: but one Physition sufficeth, being assiduate and skilfull. 776

Against such as complaine on the ouer-short visitation of some Physitions. 778

How much it importeth, that the sicke patient should repose confidence in his Physition. 780

Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet deny to doe as they direct and appoint them. 781

Of such as (in their sickneſſe) will admit no medicine or remedy, but onely for the present anguish. 782

That such as are subiect to diseases, are in like maner subiect to Physicke, and others not. 785

That such as know some little matter in Physicke, are more dangerous to bee neere sicke persons, then they that know nothing at all. 786

The manner of knowing Opportunity truely, for vnderstanding or performing such actions, as we wold haue to bewell done: And how our graue Elders vsed to depict or figure Opportunity. 787

Of fauour, grace or good opinion: how it hath beene described by Pict ure; And of the Morall signification. 787.

Of those seauen wise men of Greece, commonly called the seauen Sages: with many notable sentences. Ibid.

That sight is the principall and cheefest sence of all the rest. And of many being blinde, who neuerthelesse were mē of great honour and renowne. 794

That Auarice or Couetousnesse is a most enormous vice, and subiect to great dangers: with sundry examples of diuers persons, who were extremely couetous. 797

A very singular reason, deliuered by Phauorinus the Philosopher, concerning Astrologers, that it is not good to demand any question of them, hauing relation vnto future matters. 800

Diuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby great plots and designements of great Politians haue bene dissipated and ouerthrowne. Also, concerning Pollicies, that (for a time) haue bene profitable, and yet proued pernitious in the end Fol: eod

A breese discourse concerning the first foundation of Ieruſalem, what fortunes (from time to time) befel thereto: and of the kings that there reigned 805

What difference there is betweene Leasing and Lying; and how a man may tell a leasing, and not lye 811

Of the twelue months in the yeare: how both Ancient and Moderne men vsed to figure them, and of some mysteries represented by them. 812

Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happned in the goodly City of Florence: and of the slaughter ensuing thereon. 813

A very remarkeable and worthy history, deliuering in breese discourse, the life and memorable actions, of that famous Captaine Castruccio Castracagnio. 816

A discourse concerning the winds, and of their seuerall names. 820

The Ninth Booke.

IN the first Tract, is contained a Cosmographicall Description of the whole Countrey of Moscouia or Russia, the Climate and Shieres, with the commodities the seuerall parts of the Land yeeldeth; and the principall Cities and Townes 824

The second Tract, relateth the Emperors linage & descent; his instalment and inauguration in the dignitie; the forme of publike Gouernment, holding of Parliaments, and regiment, of the Prouinces. His Customes, Reuennewes, Sophismes, &c. 832

The third discourseth on their Politike and Iuditiall proceeding. The Emperors powers for war, and their salaries, mustering, munition, and military prouision: their Collonies, friends, and enemies 851

Fourthly, concerning Eccleſiasticall Offices & Orders, Rites, and Sacraments obserued in the Moscouian church, Mariages, and other Ceremonies 867

Lastly, an Oeconomicall discourse of the Emperours Court, his Family and houshold affaires, and more priuate behauiour of his people 884

If it may bee so ordered, or limited, that poysons giuen at a certaine day, shall not cause death, vntill a time appointed 889

Of diuers erroneous and vile opinions, conceyued in fantasticke braines, and verily beleeued for sound truths. 894

A vulgar Question: What Language they shall speak, that neuer heard any speech. That a man or woman borne dumbe is necessarily deafe. As also, he that is nurst among dumbe people: And not (on the contrary) that one dumbe by nature, should also bee deafe. And whence it ensueth, that a child is so tardy in knowing how to speake. 897

The Tenth Booke.

OF the Kingdome of Ireland, the Antiquity, Originall, and habitation thereof, according to the confirmation of

The Table.

of the best approued Authors. 903

A briefe Discourse, how these parts and Countries, commonly called, The New World; were first found, &c. 916

Of the Excellency and Dignity of Marriage: with many singular and worthy examples, tending to that purpose. 934

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fled first to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterward into France, &c. 922

What manner of men those were and are, that bee called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists. 928

Of the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life and good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Geneways and Luzanes; examining after the time of their Iurisdiction is past. 930

Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and also some Common-wealths, haue alwaies prosperously florished in the times of warre; and in peacefull daies haue runne to decay and ruine. 932

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortall. 936

Who was the first, among all other Monarchs & Princes, that commanded, to present by writing, whatsoeuer was to be negotiated with him. 940

Of such qualities and carriage, (as necessarily) is required to be in a Prince. 942

That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to bee preferred before the younger, &c. 947

The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes. 950

The ancient and honourable History of the life, fortunes, and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway. 957

Of the Bezaars stone, &c. 669

Concerning the generation of Pearles, &c. 972

FINIS.